

Arctic & Antarctic

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF CIRCUMPOLAR SOCIOCULTURAL ISSUES

Volume 13 Number 1 / 2019

ISSN 1851-4685



Foundation for High Studies on Antarctica and Extreme Environments
FAE / Publications

Faculty of Social Sciences - Universidad del Salvador

Faculty of Social Sciences - University of Iceland

Buenos Aires, Argentina

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

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

- Local Communities and Extreme Environments
- Habitat, Social Interaction and Identity
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- Other issues related to socio-cultural themes concerning circumpolar areas.

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

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The next issue of *Arctic & Antarctic - International Journal of Circumpolar Socio-Cultural Issues* will be published in September 2020. Contributions must be sent before the end of July 2020. Besides articles, the issues can include seminar and conference reports, book reviews, comments or discussions.

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Faculty of Social Sciences - Universidad del Salvador (USAL)
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FAE/Publications

Buenos Aires, Argentina

Cover design: Matías Reck

Illustration: “*Tan-Tango Dancing club*” (*Port of Buenos-Aires -ends of XIX century*)” (Oil on canvas, 100 x 80 cm.) by Enrique del Acebo Ibáñez, Buenos Aires, 2006.

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The Semantics of Roads within the Cultural Landscape of the Northern Circumpolar Latitudes: The Russian Point of View

Olga Lavrenova (Institute of Scientific Information for Social Sciences of the Russian Academy of Sciences / INION RAN, Moscow)

Abstract

The semantics of the words «road» and «path» are highly variable and largely universal across most cultures. Within the semiotic concept of a cultural landscape, it is important to observe how the features of the host landscape influence the formation of these concepts in the culture, and how the established cultural codes determine the meaning, aesthetic and semantic perception of roads in various landscapes.

The roads of the circumpolar latitude represent a unique case in the realm of culture. While this area lacks a developed road network, winter roads are predominantly associated with the semantics of survival. Migration routes of the nomadic peoples in the circumpolar world are of major importance. This article focuses on the circumpolar roads on the territory of Russia.

Keywords

semantics, roads, cultural landscape, circumpolar world.

Introduction

The concept of the *road* is seen as polysemantic in world cultures. It is also one of the fundamental concepts in general. On the one hand, it is an indispensable element of landscapes and, on the other, it represents a complex of meanings that are part of this so-called linguistic and cultural code of the natural landscape. This code is “a corpus of names and expressions which denote natural objects or their parts including elements of the landscape that have been harnessed by humanity as a separate entity or as their mutual special arrangement” [Gudkov, Kovshova 2007:97]. These meanings have been studied as self-sufficient for quite some time; however, variations of their correlation with the cultural geographical reality offer a

much more interesting field for further investigation. In this particular article, I would like to focus primarily on the Russian circumpolar roads for the reason that Russian roads often lack proper facilities in comparison with other countries located in the high latitudes of the northern and southern hemispheres. The roads of higher latitudes in the southern hemisphere by default do not possess some of the semantic aspects which are characteristic of the northern latitudes. It is mainly connected with the different climatic conditions and the lack of permafrost.

In its practical meaning, a road is only an optimization of regular routes on the cross-country terrain, and it was not invented by human beings as there are numerous examples of deer trails which significantly simplify the way to get to the places of vital importance such as watering holes, feeding areas, or solonetz soils, though it is natural for a human to turn everything into signs, give names to objects, re-think, and then designate again. Cultural landscapes can thus be viewed as a semiotic system and an expression of the cultural symbols. Each element of the landscape becomes a sign functioning at a variety of levels.

The word “road” is one of the examples of how the etymology of the word can be determined by the landscape. In the Russian language, the term «Дорога» (doroga, road) can be etymologically traced to the root **dorgh-* which means “space in the forest created by way of scrambling” that comes from the verb “*дёржамь (dyorgat’*, to twitch) [Fasmer 1986-87]. From the point of view of paleogeography, it makes sense because the early Slavs inhabited the zone of the mixed woodland, and even Kievan Rus had more woodland than modern steppe Ukraine. It is clear that such an etymology is impossible for the steppe or desert mountainous landscapes. In Russian, the word «путь» (put’, path) can be traced to the root **pont-*, that means “overcoming”. Mountains, forests, “wrongdoers”, as well as other obstacles intensify this meaning.

However, even though the words “road” and “path” find the same expression in the landscape, they are semantically disengaged. A “path” is typically connected with a sacred space while “roads” denote secular space. Some say that “in the Slavic cultural traditions the symbolism of the path is connected with the Christian point of view while the symbolism of the road is related to the pagan mindset and perception” [Cherepanova 2000].

In Russian northern dialects, the semantics of the common Russian lexemes “path” and “road” differ from the generally accepted one; in these dialects, they retain a closer spatial orientation in comparison with the

literary language. “The relevance in the meaning of this lexical unit in the same ‘the contact surface’ makes it possible to use it in depictive constructions, including those with descriptive attributes. In the dialects of Arkhangelsk, the component of ‘movement’ plays a significant role in the formation of the semantic picture for the lexeme ‘road’, while for the literary language this component is secondary. [...] The metaphor of the path in the meaning of ‘beliefs, ethical rules, actions, human actions’, so often found in Old Russian book writing, is widespread in the dialects of Arkhangelsk, which means that it is associated with Christian religious beliefs. However, the road, in its symbolic meaning that refers to the life path of a person, corresponds to magical rites and witchcraft and correlates with pagan views and perception” [Kolesnikova 2014: 204].

The role of roads in the cultural landscape

In its practical application, the road plays an important role in the landscape as a link, as a means of communication between settlements and countries. That is why roads can be perceived metaphorically as nerve fibers in the morphology of the cultural landscape that transmit the impulse of energy and information; but also as arteries that transport matter. The latter word is primarily used in reference to the river routes which can also be considered as roads.

More than that, roads can be seen as a kind of a “skeleton of geo-cultural space”, “which is further layered with economic, political, social and spiritual landscapes. It is the strength of this skeleton, its flexibility, and its ability to adapt to the meaning changes in each and every of these landscapes that defines the bonds with one another, which is mandatory for the people who inhabit this territory to comprehend their collective identity. The importance of such processes is quite obvious when it comes to countries” [Ternovaia 2013: 97]. It is the static idea of a road, its fixed position in the space, and the monosemy of the main traffic flow that matters in the case of this metaphor.

Another metaphor refers to the lines of permeability of cultural landscapes. They are perpendicular to the “power lines” of the cities, from one meaningful place to another, non-stop threading “empty” spaces. Roads are always BETWEEN two places. Symbolically, it stands for an empty space which one has to overcome in order to reach the next settlement.

According to T.B. Tschepanskaia, a road in the Russian culture is “semiotically invisible”, “not designated, i.e. not included in the sign model of the world”; it plays the role of “the other” in relation to the home as a special and semantic core of “one’s own”. [Tschepanskaia 2003: 33].

“Bad roads” and off-road trails are juxtaposed to the roads that are “good and right”. These roads serviced as the right way are opposed not to the off-road trails (bad roads) but to the absolute virgin soil and uncultivated land. “The reverse relationship is also possible when the road represents a zone of stability and order: the road as ‘law, a rule, a custom’ [...]” [Cherepanova 2000].

In Turkic languages, the word *road* “was another way of referring to such notions as law, custom, and character. And everyone had to go down this road”. [Beydilli 2005, cited by Gudkov, Sarach 2015].

Juxtaposition of the road and a virgin soil signifies the foreclosure of the way: if you have chosen that way, you have to go down this road. Ancient roads where the ruts don’t let you change the course of the movement serve to confirm this meaning in the landscape. Nowadays, deviating from the path means finding oneself outside the network of significant or organized places.

Roads and Landscapes of the Circumpolar World

Circumpolar latitudes are characterized by the low radiation balance; the climate is connected with the annual average temperature below zero which causes formation of glaciers and permafrost as well as predominance of tundra vegetation and Arctic deserts. The North is traditionally determined by the isotherm of annual average atmospheric temperatures at the level of 0°C. This is primarily the mainland, ranging from the coast of the Arctic seas to the afore mentioned isotherm. Even higher there, is the Arctic (limited by the isotherm of the warmest month -5 ° C), or the Far North [Transport ... 2013: 11].

Landscapes of the circumpolar latitudes have always been inhabited. For example, some archaeological finds in Chukotka date from the 15th–13th centuries BC. For many centuries, traditional cultures lived in harmony with Nature. Many of them were nomadic and moved in space without creating a stable road network. The paths of nomads seemed to be an indispensable quality and property of the cultural landscape, their direction

remained unchanged, time was cyclical, it was like a tide. “Social matter” obeyed the forces of nature and its uncompromising laws.

Creating a road transport network in these areas dates back to their colonization by a completely different culture, for which cold, permafrost and impassable swamps were not taken for granted and seen as pertaining to the surrounding landscape, but as a challenge, a symbol of danger and death. The direction of the road construction was dictated primarily by the development of the territory and resources, and often did not take into account the interests of local residents.

Accordingly, for a colonising culture, the roads of the North enhance the contrast between uninhabited and man-made spaces, the power and stability of the latter remaining questionable. As a result, high latitude roads are both real paths and symbols of colonisation.

The actual conquest of the North and North-East began with the construction of roads. “Colonization, seen as a comprehensive development of empty territories, is not only an event, but also a state-owned enterprise, capable of providing real assets when having access to the exploitation of the productive forces in the colonized area” [Tarakanov 2011: 2]. By assets we do not only understand actual resources, strategic points of control over the border territories, etc., but also symbolic values of the development of hard-to-reach territories as the idea of spreading state (sovereign) power, the “conquest” of nature by human beings, heroism and the constant overcoming of environmental resistance, the fight between life and death.

Environmental issues create new imagery for the roads in the North. It is now becoming clear that the roads used by heavy machinery, especially tracked vehicles, cause irreparable damage to the fragile circumpolar ecosystem. “The tracks of all-terrain vehicles and tractors, on the territories close to exploration, production and transportation of natural gas wiped out tens of thousands of hectares of reindeer moss and changed the surrounding landscape” [Magyarov et al. 2013: 54]. It takes 20-30 years for lichens, which are the foundation of the vegetation cover in tundra, to restore. Their extinction leads to the depletion of deer pastures and questions the chances of survival for indigenous peoples.

Therefore, roads are now becoming a problem leading to the destruction of the cultural landscapes of indigenous peoples that have long inhabited this seemingly empty space. New roads contradict the logic represented by the original paths of the nomads, thus complicating motion for deer and sledges.

In the regions further south of the taiga and forest-tundra, road embankments in the state of water saturation “function in a way as impounding dams and create conditions when sections of a good healthy forest when located in such impounded valleys, in a very short time turn into vast grassy swamps with crookedly protruding and fallen dead trees” [Ilchenko 2001: 264].

Manifestation of time

Roads stand for “special representation of time” [Cherepanova 2000] in the cultural landscape. A leg of the route, that is an interval, is seen as a certain union of time and space.

This static element of the landscape is semantically and physically connected with the idea of movement, with a certain kind of people whose lifestyle is “always on the road”. “Since the dawn of times there have been vagabonds, wandering pilgrims, paupers, peddlers, seasonal workers and field men, hunters, peasants and convicts on the run, river pirates and bandits, coachmen who went on long trips, migrants who were trying to find out ‘who and where lives well in Russia’; all these Russian people whose life was connected with permanent travelling and moving along the roads of the huge country” [Cherepanova 2000]. Many of these socio-cultural types are inherent to other cultures: one can always find people who are on the move for whom any stop or settling down would be equivalent to death. In the modern realm of the North, this role belongs to truckers, “the off-road kings”, as their work is connected with constantly overcoming not only distance, but also the poor quality of the roads.

Road etiquette includes a variety of well-wishing guarding people on the way [Zorina 2013]. “Oncoming caravans salute each other. They would always ask where you are from but they would never ask who you are. Character is already drowning in the movement” [Roerich 1992: 94]. Northern roads are also known by traditions of mutual assistance irrespective of personality; crossing this territory without assistance can turn into an insoluble task. Observations of modern travellers show that the North begins where the car never passes by a hitch-hiker: this is a rule of etiquette which is dictated by harsh environmental conditions.

High-speed trains and highways cancel the traveler’s perception of the surrounding landscape as the task of such roads is to minimize the time one needs to get from point A to point B.

There is a significant difference between high-speed motion which functions as a metaphor for the absorption of space and a slow leisurely movement that acts as a manifestation of love for an inhabited and well-known place, and careful movement in a landscape that can become a trap even for modern vehicles.

Kinds of the Roads

Roads as such vary in their types, and this fact finds its reflection in the culture and language. References to the lexeme “road” in Russian correspond to the classification of roads according to the following aspects:

- location (central, backstreet, roundabout),
- material the road is made of (soil, beam, snow)
- parameters/ size (big, small, country)
- starting point and the point of destination
- moving object (horse-drawn, cow-drawn, sleigh)
- the season when it is used (winter, summer)
- the goal of travelling (post, military)
- production method [Kolesnikova 2014]

The basic road network provides the main movement of goods and assumes the stability of its location. Dirt roads are unstable; they appear and cease to exist, depending on the industrial needs of mining, or when new settlements are found and being developed, etc.

Summer roads differ considerably from winter roads in high latitude landscapes. A winter road is passable only when the temperature is below zero. In order to build a winter road, the snow is rolled and shoveled, and on the rivers ice roads are frozen onto them. “Winter roads are built with the aim of creating an even surface suitable for vehicles; in the permafrost areas, they also protect the surface of the plant and peat layer. Transport tests have shown that properly built winter roads can withstand thousands of wheel transport passes without damaging underlying soils” [Magyarov et al. 2013: 54].

From the point of view of construction and use of the road network, circumpolar latitudes are characterised by seasonality, the use of winter and summer roads, which often do not coincide in their location. Within the

cultural landscape, “shimmering paths” are created that are “switched on” in a particular season.

Harsh winter conditions make it possible for the roads to be built in impassable places, for example, “the supply of the north-eastern territories located in the Kolyma basin was virtually completely dependent on “resources of the cold” [Suleymanov 2019: 62].

When it comes to lightness, crossing the territory and its permeability, winter roads along the rivers can no longer be the space “BETWEEN”, as they often become traps. Ice deposits formed as a result of water coming to the surface through cracks, and unstable ice are especially dangerous for heavy vehicles. Trucks and eighteen-wheelers collapse under the ice, and drivers are forced to live next to their vehicles for many days and even weeks. Machines are gradually freed up using a “freeze-out” method, when one cuts the ice around and leaving only a thin lower layer of it. During the night, the river freezes by no less than half a meter, and the next day, ice cutting continues.

A road as a journey can be “long”. It may be so insignificant that it loses its semantics of the way. A typical daily commuting route can be quite short: from home to the field, from home to the church, from house to house. In reindeer herding cultures of the North, everyday practices include moving to distances of up to 30 kilometres, which are not perceived as a departure to a “foreign” space.

Roads can have no fixed place in space such as, for instance, caravan or nomad tracks. They are not defined by a line but by direction and its use.

Pattern of caravan routes are invisible, but they are embedded in the culture in a much deeper way than if they had been carved in stone. They remained unchanged for centuries until modern means of transportation began to replace caravans.

Sacred Space

In different cultures, the semantics of the road are associated not only with “one’s own” and the “foreign”, with right and wrong, but also life and death. “The road is a mediator of two spheres, life and death, this world and ‘that one’, one's own and that of the other” [Cherepanova 2000]. Death often prevails in this couple, and in folklore the road becomes a metaphor and a symbol of death [Schepanskaia 2003: 41]. A real road can also be the space of initiatory death, when the difficulties of the path lead to the spiritual

transformation of the traveller. Accordingly, like any other dangerous spaces, it may serve the purpose of rebirth and nurturing of the spirit.

One might say in this respect that to a certain degree the archaic and Christian symbol of the path can be found in every cultural landscape. Any path or road within the corresponding mind set can carry a part of this value.

“I am the way and the truth and the life” (John 14: 6), says Jesus Christ, thereby rendering the sacred meaning of the path absolute. The Christianization of cultures transformed the road and crossroads from places of origin of conspiracies and rituals into symbols correlating with the Christian value system. In Christian cultures, a cross is seen as a polysemantic symbol of the universe, a symbol of salvation, the intersection of the high and the lower worlds. The cross in the landscape is a crossroads, one of the sacred places of traditional culture. Crossroads are a horizontal projection of the Cross, oriented vertically, from the Earth to Heaven. In the landscape, the intersection is a kind of bifurcation point where choice of the path takes place and the further course of events. This value is much older than Christian semantics. Furthermore, personal itineraries and even fate will depend on the path the traveller chooses at the crossroads. Here one can recall the plots of Old Russian epics, where the hero stands at the crossroads near the boulder which has different variants of fate written on it, the hero’s fate depending on the choice of the road he takes. “Sacraments or crossroads [...], the source of the paths, present to us the closest resemblance to the course of human life. There, from one source, as its focus, the paths spread in different directions. Ancient people revered such places as acceptable before gods” [Snegirev, 1865: 176].

The opposite semantics are also possible when a cross is perceived as a crossroads in the most profound existential sense: “A person of mythopoetic consciousness stands in front of the cross as if at the crossroads, a fork in the road where death is to the left, life is to the right, but the person does not know where right or left is in those coordinates of the mythological space, which is defined by the image of the cross” [Toporov, 1988a: 12]. Only the heart, which symbolically represents the crossroads of the earthly and heavenly roads, can indicate the way out in this situation.

Pilgrimages are associated with the mentioning of a number of places in sacred texts or in sacred tradition. They represent a special case of sacralisation of a path in actual cultural space. As a result, there was “fusion” of the sacred text with the cultural landscape. Such a sacred landscape symbolized not cosmological categories, but events of sacred history. The

landscape text evokes a natural desire to “read” it. “Sacred, i.e. consecrated by the church as having a special holiness, the space instilled the wish to visit it. For a pious Christian, the pilgrimage represented a unique opportunity to come into contact with the relics. Unlike Islam, Christianity did not oblige every believer to make a pilgrimage, but in various ways encouraged them to do so. [...] Alongside with Jerusalem as the most sacred centre, there were many other local places. Some of them were also widely known in the Christian world” [Melnikova, 1998: 111]. Pilgrims read the sacred history through the geography of the Holy Land. An example of such a “reading” is the “Description of the Holy Land” given by John of Würzburg [Iohannes Wirzburgensis, 1890]. “The geography of the Holy Land by John is, in fact, a New Testament story remembered by a pilgrim as he moves through space” [Melnikova, 1998: 112]. When read accordingly, places associated with the life and death of Jesus Christ, the prophets and saints, become mysterious landscapes that help pilgrims symbolically repeat the ways of the Saviour, or the revelatory paths of the martyr and saint.

In Russian culture, moving North was initially seen as a form of austerity requiring special qualities of the soul [Matonin 2012]. Later, when large monasteries began to appear, the pilgrimage routes to the Russian European North were connected primarily with the Solovetsky and Valaam monasteries. Until recently, the pilgrimage to the Solovetsky Monastery was a great feat, which only a few dared. Pustozersk is interesting as a place of the Old Believer pilgrimage, where Archpriest Avvakum lived in exile for 15 years, but practically nothing has survived except for the memory of this.

During the pilgrimage, God speaks to the pilgrim using the language of symbols which appear in the elements of the landscape: a stone, a bush, a roadside temple can become Divine tidings and open the door to spiritual revelation. To a certain extent, the semantics of pilgrimage are also present in secular texts related to roads, travelogues and travel novels.

The north of Siberia and the Far East bears no *loci* of attraction for the Orthodox pilgrimage. Local sacred geography was primarily created by the indigenous peoples who live there. A visit to their sacred places does not require deliberate movement in space. However, one also finds a different kind of pilgrimage in those regions: to the abandoned camps of the GULAG. Some visitors of these places perform memorial services, remembering the innocently killed.

Historical Paths

A road can signify movement through centuries and cultures, connecting space and time. This is especially true of the historical trade routes which were also used as information channels as goods also brought along stories about faraway countries, information about their nature, the way people live and their customs. “The road acted as a space of cooperation more often than a territory of rivalry. [...] We are well aware of how the Spice trade ran, the Great Silk Road, the royal path between Egypt and Persia, the frankincense between the Arabian Peninsula and the Mediterranean countries, the tin path between the Cornwall peninsula and the Mediterranean, the amber path from the Baltic to the Mediterranean Sea, the lapis lazuli “from the Western Pamirs to Iran, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Syria and the Eastern Mediterranean, the jade route from China to Europe” [Ternovaia 2013: 98].

The historical northern ways have their own specifics where the semantics of life and death, heroism and the conquest of territory come to the fore.

Through the centuries, an episodic historical significance of a road that no longer exists can be preserved. An example of such this is the “road of life” (Military Highway No. 101) through Lake Ladoga during the siege of Leningrad from 1941 to March 1943, which has become a symbol of courage and hope, which has not lost its vividness and significance for Russian national identity until the present day.

For many years, the semantics of travelling towards high latitudes in Russia was associated with the “Northern Supply”, i.e. providing the regions of the North with the necessities for the Arctic Ocean during a short period of navigation. “Linear atomic and diesel icebreakers paved the way for caravans of transport vessels along the Northern Sea Route to ensure the supply of the Arctic and the subarctic regions with everything that was necessary [...]. This system was expensive, and sometimes even wasteful, but it functioned steadily, preventing malfunctions that could threaten the survival of the settlements in the Arctic and the North and local communities of people living here” [Vasiliev 2018: 148].

The state strategy has always been associated with the roads of the North in Russia. One of the first strategic roads was when “... an army march led by Peter the Great in impassable Karelian ‘narrow lands’ from the White Sea to Lake Onega and further to Lake Ladoga and the Baltic [...] In two weeks, i.e.

in eight walking days, five battalions of the Russian army, holy synod and European diplomats overcame a 264-kilometer 'perspective' in the taiga of Karelia that was specially 'forced' from north to south. The road was built by 'common' peasants of Pomerania, Podvina and Zaonezhie as well as with the help of the 'workers' of the Onega Monastery of the Cross and the Solovetsky Monastery. Projects of this kind are unknown in the world practice of engineering" [Dankov 2015: 166].

The Petrovsky route, referred to as the "Sovereign's Road", paved the way for a special sacred landscape, since "a series of churches of the 'new system' in the name of the apostles Peter and Paul appeared along this route. Orthodox patronage churches in strongholds and outside, as well as in shipyards turned into iconic architectural monuments of the early Petrine time in the Russian North" [Dankov 2015: 166]. "These initiatives allowed the Russian government to form a 'protective' sign system along the Swedish border. The military expediency of the raid of 1702 during the Northern War, combined with mysterious marks, created a new Orthodox-mythological geography of the Russian North. The Peter and Paul Cathedrals, the namesake centres and cities on the previously almost uninhabited territory beautifully connected the White Sea periphery and the centre that was being created in the Baltic. Patronal churches, as symbols of the reclaimed cultural and historical territory, turned into some sacred emblems of young Russia at the border of the enemy. This way the state built protection not only against a military threat, but also possible religious expansion" [Dankov 2015: 170]. Thus, the name "Peter", which entered the sacred and profane toponymy, influenced the "consecration" of the vast territory from the mouth of the Northern Dvina to the mouth of the Neva, placing it under command of the sovereign reformer, his glory and will.

In Russia, the domestic route to the East was not only a trade route. It was not in vain that the Great Siberian Highway was called the great shackle path as columns of prisoners were moving along this path for at least two centuries. This is a unique case when the road became not only an element of the cultural landscape, but also turned itself one, since it organized and subjugated the surrounding space. "The Great Siberian Highway connected Europe and Asia for several centuries, being the world's longest cultural landscape. It changed the life of the cities it passed through" [Fiodorova s/d].

Interestingly enough, in Russian history the roads to the East and North were not only used to transport prisoners, but also built by them. Particularly large-scale road construction took place during the GULAG and was associated

with the development of mineral deposits (also mainly using labour force provided by “the enemies of the state”). For example, the Egvekinot – Iultin – Cape Schmidt route, Russia's easternmost highway crossing the Arctic Circle at kilometre 24, “was built in a short time, from 1946 to 1951, using the labour of the Chukotlag prisoners in connection with the opening in 1937 of the Iultin tin ore deposits and due to the problem with the extraction and transportation of metal” [Ivanov 2014: 71]. Accordingly, the history of how such roads appeared and existed is associated with the semantics of “cursed places” and places of suffering and death.

In the post-GULAG period, in the 1960s, about half of all the “northern” workers were conditionally released persons from forced labour colonies (FLCs) [Sapozhnikova 2016: 277]. The second half are Komsomol volunteers who went on this feat in the name of a brighter future.

The Soviet heroism of conquering the North began with paving roads: “behind every kilometre of driving, a winter road or an ice crossing stood the dedicated work of hydraulic operators, road workers of main and field roads, motorists and their elite, or the drivers of large heavy autonomous trawlers (called BATs in Russian); its drivers were nicknamed “BATists” who, as rule, were former tank crewmen” [Sapozhnikova 2016: 276].

Despite the strategic importance of the routes to the North, the authorities saved on providing builders with vital things and establishing necessary conditions, using the ideology and the spirit of heroism for this. “The pioneers [...] were content with so very little that the very concept of ‘sociosphere’ as a variety of socially ‘protective’ institutions lost its ‘vital ecological’ context for people in the extreme northern conditions. It is the unique type of human relationship and mutual assistance that came to the fore; and it became the determining factor for a victory of a human being over nature in the struggle for ‘big oil’ while the authorities ignored the concept of ‘household’ as such” [Sapozhnikova 2016: 275].

* * *

Modern media make the world more permeable. The task of information transfer has moved from roads to the Internet. Nevertheless, a road continues to retain its importance as a way of “reading” the cultural landscape. Its semantics, however, are mainly valid in case of the old-cultivated territories. Roads of circumpolar latitudes represent a unique case where the importance of conquering a territory, colonisation, the meanings

associated with it and emotional degrees of danger, heroism and the confrontation of life and death come to the fore. Today, roads leading North, as well as investment in the economic, human and cultural systems of the road network, together with the hope to revive the lost spirit of pioneer heroism, are becoming one of the landmarks of cultural policies to strengthen Russian borders.

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Received: May 12, 2019

Accepted: June 6, 2019

Human Trafficking in Latin America: Possible measures to reduce the demand¹

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Abstract

This article focuses on human trafficking in Latin America, with attention paid to human trafficking for the purposes of sexual exploitation. The aim is to evaluate two possible measures to reduce the demand for human trafficking in the region: the so-called 'Swedish model' and the decriminalization of prostitution. The two measures are presented and evaluated determine if they are likely to reduce demand for human trafficking in the region, and which measure would be more likely to succeed if implemented in Latin America. Both measures have previously been implemented and exist in various states, so their evaluation in this study is built upon prior research of their implementation. The study concludes that both measures could be applicable for reducing the demand for human trafficking in Latin America, but that decriminalization of prostitution would be more likely to succeed if implemented, as it better suits the Latin American context. The main influential factors contributing to these conclusions are the economic situation of the states in question along with cultural factors such as inequality, unequal gender relations and corruption.

Keywords

human trafficking, sexual exploitation, Latin America, Swedish model, decriminalization of prostitution.

Introduction

Most human trafficking cases are conducted within a sub-region, often between countries with shared borders. Transregional trafficking only

¹ For more detailed information on the topic: Hjaltadóttir, F. D. (2017). *Human trafficking in Latin America: Two applicable measures to reduce the demand*. MA thesis in International Relations from the University of Iceland. Accessed February 1, 2021: <http://hdl.handle.net/1946/26926>

accounts for a quarter of all trafficking flows and the foreigners involved in trafficking are most commonly from neighboring countries. Traffickers are likely to traffic victims from their home country as there is clear statistical correlation between citizenship of the victims and their offenders, indicating that “ethnolinguistic affinities and specific local knowledge may be very useful for traffickers in recruiting their victims” (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2014, pp. 23-26). In this study, the focus is on a region defined by a shared language and a common historical legacy between its states. It is therefore logical to assume that the states in question would benefit from combining their forces and implementing coordinated standards in the fight against human trafficking. It is therefore important to examine how human trafficking is conducted in the region, and how and if the states have implemented regulations from the Palermo Protocol, and whether the states have established regional institutions or organizations to facilitate the fight against this complex criminal activity.² Seelke (2016) has highlighted factors and circumstances that contribute to human trafficking in Latin America and identified them as being; “poverty, unemployment, membership in an indigenous group, illiteracy, a history of physical or sexual abuse, homelessness, drug use, and gang membership” (Seelke, 2016, p. 4).

The concept of security

To fully analyze human trafficking in a Latin American context it is essential to begin by examining how the concept of “security” is presented and understood in the region. According to the Brazilian social scientist Bernardo Sorj (2005), the human rights NGOs and the academic community in Latin America have tended to be skeptical of the concept of human security,

² The *Protocol to prevent, suppress and punish trafficking in persons, especially women and children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against transnational organized crime*, better known as the “Palermo Protocol” states: “Trafficking in persons” shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs (UN General Assembly, 2000a).

particularly because of Latin America's recent history of military dictatorships that "used the all-inclusive doctrine of National Security to subsume various aspects of social life to the fight against communism and "national defense". Within this doctrine, public security forces including the police were under control of the armed forces" (Sorj, 2005, p. 43). The Latin American states are at present slowly moving away from the traditional definition of security as a threat *between* states towards a more multidimensional definition that includes the security of the individual, and society at large. The states are not facing the traditional security dilemma as intraregional disputes are relatively few compared to other continents, such as Asia and Africa, which allows for a moving away of this traditional concept of security against other states. Nevertheless, the states are faced with a new type of security dilemma as Gabriel Marcella points out:

"Insecure borders and open spaces are common refrain in Latin American history and a haunting theme in its rich literature, but drug trafficking has empowered criminal, non state actors to make a mockery of the Westphalian system. A new form of warfare is emerging: war without borders, waged by non state actors against society, the state and international order" (Marcella, 2013, p. 70).

Furthermore, Marcella explains that most Latin American states are composed of two states within their physical boundaries, i.e. the formal and the informal, and argues that neighborhoods such as *barriadas*, *villas miserias*, *callampas* and *favelas* to be the representation of the informal states. Marcella calls for coordinated action among the Latin American states and argues that consensus must be reached and that security arrangement and institutions must be modernized (Marcella, 2013, pp. 73-77). The historical conditions of security in Latin America are quite particular; the Latin American states, unlike those in Europe, did not face repeated interstate conflicts and did not need, therefore, "to mobilize their populations, enhance their capacity for resource extraction and taxation, develop a large and complex state apparatus, or engage in extensive social welfare" (Williams, 2016, p. 267). Therefore, Williams argues, Latin American states did not develop socially to the same extent and became thus subject to a combination of repression and weakness. He continues by arguing that due to military dictatorship and one-party rule in the history of Latin America, state weakness became more obvious;

“[...] low level of state legitimacy, high distrust of state fective laws and norms, rent-seeking politicians and corrupt officials, little economic or social provision for the citizenry, underdeveloped social control mechanism and unfair and antiquated criminal justice system. [These factors contributed to] lawlessness and criminality that have found perhaps the perfect expression in drug trafficking organizations” (Williams, 2016, p. 268).

According to Williams, illegal migration and human trafficking have intersected with the drug business in several ways, primarily due to a need to exploit state security in a similar respect. It is also argued that both human trafficking and the drug business grew from similar roots of “poverty and despair, combined with hope and aspirations by those being moved, and criminal opportunism on the part of those involved in the moving business” (Williams, 2016, pp. 267-268).

International cooperation and coordination

Addressing the concept of neoliberal institutionalism in regard to Latin American Security studies, Malamud and Schenoni (2016) argue that several international organizations have been established in Latin America, but that relatively few are security oriented. They identify two security-oriented organizations, the Organization of American States (OAS) and the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR) and according to the authors, the key difference between the two is the exclusion of the United States in the latter organization (Malamud & Schenoni, 2016, p. 46). All the states under examination in this research project are members of OAS (Organization of American States, 2017b), but only ten are members of UNASUR (UNASUR, 2017).³ As for regional coordination in security issues, Malamud and Schenoni stress that MERCOSUR (e. The Southern Common Market) “shows how organizations primarily intended to regulate the economic realm can lead, if not to defense cooperation, at least coordination of domestic and transnational security practices” (Malamud & Schenoni, 2016, p. 50). Moreover, they explain that although defense related issues are not frequently discussed, the nature of the coordination often leads them to spill over into issues related to drug and arms trafficking, amongst other

³ Central America does not form a part of UNASUR.

(Malamud & Schenoni, 2016, p. 51). Although there is no doubt that much needs to be done to reach a common agreement on security policies and coordination, it is safe to argue that the first steps have already been taken to establish cooperation among the states to battle non-traditional threats such as transnational organized crime and human trafficking.

All three of the previous mentioned organizations (OAS, UNASUR and MERCOSUR) have implemented strategies or measures directed at combatting human trafficking. In 2003, OAS adopted resolution 1948, “Fighting the Crime of Trafficking in Persons, especially Women, Adolescents, and Children”, that requests the Permanent Secretariat of the Inter-American Commission of Women (CIM); “To facilitate the exchange of information and best practices among member states that so request with a view to fighting the crime of trafficking in persons and expanding its research to include other member states...” (Organization of American States, 2003). This has proven an important step, as facilitating a better flow of information is a critical move towards making inter-state coordination more effective. The organization has also established an Anti-Trafficking in person section that; “provides the necessary logistic information for training seminars, technical assistance to governments, exchange of information, and proposals” (Organization of American States, 2017a). In addition, the section develops and publishes information and reports along with other documents related to human trafficking (Organization of American States, 2017a). OAS also promotes coordination among the states by hosting the Meetings of National Authorities on Trafficking in Person. At the most recent meeting, in Brazil in 2014, the government representatives agreed on two documents, firstly; “the Second Work Plan Against Trafficking in Person in the Western Hemisphere 2015-2018” and “Declaration of Brasilia”. OAS has pledged to follow up on the implementation of the work plan by (among other actions); “helping member states develop common indicators in the areas of prevention, prosecution, and punishment, and assistance for and protection of victims” (Seelke, 2016, p. 12).

Similarly, UNASUR's primary engagement with the matter of human trafficking was the holding of the South American Seminar on Human Trafficking Prevention & Struggle in the South, in August of 2016. The objective of the seminar was to promote “a common space for information exchange between high level human rights authorities of UNASUR, with the perspective of providing inputs for the establishment of a regional agenda to combat, prevent and assist victims of human trafficking in South

America” (UNASUR, 2016). MERCOSUR has contributed to the fight against human trafficking through publication; “Guía MERCOSUR de atención a mujeres en situación de trata con fines de explotación sexual” (2012) is a guide designed to harmonize the theoretical and methodological approach of the attention to victims of trafficking, and aiming to strengthen and unify the care responses in the region. Furthermore, this guide aims to promote cooperation and coordination and facilitate the articulation of action among the organizations that make up the MERCOSUR network (Reunión de Ministras y Altas Autoridades de la Mujer del Mercosur, 2012b, p. 17). Another document published by MERCOSUR is “Diagnóstico Regional en trata de mujeres con fines de explotación sexual” which contains profound analysis of the characteristics of sex trafficking in the region (Reunión de Ministras y Altas Autoridades de la Mujer del Mercosur, 2012a).

Further cooperation among the states in the region takes place in several NGOs and through awareness campaigns, such as the Blue Heart Campaign (Campaña Corazón Azul), a UN initiative, Brazil, Colombia, Mexico and Perú have signed up to (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2017). Although cooperation has clearly emerged amongst the states in question, the full extent of its effectiveness remains still to be seen.

Legislation and other actions against human trafficking in Latin America

To provide a full picture of the situation in Latin American context, it becomes important to examine the existing legal framework and the legal modifications executed to combat human trafficking. All the Latin American states have either ratified or accepted the Palermo Protocol, the latest being in Cuba in 2013. Five out of the twenty states have made reservation to article 15, paragraph 2.⁴ However, ratification does not signify full compliance with the protocol. The United States, in accordance with their “Trafficking Victims Protection Act” (TVPA), have developed a placement list where states are categorized according to the efforts they make to combat human trafficking (The Department of State, 2016, p. 35). The placement is published in a yearly report by The Department of State. The placement is

⁴ The list of countries that have signed the treaty can be found on the following webpage:

https://treaties.un.org/pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg_no=XVII I-12-a&chapter=18&clang=_en (accessed:17.11.2019).

“based more on the extent of government action to combat trafficking than on the size of the country’s problem. The analyses are based on the extent of governments’ efforts measured against the TVPA’s minimum standards for the elimination of human trafficking” (The Department of State, 2016, p. 36).⁵ The standards of the TVPA are mostly consistent with the Palermo Protocol. The report places each country on a three-tier scale. Countries placed in Tier 1 are countries whose governments fully meet the TVPA’s minimum standards. Only 2 Latin American countries are currently placed in Tier 1, Chile and Colombia.⁶ In Tier 2 are countries whose governments do not fully meet the TVPA’s minimum standards but are making significant efforts to meet those standards. Most of the Latin American States (13/20) are placed in Tier 2, although Bolivia, Costa Rica and Cuba are placed a half-step behind, in the Tier 2 Watch List, meaning that one or more of the three following criteria applies:

- a) The absolute number of victims of severe forms of trafficking is very significant or is significantly increasing;
- b) There is a failure to provide evidence of increasing efforts to combat severe forms of trafficking in persons from the previous year, including increased investigations, prosecutions, and convictions of trafficking crimes, increased assistance to victims, and decreasing evidence of complicity in severe forms of trafficking by government officials; or
- c) The determination that a country is making significant efforts to meet the minimum standards was based on commitments by the country to take additional future steps over the next year (The Department of State, 2016, p. 44) .

The third placement, Tier 3, applies to countries whose governments do not fully meet the minimum standards and are not making significant efforts to do so. Haiti and Venezuela are both placed in Tier 3. It is important to point out that this placement index is based solely on research and findings of one state, being The United States, and does therefore not necessarily reflect the absolute reality of the situation of the states in question. This Tier scale is, however, the only accessible and internationally recognized measuring tool that provides comparable information on the

⁵ See the complete text of TVPA’s minimum standards:

<https://www.state.gov/j/tip/rls/tiprpt/2011/164236.htm>.

⁶ See list of tier categorization of the states in question on p. 24 and 25.

legal status of human trafficking in different Latin American states. In summary of these tiers, then, the Latin American situation is one that broadly does not meet the minimum standard of the TVPA, which is a guideline consistent with the Palermo Protocol that all the states have accepted or ratified.

The *Trafficking in Person report* (2016) describes existing legislation and government action that has been enacted to combat human trafficking. According to the report, most of the states in question did have some form of national action plan for human trafficking but lacked funding to carry out these plans. According to Seelke (2016), the problem with international commitments regarding legal reforms and other initiatives that have emerged is a general lack of resources. She explains that in many states in the region poverty is already a glaring issue, exemplifying a lack of available resources, but there is also a lack of political will to fund anti-trafficking programs, and political instability can be a contributor as well. Despite legislation against human trafficking and anti-trafficking countermeasures such as anti-trafficking training and awareness campaigns, the report also points out a frequent lack of data and research by the states in question. Due to this lack of statistics, it becomes impossible to estimate the effects these countermeasures have on human trafficking in the region, and thus it is increasingly difficult to suggest alternative measures.

An important feature of human trafficking for sexual exploitation is its correlation with prostitution although differing views exist on regulations about prostitution and the effect such regulations can have on human trafficking. All Latin American states have passed laws regarding prostitution, and as a result it is legal in 18 of the 20 states, while it is illegal in both Haiti and Cuba. Pimping, however, is illegal in 19 states and brothel ownership is illegal in 11.⁷

Case 1: The Swedish model

As observed by Batsyukova (2007), there exists a confirmed connection between prostitution and human trafficking. She argues that: “Ways in which the market of prostitution operates can create opportunities for human trafficking” (Batsyukova, 2007, p. 47). In 1999, Sweden became the first country to introduce legislation that was designed to criminalize the

⁷ For further information see p. 25.

purchase, but not the sale, of sexual services (The Swedish Institute, 2010, p. 4). The purpose of the legislation was “to protect sex workers from legal repercussion to which they have been and are subject in many states, while focusing the punitive gaze of the state of clients of the sex workers” (Levy, 2015, p. 1). With this legislation, Sweden sent a clear message to other countries, implying that; “prostitution results in serious harm to both individuals and to society, and that in a gender equal society it is unacceptable that men obtained sexual relations in exchange for money” (The Swedish Institute, 2010, p. 4). Sweden has made a concerted effort to export this legislation and influence international law and political debate on the subject (Levy, 2015, p. 1). Similar types of legislation have since been adopted by some other European states, such as Norway, Iceland, Northern Ireland and France, and has been referred to as the *Swedish model* or the *Nordic model*, taking denotation from its origin. In the United Kingdom, this model has been referred to as the *Sex Buyer Law* (Jones, 2016). This measure, unlike previous measures introduced to fight prostitution, aims to target the demand for sexual services directly (the buyers and prospective buyers of sex) (The Swedish Institute, 2010, p. 4). The Swedish model addresses “broader themes of social and spatial exclusion, displacement, segregation and the policing and moralizing of public space, as well as processes of social (re)construction of deviant and normative identity” (Levy, 2015, p. 1). The main principle of the Swedish approach is the focus on the root cause, as it recognizes “that without the men’s demand for and use of women and girls for sexual exploitation, the global prostitution industry would not be able to flourish and expand” (Ekberg, 2004, p. 1189). The model is frequently thought of as an effective measure to combat human trafficking although that was not originally its direct intent. J. A. Levy explains that the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union were followed by an increase in migration from Eastern Europe to the wealthier European states. Furthermore, these mass migration flows only increased with the expansion of the European Union and the principle of freedom of movement. Directly in tow with this development was a moral panic about human trafficking, which began to emerge during the 1990s. Even though the legal debate of the *sexköpslagen*⁸ did not involve much discussion about human trafficking, the “white slavery- esque panic-mirroring a revivification of this moral panic by some radical feminist writers – supported calls for new prostitution

⁸ The Swedish term for the legislation; “Law on the purchase of sex”.

legislation, and the law has since been marketed as a measure against trafficking” (Levy, 2015, p. 33). Similarly, it has been pointed out that: “In Sweden, prostitution, and trafficking in human beings for sexual purposes are seen as issues that cannot, and should not, be separated; both are harmful practices and intrinsically linked”(Ekberg, 2004, p. 1189).

From the early days of the implementation process of the *Sexköpslagen*, opposition voices emerged. J. A. Levy explains that prior to the establishment of the legislation, several government commissions investigating prostitution were conducted. The investigations' conclusions advised against criminalization “with concerns voiced as to prospective difficulties gathering evidence, increased stigma and criminalization driving prostitution underground” (Levy, 2015, p. 35). Since its implementation, contrasting views have continued to be expressed. In a report issued by the Swedish government, the opposing views on prostitution and the Swedish model are thoroughly explained:

Those who defend prostitution argue that it is possible to differentiate between voluntary and non-voluntary prostitution, that adults should have the right to freely sell and freely purchase sex, and that the ban on the purchase of sexual services represents an outdated position based on sexual morality. However, from a gender equality and human rights perspective and a shift in focus from what is being offered—those who are exploited in prostitution—to demand, that is, traffickers, procurers and sex buyers, the distinction between voluntary and non-voluntary prostitution is not relevant (The Swedish Institute, 2010, p. 5).

As stated, the principal focus of the model is on gender equality, the oppression of women, and gender-based violence. At the same time as it promotes increased gender equality, however, the model fails to address the situation of male and transgender sex workers; the current Swedish feminist construction of prostitution is of violence against cisgender women (J. A. Levy, 2015, p. 104). In this sense it is therefore safe to argue that the Swedish model, similar to other policies on human trafficking, is based on heteronormative ideas about sexual relations where commercial sex is presumed to be heterosexual and girls and women are the sellers and the buyers male (Robertson & Sgoutas, 2012). It should be pointed out, however, that the law is gender neutral, and distinction between male and female sex workers is avoided (Levy, 2015, p. 79). In its report from 2010 the Swedish government recognizes this as it states that:

Overall, “prostitution” has traditionally referred to heterosexual prostitution, with women providing the sexual service and men purchasing it. The measures that are implemented and the knowledge available are also largely based on this customary view. Accordingly, we do not know very much about men who provide sexual services and about young people who are exploited in prostitution. Buyers of sexual services are still fairly invisible despite the political will to shift the focus (The Swedish Institute, 2010, p. 7).

According to the report issued by the Swedish government in 2010, the Swedish Model has shown indications of success: “Since the introduction of the ban on the purchase of sexual services, street prostitution in Sweden has been reduced by half” (The Swedish Institute, 2010, p. 7). Furthermore the report states that the Swedish model has also had positive effects regarding transnational organized crime and human trafficking: “According to the Swedish Police, it is clear that the ban on the purchase of sexual services acts as a barrier to human traffickers and procurers who are considering establishing themselves in Sweden” (The Swedish Institute, 2010, p. 9). It is however important to point out that the surveys carried out in the report were in some cases of limited scope and the procedures and methods used varied, complicating the drawing of conclusions. The report states that due to these factors caution must be used while interpreting the result (The Swedish Institute, 2010, p. 7). It is entirely possible, however, that the reason that street prostitution has ostensibly reduced is because the industry has been driven underground and is therefore less visible. Ekberg (2004), however, argues that there is no evidence of prostitution moving to, for example, the internet as she states that:

The *Net Sex Project* at the University of Gothenburg, a research project that studies the use of the Internet for sexual purposes, concludes in its report that the number of Swedish women who are prostituted via the Internet remains stable at around 80 to 100 women, with the same women advertised on many different Web sites (Ekberg, 2004, p. 1194).

It can therefore be assumed that while there is some indication of a decreasing of demand for prostitution and human trafficking, there is no clear empirical evidence, because of the hidden nature of the phenomenon, and thus no bold conclusions may be made from the introduction of the *sexköpslagen*. Levy corroborates this view, stating that “there is no convincing evidence demonstrating that overall levels of prostitution in Sweden have declined since the *sexköpslagen* was introduced in 1999” (Levy, 2015, p. 225). Waltman (2011) points out, however, that when comparing the statistics on prostitution in Sweden after the implementation of the legislation to

numbers on prostitution in neighboring countries, such as Denmark, where sex purchase is legal, the statistics do suggest that Sweden has been more successful in reducing prostitution and consequently trafficking (Waltman, 2011, p. 146 & 157). It is difficult to fully dismiss these statistics, even if there is reason to believe that the introduction of this law might not have been as effective as some proponents claim.

Table 1: The Swedish model: possible positive and negative outcomes for the society

	Positive	Negative
Case 1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Aims to promote gender equality • Designated to address the demand for sexual services. • Focuses on male oppression and violence against women. • Possible victims of human trafficking do not get punished for forced prostitution. • Some indication of decreasing demand for prostitution and human trafficking, but no clear evidence. • Less prostitution when compared to neighboring countries where sex purchase is legal. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Brings the activity of commercial sex underground. • Indication of increased motivation for prostitution. • Does not directly address human trafficking, only demand for prostitution. • Generalization about sex buyers. • Based on hetero-normative ideas; assumes prostitutes are female and does not address male or LGBT prostitution. • Promotes discrimination and leads to increased danger for sex workers. • Clients prefer to stay anonymous, making them untraceable in case of any criminal conducts. • Expensive to implement due to increased law enforcement.

Question based evaluation

1. To what extent is the measure applicable for the Latin American context?

The criminalization of the sex buyer would require a major change in legislation in most of the Latin American states. It would be highly likely that the existing sex industry would be forced underground in order to survive, which would lead to a need for greater surveillance and control measures,

translating to increased governmental spending. Surveillance and control measures against human trafficking are already failing in Latin America, however, due to the previously discussed corruption among police officers and in politics. Due to the prevalence of *machismo* in Latin American society, it is likely that any efforts to change the perception of sex work by punishing the buyer would demand an implementation of other measures to raise awareness among the public. Changing the legislation alone is unlikely to be enough in changing the way the public perceives prostitution and the purchasing of sex. Furthermore, it is likely that the *machismo* practice would make it difficult to pass the legislation the state's congress, predominantly composed by men.⁹ In addition, given how rife poverty is throughout the underdeveloped states in Latin America, making prostitution more lucrative by forcing it underground might only encourage more women to begin prostitution. This same poverty, indicative of a general lack of wealth, also makes it more difficult for the states to fund the surveillance and control, which would become necessary under this measure.

2. *Is the measure likely to reduce the demand for human trafficking in the region?*

As there is no clear evidence for the reduction of the demand for prostitution or human trafficking where the Swedish model has been applied (only estimations that indicate a decrease), it is impossible to make an accurate assessment on its possible success when applied to Latin America. Further research would be required to conclude how likely the measure is to succeed in the region, and if it is applicable to a Latin American context. Sweden's experience does seem to have been promising, however, and if the measure can therefore be translated to this region the method would be highly likely to reduce the demand for human trafficking.

3. *Is the implementation likely to have long-term effect?*

The measure is highly likely to have a long-term effect as it addresses the demand for prostitution and human trafficking directly, by attempting to change the way the public views prostitution and the purchase of sex. The

⁹According to statistics provided by the World Bank, 29% of total seats in national parliaments in Latin America and the Caribbean were held by women in 2016 (The World Bank Group, 2016).

Swedish government themselves reports that the ban on the purchase of sexual services has acted as a barrier to human traffickers establishing themselves in Sweden. However, as there is no clear evidence available on the effect of the model due to a lack of data, it is not possible to assert the effect it might have in the long run. Nevertheless, if the model works as it was originally expected and as some of the statistics point towards, the intention is to change the way people view commercial sex and prostitution. It is arguable that if the public starts condemning the purchase of sex, it no longer becomes socially accepted, and purchasing sex becomes thought of as a violation of (these new) socially constructed norms of conduct. Conversely, other criminal activities, such as for example drug related crimes, have been criminalized for a long period in most parts of the world, and yet still continue, with the demand for drugs not seeming to decrease (Trocki, 2015, pp. 101-102); it is clearly not always enough to solely influence public opinion, or to reconstruct social norms.

4. How well does the measure comply with theoretical and legal framework?

The Swedish model emerged from ideas based on social construction. The method does not address the issue from the perspective of human security and transnational organized crime. The measure complies therefore only partly with the theoretical framework. It has been argued that because of the legislation, remuneration for sexual services is very high compared to other countries with less stringent policies. As traffickers seek to maximize their profit, it is therefore perhaps likely to increase the number of trafficked victims. The state becomes a feasible country of destination for sexual exploitation.

The measure complies fully to the legal framework as it complies with the Palermo Protocol and CEDAW. To criminalize the purchase of sex in the region would however require changes in domestic legislation in most of the states in question.

In summary

The implementation of the Swedish model would require thorough preparation throughout Latin America and would be expensive for the states in question as it would require changes in legislation and enhanced surveillance, as the industry would be forced further underground. By forcing the existing industry further underground it would be harder to

identify human trafficking cases and would increase the danger for sex workers in the region. However, as the measure is designed to change the perception of prostitution and discriminates the buyers, the measure would be likely to have a long-term effect, as it addresses the demand for sexual services. Although the Swedish model is a possible measure for Latin American states to implement in the fight against human trafficking, it would be an economical burden. As pointed out earlier trafficking of humans is a culturally based phenomenon, where language and culture are determining factors. Implementing the Swedish model would therefore require strict coordination among all the states in the region to produce a meaningful change in human trafficking. Evaluating the possible negative and positive outcomes of the Swedish model and the current situation (both cultural and legislative), it is safe to argue that the Swedish model would be a plausible measure, but would not be the most suitable option for Latin America to combat human trafficking in the region, as it would require strict coordination, increased surveillance and ultimately significant funding, which Latin American governments are unlikely to contribute to this issue where the majority are not even fully complying to existing human trafficking protocol. It is therefore not likely that the states would succeed by trying to implement this measure.

Case 2: The decriminalization of prostitution

The decriminalization, or the legalization¹⁰ of prostitution has been a polemic issue in debates regarding human trafficking for the past two decades. It became a contested debate after Amnesty International, in 2015, began advocating “for the decriminalization of all aspects of consensual adult sex - sex work that does not involve coercion, exploitation or abuse” (Murphy, 2015). Amnesty International’s decision attracted attention and created debates worldwide, with the organization being criticized for advocating “prostitution as a human right” (Murphy, 2015). The organization responded, stating that their policy;

“[...] does not argue that there is a human right to buy sex or a human right to financially benefit from the sale of sex by another person. Rather, it calls for sex workers to be protected from individuals who seek to exploit and harm them and it recognizes that the criminalization of adult consensual

¹⁰ These terms are often used as synonyms.

sex work interferes with the realization of the human rights of sex worker” (Amnesty International, 2016, p. 3).

According to Swanson’s (2016) findings, scholars are divided into two separate camps, expressing contrasting views on the decriminalization of prostitution. Scholars that articulate abolitionist views advocate for criminalization of prostitution, stating that prostitution is a form of violence against women. The other group of scholars place “prostitution or sex work as a legitimate profession that serves as an expression of women’s choice and agency” (Swanson, 2016, p. 593). The second view has been related to the idea of sexual liberalism (Swanson, 2016, p. 593). Policies that decriminalize and regulate prostitution have been implemented in more than one state, such as Denmark, New Zealand and Austria, but this research takes as its focus the experience reported from the Netherlands as one of the first countries to decriminalize prostitution, to assess the efficacy of this measure as a possible measure for Latin American states in the fight against human trafficking. In this context, it becomes important to clarify that the modern way of decriminalizing prostitution is not solely the act of legalizing the sale and purchase of sex, but rather involves actively regulating the industry and providing sex workers with social and labor rights.

The Netherlands was amongst the first countries to decriminalize and regulate prostitution, lifting the ban on brothels in 1999 in order to aid this regulation. The state aimed to eradicate the criminal elements of the sex industry by providing licenses to sex clubs. The legislation also prohibited forcing a person into prostitution. Religious political parties opposed the legislation as they saw it as an act for allowing immoral practices, but other parties considered it a realistic solution to a social problem. The application was delegated to the municipalities to oversee the providing of licenses (Outshoorn, 2014, pp. 173-174). Swanson explains that the legislation in the Netherlands is supported by the viewpoint of sexual liberation, that local cultural values and beliefs support the attitude towards prostitution but that there is a pressure from the global society to reconsider their policies as abolitionist belief that it entice traffickers to import victims from other countries to meet the open market’s demand for sexual services (Swanson, 2016, p. 613).

Although much has been argued on the possible negative outcomes of decriminalizing prostitution, both regarding the sex industry and human trafficking, empirical, statistic-based research is limited. Joyce Outshoorn, in her research of the nationalities of sex workers after the decriminalization

of prostitution in the Netherlands, identifies the creation of categories of sex workers. She observes four distinct groups of prostitutes that have formed after the decriminalization, categorized with reference to the rights they have according to their nationality, while simultaneously the emergence of two sectors of prostitution, the legal (licensed) prostitution and the illegal prostitution can be identified. She explains that when the new legislation was introduced to regulate the industry and decriminalize prostitution, some local councils did not allow new brothels and that several municipalities of an orthodox protestant majority did not issue new licenses. This created a double-faced industry of the legal and the illegal (Outshoorn, 2014, pp. 177-179). Another critical feature of decriminalization is the possibility of the normalization of prostitution, aiding a culture of sexual discrimination and male dominance. Ekberg argues, from a Swedish perspective, that every policy that decriminalizes different respects of prostitution (brothels, pimps, traffickers etc.) should be seen as a threat to gender equality, and that “the legalization of prostitution will inevitably normalize an extreme form of sexual discrimination and violence and strengthen male domination of all female human beings” (Ekberg, 2004, p. 1190).

One of the positive outcomes of the decriminalization of prostitution has been argued to be the increased transparency of the sex industry as it does not need to be practiced underground anymore. With the decriminalization and the recognition of sex work as a legitimate profession, taxation becomes possible and the states can profit from the supply of and demand for sex. The profit can later be used to fund surveillance and social services for sex workers, and in awareness campaigns.

Research on the effect decriminalization has on the demand for human trafficking is limited. Cho, Dreher and Neumayer conclude in their research that: “The scale effect of legalizing prostitution leads to an expansion of the prostitution market and thus an increase in human trafficking, while the substitution effect reduces demand for trafficked prostitutes by favoring prostitutes who have legal residence in a country” (Cho, Dreher, & Neumayer, 2013, p. 75). The authors clarify that their research is based on the most reliable existing data, but point out that more research is needed, and that although their findings might support the argument of those who favor prohibition of prostitution, this overlooks the potential benefits for the persons employed in prostitution (Cho et al., 2013, p. 76).

Table 2: Decriminalization of prostitution: possible positive and negative outcomes for the society.

	Positive	Negative
Case 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More transparency in the sex industry. • Supports sex worker’s fight for recognition of their human and labor rights. • Makes taxation on prostitution possible. • Substitution effect reduces demand for trafficked prostitutes. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Risk of normalization of the purchase of sex and gender-based violence. • Indications of increase in human trafficking inflow. • Possible categorization of prostitutes in accordance with migration status. • Creates two sectors of sex industry, legal vs. illegal, reducing the efficacy of the measure.

Question based evaluation

1. *To what extent is the measure applicable for the Latin American context?*

As previously discussed, prostitution is already legal in the majority of the Latin American States, and the ownership of brothels is legal in 10 of the states, meaning that the legal implementation of decriminalizing prostitution would not require abundant changes in legislation. The changes would rather focus on regulation with regards to license providing and control of the brothels' activities. Decriminalization of prostitution and regulations regarding sex workers would need to be coordinated among the states in the region to avoid a possible hierarchization of sex workers as in the case of the Netherlands, and to reduce the risk of increased migration of sex workers from one state to another. The cultural implications are

however quite complicated, even if prostitution has been a part of the Latin American society since colonization, and sex workers are currently openly fighting for their labor rights. In Latin America, a multinational group of prostitutes have gathered and formed an organization, established in 1997 called ReTraSex (Latin American and Caribbean Women Sex Workers' Network).¹¹ This network, that includes organizations in 15 states in Latin America, fights for human rights of female sex workers, particularly their labor rights (RedTraSex, 2006). According to the network's publication, Uruguay is the only state in Latin America that has passed laws that regulate sex work, but due to its focus on sanitary issues the organization states that the law is beneficiary for pimping and not for sex workers (RedTraSex). As for normalization, it is relevant to argue that prostitution is already a visible fact for the general public in the region. It is therefore safe to assume that the general public would not demonstrate dissatisfaction with general decriminalization and the establishment of regulations regarding the industry.

2. *Is the measure likely to reduce the demand for human trafficking in the region?*

As limited research is available on the effects of decriminalization on the demand for human trafficking it is difficult to make an accurate estimation. However, as Cho, Dreher and Neumayer conclude in their research, the cases of human trafficking might increase, although substitution effect would reduce demand for trafficked prostitutes, as the availability of legal sex workers would presumably fulfill the general demand. As prostitution is already legal in most parts of the region it is possible to assume that the inflow of victims of human trafficking would increase, but this substitution effect would be likely to countermeasure the inflow.

3. *Is the implementation likely to have long-term effect?*

Decriminalization of prostitution is a relatively recent notion and hence the research on long-term effects is limited. Although there is not enough evidence to argue that the measure would have a long-term effect on human trafficking, it is safe to assume that the attitude towards sex workers in the region would change considerably if sex workers were granted better social rights and not treated as criminals or second-class citizens. It is likely that the measure would be able to reduce the stigma prostitutes face, and consequently drive the industry to the surface. The long-term effects would

¹¹Spanish: Red de Mujeres Trabajadoras Sexuales de Latinoamérica y el Caribe

likely be notable for the sex workers themselves, as they would have the possibility to acquire social and labor rights.

4. *How well does the measure comply with theoretical and legal framework?*

The measure of decriminalizing prostitution complies fully with the legal framework, as the Palermo Protocol does not address directly the issue of prostitution, and as long as the member states comply with the protocol regarding human trafficking, the decriminalization of prostitution would not violate the provisions of the Protocol or other international agreements that protect victims of human trafficking. As for the theoretical framework, it is possible to argue that the decriminalization of prostitution would eventually change the way of thinking about prostitution and sex work in general, reducing stigma and discrimination. There is, as has been noted, however, a possibility of "normalizing" prostitution. Normalization can be construed as both positive and negative, but ultimately the social construction of prostitution would eventually change as sex work becomes a legally recognized profession. Although the demand for sexual services would perhaps remain unchanged, the demand for illegal prostitutes, potential victims of human trafficking, would be likely to decrease because of the substitution effect.

In summary

The establishment of ReTraSex, the union of Latin American sex workers, demonstrates how far regional sex workers have come in their fight for recognition of their human and labor rights. Decriminalization of prostitution is a possible measure for Latin American states to implement in their fight against human trafficking. Decriminalization would require great effort and resources from the states, however, to regulate the industry and provide sex workers with all necessary social and labor rights, such as health care and pension plans and the relevant institutions to support the measure. As prostitution is already legal in most states of Latin America, decriminalization and sufficient regulation procedures would be likely to have a positive substitution effect against the demand for illegal prostitutes and consequently victims of human trafficking. As the establishment of ReTraSex in the region shows, sex workers would be likely to accept the measure, facilitating possible implementation of regulations regarding prostitution, especially if their claims would be taken into consideration in the process of forming policies. As prostitution becomes legal and regulated,

there is more transparency as the industry is not forced underground. This makes taxation on the industry possible, allowing the state to benefit from the supply and demand of sex work.

Final conclusions

This study has drawn the attention to the issue of human trafficking, as defined by the Palermo Protocol. Most of the available existing researches on human trafficking have focused on trafficking to and from Europe and the United States, while this study however turned the attention to Latin America, focusing trafficking aimed for sexual exploitation. The most relevant legal document on human trafficking, the Palermo Protocol, has been used throughout, and comprises for the most part the legal framework applied.

After displaying the legal framework and the contextualization of human trafficking in Latin America, two measures to fight sex trafficking were presented and evaluated using an inductive case study method. These measures were analyzed through assessing their broader negative and positive outcomes for society, and through a question-based evaluation. The measures selected have been previously implemented in different European states, the Swedish model in states such as Sweden, Norway, Iceland, Northern Ireland and France and the decriminalization of prostitution in such as The Netherlands, Denmark, New Zealand and Austria. The aim was to determine whether these measures would be applicable, workable and functional for Latin American states in their fight against human trafficking. Furthermore, through a comparative analysis, which measure would be more likely to succeed if implemented in the region.

The principal aim has been to discuss and compare the two selected measures, to ultimately evaluate which one is more applicable for the Latin American states. Through this process, it has become evident that the measures differ, as they are based on two differing ideologies; on the one hand the Swedish model generated upon feminist views that prostitution is a violent, gender based phenomenon, while the decriminalization of prostitution emerged as a consequence of sexual liberalism.

One of the aspects to be evaluated and discussed is Latin America's all-encompassing poverty as one of the causal factors for Human Trafficking. Many of the Latin American states are still evaluated as underdeveloped and despite economic improvements over the last decades, inequality is still an influential factor in the region (Tsounta & Osueke, 2014, p. 20) and has

direct influence on peoples capacity to follow the life of their choosing (The World Bank, 2003, p. 1). As outlined in the 2016 Trafficking in Person report, the different states enjoy limited resources to organize and provide awareness campaigns and training of officials, while some have not even been able to fund existing anti-trafficking plans and policies (The Department of State, 2016). Changes in policies that require increased funding and establishment of institutions are therefore likely to become economically challenging for most of the countries in the region, and much less likely to succeed. It is safe to argue that both measures presented in the previous chapter would require increased funding from them as the measures call for the establishment of improved surveillance of the sex industry. If the measures are closely compared, however, it is possible to argue that the Swedish model would be more of an economic burden for the states as it requires more efforts from the surveillance mechanism and other authorities to investigate and prosecute buyers, along with the establishment of other necessary institutes. By implementing the measure of decriminalization, existing institutes, such as municipalities or ministries would serve to issue licenses to brothels and clubs. Similarly, it would be possible to engage the labor regulatory institutes in supervising and inspecting the field. Notwithstanding is the fact that corruption is present in most Latin American societies, both within the public and private sectors. In many of the states in the region, corruption is a part of common cultural practice and a part of everyday life of the citizens. Applying the Swedish model is likely to drive the sex industry further underground making it even more exposed to the risk of corruption (for example bribery of police officials or other actors with the purpose of covering up any criminal conducts). On the contrary decriminalizing prostitution, would drive the sex industry to the surface making it easier to control, and the risk of corruption might be likely to decrease, as it would become legal to sell and purchase sexual services.

Gender inequality is yet another influential factor and a documented reality in Latin American culture. It is possible therefore that the Swedish model would promote greater gender equality and an awareness of violence against women, but given the recognition and acceptance of *machismo* as a cultural practice in the Latin American reality, it is likely that changing the view of sex purchase by punishing the buyer would require more efforts than the sole change of legislation to raise awareness among the public, with the hope to eventually change the perception of the general population. It is safe to assume that the sex industry would be opposed to the Swedish model

as it includes the criminalization of their source of income (the clients), making implementation harder to accomplish. However, as the Swedish model has only been implemented in wealthier states where corruption is not considered to be an influential factor, it is doubtful to draw conclusions based on that argument.

In summary, the findings of this research demonstrate that both measures would be applicable and workable for Latin American states to reduce the demand for human trafficking. Experience with the Swedish model shows a reduction in numbers of street prostitutes, and that criminalization on the purchase of sex has also functioned as a barrier for human traffickers to establish themselves in Sweden. The second measure, the decriminalization of prostitution, has proven to increase inflow of human trafficking. It has however been argued that because of the substitution effect, the demand for illegal prostitutes and possible victims of human trafficking would be likely to decrease in the long-term. And, as already emphasized, implementing the Swedish model would be not at all suitable for Latin America as it would enhance an economical burden for the states, requiring more surveillance and increased police involvement. The industry would be forced underground, endangering prostitutes, and if implemented, all the states in question would be required to make notable changes in their legislation and to considerable increase funding to fight human trafficking, which this study has deemed unlikely to occur.

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APPENDIX A

Table 3: Signatures and reservations to the Palermo Protocol by state.

State	Year ratified/accepted	Reservations
Argentina	2002	None
Bolivia	2006	Not bound by paragraph 2, article 15
Brazil	2004	None
Chile	2004	None
Colombia	2004	Not bound by paragraph 2, article 15
Costa Rica	2003	None
Cuba	2013	Not bound by paragraph 2, article 15
Dominican Republic	2008	None
Ecuador	2002	Not bound by paragraph 2, article 15
El Salvador	2004	Not bound by paragraph 2, article 15
Guatemala	2004	None
Haití	2011	None
Honduras	2008	None
México	2003	None
Nicaragua	2004	None
Panamá	2004	None
Paraguay	2004	None
Perú	2002	None
Uruguay	2005	None
Venezuela	2002	None

Source: United Nations, 2016.

APPENDIX B

Table 4: Legal status of prostitution of Latin American states.

State	Prostitution	Brothel ownership	Pimping
Argentina	Legal	Illegal	Illegal
Bolivia	Legal	Illegal	Illegal
Brazil	Legal	Illegal	Illegal
Chile	Legal	Illegal	Illegal
Colombia	Legal	Legal	Illegal
Costa Rica	Legal	Legal	Illegal
Cuba	Illegal	Illegal	Illegal
Dominican Republic	Legal	Illegal	Illegal
Ecuador	Legal	Legal	Illegal
El Salvador	Legal	Legal	Illegal
Guatemala	Legal	Legal	Illegal
Haití	Illegal	Illegal	Illegal
Honduras	Legal	Illegal	Illegal
México	Legal	Illegal	Illegal
Nicaragua	Legal	Legal	Legal
Panamá	Legal	Legal	Illegal
Paraguay	Legal	Illegal	Illegal
Perú	Legal	Legal	Illegal
Uruguay	Legal	Illegal	Illegal
Venezuela	Legal	Legal	Illegal

Source: ProCon.org, 2016

Received: September 2, 2019
Accepted: September 30, 2019

Moravian Missions in the European Arctic during the Enlightenment: collecting, classifying and communicating knowledge (Greenland, Iceland and Lapland)

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Abstract

This article focuses on the missions and exploratory journeys of Moravian missionaries (renewed Church of the United Brethren of Herrnhut, Saxony, Germany) in the European Arctic during the Enlightenment. Their activities of observing the environment and indigenous societies, as well as collecting and classifying natural specimen and artefacts, are discussed in relation to their communication strategies about Arctic knowledge gathered during their work on stations or expeditions. Analysing mostly unpublished, hand-written sources in German from the Moravian archives in Germany, I argue that the Moravians contributed considerably to the enhancement of what the Republic of Letters knew about the Far North, its people, environment and climate, in the 18th century.

Keywords

Arctic, climate, Enlightenment, Greenland, Inuit, knowledge, Lapland, Island, missionaries, Moravians, Sami

Introduction

Even though Europeans have been interested in the Arctic since Antiquity, more regular first-hand knowledge about the region only started to reach the Old Continent thanks to Renaissance and early modern exploration, mostly communicated through travel accounts of expeditions and the log books and journals of whalers, collected also in volumes like Hakluyt's and Purchas' famous anthologies. Such narratives were primarily meant to transmit useful knowledge as far as navigation and survival strategies in the Far North are concerned, while demonstrating the power of the aristocracy

and the merchants and serving as a medium for the construction of heroic tales glorifying the endurance of exceptional characters and their capacity to tame wild nature. At the same time, these accounts contained descriptions of those regions, including their inhabitants, belief systems and culture, as well as remarks about natural phenomena regarding notably the weather. During the Enlightenment, such observations fed speculation about the indigenous people of the North in relation to the philosophy of history, during an age when the collecting of specimen, objects and scholarly measures and observations became systematic in view of an encyclopedic ordering of natural history. Thus, new actors appeared on the scholarly scene with new knowledge about the Arctic, which they rendered available in new media of scholarly communication. This concerns notably the German missionaries of the Moravian Brotherhood in Herrnhut, Saxony, who engaged in missions of evangelization among the indigenous societies of the European Far North from 1733 on, contributing thereby, as we will see, to the effort of collecting and disseminating knowledge about the Arctic mentioned above. These men, later also their wives, were originally Protestant dissenters from Moravia in the Hapsburg Empire, who had not been ordained by any of German Lutheran Bishop, nor trained in any of their faculties or seminars of theology. They were laymen and craftsmen, determined to cross the Arctic Circle to spread the word of God in Greenland, Lapland and Iceland in the first half of the eighteenth century, extending their enterprise to Labrador in the 1760s and even Alaska in the late 19th century. Acting in a religious context, their scholarly contribution to the Age of Reason will be our main focus here to discuss its function in relation to their own missionary enterprise and debates in the Republic of Letters.

The European Arctic and the missionary strategy of the Moravians

The European Arctic played a central role in the missionary strategy of the Moravians thanks to the opportunities of development offered by the Danish Crown within its empire, permitting the former to establish stations in Greenland, after the foundation of their first missions on St. Thomas and St. Croix, two Danish islands in the Caribbean. Count Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf (1701-60), founder of the renewed Moravian Brotherhood who had welcomed Moravian exiles on his estate at Berthelsdorf, near Herrnhut, in Saxony, close to the Czech border, much to the anger of the Saxon

Electoral Prince of the Holy Roman Empire and the Hapsburg Emperor, ordained Bishop of the Lutheran Church later to render some theological legitimacy to his movement of awakening, drew on the privileges of his aristocratic status and family ties with the Queen of Denmark, Sophie Magdalene von Brandenburg-Kulmbach (1700-70), tried to obtain the leadership of Danish missions in Greenland and Lapland. He also intended to found a University for Missionaries in then Danish Flensburg (Bøytler, 2000). Nothing came of this latter project, but the difficulties encountered by the Danish Mission in Greenland, established by the Norwegian Lutheran Reverend Hans Egede (1686-1758) in 1721, favoured Zinzendorf's endeavour. King Christian VI. (1699-1746) authorized him to send three missionaries – Christian David (1692-1751), Matthäus Stach (1711-87) and his cousin Christian Stach (d. 1783) – to Greenland in order to support the Danish mission in the region of today's capital Nuuk. Another reason for the spreading of Moravian missions across the world, was the religious, political and social situation in Saxony, the continuously growing Moravian congregation coming under heavy fire from the Pietists in Halle. David and the two Stachs built the first Moravian station in Greenland called Neu-Herrnhut, close to Egede's post Godthaab (both located today in the capital Nuuk), in 1733. The second station, Lichtenfels (Akunnat), was established some 100 miles south of Neu-Herrnhut, in 1758, the third, Lichtenau (Alluitsoq), towards the South-Western tip of Greenland, in 1774 (Israel 1969, Olsthorn 2013). The Moravians stayed in Greenland until the end of the 19th century, handing over their stations to the Danish Lutheran Church in 1900.

In 1734, the year after the founding of the mission in Greenland, the first of five attempts to create Moravian stations among the Sami (Rydving, 1993) and Samoyeds (Bartens, 2001) was launched. Since Zinzendorf's efforts were heavily resented by representatives of the Halle Pietists up to the point of making him lose the support of the Danish Kings, three Moravians – Andreas Grasmann (1704-83), Johann Nitschmann (1712-83) and Daniel Schneider – were sent to Finnmarken, then a part of Swedish Lapland now located in Finland, instead of the Norwegian Far North under Danish control. During their two years' stay, moving from Oulu to Tornio, Kuusamo and back, their enterprise met with increasing criticism from the Lutheran church, up to the point of the missionaries deciding to return to Germany before they would be expelled. Just after, in 1736, Grasmann and Schneider, accompanied by Michael Miksch (1710-92), tried to reach the Samoyeds via Moscow, Wolodga and Archangelsk. Their

itinerary of some two years did not allow for any sustained missionary effort. Once they had reached their final destination in order to meet Samoyeds, they were accused of being spies since their claim to be missionaries was not sustained by their passports indicating that they were craftsmen. They were suspected of trying to cause the heathen to rebel against Russian authority and to seek a passage to Asia south of Nowaja Semlja, promptly arrested and transferred to Saint-Petersburg. Some 30 years later, in 1768, at a time when German settlers were welcome in some parts of Russia thanks to an ukaz by Catherine II., the Moravian Neubauer reached Arkhangelsk after a sea passage of 10 weeks. There, he enquired into the possibilities of evangelizing among the Samoyeds, visiting some of them, but these efforts did not lead to the establishment of a permanent station. Another attempt to reach the Sami was made by Ulrich Bähr and the Swedish Moravian Elias Östergreen (1707-97). They got as far north as Tornio. From there, they went over into Sweden after a two-year stay to no avail. Östergreen went once more to Tornio in 1748 and stayed until 1752, trying several times to reach the Sami in the Russian part of Lapland. During his stay, Östergreen spent time visiting people he had met during his previous travels, such as Pastor Krankes in Kuusamo, from whom he gained information about the Sami living in the area. Though no Moravian station was ever founded in Lapland, traces of their work in the diaspora can still be seen in Sweden today as a small Moravian community subsists in Stockholm.

The failure of the first missionary attempts in Lapland led the Moravians to try out Iceland. In 1739, the Dane Dionysius Piper (1706-51), a writer and soldier, according to his Moravian life story, was sent to Iceland for four years on a ship of the Icelandic Trade Company to enquire about the possibilities of establishing a community there. The aim did not consist in evangelizing among the Icelandic Lutherans but to take care of the Moravian diaspora in Iceland. Piper considered the conditions ideal to found a Moravian settlement in Iceland as far as place and provisions are concerned, but the attempt failed because of the Icelanders' "blindness" and "conviction of their own justification" according to his life story¹. In 1758,

¹ Live story from Dionysius Piper, manuscript in Moravian Archives in Herrnhut (MAH), R.22.01.b.121. (I have translated all quotes from unpublished German sources in the Moravian archives in Herrnhut into English.)

Zinzendorf appealed once again to the Danish King for the right to send Moravians to Iceland but his request was refused².

During all of these attempts, knowledge about the Arctic – be it about nature or indigenous societies – was collected and then communicated to Moravians orally, in writing and in visual form, notably through excerpts taken from the stations' diaries included in travel accounts, correspondence and the originally manuscript periodical *Gemeinenachrichten* (Mettele, 2009), or in commissioned publications and work such as David Cranz's *Historie von Grönland* (1765), the meteorological observations from Greenland and Labrador by Christian Brasen (1738-74) or Piper's description of Iceland in manuscript. To speak with Foucault, the order of things transmitted by these texts was determined by the religious discourse and the rhetorics of the textual forms and genres used by the Moravians whose missiological principles structured their daily life and evangelization efforts in an indigenous environment (Zinzendorf, 1979). The Moravian travels to Lapland caused Zinzendorf to write his first set of rules for missionary work. His instructions sent to Brothers Grasmann, Schneider and Miksch in Moscow on their way to the Samoyeds in 1736 concern first and foremost relations with indigenous societies and non-coercive methods of conversion (*ibidem*). Though the collecting of specimen and the observation of the environment and its inhabitants are neither mentioned directly in this text, nor in the general instructions for Moravian missionaries of 1738 (*ibidem*), Zinzendorf does exhort missionaries: "Look at the way things are" (*ibidem*), clearly in reference to the religious and political context of the mission as well as the spiritual condition of those to be converted. The three missionaries also received a text entitled "News from the Samoyeds", the errors of which they were told to lay open and correct. It is understood that the gathering of knowledge was a means to a missiological end. Zinzendorf was wary of scholarship considering it to be conducive to pride (Hahn & Reichel, 1977), but this view does not contradict his call to be aware of one's surroundings quoted above. However, the missionaries did not only send back reports or diaries, but also artifacts. The objects that reached Germany from Lapland in 1735 and 1739, as well as Greenland in 1740, were among the first to enter the Moravian cabinet of natural curiosities in Barby, founded in the years 1756-58 (Augustin, 2005).

² Zinzendorf to the King of Denmark. Ebersdorf 23th January 1758; Reply by Graf Moltke in the name of the King, manuscript in MAH, R.15.T.a.1.

The written and material testimonies of their presence in the Far North served the Moravian missionaries as proof of their activity and justification of work done in view of receiving support from benefactors and donors. Early reports from the Greenland mission were included in the anthology "Bündigische Sammlungen" published by the Moravians in 1742-45. This compilation of Moravian writings was designed to present their theological doctrine, as well as methods and results of their missionary to a broad, German-speaking audience (Zinzendorf, 1742-45). References in the diaries to extreme weather conditions were meant to justify the possible neglecting of daily religious duties, descriptions of flora and fauna to explain the lack of driftwood (for fuel), seeds and some essential victuals and thus the necessity to import such items at considerable expense from Europe. Descriptions of the environment were partly supposed to indicate suitable locations for stations and settlements while the representation of the "barbarian" customs of indigenous societies could possibly account for the long-winded process of conversion in those parts of the world.

Dionysius Piper was visibly keen to make his description of Iceland and Icelanders correspond to the conditions for settlement and the objectives of the mission. In view of the establishment of a station, he insists on the advantageous situation concerning meteorological conditions, cattle breeding and food supplies as well as the possibilities of finding an adequate location: "The cold is supposed to be as severe here as it is in Greenland. It was uncommonly cold in July. The inhabitants find shelter in huts, which are built from stone and earth. The Lord provided for me. I have a small window in my hut. The other huts are usually dark inside, so much so that one cannot see anything. There are good grazing grounds in this country and they have a lot of sheep. The wool serves for stockings and woollen things. People are very untidy and (...) fishing is their main occupation. However, they usually eat the fish only a few days after they have been caught and start to smell. They say, the seawater has emptied out of them. Apart from that, they are unaffected and honest. They greet and embrace each other without distinguishing gender and call themselves brothers. Their main enjoyment is the drinking of brandy which renders them quite unhuman."³ In another description he sent to Herrnhut, knowledge about the island is integrated into his missiological discourse – Icelandic is easy to learn and the Icelanders, who respect Christian teachings and live in the fear

³ From the brother Dionysius Piper from Island, Anno 1740, manuscript in MAH, R.19.E.6.

of God, calling themselves like the Moravians do Brothers and Sisters, similarly attaching great importance to mutual visits and singing in choirs, seem to be well-suited to receive the message of the Lord: “After three months, I started to converse with them in their language. They live in peace with each other and are eager to take on duties. Even though they are poor, they like to help each other in whichever way they can and their virtuous nature makes them the more self-assured about their own justification. (...) Dried fish is all they eat and their drink is water and milk. February 12 to May 12 is the period during which they catch and collect the biggest number of fish. On each boat there are 10 to 12 men and whatever they catch they share in equal parts as soon as they return to shore so that no one received more or less than the others; when they leave in the morning, as soon as they have moved off shore some 60 feet, they take off their hats to pray for grace and to fare well. No soon do they return to shore than they praise the Lord who is master of the land and life, then they divide up their catch in equal parts and once they are done, they go inside to eat together; whenever the weather is stormy, they spend their time visiting each other and singing together; they love old historical poems, they enjoy reading the writings of one of the bishops called Wadalin who seems to have been a man of strict morals.”⁴ Another point he insists on in his “Icelandic plan” are the possibilities of finding a suitable location and sufficient stores for a Moravian settlement: “The country has been divided into parts of the land that can nourish 2 to 4 and even up to 8 families. Such a piece of land can be bought for 200 up to 1000 Reichsthaler, depending on whether it is suited for fishing, grazing or breeding. The land is to be used in whichever way one wants. Only a small annual tax is levied though the owner’s possessions are also taken into consideration. If our Brothers would own such a piece of land, they would have leave to buy ships, say of medium size for 6 men, which one can buy on the island’s south coast for 24 to 30 Reichsthaler. Once they would have learnt the trade, they could go out and fish and negotiate with the company to sell the share of their catch they do not need to feed themselves.”⁵

The first Moravian missionaries sent to Lapland brought back knowledge about the indigenous population in order to suggest that a sustained effort was needed to convert them. In the diary from 1734 they

⁴ Dionysius Piper: Island, manuscript in MAH, R.19.E.6.

⁵ Dionysius Piper: Instruction and my ideas about the Icelandic plan, manuscript in MAH, R.19.E.6.

describe shamanistic healing practices in the region of Oulu which they qualify as superstition, thereby legitimizing the need for conversion: “He also told me that a king’s representative was put under a spell by a Finn so that he became ill. His wife then went to a Lapp who was of a fortune telling spirit and with whom she took counsel about her husband’s health. The healer called for a big fire to be lit, fetched his drum to beat it many times before he threw it away to jump into the flames while the others were stoking the fire so that the flames would cover him, which he lay inside for some time only to then tell her as if he had awoken from sleep that her husband could not be cured because he had been put under a deathly spell. The King then decided to declare such practice a capital offence, although many continued to believe in such superstitious practice it appears.”⁶ Zinzendorf interpreted this message as an expression of the missionaries’ fear and replied to the travellers: “You have been afraid of magic drums and wizards, or rather rejected them because of your own faith. How do you account for your idea of having so many scruples, forgetting completely where you belong. You are supposed to learn the language of the Lapps and go to the savage Lapps and who recognize no King, nor do they pay service to the Lord, according to what you write, this is where you are supposed to catch people.”⁷ Similarly, Grasman’s insisting on the hospitality of the Sami he visited close to Kuusamo and their eagerness to welcome visitors reflect the missiological ambition of finding easy contacts to spread the word of the Lord: “Whenever he came to Lapland, they welcomed him in their huts, showing him all their possessions (...) They were surprised to hear that he had gone on such a long journey because of them and were pleased. Apart from that, he could not converse with them since he did not understand their language, nor did they his.”⁸

The Swedish Moravian Östergreen spent the years 1748-52 in Tornio, visiting the Moravian diaspora there and seeking contact with the Sami. The reason for his remaining in town, not rendering himself to the Sami settlements - unlike what Zinzendorf had told the Lapland missionaries to do (Zinzendorf, 1979) - was given in his description of Tornio, referring to

⁶ Travel diary of the brethren Andreas Grasmann, Johann Nitschmann and Daniel Schneider, 1734-1736, manuscript in MAH, R.15.Q.a.

⁷ Zinzendorf to the missionaries in Lapland, Herrnhut 25th September 1735, manuscript in MAH, R.15.Q.a.

⁸ Travel diary of the brethren Andreas Grasmann, Johann Nitschmann and Daniel Schneider, 1734-1736, manuscript in MAH, R.15.Q.a.

the markets where the Sami met with Finnish and Russian farmers. Once again, such historical and topographical knowledge has to fit in the missiological framework: “Tornea is a small town of some 100 houses, most of them ill-constructed, all made of wood including the church. The town was burnt down twice by the Russians during the war against King Charles XII. Most inhabitants live from the trade with the Lapps who come to their market in winter, they also trade with the Finnish and Russian farmers who come to town⁹”. The importance of small towns as church centres where the Sami would meet coming from their widespread dwelling places was underlined by Östergreen as follows: “Cusama is some 20 miles from Tornea and six from Lapland proper. The distance between parish churches is considerable, some 20 miles. Since the war, congregations have to pay contribution both to Sweden and Russia. Most of the Sami can only come to church in winter with their reindeer-sledge, since they usually live ten, twelve, fifteen and even up to eighteen miles from their church, swamps and flooded lakes often preventing them from doing so in summer. These people used to be wandering Laps but have settled since and are called farmers though they are very dispersed. Their food comes from fishing, tilling the ground and cattle-breeding¹⁰”.

Observing and describing the customs of indigenous societies led the Moravians to verify, revise and add knowledge about the people of the Far North. For instance, Neubauer suggests that his account of a Samoyed hut and its inhabitants does not correspond to what one may read in existing descriptions of the Earth but that he is capable of providing a more accurate picture given that he was there to see for himself: “They made fire in the middle, around which they were lying toplless in the severe cold, though their shoulders were covered by reindeer skin. They know nothing about shirts or cloths. Their trousers and boots are but one, after which they put small camisoles made from reindeer on their naked skin. This is their way of dressing at home. When they go out, they put on their coat with a hood on the back, which they pull over their head. They leave the meat to roast on the embers, as I saw for myself. Whenever they have flour, they are supposed to do likewise. In the hut, there were six children, three boys and three girls,

⁹An account of Östergreen about his travel to Sweden and stay in Tornio [Tornea] in Lapland to Johannes von Wattewille, 1748-1752, manuscript in MAH, R.15.Q.d.

¹⁰ Ibidem.

three men and three womenfolk, all of them lying on reindeer skins around the fire¹¹”.

The knowledge about the Arctic that was transmitted also served a didactic purpose in helping to prepare future missionaries while being of use in natural history classes at the theological seminar of the Moravians in Barby. Travel accounts were there to be read, discussed and taught in geography classes. Descriptions of the harsh weather and rough conditions were supposed to allow students to catch glimpses of what life and missionary work out there look like. In the years 1756-58, the cabinet of natural curiosities in Barby was founded. The first eight objects of the collection, notably oil lamps, were brought back in 1762 from Greenland by David Cranz, author of the *Historie* mentioned above. The cabinet's list of provenance of objects compiled by Paul Günther¹²(d. 1792) puts Greenland and Labrador top of the list (Becker, 2005, Uttendörfer 1916). These objects – hunting gear and tools such as *ulus*, the Greenlandic knife used by women, clothing, domestic utensils such as stone jars as well as carved objects made from stone or bone – now belong to the Ethnological Museum in Herrnhut (Nippa, 2003). As the cabinet's collection grew in size, the need for a way of ordering the material became apparent, serving as they were supposed to do as pedagogical tools and *aide-mémoire* in the theological seminar. This task was taken care of by the cabinet's director Johann Jacob Bossart (1721-89) in 1774. His short instruction for the collection of natural specimen of the same year (*Kurze Anweisung Naturalienzusammeln*) relies on Linné's three natural kingdoms to advise missionaries how to collect, prepare, store and describe specimen (Bossart, 1774). The text was sent to the missionaries in Greenland with the instruction to collect rare specimen for the cabinet. In the 1780s the cabinet became so well-known that a number of illustrious personalities rendered themselves there, including Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. The cabinet's reputation was notably due to its Greenlandic objects which no other cabinet in the German-speaking regions of Europe could boast of in such number.

Moravian interest in the gathering of knowledge by missionaries manifested itself still more prominently after Zinzendorf's death in 1760. General recognition of the achievements of the Moravians Greenland mission and their contribution to natural history in particular was then largely due to Cranz's *Historie*, published in 1765 (Engl. tr. *History of*

¹¹ Letter from Neubauer, manuscript in MAH, R.15.Q.c

¹² Paul Günther: Pro Memoria, manuscript in MAH, R.4.E.22.

Greenland, 1767, 2nd German edition 1770), in which the author attached himself to justifying the Moravians' efforts in systematic observation for the sake of science (Jensz, 2012). During his commissioned one-year stay in Greenland, he explored the coast, had discussions about natural phenomena, the geography of the country and the behaviour of the Inuit with merchants such as the Lars Dalager while making some meteorological observations himself. All that he gained in the way of knowledge was included in systematic form in his *History*. The widespread acclaim of his seminal book and enquiries he received from scholars thereafter about the reaction of dead bodies and matter to the cold for instance (Cranz, 1770), made the Moravians decide to send the Moravian doctor and botanist Christoph Brasen (1738-74) for a whole year to Greenland in August 1767 in order to collect still more systematic knowledge about the island's natural history and to compile additional material to Cranz's meteorological observations while taking care of the missionaries' health. He was equipped with measuring devices, a thermometer and a barometer, as well as instructions in the form of a grid how to classify the meteorological phenomena observed, all provided by the medical scholar and naturalist Christian Gottlieb Kratzenstein (1723-95), several times Rector of the University of Copenhagen.¹³ Brasen was told to systematically gather specimen of minerals, plants and animals and to observe the weather.¹⁴ His extant manuscript measurements of the weather for the period August 1, 1767 – July 22 1768, and the description of six new bird species, a list and short description of minerals, as well as classifications of plants according to Linné's system were considered pioneering work by Moravian missionaries across the world and the Danish Lutheran stations in Greenland. New specimen and objects thus entered the cabinet in Barby, including minerals, parts of animals such as whale whiskers, ribs and teeth, reindeer antlers, whitefish and seal heads, muscles and a snuff box made from bone¹⁵. The work commissioned both by Kratzenstein and the Moravians was sent to David Cranz to be discussed in the supplement to his *History* published in 1770. Brasen's meteorological observations recommended him for a second enterprise, this time as missionary to Labrador, where he stayed from

¹³ Brasen's explanation to the weather journal, manuscript in MAH, R.15.J.a.13.9.

¹⁴ Christoph Brasen: Birds in Greenland; Minerals in Greenland; Pagina e Linn. Speciebus Plantarum; Observations in Greenland 1767, manuscript in MAH, R.15.J.a.13.9.

¹⁵ List written by Christoph Brasen, sinne anno, manuscript in MAH, R.15.J.a.13.9.

October 1771 until his accidental death in December 1773¹⁶. His observations of the weather there used the same grid as in Greenland and laid the base for systematic measurements in Labrador. Other scholars were interested in receiving specimen from the Moravian missionaries: for instance, the zoologist Johann Christian Fabricius in Copenhagen¹⁷, the medical scholar Georg August Langguth (1711-82) in Wittenberg or the natural historian Johann Hermann (1738-1800) in Strasburg¹⁸ ordered specimen of plants and seal skins. Anton Friedrich Büsching (1724-93), author of a famous description of the earth (Büsching, 1770), asked for details concerning geography and the customs of the Inuit in Greenland, to be included in his monumental work.¹⁹ Thanks to their presence in the Arctic, the Moravians were experts in a position to provide accurate information about this part of the world. Such keen interest served the Moravian enterprise in facilitating the raising of funds to sustain the missionaries' effort, the collecting of specimen becoming unauthorized means to finance their activities, as this letter from the Moravian administrators in charge of the organization of missions to the missionaries in Greenland indicates: "perhaps the selling of some natural specimen could contribute to the economy" (of the mission)²⁰.

The measurements from Greenland published by Cranz and Kratzenstein occasioned a number of queries from scholars about the weather in the Arctic. Johann Daniel Titius, Rector in Wittenberg, asked the Greenland mission for the sending of meteorological observations, which he then published in 1774 in the Wittenberg Weekly (*Wittenberger Wochenblatt*) he edited. He praised the missionaries' contribution to the furthering of

¹⁶ Weather Observations in Labrador from 1th November 1772 to 29th September 1773, manuscript in MAH, R.15.K.a.8; Weather Observations in Labrador 1771-1781, manuscript in MAH, MD 1817.

¹⁷ Letter from Johann Christian Fabricius to the Moravian missionaries in Greenland, Copenhagen 22th May 1769, manuscript in MAH, R.15.J.a.22.b; Brasensent Greenlandicherbage and minerals to Johann Christian Fabricius (1745-1808) – see Notice, manuscript in MAH, R.15.J.a.22.b.

¹⁸ Letter from Johann Jakob Bossart to the missionaries in Greenland 1785, manuscript in MAH, R.4.E.22.

¹⁹ Letter from Anton Friedrich Büsching to Johannes Loretz and Paul Eugen Layritz, St. Petersburg 16th April 1765, manuscript in MAH, R.12.A.a.3.5.b.

²⁰ Letter from the administrators in charge of the organization of missions to Johann Beck and brothers and sisters in Lichtenfels in Greenland, Herrnhut 24th January 1770, manuscript in MAH, R.15.J.b.II.44.

science in a letter addressed to Johann Jacob Bossart in 1789: “Who would have thought in the early days of your congregation that the eager work of your Brethren should contribute to the growth of knowledge in the fields of natural history, geography, the observation of man and science? The remarks of these men are always more valuable when they are based on a simple account of facts, rather than on their own reasonings²¹”. The Meteorological Society of the Palatinate (*Societas Meteorologica Palatina*), founded in 1780, also tried to commission measurements from the missionaries in Greenland in order to enlarge their collection of data, but to no avail. The Moravians did not participate in the campaigns of the society based in Mannheim, but several descriptions of weather events from the diaries of the Greenland stations in the period 1789-1800 and a few measurements of air temperatures did find their way as a supplement to Cranz’s hypotheses on the Greenlandic climate into Gilbert’s *Annalen der Physik* in 1802 (vol. 12, pp. 206-219), reprinted in the *Magazin für den Neuesten Zustand der Naturkunde* in 1805 (vol. 9, pp. 456-470).

The philosopher Christoph Meiners (1747-1810) from Göttingen explained the solid health of the Moravian missionaries in Greenland not suffering from any of the common illnesses in Germany by the influence of Greenland’s climate, assuming the cold weather to have a positive impact as Egede and Cranz had suggested (Meiners, 1789). Immanuel Kant deduced from Cranz’s descriptions that the human body was capable of adapting to the climate and to develop the capacity to survive (Kant, 1839).

The Greenland mission and the Arctic knowledge collected and disseminated by the Moravians, most prominently in Cranz’s famous book, were to serve as a model for the establishment of a number of Protestant missions in the 19th century. The British officer Allen Gardiner (1794-1851), who was keen to have a station founded in Fireland, tried as hard as he could to persuade the Moravians to do so, arguing that their experience in Greenland would stand them in good stead to operate in comparable climatic conditions (Marsch, 1857)²². However, neither his personal contacts with the missionary of the Moravian station in Genadendal (South-Africa) and the Moravian Bishop Hans Peter Hammbeck (1784-1840) whom he met during his journey through Africa in 1836, nor his visit in Herrnhut 1849 sufficed to convince the Moravians of such an enterprise.

²¹ Letter from Johann Daniel Titius to Johann Jakob Bossart, Wittenberg 12th May 1789, R.21.A.62.

²² Application to Establishing a Mission station, manuscript in MAH, R.15.A.11.

Conclusion

Since 1733, the collecting of Arctic knowledge had become a permanent feature of the Moravians' missionary activities and communication strategy. Both the mission in Greenland and the exploratory journeys to Lapland and Iceland provided plenty of opportunities to study land, people and their customs both in cultural and religious terms. Within the particular religious context of a movement of awakening, the goals of the mission and the necessity to justify one's own enterprise while responding to enquiries from scholars, the missionaries engaged in describing the environment and new or little-known phenomena, systematically classifying specimen within the three natural realms defined by Linné, observing the weather, rendering account of the belief-system of the Inuit and the Sami as they saw fit, sending also natural specimen and artefacts back to Europe, as well as communicating results in the media the Moravians preferred to use: handwritten reports and correspondence sent back to Germany, excerpts from the diaries and letters circulating first in the manuscript editions of their proper journal entitled *Gemeinenachrichten*, later printed and also available in English (*Periodical Accounts relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren*) as well as in French in the 19th century. Thanks to their well-established circuits of communication drawing on their broad international network of stations and communities, new knowledge about the Arctic of unprecedented density and precision was disseminated in European societies and elsewhere. The excerpts of reports and descriptions copied/printed in the *Gemeinenachrichten* were rendered available to Moravian communities on all continents, meeting with great interest among readers judging by the regular Arctic contributions to the annual volumes of *Periodical Accounts* for instance. Readers thus gained privileged glimpses of what life in the Arctic was like according to the Moravians. It is understood that this effort of communication was initially a by-product of the missionaries' work in the Arctic, though it did play a non-negligible role in their attempts at legitimizing their enterprise, be it by using their knowledge to account for the difficulties in converting Greenlanders or even contacting the Sami or by relating "success stories" like the letters written by the baptised Inuit. Thus, their Arctic expertise became an integral part of Moravian edification rhetoric. At the same time, the communication of their knowledge to a broader audience also helped to render their missionary

activities visible to an audience going beyond the bounds of their own church of United Brethren. Requests by European scholars multiplied. Missionaries engaged increasingly in the business of observing, collecting, classifying and measuring to send evidence to scholars nourishing the latter's efforts in deploying discourses and theories about the order of things. Linné, Banks, Kant, Herder and many other scholars whose name may not have been as illustrious were interested in receiving reliable information and specimen by the Moravians, another indication, if need be, of the important contribution of their missions to the dissemination of Arctic knowledge in Europe (and elsewhere) during the Enlightenment.

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Received: July 10, 2019
Accepted: August 23, 2019

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Reports

International Multidisciplinary Conference

Extreme conditions and situations

in the North, the extreme South, the Arctic and the Antarctic



At the University of Iceland
Reykjavik, **April 1st to 3rd 2019**

IV ICO WORKSHOP

*EXTREME / CONDITIONS AND SITUATIONS
IN THE NORTH, THE EXTREME SOUTH,
THE ARCTIC AND THE ANTARCTICA*

Háskóli Íslands (University of Iceland), Reykjavík, April 1-3, 2019

APRIL 1 (Monday)

10:00-12:00 **ICO Executive Committee meeting** (for members only).
Gimli building, 301, University of Iceland

12:00-14:00 **Lunch** (University campus restaurant, Háma, University Square).

14:00-14:15 **Inauguration of the ICO Workshop**. Gimli 301. (Helgi Gunnlaugsson, Enrique del Acebo Ibáñez & Daniel Chartier)

TABLE I: “Arctic Traditions” (Chairperson: Helgi Gunnlaugsson, Háskóli Íslands)

14:15-14:45 **Kristinn Schram, Associate Professor of Ethnology, Háskóli Íslands**

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

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.

14:45-15:15 **Alina Nakhodkina, Head of the Department of Translation, Northeastern Federal University**

«The chilling world of demons: the Arctic as an embodiment of hell in the Yakut epic tradition»

The article introduces a new approach to the stylistic and symbolic features of the Sakha heroic epic *Olonkho "Nurgun Botur the Swif"* by Platon Oyunsky considering the metaphor of the Arctic as hell. The epic *Olonkho* has been recently translated into English, which allows both interlingual and intercultural comparison. The author suggests an analysis of the verbal means depicting the Arctic phenomenon, its space and its main characteristics. This hostile and dangerous environment is seen in the light

of the three level world like in some other Turkic epics. The description of the ominous Under World reproduces typical natural phenomena of the Arctic region such as hoarfrost, drifting snow, fog, polar night, landscape, etc. The epic space in *olonkebo* is based on the traditional semantic opposition «north-south». According to this correlation, epic quest starts in the south and leads to the north imitating the model of the Sakha migration to northeastern Siberia. The animosity of some Arctic landscape elements reflects in their demonic feminine origin. These peripheral objects with negative symbolism are situated in the west and north unfavourable directions. The embodiment of the Arctic as a hell is unfolding in antagonists – demons and monsters Abaahys and Ajarais. The traditional image of enemy assumes new elements that reflect a historical fate of the Sakha.

15:15-15:30 **Coffee break. HÁMA Cafeteria, University Square.**

<p>TABLE II: “Modern Issues” (Chairperson: Daniel Chartier, Université du Québec à Montréal)</p>

15:30-16:00 **Helgi Gunnlaugsson, Professor of Sociology, Háskóli Íslands**

“Overcoming extreme conditions: how social media has changed drug dealing in Iceland”

Recent Eurostat findings show Iceland to be one of the most digitalized nation in the world. Internet access and internet use is the highest in Iceland in the world according to most recent 2019 data. Internet use has changed drug dealing over the past decade owing to the emergence of darknet services. Yet, little is known about drug dealing in public online services. In this seminar talk, findings from a first ever study on social media drug dealing in Iceland will be presented. A qualitative study using online ethnography and semi-structured interviews was conducted in late 2017 and early 2018 in Iceland, a modern nation close to the Arctic. The data shows a high degree of drug dealing activity on Facebook and Instagram, as well as on Snapchat and Facebook Messenger. Buyers and sellers also make use of encrypted platforms, such as darknet forums and the Wickr-app on their smartphones. The overall lesson to be learned is that even in remote, small and difficult places, modern day technology can in some cases enable

inhabitants to overcome physical and natural conditions, in this case using social media in drug dealing.

16:00-16:30 **Hasan Karaklinic, PhD Student in Latin American Studies at University of Iceland (Háskóli Íslands) and Université de Toulouse II - Jean Jaurès (France)**

“Buenos Aires punk scene during the 80’s and 90’s (Mapuche resistance within the Argentinean scene)”

Following the mid-80s and the end of the military dictatorship, the Argentinean punk enters a new phase characterized by a discursive paradigm shift. Leaving behind an anti-oppressive rawness, the scene slowly adopts an intersectional form of radicalism that includes criticism of power relations based on categories such as class, gender, sexuality and race. From these new perspectives, a growing interest in the resistance of *Mapuche* communities appears in fanzines, song lyrics and cultural events from the Buenos Aires counter-culture, before being appropriated by the punk scenes across the Patagonian urban areas throughout the nineties. My lecture will offer an overview of how these discourses first emerged within the Argentinean punk scene and how they then gained a momentum as a syncretic tool of resistance and valorization of identity by the so called “*mapurbes*” (urban Mapuches).

APRIL 2 (Tuesday)

TABLE III: “Travelogues and Polar Research” (Chairperson: Enrique del Acebo Ibáñez, Universidad del Salvador, USAL). Gimli bldg, 301.

10:00-10:30 **Alain Guyot, Professor of Literature, Université de Lorraine**
“How to endure cold temperatures? The traveller’s body in Siberian winter (18th-20th C.)”

How do travelers deal with the freezing temperatures of Siberia during the winter period? How does their body react? What solutions do they adopt to withstand extreme cold? We will try to see this through some extracts from European travelogues (18th-20th C.)

10:30-11:00 **Jan Borm, Professor of Literature, Université de Versailles-Saint-Quentin-en-Yvelines, Paris-Saclay**
"Tierra del Fuego and the Moravians".

11:00-11:30 **Anna Stammler-Gossmann, University Researcher in Social Anthropology, Lapin yliopisto / Arctic Center**
"Polar anthropology and sensitivities of fielding".

Prolonged stay at the research site is the part of the main field method of participant observation in the social anthropology. Recording and evaluation of data, access to them, and relations with a community are some of the methodological challenges that can be nested. Doing fieldwork in remote places means for a researcher to be ready to face additional challenges related to accessibility of the research site, to matter of risk and award, to possible being an integral part of the social structure. In this presentation, I will highlight sensitivities and benefits of the fieldwork experiences, conducting study on different research issues and in different communities across the Arctic.

11:30-13:00: **Lunch** (University campus restaurant, (Háma, University Square).

<p>TABLE IV: "The extreme & theoretical frameworks" (Chairperson: Jan Borm, Université de Versailles Saint-Quentin-en-Yvelines, Paris-Saclay)</p>

14:00-14:30 **Enrique del Acebo Ibáñez, Universidad del Salvador, USAL**
"The Extreme: Philosophical and Socio-Anthropological Disquisitions".

The "EXTREME" is a hyper-connoted but not well-defined word. A reductionist conception of the environment as a mere "ecological system" ("environmentalism") influences the answer given to the question about what "the Extreme" is. It contains negative conditions that are difficult to survive for most known life forms; these conditions, mainly obstacles, may be:• extremely high or low temperature or pressure;• high or low content of oxygen or carbon dioxide in the atmosphere;• high levels of radiation, acidity, or alkalinity;• absence of water;• water containing a high concentration of salt or sugar; presence of sulfur, petroleum, and other toxic substances. Consequently,

examples of extreme environments are: geographical poles, very arid deserts, volcanoes, deep ocean trenches, upper atmosphere, high mountains, outer space, environments of every planet in the Solar System except the Earth. But “extreme” is also the result of the dialectic between the *homo viator* and the *stabilitas loci*, in terms of internalization of the extreme environment -natural and constructed- and exteriorization of the landscape of the soul of such a subject and of such a local community.

The Extreme has more questions than certainties: is it a point of arrival or starting point? Is it an abysmal limit as a sort of *finis terrae* or, instead, should be considered as setting in motion of the place? Memory, uncertainty, silence are dimensions to be considered when analyzing the “extreme”, mainly when this phenomenon is not only related to the environment but also with socio-cultural, political, anthropological and economic variables.

14:30-15:00 Daniel Chartier, Professor, Research Chair on Images of the North, Winter and the Arctic, Université du Québec à Montréal, “The construction of the North as an ‘extreme’ place for ‘exceptional’ people”

The study of the occurrences of the term “extreme” in exploration narratives, essays and fictions related to the North and the Arctic reveals some recurring paradigms: on the first hand, it is first and foremost by the climate and the landscape that the North is a world posed as “extreme” compared to the rest of the world. On the second, the division between the two spaces — the North and the rest of the world — is part of a rhetorical process that serves to make the “North” a space populated by exceptional people: the Vikings, Inuit, explorers and settlers, themselves defined by their outstanding capacities. In this conference, I would like to question some of the parameters of the North’s construction as an outer space and see how it leads to a boundary between a “normal” and a “non-for-man-made” space in which solely some can survive.

<p>TABLE V: “Crafting History” (Chairperson: Anna Stammler-Gossmann, University Researcher in Social Anthropology, University of Lapland (Lapin Yliopisto)</p>

15:30-16:00 Agustín García Serventi, Associate Professor, Universidad Nacional de Tierra del Fuego, “First impressions about a possible

archive of the audiovisual heritage of the province of Tierra del Fuego, Antártida e Islas del Atlántico Sur

Imagining the extreme south has always been an invitation to fantasy. The southern land in world, the last frontier, the bravest sea on Earth. All kind of conceptualization about a fragmented territory emerge from the traces of the history. Tierra del Fuego, Antártida e Islas del Atlántico Sur is the youngest province of Argentina. Due to its social and productive characteristics and its geo-estrategic position, the province has faced a high immigration rate and territorial disputes throughout its history resulting in a rich social- and cultural history, from myth to geopolitical conflicts. The policies and poetics of an archive confront a disputed history and a tense present with the identity and the identification constitution of a past portrayed as a diffuse field. The representation of indigenous population as a distant past, a unstable and weak social and-productive structure along with an extreme social mobility have challenged the researchers' work of thinking an archive and its possible links with the present and the past in an insular, fragmented and unstable territory. To think the audiovisual archive in this context is to think of movement, giving rise to what Georges DidiHuberman calls "the symptom" or the movement that is proper to the images and manifests itself as a discomfort that interrupts the normal course of events. To gather, analyze, classify and expose are actions both aesthetic and political, and is the case of this project enquires both aspects through the constitution and systematization of the audiovisual heritage of the province of Tierra del Fuego, AeIAS. All this enables us to investigate in the visual representations of a circumpolar, insular, bicontinental and multinational territory.

16:00-16:30 Sumarliði R. Ísleifsson, Assistant Professor, Faculty of Humanities, Háskóli Íslands, *"Was Iceland Extreme?"*

It has been common to describe Iceland as an extreme country in many ways in the period from 18th century to first half of the 20th century. Can we conclude and explain why this was done? Was it because Iceland was really extreme or were there other reasons? Also: Did the situation of Iceland change in the course of the 19th and early 20th century or did Iceland behold it's extremity? Which are the most important concepts this connection? How did ideas and terms related to nationalism, masculinity and colonialism influence the

situation of Iceland as extreme in this period? The paper will be built on research on travelogues on Iceland from the 18th to the 20th century.

16:30-17:00 **Ceremony for the prize given by ICO** to Dr Juan Carlos Luján as **“Best Circumpolar Trajectory/2018”** (Helgi Gunnlaugsson, Daniel Chartier, Enrique del Acebo Ibáñez). Gimli Building 301.

17:00-17:30 **Drinks**, Gimli, 301. To be continued at the Student Bar on campus.

APRIL 3 (Wednesday)

09:30 – 09:35 **Introduction to the Films exhibition:** *About the importance of Film Studies and Visual Sociology & Anthropology in Circumpolar issues* (Enrique del Acebo Ibáñez). Gimli 301.

09:35 - 12:45 **Northern Circumpolarity Films exhibition** (Presentation by Hólmfríður Garðarsdóttir, Professor in Spanish, University of Iceland)

09:45-11:00 Screening **“The Deep” (Djúpið), Dir. Baltazar, Iceland, 2012** [Gimli,301].

The winter, the cold weather and the open sea are waiting for the fishermen. The boat is small as the sea is immense. Based in real facts, the film reveals how difficult is to survive a shipwreck under the conditions of the Northern Atlantic. (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OasZbZbKzG0>)

11:00-11:10 **Coffee Break**

11:10-12:45 Screening **“Rams” (Hrútar), Dir. Hákonarsson, Iceland, 2015.** [Gimli,301]

In a remote Icelandic farming valley, two old single brothers who haven't spoken in 40 years have to come together in order to save what's dearest to them – their sheep.

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rams_\(2015_film\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rams_(2015_film)) /
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SWOFWaltGRw>

12:45–13:00 Screening: “*World of Cow: Human-Animal Adaptation to the Arctic Environment*”, (Documentary (11’), by Anna Stammeler-Gossmann, 2017.

Two ‘Arctic sisters’, Sakha cow (Republic of Sakha Yakutia, Russia) and Lappish cow (Lapland, Finland) represent a local breed of a high genetic distinctiveness, outstanding tolerance towards freezing temperatures, fat- and protein rich milk content, modesty in the care taking, and an exceptional intelligence subscribed to them. Two parts of this documentary represent records made by Sakha and Lappish cows with a gopro camera.

13:00-13:15 **Discussion**

13:15-14:00 **Lunch, Háma, University Square.**

14:00 – 16:30 **Southern Circumpolarity Films exhibition** (Presentation by Enrique del Acebo Ibáñez)

14:00- 15:30 Screening *The boss. X-ray of a crime* (“*El Patrón. Radiografía de un crimen*”) (Dir. Sebastián Schindel, 2014, 90’). [Oddi Building on campus, 203].

With dreams of a better life, a humble but illiterate worker and his wife leave their poor village in Santiago to move to Buenos Aires. However, a sinister boss' promise of a bright future will come at a high price.

15:30-15:40: **Coffee Break. Oddi Cafeteria.**

15:40–17:05: Screening “*Mundo Alas*” (Dir León Gieco, 2009)

Documentary road movie where a group of young physically disabled artists travel Argentina with the renowned singer León Gieco on a concert tour. Gieco puts this group together to make their dream come true.

17:05- 17:15 **Discussion**

17:15 – 17:20 **Ending words of the ICO Conference** (Helgi Gunnlaugsson)

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, Antarctica and Extreme Environments (PIECA, Faculty of Social Sciences, Universidad del

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

The IACSI has also organized five *Circumpolar Film Exhibitions*, 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), 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), and the fifth film exhibition was again in Reykjavík on April 3, 2019, at the University of Iceland in parallel with the ICO International Workshop on Circumpolar Sociocultural Issues ("The Extreme"), April 1-2, 2019.

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

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

Under this University framework, the *International Program of Studies on Circumpolarity, Antarctica and Extreme Environments (PIECA)* –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 Sociology, Anthropology and Ethnology, Faculty of Political Science, Faculty of Business Administration, Faculty of Economics, Law Department, and Department of Social Work.

School of Humanities

The School 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 Program in Cultural Policy is a social science based study program, 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 programs 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 program 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 program into the Doctoral Program in Cultural Policy. As a unit, Cultural Policy collaborates with the Foundation for Cultural Policy Research CUPORE.

The Doctoral Program in Cultural Policy leads to a Doctorate (PhD) in Social Sciences. The program collaborates with the Finnish Doctoral Program in Social Sciences (SOVAKO). Research and teaching within the master's program are part of the multidisciplinary "Centre for Research on Multicultural Issues and Interaction", and the program participates in the U40 capacity building program 'Cultural Diversity 2030', organized by the

German Commission for UNESCO. In addition, the unit of Cultural Policy coordinated the organization of the 6th International Conference on Cultural Policy Research (2010) and the 4th Nordic Conference on Cultural Policy Research (2009).

For more information check our website:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Main activities

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Contact

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Arctic Centre University of Lapland (Rovaniemi, Finland)

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

Multidisciplinary research is currently implemented by three research groups:

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

participates in three IPY pan-Arctic research initiatives: DAMOCLES (Developing Arctic Modelling and Observing Capabilities for Long-term Environmental Studies), BOREAS – MOVE, and CAVIAR (Community Adaptation and Vulnerability in Arctic Regions).

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

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

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 pluri-disciplinary 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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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: Grønlands Landsråd/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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Notes for Contributors

a) Submission of Papers

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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.

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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.*

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

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c) Electronic Submission

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

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f) Book reviews

We welcome book-reviews of academic or non-academic books concerning circumpolar socio-cultural issues. Book-reviews should not exceed three pages, and must be typewritten, double-spaced with wide margins on A4 paper. In addition to information about the writer of review (name, title and institutional affiliation) review should include full information about the reviewed book: Author(s), name, publisher, place of publishing and the number of pages.

e) Other contents

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

f) Peer-review

The Journal operates a blinded peer review process. The reviewers may at their own decision opt to reveal their name to the author in their review, although our policy practice is to remain both identities concealed. In general, Editors will seek advice from two or more expert reviewers about the scientific content and presentation of manuscripts. However, all submitted articles are reviewed at first by the Editors so that only those works that fit the editorial standards, and aims and scope of the Journal, will be sent for outside review.

The authors will be notified in case an article will not be published. Nonetheless, the Editors will not be held responsible for the return of the manuscripts.

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.hi.is. The issue 14 will be published in September 2020. **Deadline for the manuscripts addressed to this coming issue is July 31, 2020.**

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

Se terminó de imprimir el 10 de Octubre de 2019,
en *Milena Caserola*, Lambaré 1026,
Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Volume 13 Number 1 - 2019

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