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

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

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

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The next issue of *Arctic & Antarctic - International Journal of Circumpolar Socio-Cultural Issues* will be published in July 2016. Contributions must be sent before the end of March 2016. Besides articles, the issues can include seminar and conference reports, book reviews, comments or discussions.

Arctic & Antarctic

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China Bipolar Strategy:
Power Projection and Strategic Interests in the Arctic and Antarctic.

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Abstract

Since the beginning of the economic reform policy, China political, financial and military power projection has been increasing. As rising global power during this century China aims to restart its historical central place in global affairs and secure its territorial and maritime borders. For political leaders the most important challenges in the near future will come from USA apprehensions due to a rising Chinese military power in Asia Pacific, Chinese increasing power through economic inter dependence in South East Asia and the way to secure logistical routes for food and oil supplies to its people. According to this, China´s North and South Poles (Arctic and Antarctic) main interests includes free access to circumpolar facilities like ports, reduce freight transport costs, and ensure access to natural resources in order to sustain long term development strategy. In this regard, the paper emphasizes the relevance acquired by the Arctic and Antarctic areas trough scientific, geological infrastructure facilities deployment.

Key words: power projection, cooperation, climate change, international regimes, trade, energy

Introduction

Under the guidelines of "peaceful development" strategic, China plays an increasing role in the international system. Since the beginning of an open door policy, the country implemented a foreign policy, that have enabled its increasing global influence in the international arena. As big player in global affairs, China growing capacities in financial, trade, military and scientific fields drive deeper changes in international balance of power.

[1] With special thanks to Mr. Pablo Kornblun, PhD.

In a context of a strategic building capacity strategy, in the last ten years, China´s foreign policy is focused avoiding challenges from extra regional actors like USA, fulfill growing interdependence patterns with South East Asian economies and secure food, row materials and oil supplies from different markets, mainly in Africa and the Middle East. Also, thanks to its new global leverage, China´s foreign policy showed country´s role in interstate multilateral organizations sphere (for instance, the United Nations), pan-Pacific cooperation forums (like APEC) commitments, south –south dialogues promotion. As a result, after years of opening reforms policy enforce, China has built a positive international image as "emerging power".

However, Chinese long term foreign policy goals, not only take the preeminence of USA or Asian countries relationships, but also targeted other strategies areas assumed critical points to secure future economic development and its own security: the North Pole and the South Pole. For these reasons, permanent settlements (bases, outposts and scientific centers) deployment in both poles, research activities policies, and joining multilateral regimes in the Arctic and Antarctic, China not only shows its new international stature, but also pursue strategic goals concerning accesses to natural resources (particularly oil and gas) and minerals laying under both poles ice seabed. Also, expected Arctic melting process will shorten sea lines routes, and increase maritime vessels traffic enable much higher interconnections between East Asia (mainly China) and European markets.

As it seen, China´s long term ambitions in the north pole are focused in new possibilities given by the empowerment of east- west national maritime services, infrastructure upgrade policies (charging and refueling facilities) across coastal areas, new business opportunities for logistic companies, and easier access to deeper waters energy resources and biodiversity. All those factor, are not minor issues for china eager to secure food and energy long term supplies for a huge population and, actually the second economy in the world and perhaps the first by the middle of this century.[2]

But if China takes economic interest first, military suspicion are also relevant. According to this, Chinese leaders, military planners and policy

[2] China´s great heroe Admiral Zheng He (1371 - 1433) overseas expeditions, encourages historics goals to restart its historical regional hegemonic power.

makers, take bipolar projection strategy as an opportunity to reduce country economic and military vulnerability. By these actions, China expects among others goals to achieve, avoid security challenges that could hinder goods and services supplies for their industries (production) and citizen consumption.

The interdiction of freights routes by military forces (i.e.: USA naval forces) in the South East Asia straits (Malacca y Makassar) and reduction of time and transport costs, ranks also as top priorities in mind of chine leaders to allocate financial and human resources targeting both Poles. For those reasons, in the last ten years, China has been built powerful *blue waters* maritime forces drafted to protect national interests near its coasts and beyond near coast, specifically in East China Sea and the Indian Ocean. Icebreaker ships, destroyers, coast guards units, and a new aircraft carrier (Liaoning, placed into operations in 2012) are empirical facts of said above. Many of this maritime power, will eventually be used to guarantee Chinese cargos free pass trough Arctic waters and protect Chinese interest in the South Pole.

In third place, scientific and research activities are also key tool for its bipolar ambitions. In scientific fields, traditional and incoming actors like China are playing a more important role in both poles. States with historical presence in the Arctic as Russia, USA, Finland, Denmark, Norway or Sweden, area seeing a more proactive China in the area, driven by environmental and climate change research interests. The same way could be seen in China´s Antarctic approach at the beginning of 80´s, when opened its first Antarctic facilities, the *Great Wall Base.* (See map below).[3] Nowadays, natural resources and minerals (will be analyzed further later) potentials in the area are the main objective of the Communist Party (CCP). Deployment of excommunication devices, facilities and equipments for environment measures purposes are also part of Chinese Antarctic policy agenda.

Looking forward perhaps the hard challenges that China imposed will come from Arctic and Antarctic intra regimen disruptions. Until now, Arctic and Antarctic scenarios evolves within a cooperative framework provided by the Arctic Council (AC) and Antarctic Treaty (AT), state and

[3] Since the beginning of this centiury South Africa and South American countries, such as Venezuela and Uruguay, took first steps in the "white continent" helped by countries with "antarctic long historical presence" like Argentina.

non state actors consensus and multilateral rules preeminence in the sphere of diplomatic dealings. However, in the long term, clashes between scientific interest and economic needs could open a "Pandora box" followed by breaking consensus and perhaps, military confrontation between state members; aggressive unilateralism, lack of commitment and rules minimal enforcement by leaders countries, could lead a way to an open conflict in this century.

In both poles areas, sovereignty claims leads tensions between countries like USA and Russia; in the other side of the Earth, between Chile, Argentina, Great Britain, Australia, among others; until now this claims are constrains in the letter of Antarctic Treaty (TA) which regulate scientific and commercial activities. But the things could change before treaty expiration in 2041when AT members should start negotiations to draw a new multilateral agreement. Antarctic current situation and future trends will imposed also, economic and strategic challenges due to remaining tensions in the South Atlantic surrounding area (i.e. Falkland Islands).

Taking the overview exposed above, the argument of this paper takes the "China factor" as key variable to understand current and evolving North and South Pole stability scenarios in the near future. Although China is not assumed as "rule breaker", its growing presence in both scenarios changes the balance of power; China´s increasing economic, technological and military capabilities open the way to put more pressure into the AC and AT dynamics to seek its long terms pragmatic goals.

1. Arctic: current dynamic and future challenges

The Arctic region comprises 21 million square kilometers; natural conditions and geographical location play a vital role in the global ecosystem and is crucial to understand climate changes tendencies, economic competition, east – west and north-south trade operations. On this particular point, the "dark side" of Arctic melting processes shows a reduction of polar ice cap (in 2010, the Arctic ice occupied 5, 95 million square kilometers, 22% less than the 1979-2000 period average) putting on risks the global ecosystem equilibrium, increasing water levels, changing biodiversity environment and menace coastal cities and people. But taking the positive side, Arctic melting processes can be taken as an opportunity

to bring more open access to strategic resources and trade corridors for Asia to Europe. [4]

Proved existence of energy reserves (oil and gas) lays in Arctic seabed, drives cooperative-competitive dynamics among AC members; in fact, turn of the century U.S. Geological Survey (USGS) reports suggest in Arctic seabed lies 30% of gas and 13% of oil unexplored global reserves, mainly of these near Alaska and Greenland coasts. Regarding this, President Obama decision to lift off shore oil banned operations in front of Alaska coasts after 17 years, was based in the light of well awareness huge energy potential. Given those factors, China´s entry to AC cooperative regime, could induce intra regime tensions.

1.2. Arctic system: states dynamics and regimes stability

According to official statements, Russian geopolitical ambitions seeks to reaffirm sovereignty territorial claims in the region increasing scientific activities, human resources allocation and investment on facilities. Through political, scientific, economics and military actions taken by Russia the country try to reaffirm its Arctic rights based on Russian historical continuity in the area since Czarist Empire regime.

The second point to reaffirm its tough position consists in geological arguments, supporting Russian territorial projections through deep blue waters into the North Pole. Specifically, Russia sustain that Lomonosov Ridge (underwater mountain) is part of its own territory; argument rejected by AC members like Canada. From Russian military perspective, the Arctic regime also give a platform to contain territorial ambitions and maritime claims fulfilled by Russia´s big contenders such as United States or NATO alliance members. In a wide perspective, Nordic countries agree to contain Russian ambitions and territorial claims; notably Denmark, pursuing integral territory principle first to applied to Greenland control. To this, for many AC members, strong European representation gives them capacities to ensure issues peacefully resolution, strengthen enforcement capacities into decision making process and ensure –the eventual- Russia (even China) military deterrence by NATO intervention.

[4] See, Palacían de Inza, Blanca y García Sánchez, Ignacio, "Geopolítica del deshielo del Artico", en *Revista Política Exterior,* Vol. XXVII, Julio/Agosto 2013, Número 154, pp.88-96.

Russian Arctic sector comprises 1.5% of total country's population, provides near 11% of national GDP and 22% of its total exports; country ´preferences to maintaining the Arctic as "economic cooperation zone" principle, go hand in hand with Russian interests in oil reserves, estimated - according PP Shirshov Institute of Oceanology, Russian Academy of Sciences – in 51 billion tons. and 87 trillion cubic meters of gas. Despite the challenges exposed above, for Russia long term political ambitions, working within the Arctic regime will reaffirm its current leading position as one of top oil and gas global producers also. Furthermore, multi axis policy praxis (particularly under Putin rule) clearly shows Russia ambitions to be recognized as re emerging power. For Russian hard liners, Arctic strategy re-legitimates national aspirations to restore Russian international status lost, after Soviet collapse.

The United States and Canada (both partners in the NAFTA agreement) dispute the Northwest Passage corridor, which Americans currently ships can pass through. Disagreements appears in water disputes; under the UN Sea Convention (1982), United States, Canada, Denmark, Russia and Norway claims sovereignty rights over a continental shelf and territorial waters 350 miles away from their coast. However, United States has not signed the Convention and rejects Arctic waters "internationalization" process, arguing the need to ensure free and open navigation routes without any restrictions.

Despite intra regime political tensions, in 2010 Russia and Norway ended 40 years of bilateral discussions by signing an agreement on Barents Sea waters delimitation into equal parts. Russia made its first complaints over this region in 2001 and 2007, and "symbolically" reaffirmed their sovereign rights when in 2007 two mini subs planted a Russian flag 4.200 meters depth in the Arctic Ocean.

2. China into the Arctic: eager for resources an trade facilities access

According to SIPRI reports, China´s incoming is leading by two main purposes: secure oil resources access and maximizes east – west trade facilitation flows due to Arctic melting process. Also, China initiatives gives relevance to different issues such as Arctic climate change impacts on its national ecosystem.

Arctic gradual melting will easy trade flows between Europe and Asia; shipments and supertankers which at present day passes through

Suez Canal, shall be referred freight operations to ice free Northwest Passage during north hemisphere summer months. As result, Arctic melting could shorten 6,400 km form chins east ports like Shanghai to central Europe Hamburg port reducing transport time, freight costs and insurance services taxes. This hypothesis, went into reality when in 2009 Russian tanker, Baltika, successfully crossed over northeast line route through Siberia. (See Appendix map)

For China, alternative sea routes like this, also will reduce risks logistics operations through troubled waters i.e. in the Southeast Asia (SEA) like Malacca and Makassar straits and the Gulf of Aden, two maritime corridors witch rank top among places under piracy menace. It is also interesting to note, how Chinese arctic interest is followed by other Asian countries like South Korea and Japan, interested also to get some benefits derived from new shipping routes to Western markets and natural resources.

For China, its growing interest in Arctic area increases "Nordic block" countries political relevance. Nordic countries, acting together may share interests, allow resources access, and open a "gateway" from China to Europe. Or, by contrary, contains China´s ambitions and blockade peacefully or in much harder way, Chinese political and commercial movements.

In a general view, China has no Arctic coast therefore can not push forward with sovereign rights arguments over this area. However, China put on the table regarding future issues (worsening environment, melting process itself, access to biodiversity and deep sea waters exploration) shall require harmonizes, not only those bordering Arctic states namely Canada, USA, Russia, Norway, and Denmark (Greenland) preferences but also "all countries" needs and pretension over the area. [5] According to this, looking ahead suspicions arise if a more powerful China might question the status quo, trying to fix new rules.

China´s pretension to reform existing multilateral regimes, such as IMF, WTO, or the UN system itself, may act spreading initiatives to meet this goals. Moreover, as permanent member of United Nations Security Council (UNSC) -itself or alongside with Russia- veto strategy against, for instance, U.S.A, France or UK (NATO allies) could be taken as intra

[5] Jakobson, Linda (2010), *China Prepares for an Ice Free Arctic,* Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), No.2010 / 2, March 2010.

regime breaking consensus policy or shifts loyalties opening confidence gap between AC members.

Furthermore, Chinese interests in energy, natural resources access, bio diversity and free navigation routes, pushed ahead Chinese military modernization forces; Chinese naval new capacities added a powerful blue waters navy enable to project power and protect the vessels peaceful passage mainly through the Pacific and Indian Oceans but in Arctic waters too. Increase the use of military forces to solve inter estate disputes as first option, could lead a way to strengthen Arctic members military power to prevent clashes in Arctic area. In this regard, Chinese sensibility arises when chins experts express concern over USA ambitions to contain Chinese Arctic projections or Russia proposals to impose taxes for allow vessels free pass trough. Given that, for China Arctic "north corridor" not only provides an alternative pass for vital supplies access, but also will expand import – exports flows.

Despite that, in recent years China has moved in a wide more flexible position. Arctic (and Antarctic) issues have gained relevance within China´s government agenda. For instance, fulfilled new state agencies set up, i.e. China Administration for the Arctic and Antarctic (ACAA) in 1981. As the same, national or local research centers and universities encouraged polar studies and human resources training programs. As result, in less than two decades, China draw specific guidelines containing bipolar scientific purposes, explained bipolar ambitions in papers, technical reports and trough official statements; finally, setting up research facilities (bases) in the north and south pole.

Remarkable achievements have been made since 90´s; in 1995 Chinese scientists went to the North Pole in a context a planned strategy to increase China´s leverage within Arctic institutions. Target reached in 1997, when China joined the International Arctic Science Committee (IASC), a non-governmental regulatory body. Scientific missions were sended for meteorological, geological, and glaciological studies; by constructing new facilities, government eased service companies access to technical support, granted Chinese telecommunications satellites network and China´s own global positioning system (GPS) devices operations also.

In this context, Chinese first Arctic expedition took place in 1999; Chinese scientists team embarked Snow Dragon (Xue Long) icebreaker ship, adapted for scentific purposes. The expedition tasks covered a wide menu on seabed, biological, atmospheric, geological and glaciological

environment. In 2001 - in a joint expedition with Norwegian Polar Institute – Chinese Scientifics explored arctic soil to find a better place to set up China´s first arctic scientific station; finally, in 2004 research station Huanghe (Yellow River) started operations in the North Pole.

After that, scientific missions were sended for meteorological, geological, and glaciological studies; by constructing new facilities, government eased service companies access to technical support, granted Chinese telecommunications satellites network and China´s own global positioning system (GPS) devices operations also. Thanks to those initiatives, scientific arctic record and technological capabilities, allowed China to join AC as Observer Member.[6]

Although China shall be perceived as newcomer country within AC dynamics, undoubtedly has stepped up efforts in recent years to up grade its technological levels and submit multilateral regulations. Consistently with that, scientific expeditions were sent to the North Pole during 2004 – 2012 period. In 2009 China approved a new high-tech icebreaker construction which went into service in 2013. Furthermore, although United States remains the leading country in polar research programs with an annual budget of U $ S 640 million, China has tripled its investment since the beginning of this century spent U$S 14 millions in 2012.

All these territorial and scientific targets in both poles were pushed ahead at the same time in the same way to others high tech scientific fields: space and seabed exploration. At present day, China has know how to build mini submarines, i.e.: Jiaolong (mythical dragon) which - according to China´s Ministry of Science and Technology - can reach more than 3,000 meters deep oceanic waters, placing China among top five countries which held same capacity: USA, Russia, Japan and France. Thus, once technological evolution enables reaching 7,000 meters deep over the next decade such knowledge shall enable China to explore whole deep sea waters around the globe, searching for mineral and energy resources.

In the same line, last year (2013) the China-Nordic Arctic Research Center (CNARC) Cooperation Agreement signed in Shanghai city between China Polar Research Institute (PRIC) and six Nordic country's institutes as well three other Chinese research centers, formally started CNARC joint

[6] Ibidem, op. Cit, *China Prepares for an Ice Free Arctic,* Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), No.2010 / 2, March 2010.

activities.[7] This center has been designed as platform to promote joint academic cooperation programs, better arctic challenges awareness, and promote Nordic Arctic area sustainable development.[8]

Chinas concerns over climate changes, should to be mentioned too. China ranks in the second place in the world in greenhouse gas emission. Given that, bipolar studies comprise climate change data collection, not only regarding global ecosystem challenges but also get useful information to manage domestic climate changes, agricultural development future dilemmas and natural resource management. According to that, Arctic environment degradation has big influence on China´s climate and seasonal changes, i.e.: droughts cycles, floods intensity, natural disasters frequency and wind intensity trough country rural and urban areas. Moreover, empirical data collected from deployed Arctic monitoring systems provides quantitative magnitudes be used to mitigate natural disasters, prevent Northeastern provinces desertification and early warning systems input information.

From Chinese perspective, Arctic climate changes also have to be assumed under their negative impacts has in its coastal areas. China´s east coast fertile lands and surrounding waters annually produce 500,000 tons of fish and seafood. Regarding this, Chinese commitment to preserve Aortic resources, make more sustainable national security food policy and protect "traditional" economic activities like fisheries.

Finally, China´s interests in Arctic cooperative and –current and future- issues peacefully resolution, remains in the general context of its national defense and security policies. For many Chinese policy planners, In the near future Aortic melting process shall have hard effects throughout all country because the expected coasts waters increase levels that will put under dangerous situation industrial areas and densely populated eastern areas.

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[7] As Chinese initiative, in 2013 during the first China-Nordic Arctic Cooperation Symposium meeting in Shanghai, PRIC Institute proposed CNARC establishment.

[8] CNARC´s focus tasks on Northern Arctic and global Arctic issues like climate change, Arctic resources, shipping and economic cooperation and intra regime policy-making proccess.

3. China in Antarctica: visions from the south

Even before starting Arctic operations in the 90´s, China took first steps to the Antarctic early in the 80´s. Although, China first interests signals in this continent were made public in the 50´s, the government suddenly stop because, at the end of this decade, the Maoist China went into political turmoil. As result was nor until the 80´s when China turn again its gaze to the white Continent becoming the Antarctic Treaty (AT) as Consultative Advisory member in 1983.

The Antarctic area covers 14 million square kilometers, almost tripled than Aortic surface. Interstate cooperation framework is given by the Antarctic Treaty signed in 1959 and entered into force since 1961. As time went by, and only with the main objective to reinforce states scientific purposes and avoid any military activities commitments in the area, the TA was enriched later with multilateral agreements on environment, biodiversity management, ecosystem protection and permanent settlements regime; thus why, in the last forty years the has TA evolved itself comprising a wider legal framework named Antarctic Treaty System (ATS).[9]

In the last twenty years, the increasing number of TA members and a more complex set of rules derived from the emergence of new multilateral issues, shows the emergence of political pressures and how the TA is put under pressure to introduce amendments. In this regard, ATS regulates States actions and enforce commitments, under the following principles: i) is open to all individual states or others international actors like regional agreements (i.e. the EU), ii) political units can enrich the STA framework, by proposing new legal tools or enforcing multilateral practices, and iii) provides flexible and adaptable approach for internal/external debates among members over new emerging issues, mainly related with scientific activities.

According that, in the last years the STA displays a broad menu of new agreements over tourism, environmental conservation, regional transport and logistics supplies operations (for bases and crews), and natural disasters joint responses; all multilateral agreements been reached under the primacy of "conduct code" designed to prevent and ensure any state involvement in military practices.

[9] Due to its over time evolution, in many ways TA legal corpus is considered a "living law".

In fact, the TA does not resolve current states territorial claims, but declared "inadmissible" any future dispute that may arise due to treaty new incoming members. Territorial disputes and claims exists and involves many states such as among others, Argentina[10], Australia, Chile, France, Norway, New Zealand and United Kingdom. Beyond that, to the present the STA regime try to contain all parts interests in a wide set of rules. While states sovereignty rights in Antarctic area are still "frozen" within AT (Article IV), since the beginning of this century, states full members and newcomers have been very active (namely China) opening bases, outposts and settled monitoring stations in the continent.

In short, the TA provides a multilateral legal corpus which enables exert controls over states behavior and enforce them to meet theirs commitments (policy power), introducing multilateral checks mechanisms, try to avoid actions no linked with scientific purposes (i.e., commercial or military).

3.1 China: pilgrim to the south

Taking a different route and a final outpost destination respect of described in famous Chinese literary classic "Journey to the West", since the 80´s China´s has been pursuing an active strategic policy to the south pole and specifically to reach Antarctic's ice. Once launched the Open Door policy in 1978, China renewed its interest in Antarctica and took specifics measures that –step by step- would allow meet national long term goals in the white continent.

At a first glance, Chinese government assumed the need to joint efforts with friendly countries that have historical records in Antarctic operations. To seek this purpose, Argentina and China signed an agreement for joint scientific programs which -as first step- enable the transfer of *know how* from Argentina´s team to Chinese counterparts. Result of a tight political confidence between both countries, this agreement was followed by others, mainly related with logistical support; by this time, Argentina had its own icebreaker (Gen. San Martin, later replaced by Alte. Irizar) for Antarctic purposes and an efficient "air bridge" between mainland and the continent (I.e., Vcom. Marambio, Air Force

[10] Chile and Argentina recognize each other's sovereign rights, only in those Antarctic sectors in which their territorial claims do not overlap.

Base opened in 1969 and other permanents navy and army settlements) enabled ships refueling as well as personal and supplies transport to the bases. Later in 1981, China organized its first national Antarctic expedition committee. After that, (and having joined TA a year earlier) in 1984 the first Chinese national expedition to the South Pole was ready to depart from Shanghai.

A year later (1985), in 25 de Mayo island China opened its first Antarctic Base; named Great Wall (*Chang Cheng*) was integrated into a global meteorological observatories system network. That is how, early in the 80´s, China was the last top five UN Security Council Permanent Members to posses its foots in the Antarctic continent. Thereafter, the dragon has shown an increasing influence within AT regime.

This initiative was followed by opening a second Antarctic facility in 1989, Zhongshan research base. That year, China scientific team reached other milestone when Qin Dahe, became the first Chinese citizen to cross the continent on foot. By the nineties, thanks to new scientific and technical capabilities acquired, human resources skills, Antarctic record experience and its own icebreaker (Xuelong or Snow Dragon) built in national shipyards, China took a more autonomous path in Antarctic activities.

China´s big step in its Antarctic strategy was given in 2004 when a Chinese scientific mission reached for first time the South Pole, climbed an reached the highest peak top in that area, Mount Argus. Years later, under Hu Jintao presidency (2009) China opened its third base, Kunlun, in the South Pole highest point (4.093 meters).[11] Future China plans shows Chinese intention to open a fourth base, Taishan, will feature twenty eight scientists and technicians working there; located 2.600 meters high, would began operations early in 2015.

Those initiatives were hand in hand with national agencies settlement to manage Antarctic initiatives. As consequence, in 2006 Chinese government establish a Polar Expeditions Coordination Base in Shanghai (Pudong District); icebreakers docks, oceanographic ships, laboratories, places for special materials stocks, and a bench for samples obtained by scientific expeditions, were just some of the new facilities provided by the government to support and currying on bipolar strategy.

[11] It should be noted that two of China three bases (Zhongshan and Kunlun) are located in a territory which is currently claimed by Australia, China´s important trading partner in Asia and close allie to USA and UK, NATO members.

Thanks to that, by now, Chinese scientists in Antarctic bases main tasks are related with glaciological, meteorological, polar upper atmosphere physical studies, telecommunications engineering, geo spatial, physics and geomagnetic experiments. Looking forward, Chinese government is going to take a more proactive approach on Antarctic matters, for instance, developing a modern fleet capable for polar research operations. For this, the national plan 2011-2015, among others targets, includes a new icebreaker construction by 2016 (see chart).[12]

Table 1: *China's Antarcic involvement in Antarctica*

China's Antarctic Involvement in 5 Stages

- 1955-1978 Early interest thwarted by politics and economics
- 1978-1984 Cooperation with other Antarctic powers
- 1985-1989 China develops its own Antarctic programme, set up bases
- 1989-2004 China focuses on improving the quality of its Antarctic science
- 2005-present China upgraded its Antarctic activities: increasing spend, facilities, and research.

Since 2005 China has been upgrading its Antarctic presence and seeking to increase its level of engagement in Antarctic governance.

China's key Antarctic tasks 2011-2016 are as follows:

- Build a new ice breaker by 2016
- Two new bases: Taishan, Ross Sea.
- Basler airplane by 2014.
- Set up air fields at Kunlun, Zhongshan, and Taishan bases
- Develop an international polar affairs campus in Shanghai
- Project to assess polar governance and resources (2012-2016)

Source: Wilson Center, Kissinger Institute on China and the United States, USA, May 2014.

[12] Altough China has become an active state actor in the Antarctic continent, other asian countries such as Japan, South Korea, and India, followed its pass. In this regard, India founded a National Centre for Ocean and Antarctic Research (NCAOR) to manage anctartic Maitri base research programs on meteorology, human physiology, geology and marine biology.

3.2 Looking ahead.

In the last twenty years, China has been steadily increased its involvement in Antarctica matters, both throughout joined AT regime as in real field settle permanent bases. With and ambitious schedule for the years to come, China will increase budget allocation that could triple the actual amount (around 300 million dollars). Its interests will go beyond scientific purposes to put focus on natural resources and energy sources, laying both in surrounding waters, sea bed and under ice cape.

To the present, concerning economic activities allowed to be done in the area (i.e.: limited tourist operations or low intensity resource exploitation) China is working under AT parameters. However, China has enough technological capabilities in offshore exploitation that in the future could change the status quo in the Antarctic surrounding waters. Comparative better weather conditions in the area than in Arctic Ocean or North Sea to find energy resources, have to be taken to analyzes this point. In this regard, Chinese interests projections to the South Atlantic, was remarkable when in 2010 the state-owned China National Offshore Oil Corporation (CNOOC) purchased (U$S 3,100 million) 50% of Bridas Corporation, largest argentine private oil exporter which has operations in the so called "Austral Basin", near Malvinas/Falkland Islands.

Table 2: *China bipolar strategy, comparative perspectives*

	Arctic	**Antarctic**
Timing	Post economic reform activism, with increasing intensity from the nineties.	Conceive in the 50´s, activism from the eighties.
State partners role	Relies on cooperation agreements and friendly states helps, mainly Norway and Denmark.	Supported by states with historical presence and logistical support capacities: Argentina
Multilateral commitments.	Adherence to cooperative arrangements by existing multilateral agreements; AC regimen commitments.	Joining Antarctic Treaty (AT) made commitments and adopted international standards and regulations.

Key interest	Economic advantages in natural resources and oil sources accessiveness first; supported by scientific initiatives.	Scientific initiatives first; eventually long term access to natural resources (water) and oil reserves.
Economic relevance.	Low freights cost due to shorten shipping lines routes.	Less relevant economic purposes; set of biodiversity issues take first place.
Global power and power projection	Into North Arctic scenarios; active posture.	To South Atlantic Ocean area; cautious approach.
China´s role perception	Growing suspicion by Arctic members, USA and NATO members.	In the near future China could impose new set of rules within AT regime due to its political, economic, scientific and military power. As extra regional actor, my rise tensions with NATO allies or even south American countries.
NGO´s role.	NGOs provide accountability on sustainable resources management.	NGOs less relevant role.
Environment preservation.	Under AC regimen.	Antarctic resources are protected from commercial exploitation; the white continent remains an "mankind natural reserve".
Sovereignty issues or territorial claims	Have to be solved through diplomatic negotiations within AC frame.	Territorial claims within AT member's states still remain unsolved; challenges ahead until AT expires in 2041.

Source: SIPRI, Argentina National Antarctic Administration, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, International Trade and Worship, Argentina.

Present day, China is not a "sovereignty claimant" country over the Antarctic territory but gradually expand its influence within the STA. Similar to the strategy of "wait and see" described for Arctic interactions (SIPRI, 2010), China patiently awaits the expected Antarctic regime changes after AT expiration in 2041. In the coming years, a more powerful economic, scientific and military China will increase its leverage within the treaty and will impose hard negotiations conditions to other states, at the middle of this century.

On the other hand, South American countries perceive emerging risks as long as the Antarctica will continue be seen as an important mineralogical reserve, full of bio-energy, food and water. Also, from the standpoint of taking positions against possible claims sovereignty, South American nations area seeing how European nations (and by extension NATO powers) have already taken positions in Antarctic areas within and around the South Atlantic Ocean (SAO).[13]

Regarding to this, as negative precedent European Union (EU) Constitution put under NATO defensive umbrella "overseas territories" in SAO, including the Falkland Islands claimed by Argentine. NATO defensives mechanism, could also put into actions initiatives form extra European allies like USA. Thus, although is not directly posted within Antarctic soil, deployment of military devices in SOA waters have increased risk levels and undermine regional stability.

Preeminent unilateral behaviors could break cooperative disciplines drives towards a competitive logics, which involves extra and intra regional actors; changes in regional scenario which comprises, SOA waters access, resources management, Antarctic claims related issues, will affect not only Argentina but also Chile, Uruguay and Brazil geopolitical interests.

In that sense, guided by a long term perspective future SOA – Antarctic scenarios have been draw to take measures over South America regional common defense policies. Related to this, the South American Defense Council (CDS) born under the South American Nations Union (UNASUR) political consensus, could be considered a key body to meet this challenges. Assumption shifts from, an "stable equilibrium" scenario to "unstable equilibrium" by mid-century in Antarctica, leads politicians

[13] See: Sersale, José Luis y Ditonno Florencia, "La construcción de una agenda regional de defensa", en *Consejo de Defensa Suramericano. Una mirada desde la Argentina. Cuadernos de actualidad en defensa y estrategia,* No.4, Ministerio de Defensa de la República Argentina, 2009: 31-46.

and think tanks reflex ions over the need to consolidates South American multilateral agreements and cooperation in security and defense.

In the line to have been explained, Chile and Argentina filed a complaint against British claims in the UN; to protect their own rights in the Antarctic, both countries pushed ahead a new doctrinarian principle related with a concept of "South American Antarctica", meaning the future territory status quo is not only linked with both countries interests but also with regional nations at all. Doctrinal and operational principle to preserve South America (including SOA-Antarctic area) as "free nuclear weapons zone", reaffirm regional commitments to maintaining peace and stability in the coming decades.

As in the Arctic, strategic views on Antarctic matters highlights the importance on accessing natural resources but to a lesser extent, on the needs of granted inter-oceanic free pass routes. Until now there is no big challenges ahead on security constraints given by free navigability Atlantic-Pacific routes through Drake Strait. By contrary, more risks shows the eventual political or physical Panama Canal blockades, other reason for USA-China mutual concerns and suspicions.[14]

To conclude, "extra-regional powers" like Great Britain, China o even USA, having more influence over SOA-Antarctic matters; AT regime expected changes and North Atlantic Organization (NATO) military power projection to South American Cone, have introduced complex dilemmas on how to maintain peace and stability in the years to come.

Final remarks

China´s national ambitions in both poles will continue its fast track in the coming years. In line with their economic, financial, scientific, military and technological capabilities, China is deploying a bipolar strategy targeting both, the North and the South Pole to ensure granted access to natural and energy sources.

Regarding the Arctic melting process, China seeks to get benefits given by a new north corridor sea route, lowering transport freight costs to increase trade flows to European markets. Looking forward south and as a member of the Antarctic Treaty, China is showing strong interests to play a key role as great power in South Atlantic region. In both scenarios

[14] Issue also related with Chinese interests to develop a dry channel project across Nicaragua.

emerging tensions derived form territorial claims, and regime changes may go further given China´s presence.

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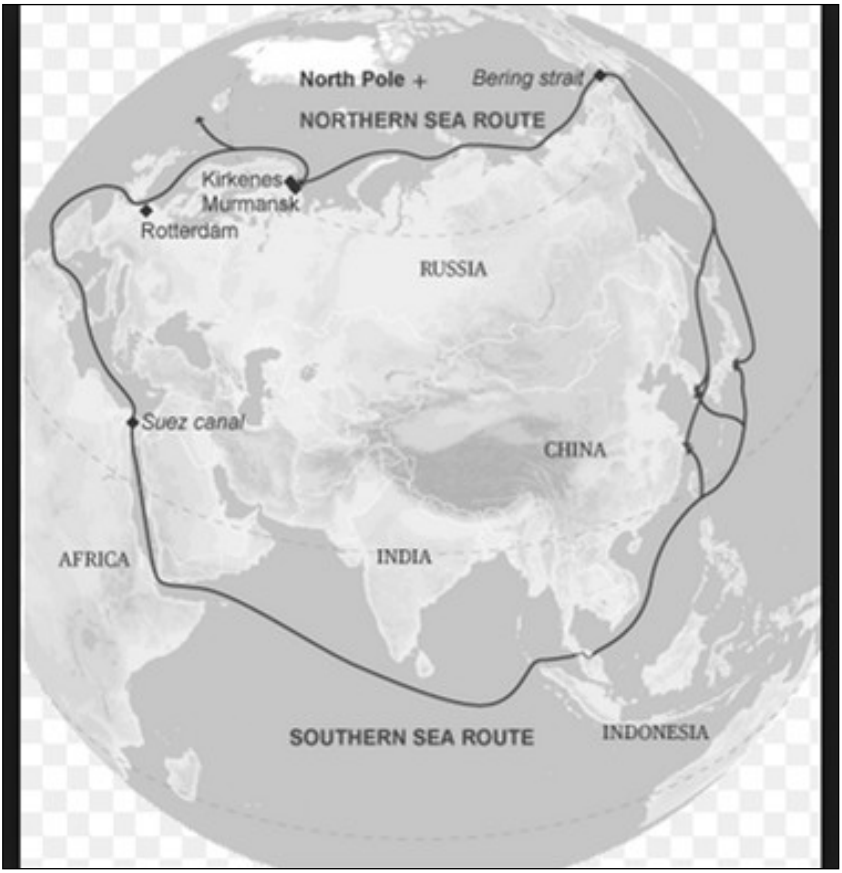
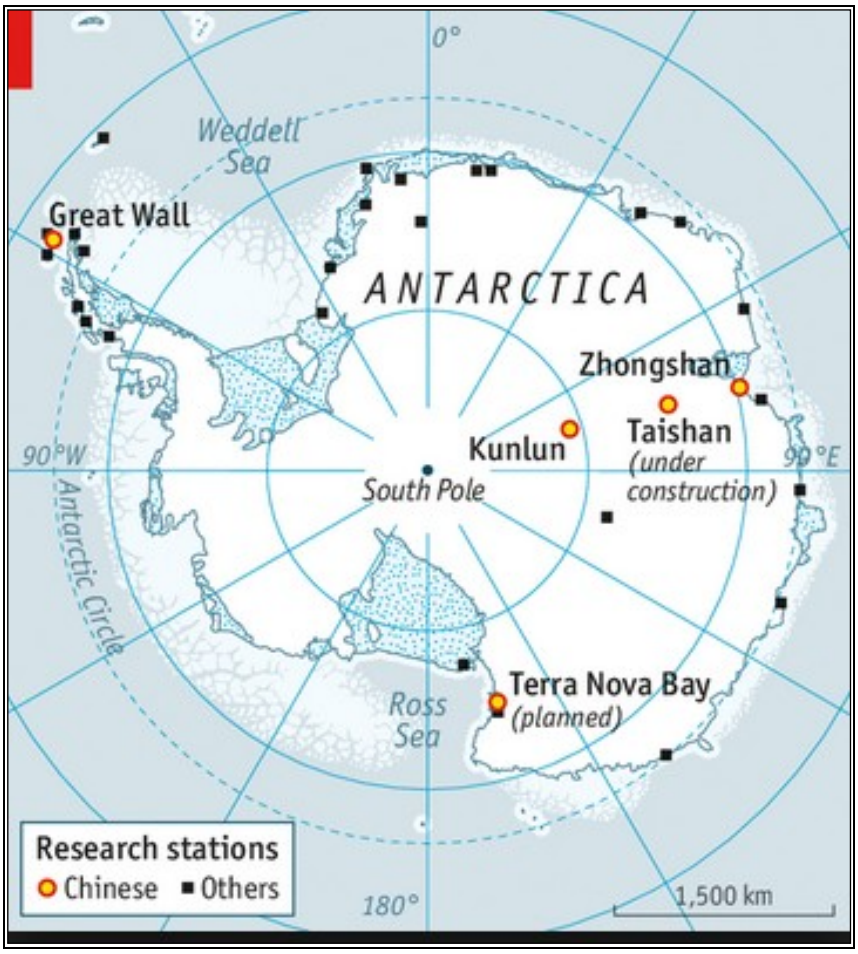
APENDIX

Map 1: *Arctic Northern sea route*



Map 2: *China´s Antarctic bases location*



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Runaway Icelanders: Globalization, Collapse and Crime

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Abstract

Criminologists typically study crime-ridden social contexts, but it can be argued that we learn the most by examining contexts where little crime occurs. Low-crime contexts allow us to analyze the relationship between punishment and social structure, rather than the link between punishment and crime. Iceland — one of the world's smallest, most homogeneous and egalitarian countries — offers a particularly interesting case of a low-crime context. However, Iceland has changed significantly since the 1990s. Especially notable is that, after a period of booming economic growth characterized by neoliberal globalization, Iceland spiraled into the "greatest financial crisis ever" in 2008. This article describes the unique social context of Iceland, how it has been affected by rapid globalization, and how these social changes have impacted crime. Surprisingly, the findings show that in spite of dramatic social changes, the local crime rate did not change markedly, apart from economic crimes, which have soared.

Key words: globalization, neo-liberalism, economic collapse, crime, Iceland.

Introduction

In 2000, the book, *Wayward Icelanders: Punishment, Boundary Maintenance, and the Creation of Crime,* by Helgi Gunnlaugsson and John F. Galliher, was recognized as making a significant contribution to criminology (Maggard, 2001). The primary reasoning behind the book was that studying the relationship between punishment and social structure in a nation with little crime might offer a new understanding of crime.

However, Iceland has changed a lot since the publication of *Wayward Icelanders*. Specifically, Iceland has globalized more rapidly during this time

than just about any other Western country. Moreover, no country was hit harder by the recent global economic downturn (Johnsen, 2014). This had profound effects on Icelandic society, which raises a compelling question: What was the impact of said changes on crimes known to the police, in particular economic crimes?

What makes Iceland such an interesting case for anyone interested in social change is that it offers a microcosm of how a society is impacted by rapid globalization and subsequent economic collapse (Boyes, 2009). Moreover, what makes Icelandic society an especially interesting case for criminologists is that despite fundamental social changes, Iceland still has one of the lowest crime rates of any country. Nonetheless, many are concerned that this too might be changing.

Nations with little crime

Criminologists focus most of their energy on studying crime-ridden communities and nations with high crime rates in order to understand the relationship between social structure and punishment (Gunnlaugsson and Galliher, 2000). Marshall Clinard's (1978) book, *Cities With Little Crime: The Case of Switzerland*, was a welcome exception. However, Clinard's choice of Switzerland as a nation with little crime has not gone unchallenged. As a case in point, Danish criminologist Flemming Balvig (1988) argued that Clinard's depiction of Switzerland as a relatively crime-free society was distorted by his perspective as an American: "One might be justified in asking whether any American criminologist would not in fact reach the same conclusions no matter what country was being studied" (Balvig, 1988:18). Furthermore, Balvig (1988) posited that Switzerland is not all that different from many other European countries in terms of crime rates. In fact, comparative data show Switzerland to have similar crime rates to its neighboring countries and having more crime than many others (Gunnlaugsson and Galliher, 2000). Nonetheless, both Clinard (1978) and Balvig (1988) ignored Iceland, which at the time had significantly lower crime rates than either Switzerland or Denmark.

One explanation for its low rate of crime is that Iceland is a small and relatively homogenous society, factors that are claimed to help facilitate primary group relations, social integration, and informal social control. These social characteristics are often found lacking in other industrialized nations, which are characterized by increasingly secondary social relations,

social isolation – and more crime (Adler, 1983; Christie, 2000; Messner and Rosenfeld, 1997). Iceland also has had a more or less continuous representative democracy since 930 AD. Accordingly, it has neither had a king nor formal nobility (Hreinsson, 2005), never had a colony or military conscription or an army, and has never declared war on another nation (Karlsson, 2000).

Another reason for the low crime rate is that Iceland has long been among the most egalitarian countries in the world (Broddason and Webb, 1975; Ólafsson, 1999) and most studies show that greater economic inequality leads to higher crime rates (Blau and Blau, 1982; Stolzenberg et al., 2006). Despite rising inequality in recent decades (Ólafsson and Kristjánsson, 2013), Iceland is still relatively egalitarian in many respects and quite unique in the sense that the capitol of Reykjavík, the country's only city, does not have any slums (Kristjánsson, 2007).

Iceland is also a very communitarian society (Baumer et al., 2002), despite a well-documented emphasis on individual freedom (Pálsson and Durrenberger, 1996). In this sense, Iceland exemplifies Braithwaite's (1999) "good society", a society that is both committed to collective duties and individual rights (Ólafsson, 1996). Consistent with Braithwaite's (1999) theory of reintegrative shaming, Iceland's communitarianism, with effective informal social control, helps keep crime rates down (Gunnlaugsson and Galliher, 2000). Despite rapid social changes in recent decades, Iceland with its small and relatively homogenous cultural, social, and economic makeup has been able to maintain many of the preventive social characteristics when it comes to urban crime.

The perception of Iceland as a low crime country was, however, for long based primarily on informal observation because of a lack of official records of crime. Until recently, police statistics have not been easily accessible due to irregular or non-existent record keeping by local officials. Consequently, it was difficult to obtain a detailed historical picture of crime in Iceland. But in recent years, record keeping of crime in Iceland has improved, coinciding with a growing concern about crime (Gunnlaugsson and Galliher, 2000).

Contemporary police statistics show that the total number of crimes known to the police is indeed markedly lower in Iceland than in many other countries. For example, the total number of recorded offences in Iceland was about 6,000 per 100,000 inhabitants during 2000-2003, while the number was 9,000 in Denmark, 10,000 in Finland, and just below

14,000 in Sweden (Aebi et al., 2006). In the period 2006-2008, the number in Iceland was still similar to the 2000-2003 rate, or about 6,000 offences per 100,000 inhabitants (National Commissioner of the Icelandic Police, 2009). Earlier Interpol records of crimes known to the police also show that Reykjavík remained below than other Nordic capitals for all serious forms of crime (Prime Minister's Office, 1996).

Problems continue to exist in international comparisons of official crime data, such as those found in police data (Beirne and Messerschmidt, 2000). Reporting practices vary between different countries, as well as law enforcement practices. To deal with problems of different handling of crime data, homicide statistics are useful because recording practices do not radically differ between countries. And, here Iceland is also exceptional as it has some of the lowest homicide rates in the world. For example, the homicide rate in Iceland from 2000-2008 was around 0.7 homicides per 100,000 inhabitants (National Commissioner of the Icelandic Police, 2009), much lower in the other Nordic countries. Moreover, the rate never went above 1.8 per 1,000,000 in any year from 1999-2009, whereas the United States had a rate between 5.0 and 5.8 over the same time period (UN Office on Drugs and Crime, 2011). Hence, from a comparative perspective, Iceland is indeed a low crime country.

Out of the cold

It can be argued that, in effect, modern Iceland is only about 70 years old, dating back to World War II. At the start of the 20th century, Iceland social structure was distinctly feudal. Most people worked as subsistence farmers or agricultural wage laborers under semi-serf conditions. Things had, though, started to take a turn for the better toward the end of the 19th century as fish catch around the country increased.

In 1902, the first Icelandic fishing boat was mechanized. This signaled the beginning of the first and central phase of the belated industrialization of Iceland. This created alternative employment for tenants and laborers, who moved from the countryside to work in fisheries in villages and towns along the coast. The year 1902 was also a watershed year for Iceland in the sense that the country was connected to the mainland of Europe by underwater cable (Karlsson, 2000; Boyes, 2009). Nonetheless, Iceland was still very poor, static and relatively isolated at the start of the World War II.

World War II changed everything and ushered in the second wave of industrialization (Hálfdánarson and Kristjánsson, 1993). In 1940, the British army occupied Iceland in order to prevent any risk of a German invasion of a strategically important area. The British, however, could not afford to keep their armed forces in Iceland so the United States quickly took over. The U.S. army came with a force 60,000 strong, invested heavily in Iceland, built vital infrastructure, and supplied jobs. Unemployment was eradicated and with rising cod prices, Iceland's main export, Icelanders had a booming economy during the war (Karlsson, 2000).

While Iceland industrialized later than most of its European neighbors it did so at a very rapid pace (Hálfdánarson and Kristjánsson, 1993). Since World War II, living standards have risen steadily and Iceland can truly be described as one of the economic miracles of the post-war period in Europe. The biggest leap forward came in the 1960s and 1970s and since 1980 Iceland has been among the most affluent and developed countries in the world (Ólafsson, 2008).

Rapid globalization

Most Western countries have been undergoing a period of rapid globalization since the 1980s (Wallerstein, 2005; McMichael, 2008). In Iceland, however, rapid globalization did not take off until the early 1990s. However, as with the belated industrialization, when the floodgates finally opened, Icelandic society globalized very rapidly (Ólafsson and Stefánsson, 2005). This manifests itself, for example, in a rapid increase in the number of immigrants since the mid-1990s. As with other European countries it was labor shortage that drove Icelanders to recruit foreign labor, which subsequently led to a relative increase in the number foreigners unparalleled in most other countries. In 2008, the immigrants comprised 8.1 percent of the Icelandic population, up from 1.8 percent in 1996. Poles are by far the largest immigrant group in Iceland and form the bulk of the immigrant workforce (Statistics Iceland, 2009).

Data on foreign direct investment (FDI) by Icelandic firms supports the case that rapid globalization did not take off in Iceland until the 1990s. According to the *Central Bank of Iceland* (2006), the flow of FDI increased 85-fold between 1998 and 2005. By that time, Iceland invested almost 60 percent of its gross domestic product (GDP) in FDI, a higher proportion than any other nation in the *Organization for Economic Cooperation and*

Development (OECD, 2006). By 2005, approximately 75 percent of the revenue of companies listed on the *Iceland Stock Exchange* was generated abroad. The main reasons for these rapid changes boil down to increased global integration via market liberalization and membership in the *European Economic Area* (EEA) in 1994, which "led Icelandic companies toward a broadminded global perspective" (Óladóttir, 2009:62). EEA is a free trade agreement between European Union countries, Iceland, Lichtenstein, and Norway.

Another sign of increased globalization is the growth in number of trips taken abroad annually, which has almost tripled since 1996. During the period from May 2007 to April 2008, the total number of trips that were taken by residents of Iceland aged 16 to 74 amounted to approximately 400 thousand (Statistics Iceland, 2010). Going back there were only 4,300 outbound trips by Icelanders in 1950. By 1970, there had been a vast increase and around 27,000 Icelanders went abroad. In 1988, over 150,000 Icelanders went abroad (*Iceland Tourist Board*, 2010). There has also been an explosion in the number of foreign tourists to Iceland in recent decades. In 1949, only 5,312 foreign tourists visited Iceland. In 1970, this number had increased to 53,000. In 2008, number of foreign tourists to Iceland had ballooned to 502,000 (*Icelandic Tourist Board*, 2010) and has since almost doubled.

Lastly, the information and communication technology revolution has contributed profoundly to the rapid transformation of the social and cultural landscape of Iceland. Perhaps no other change has done more to further the process of globalization than the Internet, as it has expedited globalization and is, in itself, a profound form of globalization (Ritzer, 2010). Iceland is one of the most globalized countries in the world in terms of information and communication technology (Ólafsson and Stefánsson, 2005). Few, if any, countries have more personal computers, Internet connections, and cell phones per capita. In addition no country in the world has more people on Facebook per capita than Iceland. What makes this especially important in the context of globalization is that culture exists largely in the form of ideas, words, and images it tends to flow fairly easily throughout the world. This flow has become "increasingly easy because culture exists increasingly in digitized forms" (Ritzer, 2010:244).

Neo-liberalism

In the decades following World War II, the Icelandic economy was still inward looking, heavily regulated, very centralized, and controlled by politicians. This started to change during the 1980s, when the Icelandic government started to loosen its reins on the economy (Wade, 2009). This shift can largely be attributed to globalization, especially the global spread of neo-liberalism, involving a growing belief in free markets, privatization, limited government and tax cuts favoring firms and investors (Ólafsson and Stefánsson, 2005; Scholte, 2005).

Iceland's statist and corporatist political economy was challenged when a new generation of neoliberals came of age in the 1970s (Gunnarsson, 1979). Many of this generation rose to prominent positions in the political, legal, judiciary, business, and academic sectors. Most famous of the bunch was Independence Party's Davíð Oddsson, elected the mayor of Reykjavík in 1982 and later Prime Minister from 1991-2004.

Under Oddsson's reign, the Icelandic government, led by the right-of-center Independence Party, initiated a sweeping neoliberal experiment (Ólafsson, 2008), using Margaret Thatcher's Britain and Ronald Reagan's America as models (Gissurarson, 2004). Many state-owned companies were privatized, the economy deregulated, taxes on business and financial earnings were cut drastically, and net wealth tax was abolished (Wade, 2009; Sigurjónsson, 2010). The tax system underwent a complete overhaul and tax rates on business and financial earnings became among the lowest in Europe (Portes and Baldursson, 2007). The goal was to free up Iceland's economy and make Iceland more competitive in the global market place. By 2004, Iceland was ranked ninth in the world in the Economic Freedom of the World index, up from 53rd in 1975 (Wade and Sigurgeirsdóttir, 2012). At one point the Cato Institute rated Iceland as the least regulated country in the world and in 2005 Iceland was ranked as having the fifth most economic freedom in the world (Garelli, 2006).

Many world famous neoliberal fundamentalists were brought to Iceland during its neoliberal experiment and they praised the country as a justification of free market principles (Wade, 2009). In 2007, Arthur Laffer, for example, assured Icelandic business leaders and neo-liberals alike that Iceland's fast growing economy, large trade deficit, and growing foreign debt was a sign of success. "Iceland should be a model to the world," Laffer declared ("Ofhitnun ekki hættuleg," 2007).

The global marketplace

Iceland slowly integrated into the global market following World War II although its economy only really opened up in the 1990s (Óladóttir, 2009; Sigurjónsson, 2010). Iceland's single most significant step towards global market integration, aside from embracing neoliberalism, came when it joined the EEA in 1994 (Jónsson, 2009).

The EEA was established following an agreement between the member states of the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) and the European Community, later the European Union (EU). More specifically, EEA-membership allows Iceland to participate in Europe's single market without having to join the EU. EEA is based on the same "four freedoms" as the EU: (1) the free movement of goods, (2) persons, (3) services, and (4) capital among the EEA countries. Thus, the EFTA countries that are part of the EEA enjoy free trade with EU-countries.

EEA-membership further contributed to neo-liberalizing Iceland's economy, although the agriculture and fishing sectors are still protected from foreign investment (*Social Science Research Institute* and the *Institute of Economic Studies*, 2009). Iceland's EEA-membership, also allowed Icelanders to diversify its economy from fishing and aluminum smelting to economic and financial services, which set the stage for the subsequent economic boom (Sigurjónsson, 2010).

What EEA-membership also did was to set the stage for foreign direct investment by Icelandic companies by opening up foreign credit and investment markets for Icelanders. Second, foreign capital literally flooded the country because interest rates were high in order to fight inflation caused by unusually high demand. This strengthened the Icelandic currency, the Icelandic Króna, and improved purchasing power abroad and at home, since so much of what they consume is imported. Hence, with (borrowed) money to spare, Icelanders went on a spending spree (Social Science Research Institute and the Institute of Economic Studies, 2009).

The fishing industry

Fishing has long been Iceland's main industry in the country's export-oriented economy, since the fishing grounds around the country are one of the most productive in the world. Despite being one of the smallest nations in the world, Iceland is one of the biggest when it comes to fishing,

both in volume and value (Christensen, Hegland, and Oddsson, 2009). The only "wars" that Icelanders have fought have been over fish, the four so-called "cod wars" with Britain over Iceland's extension fishing limits out to its present level of 200 nautical miles (Jónsson, 1982). The last dispute was in 1975-1976, with the British government eventually conceding and agreeing that British vessels would not fish within the previously disputed area (Jóhannesson, 2004).

In the years following the last "cod war," the Icelandic fishing fleet grew rapidly, but catches, relative to effort, continued to decline. Fearing a collapse of the cod stock, an individual transferable quota (ITQ) system was introduced in 1984 (Pálsson and Helgason, 1995). The ITQ-system divided fishing rights among those who happened to own a boat when the system was introduced based on their fishing record over the three previous years. This turned out to be a fundamental step on Iceland's way to embracing neoliberalism and increasing inequality (Ólafsson and Kristjánsson, 2013), since this effectively privatized Iceland's main natural resource, defined by law to be the common property of the Icelandic people. The ITQ-system makes quota owners the de facto owners of Iceland's most prized natural resource (Helgason and Pálsson, 1998).

Ever since the ITQ-system was introduced fishing rights have become increasingly concentrated in the hands of the few (Pálsson and Helgason, 1995; Helgason and Pálsson, 1998). This has especially been the case since 1990, when fisheries laws passed by the Icelandic Parliament reinforced and extended the ITQ-system into the distant future. Since 1992, the number of quota owners has decreased 85 percent. About 70 parties now own about 70 percent of the quota (Viðskiptablaðið, 2010). All the while, public discontent with the concentration of ITQs and the social ramifications of this process, most notably the undermining of smaller fishing communities and rising inequality, has continued to grow (Skaptadóttir, 2000).

Crony capitalism and Icelandic banks

The biggest and most consequential privatization of the Icelandic government, aside from the earlier privatization of fishing rights, was the one of the publicly owned and locally oriented banks. The privatization of the banks began in 1998 and was finalized in 2003. At the time the government claimed that it was particularly interested in acquiring foreign

capital, hence the banks were to be sold to foreign investors with banking experience. This turned out quite differently as a handful of Icelandic investors with no experience in banking ended up buying the banks (Sigurjónsson, 2010). However, what the investors lacked in banking experience they made up with political connections (Wade and Sigurgeirsdóttir, 2010).

Landsbankinn was sold to a group of investors whose offer was only the third highest. However, the leader of the group had strong ties to the leadership of the ruling Independence Party, a fact that seems to have played a pivotal role. He was a formerly convicted white-collar criminal that had since rebuilt his reputation. In contrast, *Búnaðarbankinn* was sold to Icelandic investors close to the other ruling party, the Progressive Party (Wade, 2009). The banks returned the favor by becoming the largest donors of the ruling governmental parties (*Iceland National Audit Office*, 2009; Vaiman, Sigurjónsson, and Davíðsson, 2010).

After criticizing how the sale of the banks was being handled, a member of the governmental privatization committee resigned stating that "prospective buyers were turned away in spite of their better offers," and that he had never witnessed such "extraordinary practices" (Domurath, 2009:6). These allegations were never investigated. The only public investigation that came out of this was one by the Icelandic Accounting Office that investigated the Minister of Foreign Affairs who was faced with the allegation of a conflict of interests, since he was not only a member of the privatization committee but also the owner of a company with ties to the assembly of investors who bought *Búnaðarbanki*. The *Icelandic Accounting Office* concluded that there was no conflict of interest (Special Investigative Commission, 2010).

This is an example of the traditionally close connection between politics and business in Iceland (Jónsson, 2009), which is "responsible for the bulk of self-serving, unethical, and corrupt decisions made by the Icelandic business and political elite" (Vaiman et al., 2010:2). Vaiman et al. (2010), for example, demonstrate that there has been a high level of corruption in Iceland, a fact not lost on the Icelandic public (Capacent-Gallup, 2009). Corrupt practices would later have dramatic consequences for Icelanders and others that had a stake in the Icelandic economy.

Rising inequality

Iceland is widely considered to be one of the most egalitarian nations in the world. Icelanders stress equality in all its forms: equality of opportunity, equality of conditions, equality of status, gender equality, and so on (Ólafsson, 1999). The Icelandic constitution, for example, explicitly prohibits the use of noble privileges, titles, and ranks. Everyone is addressed by his or her first name, including the President of Iceland, and the Icelandic phone book is organized by first names.

Strong egalitarianism, arguably, contributes to the fact that Icelanders consistently rank at or near the top of global happiness charts (Veenhoven, 2013). Egalitarianism also plays a role in that Iceland has long been considered one of the most peaceful countries in the world (*Global Peace Index,* 2013).

In 1980, Icelanders became the first nation in the world to elect a woman as their head of state. Icelanders were also first to have a political party formed and led exclusively by women, that is, the Women's List. Although no longer in existence, Women's List left a lasting impression on Icelandic society. Iceland has, for example, topped the *World Economic Forum Gender Gap Index* for the last five years (2014). Icelanders are also very supportive of LGBT rights and elected the world's first openly gay head of government in 2009.

Thanks in large part to its social-democratic welfare state; Iceland has traditionally had relatively low levels of economic inequality and low poverty rates. While Iceland is not a classless society by any means, status distinctions have been relatively weak and Icelanders show a noticeable lack of deference in their interactions with others (Tomasson, 1980; Ólafsson, 1996, 2003). Like people in other social-democratic welfare societies (Evans et al., 2013; Larsen, 2013), most Icelanders hold egalitarian images of the class structure. A higher percentage of Icelanders consider themselves middle class or "classless" than in most elsewhere and there has long been a strong and widespread belief in Iceland that Icelandic society is effectively classless (Bjarnason, 1974; Björnsson, Edelstein, and Kreppner, 1977; Oddsson, 2010, 2012).

However, economic inequality increased considerably and rapidly parallel to neoliberal globalization, which took off in the mid-1990s. In Weberian (1978) terms, the market became more predominant in structuring inequality and Iceland became more of a "class society"

(Weber, 1978). One indication of this is that the Gini coefficient for married and co-habiting couples rose from 0.21 in 1993 to 0.43 in 2007. Note that this Gini coefficient is for disposable income, which includes capital gains (Kristjánsson and Ólafsson, 2009). However, the Gini coefficient only tells a part of the story. What it does not reveal is that rising income inequality was particularly characterized by the increased concentration of the national income towards the top, where the share of the top 1 percent of families grew from 4 percent in 1993 to 20 percent in 2007 (Kristjánsson and Ólafsson, 2009). In fact, the share of the top 10 percent increased at an even faster rate over the 2000s than in the USA, albeit from a much lower base (Wade and Sigurgeirsdóttir, 2012).

A glaring manifestation of growing economic inequality was a substantial proliferation in the ranks of the newly rich and the emergence of a group of super-rich transnational capitalists (Sklair, 2000), who rode the wave of the economic boom that began in the mid-1990s (Magnússon, 2008). This is consistent with the experience of other Western countries over the last few decades, that is, a growing separation of the very rich from everyone else (Smeeding, 2005; Atkinson and Piketty, 2007; Kenworthy, 2010). However, while economic inequality has increased in other Western countries in recent years, what was exceptional about Iceland is that its levels of economic inequality increased more and more rapidly during this period than in any other OECD-country (Kristjánsson and Ólafsson, 2009).

As with other social-democratic welfare states, one of the main characteristics of post-war Iceland has been the virtual absence of extremely rich and extremely poor groups (Larsen, 2013). Neoliberal globalization, however, changed this and, moreover, put distinct "faces" on Iceland's rising economic inequality in the form of super-rich, transnational capitalists and low-wage, immigrant labor. The transnational capitalists "stopped adhering to Icelandic norms, took up the lifestyles of foreign billionaires and turned their nose up at the myth of the Icelandic classless society" (Gísladóttir, 2009). Before this, the consumption standards of the dominant class were much more traditional, modest and low-key (Magnússon, 2008; Jónsson, 2009). The transnational capitalists changed the "game" and gave rise to more "conspicuous consumption" (Veblen, 2004) than ever before in Icelandic society (Þorvaldsson, 2009).

At the other end of the spectrum, recruitment of foreign labor during Iceland's economic boom led to a great inflow of low-wage, immigrant

workers. With the immigrant population increasing to 8.1 percent in 2008, Iceland grew more economically and culturally differentiated as a result of immigrant workers concentrating at the bottom of the class structure (Statistics Iceland, 2009).

The collapse: October 2008

From 1991 to 2009, the *Independence Party* controlled the Icelandic government and involved Iceland in the aforementioned neoliberal experiment (Gissurarson, 2004), which ended with the 2008 economic collapse. Most of this time, the *Progressive Party* joined the *Independence Party* in a coalition government, which neoliberalized Iceland, that is, privatized state assets, deregulated businesses and labor, overhauled the tax system in favor of business and the wealthy, and so on.

Joining the EEA in 1994 further required lifting restrictions on the flow of capital, goods, services, and labor across borders. After the 2007 parliamentary elections, the *Social Democratic Alliance* entered into a coalition government with the *Independence Party*. Turning its back on election promise to bring greater macro-economic control, the *Social Democratic Alliance* largely supported the *Independence Party*'s economic policies, albeit by maintaining its "trademark" emphasis on the welfare system.

Aided by abundant foreign credit and strong political and public backing at home, Iceland's newly privatized banks burst onto the international financial arena in the late 1990s and early 2000s. By integrating investment banking and commercial banking and through mergers and acquisitions at home and abroad, the Icelandic banks grew ever bigger. By 2007, Iceland had three of the world's biggest 300 banks, with assets eight times the GDP—second highest in the world after Switzerland. This was a far cry from the small, locally oriented, public utility banks of the early 1990s.

Riding a wave of extreme optimism, the Icelandic stock market multiplied itself nine times over between 2001 and 2007. At the same time, the owners of the banks and other managers in the finance industry compensated themselves handsomely and engaged in conspicuous consumption. The growth of the banks and the stock market was widely seen as a vindication of free market policies. Furthermore, all warnings by economists and others about the fragility of the whole setup were brushed aside as nonsense. Nonetheless, the banks had by the mid-2000s started

having problems raising funds in the short-term money markets, the essence of their unstable business model. Moreover, the sheer size of the banking sector meant that the *Icelandic Central Bank* could no longer act as a lender of last resort. The banks were literally living on borrowed time.

In late September of 2008, everything came crumbling down. After the *Lehman Brothers* meltdown, credit markets around the world dried up and the Icelandic banks could not refinance themselves. Iceland's three biggest banks collapsed over the span of six days and were subsequently nationalized. This constitutes the largest banking collapse in history relative to economic size (Jóhannesson, 2009) and made Iceland the biggest casualty of the current global economic downturn (Jónsson, 2009). In fact, Iceland's crisis has called the "greatest financial crisis ever" (Krugman, 2010; Johnsen 2014).

What is interesting to note is that Iceland's economic collapse was foreshadowed by a significant increase in economic inequality following excessive market liberalization, as was the case with the Wall Street Crash of 1929, which triggered the Great Depression (Ólafsson, 2010).

We argue that a very promising perspective to view the economic collapse, and its antecedents, is the one of institutional anomie (Messner and Rosenfeld, 1994, 1997). In short, market rule became increasingly dominant in Iceland parallel to increasing neoliberalization (Harvey, 2007) and other social institutions were weakened in the process. Effectively the market took over other social institutions (Magnússon, 2008). This was evidenced by the growing dominance of greed throughout society. This development is captured by the following quote from an opinion piece published in one of the main newspapers in Iceland when the bubble economy was just about fully inflated: "Greed is the train that pulls our life into a brighter future…The so-called greedization of Icelandic society is hopefully here to stay, and hopefully it will grow day by day into the unforeseeable future, for all our sakes" (Ágústsson, 2005). Nowhere was this more evident by the fact that the assets of the newly privatized banks outgrew the national economy, as measured by GDP, nine times. Well before that point was reached was the banking sector doomed to fail, global credit crisis or not (*Special Investigative Commission*, 2010).

Following the banking collapse, the Icelandic Króna fell more than 50 percent against the dollar and Iceland became the first developed country in 30 years to require assistance from the IMF. In January 2009, annual inflation reached 18.7 percent, the highest in Europe (Eurostat,

2009). Household debt increased significantly, and even before the collapse it was higher than in any other European country or the USA (IMF, 2009). Unemployment rose from 1.5 percent in September 2008 to its highest point of 9.1 percent in April 2009 (*Directorate of Labor*, 2009). The crisis resulted in the greatest migration from Iceland since 1887, with a net emigration of almost 5,000 people in 2009 (Steineke, 2010). Early in this turmoil a protest movement emerged that helped bring down the *Independence Party*-led coalition government.

Iceland's economy later stabilized under Iceland's first "pure" left-wing government ever (*Social Democratic Alliance* and the *Left Green Movement*). Just as its economic collapse caught the world by surprise, Iceland's rise from "near death experience" garnered attention around the world and was heralded as a great success (Krugman, 2010).

Impact of the economic crisis on local crime

Perhaps to no one's surprise, the question of crime has been prominent in Icelandic public discourse following the collapse. It is also interesting to note, that whenever an atypical crime incident occurs in Iceland, or even a typical one, local social scientists routinely get asked the same question from the media and others: is this incident, or a reported increase for different crime types, a result of the crisis? A violent incident downtown, domestic outbursts, series of burglaries and thefts, and drug crimes, like homegrown marihuana. Can all this be traced to the crisis? (As if these incidents or increases had never happened before.)

The crisis seems to give a deeper meaning to these social phenomena and to crime in general, making them somehow more understandable to the public. At the same time, the crisis can also turn into a convenient scapegoat – blaming everything on the crisis can make us neglect other and often more plausible explanations.

The *Scandinavian Research Council for Criminology* recently published a report where Nordic scholars addressed the question of what impact social and economic crises have on society, crime in particular (Johansen and Gunnlaugsson, 2012). In the report, triggered by the Icelandic crisis, Iceland understandably had a prominent place, including articles on crime trends before and after the collapse, local crime control developments, and political corruption.

So, what do police records of crime reveal about recent crime developments in Iceland? If the period prior to the banking collapse is examined, or during 2005-2009, no dramatic changes in the number of reported offenses against the penal code can be detected. One main exception is property crimes. Thefts and burglaries show an increase, particularly involving automobiles, private companies and, to a lesser extent, private homes. Violent offenses appear to be more stable during 2005-2009, and if anything showing a downward trend in 2009, particularly major assaults. Sexual offenses show an increase up to 2007, but appear to have leveled off in 2008 and 2009.

What happened after the downfall of the banks in 2008? Did Iceland experience an increase in crimes known to the police? If we examine the period from 2009-2013, the total number of penal code cases, according to police statistics, had never been lower than in 2013 since systematic recording started in 1999 (*National Commissioner of the Police*, 2014). The most notable drop was in property crimes, in particular burglaries, which showed a 47% drop from the period 2010-2012. Violent offenses appear to have been more stable, if anything, decreasing from 2009-2013. In short, police records indicate that the economic crisis had, surprisingly, very limited impact on long-term crime trends in Iceland (see also Þórisdóttir and Árnason, 2012).

The total number of crimes known to the police increased somewhat during the year of the collapse (2008), with burglaries and thefts in particular showing a notable increase. Yet, after 2008, the overall number of crimes has decreased again, with some crime types even going below their pre-crisis rates.

One exception to this downward trend is the local production of drugs. After the crisis, reported cases of homegrown marijuana have tripled. This probably reflects the fact that foreign currency restrictions have made drug smuggling to Iceland more difficult. Sex crimes have also increased, which probably suggests that victims are more willing to report these crimes than before. Moreover, economic crimes also deviate from the overall downward crime trend.

A number of cases have been under criminal investigation involving the owners of the banks and their CEO's. A few already have started serving prison sentences up to 5 and 1/2 years, with a number also facing criminal indictments. How many is difficult to say at this moment, but a few dozen is quite possible.

For this purpose, the Icelandic parliament, in 2009, set up a Special Prosecutor's Office to investigate criminal acts of the banks leading up to the crisis. In 2013, the special prosecutor had a staff of about 90 employees and a caseload of close to two hundred cases. More than forty banking executives had already been criminally indicted and a few convicted but some still await final legal outcome in the Supreme Court.

To put the size of the Special Prosecutor's Office in perspective (per capita population estimates), this figure is equivalent to if the U.S. government set up a special prosecutor office investigating Wall Street criminal acts with a staff of about 90 thousand employees and a case load of about two hundred thousand cases. With the result that about forty thousand individuals had already been indicted for criminal wrongdoings! This shows us how seriously the Icelandic authorities have taken their role in uncovering potential criminal offenses leading up to the crisis and how aggressively the Special Prosecutor has approached his task. Most of the cases have involved mandate fraud, market manipulation, insider trading, and fraudulent loans. As a result, economic crimes have soared in number following the crisis.

Since the total number of crimes known to the police in Iceland did not increase during the economic and social upheaval of recent years, apart from economic crimes, what does crime reveal about Icelandic society? What kinds of offenses characterize Iceland and what distinguishes them from offenses in other countries?

Concern with substance use

As Durkheim (1893/1964) argued at the turn of the 20th century, not only is crime inevitable in any society, but also useful and even necessary in maintaining social order. Moreover, an act is not criminal because of its intrinsic nature; rather, it is criminal because it offends collective sentiments. However, the precise nature of criminal behavior varies according to the type of society and the type of collective sentiments (Lauderdale, 1976). A crime-free society does, therefore, not exist according to Durkheim. Every society has its own quota of crime, with the content varying between different types of countries. These assertions about the nature of crime in society are, however, difficult to prove or disprove. Yet, Durkheim's observations compel us to ask what types of misbehavior have been found to be frequent, or using Durkheim's

terminology, what behavior has primarily offended Icelanders' collective conscience?

In this regard, Gunnlaugsson (2004) argued that many forms of minor offenses have been quite frequent in Iceland, with serious offenses being relatively infrequent. Specifically, substance abuse has been seen as one of the primary causes of misbehavior, and it is widely agreed that substance abuse must be punished (Gunnlaugsson, 2008). Reflective of Icelanders' collective identity and long-term concern with substance abuse, this small nation maintained a highly unusual beer prohibition for most of the 20th century (Gunnlaugsson and Galliher, 2010). This law was justified as a means of protecting the nation's youth. Moreover, alcohol related arrests have been in the thousands every year. For example, in Reykjavík, a city of about 120,000, about 3,000 arrests were routinely made each year in the 1990s for public drunkenness, and about 2,000 were jailed. Also, thousands have been arrested each year for driving while intoxicated, and the rate is higher than in the other Nordic countries (Gunnlaugsson and Galliher, 2000) and higher than in the United States (Cole and Smith, 2001).

The surprisingly high levels of alcohol related offenses lead one to expect that alcohol consumption in Iceland must be substantial. Yet, if we compare alcohol consumption with that of other European nations, we find that while per capita consumption in Iceland has increased in recent years, it is still lower than in most other nations (OECD, 2011).

Considerable attention has also been given to youth and substance use. Studies show that cannabis use among youth is markedly lower in Iceland than in other European countries (Hibell et. al., 2012). Yet, among Nordic countries, the rate in Iceland was somewhat higher than those of youth in Norway, Sweden, and Finland, but lower than in Denmark. Lifetime prevalence of cannabis use in the general population is also higher in Iceland than in the other Nordic nations, except for Denmark (Gunnlaugsson and Þórisdóttir, 1999). However, if we look at drug use over the previous six months, Iceland was very similar to other Nordic nations, with a rate markedly lower than lifetime prevalence rates. Even though these findings may seem trivial to outsiders, Icelanders do not see them as minor. Findings like these fuel concerns over drugs in Iceland and the impact of drugs on other misbehavior on the Iceland social fabric.

Conclusion

Iceland is a small and homogenous society in the North Atlantic and has for a long time been depicted as a low crime country possessing many of the corresponding social features. This image was long based on limited empirical data but has in recent years been verified by improved local criminal records. Yet, Iceland has a long tradition of concern with substance abuse with an increasing public alarm in recent years.

Icelandic society has experienced significant internal and external social changes in recent decades. Iceland has opened up to the outside world, due in large part to neoliberal globalization (Scholte 2005), which took off in the mid-1990s. This neoliberal experiment came to a grinding halt when the Icelandic banking system collapsed in late September 2008. However, despite these major social changes, the Icelandic crime rate did not change markedly, apart from economic crimes. Why, especially, did Iceland not experience an increase in overall crime after the collapse, which many feared?

We know from history, and classic sociological literature in particular, that sudden social changes, both in the form of a sudden economic crisis or an economic boom, impact society (Gunnlaugsson, 2012). Changes such as these infiltrate social institutions and our individual and collective lives. The most important elements, however, are not just economic, but social and moral, as swift changes can undermine the moral foundations of society. What we commonly believe to be good or bad, right and wrong, what you expect of others and what others expect of you, might be threatened. Hence, during times of social turbulence we can expect diminished acceptance of norms and values of society – or what Durkheim (1893/1964) termed an *anomic* condition, at both the individual and societal level.

Nevertheless, it is important for us to keep in mind that a structural change in the form of a sudden economic crisis or a boom does not necessarily have an immediate effect on society. A society does not change its morality over one night, nor do individuals change their behavior instantly due to a change in their economic situation. For example, an economic fall does not necessarily mean rising crime rates (Bushway, 2010), just as the *Great Depression* in the United States back in 1929, did not have an immediate effect on the U.S. crime rate. Still, we know that different social groups are more vulnerable than others to social changes.

Social and institutional forces do not equally protect different social groups in times of transition. Some change in behavior might eventually take place, and the risk of social exclusion is always there.

Given the grim outlook in the wake of the banking collapse back in October of 2008, Iceland appears to have bounced back remarkably well ("Icelandic Lessons in Coming Back From the Brink," 2012). In particular, Iceland has experienced notable economic growth since 2010. Unemployment is still relatively high by Icelandic standards, or around 4 percent, but nowhere close to the figures in many European countries. Inflation has gone down but is still higher than found in most neighboring countries. And, the recovery has been driven by exports (particularly aluminum and fish), tourism, low carbon energy, and increasingly by investments.

More specifically, measures were taken in 2009 to reduce government spending and to increase tax revenues, resulting in a much lower fiscal deficit in both 2011 and 2012. Those with higher incomes were taxed more while those on lower incomes were protected from tax hikes, possibly helping to keep the crime rate down. The changed tax policy has also helped reverse the trend of growing economic inequality, which rapidly grew to alarming heights in the years leading up to the collapse. The financial system is not yet fully functional with currency restrictions still in effect. The new center-right government taking office in 2013 took measures to ease the burden of mortgage private house loans, which are all price-indexed and promised to stimulate economic growth with tax reductions. Only time will tell what this will bring for Iceland in the long run.

At the same time, a few bankers already serve long prison sentences for their misgivings leading up to the economic collapse. Dozens more face prison sentences for crimes committed in large part to save doomed financial institutions and their personal assets in the months prior to the crash. Here we face the dilemma of structural constraints and individual accountability. Political and economic systems provide the framework for individual social action, which can easily be weakened in an unstable economy such as the one that existed in Iceland prior to the economic collapse. Tension is bound to build up between pressing structural constraints and individual criminal responsibility when someone is, for example, trying to save his or her own company or personal assets, and in the process commits a crime. Yet, such behavior can hardly justify

unethical or illegal deeds, which can cause major social harm. The extreme case of Iceland's neoliberal globalization and eventual economic meltdown reinforces this valuable lesson.

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New words for the cold world:
The contribution of Louis-Edmond Hamelin to the understanding of the north, winter and the arctic[1]

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Abstract

Louis-Edmond Hamelin must be considered one of the great thinkers of the Quiet Revolution in Québec. Centred on the word "Nordic", his contribution goes far beyond the borders of Québec and is at the same time institutional, linguistic, and conceptual. Hamelin proposed the French equivalents of words for the cold and ice in a circumpolar context, observing once again the insufficiency of the French language to name the cold world, and thus the incapacity of French speakers to be able to fully grasp the subtlety and complexity of this universe. His main contribution was to create a vocabulary which opened up a vast site for intellectual and identity exploration: "nordicity". Even if the myth of coldness ran through many representations, it is winterity which brought him to "the myths of the North" in Québécois thought and perceptions.

The research of broad concepts like nordicity and winterity, were accompanied by the conviction, for Hamelin, that complex questions necessarily require examination by multiple disciplines. To reflect on and try to understand the "North" in all its components cannot be separated from a parallel reflection on the notion of "aboriginality." For him Northern Studies is intimately linked to autochthonism.

Key words: cold, North, winter, Arctic, Louis-Edmond Hamelin

There is no doubt that Louis-Edmond Hamelin must be considered one of the great thinkers of the Quiet Revolution in Québec, along with Fernand Dumont, Pierre Dansereau, Paul-Émile Borduas, and Jacques Rousseau: His contribution, throughout half a century, goes far beyond the

[1] An earlier version of this article was published in French in Daniel Chartier and Jean Désy [eds.], *La nordicité du Québec. Entretiens avec Louis-Edmond Hamelin*, Québec, Presses de l'Université du Québec, 2014, p. 3-19.

borders of Québec and is at the same time institutional, linguistic, and conceptual. His contribution is centred on the word "Nordic."

Beginning in 1955, inspired by what he had seen at McGill University (the Arctic Institute of North America) and at the University of Cambridge (the Scott Polar Institute), Louis-Edmond Hamelin wanted to give Québec its first centre for the study of the North[2], "incorporated" and in the French language. He obtained the support of René Lévesque, who will later become Prime Minister of Québec, with whom he visited what is today Nunavik for the first time, as well as that of the Université Laval, and this in spite of the reticence in the francophone intellectual world toward interdisciplinary propositions. In its consistency, he wanted this centre to be identified as "Nordic" in the sense that he intended to defend this term: no longer merely "Arctic," nor simply "Scandinavian," but really and truly dedicated to an object with supple borders, delimited by that which one could posit as the *cold world* and in which Québec would have its full place. Accompanied by the diffusion of the concept of "nordicity," which includes at the same time the winter, the high mountains, and the Arctic, in 1961 Hamelin thus founded a "Centre for Northern Studies," the institutional and conceptual influence of which would be considerable, in Québec as well as abroad.

In 1966, for a now famous[3] publication by the Scott Polar Institute, *Illustrated Glossary of Snow and Ice*, Louis-Edmond Hamelin proposes the French equivalents of words for the cold and ice in a circumpolar context. He observed once again the insufficiency of the French language to name the cold world, and thus the incapacity of French speakers to be able to fully grasp the subtlety and the complexity of this universe. He saw the necessity to propose new words, an act that would not be superfluous, but an addition to knowledge: "At the moment when I realized that my 'cold'

[2] In this perspective, the relationships between the "North" and the "South" must be understood as relationships between the cold world (notably, the Arctic) and the rest of the world, more to the "South". A similar reflection could be inverted in the case of the territories of the extreme South, notably in Argentina where resources and Aboriginal issues are rather inverted, with the "South" (dominated) versus the North (dominant). What's more, we must distance ourselves here from the usual political relationship of North-South domination, where the "North" represents Europe and North America. Here, the "North" refers to a cold world, sparsely inhabited, often Arctic, often aboriginal, and dominated by the powers of "the South" (United States, Canada, Russia, Denmark, Europe, etc.).

[3] Even in 2013, the Louisiana Museum of Modern Art in Copenhagen opened its major exhibition, *Arctic*, on a giant-sized reproduction of the pages of this book, one of the first multilingual circumpolar works.

subjects − polar countries, floating ice, Aboriginal peoples, winter, margins of the ecumene, high mountains − were insufficiently covered, I suggested new forms of expression."[4] Québec, which serves as Hamelin's laboratory, is ideal for contributing to this enlargement of the French language.[5] He hopes that his work will be widely used: "At the same time as wanting to provide a vocabulary better adapted to national issues, I dream that certain propositions might be useful to 'international French'."[6]

This desire to create new words is rooted in an observation, made at an early age, of the insufficiency of his own language to describe his immediate environment and account for the world. He tells an anecdote in an interview which is important for understanding the development of his career:

> My father woke me up at seven o'clock, taking the little dictionary *Larousse* and asked me to look for words, his words of course, not the words of great literature. One morning, he made me look for the word "*rang*."[7] Anyone can verify: there is no word "*rang*" in this sense in the *Petit Larousse* of 1935. My father then said to me: "Ok, look for '*chemin de rang*.'"[8] The "*rang*," "*le chemin de rang*,"[9] and "*la route*"[10] are three very different things. I looked for "*chemin de rang*," which was also absent from the dictionary. So then my father said, "How is it that these words aren't there? They are French words, not English words! Our family notary writes them. And there's the parish priest, he does the '*messe de rang*'."[11] For my father, the word existed because the educated people, such as land surveyors and the doctor, used the word "*rang*." This question

[4] Louis-Edmond Hamelin, *Écho des pays froids*, Québec, Presses de l'Université Laval, 1996, p. 306.

[5] In this regard, Hamelin writes of "speaking francophone in Québec": "It has never stopped being a contact zone: patois/French at the beginning of the colony, French/English in its proximity to the United States and since the British conquest, Québécois/France's French, Québécois/Aboriginal languages, Québécois/immigrant languages, *joual*/standard French. These contacts create occasions for semantic or formal shifts which cause either enrichments or imprecisions" (*Ibid*., p. 336).

[6] *Ibid*., p. 175.

[7] A rural concession or "line," a term originally used for a rural road perpendicular to agricultural lots in the Québec seigneurial system. [Translator's note]

[8] A back road in a rural village, not as wide as the main road in the village and not usually paved. [Translator's note]

[9] First line. [Translator's note]

[10] The main road in a rural area; a secondary highway .[Translator's note]

[11] Mass for the concession. [Translator's note]

> stayed with me over the years, and maybe, in a subconscious way, I threw myself into the adventure of words to make some belated comments on these fundamental questions.[12]

Louis-Edmond Hamelin's main contribution was to create a vocabulary which opened up a vast site for intellectual and identity exploration: "nordicity".[13] This neologism, from which many declinations have been developed, germinated around 1960 and was coined in 1965,[14] and it has since been translated into numerous other languages. One could claim that it has surpassed specialized vocabulary and has entered into popular language.[15] In 2005, a report done by Québec's main magazine, *L'Actualité*, revealed that nordicity has even become for the Québécois people one of the key terms to describe their identity.[16] This is surely one of the most important social consecrations for an intellectual: to create a new concept through original research and then see a whole people appropriate it to define themselves and express their situation! The creation of a word, which Louis-Edmond Hamelin compares to the splitting of an atom or the eruption of a volcano, can have consequences that surpass the one who proposed it. Nordicity thus remains "a standard bearer for the ideas and projects which would follow."[17] For understanding the world we live in, this word clearly denotes a before and an after: By the

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[12] Chartier and Désy [eds.], 2014, p. 96.

[13] This word regroups three concepts: winter, the high mountains and the Arctic; it thus directly connects Louis-Edmond Hamelin's personal experiences, from his childhood in the St. Lawrence Valley to his discovery of the Alps, and then the Arctic. "Considered under the general label of coldness, this world encompasses three large niches: the winter or seasonal cold, the high mountains or cold altitude, and especially the Nordic world or cold latitude. In other words, I am interested in physical-human situations which are those of severe thermic climates during a certain number of months in the year" (Hamelin, 1996, p. 211).

[14] "A principal concept fertilized my intellectual and social activities concerning the cold latitude countries, that of 'nordicity.' After preparatory work staggered over a dozen years, the notion took form starting in 1960 and the word arrived in 1965. […] The development of my Nordic conception was thus done progressively, like the Inuit who installs a network of cairns or inukshuks, orientations for his future travels" (Hamelin, 1996, p. 243).

[15] "The word 'nordicity' is at the same time a scientific term and a common word, and not every word has this elasticity. There are thus several terms for ice which are parallel, each one as good as another because they all explain something that a person understands. It's up to the users and to the Language Offices to decide" (Chartier and Désy [eds.], 2014, p. 112).

[16] *L'Actualité*, vol. 30, number 20, "101 mots pour comprendre le Québec", 15 December 2005, p. 119.

[17] Chartier and Désy [eds.], 2014, p. 40.

terms subsequently created, knowledge and recognition of the environment that was indecipherable beforehand, because it was not able to be named, was revealed.

Originality

When he went to the North for the first time in 1948, Louis-Edmond Hamelin took a singular path, but one that resembles the one taken by Paul-Émile Borduas in Montreal, calling for greater creative freedom. The fact that these two events were taking place at the same time is not trivial in the history of Québec. In his own way, and far from the major cities, Hamelin was preparing a true disruption: "My criticism," he reveals in interview, "would become like a Nordic *Refus global*, without direct contact with the cultural movement going on at the time in the South."[18]

Independent, disseminated (as is, at its best, his discipline geography[19]), conscious of the price to be paid for maintaining his originality, but faithful to his origins, Louis-Edmond Hamelin carved out an intellectual, activist, and institutional path that was both risqué and cautious:

> Shifting is an act that comes from the combination of two previously contradictory directions: inertia and acceleration, braking and adventure, the force of gravity and eruption, security and risk. How will the two objectives oppose, tolerate or intermingle with each other? How to reconcile an innovative tendency moving away from each other?[20]

Although he does not shy away from contact with politicians, he refuses to take sides with any political party (which could discredit him in the eyes of some) and maintains a liberty of thought that does not, however, exclude profound and sincere engagement: "I comport myself like an academic who tries to stay independent from lobbying, trends, and

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[18] *Ibid.*, p. 57.

[19] "In fact," he writes in *Écho des pays froids*, "[my work] is of a disconcerting fragmentation, a spectrum which goes from the real, measurable (sand, marine/wind) to the imaginary (plane hijacking), or from Aboriginal policies to environmental neology" (Hamelin, 1996, p. 2). In fact, this supposed fragmentation is intended throughout his career and is based on the idea of North, which he employs in all its disciplinary possibilities.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

parties."[21] By putting value on understanding, interculturalism, and research in and for the North, he rises up in the face of those who only see the North as a reservoir of resources: "I go to the North, not to conquer, but to understand and, at the same time, to serve."[22] Economist on the margin, he also does not advocate an interminable conservation of the North, but a balanced exploitation that can contribute to the common good, or again, as he says, "to the best, to the most efficient, to the greatest benefit for the whole population."[23]

At the same time original, risky, and cautious, this position is, however, not without its price: "What is the price paid by the career of a professor," he confides after he retired, "who engages the difficult path of unpopular subjects?"[24] He could also add that by tackling in a broad manner phenomena often analysed in detail, he situates himself in the long term and in a commitment that must continue over decades to have an impact. In fact, one can trace from 1948 to today the consistency of such an approach for the North: "Like the wolverine trapper," he writes with humour, "you need to know how to be patient."[25] The impact of his work on society will, however, in a quiet but fundamental way, be more profound: A trend which attains the base even of society's foundation.

Influences

Modest, Louis-Edmond Hamelin voluntarily recognizes the role of those who allowed him to find his originality and prove the relevance of his work, of the discovery of his interest in the North and words and his scientific undertaking pregnant with social utility. Starting in 1948, he received from Jacques Rousseau and Georges-Henri Lévesque the need for what he calls "the risqué utility of knowledge," at the source of the institutional creation of a Centre in Québec City. "The efforts must lead to the creation of opinions which can contribute to the solution of problems."[26] He thus distances himself from a closed conception of knowledge and joins a boreal activism, which took root during his first

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 207.
[22] *Ibid.*, p. 215.
[23] Chartier and Désy [eds.], 2014, p. 85.
[24] Hamelin, 1996, p. 4.
[25] *Ibid.*, p. 101.
[26] *Ibid.*, p. 218.

academic contact with the North, during a visit to McGill University. There, in 1947, he met the great thinkers of Northern Studies to come, including the deadpan Vilhjalmur Stefansson. He convinced Hamelin that one must take into account intellectual perception to understand the North. "I am seduced by and try to decode," he writes, "what Stefansson's humour meant by the statement, 'There are two kinds of Arctic problems, the imaginary and the real. Of the two, the imaginary are the more real.'"[27] He remains equally grateful to the French geographer Raoul Blanchard who, by inviting him to do his doctorate in Grenoble, opened for him a world that would change him forever. There he discovered the high mountains, which would be a second inspiration of coldness, after the winter, and he would also meet there the woman who would become his wife, Colette Lafay, a constant support for him throughout his career. Thanks to her, he thus began to develop an extraordinary network with France. Through his own work on Québec, Blanchard influenced the graduated conception of the North which would be one of Hamelin's great contributions. It should be noted that this graduated conception is in the order in which Hamelin experienced it: the winter (of his childhood), the high mountains (in France), then the Arctic. His nuanced conception of the cold world would find its inspiration there. His childhood charted for him an experience of winter that made him admire the efforts of his people to adapt to their environment. He remembers also that neither of his parents "had ever left Québec."[28] Rather than closing in on himself or driving him to be disproportionately attracted to foreign countries, this fact made him sensitive to intercultural experience (vis-à-vis France,[29] English Canada, the Aboriginals, the Russians), knowing full well the difficulty of admitting and appreciating difference to ease tensions.

Context

When Louis-Edmond Hamelin started his work on the North in the 1940s, he was located in a global context of emerging northern research, but also in a local mentality that took little interest in these issues. Despite that, he remembers, reality is completely different and "this immense space

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 57.
[28] *Ibid.*, p. 30.
[29] Hamelin writes, "The host country [France] offered me a first great intercultural laboratory, curiously situated within the same language" (Hamelin, 1996, p. 64).

is a cold country."[30] Even if the myth of coldness ran through many representations, it is winterity which brought him to "the myths of the North" in Québécois thought and perceptions. In addition, in the 20th century development had progressively reached the Near North and the Middle North, by way of projects in the Laurentian Mountains and the Mauricie region, then the North Shore and Abitibi, and finally James Bay. That being said, he felt among his people a true fear of the North. He tells the story that in the 1960s the Centre for Northern Studies had in vain offered a draw for a trip to Kuujjuaq among the attendants of its public classes (those, thus, already sensitized to northern issues): "The first winner of the draw renounced the prize, frightened by the idea of such a voyage."[31] Essentially, among politicians and in the media, the perception of the North was utilitarian: electric lines and railways transporting towards the St. Lawrence Valley the resources it needed. The idea that this was colonial exploitation was little shared by politicians and made intercultural negotiations difficult. Also, the recognition of prior Aboriginal rights annoyed people: "It's difficult for any coloniser, whether he is ferocious or a bit gentler, to have the humility to accept that the people he is threatening were there before him."[32] Thus, whether it wants it or not, northern research has a political aspect, even outside of existing parties.

Yet, if we look more closely, the North has occupied a privileged place in Québécois intellectual production since the beginning, with the *Relations* of the Jesuits, exploration maps, the Hudson's Bay Company and Revillon Frères' reports, the Arctic voyages of Captain J-E Bernier, the testimonies of missionaries, adventurers, and scientists, the mythology surrounding the construction of the Manicouagan dams, the Northern enterprises of Hydro-Québec, etc. These sources seem, however, to be seldom utilised, and in research on Québec, the context and the problematics of the North or the winter are often simply ignored. When he started the institutional northern research initiative, which would lead to the foundation of the Centre for Northern Studies, Louis-Edmond Hamelin received very little interest from his colleagues. However, the 1940s and 1950s were marked by the foundation of the Arctic Institute of North America (1945) at McGill, by the great French polar expeditions (1947), by the creation of the federal Department of Northern Affairs and

[30] Chartier and Désy [eds.], 2014, p. 73.
[31] Hamelin, 1996, p. 214.
[32] Chartier and Désy [eds.], 2014, p. 77.

National Resources (1953), and by the Québécois expeditions (Jacques Rousseau, Pierre Gadbois, and Camille Laverdière). In the 1960s and 1970s, huge development projects in the North would lead to an intensification of research, but Northern Studies would remain marginal in the general perspective: "Important reviews, said to be 'national,'" Hamelin writes, "continued to ignore the North."[33]

Method

The research of broad concepts like nordicity and winterity, were accompanied by the conviction, for Hamelin, that complex questions necessarily require examination by multiple disciplines. There is a cost, he writes, of considering a phenomenon by the bias of one approach only: "The mono-disciplinary approach does not allow one to produce enough relevant and necessary knowledge for the comprehension of a question that is so complex."[34] By *transdisciplinarity*, one can thus use "in an integrated way all of the sciences, knowledge traditions, and relevant languages for maximum understanding of an object/subject, considered in and of itself or in its relationships."[35] The demand for this intellectual method is born out of the double recognition (which could seem contradictory, but is rather complementary) of the fact that, on the one hand, "pure forms are rare"[36] and, on the other hand, that one must produce vocabulary, and consequentially, definitions, to grasp and understand these world phenomena. He will rely thus on multidisciplinary approaches (nordicity, interculturalism, sustainable development, Aboriginal studies, regionalism, etc.) and would accompany them with the adventure of creating words. For him, not knowing how to name with precision the world that surrounds us leads to not being able to observe it, to know it, and to understand it. His intellectual method is thus an undertaking at once broad and precise of what I call "the ecology of the real", which aims to bring humans closer to their environment and produce for both more harmony.

[33] Hamelin, 1996, p. 96.
[34] *Ibid.*, p. 86.
[35] *Ibid.*, p. 84.
[36] Chartier and Désy [eds.], 2014, p. 105.

Winter

As a young child, Louis-Edmond Hamelin experienced the changes that the first cold of winter brought in the St. Lawrence Valley: altered transportation, differentiated sociability, extreme luminosity.[37] It is from winter,[38] which he likes to call "seasonal nordicity" (during a certain period, we find in it conditions similar to those of the Arctic in a territory situated further South), that he elaborated his entire northern thinking (which would later encompass the high mountains[39] and the Far North). He starts from the observation that the winter is often thought about by way of summer, which provokes "shifted opinions and behaviours"[40] and especially the impression that humans that live in the North were "displaced," that they should not be there, that they are "voluntarily uprooted," taken from the "normal" climate. There is a great sadness in this observation,[41] but also a possibility of realigning with reality that permits us to accept, to love, and to recognize the world that surrounds us for what it is: "Winter is not a fantasy, it is a reality, an object, which is there in a recurring manner every year."[42] To accept it allows one to be anchored in the world: "It is to accept Québecness."[43] The first step is to no longer consider this season as just a physical phenomenon, but rather by its practices − social, cultural, athletic, psychological − the adaptations that it causes, the behaviours, discourses, representations, and policies that result from it. Winter touches several disciplines and it must be observed

[37] "In the winter, even if it was cold," he said, "we are virtually surrounded by a considerable energetic power, that of the sun" (*Ibid.*, p. 36).

[38] Louis-Edmond Hamelin defines winter as a "cold and snowy period of the air-earth-water interface, variable according to the weather, physical terrain, the year, the attitudes of people, and technical levels" or more simply as the "socio-climatic period that is the most dissimilar of the year" (Hamelin, 1996, p. 221).

[39] Of the "mountainous," the second cold space discovered by Hamelin (in the Alps) after the winterity of his childhood, he writes: "It must also be noted that the elevated levels of the massifs of temperate countries remind me of Nordic zones, by their remoteness, their isolation, the grip of nature, snow difficulties, low human occupancy, and by underdevelopment" (*Ibid.*, p. 231). This phenomenon is universal: altitude boosts nordicity just as latitude does. "Any increase in altitude, even weak, accentuates winter and Nordic conditions and, consequentially, their effects on all of life" (*Ibid.*, p. 229).

[40] *Ibid.*, p. 227.

[41] "Any excessive differentiation in environment-behaviour," as Hamelin writes, "makes the country less happy, less creative, more expensive, and more stressed" (*Ibid.*, p. 271).

[42] Chartier and Désy [eds.], 2014, p. 36.

[43] *Ibidem.*

from a multidisciplinary perspective. One senses that in Hamelin's remarks about winter that this topic is not neutral for him: In fact, reconciliation with this season touches the heart of his vast project, that is, to bring about by the acceptance of the real more harmony between man and the world.

Aboriginals

To reflect on and try to understand the "North" in all its components cannot be separated from a parallel – and distinct − reflection on the notion of "aboriginality."[44] "Northern Studies," he writes, "is intimately linked to autochthonism."[45] Since 1965, in the midst of the feverish development of the North, he argued that the elaboration of Northern policies could not be done without the consultation of the first inhabitants of the regions in question. He was not much listened to in the enthusiastic brouhaha of energy development, but his claims would be revisited in the 1970s when legal experts remembered bitterly the rights that accompany the notion of "anteriority" that they had wanted to ignore.

Because of the principals of the Aboriginal worldview, the question of territory – or *property*, if one places it in a western context – has always been at the heart of conflicts and misunderstandings. From a purely theoretical point of view, the question seems to be irreconcilable: the one considers land to be a good that can be exchanged, ceded, acquired, bought or sold; the other defends the idea that man is inseparable from his environment and that, consequently, there cannot be a division between him, the earth, the sea, the water, as well as between social, cultural, or survival practices. What's more, as most of the Aboriginal peoples are partially nomadic their presence on the land is discreet: their territories are ecumene in light habitation, since the rarity of resources leads to low population density. By way of example, let us recall that a traditional extended Cree family needs a territory of around 3000 km² to ensure its multi-year subsistence.[46]

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[44] On the different historical definitions of "Aboriginal" (p. 275) and its derivatives, such as "Aboriginalness" ("the fact of, the state of, the conscience of," p. 277) see Hamelin, 1996.

[45] *Ibid.*, p. 212.

[46] According to Tony Ianzelo and Boyce Richardson, who followed an extended Cree family from Mistassini in the 1970s, the territory of a master hunter was 1200 square miles, that is, around 3100 square kilometres. This territory is necessary to allow for a rotation of hunting and trapping zones and permits the extended family of the master hunter to

Also, despite the recognition that "the first 'Americanness' is that of the American Indians"[47] and that one can conceive of the Aboriginals "as the first Québécois,"[48] a malaise remains, more broadly than that which echoes periodically in the press during periods of tension (which undermine both valid development projects for non-Aboriginals and, for Aboriginals, legitimate concerns about cultural and social flourishing). For some, this has developed over the centuries into an annoyance which feeds racism.[49] Yet, a reflection on the notion of multicultural "territoriality" could help to find consensual developments.

A "Nordist[50]" Project

The North is thought of as a reservoir of resources for the needs of the South. This utilitarian vision limits understanding and limits the use of the largest part of the territory of Québec to specific and targeted activities: military protection, political nationalism, extraction of resources, delegated administration. In sum, we can say that "the North is not understood in and of itself,"[51] which leads to a vast and damaging missed opportunity to fill up the whole territory as much in the imagination, worldview, research, and identity as in development and political fullness.

This state of affairs also leads to a deficit in dialogue between the populations of the South and the North, which corresponds with an absence of fertile intercultural exchanges between non-Aboriginals and Aboriginals. Several steps seem to be necessary, according to Hamelin, to get out of this situation for the good of everyone: First, it is necessary to accept difference. There exist, Hamelin reminds, "fundamental cultural differences between Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals."[52] These touch not only traditional activities and language, but also the approach to land, the

survive, meanwhile assuring the regeneration of the territory's resources (*Chasseurs cris de Mistassini*, National Film Board of Canada, 1974, 57 min 57 s).

47 Chartier and Désy [eds.], 2014, p. 66.

48 *Ibid.*, p. 67.

49 "The reading of Aboriginal issues is thus profoundly obscure, misunderstood, biased, and betrayed. Prejudices bury a thousand-year-old reality. Mental obstacles block access to strongly rooted cultures. Modern civilization is blind." (Hamelin, 1996, p. 275)

50 "Nordist" in the activist sense of the word, the *nordist* worldview meaning here an idealistic political perspective, inscribed over a long period and proposing general, long-term objectives, as does, for example, the *feminist* worldview.

51 *Ibid.*, p. 217.

52 Chartier and Désy [eds.], 2014, p. 58.

relationship of man with his environment and thus the organisation and the negotiations that ensue. In the second place, we must multiply the occasions for contact: few non-Aboriginals and few Aboriginals have social relationships with one another, which leads to misunderstandings and misinterpretation of situations. When he arrived in Cree territory for the first time in 1948, Louis-Edmond Hamelin noted a basic fact: "The Aboriginals were absent from the principal structures,"[53] which collided with the pacifism defended by his people. "There was a violence in that that shocked me, but I didn't really understand all the issues yet."[54] Thirdly, the historic evolution of Québec must be considered in a longer perspective (which will also guarantee it a longer survival), which necessitates recognizing the fundamental anteriority of the presence of other peoples and the intercultural cohesion which followed. "This anteriority is an absolute value," even though often, autochthonism is "a denied myth."[55] Fourthly, we must assume the consequences of this situation and seek to come to the best result for all, which presupposes favouring forms of associationism, "which would be the practice of the philosophy of coexistence,"[56] abandoning that of dominance. Finally and fifthly, we must aim for a "consensual *métisserie*," which is not a means of negotiating a weakening of differences, but on the contrary a way of organizing them in a whole where they will be maintained while combining with each other. This is the rather audacious ideal of Louis-Edmond Hamelin's worldview: a better social and political organisation for Québec, which would reinforce it while fully taking advantage of the strengths of its territory, conceived of as a whole.

> And depending on this *métisserie*, yet to be defined, the Québec of the South, the Québec of the North, and the entirety of Québec would probably take a better chosen and a lot more thoughtful direction of development, more appropriate and more respectful of the cultures, both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal. It would probably lead to more beauty, to betterment, to more efficiency, and to a greater happiness for the whole population.[57]

[53] *Ibidem*.
[54] *Ibidem*.
[55] Chartier and Désy [eds.], 2014, p. 75.
[56] *Ibid*., p. 82.
[57] *Ibid*., p. 85.

According to him, it is by *territoriality* that one can find a way to account for these differences: nordic*ity* and winter*ity* are forged from a view of the whole (manifesting the suffix *ity*), which is linked to the Inuit concept of "*nuna*" or those of "*Innu Aitun*" and "*Innu Asi*" among the Innu. In all of these cases, what is at stake is the relationship between the individual and his environment, the possibility of taking possession of the environment, or on the contrary to agree on that which we are intimately a part of. He reminds that Greek thought made reference to a gradation between the immediate place where we live and the vaster whole in which we exist. Also, "holistic" thought links these concepts by suggesting that the individual is not separable from the world which surrounds him and that all reflection concerning it must be supported by the fluidity of the links between the whole and its parts. Nevertheless, the Civil Code remains the basis of a large part of western organisational thought – in Québec as elsewhere in the world – fundamentally separating "goods" and "persons," requiring an update to understand the forced relationships between them. It is thus inevitable, according to Hamelin, that concerning the subject of land, "a philosophical difficulty" will arise "when it comes time for discussions, because the Aboriginals understand one thing and the non-Aboriginals, the opposite."[58] The political pitfalls that follow would not find a solution but at least more clarification if those who undertake the negotiations understand this fact: "*nuna*" constitutes the basic organisational notion that makes the separation of land and human aspects (life, sociability, culture, language, health) incomprehensible.

The *Nordist* worldview is thus a *political* worldview in the noblest sense that we can conceive of: it aims to elaborate new forms of development and organisation based on a better recognition of cultural differences, without passing by way of domination, blockages, or the impasses that were known to the 20th century. It is certainly idealistic and demanding, because it is a social project that takes into account notions often abandoned in social discourse, that of happiness and mutual gain:

> My model is demanding; it is a model for eight million individuals that allows for a little more mutual acceptance between the North and the South; that they love one another more, which will lead to greater rapprochements.[59]

[58] Chartier and Désy [eds.], 2014, p. 62.
[59] *Ibid.*, p. 81.

This is admittedly a cultural, political, and social program for a whole century to come. It requires, however, a vision of the whole which is systematically lacking today; that which Louis-Edmond Hamelin refers to by "total Québec," "the peninsula of Québec," or again with "the totality of Québec." It "takes into account the entire territory and not just the St. Lawrence Valley."[60] Geographical, political, imaginary, representational, and developmental maps should thus not all be uniformly applied, but routinely considered in relation to each of the aspects of territoriality. This attention demands, however, an effort and "a strong feeling of the population towards the whole territory of Québec."[61] Once again, this "fullness" is not a fantasy, but a fundamental requirement: "All countries possess this foundation, this essential material bedrock. Québec is asking, has asked, and will ask itself this question."[62]

* * *

We owe to Louis-Edmond Hamelin the invention of a vocabulary specific to the snow and to the cold, which has enriched the French language and augmented our possibility of knowing and loving the North. We also to owe him the shift in meaning of certain words – such as "Nordic," henceforth circumpolar rather than just Scandinavian in the dictionaries, which permits the inclusion of other territories, including Québec.[63] We also owe to him what I call the "word-programs," such as "nordicity", "winterity," and "altitudinality," which have not only opened vast, new, and fertile fields of research, but have also modified the way in which the peoples of the North represent themselves with a vocabulary of their own. In Québec, Hamelin's "Nordist" worldview was and remains a slow, but persistent battle to accept notions of the intercultural, autochthonism, and territoriality, to attain a political fullness that includes as much the environment, the land, the public good, wealth, and relationships of happiness and harmony between individuals. This struggle is not one of a decade, but of several. Despite the continuation of his activities, the interview that we are delivering to you here is an intellectual

[60] Chartier and Désy [eds.], 2014, p. 31.
[61] *Ibid.*, p. 82.
[62] *Ibid.*, p. 79.
[63] "The word 'Nordic' comes from this: I traveled the world to create a word broad enough so that Québec could have its place within it" (Chartier and Désy [eds.], 2014, p. 39).

will and testament in the sense that it contains the sum of his commitments and his proposals – profound and refreshing at the beginning of the 21st century which has so few of them – that this intellectual, certainly one of the greatest in circumpolar thought, delivers to us with a discreet humour and modesty.

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The Arctic Tomato
The diverse uses of geothermal water in Iceland

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Abstract

This work discusses the impact changes in geothermal utilization have had on both food production and consumption. Access to abundant geothermal water, clean air and the use of state of the art technology becomes a question of preferences rather than technological or economic limitations. Radical innovations such as LED lightning and more ecological cultivation techniques make it possible to grow local produce that can compete with imports, tomatoes, cucumbers, even strawberries in dark winter nights. Here the inexpensive access to the geothermal resource is imperative. Even the "pizza generation" is moving towards lighter and healthier fare: fresh fish, greens all year round, locally grown tomatoes, capsicum, even eggplants are becoming more Icelandic than the Nordic fare. Icelandic/Mediterranean Cuisine is a more appropriate term than the New Nordic Cuisine which has become recognized worldwide.

Key words: Arctic, tomato, geothermal water, Iceland

This study discusses the impact changes in geothermal utilization have had on both food production and consumption. It has more to do with scale than scope. Access to abundant geothermal water, clean air and the use of state of the art technology is becoming more a question of preferences rather than technological or economic limitations. Radical innovations such as LED lightning and more ecological cultivation techniques make it possible to grow local produce that can compete with imports, tomatoes, cucumbers, even strawberries in dark winter nights. Iceland's rapidly increasing capabilities and skills in product development go hand-in-hand with the rising popularity of organic food. Here the inexpensive access to the geothermal resource is imperative. Even the

"pizza generation" is moving towards lighter and healthier fare: fresh fish, greens all year round, locally grown tomatoes, capsicum, even eggplants are becoming more Icelandic than the Nordic fare. Icelandic/Mediterranean Cuisine is a more appropriate term than the New Nordic Cuisine which has become recognized worldwide.

The energy crises in the beginning of the 70s turned the worries of a relatively few environmentalists, about the depletion of resources and the limits of growth, into a widespread fear of energy shortages. The search for alternative energy sources, preferably renewable, became a global task. In Iceland the possibilities of the utilization of geothermal power was close at hand. Oil accounted for 53% of space heating in Iceland in 1970; the ratio dropped to less than 5% in 1985 and 1% in 2010, with 10% coming from hydropower, the remainder from geothermal water.

The use of geothermal energy in Iceland has developed in sync with time, as what was once a cumbersome necessity has become an economically and technologically feasible alternative to imported fossil-based energy sources. The importance of geothermal water as an energy source is to be found in its particular physiological properties and direct use, instead of a source of generic energy, as is the case of electrification.

The rapid and successful shift from large-scale hydroelectric plants constructed to supply energy-intensive industries was primarily due to long range planning aimed at industrializing the economy which was temporarily halted due to worldwide oversupply of inexpensive energy.

The following study is an analytical overview of the impact of the "geothermal" on the everyday life of Icelanders (Jónsson 2009). Initially as an alternative to imported oil and coal, which were too costly for widespread use, geothermal power has become one of the country's most important assets, providing inexpensive space heating, facilitating locally grown vegetables and flowers all year round, and even making the outdoor swimming pool the most frequented gathering place nationwide.

Going green

In a renowned report, Joseph E. Stiglitz, Amartya Sen and Jean-Paul Fitoussi (2009) emphasize the importance of measuring economic performance and social progress in a holistic manner, by entwining indicators of "quality of life" and sustainable development and environment. Furthermore, they emphasize the importance of taking

subjective or qualitative measurements alongside the more quantitative indicators which have been dominant for decades, taking for granted that further economic growth is a precondition for increased wellness.

Today it is, to an extent, important to shift the emphasis from measuring economic production to measuring people's well-being. Wellness or healthy living is understood in accordance with the definition of the World Health Organization: "Health is a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity."[1]

The multiple uses of geothermal water and the quality of life

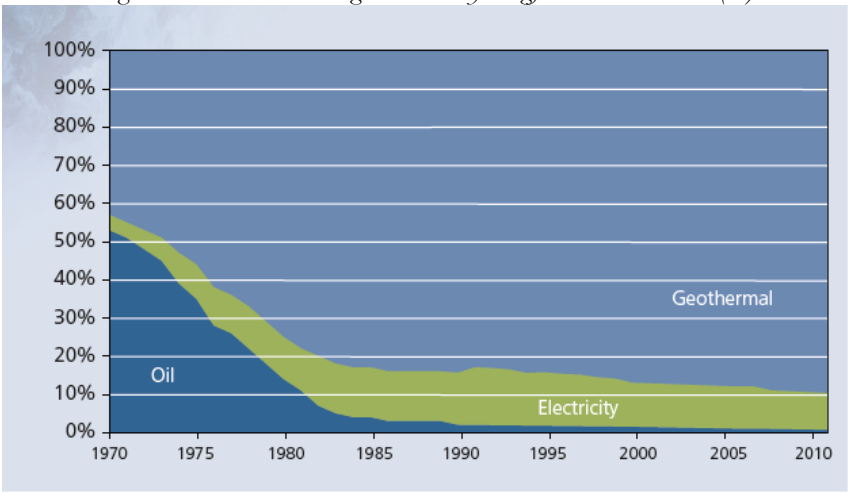
In the 1930s, utilizing geothermal energy was, in a sense, a last resort in Iceland, as it required a technologically novel and robust distribution system for which there was neither sufficient technological knowledge nor economic means. The idea at the time was to use peat for heating instead of oil and coal, as peat fitted into the existing distribution system, and the economic situation made the imported coal or oil too expensive for most of the population. But peat is a notoriously inefficient energy source. Making use of geothermal heat was another option, as it had shown to be quite efficient for directly localized heating around the country.

Yet as late as 1960, the Reykjavik Energy Authority expressed serious doubts about the possibility of using geothermal energy as a comprehensive solution for heating, due to both the damaging effects of corrosion and the technical complexity involved.

By the end of the WWII, nearly three thousand houses in Reykjavik were connected to the utility. The capital counted at that time 44,000 inhabitants. As shown in Figure 1, the proportion of people with geothermal heating had reached 23% by 1955. The oil crisis of the 1970s hastened this development, and by 1980 72% of houses in Iceland were heated by geothermal water. In the capital area almost every single house enjoyed this luxury at that time. By 2008, the share of exothermally heated houses was around 90%.

[1] http://www.who.int/about/en/index.html

Figure 2: *Residential heating in Iceland by energy source 1970-2010 (%)*



Source: *National Energy Authority. Energy data.*

As energy source, geothermal has, until recently, in most cases been less economical than oil or gas worldwide and heavily determined by the topographic context and its specific characteristics, the mineral composition of the water, and geological properties. Its advantage is predominantly to be found in its diverse possibilities for direct use when delivered to the users' doorstep. The main cost has to do with the initial investments in the distribution system, and the development of efficient means of heat retention. When the infrastructure has been fully paid for, however, it becomes a perpetual system where reducing the energy loss in the distribution process is the major issue.

In order to clarify this, a comparison with electricity can be helpful. As Thomas Hughes points out (1983), the transmission of energy requires large technological systems such as the electricity grid, an interconnected network for delivering electricity from suppliers to consumers. If the technological specifications or solutions have been agreed upon, it is a patentable formal system that turns into a universal solution. The power source can be different but turned into a commodity it becomes generic.

The technological solutions must be transferable as a codified knowledge embodied in standardized tools or equipment. Electrification and the enormous technological advances in its utilization go hand in hand.

Harnessing geothermal energy and transforming it into a commodity is a notably complex task. The construction of the system is based on what Michael Polanyi (1966) terms as 'tacit knowledge,' embedded and difficult to transfer, in comparison with 'formal knowledge', i. e. codified. Early attempts in Iceland were governed by a pressing need, rather than practical or economic feasibility. Looking backwards, the stubborn attempts at constructing a distribution system for the direct application of hot water were in the service of an unrealistic goal, with numerous problems: corrosion; pressure; and, if the water was distributed directly, a substantial loss of energy. Iceland's current distribution system for the geothermal has been a major practical as well as engineering accomplishment (Þórðarson 1998). It is based on practical needs rather than 'calculative rationality' in a Weberian sense.

Utilisation of geothermal waters

In this section we first present a brief overview of the utilization of geothermal energy in Iceland in the last century, before examining in more detail how this natural resource is used to enrich everyday life in Iceland and improve living.

Iceland's rich geothermal sources were hardly exploited up until or in the middle of the 20th century. Geothermal water was long used for bathing and cleaning, as well as for social purposes (Kristmannsdóttir and Halldórsdóttir 2008). There is also evidence that the hot water was used to combat various illnesses, such as arthritis (Þorsteinsson 2005). There is, however, little indication that geothermal water was used for space heating until the 20th century. In fact, wellsprings were at all times an unreliable irritant rather than an asset.

In terms of energy, the use of geothermal water for heating was first implemented in the city of Reykjavík during the thirties. In 1930 the Reykjavík Heating Utility was founded. The initial instillations were made in a geothermal field near the city centre, Laugardalur (literally "hot spring valley"), using a drill, originally intended for gold mining in the city (Gröndal 1926). This "gold drill," as it became known, had been brought to Iceland in the twenties, started when the city was drilling for fresh water in 1904-5. The "gold rush" of the early twenties was short-lived, and many officials, who also happened to be members of the Association of Chartered Engineers in Iceland, the group responsible for bringing the drill

to Iceland, lamented the fact that such an investment had gone to waste (Jónsson and Theodórsson 2003). Thus ideas were floated to use the drill for the production of electricity, generated by turbines propelled by the steam of the geothermal fields in Laugardalur, as had been tried by then in Italy. In 1928 the first drilling ensued, but it soon became evident that the water was more suitable for a heating utility.

At that time the city of Reykjavík was growing around a hill named after a cairn which had been built on top of it, known as the "school cairn." On this hill's eastern and south-eastern flank, facing towards the Laugardalur, an elementary school and the National Hospital had been built, an indoor swimming pool was under construction (completed in 1936), and nearby atop the hill was the house Hnitbjörg, home of the sculptor Einar Jónsson, an Icelander of international repute during those times. The first building to receive hot water from the Laugardalur geothermal fields was the schoolhouse, and later the swimming pool. Subsequently the water served 70 houses as well as the National Hospital. The experience from this small heating utility was successful enough that the city's officials, despite the substantial difficulties in its implementation, decided to heat the whole city with geothermal hot water, but that required fields with more productive capacity than the ones in Laugardalur. In 1933, the city thus made agreements with landowners in the neighbouring municipality of Mosfellsbær, some 30 km away, for utilising all hot water the city would find on their land.

It is during World War II that the uses of hot water emerge in earnest. Based on the initial experience at Laugardalur and a history since Iceland's first settlement in 874 AD of washing, bathing and. The heating of individual houses with hot water, the project of heating the whole city of Reykjavík was novel task.

The pipes and infrastructure necessary for pumping hot water to Reykjavík from some 30 km away had to be imported (Sigurðsson 1947). The most acute need at this time was the securing of funds for the project, as no currency was available in Iceland for such a large investment (Þórðarson 1998).

These funds were secured from Denmark in 1939 with the mediation of the Icelandic National Bank, and a Danish company was contracted for the work. Although funding was secured, only part of the material for the heating utility was obtained prior to the German occupation of Denmark in 1940, and due to the occupation that summer all operations on the

heating utility ceased. In 1941, the US offered Icelanders the opportunity to make a prioritised wish list of equipment and materials, to be provided as development aid in exchange for the stay of their occupying forces. The materials and tools for the building of the hot water utility were on top of the list. The US favourably disposed to the idea but being by then full participants in the war, could not meet these demands as metals and related materials were needed for armaments. As a token of Iceland's strategic importance in the war, and after a little lobbying in New York from Reykjavík city's engineer and a representative of the Danish company, the materials requested were delivered almost immediately (Jónsson and Theodórsson 2003; Þórðarson, 1998).

The geothermal and the rhythm of everyday life

As times go by, remarkably innovative ways of using geothermal water have come to light, of which, along with space heating and the visit to the outdoor pool, cultivation in greenhouses has shown to be the most important. Indeed, a recent study shows that of the 72 firms that were using geothermal water as an input into their production process in 2013, 32 used the resource to heat greenhouses (Hagfræðistofnun, 2013). An additional 24 firms used geothermal water in their fish farming activities.

Various attempts were made in the 19th century to use geothermal water for outdoor cultivation of crops such as potatoes, but the first greenhouse was built in 1933 (Georgsson, Sæmundsson, and Hjartarson 2005). Since then, several important greenhouse clusters have emerged in the country.

Swimming pools. There are over 2 million visits annually to the exothermally heated outdoor swimming pools in Reykjavík (population 250,000). The hot tubs situated beside the pools have become the most frequented gathering places in the country. The tubs are visited daily by young and old and social status is insignificant. Outdoor bathing has become one of Iceland's major tourist attractions, the Blue Lagoon being the best-known site. The outdoor pools are community-driven public spaces, inexpensive for the general public. They are also tourist attractions in their own right.

Greenhouses. The costs associated with year-round growth of vegetables and flowers have become competitive with, or less than, the costs of imported products in most cases. Increasing skills, technological

improvements and rapidly changing consumption preferences towards lighter fare have increased the significance of greenhouse cultivation substantially in recent years.

It is difficult to envisage the wide-ranging impact the use of the geothermal has had on the everyday life of Icelanders. The transformation of one neighbourhood in Reykjavík, Vesturbær, and the way the swimming pool in the area became one of its central institutions is a telling case.

In the late 1930s, the Reykjavík authorities envisioned Vesturbærinn as a thoroughly planned "suburb" in harmony with theories of the modernizing process of natural urbanization—a logical move for the bourgeoning town, the nation's capital. The seemingly controlled urbanization of Iceland took a U-turn in 1940 with the arrival of the British army. The British, and later US, occupation made the previously conceived city planning almost meaningless, increasing the number of inhabitants by 25,000 in a city of 40,000. After the British soldiers were gone one year later, the barracks they left behind, which were constructed to last for four or five months, became permanent accommodation for Icelanders newly arrived in the Reykjavík area. This was at the same time as the new international airport was constructed in the Reykjanes area which became a permanent location of the American army.

These barracks transformed whole outskirts, of which the biggest one was in Vesturbær, the area that was intended to be the model for future development of the city. The writer Einar Kárason accurately described the surroundings as "tin cans, fallen over and half buried in the ground," deteriorating into leaky, rusty huts unfit for decent living in the cold winter nights (Kárason 1989).

Every neighbourhood has an identity of its own, and the residents maintain loyalty to their local traditions. This was partly true of the poverty-ridden community in the area. It had a football team, a cinema and an amusement park. The cinema, inherited from the British and located in one of the barracks, was named after the Lebanese town of Tripoli, and the amusement park, which included the dance hall "Winter Garden," was given the name of Copenhagen's famous amusement park, Tivoli. Neither Tripoli nor Tivoli had much resemblance to the places they were named after. The fear of the political consequences of frightful slums was a by-product of rapid urbanization and was dramatically expressed by Le Corbusier (1989): "Architecture or revolution" (to this respect cf. del Acebo Ibáñez 2007, 2004-2005, 1996, 1993).

As in the case of so many modernistic projects of the era, the overall plan of the neighbourhood lacked the homeliness of the street culture with its vividness that transformed suburbs into tightly knit communities, as it was discussed in the work of Jane Jacobs (1961). Even the most downtrodden slums have a place for playfulness and belonging, which was lacking in the strictly formal organization of the Vesturbær neighbourhood.

"A city is a place where people can learn to live with strangers," is Richard Sennett's well-known definition (Sennet 2005). Public places in which people feel comfortable conducting routine social interactions, with acquaintances as well as strangers, are crucial for every community. To maintain such comfort requires a certain level of distance as well as proximity. Edward T. Hall (1973) has defined the 'proxemics' of intimate space as the closest 'bubble' of space surrounding a person, and he maintains that the sphere is culturally embedded. Here the metaphor of the "bubble" is appropriate, as everyone has limits which other individuals, acquaintances or complete strangers, have to respect. Hall defines social and contextual spaces in which people feel comfortable conducting routine social interactions with acquaintances as well as strangers. Sennett sees this as one of the most important characteristics of urbanization (Sennett 2005, 16). For Henri Lefebvre (2004), the "rhythm of everyday life" manifests itself in the neighbourhood, where repetition and place converge—this is 'locatedness,' or the lack thereof.

The outdoor swimming pool as a social gathering place

As strange as it may sound, the local outdoor swimming pool became a centre for everyday gatherings all year round in Iceland. At first, the most important function of such pools was to teach local children to swim, and, in several areas, for locals to have a decent place to clean themselves. But quite rapidly, people of various backgrounds began to use the pool's hot tub, a Jacuzzi-type bathing facility, as their daily meeting place (Ívarsson 2005).

The hot tubs in the Vesturbær neighbourhood swimming pool were erected in 1961, and the hot tub concept was imitated nationwide. Despite the widespread discourse about the ambivalent relationship between the public and the private in modern society, it is remarkable how swiftly an outdoor hot tub can become such an important institution. Within the

next two decades, the tub became the most popular place for social gatherings in the country, comparable to the Parisian café, the English pub, the Mediterranean church plaza, the ancient Turkish Hammam, and, closer to home, the Finnish sauna.

To sum up, without overemphasizing the impact of the geothermal on the Icelandic society, it has changed the rhythm of everyday life for its population, and increasingly so. Icelanders enjoy the comfort of inexpensive heated homes, and easily accessible year-round public spaces where young and old can gather irrespective of social standing.

Vegetables and flowers are now grown all year round

Farmers, and for that matter most Icelanders, have never been much into their greens. What was considered food, historically, was fat mutton. The farming of root crops and vegetables was always of secondary importance compared to the breeding of grazing animals; its place in the diet was considered supplementary at best. Icelanders, the logic went for most of the nation's history, should live on what could be reaped from Icelandic soil (Jónsson and Jónsson 2011).

For centuries, about 90% of food consumed was of animal origin, whereas cereals were absent due weather conditions. Milk, butter, mutton, suet, fish and other animal-based foods dominated the Icelandic diet to an extent almost without parallel in Europe, except perhaps among the nomads in far-northern Europe, e.g. the Sami in Lapland and the Inuit in Greenland.

In general, the palate was not a big issue in the post-war period up until the beginning of the eighties. This is not to state that food did not matter. Manual labour was widespread, close to being dominant around the country. Everyone ate salted cod on Fridays, and lamb on Sundays (you could choose between saddle of lamb or leg, cut or uncut, so you had more or less four variants). You had meat days, fish days and Sunday steaks.

Foreigners and Icelanders educated abroad were, however, experimenting with gardening and growing of root crops and fruits early on. The founders of the Icelandic Horticultural Association, in 1885, were seventeen men, eight of whom bore foreign names (Sigurðsson 1995).

In 1932, grapes were auctioned at one of Reykjavik's prestigious coffee houses, which indicates that the use of geothermal energy was not

only seen by a group of people as merely functional but in a hedonistic light. Using greenhouses to grow grapes (along with roses) and so enrich daily life could be understood as a protest by emerging urbanites. Flowers and fruits were signs of sophistication, a cultured attempt to survive under circumstances nearly unbearable for those who were at home with a better life abroad (Þórðarson 1998).

In the wake of the Second World War, Iceland, like most European countries west of the Iron Curtain, evolved into a consumer society, but the consumption of food remained more or less the same in the country. What finally brought about a change in food preferences and eating habits was the advent of mass tourism. This process worked both ways: tourists, coming from near and far, created demand for more and more sophisticated restaurants. The French, Italians and, later, the Japanese, often expressed their astonishment over the way the locals handled the good raw materials in the country. Icelanders, on the other hand, were sceptical of overseas food.

In the first years of tourism to the sandy beaches of the Mediterranean, Icelanders were cautious not to be too adventurous when it came to dining. This phenomenon, to feel at home abroad, is well known part of the modern 'tourist gaze' (Urry 2002), but as Icelandic tourists became more seasoned they started to appreciate the local gastronomy.

The availability of fresh fruit and vegetables all year round has changed consumption preferences in a fundamental manner, shifting emphasis from the local to the global and, probably, from the global back to local. In the case of Iceland, the global phenomenon of "summer all year round" was an especially marked break with the past; when asparagus from Chile, avocados from New Zealand and oranges from South Africa are commodities on the shelves, things are bound to change. This is already the case in most of the more affluent countries.

Carbon count labels are becoming more common to indicate geographical proximity. The New Nordic Kitchen is an example: a cuisine with roots traceable from field to fork, with an emphasis on vegetables and fish rather than meat. A paradoxical or even a provocative case is the New Icelandic/Mediterranean Cuisine; the "pizza generation" is moving towards lighter and healthier fare: fresh fish, greens all year round, locally grown tomatoes, capsicum, even eggplants are becoming more Icelandic than the Nordic fare.

Here we find the important changes when it comes to food, in terms of production as well as consumption. It has more to do with scale than scope. Access to abundant geothermal water, clean air and the use of state of the art technology is becoming more a question of preferences rather than technological or economic limitations. Radical innovations such as LED lightning and more ecological cultivation techniques make it possible to grow local produce that can compete with imports, tomatoes, cucumbers, even strawberries in dark winter nights. Iceland's rapidly increasing capabilities and skills in product development go hand-in-hand with the rising popularity of organic food. Here the inexpensive access to the geothermal is imperative.

The reemphasis on the local food might lead to Neo-protectionism, as is already the case in many of the more affluent nations. This will hardly be the case in Iceland. Iceland is a microstate and, as such, is deemed to be one of the most open economies in the world and will continue to be so.

Concluding remarks

It might seem misrepresentative to describe Icelandic society by focusing on a distinct energy source, but if view is shifted from the *source* to its *use,* the overall impact of geothermal on the quality of life for the Icelanders reveals itself.

Today the role of the geothermal heating utility in the well-being of the population is starting to emerge in manifold ways. The houses are made bigger in areas where these utilities have been built; a summer cottage without a Jacuzzi is less interesting; the number of swimming pools in Iceland is nearing 200) and almost solely outdoors. Almost 90% of the population now has access to the heating utility using geothermal water, and the high-energy geothermal fields contribute to the electricity production in Iceland. A visit to one of the pools in Reykjavík reveals that most people do not use the pools for training, but rather as a spa-like resort, a place of relaxation or other recreation; often visiting without actually swimming, but rather relaxing in the tubs and discussing current affairs.

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Environmental and Climate Change problems of the City of Buenos Aires
(Theoretical considerations from a socio-cultural perspective)*

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Abstract

Climate change and environmental problems deal with cultural, social, individual and natural causes. After several investigations on attitudes and behaviors of urban inhabitants of different cities of Argentina, we acknowledge the importance of a comprehensive theoretical approach to better understand these types of complex and multidimensional phenomena, like climate change is. A socio-cultural approach implies to consider the socio-cultural world as a total phenomenon, that is multidimensional and interdependent, which also considers that climate change not only refers to national and state policies but also to the subject's world and its everyday life realm.

Key terms: Environment, Climate change, Socio-cultural world, Subject's world

1. The environmental and climate change issue in Argentina

In Argentina, during the last decade, were reported different climate change impacts: a) unusual extreme weather events, such as flooding in the Pampas (2000-2002) and hail storm in the Buenos Aires Metropolitan area (2006); b) increases in rainfall in southeast the Argentine Pampas have had impacts on land use, crop yields and the increasing flood in terms of frequency and intensity; c) in the future, sea level rise, weather and climatic variability and extremes modified by global warming are variables that must be taken into account because of the impacts on low-lying areas, such as the province of Buenos Aires coast)[1]; d) there has been a general

Based on a presentation to the Baldy Center Conference: The Big Thaw, Policy, Governance and Climate Change in the Circumpolar North,* SUNY-Buffalo Law School, Buffalo (NY), 2013: del Acebo Ibáñez, "*Urban Living and Individual Representations of Environmental Problems (The case of the Young inhabitants of the City of Buenos Aires)".*

[1] Cf. The IPCC 4th Assesment Report.

increase in spring and winter temperatures averaged over the country, making the occurrence of warm seasonal temperatures more frequent and cold seasonal temperatures less frequent.

At the same time, there are some climate change impact projections[2], such as: a) south-west and north Argentina are vulnerable to a moderate increase in water stress with climate change; b) an increase in precipitation extremes with climate change for Argentina; c) a tendency for increasing flood risk in Argentina; d) the country was ranked the 5th highest (out of 84 developing countries) with respect to the amount of agricultural land that could be submerged due to a 1m Sea Level Rise (SLR) and, according to a sub-national-scale study, the city of Buenos Aires could be affected significantly by SLR.

Buenos Aires, the largest city of Argentina, has a population of around 3 million, while its metropolitan area has almost 13 million of inhabitants. Taking into account the 2003-2008 greenhouse inventory, it can be said that Buenos Aires emits near to 16 tons of CO_2 equivalents, while its main sources of greenhouse gas emissions are a) the energy (56%) and b) the transport sectors (38%).

Flooding is one of the most important problems related to the impacts of climate change, because: a) the city is located on the shore of the Rio de la Plata and the Riachuelo, b) the increasing intensity of rainstorms, c) the lack of adequate plans to control the urbanization patterns and the internal and external immigration (mainly from the neighbor countries), and d) the expected rise of the sea level.

Photo 1: *Flood in Buenos Aires City, 2013*

Source: C5N (2013)

[2] Cf http://www.metoffice.gov.uk/media/pdf/1/l/Argentina;http://www.metoffice.gov.uk/media/pdf/1/I/Argentina

Photo 2

Source: *La Nación* (2013)

Photo 3

Source: C5N (2013)

Photo 4

Source: C5N (2013)

These are data located at the *objective level* of reality, by sure indispensable for a better planning and forecast; but nevertheless there is a *subjective level* of reality that emerges as indispensable too. In fact, environmental problems, natural disasters and climate change are phenomena that deal with attitudes, social and individual representations, local communities and contexts, *Weltanschauungen*, beliefs and values, norms and anomie. It means that we must realize about the connections between local perceptions, behaviors and discourses on climate change at local contexts, on one side, and global concepts on the other. As T.P.Karjalainen, T. Järvikosky & P. Luoma[3] state, although we can speak about globalization of the environment, at the local level it has only partly homogenized public perceptions, opinions and behaviors because "an individual's engagement with the surrounding environment, local conditions and socio-political contexts shape perceptions of climate change"[4]. As the authors point out in relation to the Komi Republic (but this also applies to different developing countries and regions), climate change can be more a personal concern related to daily life and survival strategies than an environmental, societal or global issue. Once again, the dialectic between local/global and society/individual emerge as indispensable to better understand reality, avoiding any kind of ethnocentrism (explicit or implicit) as point of departure.

[3] T.P. Karjalainen, T. Järvikoski & P. Luoma: "Local perceptions of global climate change in the Komi Republic in Russia", *Arctic & Antarctic – International Journal on Circumpolar Sociocultural Issues*, 2, 2008: 75-109.
[4] Ibidem, p. 75.

At the same time, as we usually speak in terms of globalization as a necessary process, perhaps we can also investigate how explanatory would be instead to refer to both globalizing and globalized countries. Nature is not only nature: it impacts the different socio-cultural worlds all over the planet and, vice versa it also implies social and power relationships which impact in Nature itself.

2. The socio-cultural world as a total phenomenon

Social sciences and Anthropology have stressed the socio-cultural components inextricably united as well as integrated to any concept dealing with the environment. In fact, the environment and the socio-cultural world are total phenomena: multidimensional and interdependent; it is both a natural realm as well as a built up realm, hence both interdisciplinary and trans-disciplinary approaches are required.

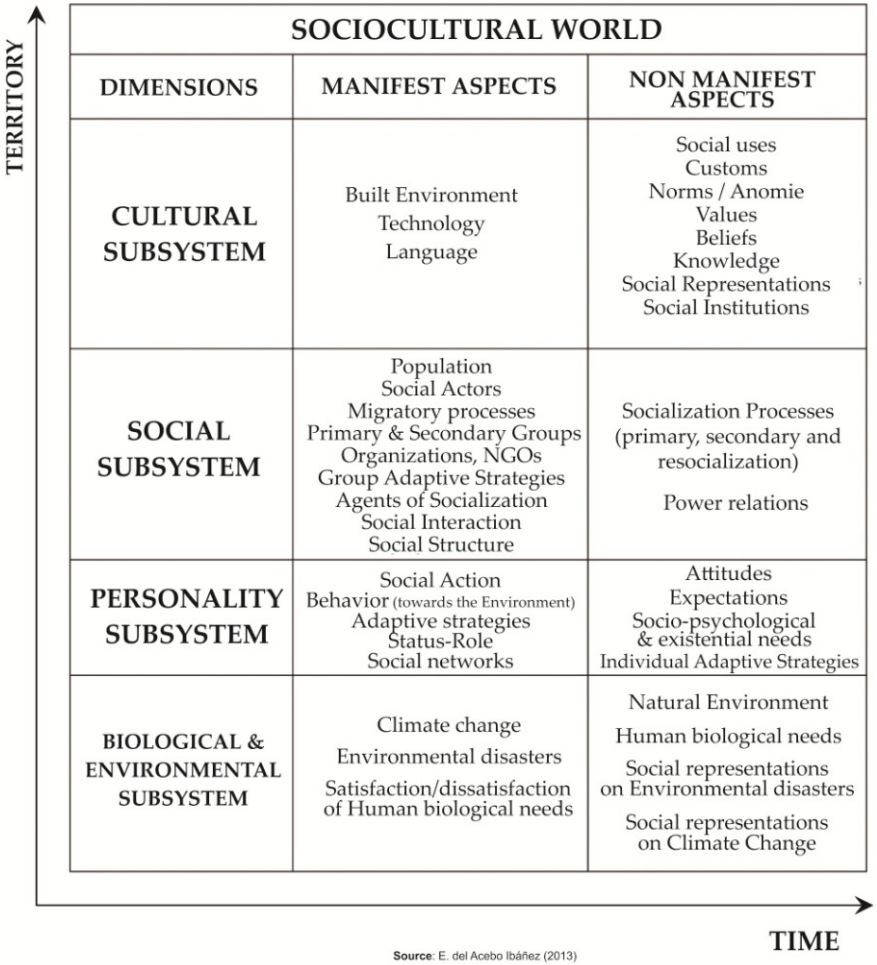
Culture, society, the subject, and environment are dimensions of that socio-cultural world with manifest (evident, clearly perceived) and non-manifest aspects (not evident, implicit, not immediately perceived), all of which are so interdependent that every change in one of them impacts the others, explicitly or implicitly, direct or indirectly, in a short or long term. This can be seen in Figure 1, where time and territory are the coordinates where this world occurs.

Hawley (1991, 1950) considered that "community" is a collective response to the habitat involved, an adaptation of the human organism to the milieu it lives in: while *culture* is an "eco-system considered from an analytic outlook", an *eco-system* is "culture considered from a synthetic outlook" (cf. Lorenz, 1965; Park, 1974, 1952, 1936; Quinn, 1950; Schnore, 1958). The self-criticism of the ecological-human thinking (Erpicun's, 1976) was very valuable when they introduced the *self consciousness* because, consequently, the environment could be seen as an *interiorized milieu*.

As we have already stated (del Acebo Ibáñez, 2004-2005, 2014), that self-criticism of the Human Ecology allowed links to be established with an existential Sociology as a fresh sociological reading of the existentialist thinking -M. Heidegger, J.-P. Sartre, K. Jaspers, among others-. Because the human being, not only develops strategies aimed at the biological survival during his/her stay on board the planet Earth but also the human being *founds* space or territories that represent "realms for meaning". So, the subject *inhabits* in the existentialistic meaning Heidegger (1995, 1954) gives to this concept. Precisely, the fact of inhabiting is a *proprium*, i.e. a

characteristic which defines the human being as such. Every ecological crisis is not free from strong ethic and existential connotations with reference to either its causes or its consequences and the possible ways for the solution and prevention thereof. But those connotations belong to specific and concrete local communities and socio-cultural worlds.

FIGURE 1: SOCIOCULTURAL WORLD AND CLIMATE CHANGE



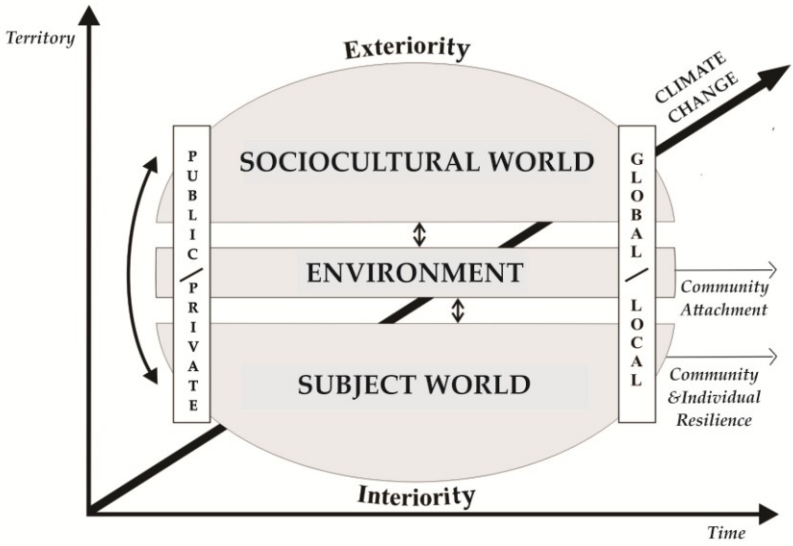
SOCIOCULTURAL WORLD		
DIMENSIONS	**MANIFEST ASPECTS**	**NON MANIFEST ASPECTS**
CULTURAL SUBSYSTEM	Built Environment Technology Language	Social uses Customs Norms / Anomie Values Beliefs Knowledge Social Representations Social Institutions
SOCIAL SUBSYSTEM	Population Social Actors Migratory processes Primary & Secondary Groups Organizations, NGOs Group Adaptive Strategies Agents of Socialization Social Interaction Social Structure	Socialization Processes (primary, secondary and resocialization) Power relations
PERSONALITY SUBSYSTEM	Social Action Behavior (towards the Environment) Adaptive strategies Status-Role Social networks	Attitudes Expectations Socio-psychological & existential needs Individual Adaptive Strategies
BIOLOGICAL & ENVIRONMENTAL SUBSYSTEM	Climate change Environmental disasters Satisfaction/dissatisfaction of Human biological needs	Natural Environment Human biological needs Social representations on Environmental disasters Social representations on Climate Change

Source: E. del Acebo Ibáñez (2013)

As we have already stated (del Acebo Ibáñez, 2004-2005, 2014), that self-criticism of the Human Ecology allowed links to be established with an existential Sociology as a fresh sociological reading of the existentialist thinking -M. Heidegger, J.-P. Sartre, K. Jaspers, among others-. Because the human being, not only develops strategies aimed at the biological survival during his/her stay on board the planet Earth but also the human being *founds* space or territories that represent "realms for meaning". So, the subject *inhabits* in the existentialistic meaning Heidegger (1995, 1954) gives to this concept. Precisely, the fact of inhabiting is a *proprium*, i.e. a characteristic which defines the human being as such. Every ecological crisis is not free from strong ethic and existential connotations with reference to either its causes or its consequences and the possible ways for the solution and prevention thereof. But those connotations belong to specific and concrete local communities and socio-cultural worlds.

Revisiting the concentricity between the socio-cultural and subject's worlds, it can be observed that there is a dialectic convergence between "exteriority" and "interiority: on the one side, the internalization of the "exteriority", and on the other the exteriorization of the "interiority", according to the public/private and local global dynamics (v. Figure 2).

FIGURE 2: CLIMATE CHANGE AND SOCIO-CULTURAL WORLD AS TOTAL PHENOMENA



Source: E. del Acebo Ibáñez (2010)

"Local" can be related to the *rootedness approach* we have developed in other works[5]: rootedness appears, then, as vocation and fulfillment. The human being lives (must live) by means of forms of rootedness: otherwise, he excludes himself, leaves solidarity aside, and becomes depredatory.

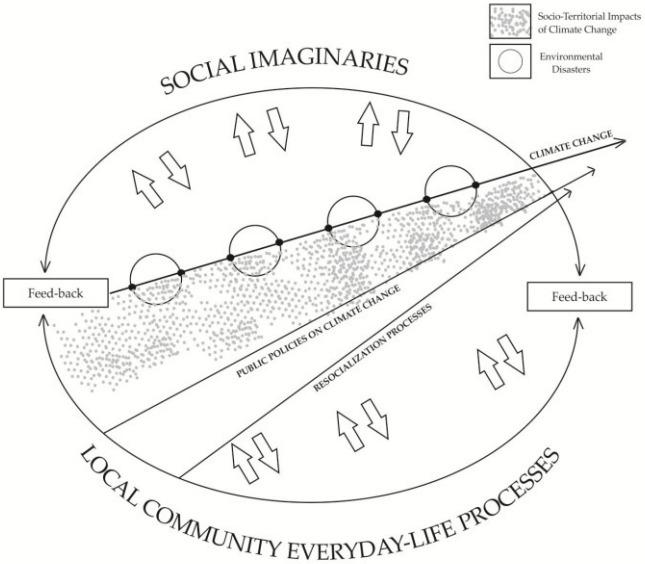
In fact, the **rooted inhabitant** tends to identify the city not only from the *spatial* point of view, but also as a *value* (cf. del Acebo Ibáñez, 2007: 136ss; Simmel, 1977; Lefebvre, 1974, 1970; Lessard, 1985; Lewis & Lyon, 1985). Less individualistic than the rootless residents, they feel involved with the realm they live in, into a kind of *affective adaptation* with it (cf. Leboyer, 1985; Mendes Diz & Findling, 1994; Mendes Diz & Climent, 1988). They have a clear participation attitude, and vocation: with regard to environment they can be classified as "active" or "belligerent" individuals in connection with both the natural and built up environment. Precisely, they consider that the maximum responsibility for environmental problems not only fall on the authorities of the City of Buenos Aires but also on its residents. At the same time, they deem "contamination/pollution" as a problem that also fall on the responsibilities of citizens –this is why they trust the effectiveness of environment-related information and campaigns (cf. Di Pace, 1992).

We have observed that individuals with a high rootedness level, and a low anomie level tend to identify environmental problems dealing with the *immediate human action* in terms of *depredation and/or direct pollution*. This can be envisioned as an explicit acknowledgment of the individual responsibility as far as the etiology of the contemporary environmental problems is concerned. At the same time, this type of social actor (rooted and not anomic) tends to give priority as a solution to the *socialization and information processes*. Once again, subjects are resorting to the capacity and responsibility of individuals –in that sense that individuals are likely to modify their behaviors through an adequate information and formation process. This also implies a certain hope with respect to the possibility of modifying the human behavior –hence, solving environmental problems. As we said in other part (del Acebo Ibáñez, 2007: 142), "perhaps a clear visualization, coupled to a clear experience, of the normative-axiological web of a given society could anchor individuals from which they could be in a better position to identify the environmental problems, their possible causes and solutions.

[5] Cf E. del Acebo Ibáñez, 1993, 1996, 2008, 2010-a, 2010-b.

The community attachment is continuously reproduced in terms of everyday life processes and social imaginaries, fact that must be taken into account by every policy on climate change and the consequent and necessary re-socialization processes, as we can see in Figure 3:

FIGURE 3: CLIMATE CHANGE AS A MULTI-DIMENSIONAL COMPLEX PHENOMENON / a

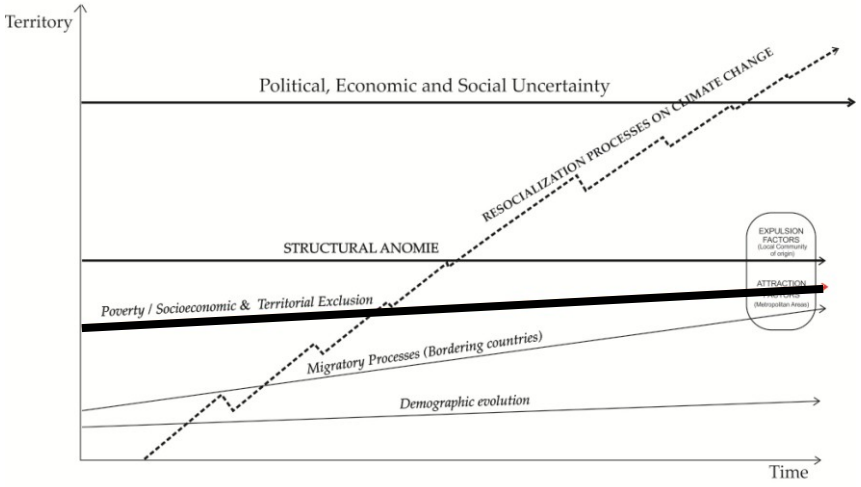


Source: E. del Acebo Ibáñez (2013)

Structural anomie determines attitudes and behaviors, and paradoxically a specific adaptive strategy -that is, "informal norms"- to overcome the risk represented by the lack of respect to the "formal norms". At the same time, poverty conditions must be monitored mainly in relation to the settlement of populations in very vulnerable areas. So it is not enough to set up early warning systems and putting strategies in place to deal with droughts and floods (v. Figure 4).

All this means that all these phenomena: anomie, poverty, socioeconomic and territorial exclusion, migratory processes, are closely connected, and deal with different levels and conceptions of "vulnerability" (different scientists speak in terms of "resilience", "marginality", "adaptability", "fragility", "risk").

FIGURE 4: CLIMATE CHANGE AS A MULTI-DIMENSIONAL COMPLEX PHENOMENON
(VARIABLES INFLUENCING EVERY POLICY ON CLIMATE CHANGE IN LATIN AMERICA)



Source: E. del Acebo Ibáñez (2013)

At the same time, it emerges as indispensable the reinforcement of the importance of re-socialization processes in all levels: citizens, politicians, policy-makers, etc.

Speaking about the solution to the environmental and climate change problems, the different investigations we have developed show that the samples privileges above all aspects from the ***Education Subsystem*** (Information / Socialization) and from the ***Political Subsystem*** (Prevention / Government Action proper). A fourth part of our interviewees, however, find some solutions to the environmental problems within the ***Normative Subsystem*** (Control / Penalties).

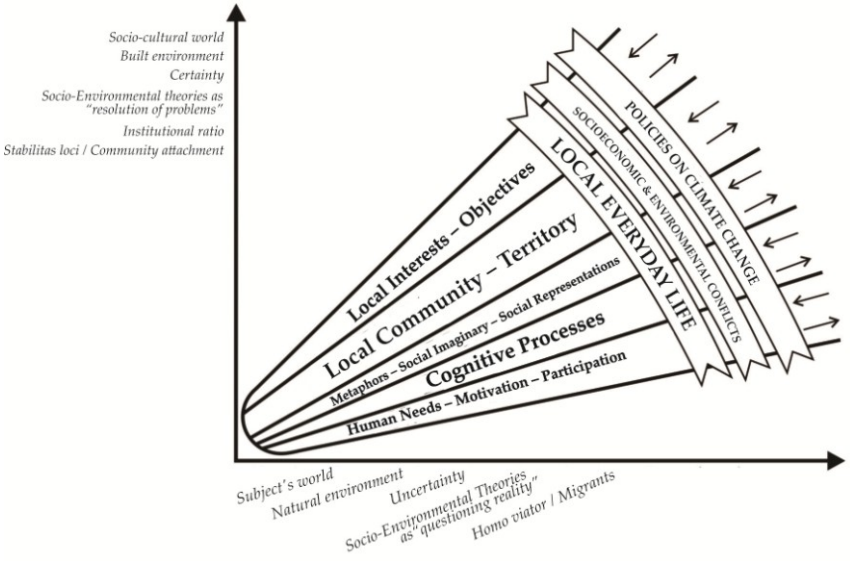
The importance of *Information / Socialization* (Education Subsystem) is especially privileged by those who evidence a *low grade of anomie*. The importance of *Control / Penalty* (Normative Subsystem) increases markedly among people evidencing *low levels of individual anomie*, *high rootedness level,* and also with a greater relationship intensity in their primary groups. And finally, the importance of *Prevention/Government Action* (Political Subsystem) is found in a greater percentage among male subjects than female subjects (40% vs. 24%). In fact, re-socialization processes are indispensable not only because of the changing climate conditions, but also to overcome some

important structural conditions such as anomie, disadvantage socio-economic conditions, documented and undocumented migration and, consequently, to diminish political, economic and social uncertainties (see Figure 4).

3. Conclusions

As it was said, we ascribe to frame the sociological research on climate change attitudes and behaviors in a total phenomenon which clearly states the differences, but also the convergences, between local and global, in terms of a "glocal" approach. As it is shown in Figure 5, although it is necessary to look for the "resolution of problems", it is even more necessary to "question reality", with its uncertainties in the everyday life where the subject's world is continuously linked to the socio-cultural world. Local community that emerges and develops as an "assemblage" because, as Deleuze & Guattari (1991) state, the assemblage implies that bodies and signs are present and related in terms of problems and problematizations; assemblage that becomes territorial on account of a mixture of chaos, organization and change (cf Sörensen, 2005: 122ss).

FIGURE 5: THE LOCAL COMMUNITY AS AN "ASSEMBLAGE"



Source: E. del Acebo Ibáñez (2010)

Policies on climate change will be successful if (and only if) all these apparently contradictory dimensions are taken into account: a) local interests and objectives, but also human needs and motivations; b) environmental global problems, but at the same time local territory and local everyday life problems; and c) social representations, social imaginary and cognitive processes. All this represents a sort of articulating interface between global and local: the "*glocal*".

If we underlined the need of the socialization and re-socialization of all the social actors involved, in terms of climate change and environmental problems, is precisely because of the importance of the cognitive-affective maps opening up analytical possibilities which include the comparison of the subject and the socio-cultural worlds, the individual and the social belief systems. The climate change issue challenges us because of its complexity: although it appears clearly as a problem that involved the whole planet and humanity, power relationships are still there under the public discourses to protect Nature and people from all over the world, which means that sometimes there is a long distance between beliefs and decisions.

As T.P. Karjalainen et al. (2008: 76s) state, "*glocal* perception means that an individual's perception of the environment is embedded in his/her everyday life engagement with the surroundings –this is why it is *glocal* […], but the framework for interpretation of perceptions is influenced by global concepts and discourses (e.g. "global warning"), and thus it is also global. Consequently, climate change may also have regional and national 'shapes' of interpretations or meanings".

In sum, we must be alert about the necessary relationship between "local perception" and "local representation" of environmental changes, and the global environmental discourses became, as T.P. Karjalainen et al. (2008: 76) alert, some scholars "argue at least that the global discourse takes its shape in each country and in different locations on the basis of local conditions and socio-political contexts".[6] These contexts may prioritize other social problems, such as poverty, unemployment, lack of education, internal and external migratory processes, etc., creating different levels of uncertainties. But it does not mean that the global environmental discourse is not relevant, but that the climate change discourse it is not

[6] Cf K. Burminsham & M. O'Brien (1994). The same can be said in relation to the conceptualization of "vulnerability" (cf. H.-M. Füssel, 2007).

only scientifically based: it is also closely linked to attitudes, behaviors, representations of reality, social change, and power relationships within each community and country, and between Northern and Southern hemispheres.

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Report

IV INTERNATIONAL WORKSHOP ON CIRCUMPOLAR SOCIOCULTURAL ISSUES

Reykjavík, September 25-26th, 2014

Organized by the Faculty of Social Sciences of the University of Iceland and the International Program on Circumpolar Issues (PIECA), Faculty of Social Sciences of the University of Salvador (Argentina), with the auspices of the International Association of Circumpolar Socio-cultural Issues (IACSI), this fourth International Workshop includes both oral presentations and documentary and fiction films.

The Program was as follows:

September 25th, 2014

Location: Lögberg Law School Building
Room 102
15:30-16:00: Registration
16:00-16:10: Opening of the IV International Workshop
(Enrique del Acebo Ibáñez & Helgi Gunnlaugsson)
16:10-16:30: Anna Stammler-Gossmann (Finland)
"Climate change and Arctic coastal communities"
16:30-16:50: Enrique del Acebo Ibáñez (Argentina) & Helgi Gunnlaugsson (Iceland)
"Everyday urban life, representations of reality, and environmental & circumpolar issues: a comparative analysis of the University of Iceland and the University of Buenos Aires undergraduate students".
16:50-17:10: Örn Jonsson (Iceland)
"Iceland & Uruguay: the significance of location, frontiers and backyards under the Cold War"

17:10-17:30: Helga Ólafs (Iceland)

"Do foreigners endanger the purity image of the Icelandic nation?"

17:30-18:00: Discussion & Coffee Break

18:00-18:20: Jorge Vírchez (Canada), Alfonso Marquina Marquez & Raúl Ruiz-Callado (Spain)

"Junction Creek Clearwater Revival in the City of Sudbury, Canada" (documentary film, 17', 2009)

18:20-18:40: Hólmfríður Garðarsdóttir (Iceland)

"Recovery in the aftermath of a crisis: identity quest in the new "circumpolar" cinema"

18:40-18:55: Guðmund Arnar Guðmundsson (Iceland)

"Hvalfjörður" (Whale Valley) (short film, 2013, 15', drama, in Icelandic, English subtitles).

The film is set on a remote Icelandic farm where two grown-up brothers live their parents. Sudden change of events interferes with everyone lives and the story is told from the point of view of the younger brother.

18:55-19:05: Grím Hákonarson (Iceland)

"Bræðrabylta" (short film, drama, 2007, 10', in Icelandic, English subtitles).

A love story about two gay wrestlers living in rural Iceland who must keep their relationship a secret from the inner world of Iceland's national and very macho sport.

19:05-19:20: Discussion and Coffee break

19:20-19:50: Enrique del Acebo Ibáñez (Argentina)

"The Ship" (Documentary film, 2011, 75', in Spanish, English subtitles).

On board the Argentine oceanographic vessel "Puerto Deseado" during the 2010 scientific campaign in the Southern Ocean (Ushuaia, Cape Horn Meridian), it shows the dialectic between Nature and technology, ocean and human existence, science and mystery. The Cape Horn Meridian is known as the most dangerous ocean region in the world, where the Pacific and the Atlantic oceans converge.

19:50-20:50: Franca González (Argentina)

"At the end of the world" (Documentary, Spanish, English subtitles, 2013, 60')

A small town deep in Tierra del Fuego, the southernmost tip of the American continent, where winter lasts almost all year and winds reach 120 km/h. Most of its residents were born far from the island, so extreme cold is new in their lives.

20:50-21:00: Discussion and Coffee break

September 26th, 2014

Location: Árnagarður
Room 422

16:00-17:20: Fito Pochat (Argentina)

"Mika" (Fiction, Spanish, English subtitles, 2013, 80')

Mika Etchebéhère and her husband Hipólito were witnesses of facts that changed the history of the 20th century. Marxist militants from Argentina, they start a long trip in search of the revolution: the Argentine Patagonia, Berlin and Paris, but it will be in Madrid where they will finally find that revolution, in the middle of the Civil War in Spain. Mika will be the only woman with the grade of Captain of the Republican forces.

17:20-17:30: Discussion & Coffee break

17:30-18:05: Enrique del Acebo Ibáñez (Argentina)

"Lost (?) in Iceland" (Documentary film, 2014, 35')

From the author's point of view the Icelandic identity is analyzed through everyday life images in Reykjavík and interviews. This multidimensional issue is captured just apparently at a glance.

18:05-19:35: Lucía Puenzo (Argentina/Executive Producer: Nicolás Batlle): "Wakolda" (Fiction, Spanish with English subtitles, 2014, 90')

In 1960, a German physician meets an Argentine family in a desert region of Patagonia. Looking for perfection and purity, the physician will become close to this family, but nobody could imagine his secret identity.

19:35-19:50: Discussion and Coffee Break

19:50-20:00: Final Workshop Conclusions & Discussion on future IACSI activities.

20:00:21:00: Dinner at the Student Pub on Campus

21:30-22: 25: Kyle O'Donoghue & Miki Redelinghuys (South Africa/Norway)

"Mystery of the Arctic Cairn" (Fiction, English, 2013, 54')

In collaboration with the ***Reykjavík International Film Festival (RIFF)***, this film will be screened as part of the Festival and the Workshop.

Venue: *Bió Paradís/2, Hverfisgata, Reykjavík.*

The film follows four men and their tempestuous Inuit dogs on a 1,200-kilometer journey into the icy wilderness. Tobias Thorleifsson has a dream to cross the Canadian Arctic in the footsteps of Otto Sverdrup —a Norwegian polar legend who mapped 150,000 square kilometers of land in the Arctic with his 16-member crew in 1898. Teaming up with American polar traveler John Huston and Canadian Hugh Dale-Harris, the men travel to Land's Lokk in search of Sverdrup's lost cairn. South African filmmaker, Kyle O'Donoghue documents this journey to the edge of the world, capturing incredible interactions with wildlife including a stand-off with a polar bear, a dance with arctic wolves, and the silent awe of musk oxen.

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: Socioe-conomic 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, was 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, Antartica and L ocal Communities inExtreme 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).

The IACSI has also organized four Circumpolar Film Festivals, such as: one devoted to the Icelandic cinema (Univesidad del Salvador, Buenos Aires, 2004), another devoted to Argentine cinema (University of Iceland, Reykjavík, 2006), a third one devoted to Northern and Southern Circumpolarity (University of Buenos Aires, Buenos Aires, 2010), and a forth one -under the auspices of the RIFF (Reykjavík International Film Festival) devoted to fiction and documentary films related to circumpolar sociocultural and anthropological issues (University of Iceland, Reykjavík, 2014).

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 *Miríada,* a peer-reviewed journal on Social Sciences.

Under this University framework, the *International Program of Studies on Circumpolarity, Antarctica and Local Communities in 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% or the Nation.

Faculty of Social and Human Sciences

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

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

Faculty of Humanities

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

Departament of Languages, Literatures and Linguistics

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

- Asian studies: Japanese and Chinese
- Nordic languages: Danish, Finnish, Norwegian and Swedish
- Major European and American languages: English, French, German, Italian, Russian and Spanish

- Classical languages: Greek and Latin (a key to European culture from the beginning)

Programa de Español

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Research and Projects

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

Teaching

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

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

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

Documentary Collection

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

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

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

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

- An annotated filmography of more than 1,000 films

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

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

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

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

Publications

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

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

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

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

The University of Oulu (Finland)

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

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

There are three research focus areas at the university:

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

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

The Thule Institute

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

The research programmes are titled Global Change in the North, Northern Land Use and Land Cover, and Circumpolar Health and Wellbeing. Research is also done in the fields of Environmental and Resource Economics, Environmental Technology and in the programme Human- Environment Relations in the North - resource development, climate change and resilience. The research programmes include academic education and research training. In 2008, the number of staff working at the Institute was 38 and the number of researchers, PhD students and

graduate students working on research projects supported by the Institute was approx. 210.

For more information:

http://www.oulu.fi/english/ - http://thule.oulu.fi/englanti/index.html

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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 brances of culture

The programme is aimed both at Finnish and international students with a bachelor's degree (majoring in social policy, political science, sociology, philosophy, art history, art education, literature, music science, ethnology or history), offering them the opportunity to complete a master's degree. It is possible to continue from the master's programme

into the Doctoral Programme in Cultural Policy. As a unit, Cultural Policy collaborates with the Foundation for Cultural Policy Research CUPORE.

The Doctoral Programme in Cultural Policy leads to a Doctorate (PhD) in Social Sciences. The programme collaborates with the Finnish Doctoral Programme in Social Sciences (SOVAKO). Research and teaching within the master's programme are part of the multidisciplinary "Centre for Research on Multicultural Issues and Interaction", and the programme participates in the U40 capacity building programme 'Cultural Diversity 2030', organized by the German Commission for UNESCO. In addition, the unit of Cultural Policy coordinated the organization of the 6th International Conference on Cultural Policy Research (2010) and the 4th Nordic Conference on Cultural Policy Research (2009).

For more information check our website:
http://www.jyu.fi/ytk/laitokset/yfi/oppiaineet/kup/en
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40014 University of Jyväskylä - Finland

Foundation for High Studies on Antarctica & Extreme Environments (FAE, Argentina)

The Foundation for High Studies on Antarctica and Extreme Environments (FAE) is an NGO devoted to know and divulge everything about local community problems in extreme environments as well as Antarctic and circumpolar matters in a broad sense. This task is carried out through an holistic approach – a process of integration that includes a great variety of combined factors: social, cultural, territorial, psychological, economic and environmental ones.

The notion of extreme environment is considered from a point of view which tries to go beyond an ethnocentric notion of "extreme", namely: a) environments with "determining geographic factors" which turn difficult the community life and human settlement, although these native

populations develop significant socio-cultural adaptations; b) environments with "determining social economic factors" which in some cases lead big population sectors further the "resilience phenomena" (survival in spite of serious determining effects) that could happen responding to the demands of the moment or structurally.

Every environmental issue is considered inside "local/global", "natural/built-up" and "sustainable /non sustainable" dialectic. For this reason the Foundation attaches great importance to environmental assessment and socioeconomic impact of any human undertaking either local, national or regional.

Teamed up by a body of professionals and scientists from different areas with broad experience on sociological, psycho-sociological, educational, anthropological, and environmental issues, the Foundation tries to find production and transference of knowledge with reference to Extreme Environments in general terms and Circumpolar Regions in particular ones, by means of:

a) Scientific Research and transference of the results to public and private institutions either national or international with reference to:
Natural and built-up Environment, Local communities, Social Problems, and Sustainable Development.

b) Drawing up educational & cultural programs for the different levels emphasizing the use of multimedia distance education modality.

Main activities

a) Generate academic- scientific projects bound up with extreme environments, either natural or built-up as well as convergences and divergences between different circumpolar regions.

b) Publish books and Journals about issues bound to the subjects the Foundation deal with.

c) Design, develop and assess seminars, intensive academic programs, tertiary and university syllabus for presential and distant education modalities.

d) Design general policies in areas the Foundation is interested in, both in the academic/scientific and the cultural/artistic themes.

e) Carry out environmental impact assessment on socio-cultural and socio-economic undertakings.

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

g) Contribute and award prizes to investigations, and activities concerning to solve problems taken into account by the objectives of the Foundation.
h) Tend to establish nets with national, foreign and international institutions and NGOs linked to matters which are the interest and purpose of the Foundation.

Contact

Fundación de Altos Estudios Antárticos & Ambientes Extremos (FAE)
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Arctic Centre University of Lapland (Rovaniemi, Finland)

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

Multidisciplinary research is currently implemented by three research groups: The *Sustainable Development* group draws on perspectives from the social sciences in order to address international environmental politics, human dimension of climate change, community adaptation and vulnerability to climatic and social changes, social impact assessment. The research focuses also on indigenous and local knowledge, indigenous and non-indigenous identities, concept of the North in politics, economics and culture, mobility and viability in industrial northern communities. The group participates in three IPY pan-Arctic research initiatives:

DAMOCLES (Developing Arctic Modelling and Observing Capabilities for Long-term Environmental Studies), BOREAS – MOVE, and CAVIAR (Community Adaptation and Vulnerability in Arctic Regions).

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

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

The University of the Faroe Islands

The University of the Faroe Islands is an autonomous educational and research institution which overall purpose is to strengthen the scientific expertise at the University and in the Faroese community in general.

The University has two Faculties: Faculty of Humanities, Social Sciences and Education, and Faculty of Natural and Health Sciences, and six Deparments: Language and Literature, History and Social Sciences, Science and Technology, Education, Nursing, Research Center for Social Development.

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Arctic & Antarctic
INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF CIRCUMPOLAR SOCIOCULTURAL ISSUES

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:

Enrique del Acebo Ibáñez: edelacebo@yahoo.com
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Miikka Pyykkönen: miipyyk@yfi.jyu.fi
Daniel Chartier: chartier.daniel@uqam.ca
Jarkko Saarinen:jarkko.saarinen@oulu.fi
Anna Stammler-Gossmann: anna.stammler-gossmann@ulapland.fi

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

b) Manuscript Preparation

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

Abstracts: An abstract of not more than 120 words and a list of up to 10 keywords should accompany each copy of the manuscript. *Text:* Follow this order when typing manuscripts: Title, Authors, Affiliations, Abstract, Keywords, Main text, Acknowledgements, Appendix, References, Vitae, Figure Captions and then Tables. Do not import the Figures or Tables into your text, but supply them as separate files. The corresponding author should be identified with an asterisk and footnote. All other footnotes (except for table footnotes) should be identified with superscript Arabic numbers.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Photographs: Original photographs must be supplied as they are to be reproduced (e.g. black and white or colour). If necessary, a scale should be

marked on the photograph. Please note that photocopies of photographs are not acceptable. All photographs are to have a caption and source.

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

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

c) Electronic Submission

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

d) Copyright

Authors are required to assign copyright to *A&A IJCSCI* and *Fundación de Altos EstudiosAntárticos&AmbientesExtremos*, 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 (Faculty of Social Sciences, 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 10 will be published in June 2016. **Deadline for the manuscripts addressed to this coming issue is March 15, 2016**.

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

Se terminó de imprimir el 10 de Junio de 2015,
en *Milena Caserola*, Lambaré 1026.
Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires, Argentina.

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

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

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

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

***** *Logo and name legally registered.*

The next issue of *Arctic & Antarctic - International Journal of Circumpolar Socio-Cultural Issues* will be published in July 2016. Contributions must be sent before the end of March 2016. Besides articles, the issues can include seminar and conference reports, book reviews, comments or discussions.

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