

**Digging photos and excavating sites.
A Comparative exploration of Material culture
patterns in Ethnographic photographs and
Archaeological sites of Shelk'nam, Yamana and
Alakaluf peoples from the Fuegian archipelago
(Southern South America, 16th to 20th centuries)**

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Abstract

This chapter summarizes the results of systematic investigations which compare the archaeological and photographic records of three native societies of Tierra del Fuego (Shelk'nam, Yámana-Yagan and Alakaluf) in order to search for and analyse information about their material culture practices. In order to do so, we firstly analyse a corpus of 1131 photographs taken between the late 19th and mid 20th centuries by 44 photographers and we carry out a "visual archeology", through which we analyse the formation processes of the photographic record and study some of the native habits recorded in the photos. We then analyse a total of 25 Fuegian archaeological sites of the contact period (16th. to 20th. centuries): their formation processes are assessed and the artefacts (tools and objects) found in these are compared with those recorded in the photographs in order to check to what extent these records corroborate, complement or contradict each other. Given the differences of photographic visibility and archaeological visibility of many of the Fuegian artefacts, the resulting data are relevant to discuss the informative biases and potentials of both records and to shed light on the material culture patterns of each Fuegian society, their intra-society variability and inter-society similarities and differences.

Key words

Archaeology, photographs, Tierra del Fuego, Shelk'nam, Yámana-Yagan, Alakaluf, material culture

Introduction: photos, sites and material culture practices

The main aim of this paper is to present a comparative study of the material culture artefacts found in archaeological sites and visible in ethnographic

photographs of the Fuegian archipelago in order to identify and contrast some of the material culture practices of three circumpolar native societies who inhabited this southernmost region of South America: the Shelk'nam, the Yámana and the Alakaluf. Such comparison is carried out with several specific aims:

a) to record and compare the Native and/or Western material culture items that were handled by each society in the photos and in the contemporary archaeological sites, which in turn are informative to discuss the degree of transculturation undergone by each group;

b) to record and compare the types of material culture artefacts, particularly tools and objects², that were handled by people in each society, which are informative about:

b1) the similarities and differences between each society, thus serving as relevant data to discuss patterns of material culture production, circulation and use;

b2) the different degree of representation and conservation of material culture artefacts in the photographic and archaeological records, due to their different formation processes, which affect their resulting photographic and archaeological visibilities.

The photographic and archaeological records are two windows that can be opened to take a glimpse of the recent past. While archaeology is a discipline that focuses on the study of past human actions through their material remains, ethnographic photographs can also provide information about such actions when studied systematically, since the habits and material culture practices of the photographed subjects are visible in the photographic record (Fiore 2007, Fiore y Varela 2007). In a previous paper (Fiore and Varela 2010), we explored the main material culture trends that emerged from the systematic study of the photographed structures and artefacts (tools, clothing, ornaments, etc.) handled and/or worn by individuals of each Fuegian society. Building from that background, in this paper we aim to compare those results with the material culture data found in the Fuegian archaeological record. In order to do so, we will compare the results of our "visual archaeology" project, carried out on a

² In Archaeology, *artefacts* are broadly defined as human-made transportable material culture items (Renfrew & Bahn 1997). Out of these, we will study here: *tools* (a utilitarian piece of equipment used to make, repair or use another object or to carry out a certain task; e.g. a scraper, a harpoon, etc.) and *objects* (non-utilitarian artefacts used for social, symbolic and/or ceremonial purposes; e.g. dancing wands, ceremonial sticks, etc.). This paper will only focus on these artefacts and will not deal with other classes of material culture artefacts such as ornaments (necklaces, pendants, headbands, etc.) and clothing items (necklaces, capes, etc.).

sample of 1131 photographs (see below), with the "traditional" archaeology published data, which has been generated by surveys and site excavations carried out in several regions of Tierra del Fuego (see below). Such comparison will show how much these two different records corroborate, complement or contradict each other (Fiore 2002). Their critical use as combined sources of evidence will shed new light on about the modes of life of the indigenous Fuegian peoples.

The Fuegian societies: ethnographic background

The Yámana-Yagan

The Yámana, also known as Yagan³, occupied the southern portion of Isla Grande de Tierra del Fuego and the remaining islands towards the south of the archipelago, up to Cape Horn. They were maritime hunter-gatherer-fishers and their mobility was based on the use of canoes (Orquera and Piana 1999a: 80). Their diet was based on the consumption of fur seals, birds, fish, shellfish and guanacos. They built dome-shaped huts with branches, covered by foliage (Gusinde 1986: 361). The Yámana wore little clothing: men and women wore short capes which covered them from the shoulders to the waist, and were made with skins of fur seals, foxes, or eventually guanacos. Underneath men were generally entirely naked and women wore a loincloth.

This native Fuegian society celebrated several ceremonies to mark special occasions such as: the girls first menstruation, weddings, individual mourning (*talawaia*), group mourning (*yamalashemoina*), the initiation of new shamans, the initiation of youngsters of both genders to adulthood (*chiejaus*) and the initiation of male youngsters to male adulthood after passing the *chiejaus* (*kina*). Body painting was worn in many of these occasions (Bridges 1897, Cooper 1917, Lothrop 1928, Gusinde 1986, Chapman 1982, Chapman 1997, Orquera y Piana 1999b, Orquera and Piana 2009a, Fiore 2005a, Fiore 2009).

The Yámana subsistence was based on a gender division of labour by which women were in charge of rowing the canoes while men were in charge of handling the harpoons in order to hunt fur seals. Such division of labour was not confrontational but rather complementary, since one task was needed in order to carry out the other one. This complementary gender division was also pervasive

³ While there is an ongoing debate regarding the uses of the terms Yamana and Yagan (see Piana in Fiore & Varela 2009), the term Yamana is widely used in academic publications in Argentina, and thus we will use it in this paper to simplify the text. However, we want to stress that the self-identification of the indigenous community of descendants currently living in Navarino Island (Chile) is Comunidad Yagan de Bahía Mejillones.

in many other aspects of gender construction of the Yámana society: an example of this semi-egalitarian gender structure is the existence of a shared initiation rite such as the *chiéjaus*.

Given that the Yámana had a fluid mobility system in the Fuegian waters, and that their territory was mainly on the shores of the archipelago, they were prone to contacting Western voyagers as soon as they sailed in nearby waters and/or approached the coastline. Although canoe mobility also offered a means to escape from unwanted contacts, this kind of aquatic mobility, as well as the territorial location seem to have fostered frequent interactions with Western populations, which in turn led to an early and fast process of transculturation of this native Fuegian society. Such transculturation was carried out by Anglican missionaries as well as Western settlers who annexed vast portions of Yámana land (Fiore & Varela 2009).

The Alakaluf

The Alakaluf occupied the western section of the Fuegian archipelago, as well as the southernmost shores of Patagonia. They were maritime hunter-gatherer-fishers, who, like the Yámana, moved very frequently, in canoes. Their diet was based on the consumption of fur seals, whales, fish and shellfish (Fitz Roy 1839; Gusinde 1991; Empeiraire 1963; Vargas Ponce 1788: 342 in Bitloch 2005: 114). Labour division was based on gender roles: men were in charge of hunting and fishing while women rowed the canoes and gathered shellfish and some plant species. Much like in the Yámana case, this division was quite complementary since women's rowing was essential to enable men's hunting with harpoons from the open sea waters. This society also celebrated an initiation ceremony for both genders (*kálakai*) and another one only to initiate young males to adulthood (*yincibáua*).

The Alakaluf wore short capes made of fur seal, guanaco, coipo or penguin hides which covered them from their necks to their waists, and covered their genitalia with a loincloth -particularly the women- (Escalada 1949: 96-106 in Bitloch 2005: 54; Marcel 1892: 488-489 in Bitloch 2005: 86-8; Ladrillero 1880 VI: 464-473 in Bitloch 2005: 131; Gusinde 1991: 189; Empeiraire 1963: 136).

Contact with Westerners was facilitated by the use of canoes and by the coastal location of their territory, which in turn was a factor that might have speed up the transculturation process. Yet it is also clear that the use of canoes was a viable factor to retreat from unwanted contacts, which could thus be delayed for some time, though not avoided forever (Fiore and Varela 2009). Salesian missions and Western settlements of their lands were crucial factors in the deep transculturation suffered by this society (Gusinde 1991, Empeiraire 1963).

The Shelk'nam inhabited the central and northern portions of Isla Grande de Tierra del Fuego. They were pedestrian hunter-gatherers and their diet was based on the consumption of guanacos, some rodents, birds and some edible plants. They built two types of huts. The windbreaker, which was an elongated structure without roof, made of vertical wood posts from which animal hides were hung. Windbreakers could be dismantled, packed and transported by women on their backs. The second type of dwelling was the conical hut, which was made of tree trunks. These were not transportable and were abandoned once their inhabitants moved to another zone, although they could be later reoccupied (Gusinde 1982).

The typical Shelk'nam clothing was the guanaco cape, which they wore with the wool facing outwards. Both men and women wore these capes, although men did not wear anything underneath while women wore a kind of hide apron and a loincloth. Men also wore a triangular headband over their foreheads.

Body painting was worn in some everyday situations and for special occasions such as the first menstruation, weddings and the male initiation ceremony (*hain*) (De Agostini 1924, L. Bridges 1951, Gusinde 1982, Fiore 2005a, Fiore 2009).

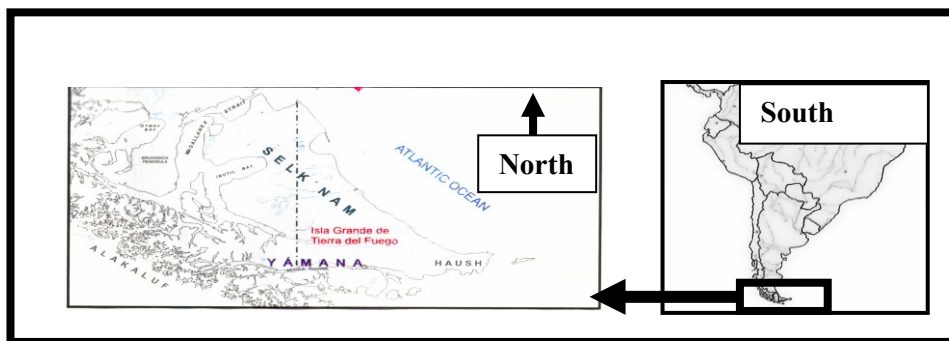
The Shelk'nam socio-economic structure was clearly patriarchal (Chapman 1982: 40) and labour was based on a deep gender division: men were in charge of hunting, producing bows and arrows and taking care of dogs; women were in charge of gathering tasks, cooking, and other daily tasks in the domestic camps (L. Bridges 1951). Hunting and gathering products were shared with family and neighbours (*ibidem*).

Contrary to their Yámana and Alakaluf neighbours, the Shelk'nam men and women did not carry out essential tasks jointly, but rather carried out different tasks separately. Shelk'nam women carried out a fundamental role for the group mobility when they transported the packed windbreakers and other items from one domestic camp to the next, but unlike the Yámana and Alakaluf women (who enabled prey hunting in the water while rowing the canoes) the Shelk'nam women were not directly participating in the procurement of the main food staple: apparently this difference on the economic roles carried out by men and women was one of the factors that led to a deep gender difference in this society (Chapman 1982, Orquera and Piana 2009b, Borrero 1991 y 1997, Fiore 2002).

Also contrary to the Yámana attitude, the Shelk'nam were, for a long time, reluctant to having contact with Western peoples (Borrero 1991). One of the factors that may have influenced this strategy was that they lived in a fixed

island territory and only had pedestrian mobility: this made it possible to retreat to land portions far away from the shores, but also made them more vulnerable to the impact of incoming populations since they had a limited land space where to retreat on foot. This seems to have fostered their self-preservation by avoiding contact with foreigners, which in turn led to a relatively slower process of transculturation (Fiore and Varela 2009). Yet such strategy had obviously a limited efficiency and the transculturation process did finally occur by way of the action of Salesian missions, military expeditions and the establishment of cattle ranches who annexed their lands and pushed away (or directly killed) the Shelk'nam inhabitants (Borrero 1991).

The Fuegian societies: three circumpolar case-studies



Map 1. Location of Shelk'nam, Yámana and Alakaluf societies in the Fuegian archipelago. Map 2. Location of the Fuegian archipelago in Southern South America.

Picturing the past: theoretical concepts used to combine the visual record and the archaeological record

Photographs have been the subject of much theoretical thought and debate. A great number of academics have produced numerous concepts and perspectives about what photographs are and about the information contained in them (Mead 1975, Sontag 1977, Gernsheim 1986, Barthes 1998). Photographs have often been conceived from two diametrically opposed standpoints: from a positivist perspective they have been considered as an objective record of reality and from a post-modern perspective they have been considered as a subjective creation far from reality and close to the interests of the photographer (Fiore and Varela 2009). The positivist perspective was the first one to emerge in the history of thought about photography: due to its optical, mechanical and chemical

qualities, this technique was considered as a neutral, reliable and objective record of reality (Bourdieu 1977, Gernsheim 1986, Edwards 1992). Yet many authors have pointed out that photographers control what to depict, how it is depicted (type of framing, choice of lighting and focus, use of lenses, etc) and how the resulting image is manipulated (developed, copied, edited, etc.). Therefore, photography is neither an objective nor a neutral technique (Kossoy 2001, Edwards 1992, Alvarado 2004). In some occasions this latter position has been taken to an extreme, when some authors maintain that not only photography is not an objective record of reality, but that reality in fact does not exist (Fontcuberta 2008; see discussions in Morphy and Banks 1997). This extreme standpoint denies any validity of the photograph as a document. Moreover, if the photograph depicts a person or group of persons, from this perspective such person/s do not have any possible influence over the resulting image. Their agency is completely denied, and only the agency that is taken into consideration as an active force in the formation of the photograph is that of the photographer.

A third perspective, which we call critical, is therefore theoretically possible and analytically useful: photographers have greater control in the photographic process, yet at least in some occasions, photographed subjects can have some influence over what is photographed -they may have some choice over their own bodily positions, the types of material culture they handle, the actions they perform in front of the lense, etc. Thus, although they have a comparatively lesser degree of control over the photographic process than photographers, photographed subjects can become active agents in the production of certain photographs (Fiore 2002, Fiore 2005b, Edwards 2002, Fiore and Varela 2009). And it is due to this factor that photographs have a deep potential to provide information not only about the photographers's intentions and biases, but also about the photographed subjects. As any other form of record about the past, photography is not objective: but this does not mean that it is not informative.

This informational potential of photographic artefacts is liable to its exploration through an archaeological gaze: the systematic search for the formation processes of the photographic record allows for the discovery of biases generated by both photographers and photographed subjects (see below). In turn, the systematic search for trends in the manipulation of material culture allows for a "visual archaeology" based on the analysis of photographs as artefacts that bear information about the recent past. In particular, we will focus here on the types of artefacts that were manipulated by the indigenous Fuegian peoples, which are indicative of many aspects of their modes of life, in order to search for potential similarities and differences between each neighbouring society. We will contrast those which appear in the photographs, with those which appear in the archaeological record of quasi-contemporary dates. While the photographs range

from the 1880's to the 1950's, the archaeological record ranges from the 16th. to the 20th. century; thus both records are comparable since they deal with the contact period, which is characterised by the increasing interaction between indigenous Fueguians and Western agents -voyagers, missionaries, militars, businessmen, ethnographers, etc.- (Cooper 1917; De Agostini 1924; Bridges 1951; Borrero 1991; Orquera and Piana 1999a; Fiore and Varela 2009).

To carry out this data-collection and analysis, it is necessary to develop a suitable method of data collecting and analysis, which we develop in the following section.

Materials and methods: from the field to the archive, from the archive to the database

The data-collection and data-analysis protocol of the photographic database

Our method of data collecting and analysis has included the following steps:

a) *Sample formation*: identification of photographs of Fueguian individuals in archives and publications. Ethnic ascription was done following a number of criteria: 1) physical aspect of the photographed persons, 2) material culture they manipulate, 3) landscape and/or structures with which they are photographed, 4) written information in published captions and/or in archive files. In the case that one or many of these criteria failed to provide an accurate ascription, we attributed the photograph to the most likely Fueguian society but noted that this ascription was doubtful; therefore, we did not use such information when carrying out data analysis and statistics.

b) *Sample control*: each new photograph was checked with the previous ones before entering it to the sample, in order to avoid repetitions which would increase the sample artificially. The different editions of a single take were taken into account in order to assess the image manipulations done by the photographer and/or the picture editor.

c) *Data recording*: record of the visible information in each photograph in a relational database at three different and complementary scales:

i-*photograph data table* including 15 fields: photo number, photographer, photo date, Fueguian group, place, photo visibility, context (ceremonial, domestic, “indeterminable”), number of individuals, presence/absence of Western structures, presence/absence of native structures, presence/absence of Western artefacts, presence/absence of native artefacts, type of landscape (woods, shore, lake, mountain, etc.), different editions of the same photo, archive/s where the photo is kept.

ii-*photographed individuals table* (data per person) including 5 fields: photo number, individual number, individual's gender, individual's age, person's identity (if known).

iii-*material culture table* (data of each material culture item per individual) including 8 fields: photo number, individual number, artefact, ornament/clothing item number, type of artefacts handled by individual, types of clothing and ornament worn by the individual, types of structure.

d) *Data analysis*: inference of qualitative patterns and calculation of univariate and bivariate quantitative trends per photo, per individual and per material culture items, as well as links between these three different analytical levels. Trends per photo include, for example, the calculation of how many images of the Shelk'nam society show Native material culture items. Trends per material culture items include, for example, the identification of which items are more frequent in which society, which in turn indicates that they may be considered diagnostic of this Fuegian group.

e) *Results assessment*: analysis of the qualitative and quantitative results, combined with ethnographic information about each Fuegian society as well as with data about the formation processes of the photographic record. Such analysis is guided by the theoretical concepts synthesized above, and is particularly oriented towards finding patterns of material culture manipulation which can be diagnostic of each different Fuegian society, in order to search for the social agency of the native peoples beyond the biases of the photographic records.

An overview of the photographic sample and the formation processes of the Fuegian photographic record

Following the methodological steps outlined above, we were able to gather a sample of 1131 photographs taken by 44 photographers, found in 16 archives⁴ and in 64 publications. Out of the 1131 photos, 679 are published while

⁴ 1- Museo del Fin del Mundo – Ushuaia – Tierra del Fuego (Argentina); 2- Asociación de Investigaciones Antropológicas – Buenos Aires (Argentina); 3- PACB – Laboratorio de Antropología – CADIC – Ushuaia – Tierra del Fuego (Argentina); 4- Museo Marítimo de Ushuaia – Ushuaia – Tierra del Fuego (Argentina); 5- Archivo General de la Nación – Buenos Aires (Argentina); 6- National Museum of Ethnography – Estocolmo (Sweden); 7- Royal Geographical Society – Londres (United Kingdom); 8- Colección Luis. A. Borrero (Argentina); 9- Phototèque du Musée de l'Homme – Paris (France); 10- Anthropos Institut – Saint Augustin (Germany); 11- Museo Nazionale della Montagna Duca degli Abruzzi – Turín (Italy); 11- Dartmouth College Library, Hanover, New Arctic & Antarctic, 7 / 71

452 are unpublished. From the total sample, we were able to attribute 136 to the Alakaluf society, 446 to the Shelk'nam society and 401 to the Yámana society, while the rest are of uncertain ethnic origin.

Given that photography is not an objective record of reality, it is likely to find biases in the construction of the visual records of any society. The Fuegian cases were not an exception to this rule. A number of biases generated both by the photographers and by the photographed subjects have been identified along our research process (Fiore and Varela 2009). These constitute clear examples of the numerous formation processes of the Fuegian photographic record, which shed light on the fact that the visual information contained in the photographs cannot be taken at face value.

The following cases are some examples of these formation processes:

- a) poses controlled by the photographer (see photo 1);
- b) discomfort shown by the photographed subject (see photo 2);
- c) nudity sought by the photographer and negotiated by the photographed subject (e.g. Shelk'nam men got naked while their *hain* initiation ceremonies while Shelk'nam women did not agree to fully undress themselves for the camera; see photo 3);
- d) edition of a photograph in order to publish it cutting out Western material culture items, with the aim of representing a (fake) pristine ethnographic state (see photos 4 and 5);
- e) edition of a photograph in order to publish it presenting a (fake) image of traditional Native clothing (see photos 6 and 7);
- f) publication of sections of a photograph without acknowledging that they belong to a single take (see photos 8, 9, 10 and 11);
- g) transculturation photographically documented by ethnographers but avoided in the publications in order to convey the sense of “ethnographic purity” (see photo 12);

Hampshire (United Kingdom); 12- Archivo Histórico de la Armada – Valparaiso (Chile); 13- Archivo Salesiano – Buenos Aires (Argentina); 14- Museo Etnográfico Juan B. Ambrosetti – UBA – Buenos Aires (Argentina); 15- Museo de La Plata – La Plata (Argentina); 16- Museo Municipal de Río Grande – Río Grande – Tierra del Fuego (Argentina). Some of these archives were visited by the authors of this chapter while other materials were generously handed to us by Margarita Alvarado (Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile) and by Ernesto Piana (CADIC-CONICET). The whole set of images is now part of the ARC-FOT-AIA, Archivo Fotográfico de Imágenes Etnográficas de Fuego-Patagonia held in the Asociación de Investigaciones Antropológicas, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

- h) transculturation photographically documented by religious missionaries and published in order to use it as propaganda of their actions (see photo 13);
- i) the same native Fuegiuans appear in some photos wearing native clothing and in others wearing Western clothing: this both indicates that the photographers had different interests in recording them as “exotic” peoples or as “civilised” individuals, but also indicates that the photographed subjects agreed to negotiate these situations and still had access to their native clothing in spite of the transculturation process they were undergoing (see photos 14 and 15).

Photo 1



Photo 1.: Gusinde (1918-1923). Front and profile of Halimink, a Selk'nam man.

Photo 2



Photo 2: Skottsberg 1907 (Semi-naked Alakaluf woman, covering part of her body with a piece of cloth which was clearly not part of her usual clothing items).

Photo 3



Photo 3: Gusinde 1923 (Semi-naked Shelk'nam women).

In relation to these semi-naked Shelk'nam women (Photo 3), with half of their bodies painted during the hain ceremony, this situation was fostered by the photographer since by 1923 it was no longer a habit among Shelk'nam women. Conversely, full-body nudity and body painting during the hain ceremony was still a habit among Shelk'nam men (see photos 4 and 5).

Photo 4

Photo 5

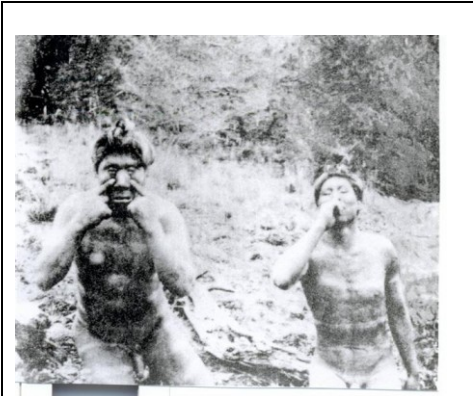


Photo 4: Gusinde 1923.

Photo 5: Bridges 1951.

Photo 4 shows two naked and painted Shelk'nam men during a male ceremony. This photograph has been edited in order to eliminate a third person who was wearing a Western hat.

Photo 5 is the original version of the same Shelk'nam photograph, in which a third person appears wearing a Western hat.

Photo 6



Photo 7



Photo 6: De Agostini 1909 (Alakaluf man dressed with traditional clothing through photographic edition).

Photo 7: De Agostini 1909 (Original photo of Alakaluf man dressed with traditional clothing; his clothing was used to edit photo number 6).

Photo 8



Photo 8: Barclay 1926 (Original photograph of Shelk'nam group: "Caushel and his family")

Photo 9

Photo 10

Photo 11



Photos 9, 10 and 11: Gallardo 1910 (Scraps of photo 8 published without acknowledging that they belong to the same photograph).

Photo 12



Photo 12: Gusinde 1918-1923 (Yámana persons wearing Western clothing. Photos such as this one were usually not published since they did not convey the idea of “pristine” native societies desired by Gusinde).

Photo 13



Photo 13: Veiga 1887-1898 (Two Shelk'nam men wearing Western clothing. The photo was published in a Salesian book; its caption indicates that these men are currently working on a ranch -“estancia”- and comments on this as a positive factor).

Photo 14



Photo 15



Photo 14: Gusinde 1923 (Shelk'nam family in front of their hut, wearing Native clothing. The adult man is Tenesk). **Photo 15:** Gusinde 1918-1923 (Shelk'nam group wearing Western clothing. Tenesk is the first man standing on the left. This indicates that the same people who were already acculturated and thus wore Western clothing, still had access to their traditional clothing, as noted in the previous photograph).

The data-collection and data-analysis protocol of the archaeological database

The archaeological database of hunter-gatherer sites of the contact period of the Fuegian archipelago was created by recording data of each published site found in the regions that cover the Shelk'nam, Yamana and Alakaluf territories - see map 1-, as defined by Bitloch (2005); Gusinde (1982, 1986); Chapman (1986); Borrero (2001); Orquera and Piana 1999a). The inclusion of each site in the database implied the following criteria (Fiore 2002, Saletta 2010 and 2014):

- a) hunter-gatherer sites of the Fuegian region pertaining to the contact period;
- b) sites which have been dated by radiocarbon or dendrochronological methods;
- c) in case there are no dates, sites that include Western (European or Criollo) material culture items and/or fauna introduced after 1520, which provide relative dates linking them to the contact period;
- d) surface finds were only accepted when the association between the artefacts and the dates has been well established by the researchers and authors of the publications (e.g. cases of artefacts produced using indigenous technology but with foreign- Western raw materials);
- e) sites are only included if some type of archaeological material (artefacts, archaeofauna and/or human remains) have been found in them; dated test-pits with no finds are not included in the database;
- f) data are quoted from archaeological sites published in journals, books and congress proceedings⁵.

The archaeological database contains a total of 23 fields (Saletta 2014), including:

- 1) *site table* (data for the whole site): site name; date/s; layers; geographical location; seasonality; environment; territory/indigenous society; excavated surface (m²); function/s of the site (e.g. domestic, funerary, ceremonial, etc.); presence/absence of local fauna; presence/absence of foreign fauna; presence/absence of artefacts; total number of artefacts; presence/absence of artefacts of local raw material; presence/absence of artefacts of foreign-Western

⁵ The only two exceptions are Vidal (1985) and Borrero (1985), which are two unpublished theses (Licenciatura in Vidal's case and Doctoral in Borrero's case), which contain relevant information for this database. The first one is available in the library of the Asociación de Investigaciones Antropológicas (Buenos Aires); the second one is available in the library of the Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, University of Buenos Aires (we have permission to quote both).

raw material; presence/absence of artefacts of local morphology; presence/absence of artefacts of foreign morphology; presence/absence of human remains; types of structures (e.g. rockshelter, open air site, shellmidden, etc.);

2) *artefacts table* (data for types of artefacts per site): type of artefact; raw material; morphology; number of artefacts of each type in the site.

The completion of this database led to the identification of a total of 29 published archaeological sites with relevant absolute or relative dates falling within the contact period in the Fueguian archipelago (Saletta 2014); of these, 25 are relevant for the case-studies analysed in this paper.

An overview of the archaeological sample and the formation processes of the Fueguian archaeological record

The archaeological sample under study in this paper is formed by 25 published archaeological sites⁶, which are regionally distributed as follows:

- 1) 6 sites in Yamana territory⁷;
- 2) 2 sites in Alakaluf territory⁸;
- 3) 17 sites in Shelk'nam territory⁹.

Out of these 25 sites, 16 have been dated with radiocarbon dates, 2 with dendrochronology and 7 with relative dates (Saletta 2014). These data indicate

⁶ We provide here the basic quotations of publications in which the main data of these sites can be found; further details about the whole bibliography per site may be consulted in Saletta 2014.

⁷ The sites excavated in Yamana territory are: Lancha Pakewaia; Tunel VII (Orquera and Piana 1999b); Lanashuaia I (Piana, Estévez Escalera and Vila Mitjá 2000); Acatushun 1; Acatushun 2; E. Harberton-ch95 (Piana, Tessone, Zangrando 2006); see details in Saletta (2014).

⁸ The sites excavated in Alakaluf territory are: Cueva de los Niños (Legoupil et al. 2004); Punta Baja (Legoupil 1989); see details in Saletta (2014).

⁹ The sites excavated in Shelk'nam territory are: Tres Arroyos 7, Tres Arroyos 14 A N°89; Tres Arroyos 14 B N°88 (Masone 2010); Ewan 1; Ewan 2 (Mansur and Piqué 2012); Puesto Pescador 1 (Suby, Santiago and Salemme 2008); Punta María 2 (Muñoz 2004, Borella 1996, Scheinshon 1993-94); Chacra Pafoy 3; San Pablo 1 (Borrero 1985, Scheinshon 1993-94); San Genaro 2 (Horwitz 1995); San Julio 1; San Julio 2 (Horwitz, Borrero, Casiragui 1993-1994); Ea Dos Marías and Florentina LA 12 (Masone et al. 2003); Tres Arroyos 1 (Borrero 1979); María Luisa 5 (Muñoz and Belardi 2011, Borrero and Lanata 1988); El Aleph (Muñoz and Belardi 2011); Close To The Site 2 (Muñoz and Belardi 2011); see details in Saletta (2014).

that the number of sites for the contact period in Tierra del Fuego is clearly uneven. Such differences may be attributed to a number of factors, including:

a) that the regions have different sizes (the Shelk'nam region is larger than the other two; hence, in statistical terms, under the same conditions, it is more likely to find more sites in this region than in the other regions);

b) that the survey and excavation strategies may have differed between regions and between researchers (e.g. the comparison of the published data shows that the excavations of sites in the Beagle Channel region (Yamana territory) and Otway Sound region (Alakaluf territory) are fewer in terms of the number of excavated sites, but each excavation is greater than 40 m² -they range from 40 m² to 92 m²-; while the excavations in Northern and Central Tierra del Fuego (Shelk'nam territory) are greater in number of sites, but each excavation has covered a smaller surface -ranging from 30 m² to 1 m²-. In turn, such sampling strategies are also related to the actual size of each site, of which normally only a percentage is uncovered in an archaeological excavation; however, such details are usually not included in the publications.

Finally, another crucial point regarding the formation processes of the archaeological record is that regarding the issues of the materials conservation. It is widely known that, in general terms, organic materials have a lower chance of conservation due to their higher rate of decay in comparison to inorganic materials (Cronyn 1996). This entails that, when focusing on material culture, according to the raw material on which artefacts have been made, those produced using lithic resources or glass will tend to have a better conservation and higher chances of being archaeologically recovered than those made on bone, wood, bark, leather, etc. (*idem*). However, under certain conservation conditions, which are influenced by sediment humidity and acidity which affect bacterial activity and organic decay (among other factors), some artefacts made with organic materials can survive in the archaeological record -e.g. in very dry environments, waterlogged sediments, neutral to alkaline sediments, etc.- (*idem*).

Thus, in spite of the above mentioned sampling and conservation biases, the information provided by the archaeological record has a key importance for its comparison to the photographic record, since: a) in some cases, due to the conservation biases of the archaeological record and its effects on the *archaeological visibility* of some activities and material culture products, only parts of artefacts will be found, while the photographic record may help in showing the appearance of the entire object (e.g. it is expected that entire arrows are visible in photographs, while only the lithic/glass arrow tips are found in the archaeological record, since the wooden shaft is likely to have a higher rate of decay); b) in other cases, the archaeological record will provide data about artefacts of low *photographic visibility* due to their low interest for the photographers, to the low

frequency of their use and/or to their small size (e.g. lithic artefacts are often much more visible in the archaeological record than in the historical-ethnographic photographic record). Thus, given the differences in the formation processes of these two records, their comparison can provide complementary evidence that cannot be obtained solely from one of them. The next section explores some of the results of this comparison.

Photographed and excavated artefacts: trends in the manipulation of Fuegian material culture

The *situations* represented in the photographs can be broadly divided into: every day life situations (which depict quotidian actions), ceremonial situations (which show special occasions in which groups gathered to celebrate initiation rites of different kinds, mourning ceremonies, etc) and “indeterminable” situations (which cannot be classified for lack of visual and/or written data about them). It is noticeable that in the three societies, the most frequent category is that of “indeterminable” cases: this is due to the fact that the Fuegians were often pictured in “empty poses”, as exotic objects, out of real situations, sometimes standing in front of a screen which deleted the real background. The second most frequent category, in the three societies, is that of ceremonial situations: this clearly shows that the photographers determined which situations were photographed, since these ceremonies were clearly not the most frequent situations but were usually more relevant to their ethnographic/documentary interests. In contrast, everyday life situations, which were obviously the most frequent ones, are the less photographed (see table 1).

Table 1

	Shelk'nam	Yámana	Alakaluf
Everyday life	31	14	12
Ceremonial	60	63	25
Indet	312	278	111

Photo 16



Photo 17

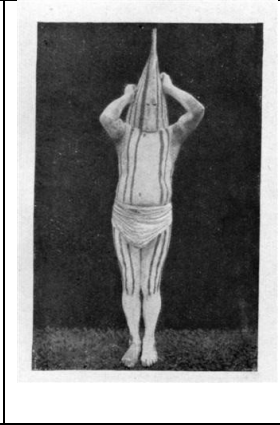


Photo 18

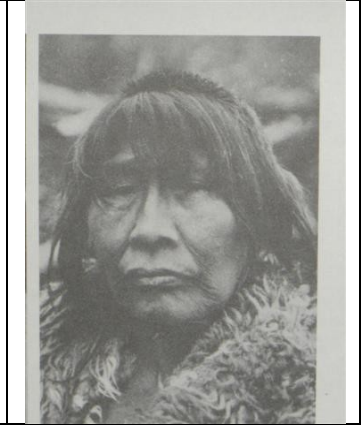


Photo 16: De Agostini 1909-1923 (Shelk'nam man posing as hunting with bow and arrow). **Photo 17:** Gusinde 1922 (Yámana man wearing mask and body painting for kina ceremony). **Photo 18:** Gusinde 1918-1924 (Shelk'nam woman in unknown situation).

Although the photographed situations are not directly comparable to the activities carried out on each site (because many photos can be taken of a single event, while one site often accumulates many occupation events), it is interesting to compare them in order to check for their potential similarities or differences. Following the data and interpretations of the researchers quoted above, the inferred main functions of the archaeological sites can be summarised as follows (Saletta 2014):

Table 2. Main functions of published archaeological sites in Tierra del Fuego.

Society	Domestic	Funerary	Ceremonial	Logistical (guanacos hunting station)	Indeterminate	TOTAL
Yamana	3	3	0	0	0	6
Alakaluf	1	1	0	0	0	2
Shelk'nam	9 + 3 potentially domestic	1	1	2	5	21

The comparison between both data sets shows that while ceremonial situations predominate in the photographic record, domestic (everyday life) sites predominate in the archaeological record (tables 1 and 2). This reflects an interest of the photographers on depicting ceremonies, which may have been seen as more "exotic" and "typical" than everydaylife situations. In turn, the archaeological record provides data about other situations which do not appear in the photos, such as funerary sites and logistical sites, thus giving more information about the variety of activities carried out by the Fuegian societies.

Regarding the *material culture* represented in the photographs, this can be broadly identified as Native (i.e. indigenous), Western (i.e. foreign, of European, Criollo or other origins) or Native and Western (both in the same picture). Data show that in the Shelk'nam case the photographs record a greater frequency of Native *artefacts*, while in the Yámana case the highest frequency of photos is that of Western artefacts, and in the Alakaluf case the proportions between photos showing Native and Western artefacts is more even (see table 2). This suggests that the Shelk'nam were more resilient to transculturation and even when undergoing this process they had greater access to their own indigenous material culture. Contrarily, the Yámana and the Alakaluf photographs indicate that these societies had been subject to a deeper and/or faster process of transculturation.

Table 3. Types of material culture visible in the photographs

Society	Only Native	Only Western	Native + Western
Shelk'nam	347	49	46
Yámana	109	148	118
Alakaluf	61	64	22

Photo 19



Photo 19: Gusinde 1918-1924 (Shelk´nam. Halimink and his family, wearing Native clothes and handling Native artifacts -ie. bow and queaver-).

Photo 20



Photo 20: De Agostini 1910-1920 (Shelk´nam. Ángela Loij learning to use a sewing machine next to a nun in Candelaria mission, Río Grande).

Photo 21

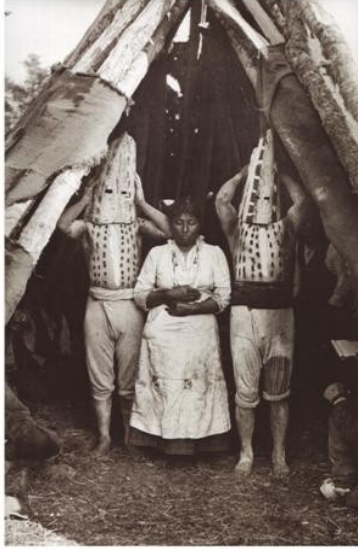


Photo 21: Published by Koppers, 1922
(Yámana people with Native and Western artifacts and clothes, during *kina* ceremony)

Photo 22



Photo 22: De Agostini 1924 (Shelk'nam. Pa-chiek and his family in a Native hut. Note the bow and arrows handled by him and those placed on the side of the hut).

Photo 23



Photo 23: Furlong 1907-1908 (Alakaluf group of women in the Salesian mission, San Rafael, Dawson island).

The native *artefact types* recorded for each society are notoriously diagnostic of the inter-society differences between the Shelk'nam, Yámana and Alakaluf: while bows, quivers and arrows are clearly more frequent in the Shelk'nam case (which is consistent with their terrestrial hunting techniques), harpoons are more frequent in the Yámana case (which is consistent with their maritime hunting techniques). Paddles are recorded both in the Yámana and Alakaluf cases, which is consistent with their use of canoes. Ceremonial sticks only appear as a Yámana feature: this coincides with the written descriptions of these artefacts during their initiation ceremonies (Gusinde 1986).

Spindles are a Western material culture item which appear photographed in five Shelk'nam cases and one Alakaluf case: this is one example of the introduction of the weaving technique by the Salesian Missionaries, as part of the process of transculturation suffered by both native peoples (tables 4.1; 4.2; 4.3).

The comparison between the photographed artefacts and the archaeological artefact of each society also shows very interesting tendencies. In the Shelk'nam case (table 4.1 and photos 24 and 25) it is noticeable that some artefact types appear only in the photographic record, both of native origin, such as bags, baskets, bows, queavers, slings, packed windshields, and of Western origin, such as spindles, spinning wheels, thread balls, and even a sewing machine. Most of these are very unlikely to appear in the archaeological record due to their organic composition. Conversely, some artefact types appear only in the archaeological record, such as lithic end scrapers, side scrapers and flakes; bone awls, harpoons, wedges and beads; glass end scrapers and flakes; iron chisels, disks and nails; etc. These archaeological materials evidence that the Shelk'nam

were producing/using a variety of tool types and handling local and Western raw materials that are not documented in the photographic record. Finally, a key artefact type that is documented by both records is the arrow point: the photographic record documents them more frequently (but a single arrow may have been photographed more than once), while the archaeological record provides details about their raw materials (lithic, glass and bone), which have very low photographic visibility.

Table 4.1: Shelk'nam society: artefact types recorded in the photographic record and in the archaeological record

Artefact types	N cases in photographic record	N cases in archaeological record
arrow (lithic; glass; bone)	91	18 (lit) + 10 (gl) + 1 (bn)
artefact indeterminate type (pottery)	0	3
artefacts indeterminate type (bone)	0	5
artefacts indeterminate type (iron)	0	36
artefacts indeterminate type (lithic)	0	230
awl (bone; iron)	0	6 (bn) + 1 (iron)
bag (leather?)	12	0
basket	10	0
beveled tool (bone)	0	1
bow	278	0
chair	3	0
chisel (iron)	0	1
core (lithic)	0	2
discs (iron)	0	2
end scraper (lithic; glass)	0	6 (lith) + 8 (gl)
flakes (lithic; glass; bone)	0	145 (lith) + 4467 (gl) + N not published (bn)
harpoon (bone)	0	5 (single barbed) + 1 (straight)
loom	1	0
mug (metal; pottery)	2 (metal)	3 (pottery)
nail (iron)	0	1
needle	1	0
packed windshield	12	0
pigments	0	139
polisher (lithic)	0	1
quack (lithic)	0	1
queaver	92	0
saddle + rein	2	0
sewing machine	1	0
sharp artefacts (bone)	0	3
side scraper (lithic)	0	67
slings	2	0
spindle	8	0
spinning wheel	5	0
thread ball	11	0
tool indeterminate type (glass)	0	5

Regarding the comparison of Yamana material culture documented in both records (table 4.2 and photos 26, 27 and 28), it is interesting to note that, again, a number of organic artefacts appear only in the photographic record: bags, baskets, ceremonial ropes, ceremonial sticks, canoe paddles, painting rods and a toy canoe, all of them of indigenous origin; plus chairs of clear Western origin. Conversely, a number of artefacts appear only in the archaeological record, including lithic anvils, bolas, flakes, hammers, knives and scrapers; bone awls, chisels, flakes, spatulas and wedges; and mollusc knives, all of indigenous origin; plus glass scrapers, side scrapers and flakes, of Western raw material and local manufacture. Two artefact types appear documented in both records: lithic arrow points and bone harpoons -single barbed with detachable base and multibarbed with fixed base-; these artefacts have been typologically defined through archaeological studies (Orquera and Piana 1999b) and are clearly visible in the photographs (Fiore 2014)¹⁰.

Table 4.2: Yamana/Yagan society: artefact types recorded in the photographic record and in the archaeological record

Artefacts	N cases in photographic record	N cases in archaeological record
anvil (lithic)	0	2
arrow	1	75 (lithic)
awl (bone)	0	34
bag (leather?)	2	0
bark remover (bone)	0	1
basket	9	0
bow (wooden)	1	0
ceremonial rope	7	0
ceremonial stick	72	0
chair	9	0
chisel (bone)	0	2
cigarette	1	0
drinking tube	1	0
firearm	1	0
flakes (lithic; bone; glass)	0	361 (lit) + 3 (bn) + 1 (gl)
hammer (lithic)	0	2
harpoon (bone)	12	26 (single barbed) + 1 (multibarbed)
knives + side scrapers (lithic; glass; mollusc)	0	416 (lit) + 1 (gl) + 2 (moll)
loom	1	0
paddle	46	0
painting rod (wooden)	2	0
scraper (lithic; glass)	0	99 (lit) + 3 (gl)
spheroid and sub-spheroid (lithic)	0	8
spatula (bone)	0	16
tool indeterminate type (bone; glass)	0	5 (bn) + 1 (gl)
tool indeterminate type (lithic)	0	22
toy canoe	1	0
wedge (bone)	0	20

¹⁰ The good conservation of the bone harpoons (and other bone artefacts) has been favoured by their deposition in shellmiddens, which due to their shell components have middle-alkalinity -pH 7- (Orquera and Piana 1999b).

Similarly to the other cases, in the Alakaluf case (table 4.3 and photos 29 and 30) a number of material culture artefacts only appear recorded in the photographic record: baskets, feathers (single feathers used in ceremonial situations), a net, canoe paddles, slings, toy bow and arrow, and toy canoes, all of indigenous origin; plus chairs, a hoop game, a ladder, a spin, and a swing, of Western origin. Conversely, certain artefact types appear exclusively in the archaeological record: lithic arrow points and polishers; bone awls and baguettes; and mollusc knives of indigenous origin. Interestingly, metal pieces -which may have been part of more complex metal tools or raw materials to produce them- are also found in the archaeological record: iron plates (of Western origin) and copper plates (of uncertain origin, either local or foreign).

Table 4.3: Alakaluf society: artefact types recorded in the photographic record and in the archaeological record

Artefacts	N cases in photographic record	N cases in archaeological record
arrow (wood; lithic)	1 (wood toy)	48 (lithic)
awl (bone)	0	12
baguette (bone)	0	19
basket	5	0
bow	1 (wood toy)	0
chair	4	0
copper plate	0	2
feather	6	0
flake (lithic)	0	presence (N not published)
harpoon	1	41 (single barbed)
hoop game	1	0
plate (iron)	0	8
knife (mollusc)	0	2
ladder	1	0
net	1	0
paddle	19	0
pigment	0	presence (N not published)
polisher (lithic)	0	3
sling	1	0
spin	1	0
swing	1	0
toy canoe	2	0

Photo 24



Photo 24: Gusinde 1918-1924
Two Shelk'nam men handling bow, arrow and quiver.

Photo 25



Photo 25: De Agostini 1910-1920
Shelk'nam family wearing Native clothes: cape, headband and carrying Native material culture artefacts; note the folded windbreaker –tent- carried by the woman on her back and the bows carried by the man and the child behind him.

Photo 26



Photo 26: J.L. Doze and E. Payen 1882-1883 Athlinata, a Yamana man, holding a multibarbed fixed-base harpoon. This harpoon type was also found in the archaeological record.

Photo 27



Photo 27: A. Sánchez de Caballero; *circa* 1910. Yamana-Yagan man and women in a canoe, manipulating paddles and harpoons. Note the single-barbed harpoons of detachable base, just like the ones found in the archaeological record. Detachable harpoons were firmly tied to the haft by tying their bases to the tip of the haft with a cord; they were detached from the haft when hitting the prey. Both positions -tied and detached- are visible in the image.

Photo 28



Photo 28: Gusinde 1918-1924

Yámana people with ceremonial sticks and ceremonial rope (note also the feather headbands, body painting and Western clothing).

Photo 29

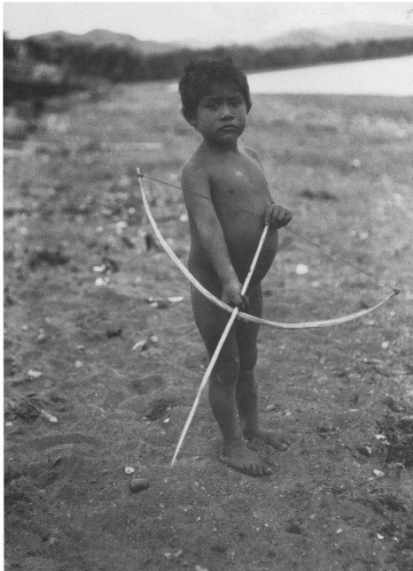


Photo 29: Gusinde 1918-1924

Alakaluf boy handling a wooden bow and arrow toy. Interestingly, there are no photographic records of bows and arrows being used by adults in this society in spite of the fact that lithic arrow points are the most frequent artefact in the contemporaneous archaeological record of this region.

Photo 30



Photo 30: Gusinde 1918-1924
Alakaluf woman posing while weaving a basket).

Conclusions: a comparative exploration of Fueguian native cultures through the combined use of the photographic and archaeological records

A number of conclusions can be drawn from the analysis of the data presented in this paper. Due to space limitations, we will only point briefly here to some of them:

a) photographers did control more stages of the photographic process, yet the photographed subjects were active agents who did have some influence on the resulting images: for this reason it is possible to distinguish different inter-society trends in the manipulation of material culture items, which are diagnostic of each Fueguian group;

b) the photographic record and the archaeological record have different formation processes, with their own informative biases and potentials. As shown in our case studies, these may entail the conservation and visibility of different

types of material culture. This is particularly noticeable when comparing both records of the three societies, since, for example, bags, baskets, slings, canoe paddles, toy canoes and bows appear only in the photographs but do not have any archaeological visibility in the surveyed sites due to their fragile organic materials, which have a high decay rate. Conversely, several lithic artefacts (e.g. end scrapers, side scrapers, flakes) and bone artefacts (e.g. awls, chisels, spatulas, wedges) have a high archaeological visibility but null photographic visibility. This points to the *complementary* nature of both records, which in the mentioned cases tends to increase the information about the variability of the material culture manipulated by each society. In a few cases, both records *corroborate* each other: for example both show evidence of arrows in the three cases under study, though in the photographs the entire artefact is visible (arrow point plus shaft) but the raw materials used to make the points have a low photographic visibility; while in the archaeological sites only the points are visible because the shafts decay much faster, but the raw materials used to make the former have a high archaeological visibility. The same goes for the harpoons: in the Yamana and Alakaluf cases even the same sub-types of harpoons -single barbed and multibarbed- are visible in both records (though with different frequencies), showing how pervasive was the use of this tool in the recent past of these Fuegian societies. In turn, in the Shelk'nam case the lack of photographic records of persons handling harpoons contrasts with their scanty presence in the quasi-contemporary archaeological record, and begs the question about how infrequent were these items in this society.

In sum, the tools and objects discussed in this paper contribute to the characterisation of specific material culture trends generated by the accumulated actions of members of each society, and shed light on their intra-society variability and inter-society similarities and differences. This shows that the Fuegians' agencies not only dwell on the items excavated in the archaeological sites from the contact period, but also in the numerous photographs taken to them from the late 19th. to mid 20th. century. Thus, the combination of data provided by the archaeological and photographic records of the Fuegian indigenous societies helps to open new insights into their material culture practices, broadening the available knowledge about the cultural variability of each one of these groups. Further analyses will shed new light on these old images.

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Equal opportunity and transition from school to work in Iceland

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Abstract

This article focuses on job opportunities among youths who have completed tertiary education and educational background of their parents. Inequality in education and occupational opportunity have been studied for a long time and results show that young people transferring from school to work face different occupational opportunities based on family background. Equal opportunity policies have been in the forefront of Western societies for decades but even though an increased number of the population complete at least upper secondary education there are still links between social origin and destination. Here a comparison is provided between labour market situation and educational level based on an analysis of the *Labour Force Survey* and an ad hoc module on entry into the labour market among 16–34-year-olds in Iceland. Results show that youths whose parents have low education are more likely to drop out. Those youths who complete tertiary education are however more likely than others to work in higher skilled jobs independent of whether their parents completed tertiary education or not when controlled for gender, age, residence and nationality. The findings suggest that young people from less privileged family backgrounds can overcome their social obstacles in the labour market by completing tertiary education.

Key words: Education, employment, youth, equality, Iceland

Introduction

The transition from school to work is the time when youths complete their formal education to their eventual integration into the labour market. Research has shown that when this process goes smoothly, it increases well-being and has lasting positive consequence in the life-course (Furlong & Cartmel, 2007; Kerckhoff, 2000a, 2000b; Machin, 2009; Müller & Gangl, 2003). Youths are better educated than ever before in the history but new generations will face new obstacles (Furlong & Cartmel, 2007; Lauder et al, 2006; Roberts, 2009). Young people taking their first step into adulthood are at risk of unemployment, leaving the school system too early, or with qualifications that have no relevance with the labour market needs. Research has shown that how well this process goes can be traced to factors such as gender and social class (Collins, 1979; Furlong &

Cartmel, 2007; Goldthorpe, 2007; Granovetter, 1995; Kerckhoff, 2000a; Müller & Gangl, 2003; Ólafsson & Arnardóttir, 2008; Olofson & Panican, 2008; Roberts, 2001, 2009).

The opportunity structure theory formulated by Ken Roberts (2009) emphasizes the importance of understanding young peoples' entry into the labour market by focusing on what kind of job they can get and how they are integrated into the labour market. The solution is not to find what kind of attitudes they have or the choices they make. Increased unemployment among young people is not seen as an outcome of their own choice. Roberts (2009) argues that young people are willing to learn, as is shown by the educational expansion of recent decades. Those who have problems with their transitions from school to work most often do so because their opportunities are limited or fewer than before, because of a changing labour market. According to the opportunity structure theory a successful transition from school to work is formed primarily by inter-relationship between family background, education, labour market processes and employers' recruitment practices. Even though the characteristics of the opportunity structure have changed in last decades they may be maintained by the same processes.

Previous research has shown how the educational system influences school outcomes e.g. by selecting students in different educational pathways. The labour market influences how well students find jobs that fit their education by occupational opportunities. As the society is stratified into a hierarchy, some students are at the top while others are at the bottom, which influences both the educational and occupational opportunities. Where as those at the bottom have less of a change of a suitable education, have fewer resources and are less likely to get good well paid jobs compared to those at the top (Collins, 1979; Furlong & Cartmel, 2007; Gallie, 2004; Kerckhoff, 2000a, 2000b; Machin, 2009; Müller & Gangl, 2003; OECD, 2009; Roberts, 2009; Rosenbaum & Jones 2000). Young people are also at special risk for unemployment or being employed in temporary and part-time jobs and especially in times of crises (Arnardóttir, 2013, 2014; Furlong & Cartmel, 2007; Gallie, 2004; Kalleberg, 2000; Roberts, 2009).

In this article we ask if youths who complete tertiary education are more likely than those who do not complete tertiary education to get higher skilled jobs (the good jobs) whatever their family background is. The hypothesis is that there is inequality in transition from school to work, where youths whose parent(s) have high educational level are more likely to work in higher skilled jobs compared to others.

Methodology

The research method is based on quantitative research method analyses. The data is based on the *Labour Force Survey* (LFS) in Iceland and is a part of the labour force survey of Eurostat. Data were obtained from standardized questionnaires by telephone interviews. This research method represents the population aged 16 to 74 in Iceland where the sample of about 4000 is drawn from the national registry and the response rate is about 80–85%. According to a report from the European Commission (2008) the Icelandic LFS fulfil the international standards. The data is comparable between 2006 and 2009. Data for 2006–2008 refer to the whole year but in 2009 only the second quarter.

The key concepts of the LFS are based on the definitions from the International Labour Organisation and Eurostat. Occupational groups classified according to ISCO–88, this is the most widely used classification system for grouping occupations based on tasks and duties (OECD, 2009). Employed are those who worked for pay or profit for one hour or more in the preference week and those who was not working but had a job or business from which he/she was absent during the preference week. Higher skilled jobs refer to the first three groups of ISCO–88 (manager or administrator, professionals and associate professionals). Secure job are those employed in full-time job and with permanent job contracts. First job refers to the first job found after completing the last formal education and with duration of 3 months or longer. Educational level refers to the highest level of education successfully completed classified according to ISCED97. Four categories are used here: 1) Below upper secondary level, that is below ISCED 3; 2) Vocational education and training (VET) ISCED 3c, 4c; 3) General education refers to those who have completed ISCED 3a, 3b, 4a, 4b; 4) Tertiary education refers to those who have completed ISCED 5 or 6. Parents' educational level is classified into low (ISCED 1–3c short), medium (ISECD 3a, b, c 2 years or longer and ISCED 4) and high (ISCED 5, 6). It is highest educational level at least one parent has completed. This question was only used in 2009.

The Chi-square test is used in cross-tabulations to tests for significant differences between groups. Significant differences is indicated by stars, where one star correspond to $p < 0.05$, two stars $p < 0.01$ and three stars $p < 0.001$. Logistic regression is used in statistical models to predict if youths are working in higher skilled jobs or in secure jobs (1) or not (0). Independent variables are coded with indicator contrasts. Independent variables are gender, age, residence, nationality (country of citizenship is Icelandic or not), education, parental education. In order to predict that the model predict this outcome both before and after the economic crisis in Iceland in October 2008 there is a variable

controlling for if respondent started in the job before or after the economic crisis in 2008. Logistic regression is used in models to predict if youths have completed tertiary education (1) or not (0); and to predict if they have not completed education at upper secondary education (1) or if they have (0). Independent variables are gender, age, residence, nationality, parental education, if both parents are born in Iceland or not, and if they are in education or not.

Transition into higher skilled jobs

To give a broad overview of the occupational structure, the occupations were divided into two levels. Into higher skilled jobs (managers, professionals and associate professionals) and others, this classification is based on OECD (2009) analysis. Research has shown that factors, such as gender, ethnicity, residence and social class, can influence the outcomes of education among youths. It is also believed that as individuals get older they are more likely to hold higher status jobs, so these variables are also added to the models. The models in table 1 show outcomes of tertiary education among those aged 16–34 or the odds ratio of being currently employed in higher skilled jobs or the first job being higher skilled when controlled for gender, age, residence, nationality, the educational level of parent(s) and if they started work after the economic crisis in October 2008. The analysis only applies to those who have jobs so it excludes those who are unemployed or out of the labour force.

The results show, that those who have completed tertiary education are more likely to work in higher skilled jobs, compared to others, employed in the previous week when controlled for gender, age, residence, nationality, parental education and if they started to work after the economic crisis. It is interesting, that the educational level of parents does not increase the likelihood of being employed in higher skilled jobs when controlled for tertiary education. The findings also show, that youth, aged 25–34, are more likely to work in higher skilled jobs compared to 16–24-year-olds, when controlled for other variables in the equation, as well as those with residence in the capital region compared to those with residence outside the capital region.

Table 1. Influence of tertiary education and parental educational level to get a higher skilled job among 16–34-year-olds, 2009. Logistic regression

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4		
	B	SE	OR	B	SE	OR	B	SE	OR	B	SE	OR
Current job higher skill												
Female=1	0.50**	0.17	1.65	0.48**	0.17	1.61	0.16	0.19	1.17	0.14	0.19	1.15
Age 25–34=1	1.85***	0.18	6.37	1.97***	0.18	7.16	1.06***	0.22	2.87	1.02***	0.22	2.77

	Model 1				Model 2				Model 3				Model 4			
	B	SE	OR		B	SE	OR		B	SE	OR		B	SE	OR	
Outside capital=1	-0.82***	0.18	0.443		-0.72***	0.19	0.49		-0.41	0.22	0.66		-0.41	0.22	0.66	
Icelandic=1	1.54**	0.48	4.65		1.50**	0.48	4.48		1.81**	0.57	6.12		1.81**	0.58	6.16	
Parents education low					ref				ref				ref			
Medium=1					-0.01	0.22	0.99		0.06	0.25	1.06		0.06	0.25	1.06	
High=1					0.62**	0.23	1.86		0.29	0.27	1.34		0.29	0.27	1.34	
Education below u.sec.									ref				ref			
VET=1									-0.05	0.32	0.95		-0.07	0.32	0.94	
General=1									0.97***	0.23	2.63		0.97***	0.23	2.64	
Tertiary=1									2.89***	0.29	17.99		2.89***	0.29	18.05	
Started in crisis=1													-0.19	0.24	0.82	
Contrast	-3.16***	0.52	0.04		-3.45***	0.55	0.03		-3.93***	0.66	0.02		-3.87***	0.66	0.02	
First job higher skill																
Female=1	0.55**	0.18	1.73		0.49**	0.19	1.63		0.20	0.22	1.32		0.25	0.22	1.28	
Age 25-34=1	1.47***	0.24	4.36		1.56***	0.24	4.76		0.21	0.29	1.23		0.16	0.30	1.17	
Outside capital=1	-0.62**	0.22	0.54		-0.51*	0.22	0.60		-0.14	0.26	0.87		-0.15	0.26	0.86	
Icelandic=1	0.72	0.47	2.06		0.74	0.47	2.09		0.72	0.54	2.04		0.74	0.54	2.11	
Parents education low					ref				ref				ref			
Medium=1					-0.21	0.25	0.81		-0.25	0.29	0.78		-0.23	0.29	0.80	
High=1					0.52*	0.25	1.68		0.04	0.30	1.04		0.05	0.30	1.05	
Education below u.sec.									ref				ref			
VET=1									0.64	0.40	1.89		0.62	0.40	1.85	
General=1									0.87*	0.34	2.38		0.87*	0.34	2.38	
Tertiary=1									3.15***	0.33	23.38		3.16***	0.33	23.64	
Started in crisis=1													-0.66	0.38	0.52	
Contrast	-3.09***	0.53	0.05		-3.28***	0.56	0.04		-3.50***	0.66	0.03		-3.38***	0.66	0.03	

B is the logistic regression coefficient; SE is standard error; OR is Odds ratio or e^B ; Dependent variables: 1) in higher skilled jobs (1) that are occupations respondents were holding in previous week, as manager or administration occupations, professional and associate professional occupations, compared to those who were not working in higher skilled jobs=0; 2) the first job is/was higher skilled job; Icelandic refers to country of citizenship; Started in crisis or in current job in October 2008 or sooner; * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$

Current job higher skilled: Model 1: χ^2 model (4,796)=159.0 $p < 0.001$; Nagelkerke 0.247; Model 2: χ^2 model (6,796)=171.8 $p < 0.001$; Nagelkerke 0.26; Model 3: χ^2 model (9,796)=315.9 $p < 0.001$; Nagelkerke 0.446; Model 4: χ^2 model (10,796)=316.5 $p < 0.001$; Nagelkerke 0.447;

First job higher skilled: Model 1: χ^2 model (4,728)=67.6 $p < 0.001$; Nagelkerke 0.134; Model 2: χ^2 model (6,728)=79.6 $p < 0.001$; Nagelkerke 0.156; Model 3: χ^2 model (9,728)=227.9 $p < 0.001$; Nagelkerke 0.405; Model 4: χ^2 model (10,728)=231.1 $p < 0.001$; Nagelkerke 0.41.

Those with Icelandic citizenship are more likely to work in higher skilled jobs, compared to those not with Icelandic citizenship, when controlled for other variables in the equation. This relation is unchanged when controlled for the time youths started work in their current job. The results for the first job are similar, as the youths who complete tertiary education, are more likely to be employed in higher skilled jobs after leaving the educational system, when controlled for other variables in the equation (see table 1).

Females are more likely than males, to be employed in higher skilled jobs and it is statistically significant in model one and two, but not in model three and four. So, among those with tertiary education a similarly high percentage of females and males are working in higher skilled jobs. A higher proportion of females than males work in higher skilled jobs, when we have not controlled for education is probably explained by jobs in hospitals, preschools and in social services.

It is surprising that parental education is associated with children's occupational status, until we control for the educational status of youths. This can mean that youth with less privileged family background, can overcome the obstacle by completing tertiary education. As shown in table 1 youths which have parents with higher education, are more likely to be employed in higher skilled jobs in model two but not in model 3. Therefore it is worthwhile to look further into this.

Transition into secure jobs

Difficulties in the labour market in many industrialized countries from the 1970s onwards, were solved partly by increasing temporary and part-time jobs. It led to more job opportunities for women and youths but with less emphasis on strict regulation in the labour market. Research has shown that young people are especially at risk of being trapped in temporary and part-time jobs and can have difficulty finding permanent full-time jobs and in times of

crises, the number of peripheral workers increases and young people are more vulnerable than older workers (Couppié & Mansuy, 2003; Furlong & Cartmel, 2007; Kalleberg, 2000). Here, the analysis will focus on labour market segmentation in transition from school to work. This should give a broad overview on the entry process by following each cohort from 16 to 64. First, the focus is on those who hold permanent, full-time jobs, i.e. those who are employed in a full-time job and with a permanent job contract with no time limitation. This is also an indicator of a steady job position in the primary segment and as a core worker of the workplace. Here, we look at those who hold such positions, as a percentage of the population, not only among those who are employed.

Figure 1: Percentage of population age 16–64 in full-time jobs and with permanent working contracts, by age and gender, 2006–2008 average

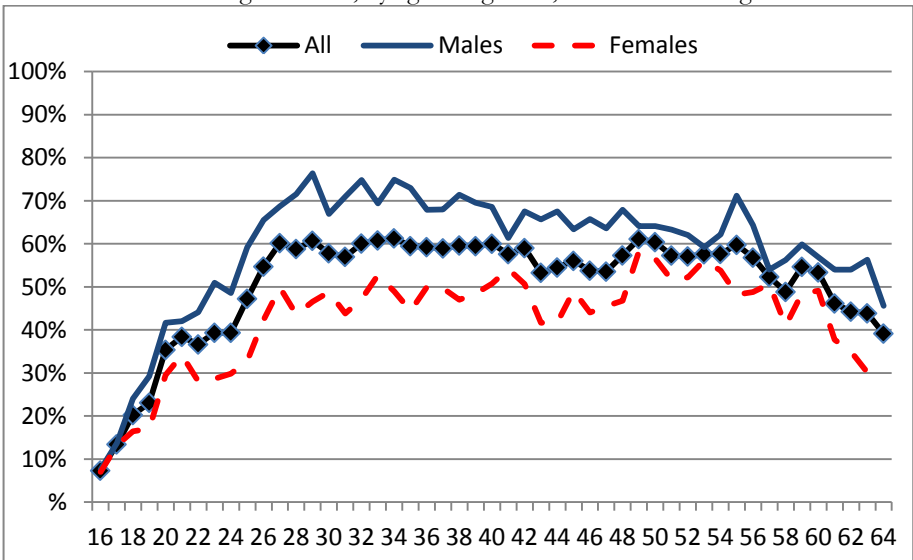


Figure 1 shows the percentage of population in full-time jobs and with permanent working contracts with no limitation, by one-year age groups. The results show a steep increase in full-time jobs from the age of 16 until 26. From age 18, a higher percentage of males than females hold permanent, full-time jobs and about 60% of working age population holds such jobs from age 26 to 54 and after that, there is a steady decrease.

Table 2 shows the result of a logistic regression analysis in order to predict whether youths are employed in permanent and full-time jobs or not, both for the current job and the first job. Females are less likely than males to hold full-

time permanent jobs in the previous week, and in the first jobs, when controlled for age, residence, nationality, parent's education, respondent's education and if they started in their job in the crisis or not. Young people aged 25–34 are more likely to be employed in secure jobs than 16–24-year-olds, both in the previous week and in the first job. Those who have completed tertiary education are more likely than those who have not completed such education to hold secure jobs in previous week, but no difference is found between these groups for the first job.

Table 2: Employment in permanent and full-time job among 16–34-year-olds, 2009.
Logistic regression

	Current job			First job		
	B	SE	OR	B	SE	OR
Female=1	-0.61***	0.14	0.55	-0.38*	0.17	0.68
Age 25–34=1	1.02***	0.16	2.77	1.18***	0.19	3.24
Outside capital=1	-0.01	0.15	0.99	-0.05	0.18	0.95
Icelandic=1	-0.26	0.32	0.77	-0.84	0.45	0.43
Parents education low	ref			ref		
Medium=1	-0.43	0.18	0.96	-0.12	0.22	0.89
High=1	-0.16	0.19	0.86	-0.48*	0.23	0.62
Education below upper sec.level	ref			ref		
VET=1	0.41	0.22	1.52	0.57*	0.26	1.77
General=1	0.25	0.18	1.28	0.01	0.22	1.01
Tertiary=1	0.78***	0.20	2.18	0.39	0.24	1.47
Started in crisis=1	0.10	0.19	1.11	-0.10	0.25	0.91
Constant	-0.82*	0.37	0.44	0.63	0.51	1.87

B is the logistic regression coefficient; SE is standard error; OR is Odds ratio or e^B ; Dependent variables: 1) In permanent full-time jobs in previous week (1) compared to others (0), 2) In permanent full-time jobs in first jobs (1) compared to others (0); Icelandic refers to country of citizenship; Started in crisis or in current job in October 2008 or sooner; Current job: χ^2 model (10,1127)=135.9 $p<0.001$; Nagelkerke R Square 0.156; First jobs: χ^2 model (10,723)=100.1 $p<0.001$; Nagelkerke R Square 0.173; * $p<0.05$; ** $p<0.01$; *** $p<0.001$

It is interesting, that the higher the education of parents, the less likely youths are to hold secure first jobs when controlled for other variables in the equation. As has been found in other studies, the youths who complete VET, are more likely to hold secure first jobs, compared to others when controlled for other

variables in the equation. VET seems to ease the transition into a secure first job, but this relation is not found for current job.

Studies have shown that young workers can be trapped in bad jobs, which can hinder them in their career. Table 3 shows percentages of 16–34-year-olds holding permanent and full-time jobs, temporary or part-time jobs or are inactive (out of the labour force or unemployed) by what kind of contract they got in their first job.

The results show that among those who got full-time jobs, with permanent working contracts, 57% also hold such a position when looking at their current jobs. Among those who hold permanent, part-time first jobs, only 25% hold permanent full-time jobs and among those holding temporary and full-time jobs at the beginning of their career about 39% hold permanent full-time jobs and among those who hold temporary and part-time first jobs, about 27% hold permanent full-time jobs. Only 19% of those who hold permanent full-time jobs at the beginning of their career currently hold temporary, part-time jobs or are self-employed in small firms. Higher percentages of those who hold part-time positions are currently also in that kind of situation.

Table 3: Percentage of 16–34-year-olds holding permanent and full-time jobs, temporary or part-time jobs or inactivity by first job contract.
Only people in employment, 2009

	Current job position:			
	Unempl. out of LF %	Temporary/part-time/ self-empl. in small firm %	Permanent and full-time %	N
First job:				
Self-employed	5,3c	42,1	52,6	19
Employee, permanent full-time	24,4	18,5	57,1	422
Employee, permanent part-time	20,4	54,9	24,8	113
Employee, temporary full-time	28,7	32,4	39,0	136
Employee, temporary part-time	28,9	44,4	26,7	45

c: confidence level ≤ 0 ; *** $p < 0.001$

The results indicate the possibility of young people being trapped in insecure positions in the labour market and there is also a sign of a segregation of the labour force into those who have stable incomes and those who do not. New entrées should, therefore, select their first jobs carefully, with the knowledge that their choice can influence their career, later on, although it is important to have in mind that having a job is better than being inactive (Gallie, 2004).

Education

Studies have shown that children from higher class families do better in schools and they are more likely to do better in the labour market, because of their resources and the networks they can use in finding jobs in the labour market. Youths, where parents have a low educational status, will usually do worse in the labour market as well in the educational system (Furlong & Cartmel, 2007, 2009; Gallie, 2004; Goldthorpe, 1996, 2007; Óskarsdóttir, 1995; Reay, Crozier & Clayton, 2009; Roberts, 2001, 2009).

However, here the results confirmed Hout's (1988) findings that by completing tertiary education, young people can overcome their less privileged background and are as likely to get higher skilled jobs as those of higher classes. Breen and Jonsson (2007) find that more equal educational outcomes in Sweden, the US and Germany can, partly, be explained by more equal access to tertiary education and those entering the labour market are selected for jobs based on credentials or merits rather than family background. This raises the question whether youths in Iceland have equal access to tertiary education. Based on former studies, we could expect that youths, where both parents have low educational status, are more likely to have low educational attainment as well. So, even though educational expansion has helped the educational achievers from lower family background to get ahead, there are other youths still left behind in the school system.

In Iceland, as is the case with other Western countries, increased percentage of the population have completed at least upper secondary education even though the drop-out rate in Iceland is rather high on international standards (OECD, 2009, 2011). The percentage of 25–64-year-olds, who have completed upper secondary education, is much lower in Iceland (66%), compared to Denmark (76%), Finland (82%), Norway (81%) and Sweden (86%), and that is also the case with those aged 25–34, where only 70% have completed at least upper secondary education in Iceland compared to 84–91% in other Nordic countries, with the highest percentage in Sweden (OECD, 2011:39).

Table 4 presents a logistic regression analysis to test whether youths with parents who have low educational levels are more likely to have only completed education below upper secondary level, when factors as gender, residence, ethnicity and educational attainment are held constant. The results show, that youths with parents of low educational status are more likely to have a low educational status, when controlled for gender, residence, ethnicity and educational attainment. Those who come from lower classes are more likely to drop out.

However, rather high percentages of population have completed tertiary education in Iceland or 33% of 25–64-year-olds, similar to Sweden (33%), but little less than in Denmark (34%), Finland (37%) and Norway (37%) (OECD, 2011:40).

Table 4: Association between low educational level of parents and low educational level completed by youths aged 16–34-year-olds, 2009. Logistic regression

	B	SE	OR
Female=1	-0.57***	0.14	0.57
Age 25–34=1	-1.69***	0.15	0.18
Outside capital=1	0.74***	0.15	2.10
Parents education high	ref		
Low=1	0.44*	0.19	1.55
Medium=1	0.12	0.16	1.13
Respondents Icelandic=1	-0.80	0.42	0.92
Parents born in Iceland=1	-0.37	0.26	0.69
In education=1	0.19	0.15	1.21
Constant	0.94*	0.38	2.55

B is the logistic regression coefficient; SE is standard error; OR is Odds ratio or e^B ; Dependent variables: Below upper secondary level: (1) Have only completed compulsory level (iscsed 0-2), Others (0); Independent variables are coded with indicator contrasts; $\chi^2_{\text{model}}(8,1100)=229.4$ $p<0.001$; Nagelkerke R Square 0.252; * $p<0.05$; ** $p<0.01$; *** $p<0.001$

Table 5 shows association between a high educational level of at least one parent and the educational level of people aged 16–34 in Iceland in 2009. The results show interesting findings. Young people from families, where at least one parent has completed tertiary education, are more likely to complete tertiary education, compared to those where at least one parent has not completed tertiary education, when other variables are held constant.

So, there is possibly some selection in the educational system influencing whether youths complete higher education. Parental education can predict whether youths complete tertiary education. This result indicates that social origin affects academic achievement and possibly access to education.

Table 5: Association between *high educational level of parents* and *high educational level completed by youths aged 16–34-year-olds*, 2009. Logistic regression

	B	SE	OR
Female=1	0.52**	0.18	1.69
Age 25–34=1	3.67***	0.38	39.32
Outside capital=1	-0.78***	0.21	0.46
Parents education low	ref		
Medium	-0.39	0.23	0.68
High	0.57*	0.24	1.77
Respondents Icelandic=1	0.46	0.53	1.58
Parents born in Iceland=1	0.22	0.33	1.24
In education=1	-0.42*	0.20	0.66
Constant	-4.88***	0.60	0.01

B is the logistic regression coefficient; SE is standard error; OR is Odds ratio or e^B ; Dependent variables: Tertiary level: (1) Have completed tertiary education (iscsd 5-6), Others (0); χ^2 model (8,1100)=305.8 $p<0.001$; Nagelkerke R Square 0.386; * $p<0.05$; ** $p<0.01$; *** $p<0.001$

Table 6 shows the educational level of 16–24-year-olds and 25–34-year-olds by the highest educational level that at least one of their parents has completed.

Table 6: Educational level by age and parent's highest educational level among 16–34-year-olds, 2009

	Respondents education:					
	Below upper sec. level %	VET %	General %	Tertiary level %	Total %	N
Parents education:						
16–24**						
Low	72.2	8.9	15.6	3.3c	100.0	90
Medium	69.0	7.9	22.2	1.0c	100.0	203
High	62.8	2.8	32.8	1.6c	100.0	247
25–34***						
Low	36.4	14.7	15.4	33.6	100.0	143
Medium	26.2	23.8	23.5	26.5	100.0	260
High	21.0	9.1	18.3	51.6	100.0	186

c: confidence level ≤ 0 ; ** $p<0.01$; *** $p<0.001$

The results show that among 16–24-year-olds, a higher percentage of youths with the least educated parents, have low educational levels, some of them still in school. A lower percentage of youths with highly educated parents have a low educational status and many of them have completed general education, or 33% compared to 16% of youths with parents with a low educational status. So, among the younger age group, parental education can indicate success in the school system. There are few who have completed tertiary education at age of 24 or lower, so caution should be made in arriving at conclusions about those who have completed tertiary education at that age.

When we look at the age group 25–34, a clearer picture appears. Youngsters, where at least one parent has completed tertiary education, do best with respect to completing tertiary education, or 52%, compared to 27% where at least one parent has completed a medium level of education and 34% with a low educational level. Where parent/s have a high educational status, about 21% have not completed upper secondary education or more, compared to 36% of those, whose parents have a low educational status. These results confirm other research, which has shown the association between the educational level of parents and that of their children. It also shows that VET is less likely among youths, where at least one parent has completed the highest educational level. Interestingly, a higher percentage of youths, where parents have a low level of education, have completed tertiary education, compared to youths where at least one parent has completed a medium level of education.

This result confirms other studies showing that young people from the lowest class, increasingly attend universities (Breen & Jonsson, 2007; Reasy et al., 2009), and also indicates, that choices of the least educated aim for the top of the society and are not solely preparing for a hard working situation among the trade workers. For those who have parents with a medium level of education, the VET seems to be an attractive option, possibly because of a more realistic understanding of the situation among workers in the middle level of the labour market.

Furlong (1998) finds that even though a higher percentage of youths attain education, a widening gap has developed between the social classes in terms of the proportions completing higher–tertiary education. Youths who have well-educated parents, are also more likely to do well in schools and these parents provide their children with better educational and health resources and information (Pallas, 2000). This also seems to indicate that children, whose parents have completed the medium level, are more willing to attend the vocational path in their educational career and can be seen as a sign of reproduction within this class. According to Roberts et al. (2009), higher class families can use multiple tactics to give their children more opportunities for

varied education and develop new tactics if old ways do not work as well as using their economic and cultural resources. The association between educational attainment and inequality has been confirmed by many previous studies. Family background, as reflected in parental education, seems to matter and can influence economic and social disadvantage or advantage in their children's life (Arnardóttir, 2008, 2013; D'Addio, 2007; Fisher & Hout, 2006; Furlong & Cartmel, 2007; Machin, 2009; Óskarsdóttir, 1995, 2000; Roberts, 2001, 2009).

Discussion and conclusions

Results show inequality in education, where youths with parents that have not completed upper secondary education are more likely to not to have completed upper secondary education compared to others. Those that have parent(s) that has completed tertiary education are more likely to complete tertiary education. Among those that have not completed education at upper secondary education are more often males than females. It is also interesting that among youths where parents have medium educational level higher percentage have completed VET. Research has shown that those that complete VET often belong to the lower social classes (Furlong & Cartmel, 2007; Kerckhoff, 2000a; Shavit & Müller, 2000). Here we see rather sign of reproduction of the vocational class heading at similar position while those with less education increasingly go for university education. Social stratification in Iceland has not been analysed thoroughly, but research has shown that the education of parents can influence the academic achievement and educational outcome of their children as is the case here (Broddason & Webb, 1975; Óskardóttir, 1995).

Those that complete tertiary education are more likely to be employed in higher skilled jobs when controlled for gender, age, residence, nationality and parental education. Young people can therefore get ahead without relying mainly on their family background in Iceland. This is very important findings and support to ease and continue to put emphasis on education for all children in Iceland.

Employment rate is high on international standards in Iceland and has been so for decades (Andersen, Hougaard & Ólafsson, 2011; Olofsson & Panican, 2008; Ólafsson, 1992; Ólafsson & Stefánsson, 2005; Ólafsson & Arnardóttir, 2008; Óskarsdóttir, 1995). The results here show that only 60% of the population can expect to be in full-time permanent job or what we believe is a steady income. Those that complete tertiary education are more likely than others to hold such position in the labour market. Those that complete vocational education below tertiary education are more likely to get full-time permanent position in their first entry job, but they are not more likely than other to have such position in current

job. Among those that are employed in permanent full-time first entry job about 57% of 16–34-year-olds are currently in such job.

It is surprising that a parent's education does not have an impact if youths are employed in higher skilled jobs when controlled for tertiary education among 16–34-year-olds. This indicates that it is the educational level which has more impact in the labour market than social origin. This also means that, by increasing equal opportunities, by facilitating access to higher education it will benefit youths from less privileged families. This in accordance with results from Hout (1988) where he showed that college education will pay-off in better occupation. It is generally found that inequality exists by gender, ethnicity and social class, as measured by parental occupation or parental education in connection with their children's success or failure in the labour market (Breen & Jonsson, 2005). According to Breen and Jonsson (2007:1805) educational expansion has increased job opportunities for the lower class, because, by expanding the educational system, more youths have had a chance to get into labour market segments where employees are selected based on merit rather than social origin.

Gender differences were not found when controlled for tertiary education and that is probably due to high employment rate among females in the service sector (Ólafsson & Stefánsson, 2005). But young women are more likely than young men to enter high-skilled white collar occupations (Furlong & Cartmel, 2007:46). Study on the situation among working-class youths in elite university in the UK shows that they are more likely to be resilience and have been taught to rely on themselves (Reay, et al., 2009). The university education had positive effect on their life but their school success depended on how capable they were to adapt the middle class way of studying. Reay et al. (2009) believe that it could benefit elite universities to focus more on students at risk of being excluded from the schools. Results here could therefore also indicate that among those that are able to complete tertiary education it will give them opportunity to work in higher skilled jobs. Hence there are young people that leave the school without any qualification and that could face difficulties as they get older.

Research has also shown that immigrant youths do similar well as natives in school that can for example be traced to hard work and willingness to do well in school (Lauglo, 2000). The conclusion here is that young people with Icelandic citizenship are more likely to work in higher skilled jobs compared to those not with Icelandic citizenship. In 1996 only 2% of the population were immigrants but 8% in 2008, a similar percentage as in other Nordic countries, but the second generation of immigrants are both fewer and younger than in other European countries, were 2/3 are below the age of ten (Gardarsdottir, Hauksson & Tryggvadottir, 2009). Many immigrants came to Iceland in 2006 because of high demand for labour, in the data used here, 4% of 16–34-year-olds are not classified

as Icelandic so caution should be taken in generalise conclusion, even though it shows that further research is needed.

Results shows that 60% of the population can expect to have permanent full-time jobs so job insecurity is a factor that needs to be looked into and prepare youths to work in the secondary labour market. Those youths who leave the school system very early should expect to wait for a while for permanent full-time jobs. It is also possible that it is easier for young people age 20–28 year olds to have permanent full-time jobs where employers are searching for suitable future core worker, but this conclusion needs to be tested further. However, it is in accordance with the opportunity structure theory (Roberts, 2009) that youth do not lack interests in getting a head but rather job opportunities and they are also the first to go when hardship is in the labour market. Even though they complete VET there need to be available jobs.

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The artisanal coastal fisheries of the Partido de la Costa (Buenos Aires Province, Argentina)

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Abstract

The present study attempts to link training and knowledge of the productive sector (artisanal fishermen) with the biological characteristics of the fish resource exploited by those actors: the fish, in order to achieve a better and economic quality of life of the fishing community.

The main idea work is to develop synergies between two players that use a common resource (fish) for two different purposes: to determine the biological characteristics and life histories, and obtain the maximum economic advantage that will be sustainable over time to establish a program to strengthen the capacities of Fishworkers and their families.

The objective is to contribute to socio-economic progress of the fishermen of the Partido de la Costa, through the strengthening and development of the sector, consistent with the conservation and sustainable management of fisheries resources. We propose the use of training tools on vital importance issues to fisheries, and community organizing.

Key words: Artisanal fishing, Buenos Aires Province, Argentina, Biological sampling, coastal fish.

Introduction

In recent years, artisanal fisheries are under increasing interest from national authorities in order to ensure its sustainability and the social activities that is based on this activity. The so called "minor" Artisanal fishing is that one being operating by small boats (less than 10 m in length) working with passive fishing gears (gill nets, gillnets, longlines, traps and hand lines mainly).

The technical, social and economic characteristics of artisanal fisheries are very heterogeneous within the diverse regional and environmental contexts in which this activity is practiced. From both technical and socio-economic points of view, artisanal fishing is characterized by simple and inexpensive technologies,

low capital value and high intensity of human work. Unlike industrial fisheries, artisanal fisheries mainly use human and material resources from places of origin, require less investment and management costs, and often shows a better cost-benefit ratio. It is well known that the cost of creating a job in industrial fisheries is much greater than that one came from the artisanal sector.

The main problems of Artisanal Fisheries are: 1) Lack of integration between information generated in research institutes and centers, and information required by the artisanal fishermen. 2) Emerging levels of fishermen organization. 3) Limited access to funding sources and technical assistance from national programs, and 4) Inadequate attention of provincial authorities to their problems.

The area covered by the present paper is the Partido de la Costa (Buenos Aires Province), where the critical situation that segments of the population that currently constitute artisanal fishing communities suffer after the crises of regional economies is easily recognizable. This work intends to organize existing knowledge in the field of ichthyology and fish biology with the experience and knowledge that fishermen have, through training biological sampling workshops that can increase the level of understanding of the characteristics (abundance, population structure and dynamics) of the resources on which the fishermen depend for their sustenance.

The research work agrees with the priority areas related to fishing in those areas of high socio-environmental impacts such as coastal regions. Indeed, in these areas the fishing activity is artisanal. Moreover, the comprehensive understanding of the importance of key ecological processes and patterns in environments subjected to anthropogenic pressure, and the recognition of potential environmental variations from the results interpretation in comparison with historical data not only has theory value but rather is directly related to practical problems in its sustainable use, conservation and management.

The present paper will attempt to contribute the value of the Artisanal Fisheries as a productive activity through sustainable management of coastal resources, improving the community organization and artisanal fishermen quality of life. Moreover, understanding the fish species composition, their interrelationships and the adequately environmental conditions is a useful tool for adopting responsible criteria for sustainable management of fisheries resources. Knowledge regarding fish distribution in the Argentine Sea is largely based on results taken during cruises that target the assessment of fishery resources. However, it is noticeable in some groups the large spatio-temporal discontinuity of their records, which are usually limited to stocks with little or no ecological information, even the most rudimentary, such as data on abundance and seasonality.

These sources have provided adequate information to describe the general fish species distribution. However, the low horizontal and vertical resolution in particular, constitute a hard limitation in the knowledge of the distribution of organisms abundances. These restrictions become particularly severe in regions where environmental gradients are very steep and highly variable in some cases, as in coastal regions and adjacent marine waters.

This situation has led to recognize the lack of interdisciplinary studies of the impact and influence of physical factors, mainly temperature and salinity, on the distribution and diversity of fishes, and the possible variations of spatial and temporal abundance records. For this reason, the main idea that has stimulated this presentation is the need to strengthen such research, since in Buenos Aires Province there are not only extensive areas that deserve expansion and deepening of knowledge, but also lacks human resources for this purpose.

The area under study is part of the Ichthyogeographic Argentine Province characterized by the occurrence of warm temperate waters. Many of the fish species occurring in this region have their center of dispersion in Brazilian subtropical waters, and rarely range southwards 43° S, being good zoogeographical indicators. The region is characterized by a diverse hydrographic structure, so it is reasonable to expect that the fish inhabiting this region can adapt to the environmental conditions and constitute more or less stable communities.

This results in a complex dynamic of fish species distribution that is reflected by: the encounter of fishes of tropical-subtropical origin from southern Brazil and Uruguayan waters, the presence of euryhaline species related to the Río de la Plata estuary, the interaction of biotic and abiotic factors that would influence the formation of fish assemblies roughly recurring over time and, the occasional presence of fishes far away from the usual area of occurrence that somehow transcend the zoogeographic barriers.

The working plan herein proposed is comprised within a research field developed by the Morphological and molecular Biotaxonomy fish Research Group several years ago, regarding to the fish that inhabit Southwest Atlantic between 34° and 55° S. The investigations are focused on the taxonomy and biology of marine fish species, with special emphasis on those that have commercial interest so that many of group's projects have a definite biological-fishery goal.

In recent years, some research has been conducted and several papers have been published on the proposed study area that can be divided into three groups:

- a) regional fish fauna, in a broad sense;

b) several fish groups in order to clarify taxonomic issues and / or to improve knowledge of these groups from biological and distribution point of view, and

c) description of unusual fish presence related to the environmental conditions that would explain the arrival of these species to those areas farther away from the usual area of occurrence.

They fall within the first group a list of species that inhabit the continental shelf between 34 ° and 55 ° S (Cousseau et al., 2010) and the fish list in the Argentinean-Uruguayan Common Fishing Zone (Cousseau et al. 1998). It may be also mentioned within this group a book (Cousseau & Perrotta, 2004), in which topographical, oceanographic and fish fauna characteristics of the general area are provided.

Within the second group we must include those related to flatfishes (Cousseau & Díaz de Astarloa, 1991; Díaz de Astarloa, 1991; Díaz de Astarloa, 1995a; Díaz de Astarloa, 1995b, Díaz de Astarloa, 1995c; Macchi & Díaz de Astarloa, 1996; Fabrè & Díaz de Astarloa, 1996; Díaz de Astarloa 1996; Díaz de Astarloa, 1997; Díaz de Astarloa & Munroe, 1998; Díaz de Astarloa, 1998).

The third category comprises those research papers in which the arrival of occasional species have been reported and that have been explained by various hypotheses, all related to the influence of sea currents or water masses associated with fish species transport (Figuerola et al., 1992; Díaz de Astarloa & Figuerola, 1995; Figuerola & Díaz de Astarloa, 1996; Figuerola et al., 1998, 2000, 2005; Díaz de Astarloa et al., 2003).

Various fish species with tropical or subtropical affinities occasionally occur from the northern coasts of Argentina off Mar del Plata (38°S) to the south at the end of summer and beginning of autumn during times of maximum water temperatures (Díaz de Astarloa & Figuerola, 1995). The sporadic occurrences of fish species with tropical affinities in the Buenos Aires region is indicative of seasonal increases in water temperature influenced by oceanic currents.

Although it is unclear how tropical fish species reach the northern coasts of Argentina, Balech (1986) postulated the incursion of warm neritic waters on to the Argentine continental shelf after originating in the subantarctic waters of the Malvinas Current as a means of transport.

The criteria used for fisheries management should be based, as a first step, in the deep biological knowledge of exploited stocks in the way of not to cause overfishing. Without a clear understanding of what a fish species is at all stages of its life cycle, where it is found, how it is called, it is not possible to gather accurate statistics, to establish capture values or even to begin understanding the relationships between the fish species within the marine ecosystem.

On the other hand, because many species are present in shallow waters or protected areas, they commonly inhabit bays, beaches and estuaries. Some of these coastal areas are potential nursery grounds, which are subject to the impact of human development. In these areas the fish support important regional fisheries that employ a large number of fishermen who use small trawlers that operate near the coast to catch the fish.

The number of fish species, their biological and ecological characteristics, and their relationship with the environment they inhabit and the abiotic variables that somehow regulate the distribution and diversity are important aspects to be considered for sustainable fisheries management.

Also, constituting a principle as important as the mentioned above, it is now recognized that fishing operations should allow the structure maintenance, diversity and ecosystem production, including both habitat and associated species, of which the fishery depends . The generated knowledge on ecosystems allows the fishery management system to identify the nature of the effects of fishing.

On the initial stages, and in the case of fish resources exploitation, such knowledge should include the nature and distribution of habitats and association types of the physical parameters.

This approach, although is a tool for fisheries management, provides basic ecological information to be included in future environmental plans.

We believe that the interdisciplinary approach applied to the development of this study is an essential aspect and involves the ability to solve specific problems and find a common language to incorporate the knowledge gained from the various disciplines. It also implies a continuous process of learning for each and every one of the team members.

On the other hand, a system of Artisanal Fisheries Information for collection and Management will be designed and developed in order to make available to users the system information on coastal species, markets, prices, transportation, etc. This pilot project aims to improve productivity and achieve the integration of the value chain between fishermen (fresh fish suppliers) and processing plants, and direct applicants for domestic consumption.

It is expected to meet in time and space the variability of diversity patterns and abundance of fish communities, the relationship of environmental factors and which of them are involved in structuring these communities. It is also expected to determine whether these associations vary in time, relating the impact of fishing pressure on changes in diversity and abundance.

To understand the importance of key ecological patterns and processes of these environments have not only theoretical value but also is directly related to practical problems in conservation and management. The knowledge of fish species composition, their interrelationships and environmental conditions can be

very useful at the moment of adopting Artisanal Fisheries management criteria. In this context, it is expected to create sustainable conditions of Artisanal Fisheries for families who are engaged in this activity will improve their incomes and quality of life.

Material and Methods

To carry out the Project we worked directly with the fishermen, organizing training workshops in which panels, lectures, laboratory activities, and field sampling for taxonomic identification of fish resources were organized.

Field guides and keys with photographs and drawings for species recognition were used. Laboratory tasks were also organized in which basic biological characteristics of the specimens examined were analyzed.

Material came from subsamples obtained by artisanal fishermen fishing in nearby coastal waters of Samborombón Bay (Buenos Aires) and consisted of fishes of different sizes and sexes. More attention has been paid on those species of economical interest species for fishermen, such as, white croaker, black drum, weakfish, among others.

The information obtained is essential for a comprehensive understanding of coastal fishes occurring in Buenos Aires Province, some of them (whitemouth croaker, weakfish and flounders) of vital commercial importance, because they support artisanal fisheries in the region. Although the biomass of this group of fishes is less than that one found in other fish groups, the importance lies in the high value of the product and the quality of the fish meat.

The thorough knowledge of the biological characteristics is necessary to optimize the exploitation of the resource and turn it into a renewable resource over time providing guidelines for proper fisheries management.

The training workshops were focused on the following issues:
Fish Introduction: definition, major groups, morphology and ecological features of coastal fish biodiversity in Buenos Aires Province, endangered species and conservation of coastal fishes.

Biological sampling (for bony and cartilaginous fish): objectives, measurements (length), sex, sexual maturity scale, filling in fishing forms, and subsampling.

Results and Discussion

The fact to work jointly fishermen from the Partido de la Costa, with a group of teacher-researchers in the area of fish biology, is an unprecedented event. Usually it is mentioned that scientific research is not transmitted to the

community, that there is a divorce between scientific knowledge and fishing activities.

This work shows that this commonly thought is not always correct, both fishermen, and researchers have a huge interest in common, i. e. the fish, being the way to address this knowledge complementary, from biological research on the one hand, with systematic resource catches in time and space on the other hand.

Results of this work led to incorporate into the fishermen community, the concept that fishes are organisms made up of different species subject to rhythms and cycles within a space, and that the fishermen have responsibility for these events.

The training workshop was thought to permanently rescue the empirical knowledge that fishermen accumulate over time and can tell in the form of stories, to make the workshop fun and rewarding for both parties.

In the first module of the workshop we intended to define what a fish is, considering that the concept is very broad, and that within this concept they are included organisms very distant each other within the zoological diversity.

A series of images and patterns that were held to discuss this issue are shown in Figures 1 to 4.

Figure 1: *Notomyxine tridentigenter* (Jawless fish)



Source: JM Díaz de Astarloa (2010, on board OV Puerto Deseado “Austral Sea” Research Cruise)

Figure 2: Details of the epidermic teeth in the jawless *Myxine australis*



Source: JM Díaz de Astarloa (2010, on board OV Puerto Deseado, “Austral Sea” Research Cruise)

Figure 3: Jaw fish *Schroederichthys bivius* (cartilaginous fish)



Source: JM Díaz de Astarloa (2010, on board OV Puerto Deseado,

Figure 4: Jaw fish *Acanthistius patachonicus* (Bony fish)



Source: JM Díaz de Astarloa (2006, on board RV Dr. Eduardo Holmberg, Hake Research Cruise)

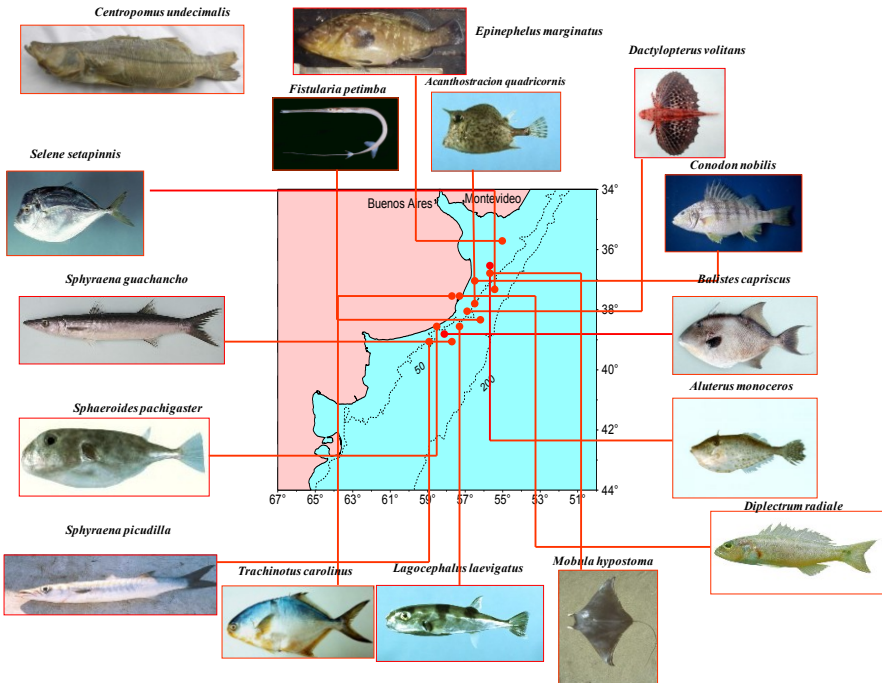
The second module dealt with the characteristics of the region where fishermen work, which corresponds to the coastline between Samborombón Bay and the Partido de la Costa.

This region is the most important of Argentina in fish diversity, which is enriched in late summer and early fall when the waters become warmer, and it is common to report subtropical fish species coming from southern Brazil.

It is also the part of the Argentine coast most affected by anthropic effects either manufacturing, tourism and agriculture activities.

Interestingly, the response of the fishing community to this topic was remarkable because during the workshop rare or uncommon fish species have been collected (Fig. 5), which it was noticeable by the large observation that fishermen have in the presence of strange animals.

Figure 5: Fishes of unusual occurrence in coastal waters of Buenos Aires Province



Sources of information: Cousseau & Bastida (1976), García & Menni (1982), Cousseau & Menni (1983), Figueroa et al. (1992, 2000), Díaz de Astarloa & Figueroa (1995), Díaz de Astarloa et al. (2000), Rico & Acha (2003).

In order to fulfil a correct fish specific determination easy-interpretation identification keys and guides for batoids (cartilaginous fish flattened dorso-ventrally inhabiting the seabed, such as skates and rays) and some commercial importance bony fishes were developed (Batoids Identification key, fish Identification guide of Laguna Mar Chiquita).

These identification booklets have been distributed to those fishermen who attended the workshop. They were tested during sampling with those species collected in the catches, and we noted the rapid species identification species by fishermen, and even the use of the binomial nomenclature (the generic and specific names in Latin that species are named) to call them.

The third module integrated joint sampling activities between fishermen and biologists. The concept of sample has been analyzed, why to sample, and the importance of a proper information collection have also been discussed.

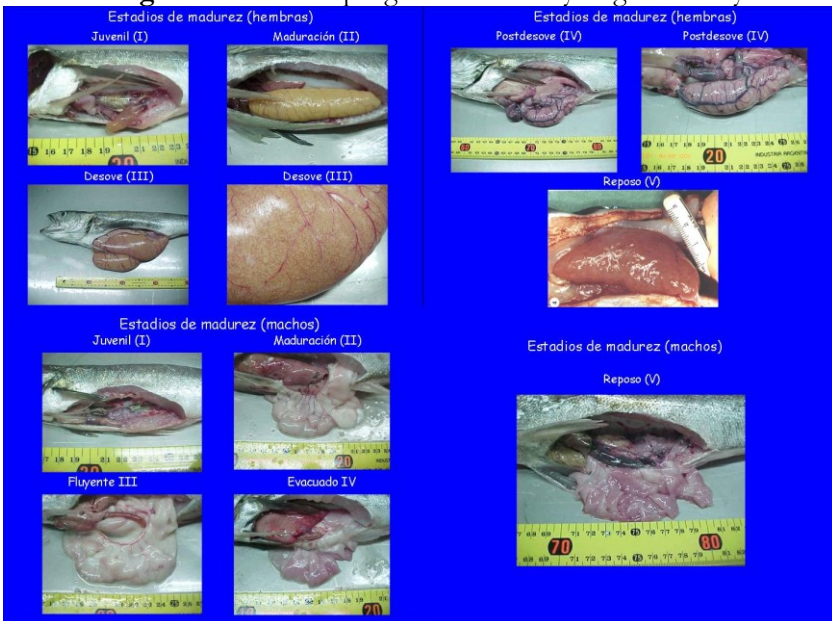
We analyzed how a population is composed, how size is measured, how sex is determined in chondrichthyans and bony fishes, gonadal maturity stages were analyzed in both fishes group, and the ability of cartilaginous fishes to retain embryos or encapsulate in fish eggs.

It has been explained the use of ichthyometers for size analysis of the sizes. It was built one in acrylic for workshop that was held by the Fishermen Association, and after the request of several fishermen several plywoods and millimeter rule for sampling activities were manufactured.

The workshop had a practical part in which the attendants measured, weighed and identified fish's sex and gonadal stages for several species.

Then maturity scales used and different gonadal stages' photographs for bony and cartilaginous fish, which were taught in the workshop and were used in the surveys during the project are presented. This information was gathered into folders with color photographs that were held by fishermen for consultation (Figs. 6 and 7). Also, sampling spreadsheets have been built in which information on maturity scale, length, weight, net mesh size, depth, boat type, date, species, has been filled in.

Figure 6: Macroscopic gonadal maturity stage for bony fishes



Source: Figueroa et al. (2011)

Figure 7: Macroscopic gonadal maturity stage for cartilaginous fishes



Source: Figueroa et al (2011)

Based on the above information, logbooks and sampling forms were developed and were tested in the practical part of the workshop.

As a result, the fishermen could recognize the species collected and applied the knowledge gained in the workshop on how to measure the size or total length of the specimens using specific tools such as ichthyometers.

Likewise, the sex of sampled individuals has been recognized and a scale of macroscopic gonadal maturity based on the comparison of the photographs used in the training course was established.

On the other hand, other information as the vessel type used, the mesh size and nets employed for the collection of individuals, the number of crew on board and the number of fish caught based on the number of fish boxes filled has been incorporated.

Other environmental data such as water temperature, wind direction, sea state and fishing depth were also added to the above information. These data are complementary to those biological data obtained giving better information to be used in fishery biology studies that help in conservation biology and make the fishery resource sustainable over time.

The interaction between different social actors (artisanal fishermen and researchers) with different objectives but with the same goal in common: the Fish, has been very positive.

The joint interpretation of the data provided a framework for the variation in the diversity of coastal fish, and allowed us to evaluate what changes have occurred in the fishermen conception that had on a fishing resource, and how the ecosystem will be impacted by the activities of exploitation in order take further conservation measures to enable sustainable management of fishery resources in the Buenos Aires coast.

This work contributed in some way to revalue the Artisanal Fisheries as a productive activity through sustainable management of coastal resources, improving the community organization and the quality of life for the artisanal fishermen.

At a later stage, the results obtained allow to consolidate actions and initiatives that facilitate the joint working, to ensure continuity in the task undertaken, with the aim of promoting a primary productive activity of sensitive socio-economic importance to the province, in which the university research group contribute to the results of their research, and where the authority application includes this interaction in the planning of national fisheries management programs.

It is essential to improve the quality of life of the fishermen and their families who will have a detailed analysis of the fishing catches, and an integrative knowledge of environmental variables that affect the availability of the different species of coastal fish.

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Human rights revisited: Deceitful Job Offers and Human Trafficking in Argentina

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Abstract

The deprivation of personal liberties and the exploitation of human beings are forms of human rights violations widely organized and practiced worldwide. Despite the fact that slavery has been abolished for centuries and is nowadays considered a crime it still continues to exist. This article aims to shed light on a particular form of slavery identified as “trafficking”, and by using the recent Martita Verón case, a recognized victim of trafficking, and her mother’s struggle for justice, a special attention will be paid to “human trafficking” and Argentina. The main objective of this study is to define different forms of trafficking, question the most general obstacles in the fight against human trafficking and point to the most needed steps to promote a more global consciousness about these criminal practices.

Keywords

Human trafficking, modern slavery, supply and demand, obstacles, awareness, Argentina.

Introduction: From trafficking to human trafficking

Human trafficking is considered one of the most serious crimes humanity faces today, given that; “[it] ranks as the third lucrative illegal business in the world after drug trafficking and arms” (Assorati 2). Lydia Cacho has specified that the practice of this lucrative activity, with an apparently inexhaustible supply and demand, is due to globalization. She emphasizes that: “On the same principle as the business of drugs, human slavery increases and might continue to grow to surpass narcotics sales, for the simple fact that there are communities and countries that rely on sex tourism, trafficking and commercial sex” (Cacho, 213). Trafficking is a cumbersome illegal activity that in one way or another affects most countries of the world, affected or involved as countries of origin, transit or

destination of the victims (UNICEF, 8).¹¹ Nowadays, the most commonly used definition of the term comes from the so-called Palermo Protocol, signed by the United Nations in Palermo, Italy, in 2000:

“Human trafficking” makes reference to the recruitment, transportation, transfer, welcoming or receipt of individuals by use of threat, force or other forms of coercion, such as abduction, fraud, deception, abuse of power or position of vulnerability, or the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person, hence, obtaining control over another person for the purpose of exploitation. This misuse includes the exploitation of the other in prostitution or other forms of sexual abuse, forced labor or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs.¹²

As explained by UNICEF the definition “human trafficking” is the outcome of thorough deliberations and based on an agreement reached by the international community (UNICEF, 9).¹³ However, according to the *Manual for intervention in cases of human trafficking in Argentina* (2010)¹⁴ it is important to differentiate between the terms “trafficking,” or smuggling of persons, and “human trafficking,” but these are repeatedly confused or seen as synonyms. This confusion may arise from the translation of the term trafficking in English as it is simultaneously used about “human trafficking” and “smuggling”. The difference, however, is that not all cases of trafficking end up being cases of human trafficking, because the situation can arise that an individual or a group requests to be transported to an agreed place, in exchange for a certain amount of money. Therefore, the *Manual for intervention ...* makes clear that: “Trafficking is a crime

¹¹ Naciones Unidas para la Infancia / United Nations Children's Fund.

¹² “Por “trata de personas” se entenderá la captación, el transporte, el traslado, la acogida o la recepción de personas recurriendo a la amenaza o al uso de la fuerza u otras formas de coacción, al rapto, al fraude, al engaño, al abuso de poder o de una situación de vulnerabilidad o a la concesión o recepción de pagos o beneficios para obtener el consentimiento de una persona que tenga autoridad sobre otra, con fines de explotación. Esa explotación incluirá, como mínimo, la explotación de la prostitución ajena u otras formas de explotación sexual, los trabajos o servicios forzados, la esclavitud o las prácticas análogas a la esclavitud, la servidumbre o la extracción de órganos” (UNODC, 2004, 44-45).

¹³ UNICEF recognizes three fundamental steps within the field of trafficking. Firstly, the development of an action plans that specifies ways of capture of the victims, their transfer or transportation and their delivery or reception. Secondly, the use of particular means of capture, such as threat, abduction, deception or other forms, and, finally, the particular purpose of the exploitation that can be sexual, work related, organ harvesting or other forms of abuse (UNICEF, 21).

¹⁴ „Manual de Intervención en casos de Trata de Personas en Argentina” (2010).

against the state and a violation of the immigration laws of a country, while human trafficking is a crime against a person and a violation of human rights” (United for justice, 2010, 17).¹⁵ Another confusion that requires clarification is that trafficking and prostitution are not synonymous, but as Alejandro Córdoba has explained, these activities are often dependent on each other and are mutually complementary (Córdoba, 14).

For further clarification and according to the aforementioned manual:

*There exist structural causes and risk factors, as well as other circumstantial basics that go hand in hand with the personal history of each one of the victims of human trafficking. In Argentina these personal traits are influenced by structural aspects such as education, cultural practices and behavioural patterns that reflect historical practices of dominance in personal relationships, such as sexism and physical, psychological and sexual violence.*¹⁶

Trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation, also known as sex trafficking, is at present the most practiced mode of trafficking. IOM¹⁷ states that in Argentina “trafficking for sexual exploitation and pornography represents 80% of reported cases” (IOM, 2008, 3). UNICEF also observes that the demand by clients of sex trafficking is on the rise; that it is heterogeneous and because of its nature it is hidden. Customers, who predominantly are men, pay for access to women and minors through prostitution, pornography, sex tourism and other forms of exploitation (UNICEF, 34). UNICEF also observes that the relationship of slavery originates in the principle of property, meaning that victims are considered properties of the victimizers (UNICEF, 7).

The *Manual for Intervention...* (2010) discusses three forms of sexual trafficking, namely prostitution, pornography and sex tourism. Prostitution entails marketing a person as a commodity in exchange for a payment in cash, with the participation of a third party, i.e., when one individual prostitutes another. In the case of pornography the exploitation aims to provide sexual pleasure through visual or auditory representation of an individual (most commonly of a woman or a minor), with lucrative purposes. This includes the production, distribution, manufacturing and distribution of pornographic material. Finally, sex tourism is

¹⁵ „Unidos por la justicia“, 2010.

¹⁶ “Existen causas y factores de riesgo de carácter estructural, así como otros de tipo circunstancial que van de la mano con la historia de la vida de cada una de las víctimas de la trata de personas. En la Argentina esos elementos personales se ven influidos por aspectos estructurales como la educación, la cultura y patrones de conducta que reflejan relaciones históricas de dominio entre géneros, como son el machismo, la violencia física, psicológica y sexual” (Unidos por la justicia, 2010, 16).

¹⁷ International Organization of Migration/ Organización Internacional de la Migración.

regarded as a contributing factor in sex trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation. Sex tourism includes promoting a destiny, even a country, as a destination for the conduct of sex business, either by residents or visitors (United for justice, 2010, 18). Cacho explains that the sex slave industry has fed popular stereotypes repeatedly reaffirmed by customers around the world (Cacho, 173-174). Furthermore, he observes that these practices promote certain values and views, where teenagers and children are the most frequently the demanded commodity (Cacho, 276).

The way it works

The recruitment, luring or capture of victims is the first step in the process of trafficking. A report recently presented by UFASE¹⁸ and INECIP¹⁹ identifies the two most commonly used forms of capturing victims. Firstly, there is the so-called “hard capture”, that is, when a kidnapping or other form of deprivation of liberty occurs. Secondly, there is the so-called “soft capture”, implying deceit or cheating (INECIP and UFASE, 22). According to IOM, the process including abduction implies an action where no prior research or planning is required. Victims are simply detained in the street, forced into a vehicle, commonly drugged to avoid resistance, and finally transferred to a place where they are repeatedly raped and beaten. IOM explains that the purpose of this much practiced method is to subjugate the victim and prepare him/her for the expected sexual exploitation (IOM, 2008, 40). The gentler ways, based on deception, according to INECIP and UFASE, are however the most common forms of recruitment, used in 49% of all cases. Other reports confirm that in those cases where no deceit takes place, false promises of jobs such as domestic workers, waitresses, hostesses or nurses’ assistance, among others, are common (INECIP and UFASE, 22). Generally, the victims have not previously known their victimizers. However, in cases where a prior relationship exists between the victim and the victimizer these can be classified in the following order: known as immediate family, family but not immediate family, friends or neighbors (INECIP and UFASE, 26). The following testimony, by a victim captured by fraud and then exploited sexually, appears in a report published by IOM:

I was offered a job in a restaurant in the capital, nearly 400 km. from my house. As there was no work in my village, I agreed. I received \$ 200 up front and I got the bus fare. When I arrived to the address they had given me, I was told that the restaurant was a few blocks away, and I was taken by car. But when we arrived it was not a restaurant: it was a bar. They locked me up, beat me, raped me and forced me into prostitution. They also said that if I would say

¹⁸ Unidad Fiscal de Asistencia en Secuertos Extorsivos y Trata de Personas.

¹⁹ Instituto de Estudios Comparados en Ciencias Penales y Sociales.

*something to someone, they would do the same things to my daughters, and they knew where they lived ... I never thought such a thing could happen to me ...*²⁰

The victim in this case confirms earlier information on how the process works and the way deception is used. Furthermore, this demonstrates how the perpetrators take advantage of the socio-economic vulnerability of the victim. According to IOM, violence usually begins immediately after capture. The victim is raped and beaten repeatedly until he or she no longer shows any resistance (IOM, 2008, 52-53). UNICEF indicates that the submission process operates as follows: “The trafficker [...] uses threat of physical, psychological and/or sexual violence to dominate the victim. The victim is threatened with retaliation against her family, retaining her identity documents and by withholding provisions of alcohol or drugs” (UNICEF, 33). In some cases the violence is extreme, as in the following example published by IOM:

*They wanted to make her go to work elsewhere because they said they could not keep her there, but when she did not want to leave; they tied her to a chair in the room, threw ice water over her while they beat her once or twice per day and did not feed her for a week. They told her she would have to go to work somewhere else whether she liked it or not, otherwise they would have to kill her.*²¹

In addition to physical violence, there are other forms of subjugation. INECIP and UFASE reveal that among the most practiced forms of suppression is a predominance of economic repression generated through the withholding of wages (INECIP and UFASE, 36). Alejandro Córdova explains that traffickers inform victims that “they will pay for travel, [...] accommodation and food”

²⁰ “Me ofrecieron empleo en un restaurante en la capital, a casi 400 km. de mi casa. Como en mi pueblo no había trabajo, acepté. Me adelantaron \$200 y me dieron el pasaje en ómnibus. Cuando llegué a la dirección que me habían dado, me dijeron que el restaurante era a unas cuadras, y me llevaron en auto. Pero cuando llegamos no era una parrilla: era una whiskería. Me encerraron, me pegaron, me violaron y me obligaron a prostituirme. Además me dijeron que sí le decía algo a alguien, esto mismo se lo harían a mis hijas, ya que sabían dónde vivían... Nunca pensé que me pudiera pasar una cosa así...” (OIM, missing information, 3).

Spelling as in the original document.

²¹ “Ellos querían hacerla ir a trabajar a otro lado porque decían que no podían tenerla ahí y, como no quería ir, la ataron a una silla dentro de la pieza y le tiraron agua con hielo mientras le pegaban una o dos veces por día y no le dieron de comer por una semana. Le decían que tendría que ir a trabajar a otro lado quiera o no, ya que sino la tendrían que matar” (IOM, 2008, 53).

(Córdoba, 40). Consequently the victim ends up being indebted to their exploiters, and this sometimes even involves a system of fines. UFASE indicates that other methods used in the process of submission are threats and physical violence (UFASE, 37). Once those victims that are subjected to such treatment have become exploited there is no return. IOM observes that: “In places of exploitation victims are held by their captors by threats, debt, lies, coercion, violence and so on, and forced into prostitution or to work in inhuman conditions” (IOM, missing information, 1). Local characteristics may vary, but according to IOM bars, pubs and discotheques, or similar venues, in larger cities and towns, are the most common venues, while private brothels are made as invisible as possible (IOM, 2008, 48). INECIP and UFASE agree that bars, pubs and the like host 74% of the operations while brothels constitute 22% of the same (INECIP and UFASE, 30). IOM emphasizes that in places of exploitation women generally lose contact with the outside world. Their everyday life is limited to the premises and the rooms where they give sexual service to customers, and more often than not these rooms are locked.

Although trafficking for sexual exploitation is the most practiced source of human trafficking at present, labor exploitation is growing in numbers and increasing in importance. Accem observes that labor trafficking is “in many ways similar to trafficking for sexual exploitation. On the one hand, victims generally originate from developing countries and are transported to developed countries; while the means for capturing and exploitation are also very similar” (Accem, 33). The difference is generated by the type of operation to which victims are subjected in places of exploitation. According to UNICEF, the main goal of people who fall victim to trafficking is securing a better life for themselves and their families, leading them to choose to travel to more developed areas, where demand for labor is greater (UNICEF, 26). According to the *Manual for intervention ...* (2010), the crime is concealed with false job offers and a promise of opportunities that facilitate a project to create a better life, through work contracts that ostensibly ensure the victim’s career options. When he/she arrives at the recruitment destination, the conditions are not in accordance with the supposed contract and the trafficked individual is subjected to the inhumane working conditions of exploitation (United for justice, 2010, 18-19).

Three other modes of trafficking disclosed in the reports and worth considering are represented in different ways than the two discussed above. These include the removal of organs, the phenomenon of order brides, and infant and child trafficking. Infant trafficking and trafficking of children differ in several aspects from trafficking of adults. UNICEF considers a child “as a human being with a distinct set of rights” (www.unicef.org) and observes that both the *Convention on the Rights of the Child* (CRC) and the Palermo Protocol consider; “a

child a person under 18 years of age” (UNICEF, 26). According to UNICEF children victims of trafficking suffer physical and psychological damages. They are, due to their age, more vulnerable to exploitation; hence they require different laws, standards, and treatment programs from adult victims (UNICEF, 27). Trafficking of children is manifested in several ways, depending on its purpose, including illegal adoptions (United for Justice, 2010, 19), and, perhaps the most common, forced child labor. However, the forced labor of children is not the only form of exploitation suffered by underage victims, as there is also sexual exploitation, which seriously interferes with their fundamental rights, such as the right to physical, psychological and sexual integrity, and a dignified life. The underage victim is furthermore more vulnerable to contracting sexually transmitted diseases (National Office of Direct Assistance to Persons and Vulnerable Groups and others, 12).²²

Also worth discussing, but without going into details, is the fact that within the definition of trafficking the Palermo Protocol includes the removal of organs, i.e., “situations where people are stripped of one of their organs in exchange for financial compensation” [...], “and those organs are then sold illegally” (United for Justice, 2010, 19). According to Accem it is an ever growing activity and the agents have already identified ways to connect their operations to the waiting lists for organ transplants for a lucrative purpose (Accem, 33). The United for Justice Report observes that unfortunately it is not enough to eliminate the sales of organs but that the widespread cooperation in transport, import, export and storage of organs has to be eradicated as well (United for Justice, 2010, 19).

Yet another embodiment of trafficking has to do with forced marriages. In his book, *Understanding Global Slavery* (2005), Kevin Bales confirms the existence of a new phenomenon identified as “mail order brides”. He explains that new technologies, especially those related to the Internet create opportunities for different criminal activities. New forms of agencies propose to establish contacts between people, in these cases between women (usually in poor countries) and men (commonly in well off countries). This phenomenon has expanded significantly since the 1990s. The agencies exploits men in rich countries as they receive money from them and then disappear before delivering the commodity while other similar agencies directly engage in the trafficking of vulnerable women. Bales observes that in many cases, what appears to be a legitimate chance for a poor woman, turns out to be fraud (Bales, 150).

Victims and victimizers

²² Dirección Nacional de Asistencia Directa a Personas y Grupos Vulnerables and others.

The people who suffer the most from human trafficking, whatever its form, are the victims – predominantly women and minors. According to the *Manual for intervention ...* (2010) there are common causes, risk factors and circumstances that unite the personal histories of these victims and amongst those are: “the culture and behavioral patterns that reflect a history of dominance within personal relationships, such as sexism and physical, psychological and sexual violence” (United for Justice, 2010, 16). Córdoba argues that the patriarchal cultural patterns commonly existent in low-income family practices create a common denominator for most of the victims. In these situations, the role of women is to meet the desires and needs of men and they have repeatedly been abused before their capture by the men around them, either by someone within the family of origin, their boyfriends or someone within their community (Córdoba, 55). According to a document published by the Argentinean Ministry of Social Security, it is important to remember that the victims come from vulnerable situations. It also warns that although there are people who are more vulnerable to trafficking than others, everyone can become a victim (Ministry of Social Security, 17).²³ According to UNICEF, recorded factual evidence confirms that victims of human trafficking are poor women between 17 and 25 of age, and that they come from low income families. These women have limited job opportunities and many come from families where violence is common practice. The report emphasizes that, although this is not as common, victims from economically better off families and social classes can also be found amongst victims of human trafficking, but that these victims are often deceived by offers of attractive jobs such as working as a model (UNICEF, 31).

To address the issue of the diverse consequences of human trafficking UNICEF identifies several physical and mental symptoms that affect the trafficked individual. The physical evidence generally includes pain, bruising, injury, fractures and immunosuppression, while the psychological consequences may involve anxiety, depression, suicidal tendencies, amnesia and isolation. Frequent social consequences are loneliness, apathy and the inability to establish meaningful relationships, mistrust and the risk of falling victim to trafficking again. Many victims of trafficking suffer from alcohol and drug abuse, and related sexually transmitted diseases (UNICEF, 31). Mercosur clarifies that: “Within the context of human trafficking the physical and mental health of the victim is weakened as a result of the physical and/or sexual abuse to which he/she is subjected” (Mercosur and others, 45).

²³ Ministerio de Seguridad.

When turning the attention to the victimizers UNICEF uses the expression “trafficker” to apply to those engaged in the recruitment and transportation of individuals, i.e. those who exercise control over the trafficked subject. “It also refers to those involved in related crimes and those who obtain direct or indirect profits from trafficking, its corresponding acts, and related offenses” (UNICEF, 32). IOM reveals that: “The dynamics of these criminal organizations are reflected at different levels and by the activities of primary and secondary agents” (IOM, 2008, 35). The primary agents are the dealers who have several roles, such as recruiters, pimps, brothel owners, and other agents who receive women and sexually exploited subjects. Consequently there are secondary agents i.e., those who directly or indirectly provide services to the networks (IOM, 2008, 35). According to IOM, recruiters are men and women who participate in the capturing of vulnerable victims or as employees or brokers whose role is to fulfill the demand. IOM has observed that it is common for women in prostitution to be forced to return to their place of origin to recruit other women. An important participant in the operations of sex trafficking is the pimp. IOM specifies that: “The term refers to those that profit from the sexual exploitation of women through control and by circulating them through the different levels of the networks” (IOM, 2008, 41). IOM explains that pimps employ different methods of coercion, from manipulation to extreme physical violence while the most common method is deceit. Furthermore, in some cases the pimps simulate a love relationship with their victims, taking advantage of their vulnerability and demanding they be identified as husbands. IOM further explains that these entrenched relationships generate legally recognized offspring and that the children are then used to coerce women in case they request to abandon prostitution (IOM, 2008, 41-42). Testimony from an Argentinean taxi driver describes traffickers as follows: “These pimps are very potent people and women cannot leave because they own them. If a woman leaves the “fiolo” he will look for her until he finds her and kills her” (IOM, 2008, 43). This testimony represents the attitude of the pimp who looks at women as possession and objects of abuse. Women are his private property, and in accordance with the account of the driver he does not hold any kind of affection for the victims of his exploitation.

Similarly, for a successful human trafficking operation several people need to be directly and indirectly involved. According to the *Manual for Intervention ...* (2010) the individuals serving as secondary agents are drivers, door-men, receptionists, hotel workers and consumers. The document indicates that indirectly, though consciously, corrupt members of the national police and other government officials are implicated as contributing to the operations of trafficking (United for justice, 2010, 17). Mercosur also mentions people who are

dedicated to getting forged documents, local suppliers, etc. (Mercosur and others, 42). UFASE and INECIP clarify that “media surveys show that 22% of cases involve the complicity of public officials” and that this is reflected in delays in crime investigations and lack of police presence in places where trafficking is carried out (INECIP and UFASE, 49). The U.S. Department of State argues that: “it appears that some police officers’ consent to trafficking for sexual and labor exploitation, warn brothel owners about impending raids and, and it is presumed that some judges do not adequately investigate official complicity in trafficking of persons “ (U.S. Department of State, 4). However, the involvement of secondary agents is often difficult to prove and until 2011 the government of Argentina did not prosecute or sentence any government official involved in trafficking (U.S. Department of State, 4).

But why does this demand for prostitution continue to exist despite the ever growing liberal attitudes towards sexual relationships? UNICEF observes that the client is the major player in the market operations of human trafficking and the sex industry. The report confirms that in the case of sex trafficking, the customers are primarily men who pay for access to women (UNICEF, 34). Lydia Cacho reports that “machismo” as a behavior and an ideology reigns throughout the world. She explains that most customers are actually slaves of dominant cultural patterns and that the generally accepted culture of masculinity has really not been questioned, not by individuals or by those holding the hegemonic power. She laments lost opportunities to promote cultural changes and mentions in particular the role of religious leaders, the media, film producers, etc. Cacho observes that the culturally retained values of machismo and violence exist simultaneously in a direct and indirect way (Cacho, 196-197). She discusses the idea that there exists the image of the “real man” and the practice of a manly sexuality to assert masculine power in the world. Cacho identifies a growing resistance to recent cultural changes brought about by the influence of feminism, i.e., the right of women to choose “when, how, and if they want sex with men” (Cacho, 195). According to the author the idea that women want to gain power over men serves to promote even more resistance, causing “[t]hose men to exercise more violence against women and girls within the sex trade as a way to vindicate their manhood or masculinity” (Cacho, 196). Consistent with this observation, Córdoba is not surprised by the idea that patriarchal society is reluctant to question the idea that men are entitled to the female body (Córdoba, 65). Hence, it can be argued that the fault does not lie with men as individuals but with traditional values vindicating that “prostitution is based on a consideration for male sexual desire, understood as instinctive and uncontrollable” (UNICEF, 34). Therefore, cultural patriarchy continues unchallenged since it assumes and

recognizes that man's needs are privileged and the sex industry is created to meet this contention.

Trafficking in Argentina

As revealed at the beginning of this article, the wakeup call for this study was the Martita Verón case and it serves to unveil the current state of human trafficking in Argentina and to discuss the achievements and obstacles, as well as needed steps to promote greater social awareness. However, in order to understand the obstacles facing Argentina, as most other countries, when combatting the crime of trafficking, it is important to disclose historical information relevant to this particular criminal activity. As already discussed, trafficking is considered a modern form of slavery. For this reason it may be confused with or understood as a part of the narrative of slavery, but "In reality, this practice is an heir of the slave system, which prevailed for centuries worldwide. The old order of power relations established between a master and his slave is similar to that which exists today between traffickers and their victims" (Córdoba, 18). Stearman defines a slave as a person who is partially or completely the property of another individual or an organization and has no right over his or her own body. The work they do and the hours they work are decided by others and the rewards generated are not their own. Slaves are not free to decide who they work for or where they live (Stearman, 4). Given these definitions, a victim of trafficking classifies as a slave. But why do the social sciences then talk about trafficking and not a form of slavery? Kevin Bales explains that the difference lies in three important elements. On the one hand, today's slaves are cheaper than ever, which means they do not constitute any capital investment as once was the case. Hence, the contemporary slave is more easily disposable. He or she is considered an object that is temporarily exploited and then discharged. On the other hand, the time of captivity has become much shorter. People living in slavery in the past lived in those circumstances forever as being a slave was a lifetime condition. Today's slavery lasts for months, perhaps years, but not for a person's lifetime. The third distinguishing feature is that slavery today is globalized. This means that the forms of exploitation in different parts of the world are becoming more similar as they are a part of the global economy, regardless of their location (Bales, 9). In his article "History of Trafficking in Argentina as Persistence of Slavery",²⁴ Raul A. Schnabel discloses information on slavery in contemporary Argentina and explains that human trafficking is not a new phenomenon but born before the foundation of the nation state and still continues. Prostitution, he argues, began

²⁴ "Historia de la trata de personas en Argentina como persistencia de la esclavitud" (missing information).

to spread as a commercial activity during times of economic prosperity in the late nineteenth century. This prosperity generated a massive European immigration, which meant increased demand (Schnabel, 3). Schnabel explains: “Prostitution was legalized in Argentina in 1875 and ‘white slavery’ therefore existed long before the current wave of trafficking” (Schnabel, 6). Schnabel also clarifies that in society at that time prostitution was considered a “necessary evil”, operated as a public service and exercised under the supervision of the police and other authorities (Schnabel, 6). As evidence of the consideration for these activities Córdoba explains that: “They had to keep track of the prostitutes so they subjected them to medical inspection” (Córdoba, 21). In addition, social tolerance and official complicity allowed prostitution to be considered as something natural (Córdoba, 24). Human trafficking for sexual exploitation followed the capitalist model, at the rhythm of the Industrial Revolution. The first Argentinean formal trafficking network that imported women from Central Europe was established in 1889. “Because of poverty, marginalization and religious persecution, their parents sold them to ruffians who hatched a religious marriage between the exploiter and the exploited woman” (Schnabel, 7). Schnabel explains that local pimps were content with modest gains and exploited few of the women for their personal gain, while simultaneously foreign operators of European origin discovered an opportunity to create great businesses, even transnational corporations, with extensive potential to achieve significant economic and political power. Consequently, two major trafficking mechanisms later dominated the market for the most part of the twentieth century (Schnabel, 7-9). These two trafficking entities came to intervene in all aspects of society, even in legislation. Their wide ranging activities were made possible due to political corruption and a hypocritical society that criticized the offenses while prominent members attended local brothels (Schnabel, 9-10). Early on customers were mostly immigrant men who had left their families in Europe, but, as Schnabel confirms, there were also customers of the high *porteño* bourgeoisie (11).²⁵

²⁵ Important historical sources about the life and society of this time are the letters of the tango that make repeated references to prostitution and trafficking. The letters do not necessarily speak of prostitution itself, but rather refer to the women involved. One of these tangos is “Margot”, composed by Celendrino Flores, in 1921, that says: “Son macanas, no fue un guapo haragán ni prepotente/Ni un cafisho de averías el que al vicio te largó.../Vos rodeaste por tu culpa y no fue inocentemente.../berretines de bacana que tenías en la mente/desde el día que magnate cajetilla te afiló! (Flores, en línea).²⁵ The term “cafisho”, obtained from lunfardo, makes references to the pimp, the “proxeneta” or the “ruffian”. Córdoba observes that the tango “El farol colorado”, by Enrique Cadícamo, also serves as testimony to widespread prostitution in and around Buenos Aires (Córdoba, 22).

However, while trafficking for sexual services flourished, the parallel trafficking for labor purposes developed differently. Daniel Cieza speaks of this development in his article “Forced Labor in Agriculture: The Hidden Face of the Argentinean Bicentennial”.²⁶ He clarifies that although urbanization developed early in Argentina large national consortia were important during the first half of the twentieth century. Foreign investment was important and European entrepreneurs exploited migrant labor, as well as creole and indigenous populations. According to Cieza, the first steps taken to secure rights for working laborers came with the first Peronist government (1946-1952), promulgated in the Statute of Laborers, to consequently appear in the first agricultural unions and the enactment of labor laws. During the 1976-1983 military dictatorship abusive practices became more widespread, as the military junta replaced the Statute of Pawn for a more permissive labor regime. Continuously, during the 1990s, workers began arriving in substantial numbers from neighboring countries as seasonal workers. Cieza explains that under these conditions workers were forced to work from dawn to dusk, and that child labor in sweatshops and black labor became common practice and based on contracted agreements between large operators and corrupt unions (Daniel Cieza). Cieza argues that there still exists a trace of these offenses, and although there have been recent changes in the regulations of forced labor, labor exploitation still exists, even if it has moved almost exclusively onto citizens of neighboring countries. These examples confirm that trafficking for labor exploitation is not a recent phenomenon but a criminal practice that has existed, albeit in different forms, throughout Argentinean history.

The current situation

In “Trafficking: An Introduction to the Problem,”²⁷ IOM points to the political and economic crisis that affected Argentina in 2001 as instrumental in significantly increasing trafficking, as the population, through suffering unemployment, insecurity and living below the poverty line, became more vulnerable to trafficking networks than ever before (IOM, 2006, 3). UNICEF observes that: “While trafficking is a phenomenon with some public broadcasting in Argentina, currently limited systematic information exists to give account of the real dimensions of the scale of the problem” (UNICEF, 9). UNICEF further explains that the business of trafficking in Argentina is based on the following three basic ideas:

²⁶ “Trabajo forzado en el mundo agrario: una cara oculta del bicentenario argentino”(2012).

²⁷ “La trata de personas: una introducción a la problemática” (2006).

- In Argentina there are areas that function as places of origin, which have a large number of potential victims.
- The sex trade is constantly increasing, supported by a relentless demand.
- Criminal organizations maintain control over the situation and have the financial ability that allows them to move constantly, transporting the victims to different locations throughout the country (UNICEF, 10).²⁸

According to data obtained from the official website of the Public Prosecutors Office, sexual exploitation represents 51% of cases of human trafficking while trafficking for labor exploitation totals 34% (Public Fiscal Ministry).²⁹ IOM reveals that in some cases networks in Argentina are formed by entire families that operate numerous brothels (IOM, 2008, 35), while information from the Ministry of Social Security reveals that when it comes to dealing with the purpose of sexual exploitation, the provinces where most victims are recruited are Misiones, Córdoba, Buenos Aires, Formosa, Chaco, Corrientes, Santa Fe and Entre Rios, while the City of Buenos Aires, Mendoza, Córdoba and Patagonia are provinces where the rate of exploitation is the highest. When registered cases of trafficking for labor exploitation are observed, the reality is different. In these cases the regions providing most laborers are Misiones, Corrientes Formosa and Chaco, Jujuy, Salta, Catamarca and Santiago del Estero, while the exploitation takes place in the City and the Province of Buenos Aires, where victims are primarily exploited in sweatshops, construction and as domestic workers (Ministry of Social Security, 9). The office of Rescue and Support for Harmed People [...] revealed in its 2011 “Progress Report Argentina” that crime victims are mostly female (77%) while male victims amount to 19%.³⁰ This is primarily explained by the fact that sexual exploitation is prevalent. In its recent report PIA argues that: “In a patriarchal society, where women are doubly exploited and objectified, poverty has a differential impact on

²⁸ - En la República Argentina existen zonas que funcionan como focos de origen, que presentan una gran cantidad de víctimas potenciales.
 - El mercado sexual se encuentra en aumento permanente, sostenido por una incesante demanda.
 - Las organizaciones delictivas mantienen el control sobre la situación y cuentan con una gran disponibilidad financiera que les permite moverse constantemente, trasladando las víctimas por diversos lugares a lo largo de todo el territorio nacional (UNICEF, 10).

²⁹ Ministerio Público Fiscal.

³⁰ Sexual exploitation of travesties and transgendered individuals constitutes the missing 4% (Red, 5).

men and women” (PIA, 2012), hence, providing a convincing explanation for the sexual exploitation of women.

Consequently, however, trafficking in Argentina is not only an internal matter, since it is not a process that occurs within national borders but internationally and involves the participation of other countries. The *Manual for intervention ...* (2010) indicates that the Republic of Argentina is a country of origin, transit and destination for trafficking because victims are exported from Argentina to neighboring countries as well as to Mexico and Western Europe. Simultaneously, victims are brought into the country from Paraguay, Brazil, the Dominican Republic and Senegal. Argentina is also a country of transit, i.e., a place where victims go on their way to their final destination, countries such as Chile, Mexico, Brazil and Spain. Furthermore, the manual warns that people from Bolivia, Peru and Paraguay are the most frequently documented victims of forced labor (United for justice, 2010, 22). According to the Ministry of Social Security the irregular entry of Chinese immigrants who come or are brought to work in supermarkets, often in subhuman working conditions, has also been a growing phenomenon in Argentina (Ministry of Social Security, 10). According to the Public Prosecutors Office, 31% of the victims of human trafficking are Bolivians, while national victims account for 28%, followed by Paraguayans numbering 21% (Fiscal Public Ministry). Furthermore, in a document published by Mercosur it appears that: “In recent years the Argentina Republic became a country where sexual tourism is offered,” predominantly in major cities like Buenos Aires, as well as in harbor cities like Puerto Madryn and Comodoro Rivadavia among others (Mercosur and others, 31).

In their *National Report on Trafficking of Women for Sexual Exploitation*, Mercosur officials and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Argentina point out that since the enactment of Law 26.364 [Ley de trata, 2008], “the Argentine government, through its public and private institutions, began an institutional process in order to prevent, detect, prosecute and assist victims of trafficking” (Mercosur and others, 59). The manual presented by United for Justice argues that although efforts have been made to set local legislation to international standards complications have emerged that point to the lack of resources and limited protection for victims. The report also reveals that cases of prosecution have been caught up in conflicts between national and provincial agencies, highlighting the internal disorganization between different brokers, institutions and officials of the Argentine government (United for justice, 2010, 22). In its report “Trafficking in Argentina, Chile and Uruguay”, IOM confirms these considerations and highlights the lack of adequate legislation, lack of education and limited training and the oversight of staff involved in investigating cases of trafficking. It also confirms political complicity, as well as the ignorance of police,

judges and prosecutors about the processes of these particular crimes (IOM, 2008, 24). The afore-mentioned manual calls for the increased training of police, as well as the training of prosecutors and judges in interrogation techniques, hence, recognizing the complex reality of victims of trafficking and their hesitation to cooperate in investigations, due partly to shame and fear of reprisals from their traffickers (United for justice, 2010, 23). Speaking of the testimonies offered by victims in interrogations, Córdoba observes that the victims often repeat a story coached by traffickers and insist that they participated in the prostitution by choice. He further explains that only when the interrogators manage to make the trafficked subjects come to terms with the exploitation and abuse, reliable testimonies start to emerge (Córdoba, 59). However, these changing narratives often decrease the victims' credibility and the criminals are acquitted. In the document, "Report on Human Trafficking 2012" the Argentinean government is criticized for not meeting the standards to eliminate trafficking, while simultaneously the report recognizes that the government is carrying out some important actions. It argues that services for victims remain inconsistent where overlapping responsibilities and lack of coordination causes repeated delays. It also criticizes the manifestations that reflect the complicity of some government officials and their efforts to impede progress in the fight against trafficking (U.S. Department of State, 2-4).

The struggle, obstacles and advances

Combating human trafficking has throughout history entailed a difficult struggle as diverse obstacles need to be confronted. First and foremost is the resistance of direct stakeholders, i.e., the many individuals and organized entities that benefit from this highly organized criminal activity that renders its directors considerable lucrative gains. Their tactics to promote the business are manifold and in urban centers, like Buenos Aires, these commonly include the distribution of brochures or leaflets, or nowadays, information distributed via technological means (such as the internet). The leaflets are simple, cheap slips of paper, convenient to put in one's pocket, deliver to men walking down the street or simply scatter around in the streets. The message may vary, but all reveal similar information. One such slip obtained in downtown Buenos Aires for the purpose of this study simply states: "New" or "Young" ["Nuevita!"], "24 Hours", "All included" ["completita"], followed by "HOTELS, PRIVATE ADDRESSES", then a phone number and an address indicating a private apartment, located in the downtown area. The leaflets may feature pictures of semi-nude or nude women or an image that indicates the activity being promoted. However, despite legal measures taken, such as the passing of Ruling 936, from 2011, that promotes

“the eradication of the spread of messages and images that stimulate or encourage sexual exploitation” (Official Gazette of the Republic of Argentina),³¹ the desired results have not been obtained. “Slips about sexual offers: the endless plague of downtown,” as stated in a widely spread newspaper (*La Nación*, December 13, 2012), are still the case. In the battle against the spreading of brochures various NGOs have organized counter attacks or campaigns intended to encourage civil society to take action against the ads plastered on walls, windows or screens around the city. Campaigns such as “Women like you” and the passing of Ruling 946 have however rendered limited results as newspapers, in addition to the leaflets in the streets, continue to advertise sex services as any other service (Commercial, 2010-2013).³² Again, the ads may vary but a popular type exposes young women looking for a better life, as in the following example:

*FEEL LIKE A QUEEN, buy that imported fragrance that you like using [with] your best clothes. Come to the best place in Córdoba (Capital) and make your dreams come true. Over 21 years of age. Call me (mobile phone number in Posadas). PUBLIC LINE AND SMS.*³³

When interviewed on the subject, President Cristina Fernandez de Kirshner argued that it could not be tolerated “[that] on the front pages of a newspaper it is demanded of the government that it combat trafficking while, at the same time, on the last pages, the paper publishes those ads that humiliate women and treat them (women) as (objects) of trade” (*Diario Los Andes*, 2010). Aside from the constant demand for sex services, yet another obstacle faced by those who fight against trafficking is the widespread discrimination that exists against victims of trafficking. Most generally it is based on their social class, origin, appearance and gender, thus rendering women and girls disproportionately vulnerable to trafficking (UNODC, 2007, 28).³⁴ Furthermore, sexually exploited women are discriminated against by society due to being seen as prostitutes. Barnard and McKegany explain that prostitution causes the marginalization of many and that women working the street are the most visible representatives of human trafficking (Barnard and Mc Keganey, 71). In their article, “Human

³¹ Boletín Oficial de la República Argentina.

³² *El comercial*: “Una ONG convoca a despegar avisos de oferta sexual de las calles” (2013).

³³ “SENTIRSE UNA REINA, comprar ese perfume importado que tanto te gusta usar la mejor ropa. Ven ya al mejor lugar de Córdoba (Capital) y hacé realidad tus sueños. Mayor de 21 años. Llámame (número de celular en Posadas). SÍ PÚBLICO Y SMS” (OIM, 2008, 39). Orthography as in the original.

³⁴ United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime.

Trafficking for Sexual Exploitation as a New Form of Slavery”, Giosa, Vena and Marambio explain the following: “Women become victims of exploitation and trafficking due to their absolute state of vulnerability and when rescued [...] before too long they return to those circumstances because they lack means of livelihood or work, as the authorities fail to reverse their situation” (Giosa, Vena and Marambio).³⁵ They explain that many of the women who have fallen prey to trafficking networks, have been abducted and often stayed in captivity for years. Accordingly, these women do not have any formal training in order to get a decent life. The authors explain that the prosecution of the kidnappers is in itself not a solution to the problem. The fundamental reasons for the existence of the networks and the disadvantaged social position and vulnerability of the victims of sexual exploitation need to be confronted (Giosa, Vena and Marambio). But trafficking is multiple and not all are victims of sexual exploitation. Numerous victims of labor trafficking, in the case of Argentina, are, as has been discussed, from Bolivia or Paraguay. José María Magliano, in his article “Migrating Bolivian Women to Argentina: Changes and Continuities in Gender Relations,” presents a testimony that evidently demonstrates the severe discrimination faced by Bolivians in Argentina:

*In general there exists a lot of discrimination and this is what the Bolivians suffer the most. Sometimes, not to feel discriminated against, he wants to change, not disclose that he is a Bolivian, but from the north. That he comes from Salta or Jujuy, to be a part of the Argentina society, but that is bad, it is bad because they do not affirm their identity. Furthermore, many of the women do not dress or talk like they do in Bolivia. They do that in order to avoid being discriminated against.*³⁶

From this testimony, it becomes evident that discrimination is a major obstacle in the fight against trafficking. Giosa, Vena and Marambio warn that because of the continuous discriminatory practices it is important to involve civil society in order to generate a mobilizing critical awareness about the responsibility of the state. Educational institutions, mass media, etc., are valuable venues through which to transfer knowledge and promote a wide range of actions

³⁵ „La Trata de Personas con fines de explotación sexual como una nueva forma de esclavitud“ (2013).

³⁶ “En general hay mucha discriminación, eso es lo que más sufre el boliviano, y algunas veces para no sentirse discriminado, quiere confundirse, ya no dice que es boliviano, sino que es del norte, que es de Salta, de Jujuy, para integrarse en la sociedad argentina, pero también eso es malo, es malo que no demuestren su identidad. Además muchas mujeres no se visten, no hablan como lo hacen en Bolivia para no sentir esa discriminación” (Magliano).

to bring about increased awareness and eventually social change (Giosa, Vena and Marambio).

The last, heavy obstacle facing those fighting against the continuous proliferation of human trafficking is the case of widespread corruption. In its document, “Justice and Corruption” (2006),³⁷ United for Justice observes that in 2005, Argentina came 97th out of 159 countries in the annual report on the level of corruption produced by Transparency International. Argentina appears at the same level as countries such as Algeria, Madagascar, Mozambique and others (United for Justice, 2006, 23). These facts indicate the existence of practices that hinder any substantial progress in the fight against the crime of human trafficking. This makes it clear that the most influential tools in the struggle against human trafficking are the promotion of social awareness and the dissemination of knowledge on the implications of trafficking for the individuals involved and society at large. IOM, on its official website, states that: “In a country the size of Argentina, with extended borders and a long history of trafficking, the key issues are well-functioning public institutions and the advanced specialization of its members” (IOM, 2004). IOM also observes that thanks to repeated efforts in recent years, the problem has become more visible in diverse public spheres of society (IOM, 2004), hence attracting attention nationally and internationally. Particular cases such as that of Martita Verón, who disappeared on April 3, 2002, after going for a medical consultation, shed light on this particular form of slavery. When Martita did not return home, her mother, Susana Trimarco, began to suspect that things were not right and began searching for her daughter (casoveron.org.ar). Reports from the official website of the María de los Ángeles Foundation regarding the disappearance of Martita reveal that her mother and other activists involved in the case discovered several trafficking networks operating in La Rioja, Tucuman, Buenos Aires, Córdoba and Santa Cruz. However, even though the mother has not been successful in finding her daughter, she and others involved in the search have managed to free a number of victims of human trafficking, including 17 Argentine women being exploited in other countries.

Many of those rescued have provided valuable information and support for others, and have also helped make it easier for others to be reunited with their families. As a result of these efforts, in 2007, the María de los Ángeles Foundation, a non-profit NGO organization, was founded. Its purpose is to receive, follow up and assist victims of human trafficking through professional care. Thanks to the efforts of this and other organizations active in the field, trafficking has received more attention from the public and numerous

³⁷ “Justicia y corrupción”.

government agencies (María de los Ángeles Foundation), causing President Cristina Fernández to step in to accelerate the process and reform law 26.364 from 2008 on December 11, 2012. And even though Trimarco's daughter has not been found, at least the perpetrators were discovered and brought to trial. However, due to a legal anomaly that occurred during the trial for the kidnapping of Martita Verón, these people were acquitted. Giosa, Vena and Marambio explain that despite the enactment of the ruling it was a breakthrough in the battle against crime, despite being criticised by some human rights organizations for the difference that it establishes between younger and older victims, i.e. that older victims have to prove lack of consent while younger victims are not required to do so. Nevertheless, newer reform of the law does not differentiate between younger or older victims, because, as Giosa, Vena and Marambio explain, no victim can consent to their own exploitation (Giosa, Vena and Marambio). It is worth emphasizing that the international exposure of the Martita Verón case, and her mother's struggle, has not only shed light on the situation in Argentina, but throughout the world – even in Iceland. Susana Trimarco has already been nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize for her fight against human trafficking and for having, together with her collaborators, saved hundreds of women from sexual slavery (Author unknown, mbl.is).

When Bales discusses the future of human trafficking, he clarifies that it is important to remember that criminals in the field are innovative and highly opportunistic. They operate in a context of extreme competition and violence, and their working conditions revolve around constantly changing their methods. For these reasons, they adapt easily to new situations and technologies. Bales explains that while new forms of communication emerge, new methods of transportation and new ways to control and exploit people also emerge. The traffickers will convert these means to serve their criminal purposes. Therefore, the challenge faced by all those fighting the crime of human trafficking is to stay prepared for these different changes and adaptations to new situations, whether these are in the context of the law or of civil society as a whole (Bales, 150). In Argentina, NGOs have identified a new method in the fight against trafficking, which includes disseminating photos and information about missing women and girls around the country. The publications listed on social networks such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and other such networks, contain information about different cases, such as the name of the intended victim, the time and place of her/his disappearance, where the person was last seen, etc. The principal objective is that these publications be shared on Facebook pages and elsewhere, in order to create a greater chance of locating the victim, and to promote consciousness and greater social awareness about these criminal practices.

Conclusions

Thanks to the Martita Verón wake-up call and recent international activism, the situation of human trafficking has once more been brought to public attention. This article started by presenting the most relevant definition of the term trafficking, as acquired from a protocol signed by the United Nations in 2000, and then outlined the different modes of trafficking, differentiating between sexual and labor exploitation. Furthermore, it discussed the predominant roles of those involved in human trafficking, i.e. victims, traffickers and customers, along with the way they operate, and the tools and methods used by human traffickers. Subsequently, a special attention was given to the situation of trafficking in Argentina, highlighting that human trafficking is not a new phenomenon, but a continuation of slavery as exercised before the formation of the nation.

The main objective of the study, however, has been to respond to questions on the most common obstacles that hinder the fight against the crime of trafficking and to respond to questions on methods to promote more extensive global awareness. While the obstacles are manifold and include lucrative gains and demand for sex services, set against the poverty and vulnerability of women as marginalized subjects, particularly in the developing world, methods to resist trafficking are many and diverse. The article highlighted in particular the case of Susana Timarco's struggle as it has raised the awareness of the Argentine government, as well as of the international community.

As revealed above, the fight against human trafficking is not an easy undertaking, as it takes place within an elaborate and complex international crime scene where the stakeholders of a highly lucrative business quickly adapt to new conditions and technologies, as well as to contemporary social and economic reality. However, despite all the obstacles, such as corruption, discrimination and the complicity of the authorities, the fight for human dignity continues. Thanks to the constant struggle against human trafficking by activists, law makers, and, in some cases, law enforcement agencies, the efforts of international organizations and engaged individuals have –as this article attests to– led to a greater international consciousness.

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Appendix I

Diagram 1- Forms of exploitation in Argentina



Diagram 2- Nationality of victims of trafficking in Argentina.

NACIONALIDAD DE LAS VÍCTIMAS



Statistics from the Argentinean Public Prosecutors' Office web site (From March 2013):
<<http://www.mpf.gov.ar/index.asp?page=Accesos/Ufase/ufase3.asp>>

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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 Workshop 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 Workshop 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 Workshop on Circumpolar Socio-cultural Issues***, at the University of Oulu (Finland), organized by the Thule Institute of this University and the IACSI.
- d) On November 16-18, 2010, was run the ***I International Meeting on Northern and Southern Circumpolarities: Socio-economic and Socio-cultural Approaches***, under the auspices of the CICLOP, School of Economics, University of Buenos Aires and the International Center for the Patrimony and Heritage (CICOP).
- e) On September 25-26, 2014, will be run the ***4th International Workshop on Circumpolar Sociocultural Issues*** at the University of Iceland, organized by the Faculty of Social and Human Sciences of the University of Iceland and the

International Program on Circumpolarity, Antarctica and Extreme Environments (PIECA, Faculty of Social Sciences, Universidad del Salvador), and under the auspices of the IACSI. During the 4th Int'l Workshop one session will include oral presentations while the other one will be devoted to the screening and discussion of documentary and experimental films from both northern and southern circumpolarities. This second session will receive collaboration from the Reykjavík International Film Festival (RIFF).

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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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 *Miriada*, 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.), and publishes the *Arctic & Antarctic – International Journal on Circumpolar Sociocultural Issues*, a peer-reviewed publication, together with the Foundation of High Studies on Antarctica & Extreme Environments (FAE).

University of Iceland

(Reykjavík, Iceland)

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

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

Faculty of Social Sciences

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

The Faculty is divided into seven departments:

- Department of Library and Information Science
- Department of Anthropology and Folkloristics
- Department of Sociology
- Department of Social Work

- Department of Political Science
- Department of Psychology
- Department of Pedagogy

Faculty of Humanities

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

Department of Languages, Literatures and Linguistics

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

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

Programa de Español

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

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

The study of Spanish can be combined with other program within (and/or outside) the School of Humanities. After a B.A.-degree has been obtained, the postgraduate degrees of M.A. and M.Paed are now on offer in the

Faculty of Foreign Languages. An M.Paed-degree grants a qualification for the teaching of a foreign language within the Icelandic secondary school system, while an M.A.-degree is aimed to further the student's knowledge within the field of language and literature, as well as in other fields of Hispanic and Latin American Studies.

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

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

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contact: webmaster@hi.is

Imaginaire du Nord
**The International Laboratory for the
Comparative Multidisciplinary Study
of Representations of the North
University of Québec in Montréal (Canada)**

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

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

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

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

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

Research and Projects

Since it was set up in 2003, the Laboratory has brought together some 15 researchers from about 10 universities (in Québec, Sweden, Denmark, Iceland, France, Israel, Canada, Germany, England, Iceland and Spain) who have used the infrastructure developed at UQAM to study the Nordic imaginary. The Laboratory is a research infrastructure that brings together, in a free and open

manner, researchers interested in studying the Nordic and Winter imaginary. In addition to projects directed by associated researchers and dissemination activities, a number of funded research projects are being carried out at the Laboratory on the theory of the imaginary and representations, cultural and literary history, comparative studies, as well as popular and media-based culture.

Teaching

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

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

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

Documentary Collection

The Laboratory has one of the largest specialized libraries on the Nordic imaginary and the issues related to its study. Its documentary collection includes 6,000 literary works, essays, films and articles.

Its researchers have developed an innovative series of data banks (containing works, illustrations and quotations) which are continually updated. As of May 1st, 2007, these banks contained some 35,000 records, including:

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

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

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

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

Publications

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

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

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

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

The University of Oulu (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.

For 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

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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 Editor-in-chief and the co-Editors:

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

b) Manuscript Preparation

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

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

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

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

Torpey, John (2000): *The Invention of the Passport: Surveillance, Citizenship and the State*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Levy, Jacob T. (2000): "Three Modes of Incorporating Indigenous Law". In: Kymlicka, Will & Norman, Wayne (eds.): *Citizenship in Diverse Societies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 297–325.

Gilroy, Paul (1999): "Between Camps: Race and Culture in Postmodernity". In: *Economy and Society*. Vol. 28, no. 2, pp. 183–198.

Smith, Jane & Korsakofsy, Sacha (eds.) (1998): *Post-Capitalist Economies*. Anchorage: Alaska University Press.

Illustrations: All illustrations should be provided in camera-ready form, suitable for reproduction (which may include reduction) without retouching. Photographs, charts and diagrams are all to be referred to as "Figure(s)" and should be numbered consecutively in the order to which they are referred. They should accompany the manuscript, but should not be included within the text. All illustrations should be clearly marked on the back with the figure number and the author's name. All figures are to have a caption and source. Captions should be supplied on a separate sheet.

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

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

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

c) Electronic Submission

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

d) Copyright

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

f) 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 9 will be published in June 2015. **Deadline for the manuscripts addressed to this coming issue is April 30, 2015.**

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

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