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The **Arctic & Antarctic International Journal of Circumpolar Socio-Cultural Issues*** (A&A-IJCSCI), is an international, peer-reviewed, scholarly journal published annually on behalf of the 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
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- Other issues related to socio-cultural themes concerning circumpolar areas.

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After the gold rush in Iceland: Causes and consequences of the banking collapse in 2008¹

John F. Galliher (University of Missouri, USA) ✉
Helgi Gunnlaugsson (University of Iceland)

Abstract

In 2010, University of Iceland organized a conference in Reykjavík on the banking collapse in Iceland in 2008. This event was a joint effort of Sociology, Anthropology and Ethnology, gathering dozens of scholars including international ones. The collapse was still fresh in the minds of all participants. The title of the conference was *After the Gold Rush*, and the topic centered on how the social sciences can help us understanding these historic events, unfolding around us at the time. This paper was presented at the conference in May of 2010, by the late professor from the United States, John Galliher, and Helgi Gunnlaugsson, professor of sociology at the University of Iceland, but was never published. The content, slightly revised in 2012, offers a valuable insight to some of the main themes believed to be paramount in explaining the crash, followed by the immediate social consequences for Iceland in the aftermath. How the Icelandic case of bust was seen in the foreign media is in turn reviewed followed by perceptions of local crime developments. The main findings show neo-liberal ideologies, hyper-consumptionism, and globalized market, playing leading roles in both the rise and fall of the local banking system. A few concluding remarks show that Iceland recovered remarkably fast, or in only a few years, fueled by explosion in tourism.

Key words

Icelandic banking collapse, neo-liberal ideology, crime, foreign press.

The Icelandic Collapse in 2008

Iceland experienced a deep economic crisis after all three of the country's major banks collapsed in late September to early October 2008. This constitutes the largest banking collapse in history relative to economic size (Jóhannesson, 2009) and made Iceland one of the biggest casualties of the

¹ This article is a revised version of a paper presented at a conference hosted by the Faculty of Social and Human Sciences at the University of Iceland in May of 2010, *After the Gold Rush*.

global economic downturn (Jónsson, 2009). In fact, Iceland's crisis has been called the "greatest financial crisis ever" (Krugman, 2010). What is especially interesting to note is that Iceland's collapse was foreshadowed by a significant increase in economic inequality following excessive market liberalization, as was the case with the Wall Street Crash of 1929, which triggered the Great American Depression (Ólafsson, 2010).

Many have tried their hand in explaining why Iceland was hit this hard during the "Great Recession" (Ritzer, 2010). The most ambitious attempt is without a doubt the nine-volume, more than two thousand-page report by the Icelandic Parliament's Special Investigative Commission (2010) on the causes of the collapse of the Icelandic banking system. Among other things, the report singles out greedy and reckless bankers along with misguided politicians and government officials as the key actors in the banking collapse. The report is very wide-ranging and detailed and has been described as "probably the most important document in the history of Iceland" (Helgason, 2010) and the first of its kind in world history.

A promising theoretical perspective from which to view the collapse and its antecedents is the one of institutional anomie (Messner and Rosenfeld, 1994; 1997). In short, market rule became increasingly dominant in Iceland parallel to increasing neo-liberalization (Harvey, 2007) and other social institutions were weakened in the process. The market effectively took over other social institutions (Magnússon, 2008). This was evidenced by the growing dominance of greed throughout society. This development is captured in the following quote from an opinion piece in one of the main newspapers in Iceland when the bubble economy was just about fully inflated:

"Greed is the train that pulls our life into a brighter future...The so-called greedization of Icelandic society is hopefully here to stay, and hopefully it will grow day by day into the unforeseeable future, for all our sakes" (Ágústsson, 2005).

Nowhere was this more evident than seen by the fact that the assets of the newly privatized banks outgrew the national economy nine times, as measured by GDP. Well before that point was reached the banking sector was doomed to fail (Special Investigative Commission, 2010). How could all this happen in Iceland, a small island nation in the North Atlantic?

Background: Neo-liberalist ideology enters Iceland

Iceland market freedom did not only come from outside. In Iceland a new generation highly influenced by neo-liberalism came of age in the 1970s (Gunnarsson, 1979). Many of this generation later rose to political power, the most famous being Davíð Oddsson, elected the mayor of Reykjavik in 1982, and later Prime Minister from 1991 to 2004.

Under Oddsson's reign the Icelandic government, led by the right-wing Independence Party, "neo-liberalized" (Harvey, 2007) the Icelandic economy (Ólafsson, 2008), using Margaret Thatcher's Britain and Ronald Reagan's America as models (Gissurarson, 2004). Many state-owned companies were privatized, the economy deregulated, taxes on business and financial earnings were cut drastically, and the net wealth tax was abolished (Wade, 2009; Sigurjónsson, 2010). In fact, the taxation system underwent a complete overhaul and tax rates became among the lowest in Europe (Portes and Baldursson, 2007). The goal was to free up Iceland's economy and make Iceland more competitive in the global marketplace. At one point the Cato Institute rated Iceland as the least regulated country in the world, and in 2005 Iceland was ranked as having the fifth most economic freedom in the world.

As Iceland was being changed many of the world's most famous neo-liberals were brought to Iceland and most of them praised the country for being a justification of free market principles (Wade, 2009). As an example, in the fall of 2007, Arthur Laffer assured Icelandic business leaders that a fast-growing economy with a large trade deficit and growing foreign debt was a sign of success. "Iceland should be a model to the world," Laffer declared (Morgunblaðið, 2007). Soon he would be proven to be wrong.

Hyper-consumption in Iceland

Icelanders enjoyed considerable affluence in the beginning of the 21st century. As a case in point gross domestic product increased 130% from 2000 to 2007. Housing prices jumped 75% between 2004 and 2008, while disposable income rose 73% between 2000 and 2007 (Wilson, 2010). In 2006, the average income in Iceland was 1.6 times that of the U.S. (Vaiman et al., 2010). However, a significant part of this consumption was financed through debt. The significant jump in personal debt between 2003 and 2005 was mainly due to the fact that the newly privatized banks entered the housing loans market offering up to 100% loans and encouraging people to

take out second mortgages on their house (Social Science Research Institute and the Institute of Economic Studies, 2009).

As early as 1985, Icelanders were only second to the U.S. in private consumption per capita (Karlsson, 2000). Since the late 1990s there was a significant increase and change in the nature of consumption in Iceland, inspired by the conspicuous consumption ideal set by the newly rich. The rise of conspicuous consumption has had a profound effect on Icelandic society by breaking a long-held social code of moderation in displays of wealth (Magnússon, 2008; Jónsson, 2009). A large part of the Icelandic population followed the tide as the consumption ideal steadily penetrated the Icelandic mindset. Credit enabled households to expand mortgage borrowing, increasing both home ownership and enabling households to finance consumption (Social Science Research Institute and the Institute of Economic Studies, 2009).

Icelanders' extensive use of credit and consumption was closely associated with the significant increase in economic inequality (Ólafsson, 2008; Kristjánsson and Ólafsson, 2009). In the face of rising inequality, credit offered the opportunity to keep up with others' consumption and thereby maintaining the belief in the relative "classlessness" of Icelandic society (Bjarnason, 1974; Björnsson et al., 1977). It has even been claimed that egalitarianism is the most dominant cultural value held throughout Icelandic history (Tomasson, 1980). Beliefs of this nature promote the idea that all households should be able to conspicuously consume. In the face of increased inequality, rather than confront the gap between ideology and reality, demand for credit apparently is likely to increase. In many ways Icelanders embraced both American style hyper-consumption (buying more than one can afford) and hyper-debt (owing more than one can pay back) (Ritzer, 2010). Many took out loans to buy new and expensive cars. In 2009, almost a third of the Icelandic population had car loans in foreign currency, which proved absolutely toxic after the banking collapse (Alpýðusamband Íslands, 2009).

No better example of Iceland's hyper-consumerism can be found than the experience of an Icelandic used car dealer named Guðfinnur S. Halldórsson, or Guffi for short (Halpern 2011). During the boom years 2002-2008 a man reportedly showed up at his dealership and purchased a used Porsche on credit with no money down. Guffi didn't care if the customer paid back the loan or not since this was a bank's problem and not his. The customer kept the Porsche until the first monthly payment was due

and then returned it and Guffi sold it again for a profit. Guffi sold the Porsche five times in only six months each time for a higher price. Each time the bank involved did not care since the consumer took out a larger loan. This was clearly an unsustainable pattern. Iceland's stock market soared 900 percent during this six-year period and Guffi earned an amazing amount of money during this brief boom. All this came to an end in 2008. The banks and the final car owner were the ultimate losers since now the car was purchased at a greatly inflated price and the bank had no hope of receiving payments on the final loan.

Impact of 2008 collapse

The collapse proved to be a great blow for the population of the world's most "developed" country (Human Development Reports, 2009). The Icelandic króna plummeted to record lows (Central Bank of Iceland, 2009). By late December 2008 it had fallen to 147 to the dollar, from 82 just before the collapse and 60 a year earlier – reflecting a huge drop in purchasing power. The Icelandic average gross national income fell from 1.6 times that of the United States in 2007 to 0.8 times that level in February 2009 (Wade and Sigurgeirsdóttir, 2010). In January 2009 annual inflation reached 18.7%, by far the highest in Europe (Eurostat, 2009). Household debt increased significantly, and even before the collapse it was higher than in any other European country or the USA (IMF, 2009). Unemployment rose from 1.5% in September 2008 to its highest point of 9.1% in April 2009 (Directorate of Labor, 2009). Many had to take wage cuts to keep their jobs and others moved abroad (Wade, 2009). The International Monetary Fund was even called in to help, the first time helping a developed country since Britain in 1976. Furthermore, early in this turmoil a protest movement emerged and contributed to bringing down the government:

"Iceland remains the [first] government to have resigned as a result of the global financial crisis. It is also the only country to have shifted distinctly to the left in the aftermath of September 2008" (Wade and Sigurgeirsdóttir, 2010:23).

Icelanders largely blamed the more "adventurous" newly rich individuals for the economic collapse (Jóhannesson, 2009), the so-called "Surging Vikings", which effectively mortgaged the Icelandic public into the unforeseeable future (Ólafsson, 2008). There was also a considerable backlash against neo-liberal ideology, with much of it being directed against the traditionally right-of-center Independence Party, primarily responsible

for the neo-liberal surge. This has increased political polarization and further undermined social solidarity.

The turmoil in Iceland manifested itself in different ways. Protests were common in the aftermath of the banking collapse, something rarely seen before the collapse. Before the collapse people gathered to ask for higher pay by occasionally doing marching walks. Now they protested each Saturday afternoon because they felt that the rebuilding effort was not working and that the people responsible for their woes had not been brought to justice. A special consultant to an “economic crime team” was hired from abroad, Eva Joly, to investigate suspicions of criminal actions in the period preceding the collapse of the Icelandic banks. Nonetheless, Icelanders grew increasingly disheartened with how matters were handled immediately in the aftermath of the collapse.

Social demographics of Iceland

From the late the 19th century onward, the population of Iceland grew rapidly (Karlsson, 2000). In fact, 2008, the year of the economic collapse, was the first year since 1889 that the population did not grow in raw numbers (Social Science Research Institute and the Institute of Economic Studies, 2009). Although the decrease was relatively small it apparently mirrors effects of the economic collapse. However, it must also be considered that even though birthrates were still relatively high they had and have been going down over time and that the population’s age composition is becoming more unfavorable in terms of reproduction (Social Science Research Institute and the Institute of Economic Studies, 2009).

Employment participation in Iceland has for long been the highest among Western countries. Icelanders have long enjoyed relatively full employment and long-term unemployment has been uncommon (Gunnlaugsson and Galliher, 2000). This changed rapidly following the economic collapse, and still hovered above 5% in 2012, roughly four years after the crisis hit. The long-term implications of this are quite serious since employment is not only a means for income, but also a source of identity, self-respect and social relations.

Icelandic collapse as seen by the foreign press

A Canadian scholar views the situation through coverage of the financial collapse in the international press:

“The banks were privatized around 2000 in a hasty and politically driven process. Ownership went to people with close connections to the parties in the conservative coalition government, which had scant experience in modern banking” (Chartier, 2010:101).

According to Chartier a U.S. newspaper reported that:

“Over the last six years, a group of about two dozen young, U.S.-educated financiers took Iceland on a Viking voyage of acquisitions, grabbing airlines, banks, mortgage lenders and securities traders from Texas to Hong Kong” (Chartier, 2010:118).

The population of Iceland was alleged to have fallen in love with easy credit. And at this point traffic congestion with large SUVs in Reykjavik became a major problem. “Analysts strove to evaluate Iceland’s real wealth at the peak of the boom and wondered whether its prosperity was not an organized system of poverty hidden by excessive prices” (Chartier, 2010:71). In April 2008 it was reported:

“Risk - adverse investors have begun pulling out. Since the beginning of the year, the Icelandic króna, the smallest independent currency in the world, has fallen by 25%. The stock market index has fallen by 40% [...] interest rates reached 15.5% last week. The country has been running a large trade deficit, partly because of rampant consumer spending” (Chartier, 2010:88).

Therefore, the result was one billion dollars of debt for 330,000 people in 2008, or \$300,000 for every person. Yet Chartier argues that Icelanders need not assume all the blame for the financial mess. Savers in other nations decided on their own to invest in Icelandic banks due to the high interest rates (Chartier, 2010:204). And during the crisis Iceland’s Central Bank Director and former Prime Minister Davíð Oddsson accused those heading other national banks of failing to do all they could to help Iceland. In any case, apparently all that was left for Iceland was to fall back upon fishing (Chartier, 2010).

Bailing out Iceland

Soon after the 2008 collapse the International Monetary Fund agreed to assist Iceland ride out its banking crisis. The nation’s three largest banks were nationalized again and cut their interest rates 3.5 percentage points (Guardian, 2008). Mark Weisbrot, who is co-director of the Center for Economic and Policy Research, argues that EU membership is more of a hindrance than a help because the European Central Bank has no interest in helping financially struggling nations including Greece, Spain, Portugal and

Ireland (Weisbrot, 2011). Because these nations have all adopted the euro they do not control their fiscal policy and thus forced austere budget cuts move them in the wrong direction since it is the view of creditor nations that prevails in the EU (Daley, 2011). What these creditor nations should do is to assert to the European authorities that they will refuse any bailouts that do not allow their economies to grow.

Icelandic losses

Once the crash began depositors outside of Iceland were quick to pull their funds out of the nation's banks. But the banks could not pay off depositors and the Icelandic government could not afford a bailout (Halpern, 2011). Therefore, the recently privatized banks failed. Iceland's government guaranteed that Icelanders would not lose any money from their saving accounts but did not and could not guarantee the many investment funds that the banks offered. As a result, many Icelanders lost large sums of money that they had been led to believe was safely invested. Between 2007 and 2011 the price of imports rose 85 percent and the unemployment rate went up to 9 percent from about one percent.

Icelandic authorities might have finally realized that the new owners and directors of the banks were not good at handling money and that Iceland should get back to things they really knew such as fishing (Halpern, 2011). Even in the face of this hardship Icelanders largely refuse to take the dirty job of cleaning fish that is largely left to Polish immigrants (New York Times Magazine, 2011). This is likely a byproduct of the fact that they have a total of seven universities in this tiny nation making them among the most-educated people in the world. In 2007 the assets of Icelandic banks equaled 744 percent of the nation's GDP. After the collapse imports rose 85 percent in price and overall consumer prices have gone up 34%. A local informant said that in Iceland as inflation occurs the level of a borrower's debt increases by the same amount unlike the cases of the US dollar or the British pound.

Just prior to the collapse Iceland's President proudly claimed Icelanders were Vikings not adverse to risks. Since the collapse he understandably did not repeat this. The Icelandic króna is highly volatile since it is such a small currency, but both the Icelandic President and former PM Davíð Oddsson oppose joining the EU and adopting the euro. The mayor of Reykjavik in 2010 believed that the nation should begin trading in the US dollar. Others have determined that the best alternative would be for Iceland to adopt the

Canadian dollar, but thus far Iceland has retained an independent currency in great part due to national pride. As of 2012 the Central Bank of Iceland issued a report on the future of the currency. Only two options were believed to be feasible for Iceland, keeping the króna or adopting the euro. However, the euro is only possible for EU countries which Iceland is not likely to join in near future.

The massive loans from Europe were arranged through European bankers who were knowledgeable professionals unlike the Icelanders who did not have much banking experience and headed the banks thru political ties or even despotism. These European bankers insisted on loans that had to be repaid once Icelandic banks interest rates sank below a specified level. This was an automatic trigger built into the loans. This helps explain why the crash occurred when it did.

Crime in Iceland in a globalized world

As Iceland has become increasingly globalized so has the extent and nature of crime and crime control in the country changed. Increased globalization has increased cross-border crime (Andreas and Nadelmann, 2006) and it has been speculated that foreign criminal cartels have operations in Iceland (Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 2009; National Commissioner of the Icelandic Police, 2010). These developments, coupled with advances in information and communication technology, have reportedly created new possibilities for global criminal cartels. These cartels are believed to send their operatives to Iceland to plan and deal drugs and commit theft and burglary, often with the intent to sell the proceeds outside Iceland. These cartels allegedly have also been involved in the sex industry and the drug trade. Sex crimes and drug crimes have increased rapidly in the new millennium in Iceland.

The ever-expanding global trade of drugs is the primary example of the increased global flow of illegal materials. Spearheaded by the U.S., drugs became an increasing global concern in the late 1960s and 1970s. It was also in the early 1970s that Icelandic police started having to deal with crimes related to drugs (Gunnlaugsson and Galliher, 2000). At the time drug use in Iceland was minimal and consisted mainly of cannabis use. Drug use and drug trafficking has increased significantly since then, as indicated by the amounts of drugs confiscated and the number of drug related crimes (National Commissioner of the Icelandic Police, 2003-2010). The crime that Icelanders have been most concerned about is the flow of drugs into the country (Gunnlaugsson and Galliher, 2000). In 1997 more than 60% of

Icelanders believed that drugs were the main cause behind crime and violence (Gunnlaugsson, 2008). Large drug busts also indicate that the drug market in Iceland is quite a bit larger than previously thought. Foreign criminal cartels have also become more heavily involved in the drug trade in Iceland in (National Commissioner of the Icelandic Police, 2010).

Since the 1970s most drugs have made their way into Iceland via Icelandic nationals who traveled abroad, bought drugs, smuggled them back to the country for sale. This seems to have changed around the turn of the 21st century with more foreigners getting involved (Sverrisdóttir, 2006). The quantity of drugs smuggled into the country has also increased significantly, with more dangerous and expensive drugs being smuggled (Johannessen, 2009; Gunnlaugsson and Galliher, 2010).

As for human trafficking, the increased global flow of people and better information technology has created more opportunities for traffickers to transport women (Altman, 2001). The sex industry also became increasingly important in global capitalism. Bars, dance clubs, massage parlors and the porn industry fuel the demand for sex labor around the globe. Icelandic police have had to deal with cases involving human trafficking and prostitution (National Commissioner of the Icelandic Police, 2010). Individuals residing in Iceland have trafficked women for sexual exploitation in cooperation with foreign criminal groups according to the local police (National Commissioner of the Icelandic Police, 2010). In 2010 Iceland, led by its new left-leaning local government, became the first European country to pass legislation banning striptease (Bindel, 2010). In the first few years of the 21st century hundreds of foreign strippers, mostly from E-Europe, had been transported each year to Iceland to serve as strip dancers in Icelandic bars. This business is believed to have grossed millions of US dollars and the number of strip places in Iceland numbered more than a dozen at its peak.

The increase in global crime activity has been met by an expansion of the “international component of policing and policing component of international relations” (Andreas and Nadelmann, 2006:6). In the global age, it is the nation-states of Western-Europe and the U.S. that have played the central role in defining global forms of deviance and crime:

“To an extent virtually unprecedented in world history, a few European states and the United States proved successful in proselytizing to diverse societies around the world, in shaping their moral views of substantial sectors of elite opinion outside their

borders, and in imposing their norms on foreign governments” (Andreas and Nadelmann, 2006:20).

Many of the recent changes in Iceland have been going on in the U.S. for some time. In their book *Crime and the American Dream* (1994) Messner and Rosenfeld note the “ironic” interdependence between deviance and conformity in the American dream of financial success that applies to all crimes including the financial misdeeds of business leaders. This they refer to as the “dark side” of the American dream of financial success that emphasizes a “fetishism of money” (Messner and Rosenfeld, 1994, p. 71). One very negative consequence of these developments is that people begin to fear that the “local institutions that provide order, meaning, purpose and protection” have collapsed leaving individuals with a sense of terror (Messner and Rosenfeld, 1994, p. 35). All of this apparently happened to some degree in Iceland.

Rising inequality in Iceland

Iceland has long been characterized as one of the most egalitarian nations in the world (Gunnlaugsson and Galliher, 2000). It has been noted that every Icelander, including heads of state, are referred to by their first name and are equally likely to be found listed by first names in the national phone book. Icelanders also show notable lack of deference in their interactions (Tomasson, 1980) and some have even gone so far as to describe Icelandic society as uniquely equal and “classless” (Tomasson, 1980). Although this latter point has probably never held true, the myth of classlessness has traditionally been quite strong and widespread (Broddason and Webb, 1975; Björnsson et al., 1977).

Nonetheless, parallel to the neoliberal-globalization of the economy the market quickly became more predominant in structuring inequality and Iceland became more of a “class society” (Weber, 1978). One manifestation of this development is the increased concentration of the national income towards the top, where the share of the top 1% of families grew from 4% in 1993 to 20% in 2007 (Kristjánsson and Ólafsson, 2009). In fact, in 2007 the distribution of disposable income was comparable to that of the United States, the most unequal society in the developed world. What characterized this period was the increased purchasing power of those with the highest incomes. The equalizing effect of the Icelandic tax system has also decreased

in recent years and was among the lowest among OECD-countries after the crash (Kristjánsson and Ólafsson, 2009). A glaring manifestation of this development is the substantial proliferation in the ranks of the newly rich, who rode the wave of the economic boom that began in the mid-1990s (Magnússon, 2008). As a result: “[t]he [Icelandic] class system has transformed over the last 15 years, from a relatively homogeneous class system into a polarized class system - in which the social cleavage between the transnational capitalist class and the traditional capitalist class is deepening alongside the increasing polarization between wage earners and the capitalist classes (Jónsson, 2008:143).

While inequality has been increasing in other developed countries in recent decades, what is special about Iceland is that inequality increased more and more rapidly than in other OECD-countries (Kristjánsson and Ólafsson, 2009). This aptly named “inequality crisis” (Oddsson, 2010) is likely to have undermined Icelanders’ beliefs in the equality of the Icelandic society (Ólafsson, 2008; Oddsson, 2010). Another way of saying all this is that increased credit masked increased inequality.

Concluding remarks

Economist Paul Krugman (2011) observed in the *New York Times* that while Iceland’s economy tanked in 2008 due to the unscrupulous practices of its leaders, Iceland was better off than some of its neighbors because it had not been forced by the European community to shrink its economy and did not bail out the thieving Icelandic bankers. Iceland allowed its banks to go bust and quickly nationalized them. Although Iceland did not avoid economic damage in the aftermath of the 2008 crash, its poorest citizens were protected, unemployment was controlled, and Iceland did not abandon, and even expanded, its social safety net.

In mid-2012 the *Wall Street Journal* reported that Iceland was recovering nicely (Forelle, 2012). Unemployment and emigration were no longer significant problems because Iceland unlike euro-zone nations had its own currency, central bank and thus its own monetary policy. And given the economic chaos in Europe at the time the euro was not a possible alternative and especially since Iceland values its sovereignty and independence so much. Iceland typically devalues its currency when things are rough for Iceland to boost exports such as fish even though consumer prices rise - like by a quarter during 2008-2011. Even with these difficulties, fishermen made twice as many Icelandic krónur during this period than before the 2008

collapse. Iceland let its banks fail and had foreign creditors rather than Icelanders cover its losses. On top of more exports Iceland also received record many tourists in the following years, also fueled by the Eyjafjallajökull volcano in 2010. All of this helped Iceland in its recovery from the collapse in 2008.

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The ‘Extreme’: Philosophical and Socio-anthropological disquisitions

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Abstract

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 is a phenomenon containing 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 levels of radiation, acidity, or alkalinity; absence of water or water with high concentration of salt or sugar; presence of toxic substances, and so. Consequently, examples of extreme environments are the following: geographical poles, very arid deserts, volcanoes, deep ocean trenches, high mountains, outer space. 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 or constructed- in the everyday life, and the exteriorization of the landscape of the soul of such a subject and local community. In sum, it emerges the interdependence and dialectics between the Subject’s and the Socio-cultural worlds.

To capture what *extreme* is, presents more questions than certainties: is it a point of arrival or a 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? Confines, radicality, memory, uncertainty, silence, reflexivity are dimensions to be considered when analyzing the “extreme”, because this phenomenon not only deals with the environmental, geographic and climatologic features but also with socio-cultural, anthropological, political & power relations, and socio-economic variables.

Keywords

Extreme, confine, space & time limits, circumpolarity, ecological system, *milieu*, heterotopia, utopia, radicalism, silence

1. Preliminary considerations

It is necessary to go beyond the original concept of environment, which was predominantly centered on its physical and natural specification as "ecological system", and then favoring the emphasis on the anthropological, socio-cultural and philosophical dimensions- which are inextricably integrated into any concept of extreme environment (cf Acebo Ibáñez & Costa, 2010: 257).

In fact, the human environment is constituted by a selection of objects which have existential importance for the subjects, they are meaningful and make sense (cf Rothacker, 1948, 1930), together with the historical memory possessed by a given town, city or local community, together with their collective representations, myths and beliefs.

The distribution of extreme environments on Earth has varied through geological times, where there are organisms (*extremophiles*) that do live in such conditions and are so well-adapted that they can readily grow and multiply.

But the historical subject has been dwelling along different areas or spheres (cf Peter Sloterdijk, 2013, 2005, 2004, 2003, 1988), namely: a) the founding proto-spatial experience (the maternal womb: the *being-entering-in-the-world*), b) the places later inhabited by said subject (house, town, city: the *metoikesis* mentioned by the Greeks as mobilizations of the *homo viator*), and c) movements to distant scenarios (deserts, extreme environments, unknown confines which lead, in a circular movement, to the self-absorption of the subject) (cf Vázquez Roca, 2009).

Deleuze and Guattari (1994) prefer to talk about *milieux*, territories, assemblages and cosmic planes, which help us to consider these phenomena as "movements": i) territorialization, ii) deterritorialization (relative and absolute), and iii) reterritorialization. We are thus not only facing an original theory of becoming (*ritornelo*), but also a new conception of space and time: time no longer as "measure" but as "difference", and no longer space only as extension but as intensity (cf Borgi, 2014).

The "extreme" is a hyper-connoted but not well-defined word. It is just like with other everyday concepts; it is said that when someone asks us, for example, "what is 'time'?", we know what it is if we don't have to explain it, but when we have to express it in words, we hesitate in answering. Consequently, a reductionist conception of the extreme environment as a mere "ecological system" (*environmentalism*) influences the type of answer given to the question about what the "extreme" is, leaving aside some of its qualified dimensions.

An extreme environment contains *per se*, at first, negative conditions that turns difficult to survive for the most known life forms. These conditions, mainly obstacles, may be as the experts point out: extremely high or low temperature, pressure, levels of radiation, acidity, alkalinity, and also the absence of water or the presence of water containing high concentrations of salt or sugar; or the presence of toxic substances in the soil or main sources of water, etc. Consequently, examples of extreme environments are the following: geographical poles, arid deserts, volcanoes, deep ocean trenches, high mountains, and outer space. Living organisms under these conditions during a long-term evolution and the respective natural selection, are often very well adapted to their living circumstances (Lorenz, 1965).

2. Questions about the extreme

The “extreme”, beyond any epistemological reductionism, implies a *total radicality* that refers to its multi-dimensionality, namely: environmental, geographical, aesthetic, historical, social, economic, political-ideological, normative-axiological, anthropological, literary, artistic. We are speaking about a dramatic realm where the subject’s and the socio-cultural worlds intersect within a supposed environmental determinism.

Now, aesthetically or geographically, the extreme always implies an implicit heroism for its dwellers. Consequently, this heroism may be a sort of *citizenship letter* from the extreme, a source of identity for those who “inhabit” it, and also a source of admiration for those who observe and perceive that phenomenon from their “*right here*”. Let’s remember that the “hero” is one of the archetypes mentioned by the psychologist Carl Gustav Jung, and that the term “archetype” refers to a construct that Jung elaborates to explain all those dream images and universal fantasies belonging to religions, myths, legends: autonomous ancestral images that constitute what he called the collective unconscious. Precisely, that “individual heroism” would be opposed to a given geo-climatological determinism.

In any of the cases, it is the dialectic of the *homo viator* and the *stabilitas loci*, in terms of “internalization” of the extreme environment -natural and constructed- and the “exteriorization” of the landscape of the soul of such a subject and such a local community (cf Bachelard 1975).

If the extreme is “heterotopia”, this is verified only if it is seen from a cognitive otherness, although perhaps with potential ethnocentric deviations. If the extreme is “utopia”, it emerges as a “necessary” and

"functional" place for the modern and postmodern mentality, an eventual flight from both the hyper-consumerist and "risk" societies. Thus, the extreme could represent a forced "exile" of the "otherness"; sometimes we perceive as extreme what we do not reach because we cannot or do not want, or sometimes representing a distance that we just build ourselves.

But does the extreme imply "distance" -spatial, cultural, social, economic, geographical, ideological? It depends on how the observer of the extreme defines distance or proximity. Because the one who defines or describes as "extreme" a given territory or socio-cultural world, does it from his/her own place and world of belonging.

Likewise, how do those who live in a space or qualified territory define themselves as "extreme"? For example, a socio-anthropological researcher who lives in a western metropolis and needs to study an environmentally extreme socio-cultural world could face the surprise, pity or anger of the natives of that extreme area, who could reasonably answer: "You are the one who lives in an extreme environment, highly polluted and with a stressful urban daily life. Unlike us, that we are living in this environment and community many centuries ago and we are totally rooted".

3. The extreme landscape: point of arrival or starting point?

The landscape is generally more than the landscape itself. Simmel (1998: 175) glimpses and expresses it in a simple and complex way: "Our conscience must have a new whole, unitary, above the elements, not linked to its isolated meaning and not mechanically composed from them: this is the landscape." It means that it is not just the given, it is not a piece of the planet that we contemplate immediately "[...] it can only be a transit point for the total forces of existence". It would be "a vision experienced as a self-sufficient unit, interwoven, however, with an infinitely more distant extension, that flows further, understood between borders that do not exist for the totality of nature, which lives below, in another stratum" (*ibidem*: 176).

Once it is separated from nature, the "civilized" man returns to it, making it landscape. For Simmel (1998: 185s) this is a tragedy of the spirit, that is: to say that the part of a whole becomes an autonomous whole, because for the German philosopher and sociologist "feeling of the landscape" and "visual unity of the landscape" are but two moments of a single phenomenon.

Simmel (1977) made important contributions to a sociology and psycho-sociology of space and its properties (cf Acebo Ibáñez: 1996, 1985),

as well as on the concept of *limit*, implicit -or explicit- in his aesthetic essays. Hence are mentioned the contrasts between the mountain as a boundary, border and division, and the sea as a union, link and facilitator of human contacts. Paradox between the (apparent) proximity on the other side of the mountain that nevertheless maintains a given distance, and the (in)apparent distance of the maritime horizons, where its horizontal immensity accelerates the vocation of encounter and bridge (cf Acebo Ibáñez 2008).

4. The extreme and the limit

The extreme implies a kind of abysmal limit, which calls for silence to better contemplate it. Hence the need for the intuition of the extreme emerges as contrary to an "ideology of linearity" (Dotolo, 2013).

The border (the extreme) identifies a being-in-common as a *space of a lack*, oriented towards the creation of bonds that help to overcome it.

The tendency or need to cultivate a culture of the border, finds its reason of being by helping to understand the enigmas of life, beyond the threshold of knowledge (Dotolo: 2013: 125s).

The narration of the "extreme" emerges as confirmation of the *extreme as limit* beyond which emerges alienness, exile, mystery; because in the end the *terra incognita* is always a need: to know it as an utopia or, at least, to confirm our identity and place from precisely that immeasurable distance attributable to the extreme and the unknown.

What is the degree of compatibilization of the narratives of the extreme developed from within (*ad intra*) and from outside (*ad extra*)? Dialectics between proximity and distance, ego and alter, known and unknown. It would seem that to speak, describe and to move to "the extreme" supposes to be confirmed as an outsider coming from (perhaps) a "not extreme" place. Anyway, as Oubiña states, "[...] the narrations of the extreme allow the spectacular appearance of the effort that implies 'confer a sense'" (Oubiña: 2011: 33). In short, the end is *finis terrae*, the last point, but still a part of the continent (cf Sarlo, 2011: 21).

5. The extreme as "setting in motion of the place"

The extreme is path, movement and approach: never "arrival" in the strict sense, but confirmation of the departure and the path "between".

The extreme grows and is justified from the lack (of the ordinary) and the wealth (of the extraordinary). Hence, the presence of its everlasting founding relationships with heroism (and resilience). Dialectic of the

"beyond" and the "right here": does the extreme exist because someone perceives and calls it that way from a "right here"? Are there any ways to communicate the extreme? Or better: is it communicable?

Extreme does not represent only a place because it deals also with *time* and *memory*. The strategy of the "fleeting instant" arises from the experience of finitude, where the awareness that there are other worlds and other visions of existence breaks with the ethnocentric and geocentric illusion.

In fact, to better understand the subject-territory-world holistic relationship, it is necessary to consider the temporal dimension, which structures, constitutes and sustains both the socio-cultural world (history) and the subject's world (biography). *Being* and *time* must be taught together (Nietzsche, Heidegger), beyond the forms that can be acquired.

Extreme and time are also uncertain and mostly unknown. Ergo, the narrations of the extreme are seen with the need to "narrate uncertainty". Consequently, *perplexity* emerges within the subject's world, assembled in a now chaotic cosmos that moves between the longing of the Greek *kosmetikós* and the apocalyptic ambush of a post-cosmic chaos, as Peter Sloterdijk (2013, 1988) would say. Thus, the "liquid" society criticized by Baumann (2002) when speaking of modernity and its uprooting and deterritorialization processes, would be nothing but the prolegomena of the said chaos.

6. The silence and the edges of the extreme

That abysmal limit that constitutes "the extreme" extends and calls to silence. Also works of art or literature can be called extreme when working at the edges of that silence: they are constructions on the edge of an abyss (cf Oubiña 2011).

In fact, the extreme has as constituents the "silence" and the respective "edges", and both are needed. Every space has (needs to have) its own edges, otherwise at least we need to ask those who inhabit it from their imagination. In addition, what space can claim the property rights of "its" edges is a question of insoluble result.

Silence is not the lack of sounds but what it is said without saying, atrocious echo of the word predicted or to be said. It happens that all "extreme" is more to be "meditated" and dialoged (in terms of interconnection of senses: *dia-logós*) in silence. It can be observed that those living in extreme environments tend to speak softly, while we can "hear" their gestural dialogues.

7. The extreme properly said

The extreme has no opposite: it is not possible to oppose the extreme to the non-extreme in the same way in which the illegible is confronted with the readable, or the excessive with the harmonic, simply because the extreme does not circumscribe a pole but defines an orientation.

It means that the *radicality* of the "extreme" could be a beginning and not the last frontier. Because thinking about "the extreme" implies "finding a space there to understand the modes of production of meaning" (Oubiña2011: 44). In an endless dialectical movement, "the extreme is the always renewed promise of an afterlife. As soon as it manages to settle in, it becomes a new starting point" (*ibidem*: 47).

To inhabit the extreme implies "to be", accentuating "its effect of permanence and highlighting its sovereignty in the occupation of a place, the repetition through the gerund confers to the fixity of the verb 'to be' an attribute of resonance" (Oubiña, 2011: 73). Thus, "*to be being*" defines or describes well the ways of inhabiting the Antarctic continent, oscillating between the extremes of "forever" and "never again", between "the whole" and "the nothingness". Where the limit no longer limits, it invites to overcome it, which does not mean its elimination given that it is constituent of the "extreme" phenomenon. That's why also in human beings, as limits are constitutive, they cannot be eliminated but they are to be overcome, from their re-knowing in a dynamic opening to the whole.

Ergo, the extreme would disappear if the look that sees and defines it, also disappears. It would only be, then, the *being- in-the extreme*, without depending on the look of the *alter* (looking-glass Self). Anyway, reaching an extreme space "does not necessarily imply a greater knowledge [of it], because things and places do not abandon their secrets" (Oubiña, 2011: 121). So that knowledge does not suppose a revelation but a deepening on one's limitations. Once again: *the extreme, especially in the geographical and mythological realms, remain as such not abandoning their "secrets"*.

In the artistic and literary works that border on the extreme, it could well be argued that perhaps they are already *extreme works*: "It is still narrative; but what they tell -their structures of meanings- lies at the edges of every narrative, on a limit beyond which it would no longer be possible to tell. Apparently refractory to any interpretation [...], in these narrations of the extreme the effort that means to confer a sense dramatically appears" (*ibidem*: 33s). The same must be said about the extreme environments given that

inhabiting the confines implies veiling and de-veiling a *grammar of existence* (cf Dotolo, 2013).

8. Realms of the extreme

Although we have mentioned universal features of the “extreme”, it is also possible to find different realms of the “extreme”, depending on the observer’s approach, namely:

a) *Geographic-environmental approach:*

As we have mentioned at the beginning -following different authors-, there are two extreme environments representing exactly the opposite: *cold & high-altitude environments* (circumpolar, glacial and periglacial areas, tundra, high mountains in non-polar latitudes), and *hot & arid environments* (deserts and semi-arid areas, and also the multidimensional process of desertification caused by uncontrolled population growth, human depredation through deforestation and climate change, another direct consequence of the lack of the environmental preservation).

Although these environments tend to be seen as *inaccessible* and *inhospitable*, they do provide adaptable possibilities to settle down and develop specific socioeconomic activities to help the survival of the inhabitants in spite of their low demographic density, in spite of their difficulties for the access to their remote location.

b) *The geopolitical approach:*

This approach considers the different and changeable international power relations and conflict interests occurred along history between peoples, nations and regions, which not in few cases led to colonialism and wars. Among the various theories developed for the analysis and study of the international relations, we will focus for our purpose on the *center-periphery* theory developed mainly -but not only- in Latin America, which speaks in terms of central or dominant countries and peripherals or dominated countries (Cardoso 1974, Cardoso & Faletto 2003, Keohana & Nye 2001, O’Donnell 1997, Prebisch 1981a, 1981b, Stiglitz 1998). Facing these historical processes to better understand what is and represents geopolitically the “extreme”, we must be aware of who is defining it because, as we know, the act of naming also represents power and dominance over the phenomenon named.

Following this conflict approach, the periphery would be more easily located or named as “extreme”, as it is “far from the center”, geographically,

socioeconomically and culturally. As dominance and colonialism are phenomena historically well known, we'll not deepen in here. Anyway, during the last part of the 19th century the dominant political class in Argentina used to speak in terms of the dialectic between "*civilization and barbarism*". The first, *civilization*, corresponded to the dominant, modern and modernizing societies; the second, *barbarism*, referred to peoples of societies dominated or to be dominated, as it happened with the Latin American indigenous peoples.

c) Socio-cultural approach:

This approach let us to better perceive and consider what we can call "pockets of extreme", also within a modernized country or even more in developing and underdeveloped ones.

c.1) Global risk society:

Authors, such as Beck (1992), speaks in terms of the "global risk society", stating that it has to do with the development phase of modern society in which social, political, economic and industrial risks tend rapidly to escape from institutional control and protection. Risks, often irreversible, are distributed unequally at the social level, covered by an increasing political and institutional orphanhood. This process is inextricably related to other phenomena, such as the "disenchantment" suffered by citizens in terms of collective meanings, the process of "individualization" linked to a continuous disengagement from the traditional social forms (*Gemeinschaft*) and a re-linkage to modern social forms (*Gesellschaft*).

Risk and uncertainty are based on the recognition of the unpredictable and threats of global society. The individual and collective existence appears suspended over extraterritorial areas such as virtual networks, hyper-connectivity, the multiplication of messages *urbi et orbi* that do not always represent authenticity and depth in communication, tending to privilege the "message" many times to the detriment of the alter (cf Järvelä & Wilenius, 1996).

c.2) Immigration, discrimination and social inequality

Immigration processes, mainly the undocumented ones, represent movement from and towards a sort of extreme. In times of national societies and the fear of "otherness", before a narcissistic view that feeds back on fear (and hatred) towards what is not known, the "extreme" as a "movement of

the place”-as we mentioned *ut supra*- emerges again where migrations (try to) generate their own space. But as perceived as a threat, the immigration movements have transformed the foreigner in a danger (cf P. Sloterdijk, 1988). But in parallel the undocumented immigrants suffer extreme living conditions in the different stages of the migratory process, namely: i) the structural expulsion from their local communities of origin, because of poverty and/or the lack of opportunities; ii) the extreme difficulties to arrive safely to the new locality elected and then be allowed to enter to the new country; and iii) the obstacles and impediments, once living in the new country and place, in terms of being accepted, suffering discrimination if not inhuman treatments, and potential identity problems.

However, the human being migrates ever since he sets foot on the planet, so if migration is a "human" characteristic then discrimination and confrontation against the immigrant should be understood more clearly as "inhuman" forms of behavior, independently of the national interests involved.

c.3) Normative-axiological framework: the anomie as extreme socio-cultural atmosphere
Many debates took place in social sciences around the *anomie*, being it individual or structural. It is an important sociological and psychological category that designates a state in which the individual perceives the absence of rules or norms by which to govern their behaviors. The term was introduced in Sociology by Durkheim (1897) to designate this growing loss of norms as an effect of the division of labor and above all, as a consequence of the limitless increase in expectations. The destabilization of relationships conditions the loss of norms, and anomie arises as a state of uncontrolled aspirations.

According to Durkheim (1893), anomie is linked to the passage of a pre-modern type of society, with little division of social labor and wide consensus, to a modern type of society with an extended division of labor that, in itself, does not imply a disintegrating process but rather a centripetal, integrative and supportive process. Due to the process of historical acceleration, unforeseen changes at the cultural, social and economic levels usually generate an anomic division of labor: new functions are orphans of normative regulation. More than a prolonged structural state, anomie appears, for Durkheim, as a characteristic conjuncture of advanced industrial society, only surmountable through continuous adjustments.

R. Merton (1949), R. König (1958) and R. Cloward (1960) develop the theory in terms of breakdown of the cultural order as a consequence of the incoherence between ends or goals that a society proposes and the means offered to reach such goals.

In fact, cultural ends and norms do not always operate in coordination: the disproportion between means and ends generates deviant behaviors, which operate, according to Merton, as forms of adaptation of behaviors in a society where success through money as a goal does not find parallel adequate access to the means to reach it.

McIver (1950) in his analysis of *anomie* puts the accent on the "state of mind" of the individual, whose moral roots have been annulled: he is perceived as spiritually sterile, becoming skeptical of the affirmation of universal values and entering to a philosophy of negation, without future or past, anticipating by many years the formulations of several representatives of post-modernity. McIver's characterization of anomie ends by pointing out the loss of the sense of social cohesion, the main source for the individual's moral life (cf Acebo Ibáñez & Brie 2006c).

One can ask if it is possible to consider the structural anomie as a socio-cultural phenomenon that leads to a sort of "extreme society" consequence of this structural orphanhood emerged because of the lack of a clear, stable and legitimized normative-axiological framework. Perhaps Durkheim (1897) has already answered this question more than one hundred years ago when in his classical and outstanding essay about suicide, included as one of the four types he pointed out, the anomic one.

c.4) Extreme and the Art

The extreme often tends to be mediated by art (films, photographs, plastic arts, literature, etc.) which tends to confirm and validate the characteristics of "the extreme" (Oubiña 2011). Because the narration is not *prima facie* experience but intuition from the art and its avatars, and also from the myth.

In an extreme work in literature or cinema, the concept of extreme allows us to think an author's work from another side: "Instead of being the *non plus ultra*, it is, in some way, the point from which one returns" (Sarlo 2011: 25).

d) Anthropological-philosophical approach: the "acedia"

The *acedia* (lat. *acidia*) implies the renunciation of one's own human vocation, becoming alienated and exiled from every heroic attitude. Inhabiting the

extreme tends to be a link with authentic heroism practiced in everyday life without almost knowing it, leaving aside any alienating linearity.

In a technocratic landscape where the subject's world has been blurred to give it a secondary role, emerges this phenomenon very well studied by medieval scholasticism: the *acedia*, a human vice that represents a kind of "laziness", a "deep boredom" in the subject's interiority that prevents him/her from acting in the most intrinsically proper and non-transferable, facing its most authentic needs and self perception. *Acedia* implies the renunciation to the most existential vocation of the *homo religiosus*, its call to be human creature existentially rooted and generously open to *be-in-the-world* in a space-time that constitutes him/her in terms of territorial or spatial roots (*being by dwelling in a meaningful territory*), of social roots (*being-with-the-other*) and of cultural roots that give framework and sustenance to the coeval conjugation of the *being-oneself* with the *being-with-the-others* in the core of *being –in-the- world*.

Thomas Aquinas (*Summa Theologica*: 2-2, Q. 35, A. 4) and Cassiano (*De Coenobiorum Institutis*: L- X) warned that *acedia* consists in *becoming sad in the face of spiritual good*. It is an "inner inaction" of the subject. Aquinas observes the immediate consequences of *acedia*, namely: desperation and instability of purposes (*vagatio mentis*), the instability of place (*instabilitas loci*), resentment, routine and pusillanimity. We have referred to *acedia* when analyzing the types of suicide in the Sociology of Emile Durkheim (Durkheim 1897, Acebo Ibáñez 2015). In sum, as an "existential rootedness", *acedia* impedes the subject to have firm social and cultural roots.

9. Towards some (in) conclusions: reflexive extreme and identity

The *desert* (literally but mainly figuratively), and also the *extreme* are territories of anguish and sometimes could have been of punishment or the vision of a *homo faber et consumens* inhabitant of a hyper-consumerist capitalist modernity; but they are also, and fundamentally, *territories of self-recovery*, areas that allow mediating transit towards the authentic and strictly necessary (Benjamin, 1921). It means that the restrictions present in a given extreme realm or environment however they provide room for reflection and reflexivity so they are restrictions that broaden the horizon and the perception of space.

Through different approaches to the Arctic issues, some authors refer to the "*reflexive North*" (Aarsæther 1997, Bærenholdt 1998) to stimulate the discourse on *local level development*, which can be related to circumpolarity as

total phenomenon, where the relation between territory, inhabitants, social relations, cultural productions and environmental conditions are inextricably united. Unit reinforced by roots, community attachment, meanings, values, memory and representations of reality. To speak in terms of "*reflexive*" *extreme regions* implies to deepen the knowledge of those local communities and their internal and external dimensions.

Reflexivity presents two dimensions or meanings, namely: a) *structural reflexivity*, involving the process of change of social structures through social practices, and b) *self-reflexivity*, referring to the process where social actors consider and question their own social practices and processes of change (Lash 1994: 115).

Reflexivity is not related to local development but -as different social scientists affirm (cf Castells 1997, Vattimo, 1999, Acebo Ibáñez 2010, 2006, 2000) to the ways the local communities emerge as meaningful responses to globalization and individualization.

It is our conviction that the heroic attempts to inhabit the Antarctica need to reinforce a *locality approach* to survive over its restrictions and climate obstacles. In fact, the Antarctic everyday life shows new routines and adaptive strategies where new forms of localities and identities are established in a gradual process of institutionalization.

Meanwhile the *coping strategies* to survive and develop social life in extreme circumpolar regions present at least three dimensions, namely:

a) *innovation*: the process of change resulting from new solutions to local problems, as responses to the transformations of a globalizing and increasingly knowledge-based world; b) *networking*: the development of interpersonal relations that permit to overcome any temptation to get fixed in institutionalized limits; and c) *formation of an identity*: the active formation of identities that can reflect on cultural discourses from the local to the global (Bærenholdt & Aarsæther 1998b: 27-36). Consequently, we can affirm that *the extreme becomes close, and the confine just another border*.

Last, but not least, to inhabit the extremes implies at least the search of an *extreme identity*, just in case it was not already got by their dwellers (cf Lash 1994, Aarsæther 1997, Bærenholdt 2000).

As Friedman (1995: 86) affirms, "[...] the practice of identity is about identification of an existential world, the attribution of meaning to the world, to objects, persons and relations. This practice identifies the self as it identifies the world."

Furthermore, shared meanings and identities have been constructed by national-level processes. Thus, identities are stretched out not only over space, but also over time. We still find this kind of social practices performed and symbolized locally, so everyday life in peripheral localities should persist as a central component in the heritage of circumpolar identities, a really core phenomenon to enrich and deepen the local/global and north/south debates.

In short, the extreme is not (it should not be) something external to us, a socio-geographical-existential otherness that (potentially) "alters" us. It is that the crisis of the public space with its pockets of inequity and social conflict, as well as of the territories or extreme areas are, in reality –in the words of Sloterdijk (1988: 124), “[...] a crisis of coming-to-the-world, a crisis [...] of the belief that men are beings capable of coming absolutely, becoming part of it”.

Self-restrained in territories of sterile dominion, gentrified in a self-indulgent *being-without-being*, the subject abandons the edges, without realizing that are not precipice but expansion and adventure, because this is precisely the sign of our time: "A time of resignation and *show*, a time of official privacy and apocalypse of privacy. Those who still want to escape in a big way today, look for scandal in something that is no longer an outside ... Until the cave is in an uproar”(ibid., 123s).

Having is enthroned, even what one already has, and above all if it flows from a territorial and subjective strength that is not such but a flattening once heroism was exiled. Virtue, the latter, alien to a petty-bourgeois representation of (own) reality, only recovered from recognition of the extreme insofar as they are "distant": the more, the better. It is about the "postponement of what is important." To the extreme of distancing as far as possible "the extreme" itself, whose presence generates in the contemporary subject a kind of *agoraphobia* that only implies a drive to "return to the cave."

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Lapland under French eyes: the second *La Recherche* expedition (1838-1839) narrated by Xavier Marmier

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Abstract

This article is dedicated to the second French *La Recherche* expedition to Lapland and Spitzbergen in the years 1838-1839, sponsored by French King Louis Philippe who had himself travelled through the Northern parts of Fennoscandia incognito in the late 18th century. Focusing on the expedition's official account written by prolific French writer Xavier Marmier and unpublished source material from the French diplomatic archives as well as writings by Lars Lévi Laestadius, the Swedish Lutheran minister of partly Sami origin who was the expedition's guide in Lapland, the article discusses Marmier's representation of the European Far North in his official narrative in relation to his own notes and Laestadius' observations. Marmier's remarks are also studied in a wider political context of French rivalry with British ambition in the Arctic and diplomatic perception of *La Recherche*.

Key words

Arctic, Lapland, Marmier, travel literature, representation

On June 13, 1838, at 1pm, the corvette *La Recherche* was towed out of the port of Le Havre to set sail to the European Arctic under the command of Lieutenant Fabvre¹. The boat was to carry Dr Paul Gaimard, President of the French Scientific Commission of the North and leader of the second so-called *La Recherche* expedition (1838-9), as well as five members of the team to Norway where they were to join up with the other members of the group in order to explore Spitsbergen and Lapland. The first expedition had been organized in 1836 to go in search of the brig *La Lilloise* that had vanished off the coast of Eastern Greenland in 1833, and to explore Iceland. Paul

¹ A chronological account of the expedition is to be found in the richly illustrated Franco-Norwegian album *La Recherche: En Expedition mot Nord/Une expedition vers le Nord* by Nils M. Knutsen and Per Posti, published by Angelica Forlag AS, Tromsø, in 2002.

Gaimard had been part of the search party, leaving the writer and poet Xavier Marmier to observe Icelandic life and manners. Marmier managed to publish his account *Letters from Iceland*² already the following year, a feat that recommended him to Gaimard as the official chronicler of the second, still more ambitious expedition which Gaimard started to plan upon his return to France. By March 1837, official approval for a second journey had been secured³. Marmier was to spend several months in Denmark and Sweden in order to prepare himself for the exploration of Lapland by studying the cultures of the North well in advance of this major enterprise of international scientific cooperation under French leadership that was designed to lead to a number of important, or, as we would say today, cutting-edge discoveries.

In a letter addressed to Baron Jöns Jacob Berzelius, one of the founders of modern chemistry and for many years Perpetual Secretary of the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences, Paul Gaimard outlines the planned itinerary and research programme of this expedition which was to associate French, Danish, Swedish and Norwegian scientists, officers and artists:

“Paris, March 29, 1838

Monsieur le Baron,

The observations we are proposing to make during the voyage to Lapland and Spitsbergen being largely dependent on unforeseen circumstances concerning routes and weather, etc., we thought it fit not to adopt a frame fixed well in advance, but a plan adaptable according to necessity, with the possibility to modify it once out there in order to prefer this or that option to another.

Leaving Le Havre around May 1 on the corvette *La Recherche*, which will have been fitted out in the port of Brest previously, we are projecting to head for Christiania where we are hoping to meet up with our scientific compatriots; from there, we will sail to Trondheim, and from Trondheim to Hammerfest, where we will pick up pilots to take us to Spitsbergen. Time to be spent in these towns depends on the more or less advanced

² Xavier Marmier, *Lettres sur l'Islande*, Paris: Bonnaire, 1837. For a chronology of Marmier's life and his published works see Wendy S. Mercer's very thorough biography *The Life and Travels of Xavier Marmier (1808-1892): Bringing World Literature to France*, Oxford, Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 2007.

³ Wendy S. Mercer, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

state of the season, but it is planned to arrive at Spitsbergen on July 1 if possible⁴.”

As mentioned above, the corvette finally left France in June only, some six weeks after the scheduled departure, due to the late arrival of the boat that had required some repair work after a voyage to the Caribbean before it could be prepared for the expedition⁵. This meant that Spitsbergen was reached too late in the season to realize all of the scientific work that had been planned. A second voyage to Spitsbergen was therefore organized in 1839 that occasioned also a second crossing of Lapland in which the painter François-Auguste Biard and his later wife Léonie d'Aunet participated and that will be discussed later in the article. For the time being, let us return to Gaimard's letter to read about the scientific objectives of the 1838 expedition:

“Here are the observations projected for the first part of the voyage. From North Cape to Spitsbergen, to study the currents of these parts, and to take a series of measures of maritime water temperatures; collect deep sea water. (...) From Spitsbergen, we will return to Hammerfest: a new series of physical observations will start here for five members of our Commission who are to spend the winter in this small town. There, we will set up observatories for magnetic and astronomical observations to be made during the whole winter. Our physicists intend to observe very carefully aurora borealis.

⁴ Letter dated 29 March 1838 and sent from Paris by Paul Gaimard to Berzelius, published under the title *LETTRE sur le Voyage ordonné par le Roi en Scandinavie, en Laponie et au Spitzberg, adressé à M. le Baron Berzelius, associé étranger de l'Institut de France, etc., à Stockholm par M. Paul Gaimard, Président de la Commission scientifique d'Islande et du Groenland*, Paris: Arthus Bertrand, 1838, p. iii: “Paris, le 29 mars 1838/Monsieur le Baron,/Les observations que nous proposons de faire dans le voyage en Laponie et au Spitzberg, étant soumises, en grande partie, aux circonstances imprévues de route, du temps, etc., nous n'avons pas cru devoir adopter un cadre invariable et prévu d'avance, mais bien un plan susceptible de se plier à ces diverses exigences, en nous laissant la faculté de le modifier sur les lieux, et de pouvoir favoriser telle ou telle partie de préférence à telle ou telle autre.

Partant du Havre, vers le 1er mai, sur la corvette *La Recherche*, qui aura été armée au port de Brest, notre projet est de nous diriger vers Christiania, où nous espérons nous joindre à nos savants compatriotes; de là à Drontheim, et de Drontheim à Hammerfest, où nous prendrons des pilotes pour le Spitzberg. Le temps passé dans ces villes sera proportionné à l'état plus ou moins avancé de la saison, et de manière à arriver, s'il est possible, au Spitzberg, vers le 1er juillet.”

⁵ Nils M. Knutsen and Per Posti, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

To do so, one of the observers will settle in Boscop for some time, or in Altengaard⁶ (...).”

Last but not least, man was to be focused on as a part of natural history: “The Commission will take special care to study physical man in his relations to the knowledge about moral man, to collect all natural history samples of these regions and, above all, the less well-known productions of the sea at various depths. (...) The Commission members who are not due to spend the winter in Hammerfest will explore Lapland, returning thereafter via Torneå, Umeå and Stockholm⁷.”

The scientists who finally spent a winter in Finmark set up camp in Boscop, the village near Alta which seemed to offer more clear skies required for astronomic observation than Hammerfest⁸. As to what turned out to be two Lapland crossings, they will occupy us at some length, but before we turn to this part of the voyage, it is time to reflect on the historical context of this expedition, the motivation of decision makers and the image French people had of the European Far North before the *La Recherche* expedition set sail.

French views of Scandinavia and Lapland

French interest in the European Arctic and Spitsbergen dates back to the 17th century when the French went whale hunting off the shores of this island⁹. In 1681, just a few years after the publication of Johannes Scheffer’s seminal *History of Lapland* in 1673, which came out in French in 1678¹⁰, Jean-François Regnard, the best-known French playwright of the generation after

⁶Letter dated 29 March 1838 and sent from Paris by Paul Gaimard to Berzelius (*op.cit.*), pp. iv-vi: “Voici les observations projetées pour cette première partie du voyage. Du cap Nord au Spitzberg, étudier les courants de ces parages, et faire quelques épreuves de températures sous-marines; recueillir de l’eau à des grandes profondeurs. (...) Du Spitzberg, nous reviendrons à Hammerfest: une nouvelle série d’observations physiques y commencera pour cinq membres de notre Commission, qui doivent passer l’hiver dans cette petite ville. Là, nous construirons des observatoires pour les observations magnétiques et astronomiques, qui seront continuées pendant tout l’hiver. Nos physiciens ont le projet d’examiner avec beaucoup de soin les aurores boréales. Pour cela, un des observateurs ira s’établir quelque temps à Boscop, ou à Altengaard (...).”

⁷*Ibid.*, p. ix.

⁸Nils M. Knutsen and Per Posti, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 14.

¹⁰ Johannes Scheffer, *Histoire de la Laponie* (tr. Auguste Lubin), Paris: chez la veuve O. de Varenne, 1678.

Molière, travelled Lapland thanks to the support of King Charles XI. Regnard's narrative was later published posthumously and reedited several times, notably in 1731¹¹, not long before Pierre Moreau Louis de Maupertuis set out to Lapland in 1736 to confirm Newton's theory about the earth being flattened at the poles. Maupertuis's journey was the first major scientific expedition after "centuries of more or less fantasizing reveries about Lapland", as Osmo Pekonen puts it¹². Still, French views of life up in the North were to remain fairly obscure for decades until Mme de Staël's famous essay *De l'Allemagne* (1810) and Xavier Marmier's own writings raised renewed interest in German culture and the European North¹³. Marmier's official account of the *La Recherche* expedition was to offer a wealth of observations about life in Lapland.

French official interest in Scandinavian life was manifest by this stage. On March 5 and 12, 1837, Marmier was received by François Guizot, at that point Minister of Public Instruction (1832-7), before he became Louis-Philippe's Foreign Secretary in 1840 and later the leading minister of the King's government¹⁴. Guizot granted Marmier's request for a paid research tour of Scandinavia, specifying that he "was to undertake a comparative study of the education systems in Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, from primary to higher education. He was also to investigate the relationship between education and the Church there¹⁵." Not enough reliable first-hand information about the European North seemed to be available to French authorities despite the reports regularly sent by French diplomats that are

¹¹Jean-François Regnard, *Les Œuvres de Mr. Regnard. Nouvelle édition. Revuë, corrigée & augmentée. TOME I. Contenant ses Voyages de Flandres, d'Hollande, Suède, Dannemark, la Laponie, la Pologne & l'Allemagne*, Paris: Chez Pierre-Jacques Ribou, 1731.

¹²Osmo Pekonen, *La Rencontre des religions autour du voyage de l'abbé Réginald Outhier en Suède en 1736-1737*, Rovaniemi: Lapin Yliopistokustannus, 2010, p. 14.

¹³The text had not passed Napoleonic censorship in 1810 but then appeared in Sweden: Germaine de Staël-Holstein, *De l'Allemagne*, Uppsala: chez E. Bruzelius, 1814. It was reedited in 1839, with a preface by Xavier Marmier (Paris: Charpentier). Marmier had previously published a volume of essays on Goethe (*Étude sur Goethe*, Paris and Strasbourg: Levrault, 1835), before the Icelandic letters mentioned above and a history of Danish and Swedish literature (*Histoire de la littérature en Danemark et en Suède*, Paris: Bonnaire, 1839). Articles by Marmier on Danish and Swedish literature had already appeared in the influential *Revue des Deux Monde* and the *Revue de Paris* in 1837 and 1838 (for details see Wendy S. Mercer, *op. cit.*, p. 80, n.12 and p. 112, n. 46.).

¹⁴See Laurent Theis' excellent biography *François Guizot* (Paris: Fayard, 2008) for an intellectual portrait of this outstanding figure.

¹⁵Wendy S. Mercer, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

now kept in the diplomatic archives of the French Foreign Ministry at La Courneuve, outside Paris. Here is a comparative view of Scandinavia sent by the *chargé d'affaires* Roux de la Rochelle from Copenhagen to the French Foreign Secretary and President of the Council of Ministers, Count Louis-Mathieu Molé:

“Copenhagen, October 18, 1838

Monsieur le Comte,

(...)

If we compare Denmark to Sweden and Norway, we find her in a more enviable geographical position than the latter two. In countries which are even poorer, we find even an even smaller population which is the more to be pitied for it, but if we compare her to more southern countries, it will not take us long to persuade ourselves that the strength of body and mind suffers from a stormy climate, and that all those generations which had to uphold a permanent struggle against the natural elements tend to get weaker rather than stronger, degenerating instead of building up courage¹⁶.”

Roux de la Rochelle was in fact trying to answer a query from Paris concerning Danish demography. He is very clearly applying the theory of the climate, as Montesquieu would have done, to account for Northern otherness, preferring a conceptual view to first-hand observation and historical knowledge about the Vikings and Danish colonialism that could hardly be drawn on to support such interpretations.

We do not know how this particular piece was received in Paris but it does not seem surprising that some of the leading minds of the day were actively supporting the *La Recherche* project as the need for more ample and reliable

¹⁶Letter from Roux de la Rochelle to Molé sent from Copenhagen, dated 18 October 1838, Archives diplomatiques du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Political Correspondence, Denmark, Folder N° 203, f. 28 and f. 30 (N.B.: the original spelling has been preserved throughout for all quotes from French sources in this chapter): “Copenhague, le 18 octobre 1838/Monsieur le Comte,(...)/ Si nous comparons le Danemark à la Suède et à la Norvège, nous le trouvons dans une situation géographique enviable pour ces deux Royaumes. Dans des Pays encore plus pauvres, nous voyons une population encore plus rare et plus à plaindre, mais si nous le comparons avec des Pays plus méridionaux, nous ne tardons pas à nous convaincre que les forces du corps et de l’esprit souffrent de l’intempérie des climats, et que les générations successives qui ont à soutenir contre les éléments des luttes continuelles s’affaiblissent au lieu de se fortifier, dégénèrent au lieu de croître en courage.”

information in France about Europe's North was apparent. This is what the subscription brochure for the series of official publications of the expedition suggests. It was no doubt authored by Marmier as it was published together with his official account of the expedition:

“France had explored the remotest parts of the Southern Seas. She had entrusted vast enterprises to her navigators, published magnificent volumes on Asia, America and Oceania; she had penetrated into interior Africa after the glorious conquest of Algiers, but the North was only known to us through the accounts of the English, Dutch and Germans. There was thus a part lacking in the history of our voyages, a void to be filled in the circle of our studies. This is when Mr. Gaimard presented to Admiral Rosamel, Minister of the Navy, a project of exploration destined to complete the general view of the boreal regions, a overview that had been started by the *Voyage to Iceland and Greenland*. This project received the approval of the Minister and was met with the King's assent who kindly took an interest in the details of this new expedition and who deigned to honour M. Gaimard in giving him his personal instructions by indicating the places and studies that should draw his attention. The government ordered a large-scale, very difficult and expensive expedition that it was solely in a position to undertake with dignity¹⁷.”

But the Arctic was also a matter of considerable geopolitical interest. The British Empire was actively engaged in the search for the North-West Passage, sending Sir John Ross and Sir Edward Parry to the Arctic several

¹⁷Brochure published together with Marmier's official narrative by Arthus Bertrand, Paris, 1844, 27p., pp. 13-4: “La France avait exploré les contrées les plus reculées des mers du Sud. Elle avait confié à ses marins de vastes missions, publié de magnifiques ouvrages sur l'Asie, sur l'Amérique, sur l'Océanie ; elle pénétrait après la glorieuse conquête d'Alger dans l'intérieur de l'Afrique, et le nord ne nous était guère reconnu que par les relations des Anglais, des Hollandais, des Allemands. Il y a là une lacune dans le cours de nos voyages, un vide dans le cercle de nos études. C'est alors que M. Gaimard présent a à M. l'amiral de Rosamel, ministre de la marine, un projet d'exploration destiné à compléter le tableau des régions boréales, tableau déjà commencé par la publication du *Voyage en Islande et au Groenland*. Ce projet fut agréé par le Ministre et approuvé par le Roi qui voulut bien s'occuper lui-même des détails de cette nouvelle expédition, et daigna honorer M. Gaimard de ses instructions particulières, en lui indiquant les lieux et les recherches qui devaient plus spécialement fixer son attention. Le gouvernement ordonna, sur une grande échelle, cette exploration difficile, coûteuse, qui lui seul pouvait entreprendre dignement.”

times after the end of the Napoleonic wars which liberated a lot of manpower and war ships in the British Navy, to be later followed by the ill-fated Franklin saga and the many expeditions sent in search of him. According to Einar-Arne Drivenes, France was also keen on extending her influence into the Arctic, an ambition that depended on reliable intelligence in the first place, hence no doubt also the enthusiastic support for *La Recherche* by Louis-Philippe, any nostalgia about visiting North Cape in his younger days notwithstanding: “In the statements of the ministries, the political motivation of the expedition is not mentioned. Neither is anything said about the Northern territories or the Arctic. However, there is every reason to believe that the Ministers of the Navy Duperré and Rosamel considered the expedition to Iceland and the northern countries as France’s reply to Britain’s active exploration of the territories of the North¹⁸.”

France obviously wanted to uphold her prestige as one of the leading nations as far as scientific progress is concerned, but her diplomats were also instructed to pay special attention to the political situation in Sweden, one of the immediate neighbours of the Russian Empire, during the last years of King Karl Johan, né Jean-Baptiste Bernadotte. In this context, an international scientific expedition under French leadership to the European Far North was an eminently political affair. At least Count Charles de Mornay, France’s Ambassador to Sweden in the 1830s clearly acted accordingly since he mentioned the arrival of Gaimard in Stockholm in 1837 to Molé in his political correspondence:

“Stockholm, Octobre 20, 1837

Monsieur le Comte,

(...)

Two Frenchmen of the scientific Commission sent to Iceland and northern Europe by the Minister of the Navy have arrived in town. I hastened to put them in touch with scholars and professors of the Academy of Science. Our compatriots were welcomed in most the distinguished way; having been present at one of the sessions of the Academy, its President made a most amiable speech to them during which a very warm message was addressed to Our King in honour of his Majesty’s

¹⁸Einar-Arne Drivenes, “Voyages de la Commission scientifique du Nord, en Scandinavie, en Laponie, au Spitsberg et aux Feroë, pendant les années 1838, 1839 and 1840”, article first published in *Inter-Nord*, no. 20, 2002, available at http://transpolair.free.fr/routes_polaires/recherche/htm, (last accessed 11/01/2013, 09:50).

so constant support of the progress of the Enlightenment and science. – I was told by the Great Governor of Stockholm that before King Charles John had left his capital, on hearing of the close arrival of our French scholars, had ordained all of the public and scientific institutions of the city to be at the disposal of these gentlemen. – If I am going into such small details, it is only to make Your Excellency acquainted with the kindness that any French name is met with in this country today and the many tokens of sympathy it is likely to receive¹⁹.”

It may have appeared a mere trifle, but Mornay thought it fit to mention these details, no doubt to please the interest of the government and the King who evidently considered this expedition to be a matter of considerable importance, just like the King of Sweden did, as another letter from Mornay to Molé shows:

“Stockholm, May 18, 1838

Monsieur le Comte,

(...)

King Charles John having learnt that a scientific commission had been sent by the French government to visit the northern provinces of his Kingdom and that the intentions of His Majesty were to permit that Swedish and Norwegian scholars would be admitted to be associated to the work of our compatriots hastened to designate the Professors who are to

¹⁹Letter from Charles de Mornay to Molé sent from Stockholm, dated 20 October 1837, Archives diplomatiques du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Political Correspondence, Sweden, 123CP + 124CP, no. 318, f. 101 + 104 (microfilm P07100): “Stockholm le 20 octobre 1837/Monsieur le Comte,(...)/ Deux Français de la commission scientifique envoyée en Islande et dans le Nord de l’Europe par le Ministre de la Marine, sont arrivés dans cette ville. Je me suis empressé de les mettre en rapport avec les savans et les professeurs de l’académie des sciences. Nos compatriotes ont été accueillis avec une grande distinction, car s’étant trouvés présens à une des séances de l’academie, le Président leur a fait une allocution très aimable, dans la quelle se trouvait une phrase fort chaleureuse qui s’adressait à Notre Roi pour l’appui si constant donné par sa Majesté aux progrès des lumières et de la science – J’ai su par le Grand Gouverneur de Stockholm qu’avant de quitter sa capitale le Roi Charles-Jean, ayant appris la prochaine arrivée de nos savans Français, avait ordonné de mettre à la disposition de ces Messieurs tous les établissemens publics et scientifiques de la ville. – Si j’entre dans des détails si minutieuses vis à vis de Votre Excellence, c’est pour Lui faire connaître avec quelle bienveillance le nom Français a été accueilli aujourd’hui dans ce pays et la sympathie qu’on lui témoigne.”

join the French expeditions. Two officers of the General Staff, one a Swede, the other Norwegian, have been sent to serve as protectors of the expedition members. Orders have been sent to all the authorities of the provinces that will be explored to welcome these gentlemen with due respect and all possible consideration. Orders have even been issued for a Norwegian war corvette to accompany the French ship to indicate all the dangerous passages along the coast. It seems impossible to pay more speedy heed and to show such goodwill as his Swedish Majesty has done in these circumstances²⁰.”

The two officers mentioned above were no doubt Carl Bertil Liliehöök, Swedish naval officer and physicist, as well as the Norwegian Captain Emmanuel Grave Meyer. The expedition also counted another Swedish officer, the nobleman Ulric Wilhelm Gyldenstolpe, who served as interpreter and facilitator, while producing some fine art work²¹, as well as a number of scientists of solid reputation. The French group included Eugène Robert, geologist and mineralogist who had already partaken in the voyage to Iceland; Victor Lottin, astronomer and physicist who was also Lieutenant

²⁰Letter from Charles de Mornay to Molé sent from Stockholm, dated 18 May 1838, Archives diplomatiques du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Political Correspondence, Sweden, 123CP + 124CP, No 318, f. 170-2 (microfilm P07100): “Stockholm, 18 mai 1838/Monsieur le Comte/(...)/Le Roi Charles Jean avant appris qu’une commission scientifique était envoyée par le gouvernement français pour visiter les provinces septentrionales des son Royaume et que les intentions de Sa Majesté étaient de permettre que des savans Suédois et Norvégiens fussent admis à s’associer aux travaux de nos compatriotes, s’est empressé de désigner les Professeurs qui doivent se réunir à l’expédition française. Deux officiers de l’Etat Major=Général, l’un Suédois, l’autre Norvégien sont envoyés pour servir en quelques lieux de sauve-gardeaux membres de l’expédition. Déjà des ordres ont été données à toutes les autorités des Provinces qui sont explorées pour que ces Messieurs soient accueillis avec tous les égards de toutes les prévenances possibles. Il a même été ordonné à une Corvette de Guerre Norvégienne, de convoyer le bâtiment Français pour lui indiquer tous les passages dangereux du littoral. Il est impossible de mettre plus d’empressement et de bonnegrâce que Sa Majesté Suédoise n’en a déployé dans cette circonstance.” N.B. the first page of the letter (f. 171) up until the passage “l’autre Norvégien sont” (“the other Norwegian, have”), was sent as a coded message, deciphered and transcribed in Paris, the second part was not coded (f. 172). This is probably to be explained by the fact that the first part of the letter contains other information on the same sheet that may well have been considered highly confidential by Mornay.

²¹See Nils M. Knutsen and Per Posti, *op. cit.*, p. 126. The album features also some of his drawings p. 58, p. 60 and p. 70.

in the Navy, Auguste Bravais, astronomer and physicist, also a naval officer, and Charles Frédéric Martins, originally a physician who had turned to botany. The fifth person to have sailed from Le Havre with Gaimard was the draughtsman Louis Bevalet. The two Danish members of the expedition were the botanist Jens Mostue Vahl and the zoologist Henrik Krøyer whose account of the voyage was published in his *Memoirs* in 1870²². They both arrived in Trondheim on June 8, 1838. The following day, the Swedish zoologist Carl Jacob Sundevall arrived there, accompanied by the Norwegian zoologist and geologist Christian Peter Bianco Boeck and Captain Meyer, to be followed on June 11 by Carl Bertil Liliehök and the Swedish physicist Per Adam Siljeström²³. Xavier Marmier arrived together with Ulrik Vilhelm Gyldenstolpe, the French painter Auguste Mayer and the young aristocrat Raoul Anglès on June 14²⁴. *La Recherche* was then sighted near Trondheim June 26²⁵. The last two members of the expedition, Swedish pastor and botanist Lars Levi Laestadius, and Norwegian naval officer Due who was engaged in some hydrographical work in Finmark²⁶, were to join them at Hammerfest. The 1838 expedition therefore assembled scientists and military men as well as artists, suggesting not only an interest in scientific matter not only to be written up, but also to be richly illustrated in view of drawing wider public attention to the expedition and its publications, while the military staff was there to give assistance in matters of security, logistics and language.

At Trondheim, the members of the expedition were welcomed in most generous terms. Krøyer mentions two dinner parties held by the governor of the province in honour of the expedition²⁷, not to mention other festivities. The French Consul in Norway de la Roquette then reciprocated with a dinner and other parties were to follow. A letter by the Consul to Molésent from Trondheim indicates that Russian agents were keen to gather intelligence on the expedition, suggesting the strategic significance of this international scientific project operating on an unprecedented scale in these northern latitudes:

²²Henrik Krøyer, *Erindringer af Henrik Krøyers liv 1821-1838*, Copenhagen: F. Hegel, 1870.

²³See Nils M. Knutsen and Per Posti, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-8.

²⁴*Ibid.*, p. 46.

²⁵Wendy S. Mercer, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

²⁶According to the subscription brochure (see note 17).

²⁷Krøyer cité par Nils M. Knutsen and Per Posti, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

“French Consulate in Norway, Ministry of Foreign Affairs,
Political section
Tronhjem, July 11, 1838
Monsieur le Comte

I have the honour of announcing to Your Excellency my departure from Christiania and arrival in Trondhjem (...) and to send you as well as to the Minister of the Navy all the information I esteemed necessary on the stay of the corvette *La Recherche* in this port which it left in the evening of the third of this month (...)

Monsieur le Comte, I must not let you ignore the fact that the Russian government seems to have conceived of the most serious worries to be had about the aim of our expedition, worries that their agents let us perceive in the clumsiest way. They suppose or pretend to suppose that it is not only in order to extend the domain of science that our scholars have been joined by scholars from the three northern nations to explore the Polar region next to the Russian Empire. The Emperor’s Minister in Stockholm, just like his consul in Christiania have kept on troubling with the pettiest of questions all of the members of the commission they managed to meet and I have not been spared either. (...). Informed naturally by M. Garmann²⁸ about the kind of intelligence that is asked of him, I have authorized him to communicate not only any that may have come his way, but I furnished him with the means to render it even more complete. I desire my conduct in this circumstance to receive Your Excellency’s approval (...)²⁹.”

²⁸A tradesman and diplomat. See the index to Wendy S. Mercer, *op. cit.*, p. 341.

²⁹Letter from de la Roquette to Molé sent from Trondheim, dated 11 July 1838, Archives diplomatiques du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Political Correspondence, Sweden, 123CP + 124CP, No 318 (microfilm P07100), f. 202: “Consulat de France en Norvège, Ministère Affaires Etrangères, Direction politique/Tronhjem le 11 juillet 1838/Monsieur le Comte/ J’ai l’honneur d’annoncer à Votre Excellence mon départ de Christiania et mon arrivée à Trondhjem, sous le timbre de la Direction commerciale, et de lui donner aussiqu’à M. le Ministre de la Marine les informations qui m’ont paru nécessaires sur le séjour de la Corvette la Recherche dans ce port qu’elle a quitté dans la soirée du 3 de ce mois (...).

Je ne dois pas vous laisser ignorer, Monsieur le Comte, que le gouvernement russe paraît avoir conçu une vive inquiétude sur le but de notre expédition, inquiétude, que des agents du moins laissent percer de maniere la plus maladroite. Ils supposent ou feignent de supposer que ce n’est pas seulement pour étendre le domaine des sciences que nos savants réunis à des

The Russian neighbour visibly needed to be reassured about this enterprise that would include a trip down the Muonio and Tornio rivers, along the Swedish-Russian frontier, with a part of the journey to be undertaken on the Finnish side that Sweden had ceded to the Russian Empire in 1809.

But before we pick up the expedition's trail in Lapland, let us return to the voyage up North. While the corvette *La Recherche* sailed from Trondheim to Hammerfest, Gaimard had allowed Marmier, Anglès, Martins and Mayer to go by steamboat from Trondheim to Hammerfest, "since the service stopped two days at Tromsø, which would allow supplementary research to be carried out there³⁰." The steamer *Prince Gustave* had just taken up service that very summer³¹. Meeting up in Hammerfest, it was decided that Marmier should stay in Finnmark for his research on the local populations while the corvette sailed on to Spitsbergen, leaving Hammerfest on July 14 after another one of those lavish feasts that the members of the expedition were treated to time and again on their way up North and upon their return.

*Across "sad and savage Lapland"*³²

On the way to Hammerfest, Marmier met with a Sami family for the first time, a memorable encounter which took place near the Kåfjord mine, close to Alta, and which he recorded in some detail in the official account³³. The arrival of four foreigners at 2am amongst this family apparently caused "neither surprise, nor emotion³⁴" among them. The travellers did not speak Sami. Communication therefore remained basic. After some time, one of

savants des trois nations septentrionales vont explorer les regions polaires voisines de l'Empire russe. Le Ministre de l'Empereur à Stockholm, comme son consul à Christiana n'ont pas cessé d'accabler des questions les plus minutieuses tous les membres de la commission qu'il sont pur rencontrer, et moi-même je n'ai pas été épargné. (...) Instruit naturellement par M. Garmann des renseignements qu'on désire de lui, je l'ai autorisé à donner non seule ment ceux qui sont parvenus à sa connaissance, mais je lui ai fourni moi même les moyens de les rendre plus complets. Je désire que ma conduite dans cette circonstance obtienne l'approbation de Votre Excellence (...)"

³⁰Wendy S. Mercer, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

³¹Nils M. Knutsen and Per Posti, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

³²Expression taken from the subscription brochure of 1844, p. 2: "la triste et sauvage Laponie".

³³ Xavier Marmier, *Voyages de la Commission scientifique du Nord, en Scandinavie, en Laponie, au Spitzberg et aux Féroë, pendant les années 1838, 1839 et 1840 sur la corvette La Recherche commandée par M. Fabvre, Lieutenant de Vaisseau; publiés par ordre du Roi sous la direction de M. Paul Gaimard, Président de la Commission scientifique du Nord. Relation du Voyage par M. Xavier Marmier*. Paris: Arthus Bertrand, 1844, vol. I, 374p., pp. 167-8.

³⁴*Ibid.*, p. 168.

the Frenchmen pulled out a pouch of tobacco. The old Sami woman and a young Sami girl present showed eager signs of interest. Having received some, they smoked a pipe with relish and stowed away the rest. A gift of Norwegian money does not seem to have interested the family as much as the tobacco did judging how they thanked the man who had offered the tobacco when the French visitors left. Whatever the case may have been, it is worth pointing out that Marmier's spirit of observation made him take notes on anything that seemed worth recording. This concerns notably the life stories of modest people that he willingly recorded and retold. As Wendy Mercer has remarked about another scene in the narrative, "it is a significant feature of Marmier's narrative that he accords as much space and respect to the biography of this woman (*an innkeeper in Hjerkind, Norway*) and other of similar or lesser social rank as he does to some of the major personalities of the day³⁵."

What had he actually set out to do in his official narrative and how does it relate to his field notes? In the preface to the first volume of the 1844 account, Marmier outlines what he considered to have been his task:

"My duty in writing this account consisted in tracing an exact itinerary of the two *La Recherche* expeditions in the Scandinavian regions, to state simply and faithfully what we had seen and observed along the way, to indicate the principal resources, as well as the character and manners of the various populations we visited. This is what I tried to do being helped in this both by my travel notes and some special books in which I found useful and authentic ideas³⁶."

In doing so, Marmier was hoping to contribute to the knowledge about these "grand and attractive regions of the North which are still so little known and so worthy of being known, to be sought after and cherished³⁷." Such engaging words obviously set the tone for what then follows even though Marmier's personal feelings about his experience in the North are more complex, depending, as one would expect them to do, on the circumstances of a particular situation. Still, he very obviously took a real liking to what he saw, or rather, he could often relate to what people were

³⁵Wendy S. Mercer, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

³⁶Xavier Marmier, preface to *Voyages de la Commission scientifique du Nord (...) Relation du voyage* (*op. cit.*), vol. I, p. vi.

³⁷*Ibid.*, p. vii.

telling him while indulging repeatedly in romantic reveries about Northern space, according to French taste of the day. In any case, his overall view of the Sami voiced in the official account betrays feelings of compassion:

“In general, the poor Lapps have been harshly dealt with. The travellers who only sought to look at their dark dwellings at some distance, have lent them all sorts of vices most of which at least they are innocent of. It is enough to remain some time amongst them, to talk to them, to follow them in various life situations to be struck by all that is good, simple and honest in their nature. I have often questioned those about it who are mostly in touch with them, pastors, tradesmen, fishermen. All of them praised their kind nature and hospitality³⁸.”

Marmier does not try to avoid problematic issues, as he then addresses the question of poverty and the consumption of alcohol, but as far as general statements are concerned, he very evidently tries to contribute to the dissemination of a more subtly accurate picture of Sami life, even if his tone may come across at times as a little patronizing, if not paternalistic. His expression “the poor Lapps” might suggest this to some, even though the phrase could also be read as voicing compassion, and, in some circumstances, admiration³⁹. Be that as it may, the official account was expected to be more elaborate and balanced or neutral, while field notes could obviously be more elliptical and personal in tone.

The journal that Marmier kept during his two crossings of Lapland has survived. It is now held in the northern collections of the Bibliothèque Saint-Geneviève that he became general administrator of in 1840⁴⁰. Comparing the manuscript with the written-up texts, one is immediately struck by the brevity of the notes in comparison to the official full-length narrative and its popular version *Lettres sur le Nord*, published as early as 1840 in two volumes,

³⁸*Ibid.*, p. 191.

³⁹For comments on this passage see also Nils M. Knutsen and Per Posti, *op. cit.*, p. 81 + p. 83, and Wendy S. Mercer, *op. cit.*, pp. 132-3.

⁴⁰Bibliothèque Saint-Geneviève, Ms 3898, f. 84 (kept at the Bibliothèque nordique): “Quand nous passons le long de la route, tous les habitants de la ville sont réunis sur la rive (...) ils agitent des mouchoirs. C’est un adieu cordial dont nous sommes vivement émus. Il est bien difficile de quitter un pays sil’on (y) a passé quelques semaines sans y laisser un souvenir, une pensée d’affection et quand on y a trouvé des gens si simples et si bons comme ceux que nous avons vu d’ici, l’heure du départ est triste. Arrivée à 6h du soir à Kaafiord. (...) Reçudans la nouvelle maison de M. Crowe. Dormi de bon cœur.”

with three more editions to follow until the 5th one-volume edition of 1857⁴¹. Marmier obviously drew on his memory and embellished the information recorded in the field. Here is a sample where one can still note a fair degree of correspondence between the two. It concerns the leave-taking in Hammerfest on Tuesday, August 22, 1838, after a lavish French feast⁴², of one group of expedition members who were to spend the winter in Bossekop, and another set to cross Lapland on horseback, by foot and boat, while the others were returning to France on board the *La Recherche*. Let us look at the journal first:

“When we came down along the way, all of the town’s inhabitants were gathered at the waterfront (...) waving their handkerchiefs. It was a cordial leave-taking that moved us intensely. It is really difficult to leave a country if one has spent some weeks there without leaving a souvenir, an affectionate thought and when one has found there people who are as simple and good as those we have seen here, the hour of departure is a sad one. Arrived at Kaafiord at 6 in the evening (...). We were put up in M. Crowe’s new house. Slept heartily⁴³.”

In the official account, the scene reads like this:

“(...) the inhabitants of Hammerfest standing along the quayside waved to us as our boat was passing through the harbour, and we, having turned to them, addressed one of these really heartfelt farewells to them, one of these farewells

⁴¹Xavier Marmier, *Lettres sur le Nord*, 5th edition. Paris: Hachette, 1857.

⁴²Marmier’s official account contains an anecdote about some of the guests not feeling inclined to taste French truffles, several pushing them off their plate as “vile pieces of coal” (*Voyages de la Commission scientifique du Nord (...) Relation du voyage (op. cit.)*, vol. I, pp. 283), which was obviously sheer sacrilege for any Frenchman present or reading the account. Interestingly enough, this story is not included in the 5th edition of *Lettres sur le Nord*, perhaps for lack of space or possibly because it may have seemed a trifle too jibing about Marmier’s Scandinavian friends in afterthought? Whatever the case may be, another description of this dinner is to be found in Laestadius’ journal, summed up by Nils M. Knutsen and Per Posti in *op. cit.*, pp. 107-8. Laestadius noted that most of his colleagues awoke with quite a hangover but recovered during the crossing over to Alta.

⁴³*Ibid.* The Englishman John Rice Crowe started the copper works at Kåfjord in 1826 and was one of the principal shareholders of the so-called “Alten Copper Mines”. See the web site of Alta museum: www.alta.museum.no/sider/fil.asp?id=430 (last accessed 05/06/2014; 11:11).

made of memories of the past and both ardent and worrying wishes for the future. We left behind us some good people who were going to be separated from us by a great distance. We left two good friends there, Mayer and Anglès. Which witch of the North could have told us when we were going to see them again?

In the evening, we arrived at Kaafiord, where M. Crowe and M. Woodfall, his worthy associate, received us with that affectionate kindness that we had already experienced (...)”⁴⁴.

In the journal, there is no particular mention of the two members of the expedition left behind. Apart from that, the sentences express similar ideas, though the wording has changed. The notebook mentions very little about the evening spent at M. Crowe’s, other than Marmier ending up getting a good night’s sleep. The travellers had been entertained with a generous dinner, though, if one follows the official account:

“In the evening, we arrived at Kaafiord, where M. Crowe and M. Woodfall, his worthy associate, received us with that affectionate kindness that we had already experienced, and some hours later we were sitting at the same table in this house in Norway, facing a piece of beef of truly Homeric size, next to the directors of the factory who were English by birth, a German engineer, M. Ihle, who had just recently graduated from the mining school in Freyberg, an Irishman, M. Thomas, employed by the establishment as bursar, a pastor from Finnmark who was travelling, a Lappish pastor whom the King of Sweden was so kind to send us to serve as our guide, a young Russian nobleman on his way to North Cape, four Swedish and Norwegian travellers and us who were representing our

⁴⁴ Xavier Marmier, *Voyages de la Commission scientifique du Nord (...) Relation du voyage (op. cit.)*, vol. I, pp. 283-4: “(...) les habitants de Hammerfest rangés au bord du débarcadère nous saluaient à la fois au moment où notre bateau traversait la rade, et nous, les yeux tournés de leur côté, nous leur adressons un de ces vrais adieux du cœur, un de ces adieux où les souvenirs du passé s’unissent à des vœux ardents et inquiets pour l’avenir. Nous laissons là de braves gens qui bien totallaient être séparés de nous par une grande distance. Nous laissons là nos deux bons amis, Mayer et Anglès. Quelle sorcière du Nord eût pu nous dire quand nous les reverrions?

Le soir, nous arrivions à Kaafiord, où M. Crowe et M. Woodfall, son digne associé, nous reçurent avec cette affectueuse bonté que nous avons déjà éprouvée (...)”

dear country France amidst this cosmopolitan assembly. Thanks to the cordial urban manners of the house's masters, all these foreign guests were able to make themselves kindly and quietly at home, full of trust in each other, gladly sharing the same fate in the same spirit of scholarship and peregrination with an interest in all or scientific exploration⁴⁵.

Judging by this international crowd, Finnmark did not seem to be such a deserted place after all from a foreign point-of-view, at least not at this time of the year, now that a steamer could take one there more speedily and more comfortably. Apart from the praise for English hospitality, M. Crow and M. Woodfall inviting their guest to a banquet of sheer epic dimension, Marmier's introduction of Lars Levi Laestadius without naming him is obviously noteworthy though we will only turn to him in a while as there is still the version of the same scenes in *Lettres sur le Nord* to be taken into consideration:

“(…) to see this population crowded along the edge of water, and those signs of farewell, those handkerchiefs they were waving in the air, those cries coming straight from the heart was moving indeed. Wet eyebrows and a shed tear could be seen on more than one face. At this moment, we were leaving this extreme end of the North, and two of our compatriots who we would perhaps not see again for a long time, as well as foreigners who we had made friends with and whom we would maybe never see again.

In the evening, we arrived in Kaafiord. M. Crowe, the director of the mine, received us with in his usual cordial way.

⁴⁵*Id.*: Le soir, nous arrivions à Kaafiord, où M. Crowe et M. Woodfall, son digne associé, nous reçurent avec cette affectueuse bonté que nous avions déjà éprouvée, et quelques heures après, dans cette maison de Norvège, on voyait s'asseoir à la même table, en face d'un quartier de bœuf vraiment homérique, à côté des directeurs de l'usine, Anglais de naissance, un ingénieur allemand, M. Ihle, sorti tout récemment de l'école des mines de Freyberg, un Irlandais, M. Thomas, attaché comme surintendant au service de l'établissement, un prêtre de Finnmark entournée, un prêtre Lapon que le roi de Suède avait eu la bonté de nous envoyer pour nous servir de guide, un jeune gentilhomme russe qui s'en allait voir le cap Nord ; quatre voyageurs suédois et norvégiens, et nous qui représentions, au milieu de cette cosmopolite assemblée, notre cher pays de France. Grâce à la cordiale urbanité des maîtres de la maison, tous ces hôtes étrangers se trouvaient là doucement et paisiblement installés, pleins de confiance l'un en vers l'autre, partageant avec bonheur le même sort, dans une même pensée d'étude, de peregrination curieuse ou d'exploration scientifique.”

The sudden arrival of 12 people did not perturb him at all. His table was extended and his bedrooms fitted out with spare beds at leisure⁴⁶.”

It is as though Marmier were rewriting the scene from memory, illustrating a sentimental scene the emotional degree of which is enhanced in this version compared to the 1844 account. The dinner party at M. Crowe’s did not make it into the 5th edition, nor did M. Woodfall; whether for better or worse is of no avail, as the purpose of this comparison consists solely in showing that different versions of the same experience are available and therefore need to be reckoned with for anyone interested in obtaining as comprehensive a view as possible of this complex expedition. The fact that Marmier was writing certain passages of his official account and the shorter, more popular version thereof from memory, a number of years after the event, is also to be born in mind. As to the accuracy of his ethnographic observations, it is to be remembered that he could rely on the expertise of Laestadius who was chosen as a member of the expedition “on the basis of recommendations from Stockholm, not only a a botanist, but also as a ‘Lapp’,” Juha Pentikäinen notes in his introduction to the English edition of Laestadius’ *Fragments of Lappish Mythology*, a text which was first published over 130 years after Laestadius’ death in 1861⁴⁷. “Laestadius was undoubtedly a good choice for the expedition,” Juha Pentikäinen comments, his’ later critical remarks “about the efficiency and *modi operandi*” of the expedition which Laestadius published in a newspaper article notwithstanding⁴⁸.

⁴⁶Xavier Marmier, *Lettres sur le Nord* (*op. cit.*), p. 348:“(…) l’aspect de cette population qui se pressait au bord du rivage, et ces signes d’adieu, ces mouchoirs agités dans l’air, ces crispations du cœur, avaient quelque chose de saisissant. Plus d’une paupière alors de vint humide, plus d’un regard fut voilé par une larme. Dans ce moment, nous quittions, à l’extrémité du Nord, nos compatriotes que nous ne reverrions peut-être pas de longtemps, et des étrangers dont nous étions devenus les amis et que nous ne reverrions peut-être jamais.

Le soir, nous arrivâmes à Kaafjord. Le directeur des mines, M. Crowe, nous reçut avec sa cordialité habituelle. L’arrivée subite de douze personnes ne l’effraya point. Sa table s’allongea, et ses chambres se garnirent de lits à volonté.”

⁴⁷Juha Pentikäinen in Lars Levi Laestadius, *Fragments of Lappish Mythology* (ed. Juha Pentikäinen, tr. Börje Vähämäki), Beaverton:Aspasia Books, 2002, p. 38.

⁴⁸*Id.* Laestadius’ article which had appeared in a Norwegian translation was translated orally by Lillehöök to Victor Lottin who then commented on it in a letter to Gaimard dated 23 February 1839 and reproduced by Pentikäinen in his introduction, pp. 38-9. It refers to the dinner at Mr. Crowe’s place mentioned above which the guests did not like according to Laestadius, washing it down abundantly with wine brought by the travellers. Marmier was possibly aware of this as well, which might be another reason why the anecdote of Mr Crowe’s dinner party was skipped in the 5th edition. Another issue Laestadius had been critical of was

Time has come to follow in the footsteps of Marmier and Laestadius, as well as their companions, as they struggled across the fells in late August and the early days of September. They were led by a Sami guide whose name is rendered as Mickel Johansson both in the 1844 official account and the 1857 edition of the *Lettres* which contain identical descriptions of this “robust” and “intelligent” man as Marmier puts it.⁴⁹ Marmier’s notebook has some extra information on him: “Our guide is called Michel Johansson Kemi. His ancestors were Finnish. They lived in Kemi Lapland. That is why he has this name⁵⁰. “Marmier’s portrait of him betrays his admiration for this man who remains up front, leading them all the way to Kautokeino, no matter how harsh the conditions were. At the top of the first fell, Marmier turns round to look back one more time: “From the top of this mountain, the view of the valley covered in trees through which the river runs, at the back of the gulf, the smoke of the Kaafiord mine. Picturesque view⁵¹.” The note allows insight into Marmier’s method of writing. The journal serves as a kind of *aide-mémoire* to help him remind later what he saw and experienced in the field, to be expanded into a more elaborate account at a later stage. Here is the picturesque view as it appeared in the official narrative: “From there, we oversaw a vast space. Before us unfolded the plain of Kaafiord, with and the dense forest it was covered in and river running through. Further away the smoke of the mine was to be seen, as well as the gulf of Alten and the mountains of Bossekop. We could still make out the places where our friends were going to stay in order to bid them a last farewell⁵².”

the amount of at least 100 Norwegian Kroner allegedly spent on the ball organized in Hammerfest before *La Recherche* left. Whatever the case may have been, Lottin mentions the fact that the French decided not make a big fuss about the article, which came somewhat as a surprise to them from “a serious man like M. Laestadius”, preferring to let it stay “hidden in a paper nobody reads.”

⁴⁹See Xavier Marmier, *Voyages de la Commission scientifique du Nord (...) Relation du voyage (op. cit.)*, vol. I, pp. 347-8 and *Lettres sur le Nord (op. cit.)*, pp. 356-7.

⁵⁰Bibliothèque Saint-Geneviève, Ms 3898, f. 85: “Notre guide s’appelle Michel Johansson Kemi. Ses ancêtres étaient finlandais, ils habitaient dans la Laponie de Kemi. Voilà pourquoi il porte ce nom.”

⁵¹Bibliothèque Saint-Geneviève, Ms 3898, f. 86: “Du haut de cette montagne l’aspect de la vallée peuplée d’arbres, sillonnée par la rivière, au fond du golfe, la fumée des mines de Kaafiord. Aspect pittoresque.”

⁵²See Xavier Marmier, *Voyages de la Commission scientifique du Nord (...) Relation du voyage (op. cit.)*, vol. I, pp. 347-8: “De là, nos regards planaient sur un vaste espace. Nous voyions se dérouler devant nous la plaine de Kaafiord, avec les boisés pais qui l’inondent et la rivière qui la sillonne. Plus loin apercevait la fumée des mines, le golfe d’Alten, les montagnes de Bossekop. Nous

From there on, the going got worse, but some excitement at least was to be got from the Stallo stories that Laestadius told one night, a scene that represents one of the highlights of Marmier's accounts. Here are the travel notes: "On the other side of the mountain wet terrain, morbid marshland. No path. Birch forest. Our tent in the middle of it. The men pitch their tent next to us. We light a fire. (...) Faces lit up by the flames. (...) All of us around the fireside. Laestadius is lying down on a reindeer skin, his pipe in his mouth, telling us Lappish stories (...) ⁵³." The official report is similar though slightly embellished. Marmier then relates the Stallo tales told by Laestadius, a moment of intense emotion that he ends up referring to as their most enjoyable stop on the way ⁵⁴. They awoke to rain, only to enter into a new type of terrain that Marmier describes in the journal as follows: "Friday 31st. Left at 6 in the morning. Complete change of nature, no more forests, spongy terrain – bogs exactly like in Iceland. (...). Total desert. No song, nor sound ⁵⁵." In the official account and the *Lettres*, these notes are written up into a well-orchestrated scene drawing on contrasts to stir the reader's emotion: "On the following day, we got up in rain; the uninhabited fields of Lapland unfolded in front of us. From this time on, we had to say farewell to the gay enclosures of verdure that we had still seen close to Kaafiord. (...) We are now in the mountain desert. There is not any trace of human life here, no path nor any habitation ⁵⁶." Still, Marmier then goes on to depict a Lappish landscape that does include the raucous cry of a wild duck and some other dramatic effects such as the horizon covered in black

pouvions distinguer encore les lieux où nos amis allaient séjourner, et leur adresser un dernier adieu." The passage is identical in *Lettres sur le Nord* (*op. cit.*), p. 360.

⁵³Bibliothèque Saint-Geneviève, Ms 3898, f. 86: "Au versement de la montagne terrain humide, marécageux morbide. Point de chemin. Bois de bouleaux. Notre tente au milieu. Les hommes élevent la leur tente à côté. Nous allumons du feu. (...) La figure éclairée par les flammes. (...) Nous tous au tour d'un foyer. Laestadius couché sur une peau de renne, sa pipe à la bouche, nous raconte des histoires laponnes (...)."

⁵⁴See Xavier Marmier, *Voyages de la Commission scientifique du Nord (...) Relation du voyage* (*op. cit.*), vol. I., p. 359: "Cefutlànotre plus belle halte."

⁵⁵Bibliothèque Saint-Geneviève, Ms 3898, f. 87: "Vendredi 31. Parti à 6h du matin. Changement complet de nature, plus de forêts, plus d'arbres. terrain fangeux – tourbières pareilles à celles d'Islande. (...) Désert complet. Point de chant et point de bruit."

⁵⁶Xavier Marmier, *Voyages de la Commission scientifique du Nord (...) Relation du voyage* (*op. cit.*), vol. I., p. 359 "Le lendemain nous reveillâmes avec la pluie; les champs inhabités de la Laponie s'ouvraient devant nous. Dès ce moment, il fallait dire adieu aux riants enclos de verdure que nous avions retrouvés encoré près de Kaafiord (...) Nous voicidans le désert des montagnes. Ici l'on ne trouve aucune trace de vie humaine, nul chemin et nulle habitation."

fog. After several days of painstaking progress across this wetland, they met with a Sami family whose life Marmier presents at some length, mentioning in particular an orphan girl they had been charitable enough to take care of that he describes in his notes as “a pretty little girl with a fine and intelligent face⁵⁷.” Another memorable moment is the arrival at Kautokeino, “which judging by its small, monotonous houses looks like a substantial village⁵⁸” and where he finally counted a total of eight peasant habitations and some fifty wooden storehouses⁵⁹.

In the second volume of the official report, the first chapter then deals with the itinerary from Karesuando, where the travellers were staying at Laestadius’ house, to Tornio, Haparanda and the return down south via Umeå. Laestadius “had gone ahead of time to prepare to celebrate their arrival with a feast⁶⁰,” Juha Pentikäinen explains. The frugality of Laestadius’ home and life appeared to the travellers as a certain measure of comfort after the “long and tiresome” crossing of the fells and wetlands⁶¹, thanks to Laestadius’ “good will” and his wife’s “eagerness to busy herself” about them⁶². A year later, Léonied’Aunet was going to be far less impressed by Laestadius. The portrait she presents of him in her travelogue *Voyage d’une femme au Spitzberg*, published well after her Lapland experience in 1854, betrays her disappointment about seemingly not having been received by him as she had expected: “Despite our letters of recommendation, despite all that should have moved him, the poor state that those long days of bivouacking had put us in, he welcomed us with the arrogant ways of an important man whom we had intruded upon. With his cap on his head and a pipe in the mouth, he gave us unwillingly a room and did not take care of us after that. (...) As much as I feel respect and admiration for these venerable priests I told you about, as much did I feel distant from the false

⁵⁷Bibliothèque Saint-Geneviève, Ms 3898, f. 88: “une jolie petite fille à la figure fine et intelligente.”

⁵⁸Bibliothèque Saint-Geneviève, Ms 3898, f. 89: “qui à voir en petites maison monotones ressemble à un village considérable.”

⁵⁹Xavier Marmier, *Voyages de la Commission scientifique du Nord (...) Relation du voyage (op. cit.)*, vol. I, p. 364.

⁶⁰Juha Pentikäinen in Lars Levi Laestadius, *Fragments of Lappish Mythology (op. cit.)*, p. 43. Pentikäinen draws on Marmier’s own remarks in his report.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 1: “le long et pénible trajet”.

⁶²*Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 7: “sa bonne Bolonté et auzé le empressé de sa femme”

dignity of this untidy bear⁶³.” Enough of these harsh words that do not really do justice to Léonied’Aunet’s gifts of observation. One of the reasons for this rather reserved attitude may have been Laestadius’ criticism about *La Recherche*⁶⁴, Juha Pentikäinen suggests.⁶⁵ It is to be noted that Gaimard and Marmier finally do not appear to have travelled together with Biard and Léonie through Lapland, but separately⁶⁶. The former two were welcomed “warmly” by Laestadius according to a note in Gaimard’s papers, even though their second visit was to be only very brief⁶⁷.

But let us return to 1838. From Karesuando, the travellers descended the Muonio and Tornio rivers to Happaranda, stopping sometimes on the Swedish, and at others on the Finnish side. Marmier uses this part of the narrative to draw a portrait of the Finnish peasantry in Northern Bothnia that is far from being devoid of admiration:

“I was very much interested in this Finnish race which I saw for the first time in its own country. I was fond of studying its physiognomy and to follow it in its customs of daily life. The women are white, fresh and well built. We saw one at Kilangi who could have counted as a remarkable beauty. When she was a young girl, she had often drawn the looks of travellers, and many rich foreigners had tried to seduce her, our guide told us; but neither tender words nor bright prospects could move her: she staid in the humble house in which she was born and became the good and happy wife of a peasant.

The men are generally tall and strong. On their pale face and in their blue eyes one can see a calm expression that resembles at times melancholy. But the kind of passive resignation that they usually resign themselves to only hides the energetic nature of their character. They are firm and tenacious in their

⁶³Léonied’Aunet, *Voyage d’une femme au Spitzberg*, Paris: Hachette, 1854, p. 270.

⁶⁴See note 48 above.

⁶⁵Juha Pentikäinen, introduction in Lars Levi Laestadius, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

⁶⁶Nils M. Knutsen and Per Posti, *op. cit.*, p. 192. Biard seems to have been a rather jealous man, as his drastic action against his future wife and mistress of Victor Hugo goes to show. This may have been the main reason for the two voyaging separately, though the hypothesis of a possible *liaison* up North between Léonie and Marmier (who certainly was far from being insensible to the charms of ladies) has been quite convincingly refuted by Wendy Mercer in *op. cit.*, pp. 157-60.

⁶⁷Gaimard quoted by Juha Pentikäinen in Lars Levi Laestadius, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

resolutions, inflexible about their feelings of hate and admirable as far as their sense of dedication is concerned⁶⁸.”

There is more praise to follow, but we assume that these pages are fairly familiar. In any case, Marmier visibly appreciated the peasantry’s orderly lifestyle, describing at length Finnish farmsteads he considered “remarkable for their adroit distribution and cleanliness⁶⁹.” Among the places mentioned in particular, the “Eyanpaïka” (Äijäkoski) rapids are of particular interest since Louis-Philippe had once descended them, only to have Biard immortalize the scene many years after the experience, a story dealt with in another chapter of the present volume. Having apparently been told about two Englishmen who, on seeing the rapids, had lost the courage to descend them, Marmier and Gaimard could not refrain from rising to this excellent occasion of displaying superior French courage to the British – *si non e vero e ben trovato!* Whatever the case may have been, Marmier and Gaimard evidently felt great emotion descending the rapids, as the former dedicates several pages to the description of this exceptional site⁷⁰. The other famous place that Marmier lingers on for some time is the hill of “Avasaxa” (Aavasaksa), well-known to his French readers thanks to “good old”⁷¹ Abbé Outhier’s account of Maupertuis’ expedition to Lapland. Here is Marmier’s view from the top of the hill: “Having reached the goal of our excursion, we could see unfold around us immense plains that were traversed by the large stream of the Torneå and littered with quiet, lifeless habitations that were nonetheless impressive in their silence, like a powerful thought collected in solitude far away from the sound and fury of this world, under God’s eye⁷².” The divine effect is somewhat undone immediately by Marmier giving the height of this hill – “500 foot” (794 Engl. ft. or 242m) and the author mocking foreign visitors eager to experience a single day of midnight sun on June 25 whereas the members of the French expedition had just spent the whole summer in polar regions. This appears to be a rather early example of the tourist versus

⁶⁸Xavier Marmier, *Voyages de la Commission scientifique du Nord (...) Relation du voyage (op. cit.)*, vol. II, p. 18.

⁶⁹*Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 19.

⁷⁰*Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 21-4.

⁷¹*Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 36: “le bon abbé Outhier”.

⁷²*Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 36-7: “Arrivés au terme de notre excursion, nous voyons se dérouler autour de nous des plaines immenses traversées par les larges flots du Torneå, parsemées d’habitations silencieuses, inanimées, mais imposantes dans leur silence, comme une grande pensée qui se recueille solitairement, loin des bruits du monde, sous le regard de Dieu.”

traveller theme that one can frequently come across in travelogues. In the *Lettres*, this anecdote was adapted to accommodate for a version involving an Englishman who is supposed to have committed suicide after having reached the hilltop on an initially bright day that ended up being covered over⁷³. An interesting story is manifestly always good to tell, especially if it involves an English character and a French narrator (or the other way around, remember Sterne's *Sentimental Journey*). The travellers arrived in Haparanda in mid-September and left the town on the 17th, heading for Umeå and then Stockholm. As they left, "the weather was very mild and the road superb⁷⁴."

La Recherche revisited

The return to Stockholm was a triumph. French Ambassador de Mornay reported to Molé about his own initiatives in this respect and the festivities held on the occasion:

"Stockholm, October 2, 1838

Monsieur le Comte,

I have the honour of announcing to Your Excellency the return of the members of the scientific commission sent by the Government to Spitsbergen and Lapland. As the other members of the expedition still have not finished their work, they have settled in the North of Norway where they are going to spend the winter, busily working on the tasks they have been trusted with. I have every reason to hope that the work of this commission that is so popular in the North will result in precious information for the Academy of Science. No sooner had M. Gaimard, President of the commission and Mess. Marmier and Robert, his collaborators, arrived than I hastened to request of King Charles John and Prince Oscar the honour to present them my learned compatriots. This favour was not long in being granted. (...) On the day after the request, the Royal Prince honoured us by inviting us for dinner at the castle of Drottningholm. King Charles John was at the Prince's. This is where he allowed me (...) to present these gentlemen to him. His Swedish Majesty welcomed them with great kindness and

⁷³Xavier Marmier, *Lettres sur le Nord* (*op. cit.*), p. 397.

⁷⁴Xavier Marmier, *Voyages de la Commission scientifique du Nord (...) Relation du voyage* (*op. cit.*), vol. II, p. 40.

during particular conversations with each of them (...) he showed his keen interest in the work that they had been asked to accomplish. The King honoured me by affirming several times how moved he had been by the very kind and generous way in which the Swedish and Norwegian colleagues had been treated by the members of the French commission and by asking me to send the King his expressions of gratitude⁷⁵.”

As everyone knows, gastronomy plays a non-negligible role in diplomatic strategy, hence no doubt the renewed efforts made by the French, as well as the Swedish and Norwegian authorities, in honour of the expedition, that appeared somewhat excessive to Laestadius. De Mornay’s remarks are interesting in several respects. Not only do they illustrate once again that the expedition was an outstanding endeavour of scientific cooperation inspired by the Enlightenment, but also a matter of state supported by the highest political authorities and followed attentively by their representatives. The expedition did seem to be appreciated by the local populations encountered in the North though whether it was really as popular as de Mornay makes it out to be is another matter. There is not only

⁷⁵Letter from Charles de Mornay to Molé sent from Stockholm, dated 18 May 1838, Archives diplomatiques du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Political Correspondence, Sweden, 123CP + 124CP, No 318, f. 241-2 (microfilm P07100):“Stockholm le 2 octobre 1838/Monsieur le Comte,/J’a l’honneur d’annoncer à Votre Excellence le retour des membres de la commission scientifique envoyée par le Gouvernement au Spitzberg et en Laponie. Les autres membres de cette expédition n’ayant pas encore pu terminer leurs travaux, se sont établis dans le nord de la Norvège, où ils passeront l’hiver, occupés à compiler les recherches qui leurs ont confiées. J’ai tout bien d’espérer que les travaux de cette commission si populaire dans le nord, auront pour résultat d’avoir obtenu de précieux renseignements pour l’Académie des Sciences. Aussitôt l’arrivée de M. Gaynard, Président de la commission et de Messrs. Marmier et Robert, ses collaborateurs, je me suis empressé de solliciter du Roi Charles Jean et du Prince Oscar, l’honneur de leur présenter mes savants compatriotes. La faveur n’est pas fait longtemps attendre. (...) le lendemain de la demande le Prince Royal nous a fait l’honneur de nous inviter à dîner au Château de Drottningholm. Le Roi Charles Jean se trouvait chez le Prince, c’est là qu’il m’a ... permis de lui présenter ces Messieurs. Sa Majesté Suédoise les a accueillis avec une grande bienveillance et dans sa conversation particulière avec chacun ... leur a témoigné son vif intérêt pour les travaux qu’il savait être chargés d’accomplir. A plusieurs reprises, le Roi Charles Jean m’a fait l’honneur de me dire combien il avait été touché de la manière si bienveillante et si généreuse (f.242) avec laquelle les savants Suédois et Norvégien avaient été traités par les membres de la commission Française, ce qu’il me priait de faire parvenir au Roi l’expression ses remerciemens.”

Laestadius' voice to have toned down such unreserved enthusiasm that the Count manifestly felt eager to share with his French correspondent. On October 16, the Oslo newspaper *Morgenbladet* announced that Gaimard and Marmier had received the Order of the North Star, while Robert had been awarded the Vasa Order, followed by some critical comments reprinted from the Swedish Press about the former two having received these distinctions unduly since they were supposedly perfectly unknown in the French world of science⁷⁶. But let us not spoil the feast with such slander that is often caused by envy. Official thanks were due and generously given by a King who was, once more, a Frenchman himself.

A year later, Biard and Léonied'Aunet were also honoured by the King and his son, as the *chargé d'affaires* de la Cour relates in a letter addressed to Marshal Jean-de-Dieu Soult, Foreign Secretary and Head of the French government by then, giving news of the expedition's second voyage to Spitsbergen and Lapland:

“Stockholm, October 29, 1839.

Monsieur le Maréchal,

(...)

Mess. Marmier, Bravais and Martins, members of the scientific Commission which explored the coasts of Spitsbergen this summer, have just arrived in Stockholm. The latter two intend to return to France immediately. M. Gaimard and the other members of the expedition have gone on an expedition to Finland; I do not know if they will return via Stockholm since M. Gaimard was hoping to receive an invitation to go to Russia.

M. Biard, the painter who had joined the expedition, has also returned via Stockholm from his journey to Lapland. – (...) having had the honour of being presented to the King and to Prince Oscar, M. Biard was welcomed by H.M. in the most flattering way. The royal Prince who had expressed the wish to see him a second time to look at his portfolio of sketches that he had brought back from his journey, gave him every assurance of his admiration for his talent.

⁷⁶Nils M. Knutsen and Per Posti, *op. cit.*, p. 127-8.

Among the public, a warm hearted interest attached itself to the artist's young lady who had not refrained from exposing herself to the fatigues and privations of such a journey⁷⁷.”

One will note the popularity of Léonied'Aunet whose daring as a lady traveller was manifestly acknowledged before she decided to address the subject of gender herself in her own account as announced by its title.

More honours had already been bestowed on Gaimard in Copenhagen, where he had been awarded the Danebrog order in spring. Judging by a letter from French Ambassador Saint-Priest to Molé, Denmark was also paying close attention to the expedition:

“Copenhagen, February 5, 1839

Monsieur le Comte,

the commission sent by the King to Iceland and Greenland has been a subject of pronounced interest here. Its President, M. Gaimard, was distinguished by the King of Denmark with the Danebrog cross and H.M. admitted him to meetings in which foreigners of the highest rank only had participated so far. During a banquet in honour of M. Gaimard offered by the famous Professor Magnussen in the name of his fatherland, a poem was recited in Icelandic praising France and her King. I

⁷⁷Letter from de la Cour to Maréchal Jean-de-Dieu Soult, Duke of Dalmatia, sent from Stockholm, dated 29 October 1839, Archives diplomatiques du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Political Correspondence, Sweden, 123CP + 124CP, No 319, f. 86 + 88-9 (microfilm P07100): “Stockholm le 29 octobre 1839/Monsieur le Maréchal/(...)/Mes Marmier, Bravais et Martins, membres de la Commission scientifique qui a explore cet été les côtes du Spitzberg, viennent d'arriver à Stockholm : les deux derniers se proposent de retourner

Incessamment en France. M. Gaimard et les autres membres de l'expédition ont tété faire une excursion en Finlande ; j'ignore s'ils reviendront par Stockholm, M. Gaimard espérant recevoir une invitation de se rendre en Russie. M. Biard, Peintre qui s'était joint à cette expédition, est aussi passé par Stockholm au retour du voyage qu'il a fait en Laponie. – ayant ... l'honneur d'être présenté au Roi et au Prince Oscar, M. Biard a été accueilli par S. M. de la manière la plus flatteuse. Le Prince royal qui lui avait manifesté le désir de le voir une seconde fois, pour examiner le Porte feuille d'études qu'il avait rapporté de son voyage, lui a témoigné hautement son admiration pour son talent.

Dans le public, un intérêt plein de bienveillance s'attachait aussi à la jeune femme de cet artiste qui n'avait pas craint de s'exposer aux fatigues et aux privations d'un pareil voyage.”

have the honour of including the original translation in this letter⁷⁸.”

No critical voices were heard this time, it seems. Marmier then also was to receive the Danebrog, in 1842⁷⁹, on return from his journey through Finland, Russia and Poland, the account of which he published the following year⁸⁰. Gaimard was then to preside over the impressive list of the expedition’s official publications that included the narrative by Marmier. The latter then went on a very distinguished career, becoming a member of the *Académie Française* in 1870 while Laestadius did receive the order of the *Légion d’honneur* that features on the well-known lithograph by Émile Lassale of a portrait initially drawn by Charles Giraud⁸¹.

Despite all these honours, though, and the expedition’s distinguished record of both scientific and artistic achievement, illustrated by the series of nineteen volumes in all on the two expeditions, *La Recherche* is hardly what the English call a *household name* today. Nils M. Knutsen and Per Posti have tried to give a number of reasons for this while dressing the list of the expedition’s important results, stressing notably the prime importance of the ethnographic material, including the illustrations, for anyone interested in the life and manners of the people of Scandinavia in the first half of the nineteenth century⁸². Indeed, researchers have increasingly focused on diverse aspects of this fascinating collective enterprise in recent years, as this present volume notably shows. In

⁷⁸Letter from Saint-Priest to Molé, sent from Copenhagen, dated 5 February 1839, Archives diplomatiques du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Political Correspondence, Denmark, 31CP+32CP, no. 204, f. 59-60: “Copenhague, ce 5 février 1839/Monsieur le Comte,/La commission envoyée par le Roi en Islande et dans le Groënland, a été ici l’objet d’un intérêt très marqué. Son Président, M. Gaimard, a été honoré par le Roi de Danemark de la croix du Danebrog, et S. M. l’a admis à des réunions où des étrangers du plus haut rang ont seuls accès jusqu’à ce jour. Dans un banquet offert à M. Gaimard par le célèbre professeur Magnussen au nom de l’Islande, sa patrie, une pièce de vers a été récitée en langue Islandaise à la louange de la France et de son Roi. J’ai l’honneur de joindre à cette dépêche l’original de la traduction.”

⁷⁹Wendy S. Mercer, *op. cit.*, pp. 186-7.

⁸⁰Xavier Marmier, *Lettres sur la Russie, la Finlande et la Pologne*, 2 vols, Paris:Delloye, 1843.

⁸¹Portrait notably reproduced by Nils M. Knutsen and Per Posti in *op. cit.*, p. 110 and in Juha Pentikäinen’s English edition of Lastadius’ *Fragments* (*op. cit.*, facing the title page).

⁸²Nils M. Knutsen and Per Posti, *op. cit.*, pp. 220-34. The chapter is entitled “An expedition that has fallen into oblivion” (“En Glemte Expedisjon/Une expedition tombée dans l’oubli”).

2013, the French Institute in Helsinki organized a one-day seminar on boreal ethnography entitled “the ‘La Recherche’ expedition revisited”, opened by His Excellency M. Eric Lebédel, French Ambassador in Finland, witnessing renewed institutional and political interest in this excellent example of peaceful international cooperation. Though Marmier is no longer a well-known author in France, unlike Léonied’Aunet whose travelogue has been reedited several times in recent years⁸³, his *Lettres sur le Nord* have been republished very recently in French⁸⁴, while an abridged version came out in Norwegian in 1997 and an abridged Finnish edition of Marmier’s official account in 1999⁸⁵. As to Laestadius’ *Fragments*, an incomplete version of the Swedish original was published in 1959, followed in 1997 by the text “*in extenso*” and the English and Finnish editions, published respectively in 2002 and 2003⁸⁶. The manuscript had originally been commissioned for the official *La Recherche* publications⁸⁷. The reasons for the text not having come out at the time are manifold⁸⁸. They include Laestadius’ own “religious crisis”⁸⁹ and undoubtedly also some criticism sent to France by Swedish members of the expedition reproaching him with a lack of “critical judgment”⁹⁰, a slanderous attack behind his back that seems to have been motivated at least in part by feelings of envy.

Lars Levi Laestadius did receive his *Légion d’honneur*, though. His *Fragments* remain an exceptional testimony to Sami culture. Working “rather on the plane of experience than that of knowledge”, as Juha Pentikäinen has explained elsewhere⁹¹, they represent a “unique

⁸³See for instance Wendy S. Mercer’s edition of the text, published by Le Félin in Paris, 1992.

⁸⁴Xavier Marmier, *Lettres sur le Nord*, Pont-Authou: Héligoland, 2011.

⁸⁵Xavier Marmier, *Bremnordfrå* (ed. Magnhild Svenheim), Ravnetrykk nr. 11, Tromsø, 1977 ; Xavier Marmier, *Polyjoinen maa* (ed. Marjalkkonen-Kaila), Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1999.

⁸⁶For a summary of the text’s complex publishing history see notably Juha Pentikäinen’s introduction to the English edition, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-50.

⁸⁷*Ibid.*, p. 51.

⁸⁸*Ibid.*, p. 51-2.

⁸⁹*Ibid.*, p. 51.

⁹⁰*Ibid.*, p.

⁹¹See his entry on Laestadius’ *Fragments* in the cultural encyclopaedia *The Saami* edited by Ulla-Maija Kulonen, Irja Seurujärvi-Kari and Risto Pulkkinen, Vammala: Vammalakirjapaino Oy, “Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seurantoimituksia 925”, 2005, pp. 125-8; p. 128.

reconstruction”⁹² of Lappish mythology that it is time to add to the distinguished list of *La Recherche* volumes. When will the French edition come out at last?

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⁹²*Id.*

An excursion to the Mapuche people's resistance within the Argentinean punk scene

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Abstract

By the end of the Argentinean dictatorship in 1983, the local punk scene enters in a new phase characterized by a discursive paradigm shift. The scene slowly adopts an intersectional form of radical criticism of the power relations based on categories such as class, gender, sexuality or ethnicity. From this perspective, a growing interest in the resistance of indigenous groups, such as the Mapuche communities, start to emerge in fanzines, lyrics and at musical events in the Buenos Aires scene, to later become appropriated by the punk scenes across the Patagonian urban areas in the nineties. The influence and adoption of the punk political discourse among the “*mapurbe*” and “*mapunkies*” activists implies new meanings of resistance. This article offers an overview of how these discourses are promoted and expressed throughout the post-dictatorship Argentinean scene. Then, it focuses the use and adaptation of punk as a syncretic tool of resistance and identity valorization by the Mapuche resistance and activism.

Keywords

Argentinean punk, counterculture, Mapuche resistance, Patagonia.

Introduction

Punk, as a countercultural movement, arose in the mid-seventies in the United Kingdom and the United States, causing shock within Western societies with its esthetic, performative, musical and discursive panoply that challenged the preexistent socio-cultural norms. Trying to define or categorize this cultural phenomenon is proving difficult and can turn into a

real roadmap to madness (O'Hara, 1999). However, some main roads can be easily drawn, especially when it refers to politics such as the promotion of freedom, resistance, anti-authoritarianism, and anti-establishment, anti-hegemony, non-conformist attitudes.

As Simon Frith (1977) claims, musical cultures provide a better analytical map of social life than readings habits or other cultural consumptions. It appears as a social product that has social effects, and is particularly relevant in the construction of social subjects, based on the way they interpret discourses. This facilitates the reading, understanding and interpretation of partly hidden transgressive forms of resistance.

Throughout these last decades, the punk culture slowly grew globally and was adapted into national and local scenes, as it is the case of Argentina. At first sight incompatible with the social context, the clandestine debut of the Argentinean punk is to be dated back at the beginning of 1978 in Buenos Aires, during the civic-military dictatorship (Flores, 2011). This early wave of Argentinean punk was characterized by a primal scream of rage and anti-oppressive discourses, a sense of emergency defined by the fierce repression the country was facing. After the reemergence of democracy in 1983, the paradigm shifts to an intersectional radicalism. The questioning of power relations, allows looking at the expression of subaltern and marginalized social groups on the one hand, and on the other at the scene positioning as another spokesperson of the struggles that those same groups carry out.

Considering the latest and through the analysis of specific sources, this article examines how the Mapuche struggle and resistance is made visible within the Argentinean punk scene, and how the punk ideology finds an echo within the Mapuche youth to express a new form of resistance and identity.



Fig. 1 Current Mapuche territory and ancestral territory claims.

Source: Rainer Lesniewski.

The Mapuche resistance as part of the Argentine national scene discourses

Following the return of democracy in 1983, the Argentinean punk scene comes out of secrecy and enters a new phase. Despite a more favorable political context for the free expression of radical ideologies, the scene experiences abuse towards their members and activities (Makaji, 2014). However, at the same time a considerable number of bands emerge from the underground, the first fanzines are edited, records are released, and the scene progressively become politicized following anarchist principles and the global punk scene's ideology. A paradigm shift becomes evident within the scene which implies a withdrawal of punk's first wave characteristics, in order to adopt a radical political dimension that suggests the possibility of an alternative future (Cosso, 2015). Through this ambition of building new alternatives for living, materialized in the creation of discursive spaces, the scene's idiosyncrasies introduce an intersectional approach to its ideology.¹

Furthermore, the scene expands to a greater extent both socially and geographically. With the success of bands reaching mainstream audiences, such as *2 minutos* or *Ataque 77*, the scene is no longer restricted to the upper-middle/higher social classes youth and reaches out to all sectors of the population (Flores, 2011). Mainly localized in Buenos Aires during its early stage, the scene spreads nationwide with the gradual integration of local scenes from the major Argentinean cities, and later, medium-sized urban areas.

Within this new counterculture configuration and discursive context, the scene starts to make the struggle of Mapuche communities visible, among other social issues. In the second edition of the *Resistencia* fanzine², edited in Buenos Aires in 1985, a regular political note entitled

¹ Coined by the American feminist scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw, the concept of intersectionality serves as a guideline to encompass the complexity of discriminations. Crenshaw's theorization rejects the compartmentalization and hierarchization of the major axes of interhuman social differentiation that are mainly categories of class, race, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, age, and disability. The intersectional approach not only recognizes the multiplicity of the oppressive systems out of these social categories but also postulates their interaction in the reproduction of social inequalities. See Crenshaw, Kimberlé (1991): "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color", *Stanford Law Review*, 43 (6), pp. 1241-1299.

² The fanzine *Resistencia* was edited and published in Buenos Aires between 1984 and 2001. Among other fanzines, its role in the scene was decisive in disseminating information and raising political awareness.

“*Resuciten Indios*”³ lays the foundation of a social awareness based on an analogy highlighting that both, punks and indigenous are rebellious and fighting the system (Fig. 2).

Later, this same analogy is strongly being reaffirmed in a longer article published in 1988. Here, the columnist named *El Profe* (The Professor) revises sharply the *Civilización y Barbarie* myth⁴, its political rhetoric and its historical meanings. In addition, he puts into perspective the historical oppression suffered by indigenous communities with other marginalized groups to stress the mechanism by which the oppressive systems are interconnected: “ [...] creo que lo que les pasó a los indios, a los negros y a los gauchos, que todo lo que pasó y sigue pasando tiene mucho que ver con las ‘historias’ que sufrimos los punx, los gays, los heavies, los marginados de este sistema de mierda [...] No importa si sos ecologista, punk, gay, drogadicto o lo que sea. La cosa es si te bancas o no que haya un poder que te reglamente la existencia.”⁵ (Resistencia, 1988) (Fig. 3)

³ “*Resuciten Indios*” (Resurrect Indians) was first written as a review of a band with the same name.

⁴ The concept of *Civilización y Barbarie* (Civilization and Barbarism) stems from *Facundo: Civilización y Barbarie* the journalistic serial story written and published in 1845 by Domingo Faustino Sarmiento. Considered one of the foundational works of Argentinean literature, it offers an essay on the country’s development, modernization, and culture. Although this polemic dichotomy helped implementing a new era for the country it also partly justified the *Conquista del Desierto* (Conquest of the Desert), a civilizing military campaign to establish dominance over Patagonia and Mapuche’s ancestral territory in the 1870s. Also see Fig. 1.

⁵ “[...] I think that what happened to the natives, *negros* and *gauchos*, everything that happened and still happens has to do with the “stories” we, punx, gays, heavies, marginalized by this shitty system, suffer [...] It doesn’t matter if you are ecologist, punk, gay, drug addict or whatever. The thing is whether you tolerate or not that the power regulates your existence”

Fig. 2. First "Resuciten Indios" column (Resistencia, 1985).

Resuciten INDIOS

voz: BETI
GUITARRA: Hermmán
bajo: WISSA
batería: SIAN

ESTAMOS SOLOS
ESTAMOS SOLOS MUY SOLOS
ALVERDOS, ACUERDOS DE SOLERA
DUE
BUSCAR, BUSCAR QUERER OIR
NO ESCUCHAR NADA
SOLO!! PUDRICION DE MENTES
MATERIA INANIMADA
VOS CON VOS, Y YO CON MIGA.
ACUERDOS, ACUERDOS DE
SOLERADES

INDIOS SOMOS TODOS y el hombre de Resuciten Indios es un llamado a la Rebelión de la Gente, PARA que AFLORE uno de los puntos principales de la banda es el sentimiento de UNIÓN con toda la gente y entre los PUNK LA BANDA se formó en febrero; Tocaron durante los "CARNAVALES" en VILLA SOLBATI, un sábado y domingo ante gente que TAL VEZ ~~NO~~ JAMÁS habían visto un PUNK en sus vidas. Sin embargo se coparon por el sentimiento de LA BANDA y HASTA pidieron bases. Por supuesto también había entre el público, gente que los querían golpear, pero nada trágico sucedió. El 10/3/85 tocaron en el "CAFÉ de Agosto" JUNTO A TUMBAS MIL Hermmán y BETI están contentos con lo que ya que fue una buena reunión de gente. PUNK viejos, nuevos y toda clase de personas y muchos amigos que hacía tiempo no veían. MUSICALMENTE ninguno de los grupos pudo sonar MUY BIEN A CAUSA DE PROBLEMAS con los equipos. (N. de R. y por falta de ensayo). BETI y Hermmán piensan que el punk es una conciencia que va más allá de lo que aquí piensa la gente. HACE FALTA MAS conciencia y DIVERSION también, ya que una cosa no es clure la otra y deberán ir JUNTAS. Lame notablemente en el "CAFÉ de Agosto" (MUY ajen lugar) no se puede tocar más. Se había arreglado un precio de entrada y NADIE pagó ya que tanta gente en la puerta cobrando. Además, hubo algunas desubicaciones que entraron en el depósito del lugar y robaron cosas, entre ellas una peluca (?), los dueños la están reclamando.

Actualmente el grupo está algo inactivo porque el guitarrista está en URUGUAY. Se habla de cambios en su formación pero ha quedado en "la nada".

Los indios se rebelan

NO TE ENTREGUES A LA MAQUINA
TODAS MAQUINAS!! MUCHOS PROBLEMAS
TODOS INHUMANOS!! MUCHO DESORDEN
NO TE ENTREGUES A LA MAQUINA
SOMOS POCOS LOS HUMANOS
EL PLANETA ESTA PODRISO
NO NOS PODRAMOS PODRISO
TODO, TODO ES INTERIOR MAS
TODO, TODO SIEMPRE IGUAL
VA HIBS, VAMOS PARA ATRAS.

VIDA MONOTONA
Dios, PATRIA y HOGAR, te quieren llevar con costumbres y moralidad lo que rige esta sociedad. EL FACHISMO EN LAS MENTES. HAY que PENA No saben que HOGAR esta se sienten muy MAL NO se fijan EN ELLOS MISMO POR PREJUICIOS Y POR REPRIMI- LLEVAN UNA VIDA MONOTONIA
GRACIAS BETI y HERMMAN



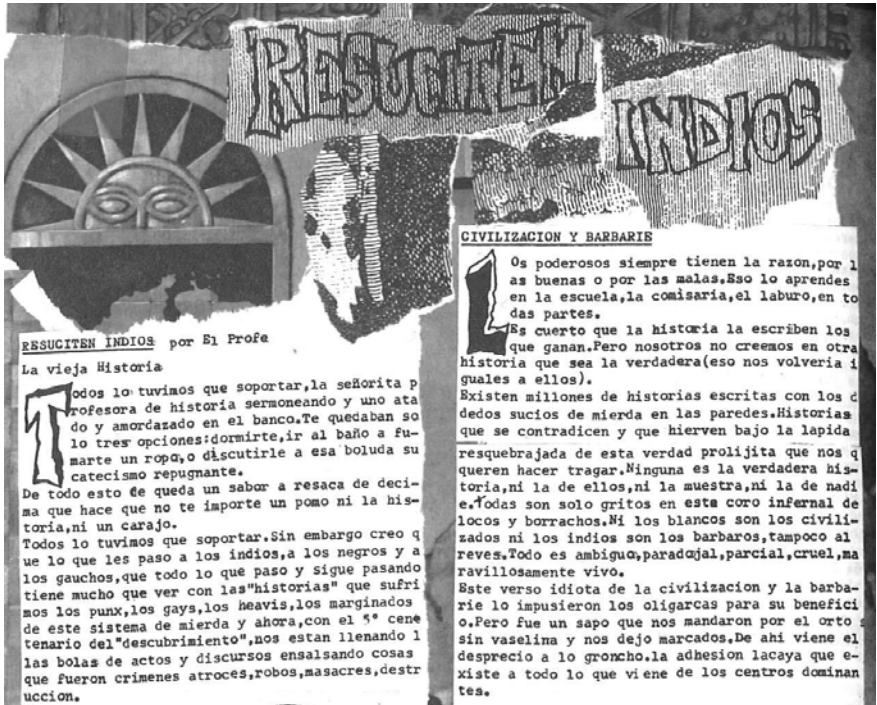


Fig. 3 "Resuciten Indios" column (Resistencia, 1988).

By 1992, a new column is written in the same vein by a Spanish columnist. In this occasion, the critics aim to the five hundredth anniversary of the Discovery of Americas and the celebrations planned by the Spanish and some Latin American governments. The columnist informs the reader about the tragic consequences of the Discovery for indigenous people throughout the continent and invites the punk communities and activists to join or organize counter-celebrations (Fig. 4). It is worth mentioning, in other *Resistencia* editions, calls for donations or festivals along with organizations in solidarity with Mapuche communities. The importance of the fanzine *Resistencia* and its "Resuciten Indios" regular columns appear to be crucial in awakening consciousness within the punk scene towards the oppression suffered by, not only Mapuche, but indigenous people in general.

Having focused this specific period of the Argentinean punk history, between the end of the dictatorship and the mid-nineties, allow us to observe the beginning of a critical consciousness toward the Mapuche struggle and resistance through discourses that still remain strong nowadays within the scene. Lately, this topic became one of the scene's main concerns, along with the fight for legal abortion, after the abusive evacuations of Mapuche activists occupying lands and the death of Santiago Maldonado.⁶ Moreover, despite the fact that most of these early discourses emerged from Buenos Aires, they were crucial in the influence they had for the shape of the future Mapuche punk scene and the creation of an ideological basis nationwide. Lately, the influence of the struggle took a new dimension, no longer restricted to discourses, by the integration of traditional indigenous music into the punk sounds. The most vivid example is the band *Árboles en Llamas* from Córdoba who invited the folk singer Rubén Patagonia to participate on their last album.⁷

Mapunkies, syncretism and resistance

At the beginning of the 1990', within this post-dictatorship punk context in Argentina, the dynamics of influence from the Mapuche activism to the punk scene take a new turn with the emergence of Mapuche punk in the main Patagonian urban areas. Around 1992 and the counter-celebrations for the five hundredth anniversary of the Discovery of Americas, the activism starts to consolidate and gain public recognition. This moment of social unrest turns to be a fertile ground for the adoption of the punk culture by the Mapuche youth.

As mentioned above, this adoption is enhanced through transregional influences from the capital area, creating a circulation of a radical dialectic between both regions, each scene mutually reinforcing the shared feeling of resistance towards the institutional and hegemonic oppression. Nonetheless, taking into consideration the geographical location of the Mapuche territory, split between Chile and Argentina, it should be recalled the influence of the Chilean scene in this process. Interestingly, the Basque punk scene played also a key role in the ideological construction of the Mapuche punk one,

⁶ Santiago Maldonado was a tattoo artist and activist who was found dead nearby the Chubut river days after the Argentine Gendarmerie dispersed a protest led by Mapuche activists against the Benetton group's activities in the Chubut province. Two main hypothesis surrounds the circumstances of his death: the autopsy results pointed to a death by drowning whereas human right organizations and the family say it is a case of forced disappearance. Maldonado's death unleashed a political storm and revived dark memories of the dictatorship's disappearance practices.

⁷ *Árboles en Llamas* (2015): *San Expedito*. Argentina: Inerme Discos.

sharing both the denial of their nations and culture by their respective state's institutions (Kropff, 2011).

Progressively during the nineties in Patagonian cities (Fig. 1) like Bariloche, Neuquén or General Roca (called Fiske Menuco in Mapudungun⁸) a cultural hybridization process takes place and gives birth to a syncretic culture and identity materialized by the neologisms *Mapunkey* and *Mapurbe*.⁹ Coined by the Chilean poet David Añiñirby contracting the terms punk and urban with Mapuche, these portmanteau words reflect an updated set of reality and identity no longer tied to traditional, rural and folkloric stereotypes.¹⁰ The *Mapunkey* syncretism is not only visible from an ideological perspective but it embraces fully the punk performative panoply with its music and esthetic. For instance, the use of traditional music instruments during shows and protests is becoming increasingly common, as well as typical do-it-yourself punk outfit (Fig. 5 and Fig. 6).



Fig. 5: Mapunkies during a protest, one of them carries a Ñolkiñ (Mapuche instrument).

⁸ From *mapu* 'land' and *dungun* 'speak', Mapudungun is the Mapuche's language.

⁹ From the poem written both in Spanish and Mapudungun "María Juana la mapunkey de la Pintana". See Añiñir Guiltraro, David (2009): *Mapurbe: venganza a nuetz*. Santiago de Chile: Pehuén.

¹⁰ Due to the lack of opportunities in rural areas in the nineties, young Mapuche people settle in the city suburbs, generating debate on the possible dissolution of the Mapuche identity. See: Ramos, Ana and Walter Delrio (2005): "Trayectorias de oposición. Los mapuches y tehuelches frente a la hegemonía en Chubut", *Cartografías argentinas: Políticas indigenistas y formaciones provinciales de alteridad*, Buenos Aires: Antropofagia, pp. 79-118.



Fig. 6 Mapunkies wearing denim jackets with embroidered back patches on which “Resistencia Mapuche” and traditional symbols can be seen.

Source: Página12.

Early in the 2000’, the *Mapunkies* and *Mapurbes*, also called Warriaches in Mapudungun language, manage to create discursive spaces of rupture to facilitate the reinvention of tradition as a mean of cultural resistance and survival. In this context, they, along with local artists and activists, launch the Mapuche Campaign of Self-Affirmation *Wefkvletuyiñ* (“We are Re-emerging”) in 2001.¹¹ Through media and art, this campaign promoted a public debate and awareness on Mapuche’s identity and social condition. Its main goal was to bring to light the different realities faced by Mapuche communities, such as the eviction of Mapuche from their ancestral land, the sale of natural resources to foreign corporations, the abusive incarceration of activists accused of terrorism, the denial of their culture and language, the institutional racism, the marginalization and poverty. The campaign not only

¹¹ More information about this campaign is available in English here: http://archive.hemisphericinstitute.org/cuaderno/wefkvletuyin/campana_eng.html.

addressed these urgent concerns but also to challenged commonly accepted perceptions of the Mapuche as simply a part of national folklore and rurality—a representation in which *Mapunkies* or *Mapurbes*, were never a part of.

The use of some punk ideology features as part of this campaign reveals a convergence, mentioned earlier, in the way that both are fighting the system and its institutions. Regarding the relevance of this connection and the need to update Mapuche's identity based on a new reality, Facundo Huala,¹² explains:

“[...] el punk cuando nació, nació desde un sector de la sociedad con una postura frente al sistema. Y por ahí que muchos de nosotros nos hayamos criado en la ciudad, que hayamos vivido en la ciudad y nos hayamos relacionado con esas cuestiones es lo que nos lleva a hacer esta conexión.[...] Obviamente somos rebeldes, somos rebeldes a un sistema, somos rebeldes a una forma de vida a la que fueron obligados a esta nuestros padres.[...] Nosotros no vamos a estar felices y contentos, y nos sentimos reflejados en la actitud del punk. [...] Nos criamos en el barrio, el barrio sigue estando en Territorio Mapuche, entonces desde ahí tratamos de volver a nuestra raíz desde el cemento. Por ahí suena como una idea medio poética, pero es así, desde el cemento volvemos a nuestra raíz. (...) Hay organizaciones que plantean que la única lucha válida es en el campo y que en algún momento de la historia los mapurbe van a tener que dejar la ciudad.”¹³

¹² Also known as Fakundo Wala, Huala was a *Mapunkey* poet before becoming the *lonko* of the Lof Cushamen (political leader of the Cushamen community). He is currently serving a 9 years sentence in Chile after being convicted on terrorism charges.

¹³ “[...] when punk was born, it did from one sector of the society – with a stance against the system. The fact that many of us grew up in cities, lived in cities and related to these concerns is what led us to make this connection. [...] Of course we are rebels, rebels against a system, a lifestyle that our parents were forced to adhere to. [...] We are not going to be happy and content with that, and we see ourselves reflected in the punk attitude. [...] We grew up in the suburbs, the suburbs still remain within the Mapuche territory, so from there we are trying to go back to our roots from the cement. It might sound like a poetical idea, but it is what is, from cement we go back to our roots. [...] Some organizations suggest that the only worthy struggle is from the countryside and at some point in history the mapurbes will have to leave the city.” Translated from “Tratamos de volver a nuestra raíz desde el cemento” in *Indy media Argentina*, (2004, April 3). See: <https://archivo.argentina.indymedia.org/news/2004/04/187161.php>

As part of the Self-Affirmation campaign, a fanzine called Mapurbe'zine,¹⁴ was also published between 2001 and 2006, drawing on the do-it-yourself ethos of punk culture (Fig. 7). Written in both Spanish and Mapudungun the fanzine shares political analysis, as well as historical re-readings and cultural issues. Worth noting as a symbol of this *Mapunkey* identity, is the use of the letter “k” instead of “c”¹⁵ when writing in Spanish, which also refers to the traditional use of this letter in the punk written slang (Fig. 8). With this creative and renovated means of expression that stem from the punk practices, *Mapunkies* can finally perform discursive codes specific to their language, allowing at the same time outsiders to identify with them and come up with reconsiderations on the Mapuche identity.

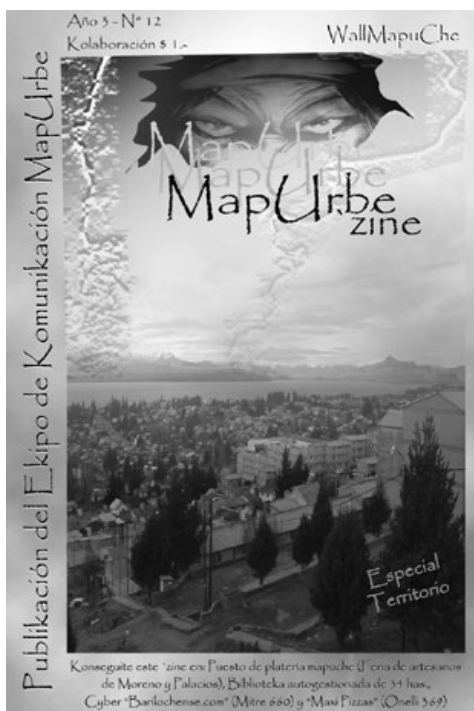


Fig. 7 Front page from MapUrbe fanzine, n/d.

¹⁴A selection of articles is available online, see:

https://hemi.nyu.edu/cuaderno/wefkvletuyin/fanzine_eng.htm.

¹⁵ The letter doesn't exist in the Unified Mapuche Alphabet (Alfabeto Mapuche Unificado).

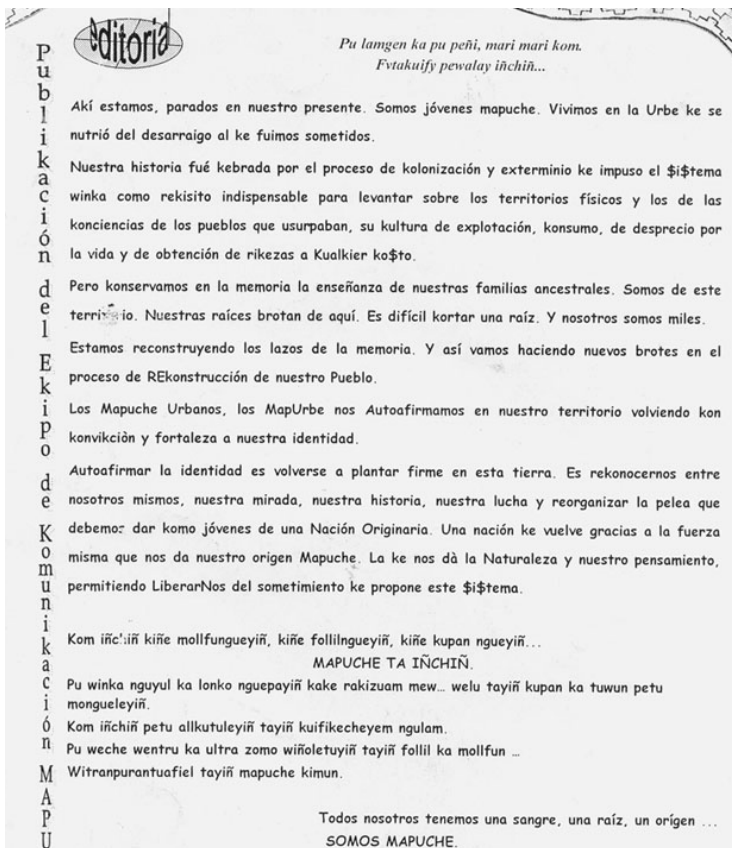


Fig. 8 Editorial from MapUrbe fanzine, n/d.

However, as mentioned previously, the campaign's attempts to question and debate on these subjects are challenged by some Mapuche activists and older generations deeply rooted in ancestral tradition and rurality (Kroppf, 2011). These insist on only one particular way of being Mapuche and resist, they do not see the ancestral struggle of their communities merging with urban and Western conceptions of resistance.

Although these debates on finding the best ways to tackle the issues they face torn apart the Mapuche movement for years, the resilience and commitment manifested by young urban Mapuche led them to progressively be accepted and active within the Mapuche's rural, ceremonial and political spaces.

Conclusions

From the analysis above, the gradual circulation of the punk ideology, discourses and practices in Argentina can be seen beneficial for both the national and the Mapuche scene. The dynamism of the dialectic between the Mapuche resistance and the Argentinean punk in the nineties proves to be decisive for both movements by mutually feeding each other in order to shape themselves ideologically.

Nevertheless, the nature and results of this dialectic are different. On the one hand, the Argentinean scene by making visible, addressing and including the struggle of Mapuche people into its set of discourses, helps its followers to understand the mechanism of hegemonic oppression. That way, these discourses raise awareness among young people about other marginalized groups fights and ideologies, such as feminism, within an intersectional framework. On the other hand, the adoption of punk by the Mapuche urban youth originates syncretic identities (*Mapurbe* and *Mapunké*) and allows them to inject updated forms of resistance into the preexisting one. This process not only reshapes the Mapuche identity but can be defined as crucial for its valorization and survival, as well as for the dynamism of their resistance in Argentina. The Mapuche people being transnational, the same phenomenon can be observed within the Chilean scene, with the influence and support of famous national punk bands, such as *Fiskales Ad-Hok*. This process of updated resistance through the adoption, adaptation and expression of countercultures is not only being seen with punk but also *hip-hop* music.

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Reports



THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE COLOR SOCIETY OF RUSSIA

(The Second Russian
Congress on Color)



SMOLENSK STATE
UNIVERSITY

1-5 DECEMBER

SMOLENSK 2020

The International Scientific Conference of the Color Society of Russia (RUcolor2020, The Second Russian Congress on Color) was held online 1–5 December 2020. The conference was co-organized by Smolensk State University; the Research and Education Center “Color Lab”; the Institute of Scientific Information for Social Sciences of the Russian Academy of Sciences; the AIC Study Group on Environmental Color Design; and, the Soglasiye publishing company in Moscow.

The conference was attended by 182 color researchers from twenty-seven different countries and seventeen regions of the Russian Federation. It brought together a wealth of topics that reflected the scope of work being undertaken within color theory and color research. RUcolor2020 provided a unique opportunity for researchers, educators, designers, and industrialists from all over the world to meet each other, cooperate, exchange experience, and learn about advanced technologies.

A key feature of the event became the shift of its focus from the relationship between color and individual perception and experience, which is traditionally studied within the framework of the humanities, to the relationship between color and society, the analysis of the social differentiation of color codes in culture, and the identification of the relationship between the structure of color space and social structures. The work of the conference took place in five sections: (1) Psychology of Color; (2) Sociology of Color; (3) Color in Communication; (4) Color in Art and Design; and, (5) Color in Science and Technology. Abstract and paper Submissions were evaluated by fifty-two members of the Scientific Committee, who were renowned researchers from twenty-two countries.

The daily schedule of the conference included invited talks, oral presentations within the thematic sessions, presentations of the study groups of the International Color Association (AIC), Meeting of the AIC Study Group on Environmental Colour Design, and a virtual tour around Smolensk. The conference also included a discussion of the books on color published during the past five years by the conference participants

The Conference was funded by the Presidential Grant Foundation, which helped to create an amazing platform for sharing and discussing color research findings from around the world. The technical center of the online conference was located at Smolensk Nuclear Energy Information Center and the presentations were streamed live on YouTube. The sessions were moderated by Dr. Vassily Dvoinev and M.A. Anastasia Larchenko. Technical support and live video streaming of the conference were provided by Pavel Derevyanko, Alexey Delov and Karina Tsygankova. Videos of all five days of the conference are available on YouTube:

Day 1: <https://youtu.be/yi0-1vYr9BI>

Day 2: <https://youtu.be/0gxwjI7XXA4>

Day 3: <https://youtu.be/qExuyvBX1mU>

Day 4: <https://youtu.be/dBiuuMaRtR8>

Day 5: <https://youtu.be/155XTaV-UGw>

The results of the conference is fourfold:

Two publications include Russian and English contributions: *The International Scientific Conference of the Color Society of Russia Book of Abstracts* (Smolensk: Smolensk State University Press, 2020) and *The International Scientific Conference of the Color Society of Russia Selected Papers* (Smolensk: Smolensk State University Press, 2021), which includes fifty papers, fourteen in Russian and thirty-six in English.

Two additional publications *The Scientific Notes of the Color Society of Russia*, Vol. 2, 2020, a special issue on colour design for the elderly, and *The Sociological Studies* 1(3), 2020, a special issue for young scientists, further include nineteen papers written in Russian or translated from English.

The publications are freely available at color-lab.org/publikacii/.

Dr. Enrique del Acebo Ibáñez was an Invited Speaker at RUcolor2020.

RUcolor2020 Conference Program

Day 1: <https://youtu.be/yi0-1vYr9BI>

9:30 – 10:00 Opening ceremony
Mikhail Artemenkov – Rector of Smolensk State University
Nina Rozanova – Research Director of Smolensk State University
YuliaUstimenko – Chairwoman of the Scientific Committee
Verena M. Schindler – Co-Chairwoman of the Organizing Committee
YuliaGriber – Co-Chairwoman of the Organizing Committee

10:00 – 10:30 Invited talk in Russian
Olga Lavrenova (Moscow, Russia)
“Mountains with the colors of roses and honey”: color semantics of the cultural landscape.

10:30 – 11:00 Invited talk in Russian
Yuriy G. Burykin (Surgut, Russia)
Computer stabilometrics in a assessing the postural stability of individuals in the visual perception of color information.

Color Psychology and Color Sociology (in Russian)

11:00 – 11:20 Elena V. Nikolaeva (Moscow, Russia)
Semantics of purple in postmodern culture
11:20 – 11:40 Igor B. Krasilnikov (Smolensk, Russia)
Colors of the revolution
11:40 – 12:00 Alexandra V. Frolova (Moscow, Russia)
Color and age in the peasant environment
(based on the materials of the Arkhangelsk North)
12:00 – 12:20 Olga A. Pushkareva (Smolensk, Russia)
Folk color didactics in Russia
12:20 – 12:40 Faina M. Kremen, Sergey A. Kremen (Smolensk, Russia)
Color representations of different professions by young people
12:40 – 13:00 Tatyana A. Sidorchuk (Smolensk, Russia)
Psychological impact of color on learning ability of elderly people

13:00 – 13:20 Alexey S. Timoshchuk (Vladimir, Russia), Ruchi Tyagi (Dehradun, India)

Color and the problem of qualia

13:20 – 13:40 Boris A. Bazyma (Kharkiv, Ukraine)

Color as a diagnostic tool for mental disorders in schizophrenia

13:40 – 14:00 Break

Color Psychology (in English)

14:00 – 14:20 Déborah Da Silva, Christine Mohr, Domicela Jonauskaitė (Switzerland)

Why do you like these colors and dislike others? Reasons for colour preferences

14:20 – 14:40 Ibrahim Elaraby (Saudi Arabia), Ossama A. Abdou (Egypt)

Improving performance of IQ test for children with neurodevelopmental conditions by prolonged exposure to blue color

14:40 – 15:00 Puja Kumar, Carla Lobo (Portugal)

Depression to expression: color as visual language to communicate complex emotions

15:00 – 15:20 Mark Wentworth (United Kingdom)

Colour profiling: a visual archetypal blueprint for the process of Jungian individuation

15:20 – 15:40 Joyce C. Cavallini, Paula Csillag (Brazil)

Visual grouping: a study on preponderances of color or shape in match-three games

15:40 – 16:00 Ellen Divers (United States)

Beyond hue: the affective response to value and chroma

16:00 – 16:20 Razieh Jafari, Kamaladin Gharanjig (Iran)

Effect of illuminant UV component on colorimetric attributes of eco-friendly dyed wool yarns

16:20 – 16:30 Break

16:30 – 17:00 Invited Talk

Jose Luis Caivano (Argentina)

Color order systems, color mixtures and the role of cesia

17:00 – 17:30 Invited Talk: Enrique del Acebo Ibáñez (Argentina), *Antarctica as the white continent: color, values and magic*

Day 2: <https://youtu.be/0gxwjJ7XXA4>

9:00 – 9:30 Invited Talk in Russian: Nicolay V. Serov (Saint-Petersburg, Russia), *Color and “colors” of dye*

9:30 – 10:00 Invited Talk in Russian: Mikhail Yu. Shishin, Sophia M. Belokurova (Barnaul, Russia), *Semantic color analysis in Mongolian art culture*

Color in Communication (in Russian)

10:00 – 10:20 Break

10:20 – 10:40 Oxana D. Fais-Leutskaja (Moscow, Russia)
Black in the context of Sicilian folk culture: traditions of interpretation

10:40 – 11:00 Irina V. Romanova, Larisa V. Pavlova (Smolensk, Russia)
The color palette of the lyrics of Vladimir Nabokov

11:00 – 11:20 Tatyana V. Sivova (Grodno, Belarus), *Color concept in the floristic space of Konstantin G. Paustovsky's prose*

11:20 – 11:40 Yulia A. Marinina, Vladislav V. Shalaev (Nizhny Novgorod, Russia), *The role of color symbolism in Oscar Wilde's Drama “Salomé”*

11:40 – 12:00 Dzhavdet Sh. Sulejmanov, Alsu F. Galimova (Kazan, Russia), *On the issue of forming the color conceptsphere in the Tatar language*

12:00 – 12:20 Roman V. Belyutin (Smolensk, Russia), *Implementation of humorous key in sports communication through the “color” concept (on the example of football fans' discourse)*

12:20 – 12:40 Alexandra I. Chivarzina (Moscow, Russia), *Color names for blue and its shades on the material of the Balkan languages*

12:40 – 13:00 Olga V. Kramkova (Nizhny Novgorod, Russia), *The phenomenon of isosemy in color naming*

13:00 – 13:30 Break

13:30 – 14:00 Invited Talk: Balaganapathi Devarakonda (India), *Colour symbolism in Indian tradition*

14:00 – 14:30 Invited Talk: Domicela Jonauskaitė (Switzerland), *Colour-emotion associations in trichromatic and dichromatic participants: the role of conceptual mechanisms-*

Color in Communication (in English)

14:40 – 15:00 Galyna McLellan (Australia): *Rethinking the role of technologies in teaching colour design*

15:00 – 15:20 Xavière Ollier (France): *The role of the colour training in industrial environment*

15:20 – 15:40 Banu Manav (Turkey): *Color as a way of communication in design education*

15:40 – 16:00 Ingrid Calvo Ivanovic, Francesca Mattioli (Italy): *A colour is worth a thousand words! A colour-based tool to foster communication in culturally-plural teams*

16:00 – 16:20 Gabriele Simone, Alice Plutino, Alessandro Rizzi, Maurizio Rossi (Italy): *The experience of the Master in Color Design and Technology during COVID-19 lockdown*

16:20 – 16:40 Milena Quattrer, Anna Paula Silva Gouveia (Brazil): *Basic parameters for color education: a proposition of concepts on color theory for Brazilian elementary and middle schools*

16:40 – 17:00 Break

Color in Art and Design: Light (in English)

17:00 – 17:20 MarjanKooroshnia, Jan Tepe (Sweden): *Using coloured lights in physical and immersive VR environments as material for design*

17:20 – 17:40 EglėProkopavičiūtė (Lithuania): *Unveiling the role of light and color in the ambience designing process*

17:40 – 18:00 Markus Reisinger (Germany): *Unique experiential benefits that multispectral lighting may provide*

Day 3: <https://youtu.be/qExuyvBX1mU>

8:50 – 9:10 Invited Talk in Russian: Andrey V. Efimov (Moscow, Russia), *The theory of urban color environment*
9:10 – 9:30 Invited Talk in Russian: Natalya G. Panova (Moscow, Russia), *From color theory to practice in architectural design*
9:30 – 10:00 Invited Talk in Russian: Vladimir L. Kagansky (Moscow, Russia), *Colorful corporeality* and incorporeal colorlessness: two poles of semiotic systems

Color in Art and Design (in Russian)

10:00 – 10:20 Yulia S. Gubar, Lyudmila V. Lbova (Novosibirsk, Saint-Petersburg, Russia): *Dyes on tusk items in the collection of the Upper Paleolithic site of Ust-Kova (Eastern Siberia)*
10:20 – 10:40 Maxim S. Petrenko (Novosibirsk, Russia): *Color in the Soviet urban interior at the turn of the 1950s and 1960s: style transformation*
10:40 – 11:00 Tatyana V. Kartashova (Saratov, Russia): *Color symbolism in the South Indian Kathakali Theater*
11:00 – 11:20 Alexandra V. Pankratova (Moscow, Russia): *Color characteristics of the flat design*
11:20 – 11:40 Vladimir E. Karpenko (Vladivostok, Russia): *Light and color in painting and light design*
11:40 – 12:00 James W. Mantet (Arroyo Seco, California, USA): *Color solutions in two portraits of Dmitri Shostakovich*
12:00 – 12:20 Svitlana V. Pryshchenko (Kiev, Ukraine): *Author's vision of the monograph "Visual language of color: culture, art, design, advertising"*
12:20 – 13:00 Break

13:00 – 13:30 Invited Talk: Axel Buether (Germany), *Assessment of the psychological and medical effects of the environmental factors colour and light on patients and staff in the department of intensive-care medicine*
13:30 – 14:00 Invited Talk: Juan Serra Lluch (Spain), *Evidences about warm and cool colors in interior architecture for the elderly*

Color in Art and Design: Architecture and Environment (in English)

14:00 – 14:20 Justyna Tarajko-Kowalska (Poland): *Yellow colour in European architecture and built environments: traditions and contemporary applications*

14:20 – 14:40 Dragana Vasilski (Serbia): *Color as a sign in minimalist architecture*

14:40 – 15:00 Alena Grigorash, Davide Bossi (Italy): *Phenomenology of white in contemporary art and design*

15:00 – 15:20 Diana Soeiro (Portugal): *Understanding the built environment through colour use: how can Japanese woodblock prints inform urban design?*

15:20 – 15:40 Silvia Cejpkova, Andrea Urland, Samuel Rosa (Slovakia): *Colour design in healthcare institutions: preferences and objective principles*

15:40 – 16:00 Italo José de Medeiros Dantas, Heloisa Mirelly Ferreira Alves, Mariana Nunes do Nascimento, Aline Gabriel Freire, Lívia Juliana Silva Solino (Brazil): *The construction of the chromatic sign in the Brazilian political and social environment*

16:00 – 16:20 Galen Minah (United States): *Color tectonics: enhancing and modifying form and space with color*

16:20 – 17:00 Break

Color in Art and Design: Art and Culture (in English)

17:00 – 17:20 Maria João Durão (Portugal): *Colour folds: representation systems and colour innovations in Italian Renaissance painting*

17:20 – 17:40 Mostafa Alibeigi (Iran): *The semiotics of color in Iranian art*

17:40 – 18:00 Tania Eréndeni Fuentes Villa, Claudia Ayari Fuentes Villa (Mexico): *Color in Prehispanic Mexico: worldview and impact of Spanish colonization*

Day 4: <https://youtu.be/dBiuuMaRtR8>

9:00 – 10:00 Invited Talk in Russian: Olga A. Lavrenova ((Moscow, Russia), *Philosophy of color and light in the Roerich's creative heritage*

Color in Science and Technology (in Russian)

10:00 – 10:20 Olga D. Fesunova (Smolensk, Russia): *Color value in geology*

10:20 – 10:40 Andrey A. Grigoryev, Georgiy V. Boos, Victoria A. Rybina (Moscow, Russia): *Comparison of the colorimetric red-green-blue system of dichromats and humans with normal color vision*

10:40 – 11:00 Alexei A. Delov, Karina Yu. Tsygankova (Smolensk, Russia): *Applying machine learning methods to modeling the boundaries of basic color categories*

11:00 – 11:20 Margarita V. Shumskaya, Vladimir Yu. Snetkov, Nikolay P. Eliseev (Moscow, Russia): *Using color contrast in the selection of LED radiation spectral characteristics for operating rooms*

11:20 – 11:40 Svetlana V. Roslyakova, Viktor T. Prokopenko (Saint-Petersburg, Russia): *Analysis of urban color dynamic lighting*

11:40 – 12:00 Break

12:00 – 12:30 Invited Talk: Jean-Philippe Lenclos (France), *Colour Design and “The Geography of Colour”*

12:30 – 13:00 Invited Talk: Verena M. Schindler (Switzerland), *The philosophy of colour in the French period of environmental colour design*

Color in Art and Design: Philosophy, Literature, Film, Photography, Visual Art (in English)

13:00 – 13:20 Rui Grazina, Fernando Moreira Silva (Portugal): *Colour, extensive and intensive approaches*

13:20 – 13:40 Ítalo José de Medeiros Dantas, Ramon Bastos Cordeiro, Camila Assis Peres Silva (Brazil): *Color as a narrative tool in the tale *The Yellow Wallpaper* by Charlotte Perkins Gilman: a discursive semiotic analysis*

13:40 – 14:00 Arianna Brivio, Alice Plutino, Alessandro Rizzi (Italy): *The colors of “Touteunenuit”: a study of color restoration in film*

14:00 – 14:20 Elizaveta Kushnirenko (Italy): *Color as a visual language: exploring the chromatic palette in Suzan Pitt’s animation*

14:20 – 14:40 Kazim Hilmi Or (Germany): *In arts: Why are black and white photos more impressive than colour photos?*

14:40 – 15:00 Ashraf Youssef .Ewais (Egypt): *Analytical study of pigments (colors) of the Wildlife Scene at Rasbepses Burial Chamber (Saqqara, Egypt)*

15:00 – 15:20 Camila Assis Peres Silva, Rebeca Fernandes Leal (Brazil): *The contribution of color for packaging and brand identity: a case study of Brazilian medicines based on historical documents*

15:20 – 15:40 Break

Color in Science and Technology (in English)

15:40 – 16:00 Manuel Melgosa, Daniel Vázquez, Lourdes García Ureña (Spain), Changjun Li (China), Michal Vik (Czechia): *Quantifying colors of traditional academic gowns in Spain*

16:00 – 16:20 Ana Sutlović, Martinia Ira Glogar, Anita Tarbuk (Croatia): *Cochineal colored cotton as UV shield: UV protective properties of cotton material dyed with cochineal dyestuff*

16:20 – 16:40 Anahí López, Alejandro R. Di Sarli (Argentina): *Surface quality evaluation in cementitious mixtures: the gray color of mortars and concrete from a qualitative-quantitative point of view*

16:40 – 17:00 Martinia Ira Glogar, Ana Sutlović, Ivana Beritić, Silvija Bešlić, Vedrana Peček (Croatia): *Analysis of natural dyes color characteristics: subjective vs. objective*

17:00 – 17:20 Lorena Pepa, Silvio Rodríguez, Cristina dos Santos Ferreira, María del Pilar Buera (Argentina): *Characterization of the full-scale of browning degrees in liquid food models*

Day 5: <https://youtu.be/l55XTaV-UGw>

Short Oral Presentation Session (in Russian)

9:30 – 9:40 Kristina V. Vorontzova (Siedlce, Poland): *Coloristics of the Polish artistic space in Russian poetry of the second half of the 20th century*

9:40 – 9:50 Rimma R. Fatkullina, Lyudmila N. Abutalipova, Dilyara D. Mukhamadiyeva (Kazan, Russia): *Environmental motifs in the stage clothing design*

9:50 – 10:00 Elena A. Solovyova (Saint Petersburg, Russia): *The associative potential of color symbols*

10:00 – 10:10 Mikhail M. Krasikov (Kharkiv, Ukraine): *Color in the traditional Ukrainian folk culture: symbolism and pragmatics (some observations)*

10:10 – 10:20 Svetlana I. Leneva, Irina G. Zhakhova (Smolensk, Russia): *Specifics of professional work with color of “Architecture and Environmental Design”* (MSc students)

10:20 – 10:30 Irina G. Zhakhova, Natalia V. Ponazheva (Smolensk, Russia): *Working with color at the stage of preparing an architectural project for presentation*

10:30 – 10:40 Yulia A. Griber, Alexei A. Delov, Karina Yu. Tsygankova (Smolensk, Russia): *Color-name clustering algorithms for determining semantic proximity and analyzing semantic relationships*

10:40 – 10:50 Sergey A. Pilyak (Smolensk, Russia): *Smolensk Kremlin: color representation of Russian cultural identity*

10:50 – 11:00 Yulia A. Griber (Smolensk, Russia), Svetlana A. Malyutina (Moscow, Russia): *Color vocabulary of native Russian speakers over 70 years old*

11:00 – 11:10 Alena A. Nankevich (Smolensk, Russia): *Review of research on color categories published over the past 15 years in the Google Scholar, eLIBRARY.RU and Cyberleninka*

11:10 – 11:20 Leonid F. Chertov (Saint Petersburg, Russia): *Psychosemiotics of color codes*

11:20 – 11:30 Break

11:30 – 12:50 Presentation of the Study Groups of the International Colour Association (AIC)

Meeting of the AIC Study Group on Environmental Colour Design (ECD)

Theme: *Color in space and time – a virtual journey to places around the world*

12:50 – 13:00 Break

13:00 – 14:30 Book Presentations

Juan Serra (Spain)

Jinghong Wang (China)

Stefanie Wettstein, Marcella Wenger-Di Gabriele (Switzerland)

Diana Soeiro (Portugal)

Renata Pompas, Lia Luzzatto (Italy)
Maria João Durão (Portugal)
Veronica Conte (Portugal)
Maurizio Rossi (Italy)
Ibrahim Elhady (Egypt)
Paula Csillag (Brazil)
Rossana Llanos (Colombia)
Axel Buether (Germany)
Tom R. Chambers (United States)
Verena M. Schindler (Switzerland)
Yulia A. Griber (Russia)

Short Oral Presentation Session (in English)

14:30 – 14:40 Tom R. Chambers (United States): *Color and the primordial pixel*

14:40 – 14:50 Ana Paula Pinheiro, Rui Duarte (Portugal): *Blue in Alentejo: authenticity and sustainability*

14:50 – 15:00 Gianluca Guarini, Maurizio Rossi (Italy): *A practical procedure for using real material colors in CAD systems*

15:00 – 15:10 María Marta Mariconde, Adriana Incatasciato, Paola Trettel (Argentina): *Technology in the walk: experiential reading of color of urban landscape*

15:10 – 15:20 Kazim Hilmi Or (Germany): *Plasmonic colours: used for centuries, being reused through nanotechnology*

15:20 – 15:30 Mahdi Safi, Keivan Ansari, Seyedeh Farokh Hosseini Shekarabi (Iran): *A color performance comparison of LCD and CRT monitors: considering black offset, white point and linearity*

15:30 – 15:40 Carlos Esteban Prause (Argentina): *The color as a distinctive quality in visual identity: analysis of dominant color in brand identity in relation to the perception of the recipient*

15:40 – 15:50 María Marta Mariconde, Eugenia Vidal, Octavio Viotti, Lucas Aisama, Micaela Echenique (Argentina): *Augmented reality in interactive color experience: commemorating Bauhaus 100*

15:50 – 16:00 Gisele Melo de Carvalho, Camila Brito da Cruz (Brazil):
Colors of social housing in Recife, Brazil

16:00 – 16:10 Omid Reza Baghchesaraei, Soheila Peyrovi Cheshnasar,
Alireza Baghchesaraei (Australia): *Investigation on conceptual features of colors in
Iranian historical buildings*

16:10 – 16:30 Yulia A. Griber (Russia) and Verena M. Schindler
(Switzerland): **Closing ceremony: summary and future perspectives**

Institutional information

IACSI

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF
CIRCUMPOLAR SOCIOCULTURAL ISSUES

What is the IACSI?

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

What are we after?

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

- Local Communities in Extreme Environments
- Social Problems and Human Well-being

- Participation and Community Attachment
- Habitat and Identity
- Minorities and Native people
- Migration
- Environment and Sustainable Development

What do we do?

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

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

- a) In April 26th, 2005, was run the ***1st International Workshop on Circumpolar Socio-Cultural Issues***, at the University of Jyväskylä (Finland), organized by the Department of Social Sciences and Philosophy of this University and the IACSI.
- b) In April 7th, 2006, was run the ***2nd International Workshop on Circumpolar Socio-cultural Issues***, at the University of Iceland, organized by the Faculty of Social Sciences of this University, the Icelandic Sociological Association, and the IACSI.
- c) On November 30, 2007, was run the ***3rd International Workshop on Circumpolar Socio-cultural Issues***, at the University of Oulu (Finland), organized by the Thule Institute of this University and the IACSI.

- d) On November 16-18, 2010, was run the *I International Meeting on Northern and Southern Circumpolarities: Socio-economic and Socio-cultural Approaches*, under the auspices of the CICLOP, School of Economics, University of Buenos Aires and the International Center for the Patrimony and Heritage (CICOP).
- e) On September 25-26, 2014, was run the *4th International Workshop on Circumpolar Sociocultural Issues* at the University of Iceland, organized by the Faculty of Social and Human Sciences of the University of Iceland and the International Program on Circumpolarity, Antartica and Extreme Environments (PIECA, Faculty of Social Sciences, Universidad del Salvador), and under the auspices of the IACSI. During the 4th Int'l Workshop one session will include oral presentations while the other one will be devoted to the screening and discussion of documentary and experimental films from both northern and southern circumpolarities. This second session will receive collaboration from the Reykjavík International Film Festival (RIFF).
- f) For the last conferences organized from 2015 on, please see www.iacsi.hi.is

The IACSI has also organized several *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), the 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 was also developed in Reykjavík organized by the Faculty of Human and Social Sciences of the University of Iceland, in parallel with the *ICO International Workshop on Circumpolar Sociocultural Issues*, April 1-3, 2019.

[For more information about audiovisual projects and workshops, please see www.iacsi.hi.is]

Membership

The members can be individuals or institutions:

Individual membership: € 30 (thirty Euros), including one printed copy of the annual issue of "*Arctic & Antarctic...*".

Institutional membership: € 100 (one hundred Euros), including two (2) printed copies of the annual issue of "A&A-IJCSCI". To apply for membership (individual and/or institutional) please address to:

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.

Vice-Rectorship of Research & Development

Dr Luciana Tondello

Rodríguez Peña 640 (C1020ADN), Buenos Aires - Argentina

E-mail: uds-vrid@salvador.edu.ar

Vice-Rectorship of Academic Issues

Dr Romina Cavalli

Rodríguez Peña 640 (C1020ADN), Buenos Aires - Argentina

Vice-Rectorship of Economics

Dr Fernando Lucero-Schmidt

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Scientific Publications Department

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Faculty of Social Sciences

Dr Mariana Colotta, Dean

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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, France, 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

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

UQÀM

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, 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



LAPIN YLIOPISTO
UNIVERSITY OF LAPLAND

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 PARIS-SACLAY

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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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
- Geaography 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

Fundación de Altos Estudios Antárticos & Ambientes Extremos

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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*; and *Institute of Nursing and Health Science*.

Institute of Culture, Language and History

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

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

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

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

Institute of Social Science, Economics and Journalism

Social Science: The degree programme in Social Science provides thorough knowledge about Greenlandic and international social conditions. The programme is broadly based and covers important subject areas within social science, such as political science, sociology, economy and law. With knowledge about these subject areas, you will be able to form an overview of the tasks facing a public administration, for example.

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

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

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

Institute of Learning

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

Institute of Nursing and Health Science

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

Ilisimatusarfik: From Inuit Institute to Arctic University

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

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

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

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

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

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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International Colour Association (AIC)

The International Colour Association (*Association Internationale de la Couleur* (AIC), or *Internationale Vereinigung für die Farbe*) is a learned society whose aims are to encourage research in all aspects of color, to disseminate the knowledge gained from this research, and to promote its application to the solution of problems in the fields of science, art, design, and industry on an international basis. AIC also aims for a close cooperation with existing international organizations, such as, for example, the International Commission on Illumination (CIE), the International Organization for Standardization (ISO), and the International Commission for Optics (ICO), regarding issues concerned with color.

AIC was founded June 21, 1967, in Washington DC, USA, during the 16th Session of the CIE (Commission Internationale de l'Éclairage). AIC Foundation Document was signed in by eight national colour associations. AIC's executive committee is comprised of eight members: President, Past president, Vice President, Secretary/Treasurer and four Ordinary members. Elections are held every two years. At present AIC is comprised of over twenty-eight color associations from around the world. Annual conferences and meetings have become the event of the year where the multidisciplinary color community meets to exchange knowledge and research. Book of Abstracts and Proceedings are freely available on the website. An Annual Review is published to showcase AIC members' colour events, activities, and outcomes. The *Journal of the International Colour Association* (JAIC) is a double-blind peer-reviewed journal and publishes multi-disciplinary work about colour. The current issue and also past issues dating back to 2007 are available online with free-access. AIC recognizes excellence in color with three awards: the Judd Award founded in 1973 with twenty-seven awardees

to date; the CADE Award celebrating outstanding color work in art, design, and the environment; and, the most recent Student Paper Awards encourage color research by students.

In 2009 the AIC agreed on the creation of an International Colour Day March 21, which is celebrated in many countries around the world.

Five study groups are active at AIC: Art and Design (AD); Colour and Vision and Psychophysics (CVP); Colour Education (CE); Language of Colour (LC); and, Environmental Colour Design (ECD).

<https://aic-color.org>



AIC Study Group on Environmental Colour Design (ECD)

Chairs: Verena M. Schindler (Switzerland), Yulia A. Griber (Russia)

The SG ECD is an international group of colour designers, architects, urban designers, landscape architects, interior architects, artists, lighting designers, philosophers, historians, psychologists, sociologists, scientists, ecologists, educators, and other professionals with a specific interest in colour as a means of environmental design in interior and exterior space. It is a broad field of study that includes colour in the natural, built and sociocultural environments. The research in this field also includes the investigation of the effects of colour upon human behaviour, cognition, and emotion.

The aims of the SG ECD include: (1) dissemination of knowledge among its members; (2) exchange of experience gained in the process of integrating colour in planning, designing, and realizing the built

environment; (3) propagation of knowledge and evaluative experience through congresses, seminars, workshops, publications, and exhibitions; (4) and, stimulation of research and teaching. The goal is to promote a deeper understanding of the relevance of colour in the overall design process and to establish a theoretical and practical basis for a trans-national discussion concerning a cross-cultural appreciation of environmental colour design. A report on its activities is published in the AIC Annual Review. The SG ECD was consolidated in 1982. At present the Study Group on Environmental Colour Design (ECD) of the International Colour Association (AIC) includes 270 members from forty-three countries.

Website: www.aicecd.org

Notes for Contributors

a) Submission of Papers

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

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

b) Manuscript Preparation

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

Abstracts: An abstract of not more than 120 words and a list of up to 10

keywords should accompany each copy of the manuscript.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Tables: Tables should be numbered consecutively and given a suitable caption and each table typed on a separate sheet. Footnotes to tables should be typed below the table and should be referred to by superscript lowercase letters. No vertical rules should be used. Tables should not duplicate results presented elsewhere in the manuscript (e.g. in graphs). (Authors are responsible for obtaining permissions from copyright holders for reproducing any illustrations, tables, figures or lengthy quotations previously published elsewhere. Permission letters must be supplied to FAE and A & A Journal).

c) Electronic Submission

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

d) Copyright

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

g) 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 15 will be published in November 2021. **Deadline for the manuscripts addressed to this coming issue is September 15, 2021.**

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 Noviembre de 2020,
en *Milena Caserola*, Lambaré 1026,
Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires, Argentina.

The **Arctic & Antarctic International Journal of Circumpolar Socio-Cultural Issues*** (A&A-IJCSCI), is an international, peer-reviewed, scholarly journal published annually on behalf of the 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
- Social Problems and Policies
- Minorities and Aboriginal Cultures
- Migration and Socio-cultural Integration
- Prehistory and History
- Literature and Arts
- Geopolitics and International Relations
- Arctic and Antarctic Comparative Studies
- Other issues related to socio-cultural themes concerning circumpolar areas.

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

*Logo and name legally registered.

The logo for 'latindex' features the word 'latindex' in a lowercase, sans-serif font. The 'a' is stylized with a red and orange gradient, and the 'i' has a red dot. The rest of the letters are in a dark grey or black color.

The next issue of *Arctic & Antarctic - International Journal of Circumpolar Socio-Cultural Issues* will be published in September 2021. Contributions must be sent before the end of July 2021. Besides articles, the issues can include seminar and conference reports, book reviews, comments or

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

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