

Women and children first: age and gender in the photographs of the "Desert Conquest" in Northpatagonia, Argentina, by the end of the 19th Century.

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Abstract

In this paper, we examine a corpus of 235 photographs produced during the "Desert Conquest", which was carried out in the late 19th Century in North Patagonia (Argentina), in order to track down the representations of age and gender of the photographed subjects: soldiers who integrated the military campaigns, western settlers and Indigenous peoples that inhabited those territories.

This analysis shows that the photographic representation was set on the male military sector, presenting them as the builders of the Argentine Nation, disregarding the settler families and the indigenous peoples who inhabited these territories. Women and children, both Western and Indigenous, became invisible to the official history. We consider that visual archaeology allows us to critically examine what has been established as "natural" by the state-nation.

Keywords: photographs, Desert Conquest, Argentina, military, settlers, indigenous, age, gender.

Introduction

The general topic of this paper discusses the contact between the native Patagonian societies and the Western society over the formation and expansion of the Argentine Nation-State, since the late 19th Century until about 1950. We consider that the state formation implies the intention of creating an "imagined community" (Anderson 2006), in which all members are considered formally and institutionally "equal" and are united by horizontal feelings of comradeship, ignoring the inequalities between them,

so as to present the state as an homogenous entity (Quijada et al 2000). The state aims to standardize and regulate the society by defining two central concepts: territory and citizenship. In order to regulate these, the state moves the necessary resources -human, material and symbolic- which are the basis of its power and of its legitimate monopoly of physical violence. Thus, the state always implies a demand for legitimacy; which becomes the main resource to hide the political restraint of the citizens (Weber 2003 [1918]). In this political - ideological framework, indigenous peoples constituted a double barrier: on one hand to citizenship, since they had not been assimilated into the "civilized" Western life yet and, on the other hand, to the territory, because they inhabit spaces that were required by landowners for urgent agricultural and ranching exploitation.

Thus, in the last years of the 19th Century, many military campaigns were carried out along the Patagonian territory, in order to break and dismantle the Indigenous nations that inhabited those territories. These military campaigns, carried out between 1879 and 1883, were named and known as the "Desert Conquest", and proclaimed both materially and symbolically the occupation of the Northpatagonian territory, referred to as the "desert" (Wright 1997, Bandieri 2005, Mandrini 2006). Through all these military advances, some indigenous groups were submitted peacefully to the state power, while others were militarily defeated and taken as prisoners (Mases 2010). Both groups, the ones who negotiated their surrender to the state and those who were defeated in battle suffered the same destinations: a) forced transfer to Buenos Aires as prisoners in concentration camps; b) sold as domestic servants for metropolitan families; c) coercively incorporated into the Argentine Military Forces and d) occupied as farm laborers in the Pampa region or in sugar mills on the Northwest region (Mases 2010, Papazian & Nagi 2010).

The encounter of the military expedition and the Patagonian natives left behind a great number of records, both visual and written, as a result of the direct contact between Argentine government agents with native populations and territories. We consider that the study of these materials provides first hand information about identity and cultural constructions of these indigenous and Western people, for anyone willing to decode the language of such records. These military campaigns involved a twofold process: on the one hand, the definition of who the Argentine citizens were, and how they should behave; on the other hand, the division of the internal and external territorial borders of the country-state (Bechis 1992).

This struggle of interests in land and national sovereignty is reflected in both the photographs taken during the military campaigns and the “imaginary” of the members of the expedition, who became the “nation builders” (De Jong 2002). As builders, the expeditionaries created an official story in which the government agents, soldiers and indigenous chiefs, all of them male and adult, were the main leaders; but, hiding the roles that women and children played in this situation.

Therefore, the aim of this paper is to critically assess two photograph collections, which were produced during the military campaigns conducted to Northern Patagonia between 1879 and 1883, framed in the “hegemonic” history of Argentine state power. Since we do not consider the history of state power truly totalitarian and hegemonic, but containing fractures, we propose to assess the gender and age of the photographed subjects in order to evaluate the presence -or absence- of subjects different from those traditionally associated with the military members: adult males.

The “Desert Conquest” and its visualization

As stated above, the “Desert Conquest” refers to a series of military campaigns directed by the Argentine state against the indigenous people of Northpatagonia (Mases 2010). These military campaigns began at the end of the 19th Century, but the negotiations with these indigenous nations had a long previous history. Juan Manuel de Rosas, as manager of the Indian Pacific Trading, firstly began at the 1820’s “the extension of the provincial territory through negotiations with native groups occupying the sought land” (Ratto 2007, 89). This peaceful relationship with the natives was held for a long time. However, frequent Indian raids, seeking supplies to trade in the Chilean market, did exist. In 1833, several provinces -Buenos Aires, Cordoba, San Luis and Mendoza- organized and carried out a military campaign to consolidate the territories that had been incorporated during 1828, but that were still under constant threat of Indian raids. This campaign was marked by the combination of negotiation and repression: while peace pacts were signed with the Pampa natives, violent confrontation was carried out with the Ranqueles and the Indian Confederation. After these campaigns, the Western society obtained a relative calm on the borders (Bayer 2010).

By 1850 the consolidation of the Argentina’s state required a clear demarcation of limits with neighboring countries and an identification of

who the Argentine citizens were. The occupation of the Patagonian territory, claimed also by the neighbour state of Chile, and the "civilization" or extermination of the natives became of the essence.

Therefore, during the government of Nicolas Avellaneda, from 1874 to 1880, many attempts to extend the South boundary of Buenos Aires were conducted. The first plan was carried out by the war minister, Adolfo Alsina, who built towns and forts, telegraph lines, and a big trench, which was supposed to prevent the Indian raids. However, Alsina died before achieving all these projects and he was replaced by the young General Julio A. Roca, who became responsible for planning an offensive attack against the natives. Roca's plan involved two stages: a general offensive between the South of Buenos Aires and Rio Negro and a coordinated march of several divisions that converged in Choele Choel, a town in Río Negro. Halfway through the year 1878, the plan was underway and Roca's army achieved its first success by rescuing Western captives and capturing natives who were turned into prisoners and destined to servitude (Mases 2010).

The "Expedition to Río Negro", also carried out by General Roca, was started between March and April 1879 and it consisted of five divisions which advanced towards the Patagonian territory, claiming it for the Argentine state. This military success, along with a carefully thought campaign launched Roca to presidency of Argentina. Under Roca's administration, another military expedition was sent in 1882 farther south, under the leadership of Generals Conrado Villegas and Lorenzo Vintter. This expedition, named "Andes Campaign South of Patagonia", was aimed to extend the borders to the entire province of Neuquén and reaching Nahuel Huapi Lake.



Figure 1: Map of the Patagonian region in Argentina and South America.

The whole "Desert Conquest" was largely recorded by written and visual means, from wide expeditionary writings (in the form of military memories, literary stories, tales, newspaper articles, biographies) which describes the fort and military campaign experience, to photographs taken by official photographers who accompanied the army in its entrance to the Patagonian desert. Particularly, these two military expeditions travelled with photographers, who took several pictures and gathered them in photographic albums, which served as a visual record of the military campaigns to Northern Patagonia and, of course, as a record of the success of the Argentine state (Vezub 2002, Torre 2011, González 2012).

The photographic album that portrays the "Expedition to Río Negro" in 1879 was developed by the Italian photographer Antonio Pozzo and his assistant, Alfonso Braco. They accompanied the military expedition along with a wagon where they carried the equipments, cameras, plates and the photographic chemicals to develop the pictures immediately (Alimonda & Ferguson 2004). They edited a photographic album that contained 53 pictures. Their cover is dedicated to president Roca and was stored at many national museums and archives (Archivo General de la Nación, Museo Roca, Museo de la Casa Rosada in Argentina and National Library of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil). In turn, the other military expedition, "Campaign of the Andes south of Patagonia", was photographed by two topographer-engineers: Carlos Encina and Edgardo Moreno, in addition to the photographer Pedro Morelli. The photographic album produced was named "Topographical views of the National Territory of Limay and Neuquén" and it included 182 images which were stored in the same museums and archives than Pozzo's album (Archivo General de la Nación, Museo Roca, and Museo de la Casa Rosada).

These photographs of both albums have circulated widely over the years in multiple contexts: books, textbooks, newspapers, magazines and art exhibitions; defining a visual imaginary not only about the Desert Conquest, but also about the Indigenous peoples from Patagonia (Yujnovsky 2008, Saletta 2011). The most significant example of large circulation of one of these images could be the detail of a painting by Juan Manuel Blanes, inspired in a photograph by Antonio Pozzo, included in the 100 Argentine pesos bill. The painting, entitled "The military occupation of the Río Negro by the Army on May 25, 1879", painted in 1896, was obviously inspired by one of Pozzo's photographs which

portrays General Roca and his crew posing at Río Negro's shore¹. This way, the images about the conquest of the "wild" are easily available for Argentine citizens, in patriotic symbols, school textbooks and even in current bills.



Figure 2: a) “Villega’s Artillery after the Paso Alsina” (Antonio Pozzo, 1879. Roca Museum, Buenos Aires, Argentina); b) “Military occupation of the Río Negro during the expedition under General Julio A. Roca’s command” (Juan Manuel Blanes, 1889. *National Historic Museum*, Buenos Aires, Argentina); c) 100 pesos bill, Argentina.

In turn, the circulation of these images helped to construct the Argentine nation-state as “an imagined political community as inherently limited and sovereign” (Anderson 1993: 23). This idea of imagined community is crucial and refers to the fact that although members of the nation will

¹ We have to remark that Blanes painted the whole military crew, gathering together “figures who neither coincided personally on that column (the commanders of the five columns never met each other in their itineraries), nor chronologically” (Torre 2011, 9). In this way, the painting summarizes in only one image the whole crew in charge of the “Desert Conquest”.

never know all their countrymen and in spite of the deep differences and inequalities between them, they share a number of “invented traditions” (Hobsbawm & Ranger 1983) that instill a sense of deep fellowship and camaraderie that constructs an imaginary equality, ignoring these real differences and inequalities. The imagination of the community refers to two sets of processes carried out by the state: on the one hand the definition of who the sovereign citizens are, presenting them as equals despite their differences, thus requiring “loyalty and social identification of [the state’s] members” (Corrigan & Sayer 2007, 46) and, on the other hand, the definition of who are not citizens, presenting them as radically different, as “foreign”. Therefore, the ultimate goal of the nation-state is the construction of homogeneity in the inside and heterogeneity in the outside, so that the state is responsible for “eliminating or ignoring the cultural, ethnic, phenotypic [features], and other characteristics of a human group, to be perceived as part of one ethno-cultural and referential unit” (Quijada 2000, 8). This homogenization process creates clear boundaries between the homogeneous group within the nation-state and the heterogeneous group outside, by eliminating “any form of diversity that was not translatable in social terms” (Idem, 19), giving the nation-state a single type of ethnicity.

The Argentine nation-state was built with very strong social and ethnic implications, since for the ruling elite, whose ideology was based at that time on evolutionary ideas in vogue (Montserrat 1993), the state was a “naturally” white, positive and beneficial institution, whereas for the natives it actually implied “the loss of freedom and the destruction of a way of life” (Rock 2006, 26). However, in this process, not only the natives were overshadowed: women and children became also an invisible part of citizens of the nation-state. Thus, the nation builders (De Jong 2002) were only considered white, male and adult. Consequently, the written and visual representation of the “Desert Conquest”, as a model of the state construction, focused on the great achievements of the male soldiers, setting aside all the other citizens involved in the occupation of the new territories (Sontag 2003).

Indexes, Icons and Databases

To analyze this corpus of images of the “Desert Conquest”, we base our research on the theoretical conception of photography as an indexical sign,

that is, as an index of a reality both represented and reproduced by capturing light and referents located in front of the photographic device. This theoretical point of view is anchored in Peirce's conception about the theory of signs, in which the photographic image is firstly an *icon*, as it is a means to express ideas that have a relationship of similarity with the object represented and secondly, an *index*, as it holds a direct relationship with the represented referent (Peirce 1955, Geimer 2009).

For this indexical ontology, photography is an "emanation of the reference" since "from a real body that was there, radiations have left to impress me" (Barthes 2004, 126). Thus, although the reference is gone, his/her/its emanation comes to impress the viewer, confirming and certifying the presence of reference that the photograph represents. The nature of photography is then based on the reference to "this has been": "what I see, it has happened there, in that place that lies between the infinite and the subject (operator or spectator); it has been there, and yet it is immediately separated; it has been absolute, imperatively present, and yet already deferred " (Barthes 2004, 121). For this author there is a dual position of reality and past, which is due to the time passed between the photographic shooting and the reception of the photographic image. Thus, only photography can prove and convincethe viewer that the photographed reference has really existed, since that image is like a fingerprint of the referent.

Based on this "footprint idea", Dubois (2008) changes the focus of the debate from the result or the reception of the photograph to its genesis; defending the "photographic act" as the basis for understanding the photographic situation. Thus, the coexistence and physical contiguity with the referent occurs only in that little infinite time: the photographic act. The photographic index becomes unique, because that image is the light footprint of a real object that has been there, making that trace unrepeatabe. Thus, although photographic images can be reproduced technically (Benjamin 2015), the negative that originally captured the referent is unique, as unique as the referent itself. So, photography always refers to the existence of that reference represented, becoming evidence and testimony to the past reality.

We agree with these authors and especially share the idea of an indexical ontology for the photographic images, as we think that these images maintain a direct relationship with the referent represented, that is to say, a relationship of physical contiguity in which, without the reference, there is

no possible photographic representation. According to this theoretical position, we follow the conceptual and methodological guidelines of "visual archeology" (Fiore 2007, Fiore & Varela 2009), which conceives photography as a socially constructed artifact "that tells us something about the culture represented as well as the culture that took the photograph" (Ruby 1996, 346). Photographs constitute then a double record of the photographer's vision and of the materiality of its real represented referent (Fiore and Varela 2009). Following this ontology of photography, we think it is possible to capture both the photographer's view as well as the agency of the photographed subject, from a theoretical perspective in which both are active agents (Giddens 2011) that have competing interests about the photographic representation. The result of this "encounter of subjectivities" (Fiore 2005) depends on the different degrees of freedom which the subjects have in a specific context. In spite of the fact that these will always be greater within the powerful groups, this does not rule out the existence of agency -and actions- within the indigenous groups, which affect their own representation (Idem). Such agencies are what we try to recover.

Following these theoretical and methodological guidelines, we analyzed this corpus of 235 images according to two complementary analytical units: the photographs and the photographed subjects. We recorded several data -in a data base- regarding the information visible in each photograph, according to the following variables at the photograph scale:

1) photographed society, 2) photographer, 3) photographic technique, 4) date, 5) photographic plane, 6) context, 7) number of photographed subjects, 8) material culture objects², 9) structures.

At the photographed subjects scale we include the following variables:

1) name of the subject, 2) gender, 3) age, 4) socio-ethnic assignation, 5) body pose, 6) activity carried, 8) clothing, 9) ornaments, 10) artifacts they manipulate.

Finally, in order to search for the gender and age patterns of the photographed subjects, bi-variate analyses were also carried out. We consider that these analyses allow us to approach the native's agency and part of their routinary cultural practices.

² We consider material culture objects any artifact handled by the photographed subjects, even if they were native artifacts (such as arcs and bows, baskets or pots) or western (such as fire weapons or kitchen appliances).

The Photographs of the Desert Conquest

These images of the Desert Conquest have been studied by some researchers, especially from disciplines like history or art history, focusing either on how they represent historical events or the representation itself. From the historical point of view, these images portray the native world at the moment of destruction of its symbolic universe, prior to their physical disappearance (Vezub 2002). However, for other historians these images propose symmetry between the native and the white worlds, for example in the similarity of the desert images and the Patagonian cities (Alimonda & Ferguson 2004). From the art history point of view, these images helped in the constitution of the Patagonian geography as part of the national territory, by providing versions of an exploitable and living space, which can also be enjoyed aesthetically (Penhos 2005). Additionally, in this very constitution, the photographers left their trademark, sometimes only by including their shadows in the images, as a seal of authorship (Tell 2003). From an anthropological viewpoint, it is remarkable how these photographs, possibly the first ones of the Patagonian territory, are contemporary to the extermination policies developed in the region against the native communities (Masotta 2009).

From an archaeological standpoint, in previous analysis we proposed that the indigenous territory was intentionally represented as a desert, lacking structures, material culture or subjects that might indicate a potential right of the previous inhabitants (Butto 2012). This representation was given under the expansion of the Argentine state-nation, which sought to justify this territory's incorporation. We consider that these images from unpopulated desert landscapes give the viewer a loneliness effect, presenting this land as symbolic liminal space (Wright 1997), ready to be conquered by the Western "civilization".

Moreover, when Indigenous persons were actually represented, they became an "other", different because of the clothes and ornaments they wore and because of the objects they handled. A visual comparison was constructed between the white civilized people who had "conquered" the desert at that moment in time, and the "savage" natives that represented the past, but not the present or the future of the Argentinian nation (Balibar 1991).

Photographic Demography

Since the photographs capture subjects who posed in front of the photographic device, we followed Fiore & Varela's (2009) consideration whereby it is possible to add all photographed subjects in order to calculate the "photographed population" and build from there a "photographic demography". This photographed demography differs from the actual demography, because the same person may be photographed and counted multiple times (Ibidem).

There is insufficient census data to construct a real demography, as in the first three official census of Argentina the only information recorded about the natives who inhabited the national territories was their number; without distinctions of gender or age.

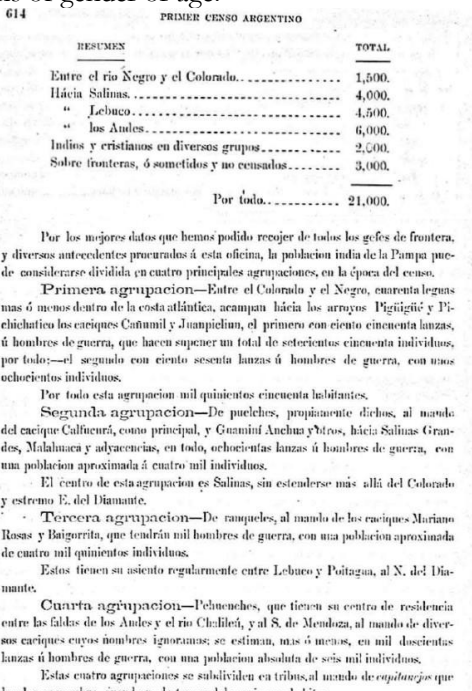


Figure 3: Extract from the first Argentinian census of 1869 (*).

(*) The first column shows the amount of indigenous people per region: 1500 between Río Negro and Río Colorado, 4000 in the area of the Salinas, 4500 around Lebuco and 6000 around the Andean region. It also shows 2000 indigenous people in independent groups and an estimate of 3000 indigenous people not included in the census. The written text explains to which tribes do these indigenous people belong: puelches, ranqueles and pehuénches, and under which cacique they were organized.

However, this “photographic demography” provides an interesting overview of "the population composition of the photographed groups, and by extension, of the native population contacted by Westerners" (Fiore & Varela 2009, 199).

This way, the photographic demography shows that from all the photographed subjects in the images of the Desert Conquest (N=1390), most of them are westerners (78%, N=1087) and a minority of them are natives (22%, N=303). We consider that this representation strongly focused on the white population reinforces the image of the Patagonian territory as a “desert” ready to be conquered and incorporated to the Argentinian state-nation.

Table 1: Age, gender and socio-ethnic roles of the photographed subjects

Socio-ethnic roles, age and gender		Western military	Western civilian	Native military	Native civilian	Total
Male	adult	694	240	64	88	1086
	young	0	7	0	19	26
	children	0	37	0	43	80
	baby	0	1	0	3	4
Female	senior	0	0	0	4	4
	adult	0	33	0	24	57
	young	0	4	0	37	41
	children	0	71	0	21	92
Total		694	393	64	239	1390

Not Only Male and Adult Soldiers

We want to concentrate our analysis of these photographs on variables which have been previously disregarded by other research projects: gender, age and socio-ethnic features of the photographed subjects, both Western and Indigenous. We consider that the photographs selected to illustrate the official discourse about the Desert Conquest and, therefore, the formation of the Argentinestate, include certain invisible subaltern social actors: women and children. As discussed above, the visual display of the Desert Conquest was generally focused on the warrior and patriotic character of the military outpost in the wild native territory. Thus, speech and images were built following the logic of "representing war as a solemn

tour just of men" (Sontag 2003, 61). However, as we review and analyze the photographs, qualitative and quantitative patterns arise, which allow us not only to test this visual information against the written documents, but also to identify previously unknown trends (Fiore & Varela 2007). In this case, we will focus on the age and gender of the photographed subjects in the pictures of the Desert Conquest, in order to examine critically whether that conquest was really an exclusively "male issue" or if it was only represented that way.

The first results show that most of the photographed Westerners are members of the army (64% of 1087 Westerners), in contrast to a minority of Indigenous soldiers (21% of 303 natives). Therefore, most of natives are civilians (79%, N=239), while only a few of the westerners are actually civilian (36%, N=393). This contrast indicates a simple yet relevant process: the Westerners advanced as an army in the native territory, while the natives who inhabited those territories -although they were organized defensively and offensively- were not institutionalized as an Army.

We will now focus the analysis on the age and gender variables. That way, we will first study the photographs of adult men, in order to determine if all of them were part of the military sector. Such participation can be traced in the photographs by certain military diacritics such as uniforms, weapons and the alignment in rows. The first significant result is that most of the photographed white men, specifically a 74% (N = 694 from a total of 934 adult white men) belong to the army, but a 25% (N = 240) of these adult white men are civilians, including settlers who inhabited the recently installed forts and Patagonian cities, such as Carmen de Patagones, who are civilians that accompanied the military expeditions, and priests, who accompanied the military expeditions baptizing the natives (as a way to "civilize" them).



Figure 4: "Carhué" (Antonio Pozzo, 1879. Roca Museum, Buenos Aires, Argentina).

However, among the native adult men, the soldiers and warriors are in fact the minority (42%, N = 64 out of 152 native adult men), while most of them are civilians (58 %, N = 88). We find it interesting to compare these visual data with the numbers from the first Argentinian census, carried out in 1869 (i. e. ten years before the first military campaign). According to the estimation made during that census in the Pampean region, there would have been 500 "native men of war" from a total of 2,000 native civilians; which means that a 25% of the native population would have been soldiers. This is a similar proportion to the one shown in the photographs, where a 21% of the photographed natives (N=303) appear to be armed as soldiers. That way, the visual data shows a similar proportion between native soldiers and native civilians that the one registered in the written records. This suggests that a quarter of the native population was prepared for attack or defense, which explains the state of war the native societies were in, because of the continuous invasions carried out by the Argentine army in their territories from 1833 onwards, forcing them to become warriors and defenders of their territories and lifestyles (Mases 2010).



Figure 5: “Cacique Villamain, captains and war natives” (Carlos Encina and Edgardo Moreno, 1882-3. Roca Museum, Buenos Aires, Argentina).

However, not all the photographed subjects were adult men: from the western civilians, 38% (N=153 from 393 western civilians) of the photographed subjects represent different ages and genders (female, children and senior) and that proportion increases, in the case of native civilian to a 63% (N=151 from 239 native civilian) of non-adult men subjects. This is related to the fact that the photographs of the native society includes all age and gender ranges, as the territory that was being

invaded was inhabited by this society, which is then represented in its totality.

As already mentioned, among the western civilians represented in these photographs, the vast majority are adult males (61% N=240). Amazingly, the second group in quantitative importance appear to be female children (18 %, N=71) and male children (9%, N=37). The prominence of this age group has to do with the fact that many of the photographs were taken in the schools recently set up in the new Patagonian colonies. For example, one image shows a group of female children sitting along with a female teacher in the classroom of a school in Carmen de Patagones, while other image shows a children´s music band of a religious school. Therefore, the photographers not only represented the Argentine Army, which was the main focus of their interests, but also included other social actors, like the children who inhabited the recently created Patagonian cities.



Figure 6: “College led by sisters of charity in Patagones. Director and students of the establishment” (Carlos Encina and Edgardo Moreno, 1882-3. Roca Museum, Buenos Aires, Argentina).

Along with these “little” social actors, we find adult women, who were also visually represented in these photograph collections, although in smaller numbers (8%, N=33 of 393 western civilians). Besides, a few young subjects were included in these images: young males (2%, N=7) and young females (1%, N=4) who also appeared in the photographs taken in the Patagonian cities and forts.

This “photographic demography” of the Western society shows a predominance of the adult men dismissing women’s presence in these national territories; despite of what appears to be a balanced demography of women and men in the census previously mentioned. The demographic structure of one of the two Patagonian colonies³, Colonia Chubut, shows 85 men versus 68 women, evidencing similar proportions between genders. Although we cannot extend this example to other patagonian colonies, we do think this contributes to proof that Patagonia was not a “deserted geography” occupied only by soldiers of the national army; it was a lived place, experienced by whole families -including women and children- who relocated their daily lives into these new national territories. However, these lived spaces are not materialized into the photographs, possibly because the photographers imposed a bias to the represented reality, stressing the tough life on the field (Vezub 2002). Such emphasis can also be found on the literature thoroughly read among the cultured sectors of that time (Torres 2011).

When we concentrate our attention on the represented native civilians, we find out that most of them are adult males (37%, N=88 from 239 native civilians). Such image coincides with that of the western civilians. The photographers seem to have reinforced the adult male group in both populations represented: the Westerners and the Indigenous peoples. Nevertheless, other social actors appear in the images: the male children (18%, N=43) and the young females (16 %, N=37) are of quantitative importance. Behind them adult women appear in a similar number (10%, N=24) as the female children (9 %, N=21) and young males (8%, N=19).



Figure 7: “Reuque-Curá natives in Codihue” (Carlos Encina and Edgardo Moreno, 1882-3. Roca Museum, Buenos Aires, Argentina).

³ By the end of the 19th Century there were only two colonies in Patagonia, both on the coast: Carmen de Patagones, at the end of Río Negro and Colonia Chubut (Nacuzzi 2005).

In this case, the first result that calls our attention is that many of the photographed subjects are adults (47%, N=112), most of them male. This predominance probably relates to the fact that the adults were the ones who came into direct contact with the representatives of Western society, including government agents, military agents, naturalist travellers and, of course, photographers. But we can also relate this adult visual predominance to an "inverted population pyramid", "characteristic of moments of population decrease" (Fiore & Varela 2009, 202). This population fall was caused by the increasing killings by military campaigns, directed against these native people, added to the long contact with Western society, which brought new diseases and harmful habits (Nacuzzi 2005, Bandieri 2005, Mases 2010).



Figure 8: "Cacicque Villamain" (Carlos Encina and Edgardo Moreno, 1882-3. Roca Museum, Buenos Aires, Argentina).

Other result that draws our attention is the contrast between the photographs of young men and women: young native females (16%) are more represented than young native males (8%); these even much more represented than western young females (1%). We think this focus on young native females is related to two contemporary but different processes: on the one hand, young native females had become one of the targets to be captured by the invading army, as they were on demand as urban domestic work force (Mases 2010). In this regard, several newspapers of that time published announcements of the arrival of female natives to the city, and their distribution between the wealthy local

families⁴. On the other hand, the body of young natives was the subject of exoticism and eroticism for the Metropolitan public, who accessed ethnographic postcards of unknown but imagined geographies (Masotta 2003). Thus, we think the broad representation of these young women responds primarily to the photographer's attempt to visually appropriate these native bodies, reversing the myth of the white captive in the hands of the natives (Masotta 2003) and exposing the asymmetrical power relationship between photographer and photographed subject.

We consider that this "photographicdemography" of the Patagonian native society suggests an accurate native demography: besides some bias of the photographers, who preferred to represent adult males or young females, this demography shows the variety of age and gender of the whole community that came in contact with the military and scientific expeditions by the end of the 19th Century. These native subjects were the ones inhabiting the Patagonian territory at the time it was invaded. Such invasion was carried out through an unequal war, in which the ArgentineNational Army advanced over native territory, attacking not only native warriors prepared for war, but the whole society: women and children included. This indiscriminate attack on the Patagonian native societies led scholars to characterize the Desert Conquest as a genocide (Feierstein 2007).

Final Words

We consider that the photographic production of the military campaigns directed to Northpatagonia between 1879 and 1883 provided a form of visual and ideological justification for the Argentine state actions: the annihilation and acculturation of the native tribes(Mases 2010). The photographic device succeeded in establishing lasting visual tropes, exerting great power on the visual national imaginary of Argentina (and probably of many Latin American nations). In the case of the Desert Conquest photography, it became a mechanism that constructed the discourse of the Argentine nation, building the Patagonian territory as a desert ready to be conquered and populated, and the Desert Conquest as a heroic and masculine deed.

⁴ An example of this type of news was published in the daily newspaper *La Pampa* of April 23, 1879: "The female natives who were in Martin Garcia should arrive today to our port and will be delivered to the President of the Benevolent Society to distribute them."

The construction of this visual discourse pushed other social actors to a subaltern role (Spivak 1994), and made women and children especially invisible.

The focuses of representation was set on the masculine military sector, which was presented as the builder of the Argentinian nation (De Jong 2002), disregarding the settler western families who inhabited these new territories, in spite of the fact that they made the citizenship actually possible and defend the national territory. These women and children were the support of this Argentine conquest, yet they became invisible for the official history.

Nevertheless, given that the photograph constitutes an index of a past reality, it captures not only the photographer's view, but also the photographed subject's agency (Fiore & Varela 2009). Following this theoretical view point, we were able to recover the presence of women and children among the westerner inhabitants of the recent Patagonian cities and the military fronts, showing that the Patagonian "desert" was occupied not only by the Argentine soldiers, but also by the families, women and children who settled in those new and hostile territories. However, these territories were only new for the Westerners and for the state-nation: these territories were traditionally inhabited by the native communities, who also appear in these photographic indexes of the past (*sensu* Barthes 2004). That way, we can also explore the diversity of ages and genders of the native communities portrayed by these photographers and confirm that these communities were not prepared for war: they were the ones under attack in their own territories (Viñas 2003, Nacuzzi 2005, Mases 2010).

Therefore, beyond the persistence of these visual tropes of the "desert" and the male "heroic deed", we would like to remark the importance of the "visual archaeology" for the study of photographs, in order to critically examine what has been established as "natural" by the main powers, in this case, the State. The conception of photography as an index and as a cultural artifact allows us to recover not only the photographer's intentions at the time of producing the image, but also the presence and, more importantly, the agency of the subaltern subjects. This way, we consider that as much as anthropology is a discipline that "documents the non-documented" (Rockwell 2011), the archaeological work with photographs can make visible the invisible and recover new parts of history.

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Contesting submissiveness: Susana Silvestre's urban female subjects of the 1990s

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Abstract

This article examines how novelist Susana Silvestre mirrors Argentine society of the 1990s by exposing women's subordinate positions. It focuses the way her trilogy, composed of *Si yo muero primero* (1991), *Mucho amor en inglés* (1994) and *No te olvidés de mí* (1995), exposes women's multiple subaltern positions and how her female characters evolve from feeling belittled, worthless and suffering from placelessness, to become independent urban social subjects that contest subalternity and vehemently protest the conditions under which they live.

It argues that Silvestre's constructive revision of predominant hegemonic social structures chart a progressive renovation of predominant value systems as well as the conceptualization of reality. Furthermore, while Silvestre's female protagonists certainly demand place and time, they do not dwell on the claim *per se* but actively define it and then create the necessary conditions to conquer that space – imaginary as well as socially and culturally.

Key words: Susana Silvestre, female subjectivity, Argentine literature, transformation

*A escribir, como a tantas otras cosas, me enseñaron los varones.
Yo usé ese aprendizaje para contar a las mujeres.*
Susana Silvestre

Introduction

Susana Silvestre's (1950-2008) proliferate literary legacy continues to draw attention to her narrative excellence and thematic concerns. Her trilogy; *Si yo muero primero* (1991), *Mucho amor en inglés* (1994) and *No te olvidés de mí* (1995), share stories that fit Mónica Flori's identification of the "fictional autobiography", meaning a fictional text referring to the author's life-experiences (Flori, 1995).¹ Set principally in the reestablished Argentinean democratic era, these texts present female protagonists that are not as much concerned with socio-political issues, as they are with own

perceptions of themselves. The value system is centered on neo-liberalism and financial well-being while the dramatization of women's concerns and conditions in Buenos Aires of the 1990s also mark these texts, in which economical impoverishment reigns over the low and lower-middle classes, and where male rule dominates society..

This study examines how Silvestre exposes women's subordinate positions and the way the trilogy focuses on how the multiple subaltern positions lead Silvestre's female character evolve from feeling belittled, worthless and suffering from placelessness, to become rebellious urban female subjects that contest women's subalternity and vehemently protest the condition under which they struggle. In Silvestre's texts gender is a decisive factor in identity formation and thus influences characters' development as individuals and social beings.² Their sense of exile and isolation looms in all three texts, as the protagonists search for places of their own. Silvestre is understood to carefully construct her female protagonists' growth as they explore questions of placement and identity. To better understand her technique and how it plays itself out, particularly in *No te olvidas de mí* (1995), to examine her treatment of the before mentioned themes in her first two novels becomes essential.

Urban female subjects and their placelessness

As in her later novels, a first person narrator tells the story in *Si yo muero primero* (1991). An adolescent girl shares with the reader the story of her family and her love affair with a man twice her age, which hasten her coming of age. Most importantly, because of the affair she discovers her love for herself and realizes her capacity to resist the tyranny exercised by the men in her life. The protagonist's rite of passage, from childhood to adulthood, comes to pass as she reveals her innermost observations about the other people around her, their roles in life and respective places in the socio-cultural spheres.

¹ For further information see also: Fallas Arias, Teresa. *Escrituras del yo femenino en Centroamérica 1940-2001*. San José, Costa Rica, 2013.

² Gender in this context is understood in accordance with Janet Todd's explanation of it as meaning; "the emotional and psychological attributes which a given culture expects to coincide with physical maleness or femaleness" (136). See also; *Mujeres y Escritura* (1989), in which Mempo Giardinelli observes that gender study is; "el análisis crítico de esa red de creencias tan internalizadas por el cuerpo social que atribuye rasgos de personalidad, capacidades, preferencias, actitudes, sentimientos, valores, conductas, actividades, prohibiciones, etc., a los sexos" (14).

The novel opens in a private home in one of the *villas de emergencia*,³ of Buenos Aires, where a family struggles to survive. The parents are unskilled laborers with underage children, and the neighborhood itself collectively takes care of the small ones. Personal relationships are based on family ties and practicality rather than on compassion or affection. Adelina de Rao, the protagonist's mother, is an "*hija ilegítima, de ojos azules [que] concebía hijo tras hijo*" (23). Life is not what she had expected as a young woman and she displays her disgust towards her situation when stating: "*Esta maldita casa, la odio y los odio a todos*" (12). Her husband, the protagonist's father, comes from a poor family of Italian immigrants. An unskilled day-laborer, he exercises violent authority within the home. However, when he is drunk, his humility and remorse pour out as he weeps over his condition in society and the world. Through the lives of the two older sisters, the reader follows their coming of age as young women in these socio-economic milieus. Zule, the oldest sister, decides that by getting an education she can move up in society, "*ser alguien en la vida*" (15), and escape expected destiny. The protagonist, Lili or Lilita Rao (41), agrees in principle with the idea of education, but has not yet found a suitable field of study. Furthermore, the family cannot afford another student in the household, so she experiments with other possible paths in life. During her last summer in school, her mother allows her to care for an elderly man in the neighborhood, as other girls have done before her. "*Como la plata no alcanza decidieron mandármelas*" explains Don Mario Sandobal, "*un anciano vigoroso, de ojos grises y tez intensamente blanca*" (42).

No está invalido, pero hace tiempo que rehusó exceder los límites entre la silla de alto respaldo y la cama del cuarto. Durante el verano Sandobal declara hacer obra de caridad permitiendo que las chicas de la cuadra se ocupen de la casa (42).

After paying the girls for washing his laundry and for cleaning his house and himself, he generously pays them for taking off their cloths and for masturbating or having sex with him. Lili complies with her duties, simultaneously feeling needed and desired. She also benefits and learns from her encounters with the old man. The gratitude Don Mario offers for her services, the admiration she senses for her own naked body, the sexual sensations she feels and the guidance she receives, all increase her sense of worth. Due to Sandobal's physical disability she is the one that manages the situation, confirming her sense of empowerment. From these trips to

³ A poor neighborhood most often formed at the outskirts of a huge contemporary urban development, but can also be formed within a city's centre, as is the case in Buenos Aires.

Sandobal's house her self-worth escalates and, coupled with increased purchasing power, all feelings of guilt or victimization vanishes. "*Fuimos mandadas, es verdad. Pero nos quedamos. [...] y guardábamos el secreto de estas siestas*" (56). For Lili then, the importance of being admired and desired is central to her increasing self-worth and part of her growing up and becoming a woman. As she finishes elementary school, Sandobal dies and the family cannot afford to support her to continue her education. To escape her unfulfilling life and depressing surrounding she loses herself in fictional texts which she buys, borrows or steals.

As male superiors repeatedly provoke her sexually she moves from one workplace to another. One day at work she meets Mauro Fondebrider, "que tenía cuarenta y seis años, la piel muy morena, los ojos negros y una rebelde mata de pelo, encanecido en las sienes" (89), and her first love affair begins. As the novel progresses she strains against the power of her father and that of Mario, her married boss and lover. While interacting with and between these two dominating men, she learns to manipulate her own youthful vulnerability, to attract the attention and devotion she desires. Now, with her newly found power, she has the upper hand in her relationships as; "Mauro Fondebrider se ocupó de ella y de casi nada más" (129). By the end of the novel, two or three years later, Lili savored many experiences: She holds a job, has attended night classes and is about to graduate, and is ready to dismiss her lover; "lo único que sabe es que se terminó, que no lo está reemplazando por nadie, pero que se terminó" (271). She has grown secure in herself and makes choices independently of others. She is ready to live independently, has been accepted into the university, and awaits her future with enthusiasm and courage.

Lili's sexual awakening and the importance of her body as an instrument of empowerment are dramatized without sentimentality. A convincingly youthful, impartial and humorous voice narrates the most ordinary everyday life, never falling into caricature. Her story throws an unprecedented light upon the *villa de emergencia* within Argentinean literature as the protagonist critically observes her surroundings and her awakening female sexuality, which is as demanding and lusty as the male sexuality is said to be. Love neither saves nor condemns her, rather it allows her to move from one subordinate position to another, eventually precipitating a dramatic break-up that will advance her towards an independent future. The title of the novel derives from the words of a popular bolero which

includes a mandate to a surviving lover about giving up life for love.⁴ *Si yo muero primero* follows that mandate by eventually betraying it. In Susana Silvestres' text the woman protagonist does not weep over the corpse of her former lover. She looks at it, and “no le tiene miedo” (270). She simply walks away to then, write her story.

When Susana Silvestre tells the story of a family saga, she meets the expectations of traditional *bildungsroman*, even in its experimental form.⁵ She respects linearity and structural cohesiveness when she divides the text into three parts, each part into chapters, corresponding to a certain time and a private situation in Lili's life. The author dismantles gender expectations and class positions as she portrays a protagonist who has survived many threatening experiences during youth. Often presented humorously, Lili's strength turns potentially negative experiences into strengthening ones, although Silvestre leaves the reader to evaluate women's situation in modern society. By the end of the novel, her lover, “Fondebrider va agotando poco a poco sus reservas de dominio sexual y cultural a medida que ella se afianza en sí misma” (Avellaneda 227). Lili dismisses her lover, faces her father and continues to oppose the troublesome male population constantly provoking her. However, the protagonist is tempted to follow the traditional female role model of the family, even to “evolverse el pelo en un rulo y pasar la vida ahí, entre el día y la noche, el verano y el invierno, el sol y la lluvia. Quedarse entre los que saben quién es. Ya no es posible” (274). After fighting her way to what she considers a better status in life, she more importantly has succeeded in consolidating her feeling of self-reliance. At sixteen “caminará por Avenida de Mayo” (275). Lili's “streetwalking”, as Debra A. Castillo discusses it in *Talking Back* (16), is understood here in the Argentinean context as a political activity, with reference to the *marchas* of *Las Madres de Plaza de Mayo*. The popular song “Voy buscando un nuevo mundo y un perro amigo me sigue atrás” (271), plays in the background accentuating her independence.⁶

⁴ Check youtube

⁵ In *The Myth of the Heroine: The Female Bildungsroman in the Twentieth Century*, Esther Kleinbord Labovitz discusses the difference between the classical definition of the German term *bildungsroman*, referring to the novel of formation, and its relationship to literature by women. However, particularly pertinent to Silvestre's text, Andrés Avellaneda, in “Construyendo el monstruo: Modelos y subversiones en dos relatos (feministas) de aprendizaje” maintains that “el texto que narra este proceso de aprendizaje es [...] un proceso de deconstrucción del relato de aprendizaje tal como está inscrito en el canon masculino” (228).

⁶ You tube

In *Si yo muero primero* (1991), Silvestre develops her tone of voice, style of narration, and discursive patterns that become her trademark within Argentinean fiction writing of the nineties. Furthermore, her characters reading of fiction become Silvestre's *leit-motif* in literature. As a subject matter, the protagonist achieves her desired goal of independence, self-understanding and acceptance when experimenting with power relations between men and women. Her protagonists find few if any exciting female role models to follow. They must clear new paths to travel alone, using experimentation, courage and dedication to chart their way. They make mistakes, take wrong turns, but Silvestre manages to test her protagonists without their suffering lasting negative consequences. They learn from their experiences, just as they do from the novels her protagonists keep reading. Through these activities women understand themselves more progressively, situating themselves as socio-culturally located individuals. In Silvestre's novels the Argentinean woman is evaluating her place in society, trying out new terrains, and displaying the confidence needed to emerge as a whole, strong female social subjects ready for confrontations.

Introducing the novel, Ana María Shua, the renowned Argentinean short-story writer, concludes:

Y en cuanto a víctimas y victimarios, lo siento. [...] Aquí no hay hombres malvados que seducen, o violan o explotan a pobres mujeres víctimas de su miserable condición. Aquí el sexo es un arma para quien la sabe usar. Y con ese arma se producen las más terribles heridas en las batallas de amor. En las que una piba de doce años puede ser un contrincante infinitamente más poderoso que un hombre viejo. Batallas a muerte, en las que solamente las mujeres son capaces de sobrevivir (unpublished manuscript).

Thus, from her first novel, Silvestre establishes her take on female sexuality as a tool to advance her characters well-being. Hence, she dismisses sexual submissiveness and obedience as an acceptable alternative for the contemporary, urban, female subject. In her second novel, *Mucho amor en inglés* (1994), these sexual confrontations, the struggle for self-understanding, and women's struggle for creating a place of their own, become life threatening. The novel opens introducing a female protagonist who is a self-avowed, "*una desequilibrada emocional*" (11), "*partidaria de la locura activa, una locura basada en el registro minucioso de los hechos aunque el tiempo se confunda y no pueda saber cuándo ocurrieron*" (143). The protagonist—without a name—is an emotionally disoriented woman who searches the streets of Buenos Aires for a young girl. The girl she is looking for is about thirteen

years old and could be her daughter. In her quest throughout the novel, the woman revisits important events in her own life and these moments eventually reconstruct her puzzle-like personality yet to find wholeness. She revisits psychiatric clinics, ruined marriages, disastrous workplaces, social events, and possible and imaginary motherhoods.

Silvestre ironically employs a picaresque tone of voice when she tells the story of her protagonists and presents her sociological analysis. Humorously, she borders on sarcasm when presenting the many unpleasant events in the narrator's past, and when giving a very pointed criticism of the surrounding of her *Porteña* characters. The principal character shares her life history by only introducing secondary characters to explain and give a fuller picture of herself. Her presumed daughter is constantly present, not as an individual character, but rather as a figure or a myth. As the woman searches for the girl through the streets of Buenos Aires, she travels through women's interior, thoughts and memories. The young girl comes to represent all that the protagonist's life is missing indeed, and most importantly, she represents independence.

The narrator is a single mother living in contemporary Buenos Aires. While the tone of the narration is personal, intimate and sentimental, it often springs from a place of madness and confusion. However, Silvestre repeatedly deploys humor to undermine the seriously dramatic situations. The conflicts the inexperienced young single mother experiences appear collective and realistic, without becoming denunciatory or polemic. As the anonymous protagonist goes about her daily life, she seriously attempts to integrate all the suggestions and good advice that the people around her thrust upon her: she attempts to be the perfect mother and role model for her daughter. Everyone seems to know better than she what she should do and she feels obligated to defer to them. "Todos tenemos nenas. Nenas reales, nenas imaginarias, nenas que perseguir, nenas que encontrar, [...], nenas montadas encima de unos suecos altísimos que rompen los tobillos"(161). Society requires her to be exemplary and she strives to comply. These practical dilemmas lead her to ontological musings, as represented in: "*sí hay otro mundo, y está en éste*" (191), and why "*debo mostrarme serena cuando no lo estoy*" (140). She is constantly on guard in society where men are continually invading women's private space and time. Silvestre presents these invasions most innocently through the routine male gaze pursuing the protagonist through the streets: "*La miraban los hombres de a pie, los taxistas le tocaban bocina y desde un auto particular alguien abrió*

la puerta y la invitó a subir” (23). But, she presents them most violently through the injections that the “doctor, él de la morfina” (111), administers to the protagonist when after a nervous breakdown she is unable to sleep. In stark contrast to her insecurity, the doctors and psychologists, as well as other male characters, never doubt their know-how, nor their complete control of a situation. The narrator’s madness and confusion springs from the will to believe that “*el [doctor] me sacó del error*” (70), and her clear realization that “*mi doctor no me conocía*” (71). Her own intuitions and sentiments clash resoundingly with the hegemonic structure embodied in the authority of the psychologist. “*El analista me dijo que esa era mi historia, no la de la nena y seguramente tiene razón. No obstante yo pienso que hay experiencias que se repiten*” (115). Until the protagonist violently rebels, leaving the *École* clinic wrecked, the male psychologist/doctor has the upper hand in all circumstances.

By the end of the novel, the narrator concludes, first and foremost, that she must follow her own instincts in solving her personal conflicts. If she is to confide in someone else regarding her well-being as a woman and mother, then it be with women. The shared experience of motherhood, as it exists within the present social structure, creates a realm of non-public knowledge which women alone share. The protagonist observes that “*esa nena se parece a mí*” (112) and then plaintively, “*¡No estoy loca! Busco a una nena. Sé que esa nena sufre. Por eso la busco. Intento recordar su historia*” (109 and 117). Thus, Silvestre presents women as mothers bound to their own mothers by the local knowledge—as Foucault calls it—of motherhood, which is continually vented and handed down onto their own daughters. Silvestre does not make her protagonist’s self-discovery as a woman and a mother a heavenly occurrence, but rather an earthly, common and every day one. The narrator’s observations and histories are interwoven, and always come back to the one central story of a *búsqueda*.

In Silvestre’s first two novels, then, her protagonists experiment with new behavioral alternatives within both the private and the public spheres.⁷

⁷ To better understand the importance of the protagonist moves between the private and public spheres, in her essay “Público-Privado” (1998), Nora Rabotnikof discusses this “gran dicotomía” (3). On one hand, she sees the public sphere as the collective, open to all realms of society embracing that which licitly may be inspected and investigated, hence manly. On the other hand, she describes the private sphere as the place reserved for particular knowledge and that which is kept secret. The domestic, intimate realm of personal life, which women occupy.

They defy conventional stereotypes and provoke the established binary divide between the two.⁸ In *Si yo muero primero*, by questioning standard definitions of the private and the public, Silvestre challenges gender roles. The protagonist, Lili, inhabits the private sphere and only visits the public sphere as she works part time jobs and travels around the city. Although she is not fully integrated into the public realm of society, Silvestre indicates Lili's movement towards this sphere at the end of the novel when Lili walks down *Avenida de Mayo*. In *Mucho amor en inglés*, Silvestre strives to open up the private sphere and reveal women who attempt to break free from centuries of constraint. The protagonist in the novel does not belong to the public sphere of male rule, but no longer belongs to the classically defined private sphere. Female intuition and sexuality, both hidden from the public eye, play crucial roles in this process. By presenting her protagonists as sexual figures who openly bare their bodies and longings, Silvestre presents them as constructive, forceful and active agents of desire. As they inventively attempt to change the function, perception and understanding of both private and public spheres, they work determinedly to readjust women's position in socio-cultural terms. The public sphere, as traditionally defined, does not accept the female subject at equal standing with men. She is obliged, as a consequence of her marginal position, to nomadically roam between the two spheres in the search for a separate and alternative place of her own.

Urban subjects contesting subalternity

The protagonist, and the central subject, in Susana Silvestre's last novel of the trilogy, *No te olvidas de mí* (1995) moves more readily between the private and the public spheres. The most notable change from Silvestre's earlier texts is the demolishing of the divide between the two spheres. When she deconstructs them, she reveals a third sphere being formed by and for the modern urban intellectual woman. Silvestre writes' from within a new socio-culturally determined sphere, influencing the literary tradition in recent Argentinean literature. As Magdalena García Pinto notes within the divided spheres "typical male discourse tends to be monological and self-centered and does not accept interruptions, whereas female discursive preference is dialogical" (1). In her third novel, Silvestre's is understood to have attempted to construct a female novelistic discourses and develop a narrative to fit this "still in the making" new sphere.

⁸ For more information see f.ex. Dora Barranco's *Mujeres, entre la casa y la plaza*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 2008.

In *No te olvides de mí*, Silvestre exposes a contemporary tale set in Buenos Aires, where La Mujer, a thirty to forty-year old secretary in an office, is taking a two-week-long vacation for the first time in five years. She lives in an apartment where her lower-middle-class neighbors are nosy and intrusive. Loneliness, isolation, and lack of compassion characterize her life. Although La Mujer intends to dedicate her vacation to the reading of fiction (17 and 101), she apparently never finds enough peace and quiet to submerge herself in this endeavor. She becomes occupied with listening to other women's life stories, observing their activities, and describing their reactions to everyday experiences. However, La Mujer does read the novel she bought at the beginning of *No te olvides de mí*, but the reader can not readily determine when she is reading, nor how to separate her actual life from the plot of the novel.⁹

Se había dormido pensando en Marianne y ahí estaba el libro con el señalador y el recuerdo que volvía. Supuso que con los días se iría olvidando hasta tal punto que al volver le costaría reconocer a alguien. Pero por ahora estaban ahí, todas, y especialmente ella, Marianne, ese día en que Lorena estaba trabajando en la secretaría y no salieron a almorzar. La Mujer salió sola y leyó durante el almuerzo. Leyó contenta y todavía asombrada, el corazón latiendo abajo de la blusa como al compás de la voz de Marianne, como si Marianne estuviera ahí mismo, sentada al otro lado de la mesa (95).

The central concern of Silvestre's novel is not really about La Mujer herself or her life, but the interplay between the real and the unreal, between material existence and fiction, and about what happens to women and their desires. La Mujer, who uses fiction to make her life worth living, places herself inside the fictional text she reads and shares her existence with the fictional characters. At times, she brings these characters into her daily existence, at home, in the office, or when she visits public parks and squares. Therefore, it is never quite obvious to the reader whether the protagonist is simply crazy, by bringing these characters into her everyday life, or simply desires to enrich her own existence and give reality to her wildest fantasies. "La Mujer pensaba que todos estos problemas se reducían a uno: el ser aburrida se debía a que el estar siempre leyendo novelas le impedía disfrutar de la gente real" (109). She has given up the pleasures of social activities and, apparently, chosen escapism. She retreats into literature, for her enjoyment and to create a sense of influence and empowerment. The new space she creates in her personal life is not yet a public one, but imaginary.

⁹ Finna tilvísun um "blurring the borders" – Feminaria.

Since the line blurs between what is real and what is not, the reader cannot be sure when the characters are acting in the real world of the novel or in their own imaginary worlds. While an omniscient narrator confirms the *descifradora's* existence through general comments and suggestions, this protagonist also uses a first-person voice to share her daily life, thoughts, and intimacy with the reader. She seems to belong to no one, nor to anything. Her world encompasses her apartment, her work place and the public spaces she visits. She is a slave to the daily routine and conventions of her work as a secretary in an office where she serves her male bosses in every way, as she indeed is expected to, given her lowly position. The other women with whom she works are not important to her, since each of them has her own separate life. Although they do share trivial matters, each woman has her own place, role, and position. The only common denominator that unites her with other women, be they real or fictional, is their sharing subaltern positions. Existing on the periphery of society, each and every one of them nevertheless has her own tragic history. Those histories are filled with sexual abuse, humiliation, mistreatment, violence and unhappy relationships and marriages. All the women have experienced hardship, but have found ways to survive and enjoy their existence in one way or another. Some manipulate the male-dominated society in which they live by playing with men's weakness for sexual pleasures, while others find more security within homosexual relationships.

In *No te olvides de mí* Silvestre masterfully manipulates literary conventions with dazzling intellectual games that play with ideas, images, and words, to present women's situation in modern society. Although women are subordinated in personal relationships, in the workplace, as well as in society, the author emphasizes women's efforts to survive, enjoy, escape, and vindicate themselves by creating a place of their own. The author does not present her protagonist as a victim, but rather as a member of a system operating within boundaries and limitations that everyone understands. Silvestre's text involves highly intellectual narratives in its nonmimetic and nonrealistic form, suggesting that she is acutely aware of critical theories of discourse and subjectivity.¹⁰ The text does not develop as a traditional novel, principally because the author reverses the

¹⁰ By challenging definitions of literary genres the author joins Gayatri C. Spivak in questioning the idea of a *masternarrative*, understood as fiction evolving around a central protagonist, preferably a western, white male, middle-class, educated and well off.

classical opposition of literary genres by utilizing different genres simultaneously. Hence, Silvestre participates in the manipulation of a new literary tradition amongst Argentinean women writers of the 90s, valuing the multigeneric novel that serves as metaphor for its message of experimentation and subversion already introduced.

The originality of Silvestre's text springs from its fragmentation and plurality of meaning, which recall concepts from Derrida's theorizations in which he emphasizes the deconstruction of the binary opposites. One of his principal projects was the deconstruction of the written text, such as is Silvestre's intellectual play in *No te olvides de mí*. Derrida argues that narrative structures can be reversed and displaced through critical and "deconstructive" reading.

An opposition of metaphysical concepts (e.g., speech/writing, presence/absence, etc.) is never the confrontation of two terms, but a hierarchy and the order of subordination. Deconstruction cannot be restricted or immediately pass to a neutralization: it must, through a double gesture, a double science, a double writing —put into practice a *reversal* of the classical opposition *and* a general *displacement* of the system (qtd. in Landry and MacLean 74).

Clearly, for Derrida, deconstruction does not consist of merely moving from one concept to another, but its radical essence lays in reverting and displacing the dominant order. The feminist deconstructionist and Derrida's follower Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak has compellingly demonstrated another important element in the critical deconstructive reading of a text, and that being a deconstructive reading of the order of things. To critically read, both a text and the order of things, requires that we either isolate the different elements, eliminate them, modify them, or displace them with something different. Therefore, Silvestre provokes established understandings about concepts like the "novel", the "private and the public", "gender-roles" and, last but not least, about "women's identity", within the contemporary reality. In *No te olvides de mí*, renewed identity demands and occupies a tentative third sphere situated between or beyond the private and public spheres.

Silvestre contests the legitimacy based on paternal authority, and patriarchal assumptions are destabilized and displaced. Women, then, question the assumed order, redefine previous concepts, and propose a new, different and more equitable order. Silvestre attacks the bases of unitary male values and phallogentrism, blurring their dualism and "belief in binary oppositions" (Humm 147). Within the realm of feminist

criticism, she takes on the limits of literary genres and the binary oppositions between gender-roles, social spheres and the real and the unreal, while Spivak deals with social and global issues, including imperialism, race, and gender. Silvestre handles her characters' perceptions of the world as freely as she does the narrative structure, blurring the line between reality and imagination. They describe their alienation, or their "otherness," in tune with Simone de Beauvoir's thoughts in *The Second Sex*.

A socio-economical classification of Silvestre's characters in *No te olvidés de mí*, and in her other novels, may enlighten our theoretical understanding of this work. As noted, her main female characters live in cities and belong to the low and lower-middle class. They hold only some basic education, and work in subordinate positions or part-time jobs which condemn them to less than privileged economic condition. Huge inner-city apartment buildings foster an environment for impersonal relationships, but also simultaneously create a vibrant curiosity among its inhabitants. Indeed, Silvestre shows that this particular cultural mix ruptures the division between private and public spheres as well as between high and low culture. Every day her characters dismiss their economic worries to simply replace them with favorable situations. Recalling scenes from classical literary texts, such as, "citando de memoria a Ibsen" (176), the reading of Dante's *La divina comedia* (225) or Calderón's Golden Age drama *La vida es sueño* (119), as well as Tolstoy's *La guerra y la paz* (112), Silvestre's women recreate their hostile reality. Despite living in third rate quarters they read classical literature, visit art museums, enjoy Beethoven's *Sonatas* and the *Novena sinfonía* (227), and interact with the so-called high culture. The criteria with which *el buen gusto* evaluates high culture exist within the *barrio*, and affects the everyday life of these low and lower middle class characters.

Silvestre, in tune with postmodernism, questions meaning, and uses deconstruction to blur boundaries and break up binaries. She presents her characters as living within the sphere of popular low culture. However, they are in the process of moving into high culture as they emotionally and sensually enjoy it, by listening to classical music and reading world literature. They appreciate, experiencing urban cosmopolitan culture through pop-music, videos, and photographs, which continually negotiates the distance between the high and the low. Simultaneously, Silvestre's texts first and foremost foreground feministic concerns and principles as they expose women's situation in contemporary Argentinean society. In that context, the texts contribute to the realm of political feminism and aim to

draw the readers' attention to women's subaltern status, and also their limited, but ever-increasing alternatives. They should be understood in accordance with Cabrera Bosch's definition of feminism that emphasizes two main principles: first, to achieve rights and conquer new terrain for women, both socially and personally, and second, to redefine, renovate, and transform (in Folgera, 1988).

To observe identity formation within this feminist framework, it is worth keeping in mind that the hegemonic socio-cultural structure continually strives to establish a unified identity. Within that realm persists the image of "man" as the cultural, and "woman" as the natural; and of "man" as the logical, uniform, and explicable, while "woman" the "dark continent", libido, fluid, and therefore inexplicable. Furthermore, the relationship between "woman" as an unexplicable continent prevails even as the image of Latin America, as "*pura naturaleza desnuda recostada en la selva*" does (Domínguez 10). Despite, the decade-long efforts of intellectuals in all fields of study to promote a multiplicity of meanings, as well as to give voice to the many emerging subalterns who have been silenced throughout centuries, we only can find limited achievements. The multiplicities of identity simultaneously have been suppressed. As stated, feminists efforts to re-think the female-male binary opposition have drawn from the deconstructive theories of French feminists on the status of women. In their theorizing, the individual female subject plays a representational and collective role, in precisely the same manner as Susana Silvestre's protagonists, who represent thousands of women living in Buenos Aires and, perhaps, other urban communities at the end of the twentieth century.

With Silvestre's protagonists the female, "woman" signifier is presented as a subaltern signified. As revealed in her three novels, the collective signifier is understood as confronting situations similar to those of other women in contemporary urban environments. The border-line positioning and personal alienation forces the protagonist to question herself and her identity, as well as the socio-economic reality that constrains her. The female subject in Silvestre's texts defends herself against continuous multiple aggressions that constantly undermine her validity. Her protagonists search for ways to improve their lives, and act by taking risks, experimenting within hostile territories. While the margins are being blurred, the signified is being challenged, tested and redefined.

In Silvestre's novels, the narration evolves around the subjects' "exclusion, discrimination and recognition" (Castillo 3), and she makes no

attempt to dismiss the social reality in which her protagonists live. She questions how women might possibly benefit when entering the sphere of the other, and ironically demystifies the male-dominated public sphere. She presents her male characters rather negatively, stating that “*él hablaba mucho pero la verdad es que sabía muy poco de nada, aunque opinaba acerca de todo*” (170). The female figures, on the other hand, support each other and stand by the central character in times of crisis and conflictive situations. According to Silvestre’s presentation, then, women should concentrate on creating a strong, stable, independent self *outside* of the two existent spheres—and simultaneously create a new social sphere where women can live according to their own principles. Her characters protest their “second sex” position and rebel by breaking up the traditional binary oppositions. She warns against women searching for support and nourishment from a hostile source, doubting that its effect can be fruitful. Likewise, she cautions against losing touch with reality and yielding to an idealistic or utopian possibility that may prove elusive. The women in *No te olvides de mí* do not all automatically like each other, nor mutually support each other. Among them, envy and disagreement exist and they don’t necessarily think highly of all women. They have stopped, however, looking for acceptance and recognition amongst those that don’t share their unifying local knowledge of exclusion, subalternity and motherhood.

In Silvestre’s novel female characters strive to become self-supporting, to bolster their self-worth, and to become independent social subjects. Despite their efforts, obtaining full independence still eludes them and her protagonists still are struggling to redefine their own lives and way of living. In this process they constantly take risks, and in their male dominated surroundings they are attacked, exposed to violence and threatened by abuse. The everyday socio-political confrontations in Argentinean society, as Silvestre presents them, do not, however, occur directly between men and women, but rather clash in the different sets of values they embody. The male-dominated hegemonic structure, rendered as national authority and governing the whole of society, is under attack by the rebelling female subject. Foucault argues that such confrontations surge from the struggle between discourses. In that context, Silvestre criticizes the male-focused national discourse because it suppresses other discourses, including the female discourses. Due to women’s past silence, they have not been represented within the dominant discourse and, furthermore, as her texts demonstrate, their discourses have been

suppressed. Under those conditions subversion has grown, to the extent that Silvestre's characters, in their representative roles, now earnestly seek other viable means to be heard, to be able to survive with dignity, and to become truly independent. In these confrontations, the outstanding subversive element becomes "woman" as she attempts to proclaim her independence from the male-dominated sphere and her authority over the new terrain she is forming.

In her *Testimonios* Victoria Ocampo vividly discussed Latin American female identity at the beginning of the twentieth century, as being that of a woman dependent on male authority, and a silent, self-sacrificing being, bowing her head when she is addressed. This figure is totally absent from Silvestre's novels. Particularly in *No te olvides de mí*, Silvestre portrays women in numbers, because, as Luce Irigaray points out, femininity is plural and multiple. Simultaneously women are presented as they are, as Hélén Cixous encouraged them to do, and they rebel violently as feminism proposes they should.

However, the simplifying hegemonic cultural apparatus has projected a singular stereotypical image of the low and lower-middle class woman as ignorant, uneducated, childbearing, food-preparing, and primarily concerned with housework. In Susana Silvestre's texts this figure is absolutely non-existent. In her novels women actively participate in the labor market, contribute constructively to the collective community, and articulate their opinions as social beings. They do not escape into madness, but rather deliberately select the elements they use within their imagination, as when *La Mujer* chooses the book to read on her vacation after careful evaluation. In Silvestre's texts, one of the basic elements "woman" uses in her struggle is her female intuition. This intuition is neither animalistic nor a natural instinct: it is a knowledge and insight, gleaned from the painstaking research in which "woman" has been engaged for centuries, within the public and the private spheres, as well as within high and low culture. During her centuries of silence, she has actively observed, investigated, and evaluated. Finally, she has reached the stage of being able to redefine, recreate and transform. Her intuition, therefore, is a tool to obtain and secure the change that will further guarantee her advantages. Silvestre's female characters respond to Santa Catalina's challenge, as presented in *No te olvides de mí*, that "hay que construir un nuevo mundo" (163). They are becoming active agents in their lives.

The in-between-sphere, the *femvellir* sphere¹¹, is not an utopian safe-haven for the rebellious characters nor a place to where the female subject can simply escape, and seal the entrance behind her. For Silvestre's female characters, the *femvellir* sphere is a place in which women may position themselves while they break free of the symbolic chain, and the multiple socio-cultural binary oppositions that have retained them for so long. As her fictional autobiographical writing reflects, woman's situation in late twentieth-century Argentina, does not yet allow them to position themselves, as it is presented in Judith Butler's theorizing regarding the loss of gender norms and Multiple Sex. The gender binary is still an important divide, the power of discourse is a political issue debated constantly, and sex determines individuals' socio-cultural roles in society. Nevertheless, the *femvellir* sphere is being formed in a process that is under way and cannot be reverted. Hence, La Mujer—as *descifradora* of the many stories that are articulated together creating a unifying voice—represents the tension between micro- and macro-political concerns within the Argentinean socio-feminist debate.

Summary

In her essay “*Ironía y ansiedad*” (1995), the Argentinean critic Jorgelina Núñez identifies three main topics when discussing Silvestre's third novel, *No te olvides de mí*. The first one deals with the feminine/female discourse; the second one, with distress, and the third one, with representation. Núñez observes that “*las narraciones que se reúnen azarosamente alrededor del silencio de la protagonista conforman un muestrario de las peripecias que viven las mujeres de hoy*”. Contrary to Núñez's assessment that anxiety is a principal subject matter in *No te olvides de mí*, and that Silvestre's female subjects; “*Claman por un tiempo y espacio desocupados*” (7) to be able to occupy that time and that space with their experiences, their bodies and active sexualities, I maintain that, while the women in Silvestre's text certainly demand place and time, they do not dwell on the claim *per se*, or wait to be given what they demand. Rather than that, they actively define the time and the place they claim, and then create the necessary conditions to conquer that space

¹¹ *Vellir* (plural from *völlur* = a field or a court). However, in Icelandic, *völlur* refers to a geographical open space, the one where the Valyries of the Nordic Mythology operated. The Icelandic idiomatic expression: „*Það er völlur á henni/bonum*“, meaning that she/he acts with self-confidence, determination, and empowered, triggered the construction of the term as used here.

— imaginary as well as socially and culturally. Núñez's observations imply submission, passivity and hopelessness. And yet, activity, hopefulness and subversion are the clear characterisation of Silvestre's female characters. Núñez understands *La Mujer* as being "*nuestro espejo*" an inadequate one that "*mientras dura la representación se sufre la suerte de los otros, personajes de ficción que representan la vida; la otra, la verdadera, queda en el negativo del que mira*" (7). On the other hand, as has been argued, the roles of Silvestre's characters are better understood as representative of opportunities and possibilities. The final page of the text bears witness to that interpretation when *La Mujer* "*miraba la calle, [...] Pensó que al día siguiente, visitaría alguna librería, porque tenía varias cosas en vista*" (238).

Through her active deconstruction and, simultaneously, by constructive revision, Silvestre manages to demystify the hegemonic social structure. She charts the progressive renovation of different values and, through her everyday female characters, presents a new conceptualization of reality. She breaks with existing patterns and models, creating alternative models for her characters and for Argentinean women. In her analytical re-examination of Argentinean reality, she deploys her fictional characters as convincingly as if they were witnesses before a tribunal. According to Silvestre's novels, the contemporary everyday life in urban Buenos Aires is neither a symbol nor a totality; it is composed of isolated particles in the process of change. Furthermore, in regard to the examination of reality, Silvestre shares kinship with other Argentinean women writers of the nineties. She undermines another stereotypical image of women intellectuals, especially feminists, as "humorless, puritanical and dowdy" (Jones 13), who are inclined to dogmatic speech and political extremism. Her tone is predominantly comic, ironic, ambivalent, passionate and playful. She contradicts the idea and trite stereotype of women's literature as being decorous story-telling and little love stories. Although her novels are both of these things, simultaneously they are so much more. Her novels reveal and explain the arduous task women face in telling their side of history. In addition to their need to present the continuing struggle, women are actively constructing their new personal identities. Based on self-determination and independence, demonstrated through assertive actions and self-reliant decision-making, Silvestre's writing shows Argentinean women on the verge of being on top of things in relationships as well as in socio-cultural and political contexts.

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Mobility and change in the Arctic: an ethnographic case study of sled dogs in Greenland

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Abstract:

Understanding the societal impact of climate change entails many challenges and presents us with wide knowledge gaps. One example is how a changing environment, mobility and increasing tourism are transforming the use of sled dogs and opening up new scenarios and perspectives on traditional practices in the Arctic, both in the economic and cultural dimension. Through participant observation of practices linked to sled dog use this article addresses perceptions of local inhabitants regarding sled dogs, environment and tourism. The ethnographic research offers insights into the hunting, recreation and tourism activities in Kulusuk, a small village in East Greenland. The relationship between people and sled dogs can unveil multiple meanings regarding how the value of animals, environment and heritage vary and change through traditional, rural and urbanizing areas. The investigation shows how social patterns of the coexistence of humans and animals are changing in this crucial period of transition in the Arctic and sub-Arctic. In this context, the perceptions and effects of increasing tourism and climate change will throw light on the future dynamics of mobility in these areas.

Key words: Greenland, climate change, tourism, dog sledding.

Introduction

At the end of an extremely variable winter in Kulusuk, Fredrik Wille, a social science and English teacher in his early fifties, looks back on his days of mushing. Once a prolific hunter he has given up on the use of sled dogs due to unpredictable ice and weather patterns. He slightly hesitates to answer whether he appreciates his snowmobile as much as the dogs that he gave up. He gestures towards Justine Boassen, his wife, and headmaster of the village school. "Ask her," he says, "she told me many times that I

love my dogs more than her”. “Yes, it’s true”, she confirms, laconically (A.F. 8:1, 2017). The long evening’s interview is drawing to a close but the communication lingers in the air, as if asking for breathing space and for a deeper recognition of a complex value of sled dogs.

Understanding the societal impact of climate change entails many challenges and presents us with wide knowledge gaps. One example is how a changing environment, mobility and increasing tourism are transforming the use of sled dogs and opening up new scenarios and perspectives on traditional practices in the Arctic, both in the economic and cultural dimension. Through participant observation of practices linked to sled dog use, this article asks what are the experiences and perspectives of local inhabitants on sled dogs, environment and tourism. The ethnographic research offers insights into the hunting, recreation and tourism activities in Kulusuk, a small village in East Greenland. The relationship between people and sled dogs can unveil multiple meanings regarding how the valuing of animals, environment and tradition vary and change in traditional, rural and urbanizing areas. The investigation’s primary question is how socio-cultural patterns of the coexistence of humans and animals are changing in this crucial period of transition in the Arctic. In this context, the perceptions and effects of increasing tourism and climate change will throw light on the future dynamics of mobility in these areas.

The field, methods and some key concepts

The impact of climate change in the Arctic is not uniform but varies according to social systems and characteristics of the environmental stressors (Larsen et al., 2014). However, several studies (Buijs, 2010; Larsen et al., 2014; Arctic Council, 2016; Brinkman et al., 2016) address the importance of traditional knowledge and adaptation measures for all the Arctic communities, in order to tackle climate change and for wise management of natural resources. Greenland has been considered one of the clearest examples of a society in the midst of climate change (Arctic Council, 2016). In the case of sled dogs, the traditional knowledge of the Greenlandic people provides an interesting case providing insight into future scenarios (Buijs, 2010). An inquiry into how the hunters of Kulusuk experience

climate change in relation to dog sledding, can provide insights into how people of the Arctic react to climatic variations.

This research is based on the primary concepts of ethnographic research. Throughout a fieldwork period of four months in Kulusuk, Andrea Fiocca, the article's co-author, conducted interviews with the goal of understanding local people's perceptions of sled dogs. Further participant observation provided a fundamental tool for the acquisition of visual material, as well as in-depth understanding of breeding methods, hunting practices, and general behavior towards sled dogs. Hunters were the primary subject of the project. Kulusuk is a small village, and it is easy to narrow down the number of sled dog owners. Traditional gender divisions within Greenlandic communities place women in a non-active position in relation to hunting practices (Hovelsrud-Broda, 1999). Hunting is, traditionally, a task for men, while women took care of the children, skinned and cooked prey and made tools (Petersen, 2003). Feeding dogs and the primary activities related to hunting today are still generally conducted by men.

According to Hammersley & Atkinson (2007), ethnography always presents us with a level of ambiguity in dealing with the local informants. It is necessary to find a balance between the idea of counting on people as sources of information, and, at the same time, as social products of a certain reality. As Ruth Behar (1996) stresses in her book *The Vulnerable Observer*, the interactions in the field cannot be precisely reproduced. They are a unique and essential part of the "voyage" of the ethnography. The events and perceptions in the field form the emotional and intellectual "baggage" of the researcher. Equally, an ethnography does not involve a validation of the subjective perspective of each social actor within the research. As researchers, we can contextualize data within the culture it is formed, but only as elements to analyze, not pure truth (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). However, the process of codification of the information has been a continuous work in progress. An iterative process in which data gives a sense of an idea

and vice versa, in a constant movement back and forward (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007).

Informal communications have been noted through field notes, while interviews on the perceptions of the inhabitants form the recorded data. Some data supports more collective and general opinions while other communications are uniquely personal. Every interview followed a semi-structured form, with general guidelines that could lead the conversation among the central themes of each research question. The structure was thus tailored with the aim of recording in settings of spontaneous behaviour (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). This predisposition has been anticipated from the field researcher's long process of familiarization with the informants, in order to establish a close and relaxed rapport (Hammersley & Atkinson 2007). With some speakers, this process was a rapid, while with others it required time and effort, overcoming linguistic divides and scheduling obstacles. At the end of the fieldwork, eleven informants were formerly interviewed and two of them twice. Of those eleven informants, eight were active hunters, two teachers at the local school, and two were non-Greenlandic people working in the tourism industry, but long-time residents in Greenland.

Alongside the interviews, a visual element provides information about the context, giving insight into the context, methods, and practices related to sled dogs and hunting. Doing ethnography means also being influenced by the various tools that might assist within the ethnographic field, such as photography. Nowadays, photographers are often experts working deeply in specific social and cultural dimensions (Pink, 2007). The reflexive work behind the data-gathering process is the main driver to find visual meaning and ethnographic relevance in the photographic work accumulated (Pink, 2007). At the beginning of the twenty-first century visual methods have become one of the most important tools in the hands of anthropologists and ethnographers. Visual methodology integrates anthropological aims with ethnographic visual material (Pink, 2006).

The visual material of this project aims to portray the *ethnographicness* of photography, which the inherent content of the

information (Pink, 2007). The meaning of photographs can of course vary depending on their context. In this case detailed variations in dog use continually revealed themselves and photography proved the most efficient tool to frame and record these behaviors. The aim of the visual material is also to engage with the temporality of tradition in Kulusuk. In fact, tradition has always been present and produced by people throughout time, according to experiences and historical context (Harvey, 2001). Traditional culture provides knowledge of standards, values, and practices of everyday life. Nevertheless, these assets are interpretations of individuals that continuously transform and evolve them (Bujdosó et al., 2015). The visual material therefore presents how the traditions of Kulusuk are practiced today.



Figure 1: Women, and the male hunters, are experienced in cleaning and butchering polar bears, a process which can take several hours. The polar bear hunt is one of the most meaningful traditions for Greenlanders.

The concept of subsistence and its use within this project must also be framed. To use Poppel's (2010) arguments, subsistence in the Arctic is the satisfaction of basic human needs through labour for personal survival as well as the families'. Additionally, subsistence hunting is not only for the personal survival, but more importantly for the survival of an entire community and culture. The aim is not to celebrate indigenous lifestyles or draw forth dissimilarities to

urban ones. It is rather to understand the causes and effects of each context within a globalized system, and to offer an understanding on how different economic paradigms can influence a whole cultural system. Moreover, the study's ethnographic approach to natural capital aims to contribute to further collaboration between natural sciences on the one hand and the humanities and social sciences on the other. Such collaboration may produce understandings relevant both for the protection of biodiversity, as well for the sake of communities in the Arctic. The human-sled dog relationship in Kulusuk is a case in point through which an analysis of life in transformation can shed light on various dynamics such as the connections between heritage and modernization, humans and animals, the urban and the indigenous.

The future of sled dogs: opportunities and challenges

Greenland is at the center of a flourishing debate on its future. Resulting from the home rule movement of 1979, a new political arrangement added greater autonomy to the largest island on this planet. Greenlanders voted for increased autonomy through self-government in 2008 (Nuttall, 2008). This was seen by many as a step towards independence and was a clear sign of growing political confidence and cultural empowerment. Greenland is still dependent on an annual block grant from Denmark, but the government is aiming for reliance on internal resources in the future (Nuttall, 2008). On a similar level, the Greenlandic government has a crucial role in the global policy debate on climate change, since it is deeply connected to the future of the entire island (Nuttall, 2008). Therefore, Greenland is experiencing a moment of crucial transition, while it also needs to ensure uniform social welfare (Auchet, 2011).

Climate change is one of the most critical issues for a country in rapid transformation. Changes in global surface temperatures seem to be within the range of the IPCC (2013) climatic models (Cowtan et al., 2015). The future of the Arctic sea ice appears to be highly uncertain – with an effect also on the Greenlandic ice sheet, as on

oceanic and atmospheric circulation (Maslowski, Kinney, Higgins & Roberts, 2012). The changing global climate is leading to a decline of sea ice extent, with a direct effect on local flora and fauna, as on the indigenous people of the Arctic region (Meier et al., 2014). On a global scale, climate change started to affect a considerable part of worldwide societies. Arctic communities are surely on the frontline, facing the most immediate consequences (IPCC, 2013; Larsen et al., 2014). On a policy level, most of the attention is focused on adaptation and resilience (Larsen et al., 2014; Arctic Council, 2016). While Indigenous Arctic communities are known to adapt to changes in their environment the current alterations could lead to the disappearance of traditional practices such as sled dog use. As an innovative economic driver, tourism represents a compelling opportunity for the Greenlandic economy. In 1991, the Greenlandic government addressed tourism as one of the key elements to focus on for economic development (Kaae, 2002). Now, a few decades later, the debate between mining and tourism development is still in the spotlight, but the country is emerging more and more as a desirable destination for tourists (Ren, Bjørst & Dredge, 2016). The changes brought on by tourism for the use of sled dogs can be better understood with in insight into the *Kulusummiut* – the Greenlandic term referring to “the people of Kulusuk” - and their innovative ways of using dogs. The perceptions of *Kulusummiut* regarding climate change also offers a deeper understanding of one of the biggest threats to the survival of sled dog use as a traditional way of life. Furthermore, the observations carried out during the fieldwork will describe more specifically the development of the ice conditions in Ammassalik, the larger area, and its direct consequences on sledding expeditions in the winter of 2017.

Tourism & sled dogs

The research has thrown much light on the features of part-time hunters, underlining how their approach towards sled dogs can differ from full-time hunters. As the data shows the latter are in fact

disappearing from Kulusuk. Faced with the impossibility of carrying on hunting as a preponderant economic activity many turn to tourism as a new profitable way of using sled dogs. From 1993 to 2000, the number of tourists visiting Greenland grew exponentially – passing from less than 5000 visitors in 1993 to more than 30,000 in 2000. (Kaae, 2002). In 2016, the total amount of tourists reaching Greenland was 75,553 – 7,5% more compared to 2015 (70,188) (Visit Greenland, 2017a). Most of these tourists reached Greenland by airplane, and a smaller part by cruises. The East region gets the smaller number of tourists, and the majority arrives by air (Kaae, 2002; Visit Greenland, 2017a). The airport of Kulusuk is the second airport in terms of people transiting to and from other destinations with 5,263 people in 2016 (Visit Greenland, 2017a). This data is relevant considering that more than 70% of the air traffic of Greenland passes through Kangerlussuaq, and that Kulusuk experiences more travellers than the airport of the capital, Nuuk (Visit Greenland, 2017a). Kulusuk absorbs around 10-15% of the passengers travelling out of Greenland, and more than 64% of them are tourists (Visit Greenland, 2017b).

Tourist peak season is in the summer, especially July and August, but the overall growth of tourism invites expectations for positive growth of visitors in the following years (Kaae, 2002; Visit Greenland, 2017a; Visit Greenland 2017b). Leading the way in Arctic tourism is most prominently the image of wilderness, remote areas and a fragile but harsh environment (Maher et al., 2014). In addition, in recent years, the vulnerabilities of the Arctic region became a new driver for a new type of tourism. The so-called, last-chance tourism (Lemelin et al., 2010) is a trend defined by the desire to visit endangered sites before they vanish or radically transform. Not surprisingly, a good number of potential travelers seem to be initially attracted to the stunning landscapes, glaciers and natural phenomenon of Greenland (Sonntag & Wagner, 2016). In addition to that, surveys on potential tourists (from Germany, England and US) addressed how wildlife watching, and activities as skiing, dog

sledding, and kayaking differentiate Greenland from other Nordic destinations (Sonntag & Wagner, 2016).

The interest regarding local traditions and wilderness activities can be a driver for a broader focus on sustainable tourism, and an increased involvement of local communities in such activities (Müller & Jansson, 2006). Indeed, tourism is a promising opportunity for the ease of accessibility, and for the wide range opportunities it offers. Furthermore, it can be attractive especially for young people, in addition to also being a good employment solution for peripheries – areas with a less favorable climate, small population and difficult accessibility (Müller & Jansson, 2006).

In winter, people come to Ammassalik for adventurous expeditions involving skiing or sled dogs. The mushers of Kulusuk work with the local hotel and foreign tourist companies that can provide customers with sled expeditions lasting as long as a week. It is also popular to add a sled tour with the locals at the end of other excursions to provide a sense of traditional living. In other cases, tourists can stop in Kulusuk for just a few days, where they are keen to try a sled experience of at least one day. The mushers often plan long tours and reach tourists through their personal contacts; or hotel staff contacts the mushers when their guests are interested in sled activities.

Matt Spenceley is a Scottish guide and tour operator in Kulusuk. For Matt the first time in Ammassalik was around eighteen years ago. From the passion for climbing and skiing, he created his own business in Kulusuk, where he now spends most of his winters and summers guiding tourists. According to Matt, some of the mushers he works with asked to increase tours with sled dogs. Indeed, the general perception is that local mushers are really interested in working in tourism-related activities with sled dogs. Some of them see in tourism a great opportunity to make some money, and to sustain also the expenses related to sledding.

The use of sled dogs for tourists offers opportunity. The mushers can combine their passion for sled dogs and, at the same time, cover the expense of having dogs. Not all the mushers are positively

attracted by tourism activities though. Some of the more professional hunters perceive tourism as an anomaly in the use of dogs. But many mushers, which often are very fervent hunters, are attracted by the opportunity of bringing out tourists. The most active mushers in tourism activities are in fact the younger recreational hunters. These mushers are usually more attracted by alternative uses of sled dogs, and keep this tradition as a collateral activity in addition to other work.

The long expeditions require dogs trained for travelling long distances and carrying massive weights on the sled. Some of these trips can involve more than two to four sled teams. Each team needs to carry the musher, at least one tourist, plus a certain amount of equipment (i.e., tents, sleeping bags) and food. Most of the time, these trips occur between March and April, at the peak of the sled season. The tourists more interested in such activity have been referred to as *globetrotters* or adventurers who aim to experience local lifestyles and the environment. According to *Greenland Tourism Statistics* (2018), 18% of the people going to the East of Greenland enter into this market segment that is also the larger. Dog sledding is probably the experience that epitomizes this type of tourism.

Recent studies have begun to analyze the impact of cultural tourism in the development of the modern concept of heritage (Bujdosó et al., 2015; Gravari-Barbas, 2018). Cultural tourism can potentially unite economic benefits and the conservation of local values (Bujdosó et al., 2015). The recognition of heritage from the tourist industry can lead to a “revitalization” of traditional practices, but it can also lead to the production of new meanings (Gravari-Barbas, 2018). Sledding is already perceived by tourists as a representation of traditional Greenlandic lifestyle, but their contribution is not merely in perception. Tourists are fueling the continuation of such practices and producing new patterns of use to the mushers of Kulusuk. For some of the *Kulusummiut*, tourists are an essential part of the current sledding season. Bendt Abelsen (A.F. 2:1, 2017) for example states that because there are now tourists in winter, hunters work with dogs from February to April: „So, three

months we work with tourists, sometimes hunting. So it is important for the people in Kulusuk to have dogs.“

The perspectives towards tourism are varied within the community. Not all the mushers, like Bendt, consider tourists as a resource without which sledding would not be possible. Some *Kulusummiutare* not attracted by tourism activities while others cannot even imagine having dogs if tourists would not come to Kulusuk. The latter is more common among young hunters *and some do not see* the sled dog tradition as the most efficient way for hunting. Some of these young hunters are also interested in sled dog racing and recreational activities, but without maximizing profits through tourists, their approach to sledding is often less committed. For example, without tourism Bendt's son Kunuk, would make do with the use of his father's dogs. Kunuk knows his father is reluctant to get rid of his pack and that keeping two packs would be an unnecessary expense.

“Tourists is number one priority, and then we can put nets... seal nets, and then we use the dogs to get to the nets, take the seal and get back, more like transportation, and those seals are for the dogs. For me, if there are no tourists who are interested in [them], I wouldn't have dogs. But my father would have dogs still, because he always... I mean, he had them for many many years, and before tourists started to [be} with us, he had plan to get rid of them, but he could never do it, because he had dogs for many years, and he couldn't... he just couldn't get rid of them, but now tourists are more and more interested in them... and now, you know, we need to have dogs”. Kunuk Abelsen (A.F. 1:1, 2017).

To a certain extent, this reaffirms the importance of cultural tourism for the preservation of sled dog's practices. As reported by Matt at the beginning of this chapter, some hunters explicitly requested to increase sled trips with tourists. Similarly to Matt, Lars Anker Møller is a Danish tour operator that moved to Ammassalik in 2001. He has significant experience with dog sledding as a seasoned professional hunter and owner of a pack of dogs. In 2010, Lars also introduced an important tool to the sled of Ammassalik – the second brake of the sled, known there as the *book*. Nowadays, Lars is living in Tasiilaq, for the largest part of the year, and he has a vast experience of the region. Lars explained how in Tasiilaq hunting

activities are still important, but sleds – also due to the topographic features of the territory – are not used for hunting anymore. Local hunters use the snowmobile to reach their boats on the other side of the island where the fjord has open water.

“I would say we have maybe two-three full-time hunters in Tasiilaq, and there’s only one of them that is still using the dog sled for hunting. Because the rest is using snowmobiles, because [they’re] faster. I remember when I started, when we go hunting with the dogs, we always had to be away three days. Today you can go with snowmobile. Half an hour out and then take the boat, and then back the same evening. Before it was a travel. We had overnight, we had to bring dog food, we had to bring everything. But all this is over”. Lars Anker Møller (A.F. 10:1, 2017).

Lars also provided a personal opinion on why young people are less attracted by sled dogs compared to prior times, and voices his fears regarding the disappearance of the practice. On a similar level, he explained how tourists are usually looking for a “traditional” experience with sled dogs – and a crucial aspect of this traditionality is being accompanied by “locals”. Lars is hardly an outsider, but he experienced Ammassalik first with the eyes of someone coming from abroad, and slowly he became localized and expressed a passion for Greenlandic culture. His main fear is the disappearance of the practice due to lack of new mushers. In his opinion, a lot of young Greenlanders are not interested in sled dogs – as they entail more labour and less speed and flexibility compared to a snowmobile. From another point of view, tourists seem to be attracted by the idea of experiencing sledding with locals rather than non-Greenlandic mushers – which are in fact quite rare. The sledding tradition is perceived as deeply related to Greenlandic people and their culture (A.F. 10:1, 2017). As Gravari-Barbas (2018) reported, globalization has become an important driver in the *heritagization* and reinforcement of local meanings. The increasing demand of heritage destinations can therefore lead to a shift in how sled dogs are perceived and represented even among young people that may be less interested in sledding.



Figure 2: The dichotomy of snowmobiles and sled dogs intensely represents the processes of reconceptualization in Greenlandic culture. For certain Greenlanders, the two are tools that are able to coexist; for others, snowmobiles are the replacement of older means of mobility.

Undoubtedly, rural areas represent a particular case. Hendriksen (2014) analyzed the effect of urbanization in Greenland - the tendency to move into larger towns, where job opportunities seem to be more prevalent than in small settlements. Without entering in the debate of the reality of these opportunities, leaving small settlements for more urbanized areas is more likely to happen under specific circumstances. According to Hendriksen (2014), migration to towns increases when opportunities and resources are lacking in small communities. When resources and subsistence activities are still available, people tend to remain in settlements. For example, in communities where the sealskin market has been historically significant but ceased to be profitable it would be more likely to witness depopulation in the area. The airport of Kulusuk makes the village a gateway to the rest of the region. Opportunities for tourism development are therefore consequently higher than in other settlements of the region. Relating this to sled dogs, it does not seem strange the high dependency of a certain number of mushers on tourism. Kunuk addresses how his family has two packs of dogs because of tourism; otherwise, he would use the dogs of his father to go out for recreational activities.

Andrea: *“Do you think that actually you wanted your own dogs in the first place?”*

Kunuk: *“To be honest? No, I don’t mind going, for that kind of trip, once in a while, with my father’s dogs. But I had to get my own dogs to get [hesitant]...to be*

honest, I go with my father's dogs. I started going with my father's dogs with tourists, because it's only one group of dogs, but then we started thinking if I had my own dogs we would get like double profit...for expeditions like eight days, five days...and for that reason I got my own dogs. And, you know, we started working for tourists in the winter. And then get double profit, and that's really good. Because before we had to split the money, and I don't like it" (A.F. 1:2, 2017).

The words of Kunuk give an idea of how tourism could be an important tool for the preservation of the sled dogs tradition. In a family like the Abelsens, dogs have been crucial for hunting when Bendt, the father, was young. Nowadays, Kunuk, who prefers to go hunting with boats, did not find it necessary to have his own pack of dogs. However, tourism can provide more money to his family, and two packs of dogs mean the chance to double the profit. For recreational activities, Kunuk could use the dogs of his father, but tourism activities created the opportunity for a new pack of dogs for the Abelsen family. It would be too simplistic to claim tourism is the only driver for new packs in the village; but surely situations as this one gives a hint of the importance it could have in the future. Kunuk may have had decided to create a new pack for personal reasons too, we will never know, but tourism created a valid reason to have dogs.

Gravari-Barbas (2018) argued tourism has the role of a producing heritage, both in symbolic and material terms. As Lars said during his interview, a musher in a sled during tourist season can earn up to 60.000 DKK a month – which is a big difference compared to what he could earn from hunting. In this case, the production of heritage related to tourism comes to fill in the economic shortfall of a full-time hunting life. In communities which are still highly subsistence-based, the contingency assists localization and small local economies. Jóhannesson & Lund (2017) address how tourism can function as a collaborative interplay between producers and consumers. In this particular case, consumers (tourists) reinforce the self-sufficiency of the producers (*Kulusummiut*), and contribute to the preservation of the sled tradition– in some form.

Yet the choice of having sled dogs cannot be ascribed to tourism only, since it is so profoundly related to Greenlandic culture. The

engagement of *Kulusummiut* with their territory and traditions are not easily shaped by tourism. The influence of tourism on possessing dogs can be seen more as a societal sub-pattern that may affect the larger structure, adding a valid economic value in keeping sled dogs. Tourism is a driver, but it is not the only one. Nor do all drivers affecting the sled tradition work for its continuation.

Among challenges rising on the horizon that bring more uncertainty to the tradition are urbanization and climate patterns. An interview with KunukAbelsen offers a good introduction of *Kulusummiut* perceptions of climate change. Having established how two packs of dogs are helpful in increasing the earnings of the Abelsen family, Kunuk comments demonstrate how increasingly unstable ice has a negative impact on the keeping of dogs.

“They [sled dogs] are always important as long we have tourists, but now I fear the ice is going to break the ice pack. There would be no more ice pack, so I will have so many dogs and I will never get to use them for what I’m supposed to use them for. And I feed too many dogs. We are getting, how do you say...we don’t have enough food, we don’t have enough seals, we don’t have enough artificial dog food for that many dogs....so right now I’m more thinking about food...” KunukAbelsen (A.F. 1:1, 2017).

These words come from an interview taken in mid-February 2017, in a period in which unusual warm temperature delayed the formation of stable pack ice. The negativity of these thoughts maybe does not realistically portray how the rest of the season went. Despite that, such words reflect the fears, and the perceptions *Kulusummiut* have started to develop in the recent years, due to the unpredictability of the weather.

Climate change & sled dogs

“I had dogs here until ten years ago, but then this climate change started, and it was not always safe for [to] go everywhere...you had to be very careful”. Fredrik Wille (A.F. 8:1, 2017).

Discourses in East Greenland about climate change need to be carefully analyzed. In the above passage, Fredrik refers the term “climate change” directly, as a fully acknowledged contemporary

phenomenon. The news media repeatedly refer to climate change, and Kulusummiut are aware of its significance in the representation of Greenland (Buijs, 2010). Asked if climate change was something they learn about in the media Fredrik was quick to emphasize it as a “felt” everyday experience:

Fredrik: *‘No no, we can see it here, we can feel it here! Like, twenty years ago I put nets in ice for seals...and very very thick ice. I had to work a lot to make three holes, but now in winter ice is so thin...and thin all over. Also, twenty years ago, we could go dog sledding until June, now you have to stop like in May. The winters now [are] also different every year. [In the] old days winter [was] the same from November until end of May. You could go dog sledding, but now you have to start January, and then only to end of April, because of the climate changing...’.* (A.F. 8:1, 2017).

Fredrik affirms climate change is not something just heard in the news, but a real issue that Kulusummiut feel in their daily life. Nuttall (2009) remarks how too often observations of indigenous people have been incorporated in scientific reports regarding climate change without a proper contextualization. Such views are part of a precise reality and sociocultural context, and we need to distinguish between mere observation of weather and traditional knowledge regarding climate change (Nuttall, 2009). It needs to be carefully understood what on the one hand is a matter of weather anomalies or on the other the recognition of radical changes in environment and adaptation through the behavior of species and local hunting traditions. Furthermore, it is a useful critical point of view in comprehending the variety of circumstances that could affect local perceptions and interpretations.

It is worth mentioning that the winter of 2017 was exceptionally warm and had a significant effect on the ice conditions. As a consequence, some of the feelings expressed may have been intensified due to this sharp change in annual conditions. Nevertheless, the intensity of feelings many Kulusummiut express about climate change in Ammassalik is based on long term experience. Matt Spenceley witnessed notable changes in the last twenty years and, as a foreigner, expressed concern for the mushers he works with.

"I think is very clear to observe the changes. The people received it massively, usually within living memory...in the tiny period I've been here. A couple of decades, there's a huge change. Seasons seem to be more variable. Last year there was lot lots of snow, this year much less. It has always been a snowy place. We receive high precipitation from the ocean. We get a lot of snow but yeah, it does seem to change more from season to season. I mean, this season has been crazy. We just had storm after storm after storm. [...] Certainly, quite a high number of people are involved here for tourists. I have discussed what happens if the ice failed. What would we do...because it has a very immediate effect...also their incomes. Some of them could disappear". Matt Spenceley (A.F. 9:1, 2017).

Indeed, Kunuk experienced frustration in the winter period before February, when the ice was still not solid and the sled season seemed uncertain. His main concern was the unpredictability of the seasons and how it seemed impossible to predict the following year. In addition, he has to feed many dogs, and with uncertain seasons, even tourism trips can decrease drastically.

"The ice, becoming more unreliable, the open water more reliable...so it's more convenient for me. I remember like in January...November, December, January...we were waiting for the ice to freeze...it didn't. But it got so late at that point we were thinking if it's going to freeze at all! And I want to know if it is going to freeze at all or not. Otherwise, I would have less dogs than 14 dogs that can go far far away from here. [...] I want 8 dogs.... which is much less work, much less dog food...to be thinking about all winter, or all summer. But it finally froze in February, and it's good. But because last winter it froze November, December, and then we could go. And that's good, because then we know we have the whole winter to go with the dogs. But this time is different...quite...how you call it? 'concerning'...I was really concerning if was going to freeze...it is not going to freeze? Why is it raining so much? It's difficult to know. But now we have much less snow, more open water. And then we go with the boat much more. Like, I remember, the beginning of March, last year, was really cold and then we couldn't go with the boat, but the entire March [this year] we went with the boat. Like almost everyday. [...] But if someone told me, for real, is not going to freeze again...like we are not going have ice anymore, we are not going to have good ice to go with dogs anymore, I would not have dogs anymore. Because they can only in Kulusuk area, and you know, after going five times over there, it gets boring". KunukAbelsen (A.F., 1:2, 2017).

These words give an idea of how negative feelings can affect some of the mushers in the community. Kunuk was really frustrated in the beginning of February, when the sled season seemed

compromised. Luckily, at the end of February conditions got slightly better, and the pack ice got more reliable. However, the ice extent was really limited, and so were the hunting grounds. In some areas, close to open sea, hunters needed to take out the nets in the end of February, since the fragile ice was already breaking (Figure 3).



Figure 3: Hunters observing the pack ice that has already started to break in February. The limited extent of the pack ice results in less mobility with sled dogs and smaller hunting grounds.

The access to open water is one of the crucial factors that challenge the use of dogs. As Kunuk mentioned, many hunters tend to prefer the boat for hunting, and if the icebergs do not impede navigation, most of the hunters will go out to sea. Climate change is turning out to be a crucial factor facilitating this trend. A clear example are Mads Poulsen's, experience in the past winter of 2017. Mads, a 36 years old hunter has consistently used sled dogs during winter; however, the limited ice of 2017 directed him to other alternatives. If for Mads seal nets and edge hunting were routine until the year before, now the access to open water allowed him to take the boat even in winter. Only for a short period, when the pack ice was blocking the entrance to the village, did he still use the dogs for hunting. As a consequence, Mads sold most of his dogs, keeping only a few for his son, with the hope the pack ice would be more stable next year. *"I still have my own dogs, he adds, they can make puppies, I can begin again next year"*. (A.F. 3:1, 2017).



Figure 4: Hunters butchering a hooded seal – hunted by boat - on a floating iceberg the April 21st, 2017. Usually in that period of the year is not possible to go hunting with boats around the fjords.

In this scenario, it is crucial to understand that Mads does not use dogs for recreational activities. Since it seems difficult to hunt with dogs, he prefers to get rid of most of them. He just kept a few for the occasions the ice blocked the access to the sea and to have a small pack that can reproduce if next season will be better. According to Mads, in 2017 there was also a notable lack of seals in the sea. It is not possible to address the exact reason of this scarcity but some local hunters connected this shortage to the higher temperatures compared to previous years. Several mushers pointed out the differences in the ice and temperature compared to the past. For example, Moses reported how much colder the region was in the past – *“For fifteen, twenty years is [was] different, more cold. Right now, about 0° Celsius. For fifteen, twenty years ago about maybe -10° right now. And the ice is not good right now. Old days we can drive to July”* (A.F. 7:1, 2017). Such hope is probably based on the fact that a certain unpredictability in the weather has always been present in his life in Kulusuk, and he can remember similar periods in the past or as states: *“Fifteen years ago we got two years no ice, open water all months. [...] So, maybe next year is good again. Like the seals, maybe next year a lot of seals”* (A.F. 7:1, 2017).

The unpredictability of the weather is among the chief concerns of local people as well as decreased access to natural resources and

changes in mobility patterns (Buijs, 2010). The hunting grounds change as species migrations shift, and more unreliable ice modifies the sled dog's season. As Peter Bosold explains, things changed a lot since he was young. When going to the mountain with his family and friends he was not able to see open sea in wintertime but only a huge field of ice kilometers away from the coast. Now, even in February, the floating ice is scarce and not homogenous out in open water (Figure 5). Open water is a critical factor limiting the formation of solid pack ice, since waves are one of the main reasons the pack cannot stabilize and be uniform.



Figure 5: View of the sea ice from the mountain of Kulusuk on February 12th2017. The open ocean is visible not too far off the coast.

Kulusummiut mushers do not only recall how the pack ice extent has diminished through the years, but also how sled routes in the winter of 2017 probably reached a historical minimum. Peter mentioned how difficult it was to reach Sermiligaaq, the period this was possible becoming shorter, and how it had become entirely impossible to sled to Kuummiut.

“It is first time maybe, since I can remember, that we cannot go to Kuummiut. We can go to Sermiligaaq, maybe one week, and then the ice getting thin again. At that time we were in Sermiligaaq [around the 27th March], it was really dangerous. The ice was really thin...some places I can see the water, and sometimes the dogs fell down into the water...it was dangerous”. Peter Bosold (A.F. 6:1, 2017).

In 2017, the annual sled race did not take place in Sermiligaaq. The villages used to organize every year a sled race between all the

best mushers of Ammassalik. Unfortunately, in the winter of 2017, such a race was not possible due to the bad ice conditions in most of the villages. As for many of the *Kulusummiut*, Buijs (2010) reported how *Ammassalimmiut* observed the changes in the sea ice that now tend to appear later in winter, disappearing earlier in the end of spring. For the hunters, the inability to forecast conditions year after year is a constant worry. Like Moses, Peter also hopes for the return of stable winter seasons, and states that they “always do so”. Climate change is already altering the current way of living, and *Kulusummiut* try to adapt, as they have always done, to unpredictable changes (see Figure 6).



Figure 6: A hunter checking the thickness of the ice in one of the hunting grounds. In this area, edge hunting was traditionally conducted throughout the entire winter since the water didn't freeze. In mid-March, colder temperatures resulted in a layer of ice too thin for nets and sledding, but too thick to provide open water.

The first of week of May 2017 the sled season was already over, the ice was too thin, and boats were able to break it (see Figure 7).

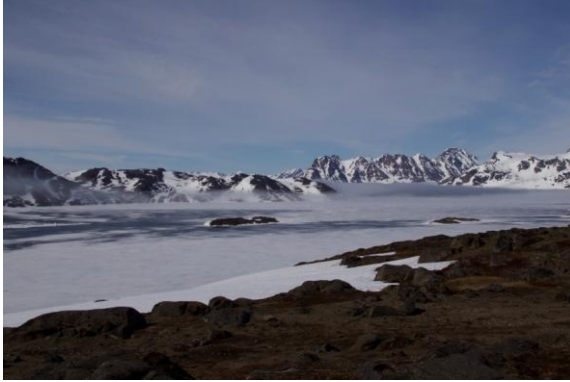


Figure 7: The conditions of the pack ice in front of Kulusuk on the 8th of May, 2017. The dark patches are where ice was almost completely gone and where boats were able break through. The sled season ended at least a month earlier than usual.

As Nuttall reports (2009), adaptation and resilience differ between communities, and reflect on how these communities perceive and conceptualize alterations. Climate change for them is not just a future consideration but affects their personal wellbeing in the environment world they live in. Thus, climate change will increasingly affect the daily life of *Kulusummiut* several ways. However, relating the changes to sled dogs use would not lead us to any certain conclusions, because they will vary according to the way *Kulusummiut* will perceive them.

What seems likely is that the sled dog tradition will continue to be practiced in the near future within a range of activities passing through a reassessment of possible economies due to climate change. Firstly, a future with an even more unstable pack ice, will lead to shifting hunting grounds and, consequently, sled routes (Bujis, 2010). As various studies show, approaches utilizing both traditional knowledge and scientific analysis could help us better understand the critical factors and opportunities related to climate change in this case as in others (Sukhdev, Wittmer & Miller, 2014; Arctic Council, 2016; Brinkman et al., 2016). In this sense, as our informants highlight the value of hunting, the disappearance of the

sled tradition would create not only a gap within the heritage practices of *Kulusummiut*, but also limit further scientific inquiry.

Nuttall (2009) wrote that it is important to understand how the community will conceptualize such alterations. As long as the pack ice will form, mushers are likely to use sled dogs for hunting, recreational activities and tourism. Access to open sea may lead to a preference for boats over sled, but the real challenge for the survival of sled dogs is the ice formation, more than new technological advancements. In terms of resilience, we see how tourism and recreational activities have led the way to the re-adaptation of sledding. Lack of sea ice would be the real challenge for the persistence of sled tradition, much more than the changes in lifestyle in Kulusuk – or as Bendt asked rhetorically: “If there is no ice, why should they have dogs?” (A.F. 2: 1, 2017).

Conclusions

Fieldwork among the *Kulusummiut* gives a sense of what sled dogs mean to the community. Sled dogs and hunting were consistently at the center of the discussions of everyday life, through interactive processes from which the researcher in the field and the research participants built trust on mutual curiosity. The whole history of the human-dog relationship reveals and contextualizes a deeply-rooted partnership in many parts of the world. The Arctic is one of the places where, due to the harsh environmental and climatic conditions, humans and dogs established an intense interspecies dependency for mutual survival. On these premises, it is clear that the connection of sled dogs to hunting in Kulusuk is very much present in the contemporary culture of *Kulusummiut*, carried on by the generations. The sled and the tools might change, but sled dogs remain the fundamental part of the winter hunts, when the pack ice covers the deep waters of the fjords. Having dogs is a responsibility, but it also still provides an efficient way to reach hunting grounds where seals and polar bears may be caught. However, it is

not only a matter of hunting, but also the feeling of experiencing wilderness, solitude and a connection with the local environment.

Sled dog hunting like other traditions is of course subject to change. The changes in the way of living of *Kulusummiut* is a driving force in the reconceptualization of the practice. Subsistence economies are slowly giving way to a more permanent market economy. Hunting is not as essential as in the past, and many mushers are able to work, and bring home new types of income. Despite that, hunting remains an essential part of local culture, and even the mushers, that are otherwise employed, carry on hunting practices with dogs in their free time. In addition, in the last decades, sled races formed a new and novel way of using sled dogs. Now, the annual sled race is one of the most meaningful winter cultural events for the entire community.

Furthermore, there are two crucial drivers of change in the use of dogs. Firstly, tourism is a new opportunity in the transitional use of dogs. More people are interested in visiting and experiencing Greenland, and many of the mushers are keen to increase sledding for tourists. Even for young people not highly devoted to sledding, tourism could be a driver of interest in creating new packs. Some mushers see in tourism a way to make extra money and at the same time carry on traditions they are passionate about. Others, who might not share these passions, see in such opportunities a compelling reason for having dogs.

Secondly, the unpredictability of the weather brings our attention to climate change, and its effect in Greenland. Climate change is a term *Kulusummiut* are familiar with, especially when connecting it to the memories of the weather, pack ice extent, and sled routes decades, and even centuries, ago. In the memories of many mushers the sled seasons were longer and more stable, and the accessibility to most of the region by sledding was much greater. Still, the fluctuations of the weather and ice conditions have been periodical, and some years have been worse in the past. However, today, some mushers choose to get rid of dogs, reducing the pack sizes, because of sled seasons being less reliable than in the past.

While we will not attempt to predict the future of Kulusuk in its constant transformation, it is clear that if the ice will disappear *Kulusummiut* will have to find their way to adapt to such drastic change. The resilience and technologies they have on hand could help the reconfiguration of life in Kulusuk – even if it could mean the end of sledding. But as long, as there is snow-covered land, or water covered by ice, some *Kulusummiut* are likely to drive their sleds with dogs. But research on the perception and use of dogs developed in such communities, in which dogs are not merely a domestic companion, helps to reflect on how, historically, human cultures developed closely in relation to animals and nature. Today, when more and more move to urban areas, where job opportunities may increase and living conditions improve (Hendriksen, 2014) small communities like Kulusuk represent a way of living still based highly on local natural resources. These transformational processes should be closely researched to better understand how societal changes affect traditions and human approaches to the environment. The lesson could also be drawn that sled dogs have meaning, not only as transportation, but in themselves and in how *Kulusummiut* develop their personal histories today. Histories that are expressed in multiple ways including -but not limited to- cultural, economic and societal values, and even, as we began this article, in terms of love.

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Reports

AS PART OF THE **WEEK OF THE INTERNATIONAL
CIRCUMPOLAR OBSERVATORY**

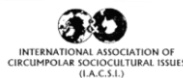
**11TH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE
INTERNATIONAL LABORATORY FOR THE
MULTIDISCIPLINARY STUDY OF REPRESENTATIONS
OF THE NORTH**



PROGRAM

THURSDAY MARCH 2ND TO FRIDAY MARCH 3RD, 2017
PAVILLON PRÉSIDENT-KENNEDY
201, AVENUE DU PRÉSIDENT-KENNEDY, MONTRÉAL
ROOM PK-1140
AT THE UNIVERSITÉ DU QUÉBEC À MONTRÉAL

This conference is organized by the **Research Chair on Images of the North, Winter and Arctic** and the **International Laboratory for the Multidisciplinary Study of Representations of the North** at the **Université du Québec à Montréal**, in cooperation with the **International Circumpolar Observatory (ICO)**, the **International Association of Circumpolar Sociocultural Issue (IACSI)** and the **Centre de recherche interuniversitaire sur la littérature et la culture québécoises**.



Imaginaire| Nord

9:00 AM REGISTRATION

9:45 AM GREETINGS

Daniel CHARTIER (Research Chair on Images of the North, Winter and Artic, Université du Québec à Montréal)

10:00 AM LIVING WINTER

Chairperson:

Antonina N. SAVVINOVA (Professor, North-Eastern Federal University, Sakha Republic, Russia) and **Viktoriiia V. Filippova** (Senior researcher, Siberian branch of the Russia Academy of Sciences, Sakha Republic, Russia), « **Adaptation to Winter in Traditional Activities of Indigenous People of Yakutia**»

sava_73@mail.ru et filippovav@mail.ru

The climate of Yakutia is the coldest in the continental area of Eurasia. Here is situated the pole of cold of the northern hemisphere. Winter is a special time of the year in Yakutia: the exceptional duration of the wintertime and the extremely low temperatures, typical for a large part of Yakutia, determined the type of traditional activities, culture and worldview. The conditions related to the traditional economic activities of the peoples of Yakutia — cattle breeding, horse breeding, reindeer breeding, hunting and fishing — was adapted to the rigorous climate and severe winter. Living in extreme climatic conditions, the Yakuts brought the breed of cattle perfectly adapted to the local cold temperature. The Yakut horse with a long hair is a very hardy animal, all year round it extracts the grass from under the thick snow using its hooves. Also the Yakuts practice a winter fishing, with their typical features known as “Munkha” and “Kuyuur” — an unusual and ancient fishing from under the ice, practiced only in Yakutia. The Evenki practice in winter the bear hunting, where the sleeping bear is awoken by poking the top of the den. This paper presents the peculiarities of adaptation to winter of the economic activities of indigenous people of Yakutia.

Antonina N. Savvinova is Ph.D. in Geography sciences and Associate professor at the Geography Department of the Environmental Science Institute of the North-Eastern Federal University (Yakutsk, Russia), where she is head of the Laboratory of Electronic Cartography Systems. She wrote more than one hundred publications and her research interests are

geographic information systems (GIS), indigenous people of the North and sustainable development.

Viktoriiia V. Fillippova is Ph.D. in History and Senior researcher at the Arctic Researches Department, of the Institute for Humanities Research and Indigenous Studies of the North at the Siberian branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Yakutsk, Russia). She wrote more than one hundred publications and her research interests are geographic information systems (GIS), historical geography, climate change and demography of the indigenous people.

Enrique del ACEBO IBÁÑEZ (Professor, Universidad del Salvador, Argentina), « **Antarctic Life During Winter: Philosophical, Cultural, Social and Body Considerations** »

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We depart from a holistic approach to consider the Antarctic life during winter, taking into account not only the socio-cultural dimension of the inhabitants of the White Continent, but also the philosophical roots of every dwell phenomenon (where Martin Heidegger and Peter Sloterdijk are specially considered, among others), together with the social links and bonds that emerged in this sort of extreme space and time, and the impact in the body in terms of health or illness.

Enrique del Acebo Ibáñez has a bachelor degree in Sociology from the University of Buenos Aires, a master degree in Sociology of Development and a Ph.D. degree in Sociology at the Complutensis University of Madrid. He studied Film Direction in Argentina (SICA). He is full Professor at the University of Buenos Aires and Director of the International Circumpolar Program (Faculty of Social Sciences, University of El Salvador, Argentina). published twenty-six books (author and/or co-author), and has been translated to Serbian, Icelandic, English, French and Finnish. He is also president of the International Association of Circumpolar Socio-cultural Issues (IACSI) and editor-in-chief of the *Arctic & Antarctic — International Journal on Circumpolar Socio-cultural Issues*.

Patrick EVANS (Professor, Université du Québec à Montréal), « **Pan-Seasonal Structures. Architecture and Design Responses to the Full twelve-Month Cycle of Northern Climates** »

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My presentation will discuss architecture and design in northern places and underline vernacular and contemporary solutions that successfully adapt to the extreme variations in climate and light that present themselves across

the cycle of northern seasons. Examples will include traditional Inuit and Quebecois housing as well as more contemporary design and infrastructure projects from circumpolar countries.

Patrick Evans is architect (MOA/Q), director of the Design Centre of the Université du Québec à Montréal and Professor at the same university, where he teaches environment design. His researches are on architecture and urban infrastructures in northern climates. He cofounded the MEDIUM collective (www.wherever.com), a design, construction and architecture group.

12:00 PM LUNCH

1:00 PM PERCEPTION AND REPRESENTATIONS OF WINTER

Chairperson: **Agustín Adolfo GARCÍA SERVENTI** (Associate professor, Universidad Nacional de tierra del Fuego, Antártida e Islas del Atlántico Sur), « **Forms, *Motifs* and Gestures in Cinema about *Tierra del Fuego*. An Iconological Approach** »

agustings@gmail.com

According to Aby Warburg, the *pathosformel* theory is based on the searching of fossilized psychic states of mind throughout portraits of daily life. According to WJT Mitchell, the *pathosformel* is a concept by which, through indexes and clues, we can discover “something emotional” peculiar in society. This work will search for political relations between formal construction of images in cinema and its imaginary background in Tierra del Fuego society. How concepts are built struggling between reality and fiction, center and outskirts, tracing a history that recalls representations on extreme environments and territories of political fights. South Patagonia, and particularly Tierra del Fuego, build an imaginary upon the end of land and life. Expressive formulas as: women buying her freedom, characters with obscure and mysterious pasts, movements between cities as metaphors of states of mind, prostitution and money ambition, territorial limits, and above all, the searching of redemption. All of them are portraits of human condition in extreme southern environments. This paper will work with Argentinian and Latin American fictional films from 1940's to nowadays. In these corpus, common pathos will be found in the character-environment (social and natural) relation. Working with different levels of formal (montage) and emotional (drama) *motifs*, revealing a spatial syncretism about a territory in construction.

Agustin García Serventi is a teacher, researcher and lecturer at the University of Tierra del Fuego, Antártida e Islas del Atlántico Sur. He owns a bachelor degree in audiovisual design and a master degree in communication design. He is also an independent filmmaker, a media artist and an actor.

Helgi GUNNLAUGSSON (professor, Háskoli Íslands, Iceland), « Alcohol Perceptions in Iceland. Winter Festivals and Murder Mysteries »
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Iceland is a modern nation up in the North-Atlantic with a small population of only 330 thousand inhabitants. Alcohol has always played a strange and somewhat unique role in Icelandic society. Harsh nature, extreme weather conditions, and isolation from neighbouring countries, has shaped peculiar alcohol legislations, and a binge local drinking culture. During the darkest winter hours in December, Iceland only experiences daylight for about 3-4 hours a day. How has the dark winter influenced drinking patterns and Icelandic society over time? Alcohol has always had an ambiguous and controversial role in Icelandic society. Alcohol is enjoyed during winter festivals in February (Þorrablót in Icelandic) where beer and Black Death (local liquor) is consumed in large quantities, with traditional food like sheep, where everything is eaten, including the testicals of the animal. At the same time alcohol is a source of pain and sorrow where persons have been lost during cold winter hours. Some have never been accounted for; in one case involving the most notorious criminal case in recent Icelandic history. Two young males disappeared in the 1970's, and have never been found. A case which has haunted Iceland and the public mind ever since.

Helgi Gunnlaugsson is a professor of Sociology at the University of Iceland. He received his Ph.D. from the University of Missouri where he specialized in Criminology and Sociology of law. His main research interests include criminology, penal policy and the problem of drugs and alcohol in society. Helgi is the co-author of *Wayward Icelanders: Punishment, Boundary Maintenance and the Creation of Crime* published in 2000. His articles have appeared in numerous journals such as *Law and Society Review*, *British Journal of Criminology* and the *European Journal of Criminology*.

2:30 PM INDIGENOUS WINTERS

Chairperson:

Ekaterina ROMANOVA (State doctor, Laboratory of Complex Geocultural Studies of the Arctic, Russia), « **Mikhail Kolessov. The Hunter, Word Chaser** »

e_romanova@mail.ru

This paper is about the russian-canadian project of editing the poems of the Even poet Mikhail Kolessov living in the North of Russia. His personal stories and biographical writings recreate images of his inner world: the images and feelings of the nomads, the memory and endless movement of the running deer. I propose a cognitive analysis of his poems in the context of nordicity, winterity and the transient states of nature and of the poet. Mikhail Kolessov, poet and reindeer breeder, represents nordic mentality which is present in the indissoluble unity of the North, of Man and of the Word as a uncatchable living force.

Ekaterina Romanova is State doctor in History and head of the Department of North-Eastern Russia people ethnography at the Institute for Humanities Research and Indigenous Studies of the North at the Siberian branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Yakutsk, Russia). She finished Leningrad's State University and defended her doctoral thesis entitled « Methodology and Rite in the Yakutsk Tradition » in 1999. She is director of the Laboratory of Complex Geocultural Studies of the Arctic and her research interests are ethnology, the arctic steppe, symbolic anthropology, cultural geography, myths and rites. She wrote over one hundred scientific publications, including two monographs.

Anna STAMMLER-GOSSMAN (Senior researcher, Lapin yliopisto, Finland), « **Turning Cold into Gold. Place Making Project in a Northern City** »

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Still continuing search for a common regional identity, started after the crash of the Soviet Union, has recently become a new turn in the Republic of Sakha, Yakutia. In difference to other symbolic self-representations that have been manifesting in images strongly charged with political meanings, recently emerged concept has a potential to transform the new symbolic appearance of this remote northern region into a valuable economic resource. This paper analyses the process of the place-making project that builds on and reinforces the idea of uniqueness of Sakha Yakutia as the coldest inhabited region. Capital of Sakha, Yakutia, Yakutsk, offers an

inspiring example of creating a vision for winter and turning extreme cold into a vibrant, inviting physical environment. Tracing this shifting strategy in the place-making politics, the paper addresses the question of how official image, largely oriented on the tourism and investment market, intersects with changes that are taking place in the local society.

Anna Stammer-Gossmann has specialized in Arctic anthropology since 1995. Her fieldwork to date has been in different Arctic regions of Fennoscandia (Finland, Norway, Iceland, and Greenland), Russian North (Murmansk region, Nenets AO, Sakha Yakutia, Kamchatka) and Northern Canada (British Columbia), although she has developing interests in the South of Argentina (Tierra del Fuego, Patagonia). Her research interests include anthropology of climate change, space and place, indigeneity and food studies

9:30 AM SOCIO AND CLIMATIC USES OF WINTER

Chairperson:

Daniel CHARTIER (Director of the Research Chair on Images of the North, Winter and Arctic, Université du Québec à Montréal), « **Winter as a Sociocultural Phenomenon** »

chartier.daniel@uqam.ca

Örn D. JÓNSSON (Professor, Háskoli Íslands, Iceland) and **Ólafur RASTRICK** (Assistant professor, Háskoli Íslands, Iceland), « **Taming the Elements : Changing Perceptions of Heat and Cold in 20th Century Iceland** »

odj@hi.is and rastrick@hi.is

In the fifty years separating the late 1930s and the 1980s, geothermal resources went from being virtually unusable to becoming cheaply accessible to the Icelandic nation as a whole. By the 1980s, most households in the country were heated by geothermal power. From residing in crammed households heated in winter with expensive imported coals in the early 1900s, present day Icelanders enjoy the comfort of inexpensively heated homes and easily accessible year-round heated public pools where young and old gather irrespective of social standing, age and bodily condition. The paper argues that successful introduction of geothermal resources for household heating and swimming pools has transformed everyday perceptions of heat and cold in Iceland. This is especially relevant in terms of experiences of harsh climate conditions and people's everyday practices during winter. Empirically the paper draws on

historical documents relating popular perceptions of heat and cold from the late 19th and early 20th century and compares them with present day ethnographic data on local understanding and everyday practices of heating. In this context, the paper interrogates the notion of thermoception and explores notions of comfort in terms of temperature.

Örn. D. Jónsson is a Professor of Innovation and entrepreneurship at the School of Business at the University of Iceland. His long-standing interest has been on innovation and geopolitics. In recent years his focus has been on the wide-ranging impact of utilization of geothermal energy in the country.

Ólafur Rastrick is Assistant professor of European Ethnology at the Faculty of Human and Social Sciences at the University of Iceland. He is a cultural historian by training, specializing in the cultural politics of everyday life and popular culture in nineteenth and twentieth century Iceland.

11:30 AM EXPERIMENTATIONS ABOUT WINTER

Chairperson:

Danielle RAYMOND(Ph.D. candidate, Université du Québec à Montréal),

« **Noise in the Nordic Archives**»

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On the assumption that Quebec maintains a double relationship with the North depending on Hamelin's definition of "seasonal and cultural nordicity", these two notions are generally confused. I will consider, in my presentation, the aspect of cultural winterity as a seasonal nordicity influenced by the world of imagination. By a lived experience on the field, I will consider the effects of presence that testifies the tension between a cultural nordicity as a state and representations of a nordic site and a cultural winterity, state and representations of a winter site. I want to compare my experience of winter usages which inspired my creative research by comparing my knowledge of winterity with the one of my discover of a part of Norwegian culture and its altitudinality. This altitudinality (high altitude) as examined by Hamelin "can produce geographic, human and cultural effects similar to the North, leads to distortions in zonal nordicity by creating areas of local nordicity with variable climatic severity" (Chartier). Light is also an important actor and a necessary condition for the practice of video. In my work, winterity is traduced by a composition of imaginary territories invested with projected

images on the snow as a sign of popular presence of the past in this seasonal nordicity. The video *Noise in the Nordic Archives* seeks to compare Quebec's as well as Norwegian's identity markees and the use of snow as an ephemeral material.

Born in Montreal, Danielle Raymond is a multidisciplinary artist and Ph.D. candidate at the Université du Québec à Montréal. Her artistic practice incorporates video, sound art and writing. Her work has been presented in Montreal and Toronto in Canada and Toulouse and Marseille in France. In 2016, Danielle Raymond has been a visiting Erasmus+ Ph.D. mobility researcher at the Digital Culture Research Group at the University of Bergen, and has developed a site-specific video project using photography archives and images of Bergen that bring together the past and the present.

LES MALCOMMODES (Collective, Université Laval, Québec), « **Les Malcommodes collective: Vive le vent d'hiver** »

alexandre.morin@live.fr

Les Malcommodes collective will present a pilot project concretized by an installation adapted to the conditions of the cold season in order to study its potential and its impacts to provide a better understanding of the northern public spaces. The discomforts associated with the winter of Quebec lead to negative factors, physical and social, such as the reduction of active mobility and the lack of room in public space, which encourages the stay-at-home behaviour of inhabitants. Through a ludic and ephemeral installation, the *Malcommodes* try to counter the discomforts of winter to offer a more pleasant and stimulating urban environment. In this conference, we will present the snow as a creative tool that awakens a new use of winter.

Les Malcommodes is a group of students studying architecture at Université Laval. They decided to create a collective with the intention to pursue the student initiatives from the past years. *Les Malcommodes* focus their actions on the public spaces of Quebec City and interrogate its robustness and adaptability. Well aware of the climatic conditions and proud to live in a northern city, they try to exploit the potentials of winter and use it as an in situ development tool to design winter-adapted urban developments. Their installation *Vive le vent d'hiver*, which can be part of tactical urbanism, is the outcome of a process of research-creation oriented towards actions and empirical validation. This collective seeks to highlight the potential contribution of use experts and professional experts to promote a resilient and local-based urban development.

12:30 PM LUNCH

13:30 PM ART AND WINTER

Chairperson:

Christina KANNENBERG (Ph.D., Universität Konstanz, Germany),
« **Winter and Trauma in Urban Canadian Literature** »

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In many 21st century anglophone and francophone novels, winter is a common factor in helping many characters to process and recover from both individual and collective trauma. This new research project analyzes the relationship between winter and trauma in Canadian literature and culture. This project continues the comparative aspects of my work, as it encourages bridge building between anglophone and francophone cultural representations and takes up Indigenous literature such as *The Break* by Katherena Vermette (2016). This novel confirms the claims put forward in my first project that literature from southern Canadian cities (in this case, Winnipeg) can and should be considered in the canon of literature on “the North” in English Canadian literary criticism. Vermette’s novel represents urban Indigenous lives in Canada today, using nordicity as a trope for the trauma that is experienced in an urban terrain vague (wasteland) called “The Break.”

Dr. des. Christina Kanneberg completed her Ph.D. in North American Literature and Culture in December 2016. Kannenberg’s research analyzes representations of North in English Canadian, Québécois, and Indigenous literatures and cultures. She is interested in the use of urban public spaces in winter in Canada.

Nicolas REEVES, (Professor, Université du Québec à Montréal),
« **Captive Breaths and a Sixth Diffractional: Artworks for a Freezing Time** »

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Winter and cold correspond to particular, at times extreme, states of the atmosphere. Air, water, light, behave in peculiar ways, providing artists with specific materials and conditions from which unusual results can emerge. Our lab was requested twice to explore the possibility of art pieces that could not exist out of such conditions. The present communication describes the results of these researches. The first one, called “The Sixth Diffractional” (2001) is a large-scale outdoor structure meant to be installed during the coldest winter time. It recapitulates all the ways by which the

sunlight can be transformed through the effect of ice: refraction, diffraction, reflexion, diffusion. It consists of six towers bearing large acrylic prisms, oriented so that the diffracted spectra falls into a small mirror-covered courtyard, itself filled with oversalted water. The multiples reflections of the spectra in the courtyard, merged with the images of the surrounding cityscape, create for the wanderer the impression of being trapped within an urban iceberg. The second piece, “Captive Breathes” (2008), creates small frozen landscapes from the breaths of visitors. It is made of a closed clear acrylic enclosure whose inside temperature is below 40 Celsius, and in which three very thin nets made of pure silver are hanging. The visitors are invited to take a straw, to insert it into small holes in the enclosure, and to smoothly blow on the nets, so that the water vapour present in their breath can transform to frost, creating white ephemeral sculptures. The piece itself was inspired by a rare phenomenon that can be observed outside by very cold temperatures, in a very quiet atmosphere, ideally very early in the morning. In such circumstances, the breath of passers-by rises over their heads and freezes into place, creating small columns of light that persist for a few minutes.

Trained in architecture and physics, a graduate of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Nicolas Reeves is an artist and researcher at the School of Design at the Université du Québec à Montréal. His work is characterised by the highly poetic use of sciences and technologies. A founder member and, later, scientific director of the Hexagram Institute from 2001 to 2009, vice-president of the Société des Arts Technologiques from 1998 to 2008, he directs the NXI GESTATIO laboratory, which explores the formal impact of digital information in all creative fields. He has produced a number of acclaimed works, such as *Harpe à Nuages* (Cloud Harp) and the *Aerostabiles* research programme, which studies the potential of cubic automata capable of developing autonomous behaviour. He works since 2016 on developing the major *Observatoires de l’Inaccessible* research program, which consists in translating real time for human perception natural events and phenomena that are normally not accessible to it. The winner of several prizes and grants, he has shown work and given talks on four continents.

15:00 PM WINTER TERRITORIES

Chairperson:

Marie-Michèle OUELLET-BERNIER (Ph.D. student, Université du Québec à Montréal), « **Defining winter in Labrador discourses (from 1750 to 1950)** »

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When winter is defined as a “temporary state of North” (Hamelin) in temperate regions, suggesting a climatic anomaly in the season cycle, in Labrador, as in many Subarctic and Arctic places, winter appears to be the dominant season. “When the siku (sea ice) finally formed, it meant freedom” (Sanguya and Gearhaerd). Winter opens new roads, activities and opportunities. It suggested both fear and joy, hardship and comfort. The coast of Labrador is strongly influenced by the cold Labrador Current flowing from the Arctic Ocean. Labrador hosts the Eastern North America tree limit even if it shares the same latitude of Scotland and Northern Germany. The discursive analysis is based on four central signs in Nordic winter: the cold, the snow, the ice and the light phenomena. The cold refers to an individual sensitivity. It requests specific adaptation to survive (clothing and shelter). The snow is the first sign that winter is beginning soon. The landscape is then transformed in a snowscape. The ice, particularly the sea ice, plays an important role in Nordic community: “the ice reconnected us to people and place” (Sanguya and Gearhaerd). Finally, winter visual effects are defined by the colour white, the large spectrum of aurora borealis colours and the decrease of daylight. The corpus is largely dominated by missionary, explorer and traveller narratives, with a still strong contribution of Inuit life stories.

After completing a master degree in Earth sciences, Marie-Michèle Ouellet-Bernier started a Ph.D. in Environmental sciences at the Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM), choosing a multidisciplinary approach mixing sciences and literature. Marie-Michèle received a doctoral scholarship from the SSHRC. She also manages the Nordic and Arctic research portal at UQAM.

16:30 CLOSURE

Daniel CHARTIER (Research Chair on Images of the North, Winter and Arctic, Université du Québec à Montréal)

**Semaine internationale de
L'OBSERVATOIRE
ARCTIQUE ET ANTARCTIQUE
Université du Québec à Montréal**



**TABLE RONDE INTERNATIONALE DE LA RECHERCHE
ET DE LA CRÉATION SUR L'IMAGINAIRE DU NORD,
DE L'HIVER ET DE L'ARCTIQUE**



**Universidad del Salvador
(Argentina)**

**XV WORKSHOP ON RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCES
IDICSO –UNIVERSIDAD DEL SALVADOR**

Miércoles 18 de Octubre, 2017

19:00-21:00

AREA: CIRCUMPOLAR STUDIES

**Table: “The Antarctica and the Southern Circumpolarity
as Global Phenomena”**

**Coordination: Dr Enrique del Acebo Ibáñez
(PIECA-Faculty of Social Sciences -USAL, CONICET)**



CENTRO DE INVESTIGACIONES SOBRE COMUNIDAD LOCAL,
PARTICIPACIÓN Y POLÍTICA SOCIAL

IADCOM - FCE-UBA

**I WORKSHOP ON SOCIAL PROBLEMS
AND SOCIAL POLICIES**

General Coordination: Dr. Enrique del Acebo Ibáñez (Director)
Buenos Aires, NOVEMBER 9, 2017

9:30-9:45: Registro e inscripción.

9:45: **Enrique del Acebo Ibáñez** (CICLOP, FCE-UBA, CONICET):

Palabras introductorias: "Sobre problemas, problematizaciones y políticas sociales".

MESA 1

10:00-10:30: **Florencia Chahbenderian** (CICLOP, FCE-UBA): *La desigualdad en las políticas sociales focalizadas: el caso de los programas de transferencias condicionadas de ingreso".*

10:30-11:00: **Ana Cervio** (CICLOP, FCE-UBA, CONICET): *"Pobreza urbana y programas sociales en Argentina. Lecturas desde los aportes de Georg Simmel".*

11:00-11:30: **Juan Martín Galeano** (CICLOP, FCE-UBA): *"Participación ciudadana y república: un problema de aristas múltiples en el marco argentino actual".*

11:30-11:45: Sesión de preguntas.

11:45-12:00: Break

MESA 2

12:00-12:30: **Agustín García Serventi** (Universidad Nacional de Tierra del Fuego, FAE): *Formas, motivos y gestos. Una aproximación iconológica a la producción cinematográfica sobre Tierra del Fuego.*

12:30-13:00: **Enrique del Acebo Ibáñez** (CICLOP, FCE-UBA, CONICET): *La circumpolaridad, el Atlántico Sur y la Antártida como fenómenos totales (El caso de las campañas científicas del Buque Oceanográfico "Puerto Deseado", perteneciente al CONICET).* (Se proyectará el mediometrage documental "El Buque").

13:00-13:30: Augusto Aguilar (CICLOP, FCE-UBA, Facultad de Cs Sociales-USAL): *La Argentina en la Antártida en el siglo XXI (Problemas y Políticas)*.

13:30-13:45: Sesión de preguntas.

13:45-13:50: Clausura del Workshop.



UNIVERSIDAD DE BUENOS AIRES
Facultad de Ciencias Económicas - IADCOM

Institutional information

International Association of Circumpolar Sociocultural Issues (IACSI)

What is the IACSI?

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

What are we after?

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

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

What do we do?

- Generate scientific and academic projects bound up with circumpolar socio-cultural issues.

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

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

- a) In April 26th, 2005, was run the ***1st International Workshop on Circumpolar Socio-Cultural Issues***, at the University of Jyväskylä (Finland), organized by the Department of Social Sciences and Philosophy of this University and the IACSI.
- b) In April 7th, 2006, was run the ***2nd International Workshop on Circumpolar Socio-cultural Issues***, at the University of Iceland, organized by the Faculty of Social Sciences of this University, the Icelandic Sociological Association, and the IACSI.
- c) On November 30, 2007, was run the ***3rd International Workshop on Circumpolar Socio-cultural Issues***, at the University of Oulu (Finland), organized by the Thule Institute of this University and the IACSI.
- d) On November 16-18, 2010, was run the ***I International Meeting on Northern and Southern Circumpolarities: Socio-economic and Socio-cultural Approaches***, under the auspices of the CICLOP, School of Economics, University of Buenos Aires and the International Center for the Patrimony and Heritage (CICOP).
- e) On September 25-26, 2014, 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 Extreme Environments (PIECA, Faculty of Social Sciences, Universidad del Salvador), and under the auspices of the IACSI. During the 4th Int'l Workshop one session will include oral presentations while the other one will be devoted to the screening and discussion of documentary and experimental films from both northern and southern circumpolarities. This second session will receive collaboration from the Reykjavík International Film Festival (RIFF).

The IACSI has also organized four Circumpolar Film Festivals, such as: one devoted to the Icelandic cinema (Universidad del Salvador, Buenos Aires, 2005), another devoted to Argentine cinema (University of Iceland, Reykjavík, 2007), a third one devoted to Northern and Southern Circumpolarity (University of Buenos Aires, Buenos Aires, 2010), and a fourth 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.

Contact

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Universidad del Salvador (Argentina)

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

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

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

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Faculty of Social Sciences

Dr Mariana Colotta, Dean

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

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

Under this University framework, the *International Program of Studies on Circumpolarity, Antarctica and Extreme Environments (PIECA)*

–directed by Dr Enrique del Acebo Ibáñez– 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) and the Faculty of Social Sciences of the University of Iceland

University of Iceland (Reykjavík, Iceland)

The University of Iceland was established in 1911. The university is organized into 5 academic schools, and 25 faculties. The university offers diverse program on all levels. The University of Iceland is the only university in Iceland offering undergraduate and graduate studies in all the

main disciplines. In addition, the University of Iceland is an internationally renowned research university and our academics have received a great deal of international recognition for their scientific work.

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

School of Social Sciences

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

The School is divided into six departments: Faculty of Business Administration, Faculty of Economics, Faculty of Law, Faculty of Political Science, Faculty of Sociology, Anthropology and Folkloristics and Faculty of Social Work.

Faculty of Humanities

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

Department of Languages, Literatures and Linguistics

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

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

Programa de Español

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

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

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

The Department of Spanish at the University of Iceland collaborates with a number of Universities in different countries of Latin America and in Spain. Students are urged to complete a semester or a year

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Research and Projects

Since it was set up in 2003, the Laboratory has brought together some 15 researchers from about 10 universities (in Québec, Sweden, Denmark, Iceland, France, Israel, Canada, Germany, England, Iceland and Spain) who have used the infrastructure developed at UQAM to study the

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

Teaching

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

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

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

Documentary Collection

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

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

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

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

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

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

Publications

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

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

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

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

The University of Oulu (Finland)

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

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

There are three research focus areas at the university:

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

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

The Thule Institute

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

The research programmes are titled Global Change in the North, Northern Land Use and Land Cover, and Circumpolar Health and Wellbeing. Research is also done in the fields of Environmental and Resource Economics, Environmental Technology and in the programme Human-Environment Relations in the North - resource development, climate change and resilience. The research programmes include academic education and research training. In 2008, the number of staff working at the Institute was 38 and the number of researchers, PhD students and graduate students working on research projects supported by the Institute was approx. 210.

For more information:

<http://www.oulu.fi/english/>

<http://thule.oulu.fi/englanti/index.html>

University of Jyväskylä (Finland)

Master's and Doctoral Programme in Cultural Policy

The Master's Degree Programme in Cultural Policy is a social science based study programme, connected to many disciplines via teaching and research both in Finland and abroad. The key areas of education are:

- Actors, instruments and impacts
- Access and participation
- Cultural economy and creative industries
- Cultural diversity and citizenship
- Relationship between art and technology
- Geography and cultural policy

The multidisciplinary master's and doctoral programmes in cultural policy develop students' preparedness to:

- analyze the historical development and future of cultural policy in various geographical and sectoral contexts
- compare and explore international and national systems of cultural policy and questions of cultural economy
- evaluate the position of culture and cultural policy in societal transformation processes in public, private and third sectors
- critically apply theoretical, methodological and empirical know-how in working creatively in internationalizing branches of culture

The programme is aimed both at Finnish and international students with a bachelor's degree (majoring in social policy, political science, sociology, philosophy, art history, art education, literature, music science, ethnology or history), offering them the opportunity to complete a master's degree. It is possible to continue from the master's programme into the Doctoral Programme in Cultural Policy. As a unit, Cultural Policy collaborates with the Foundation for Cultural Policy Research CUPORE.

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

6th International Conference on Cultural Policy Research (2010) and the 4th Nordic Conference on Cultural Policy Research (2009).

For more information check our website:

<http://www.jyu.fi/ytk/laitokset/yfi/oppiaineet/kup/en>

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

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

The notion of extreme environment is considered from a point of view which tries to go beyond an ethnocentric notion of “extreme”, namely:

a) Environments with “determining geographic factors” which turn difficult the community life and human settlement, although these native populations develop significant socio-cultural adaptations.

b) Environments with “determining social economic factors” which in some cases lead big population sectors further the “resilience phenomena” (survival in spite of serious determining effects) that could happen responding to the demands of the moment or structurally.

Every environmental issue is considered inside “local/ global”, natural/ built-up” and “sustainable /non sustainable” dialectic. For this reason the Foundation attaches great importance to environmental

assessment and socioeconomic impact of any human undertaking either local, national or regional.

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

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

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

Main activities

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Contact

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.

University of Greenland (*Ilisimatusarfik*)



Ilisimatusarfik is situated in the small but bustling capital city of Nuuk.

Ilisimatusarfik educates for both the private and public labour market, and does research and programmes within humanities, social sciences and health science.

Ilisimatusarfik highly prioritises cooperation with the outside world, locally as well as internationally. *Ilisimatusarfik* wishes to bridge the university world with the business community and the public sector, because with collaboration between the sectors, everyone is contributing strong

professionalism and combining new thinking and innovation in a fruitful system.

Ilisimatusarfik is an Arctic university that creates knowledge and innovation in a region developing rapidly. Broadly, deeply and across: *Ilisimatusarfik* is shaping the Arctic through research, education and cooperation.

Ilisimatusarfik has four institutes:

- *Institute of Culture, Language and History*
- *Institute of Social Science, Economics and Journalism*
- *Institute of Learning*
- *Institute of Nursing and Health Science*

Institute of Culture, Language and History:

Theology: How did Christianity emerge and how has it developed through the ages, and what is its role in modern Greenlandic society? Those are some of the questions that the Theology degree programme engages in. As a theology student, you will learn about the origins of Christianity, its history and contemporary issues. Thereby you will be able to independently and qualitatively decide your attitude to, and work with, the Christian religious tradition in relation to the contemporary situation.

Culture and Social History: The Culture and Social History degree is available as a Master degree. The degree provides a broad and versatile historic understanding of cultural and social conditions focused on the arctic world.

Language, Literature & Media: Language, Literature & Media is a university graduate programme. Some of the initial telling things about a country's cultural peculiarities are the spoken language, news, debate and cultural media, and, finally, the literature that mirrors or challenges the national identity. You are at the centre of cultural life when you are studying Language, Literature & Media.

Translation & Interpreting: Professional Bachelor in translation and interpreting is a relatively new professionally targeted Bachelor degree at Ilisimatusarfik. Translators are not only necessary for Greenlandic language and culture to be able to survive in a globalised world, but also serve to improve the public service level.

Institute of Social Science, Economics and Journalism:

Social Science: The degree programme in Social Science provides thorough knowledge about Greenlandic and international social conditions. The programme is broadly based and covers important subject areas within social science, such as political science, sociology, economy

and law. With knowledge about these subject areas, you will be able to form an overview of the tasks facing a public administration, for example.

Business Economy: The Bachelor degree in Business Economy is a three-year degree that is targeted towards making students ready to work as business economy specialists in a public or private company, or as generalists looking holistically at business operations and scope for development. The degree programme is developed in close cooperation with Greenland's business community.

Social Work: The Social Work degree is a broad, professionally targeted degree programme within social science. The programme comprises four subject areas: social work, social science, psychology and law. The aim of the degree is to educate social workers who are able to prevent and remedy social issues in today's society.

Journalism: The journalism degree is a professionally targeted degree in a profession that carries many privileges and a great responsibility. It takes courage, cooperative skills and discipline to be a journalism student. This is true both during the programme and work placement and as a fully qualified Bachelor in Journalism.

Institute of Learning:

Teacher: The Teacher degree is a professionally targeted Bachelor degree. The purpose is to train teachers for the Greenlandic "folkeskole" (public primary and lower secondary school) and as a basis for other teaching. At the same time, the degree is a qualification for further education at graduate and Master programme level.

Institute of Nursing and Health Science:

Nurse: A professional Bachelor degree as a nurse provides you with many opportunities. People's perception of a nurse is typically someone working in a hospital, but that is a too narrow perception. Trained nurses also work with information about general health, teaching and many other things. What these many jobs available for trained nurses have in common is that, as a nurse, your main task is to secure the best possible health for the population. '

Ilisimatusarfik: From Inuit Institute to Arctic University

1974: GrønlandsLandsråd/The Greenlandic Council proposes the creation of a university-like institution - an Inuit Institute.

1981 The decision is made at the local parliament, the "Landsting", in autumn 1981.

1983 Professor Robert Petersen is hired as head. Other staff is hired during summer.

1984 The first students at Ilisimatusarfik are taken in for study start in the spring.

1987 Master programmes are introduced. The three-year Theology programme is merged with Ilisimatusarfik/Inuit Institute. The name is changed to Ilisimatusarfik (University of Greenland). The celebration of the opening of own buildings in the newly restored mission station, NyHerrnhut, takes place 10 September 1987.

1989 The statute for the university is passed. With this, Ilisimatusarfik has formal status as a university. The date for the foundation of Ilisimatusarfik as a university is 1 September 1989.

1995 The Bachelor programme is introduced.

1996 A new statute is passed in Parliament.

1997 The Bachelor programme in Theology is introduced.

2003-2005 A separate programme in Theology, "exam theol", followed by pastoral college, is introduced.

2007 A new statute is passed in the parliament after which the university is merged with other institutions for further education, and a new structure with board and rector is introduced. The law comes into force 1 January 2008.

2008 Ilisimatusarfik is moving to new premises in the newly built Ilimmarfik. Ilisimatusarfik now comprises nine institutes. The board is appointed.

2009 Tine Pars is hired as new rector 1 January 2009.

2010 A new institute structure with three institutes is introduced: The Ilimmarfik Institute Institute of Learning Institute of Nursing and Health Science

2015 A new institute structure with four institutes is introduced: Institute of Learning Institute of Nursing and Health Science Institute of Social Science, Economy and Journalism Institute of Culture, Institute of Nursing and Health Science

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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 Departments: Language and Literature, History and Social Sciences, Science and Technology, Education, Nursing, Research Center for Social Development.

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Université de Versailles Saint-Quentin-en-Yvelines (UVSQ), France

Founded in the early 1990s, the University of Versailles Saint-Quentin-en-Yvelines (UVSQ) is now the largest institution for higher education, research and technology in the administrative district of Yvelines, west of Paris.

UVSQ spans five campuses. It has a student body of approx. 17,000 enrolled in over 200 programs in all major scientific domains: Faculty of Science in Versailles, Faculty of Law and Political Science, Faculty of Medicine, Faculty of Social Science, Institute of Management, Institute of Cultural and International Studies, as well as the Observatory of Versailles Saint-Quentin, all located in the agglomeration of Saint-Quentin-en-Yvelines, just a few kilometres from Versailles + a school of engineering and two university institutes of technology in three

other cities of the region, offering higher education programmes from bachelor to doctorate level.

UVSQ is the leading university in France in terms of student success at bachelor level and ranks third for the number of apprentices in the Île-de-France region, reflecting a strategy that prioritizes educational innovation and professionally-focused international programs.

In 2016, UVSQ entered the so-called ARWU or Shanghai ranking (401-500 group) and is currently 4th in the CRWU ranking as far as atmosphere science and meteorology are concerned.

UVSQ's excellence in research concerns notably space observation, climatology and the environment, heritage and Arctic studies, health (esp. handicap and ageing), innovative materials, sociology, public administration. UVSQ's laboratories foster innovative, cross-disciplinary research that anticipates societal concerns, informs citizens and supports decision-makers.

As one of the founding members of the excellence cluster Université Paris-Saclay, UVSQ is well positioned to meet the twin challenge of economic and technological competition combined with the acceleration of scientific developments worldwide.

University website: www.uvsq.fr

Masters2 programme in Arctic Studies at UVSQ/ University of Paris-Saclay

UVSQ initiated an original, interdisciplinary masters 2 programme in Arctic Studies entirely taught in English (French-language classes excepted) in 2010, now offered through the excellence cluster of the University of Paris-Saclay.

More than 50 French and international students coming notably from Greenland, the USA, Russia, Norway, Latvia, Macedonia, Armenia, India, Nepal, Ghana, Cameroun etc. have successfully graduated from this programme dedicated to integrated approaches to problems facing the Arctic.

Pedagogical objectives:

The aim of the Master is twofold: help future decision-makers and facilitators working in the Arctic or in relation to the Arctic to develop tools for integrated analyses thanks to in-depth knowledge of the fragile balance between ecosystems and the human ecology of the Arctic.

At the same time, the Master has been designed to provide students interested in research with the opportunity to develop a project that will be pursued in the form of a doctoral dissertation after the validation of the *Master*.

Such Phd work may be co-directed with one of our international partners.

The master covers three complimentary fields of competence: studies in all of the major areas essential for decision making:

- environmental and natural science as well as technology, economics and governance, geopolitical aspects and questions of law, Arctic societies and their culture
- scientific competence therefore reinforced by intercultural competence
- an international dimension with courses in English and colleagues of international reputation

Perspectives:

The Arctic Studies programme trains decision makers capable of piloting the process of expertise, facilitation and governance by relying on a method of eco-efficiency and global performance (environmental, economic, social and societal), of identifying and erasing obstacles to a respectful development of ecosystems and human ecology in an Arctic context.

The year of Arctic Studies will allow a student to develop the following fields of competence:

- piloting of a project by using special tools and management techniques : research team, international cooperation
- management of organisational change relying on a pluridisciplinary approach
- autonomous conduct of an Arctic project or enquiry
- reflect on and mediation of social, technical and technological aspects

- economic and environmental evaluation of technological, financial, commercial and organisational risk

Prerequisites and organisation of studies:

Students from any academic field can apply provided they have validated four years of higher education (four-year B.A. programme or a three-year B.A. +first year of a Masters programme), English language skills should be fluent (however, no special language test score is required).

Teaching starts in mid-September and ends in early February, followed by a three-month internship that the students choose themselves in France or abroad.

Students then write a detailed report on this experience and/or a long research paper/ dissertation. The report or dissertation is defended during a viva that can be organized by Skype in certain cases.

Applications

Applications are submitted electronically via the Paris-Saclay website:
<https://www.universite-paris-saclay.fr/en/apply-to-master-programs>

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

b) Manuscript Preparation

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

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

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

References: All publications cited in the text should be presented in a list of references following the text of the manuscript. In the text refer to the author's name (without initials), year of publication and possible page number(s) (e.g. Torpey 2000, 18). For more than three authors, use the first three authors followed by *et al.*

The list of references/bibliography should be arranged alphabetically by author's names. Names of the articles in edited volumes or journals are written inside the quotation marks. Journal titles and book names are italicised. Examples:

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

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

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

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

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e) 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.

f) Other contents

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

g) 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.

Arctic & Antarctic

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF CIRCUMPOLAR SOCIOCULTURAL ISSUES

CALL FOR PAPERS

The *Foundation for High Studies on Antarctica and Extreme Environments* (FAE, Argentina), the *Universidad del Salvador (USAL, Argentina)* and the University of Iceland, 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 12 will be published in June 2018. **Deadline for the manuscripts addressed to this coming issue is March 15, 2018.**

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

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