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Inuit outside the Arctic

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INUIT OUTSIDE THE ARCTIC

Migration, Identity and Perceptions

Circumpolar Studies

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Inuit outside the Arctic

Migration, Identity and Perceptions

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor aan de
Rijksuniversiteit Groningen
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geboren op 27 februari 1982
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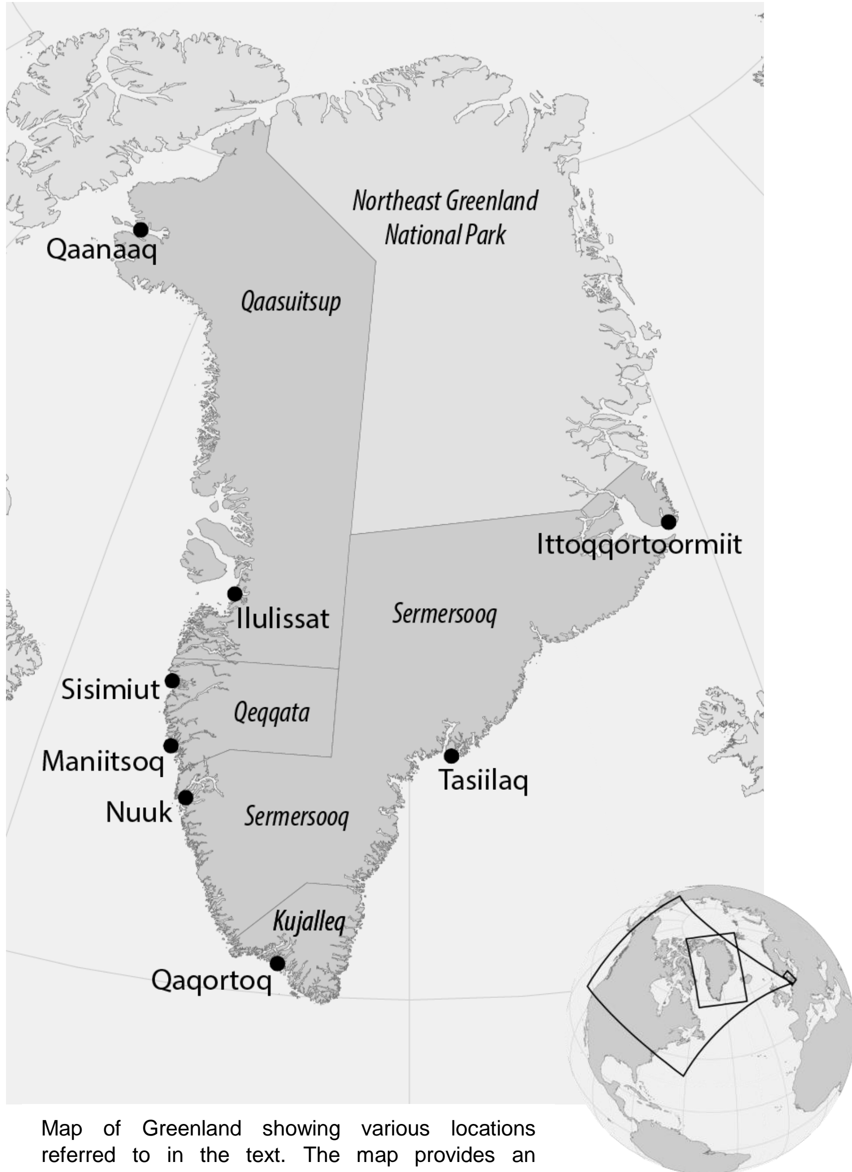
Tekke Terpstra

July 2015

Map of Greenland

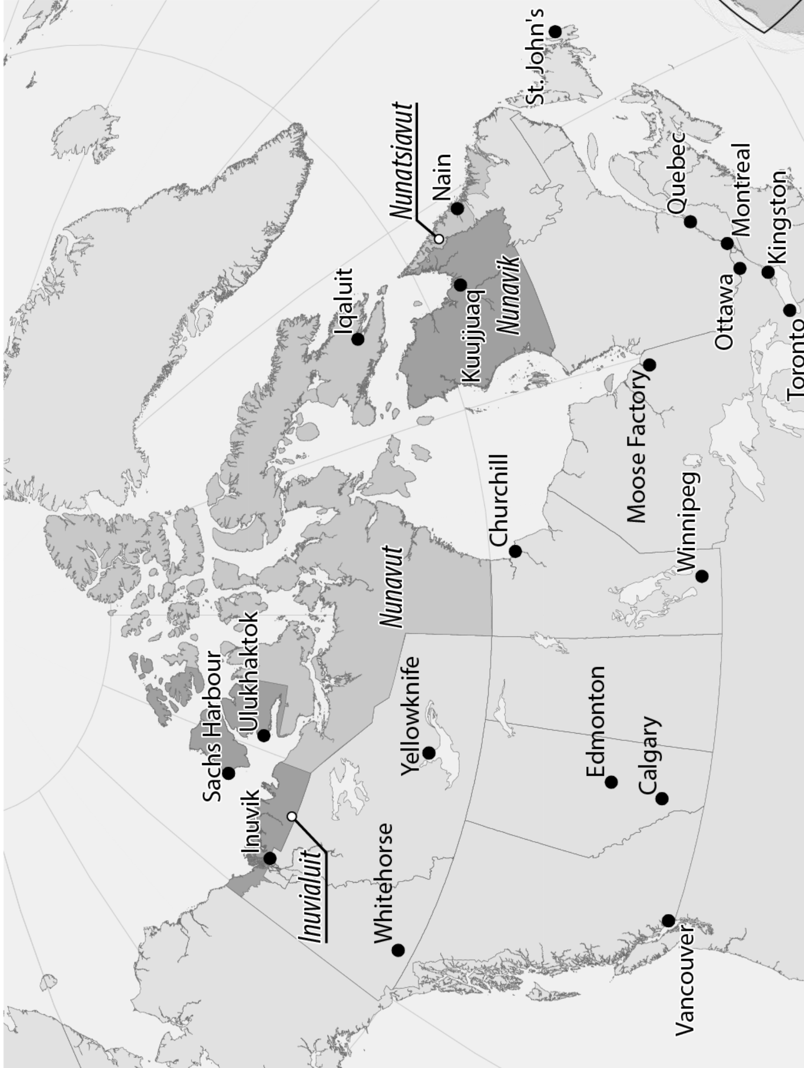


Map of Greenland showing various locations referred to in the text. The map provides an impression of the spatial context of this book for indicative purposes only. Map: F. Steenhuisen.

Map of Denmark

Map of Denmark showing various locations referred to in the text. The map provides an impression of the spatial context of this book for indicative purposes only. Map: F. Steenhuisen.

Map of Canada



Map of Canada showing various locations referred to in the text. Inuit Nunangat/Inuit Regions (the Inuvialuit Settlement Region, Nunavut, Nunavik and Nunatsiavut) indicated after: Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami. In the text, Ulukhaktok's former name of Holman appears in a quotation. The map provides an impression of the spatial context of this book for indicative purposes only. Map: F. Steenhuisen.

1 Introduction: Inuit outside the Arctic

1.1 Introduction

Inuit are one of the indigenous peoples in the Arctic.[1] The total number of Inuit is about 150,000 and Inuit (meaning "the people", while an individual of the Inuit is called "Inuk" meaning "person") are citizens of Greenland, Canada, the United States and Russia (Nuttall 2005: 990). While the Arctic is represented in various ways, in this book I take an approach which stresses that the Arctic is a place where people live, a place which people move to and a place people move away from, in the same way as occurs in the rest of the world.[2] This book focuses on the last group by investigating the experiences of Inuit who have left the Arctic. The focus is on Greenlanders/Greenlandic Inuit who live in Denmark, but it also offers a comparative perspective by including experiences of Inuit in southern Canada.[3]

According to a publication by the North Atlantic Group in the Danish Parliament 18,563 Greenlanders were living in Denmark as of January 1st 2006 (The North Atlantic Group in the Danish Parliament [NAGDP] 2007: 4-5). According to Statistics Denmark 15,521 people born in Greenland were living in Denmark as of January 1st

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[1] This note is to explain my choice of terminology in this book. Throughout my research I have often used terms such as migrants, migration, Inuit migrants etc. This was especially the case when I talked about my project in English. These words came naturally to me, but the words were not necessarily used by informants. Instead of "migration" the term "move" is probably more appropriate.
Concerning the use of Greenlanders and Inuit in this book, I should explain that in Denmark, where I used Danish as means of communication, I used to say "grønlændere i Danmark" [Greenlanders in Denmark], as is the case in several publications on Inuit from Greenland living in Denmark. For that reason I also often use Greenlanders in Denmark or just Greenlanders in this book. In the case of Canada I use Inuit in most circumstances in this book. However, I am aware that Inuit is used as an umbrella term and also that both differences and similarities exist between various Inuit.

[2] Various definitions of the Arctic exist. In the *Arctic Human Development Report* (Einarsson, Larsen, Nilsson and Young 2004) a description of the Arctic region that is predominantly used in the report is given. The authors explain that "the AHDR Arctic encompasses all of Alaska, Canada North of 60°N together with northern Quebec and Labrador, all of Greenland, the Faroe Islands, and Iceland, and the northernmost counties of Norway, Sweden and Finland. The situation in Russia is harder to describe in simple terms. The area included, as demarcated by our demographers, encompasses the Murmansk Oblast, the Nenets, Yamalo-Nenets, Taimyr, and Chukotka autonomus okrugs, Vorkuta City in the Komi Republic, Norilsk and Igsrka in Krasnoyarsky Kray, and those parts of the Sakha Republic whose boundaries lie closest to the Arctic Circle" (Young and Einarsson 2004a: 17-18).

[3] Parts of this book/ideas presented in this work, especially in chapter 8, but also in other parts, are intended to be published as an article entitled: "Images of Inuit in the Canadian South: (self-)representation, urbanization and identity" (Terpstra forthcoming).

2014 (Statistics Denmark 2014a).[4] This difference in numbers is due to the use of dissimilar definitions of Greenlanders.[5] Despite this discrepancy, the figures demonstrate that a considerable number of Greenlanders live in Denmark. Statistics Greenland indicates that of all people living in Greenland (56,370), 50,101 were born in Greenland (Statistics Greenland 2013: 1). According to Hamilton and Rasmussen in 2006 26% of the people born in Greenland were living in Denmark (Hamilton and Rasmussen 2010: 49).[6]

Similarly in Canada a substantial number of the Inuit population live outside the Arctic. In 2006 22% of the 50,485 Canadian Inuit lived outside the so-called *Inuit Nunangat* (the Inuvialuit Settlement Region, Territory of Nunavut, Nunavik and Nunatsiavut).[7] Of all Canadian Inuit 17% lived in urban settings outside Inuit Nunangat. This accounts for 8,395 Inuit (Statistics Canada 2008: 23). As we will see in chapter 8, the *National Household Survey 2011* indicates an increase in the number of Inuit living in southern Canada (Statistics Canada 2013).

A reason to look into the experiences of Inuit living outside the Arctic can be found in work by Bo Wagner Sørensen. In a publication, in which he also includes and reflects on experiences of fieldwork in the Greenlandic capital of Nuuk, he states that: "Literature on the Arctic tends to focus on the special natural environment and its effects on human life" (Sørensen 2008: 109). In his publication Sørensen refers to the publication of David Riches' *The force of tradition in Eskimology* (Sørensen 2008: 110). Riches, for example, describes how many Arctic social researchers have made the study of Inuit an (too) exotic endeavor (Riches 1990). Both indicate that there is an inclination to perceive Inuit culture in traditional ways.

[4] Statistics on Greenlanders in Denmark for 2014, which are presented in more detail in chapter 5, were given to me by an employee of one of the Greenlandic Houses in Denmark, which obtain the data from Statistics Denmark (2014a). These data on people born in Greenland living in Denmark are processed by Statistics Denmark by order of the Greenlandic Houses.

[5] The report by the North Atlantic Group in the Danish Parliament (2007), for example, includes first, second and third generation Greenlanders. Togeby (2002) estimates that there are about 7,000 Greenlanders in Denmark, which is based on a definition that includes those people with at least one parent born in Greenland and who were born in Greenland themselves as well (2002: 26-27). I personally prefer the definition used by Boeskov and Olsen (2006), who in their study on homeless Greenlanders in Copenhagen "have chosen to work with a definition, which takes the target group's own self-perception as point of departure, and focuses on identification and self-identification" (2006: 29, my translation). The authors also explain that such a definition is in line with Barth's approach to ethnic groups (1969) (Boeskov and Olsen (2006: 29), which I will turn to in chapter 2. Using this definition enabled me to select my informants first and foremost on the basis of their own belief that they are Greenlanders.

[6] Chapter 5 deals with statistical information in more detail.

[7] I use the term Inuit Nunangat to refer to the Inuit Homelands in Canada. The Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, which is the national Inuit organization in Canada, explains on its website that it has chosen to use the term Inuit Nunangat, which includes the land, water and ice, instead of the Greenlandic term Inuit Nunaat to refer to the four Inuit regions in Canada. See the website of Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (www.itk.ca).

Despite a persistent image of Inuit culture which partially stems from a strong focus on traditional Inuit life by researchers, as Sørensen and Riches for example discuss, it would be false to state that representations of urban life in the Arctic are non-existent. Susanne Dybbroe indicates that: "*Eskimo Townsmen* and *Arctic Townsmen*, by John and Irma Honigmann, published respectively in 1965 and 1970, documented the earliest development of permanent settlements in the Northwest Territories" (Dybbroe 2008: 16). Dybbroe explains that:

> The Honigmanns, and others, dealt with urbanism in terms of acculturation, emphasising the adaptation of Inuit values, norms and social organisation to urban settings that were dominated by a white colonial establishment (Graburn 1969; Honigmann and Honigmann 1965, 1970; Vallee 1962; Vanstone 1962). Urbanism, in a sense, was treated as an external condition to which Inuit accommodated. The point now is that Inuit communities are part of a generalised movement that has gained momentum in all the Arctic regions. Towns grow at a rapid pace, and people settle down in urban centres, often far away from their home areas (Csonka and Schweitzer 2004: 47ff; Statistics Canada 2003). Inuit societies are, in a word, *urbanising* (Dybbroe 2008: 16).

Dybbroe's contribution is published in a recent issue of the journal *Études/Inuit/Studies* on urban Inuit (Kishigami and Lee 2008) and is a good example of the growing interest in urbanization in the Arctic. Others, as we shall see in this book, have also stressed that including research on Inuit in urban areas makes good sense (see, for example, Petit and Visart De Bocarmé 2008: 44).

This urbanization also relates to Inuit who leave the Arctic and move to various places outside the Arctic. While the focus here is not on urbanization per se, the concept of urbanization does offer a useful framework for this study, especially where perceptions are concerned. In the *Arctic Human Development Report* (Einarsson, Larsen, Nilsson and Young 2004) where an overview of knowledge on human development in the Arctic in recent times is offered, it is stated that:

> While the impact of southern power centers on Arctic communities has long been noticed, Arctic communities are gradually expanding their reach south and thereby carrying Arctic social and cultural traditions into regions far removed from tundras and northern forests (Csonka and Schweitzer 2004: 65).

In 2011 *Megatrends* was published. In this publication nine trends in the Arctic related to consequences of global change are identified. Three trends relate closely to topics in this book and demonstrate the relevance of a study on these issues. These three trends are: "Increased urbanisation – a global trend also including the Arctic", "Demographic challenges – the old stay while the young leave" and "The Arctic needs to generate more Human Capital by investing more in its people"

(Rasmussen 2011: 9-11).[8] The discussions in this book will be useful for understanding such trends as well. A clear example is a presentation of reasons why Greenlanders move to Denmark. While I did not focus especially on young Greenlanders in Denmark, knowing more about migration reasons in general sheds light on challenges people might face at their place of origin and on what triggers migration.

This book first and foremost looks into experiences of Greenlanders in Denmark, and in addition offers a Canadian comparative perspective. It presents my representation of Greenlanders in Denmark/Inuit in southern Canada. It is heavily based on interviews with Inuit, but presented in this publication through my eyes. This book uses discussions on Arctic urbanization, migration and perceptions to comprehend experiences of Greenlanders in Denmark and places these experiences into a broader context by referring to experiences in Canada as well.

1.2 Background

Historically several examples can be found of Inuit being taken hostage and taken to Europe by European explorers. One of the best known is the example of Inuit taken by Martin Frobisher in the 16th century and brought back to England (Oswalt 1999: 25-33). Another story is that of Minik who was taken by Robert Peary to New York. This is also an example concerning Inuit outside the Arctic. Together with five others, Minik was taken from his home town in northern Greenland and transferred to New York. His father and three others died while there. Minik was able to go back to Greenland, but was by then estranged from his home country, and later returned to the US, where he died at an early age (Gilberg 1999: 45-46).[9] Another Greenlandic example is the visit by Pooq and Qiperoq to Denmark in 1724, where they for example met the king. Qiperoq died on the way back to Greenland, but Pooq was able to go back to Greenland and told his countrymen about his experiences in Denmark (Thisted 2007: 24-27).[10] Various similar examples of Inuit outside the Arctic can be added.[11] The Dutch author of children's books, Rob Ruggenberg, recently

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[8] For a follow-up on this publication based on a seminar see Hansen, Rasmussen, Olsen, Roto and Fredricsson (2012). In this report it is stated that: "Among the nine Megatrends three have been considered so important and requiring immediate attention that focusing on them through a seminar would be advantageous. These Megatrends include: Demographic challenges; Human capital plus Knowledge economy and Green growth" (2012: 7).

[9] For more on this history see also Harper (1986).

[10] For references to the first publications on Pooq and Qiperoq and for more information about Pooq and Qiperoq see, for example, Balle (1964), Bobé (1927) and Thisted (2007).

[11] For more examples of early Inuit experiences in Europe see, for example, *Eskimos in Europe. How they got there and what happened to them afterwards* by Bonnerjea (2004) and *Stimmen aus dem äußersten Norden. Wie die Grönländer Europa für sich entdeckten* by Harbsmeier (2001).

published *IJsbarbaar*, which is inspired by the history of a Greenlandic Inuk who was in the Netherlands in the 17th century (Ruggenberg 2011).[12]

In this study the focus is on Greenlanders in Denmark in recent years. Over the years Greenlanders in Denmark have been the focus of a number of studies and this book includes references to an extensive selection of sources on this subject. The past presence of Greenlanders in Denmark has, for example, also been documented in relatively early publications (see, for example, Bobé 1927; Bertelsen 1945). Two more recent and very comprehensive studies on Greenlanders in Denmark are that by Barfod, Nielsen and Nielsen (1974) and the study by Togeby (2002). Barfod et al. conducted research in 1971-72. Their study takes both Greenlandic students and other Greenlanders in Denmark into account. As this study was done more than 30 years ago, it is relevant to supplement it with research that is more concerned with the current situation. Lise Togeby conducted research on Greenlanders in Denmark in 2002. Her study is based on telephone interviews with 552 Greenlanders. It focuses mainly on the integration and participation of Greenlanders in Denmark and is less concerned with the society these migrants have left behind. This current study aims to look at both aspects of migration and is largely based on face-to-face interviews. Various other studies, for example, those published by the North Atlantic Group in the Danish parliament (NAGDP 2007, 2011a, 2011b), offer important contemporary information on Greenlanders in Denmark and are used to discuss my findings.

Some of the topics covered in studies on Greenlanders in Denmark include, amongst others, "the" definition of a Greenlander/Who is Greenlandic? (see, for example, Boeskov and Olsen 2006; Mondrup 2003; Sørensen 1993, 1997a, 1997b; Togeby 2002); Greenlanders' command of Danish and/or Greenlandic (see, for example, Barfod et al. 1974; Bertelsen 1945; Mondrup 2003; Togeby 2002), discrimination against Greenlanders in Denmark (see, for example, Barfod et al. 1974; Laage-Petersen [report by the Institut for Menneskerettigheder [IMR]] 2013; Togeby 2002), Greenlandic students in Denmark (see, for example, Barfod et al. 1974; Bertelsen 1945; Chemnitz 2001, 2005), and *socialt udsatte grønlændere* [socially vulnerable Greenlanders] (see, for example, Boeskov and Olsen 2006; Christensen 2011; Rådet for Social Udsatte 2014; Schiermacher 2010; Socialministeriet 2003).[13] [14]

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[12] In the Netherlands the philosopher Stine Jensen has in a book and a documentary recently paid some attention to Greenlanders in Denmark, mainly to the dark history of a group of Greenlandic children sent to Denmark in 1951 in order to learn and "become" Danish and to set an example for the future of Greenland as part of the Danification of Greenland (Jensen 2013a: 50-53; 2013b). This history forms the basis for the feature film *Eksperimentet* [The Experiment] which was released in 2010 and will be discussed in more detail in this book.

[13] In a report by Socialministeriet (2003) *socialt udsatte grønlændere* are defined as "a group of Greenlanders in Denmark, who have social problems. It can, for example, be homelessness, various forms of abuse, social isolation, plus various psychological and health-related problems" (2003: 3, my translation). The English term "socially vulnerable Greenlanders" is, for

The above mentioned topics are also fruitful when looking into the Canadian context. The anthropologist Nobuhiro Kishigami has done fieldwork among Inuit in Montreal. Kishigami points out that: “To date little anthropological attention has been paid to the lives of urban-dwelling Inuit” (Kishigami 2006: 206-207). Several of the comments made by Kishigami are useful for cross-cultural comparison. He, for example, suggests “that cultural identity is a tool for an Inuk to live with his fellow Inuit in daily life, and that ethnic identity is a political tool developed specially for both urban and arctic Inuit to deal with others in a multi-ethnic society” (Kishigami 2002a: 189). In addition to Kishigami’s work, other publications on Inuit in southern Canada (see, for example, Patrick and Tomiak 2008) also offer material for a comparative perspective. In my own research I will look into identifications and scrutinize whether differences between Greenlanders in Denmark and Inuit in southern Canada can be identified at this point.

1.3 Definition of the problem

As described above in this book I focus on experiences of Greenlanders in Denmark. Several discussions in the studies mentioned above will be continued in this study. This book, based on a qualitative approach, will add to previous research on Greenlanders in Denmark by looking at various issues related to identity which include discussions on representations and self-representations, language, food, nature and networks.

Sørensen, who has written about Danes and Greenlanders moving between Denmark and Greenland, stresses that:

> Both migrations are therefore perceived as problematic, although problematic each in their own way. Where the Greenlandic migration is mainly associated with emotional problems, a feeling of loss and homesickness, the Danish migration is associated with rational strategy and material profit. Where the Greenlandic migration is often seen as a result of circumstances that are outside of the individual’s control, the Danish migration is mainly seen as being controlled by the individual (Sørensen 1993: 31, my translation).

And he explicates that: “In general, it is not uncommon that the stay in Denmark is compared to a test, and is talked about through words such as ‘endure’, ‘manage’

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example, also used on the website of the Social Development Centre SUS. SUS is involved in this field through, for example, maintaining a network for various people working with socially vulnerable Greenlanders (website: www.sus.dk/english).

[14] Additional sources, for example, include sources on specific groups of Greenlanders in Denmark, for example, on East-Greenlanders in Denmark (Perrot 1974), Greenlanders in Copenhagen (Senholt 1996), Greenlandic children in Denmark (Christensen 2010), Greenlandic pupils in Denmark (Jensen 2001; Bryld 2010), disabled Greenlanders in Denmark (Jensen and Knigge 2008), elderly Greenlanders in Denmark (Posborg 2000; Østergaard 2003) and imprisoned Greenlanders in Denmark (Bryld and Helweg 1992).

and even 'survive'" (Sørensen 1993: 36, my translation). Sørensen explains that: "In the literature about Greenlanders in Denmark the focus has primarily been on what could be called the social psychological aspects of the matter" (1993: 35, my translation). Togeby's study (2002) can be considered to be a study, which contributes to new perspectives by investigating the participation by Greenlanders in civic life in Denmark.

Perspectives presented in the reports by the North Atlantic Group in the Danish Parliament (2007, 2011a, 2011b) and the report *Mobilitet i Grønland. Sammenfattende analyse* [*Mobility in Greenland. Summary Analysis*] (Rasmussen 2010) also offer another representation of Greenlanders in Denmark.[15] They present an image of Greenlanders living in Denmark as a potentially useful resource for Greenlandic society (see, for example, NAGDP 2011a: 4). Various perspectives, perceptions and representations are therefore topics clearly relevant to this research and important to include when discussing internal and external identification or categorization, which together shape identity (Jenkins 2011: 3). In this context, identifications related to language, networks, food and nature are also important to discuss.

In addition to offering an update of various topics already discussed in earlier research, such as definitions of Greenlanders/Inuit, language use, discrimination, perceptions etc., this study adds to earlier studies in several ways, for example through the comparative perspective, which I will explain in more detail below.[16] Furthermore, I include a broad perspective by also paying attention to return migration and describing linkages between Greenland and Denmark. Such linkages between Greenland and Denmark help to understand the context in which the movements and identity processes I describe take place. Another perspective to take into account is the Arctic context, which is a broader context than the Greenland-Denmark context and offers an additional perspective. Furthermore, empirical data collected through fieldwork is key material for this book. Therefore discussions explored in this work are based on new data, which can be put in

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[15] In the report *Mobilitet i Grønland. Sammenfattende analyse* [*Mobility in Greenland. Summary Analysis*] it is explained that the research data on Greenlandic mobility patterns is presented in various reports. This report, *Mobilitet i Grønland. Sammenfattende analyse* (Rasmussen 2010), offers an overview of the data. In the report it is also made clear that various organizations, including Statistics Greenland, have been involved in the research on mobility. For the part on Greenlanders in Denmark the cooperation with the North Atlantic Group in the Danish Parliament and Statistics Denmark is mentioned (Rasmussen 2010: 10-12). In this book *Mobilitet i Grønland. Sammenfattende analyse* is referred to extensively. In relation to Greenlanders in Denmark, reports by the North Atlantic Group in the Danish Parliament should also be included. In a report by North Atlantic Group in the Danish Parliament the connection with the research mentioned above is also indicated as it is explained that the report forms part of "Mobilitetsundersøgelse" [Mobility Study] by Statistics Greenland in 2009 (2011a: 4). These reports are therefore closely linked and will be used in this book.

[16] Togeby (2002) offers comparative perspectives in her study by, for example, referring to Turkish migrants in Denmark and Sami in Oslo, Norway.

context by earlier publications. Moreover, by publishing in English, the research will be available to a broader public than many of the publications in Danish.

1.3.1 Comparative perspective

Comparing experiences of Greenlanders in Denmark with those of Inuit in southern Canada is of interest for several reasons. The present study displays differences between migrating to/living in a rather homogeneous country (Denmark) and a highly heterogeneous country (Canada). Overall this project offers an insight into the experiences of Inuit living outside the Arctic. The issues concerning migration and integration raised in this research are of interest in other areas of the world as well. Comparing experiences of Inuit in southern Canada with those of Greenlanders in Denmark therefore enables us to understand various migration experiences.

Both Inuit populations have to deal with the issue of language. Several Greenlanders have made me understand how important the Greenlandic language is to them. On the other hand there are Greenlanders, who do not have a thorough command of Greenlandic (see, for example, Mondrup 2003). The same goes for Canadian Inuit. Whereas Inuit from Nunavut often speak Inuktitut, Inuit from the Inuvialuit Settlement Region ("Nunaqput") (the western Canadian Arctic) mostly speak English (Dorais 2010: 221-222, 240-242). However, speaking the Inuit language is often considered to be a reason for calling yourself an Inuk (see, for example, Dorais 2010: 4). Therefore it is interesting to discuss how the language issue works outside the Arctic.

Another reason for comparing the experiences of both Inuit groups is their similar backgrounds and relations to the South. They both (have to) deal with a colonial past. Due to these historical relations, Denmark is in several ways clearly not a totally different country for Greenlanders. Greenlanders are Danish citizens and Inuit in Canada are Canadian citizens. Hereby their migration – or movement – to the South (either to Denmark in the case of Greenlanders or to southern Canada in the case of Canadian Inuit) is not hampered by migration policies as they are already legal citizens. This situation has some consequences, which will also be discussed.

In addition to the above mentioned similarities between the Canadian and the Danish cases, interesting differences will also be discussed. An additional aspect that makes a Canadian-Danish comparison interesting is that Inuit are not the only indigenous people in Canada as First Nations and Métis are also indigenous peoples in Canada. Greenlanders on the other hand, are the only indigenous people within the Kingdom of Denmark. What does such a difference mean for Inuit living in the South?

The topics mentioned above lead to the overall research question, which now focuses on Greenlanders in Denmark but is also useful for the Canadian perspective:

> How is Greenlandic identity manifested by Greenlanders in Denmark themselves and how is Greenlandic identity in Denmark represented by others?

Identity is first and foremost considered in two ways. It concerns both cultural and ethnic identity. I consider both internal and external identification or categorization in this publication (Jenkins 2011: 3). In order to understand experiences of Greenlanders in Denmark and Inuit in southern Canada in a broader context and to be able to answer the main research question, several sub-questions will guide the analysis. In the questions below, I again focus on issues to be addressed in the context of Greenlanders in Denmark. Similar questions can be used to understand the Canadian context. The guiding questions include:

- What does the Greenlandic-Danish context explain about movements between Greenland and Denmark?
- What do statistics tell us about Greenlanders in Denmark?
- Why do my informants decide to move to Denmark?
- How do they experience living in Denmark?
- How are Greenlanders in Denmark perceived by Danes and other Greenlanders?
- How do Greenlanders in Denmark perceive themselves?
- Which Greenlandic identifications help to understand Greenlandic experiences in Denmark?
- What role do various identifications play for Greenlanders in Denmark?
- How do experiences of Greenlanders in Denmark compare with experiences of Inuit in southern Canada?

Due to the focus on migration experiences in this study, this research will first and foremost look into experiences of Greenlanders who have moved to Denmark themselves. Therefore experiences of second and third generation Greenlanders in Denmark are only marginally covered in this research. I do include experiences of both men and women. Furthermore I also include experiences of people who have just moved to Denmark and those of people who have already lived in Denmark for several decades.

The questions mentioned above are addressed through a qualitative approach. To a certain extent statistical data on Greenlanders is available. This is important information, but at the same time it only offers information on Greenlanders in Denmark at the macro level. A qualitative approach enabled me to get to know some

informants much better and to discuss issues more than once. Nancy Foner (1999), who also explains that an anthropological approach makes following a large group of people difficult and that it has clearly not been unnoticed that conducting participant observation in a town/city frequently is a really hard task, writes:

> But anthropologists believe that by studying a small number of people at close-hand, in depth, and over a period of time, they are able to get a feel for what migrants' lives are like, and they can better understand migrants' beliefs, values, and ideas as well as the complex ways that they construct identities. Through participant observation, it is possible to see, as one of cultural anthropology's founding fathers, Bronislaw Malinowski, observed long ago, that the way people behave is not always the way they *say* they behave (1999: 1269).

The specifics of my approach, the methodology, methods and sources used in this study will be discussed in detail in chapter 3; a short overview of the approach used is presented here. The main data for this book was collected through fieldwork in Canada, Denmark and Greenland. First and foremost through interviews I conducted I will depict various experiences of my informants. These data collected through fieldwork will be supplemented with publications on Greenlanders in Denmark and on Inuit in southern Canada. Several important sources have already been mentioned above. In addition to the interviews, I will make use of several other sources as research material where relevant. Statistical data is, for example, used to indicate the number of Greenlanders in Denmark/Canadian Inuit residing in the South. For a better understanding of images and perceptions of Inuit I will, for example, refer to some fiction/novels and films/documentaries.

While the focus of this book lies with the experiences of Greenlanders in Denmark and its ambition is to elaborate on such experiences, it is also of interest with reference to broader global processes. It offers, amongst other things, insight into migration, networks, identity issues, the possibilities for a comparative perspective, and the use of various sources (including interviews and literary sources). The role of perceptions is one important topic in this book. The examples presented in this book can be examples of the Danish-Greenlandic case and are comparable to those in other contexts. The various aspects of internal identification may partially be specific to the Danish-Greenlandic case, but in other contexts too two languages are often used, for example, and new networks also need to be established. Reasons to migrate will – at least partially – be identical to those of migrants in other parts of the world. I hold that it is important to be aware of such resemblances. While “the” North/Arctic in certain ways is specific and different to other parts of the world, great differences within the North also exist. It can make one question what the North is (to whom) (see, for example, Grace 2007). However, what happens in the North also shows similarities to other parts in the world. These similarities should not be neglected. While appreciating a region's specific

characteristics can be very positive, I hold that this should not lead to a view which merely stresses uniqueness and thereby inclines to exoticism. In this view I strongly identify with Riches (1990) and Sørensen (2008).

1.4 Outline of the book

This chapter has presented the research subject and the research questions. It has also stated that the focus is on Greenlanders in Denmark, but that the Canadian perspective also constitutes an important part. Chapter 2 presents the theoretical framework of this study, for which the concepts of migration and identity form the point of departure, but mobility is also included in this context. After first explaining migration and identity in their own terms, by looking at their development within the discipline of anthropology, the Arctic and studies on Inuit culture, the two main concepts will be combined to form the theoretical framework for this book. In chapter 3 the methodology will be presented. The ideas presented in this book are heavily based on anthropological fieldwork in Canada, Denmark and Greenland. This chapter on methodology will therefore explain how fieldwork was conducted and what constitutes the main material for this book. This also includes a reflection on the fieldwork and anthropology in general. As a next step the incorporation of additional sources will be discussed. The following chapter, chapter 4, scrutinizes historical and present relations between Denmark and Greenland in order to understand the consequences of the colonial past and more recent developments for migration to Denmark. Chapter 5 presents existing quantitative data on migration between Greenland and Denmark and on Greenlanders in Denmark. Chapter 6 explores various reasons Greenlanders have for moving to Denmark. It will also show that migration is not a one-way movement from Greenland to Denmark, but that, for example, return migration is also an important factor. The chapter also deals with Greenlanders' experiences of living in Denmark. Then in chapter 7 ascribed and self-ascribed identities, first and foremost cultural and ethnic, of Greenlanders in Denmark are scrutinized. The specifics of several identifications will be discussed. Chapter 8 offers the comparative perspective of this book. While different aspects of migration and identity formation have been described and discussed concerning Greenlanders in Denmark throughout the book, this chapter will place the discussions in a broader context by including experiences of Inuit in southern Canada. This chapter will offer explanations for similarities and differences between the experiences of Greenlanders in Denmark and those of Inuit in southern Canada. The conclusion will summarize the main findings of the book and answer the research question.

2 Migration and identity

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the main concepts and the theoretical framework of the book. The concepts of migration and identity are the points of departure for this framework. After first explaining migration and identity separately, the concepts will be combined in order to provide for this book's theoretical framework.

2.2 Migration

Migration is a much debated subject in the current world. The integration of newcomers is often a trigger for political debates. The rise of several populist parties in various Western European countries which strive for stricter immigration rules is a clear sign of this.[1] Migration influences many people. Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller explain that:

> The concept of the *migratory process* sums up the complex sets of factors and interactions which lead to international migration and influence its course. Migration is a process which affects every dimension of social existence, and which develops its own complex dynamics. The great majority of people in the world (97 per cent in 2000) (UNDESA, 2005) are not international migrants, yet their communities and way of life are changed by migration. The changes are generally much bigger for the migrants themselves, and they can be seen at every stage of the migratory process, whether in the country of origin, transit or destination (Castles and Miller 2009: 21).

I consider migration to be both the actual movement from one place to another and also the process of settling at the new location. For that reason the concept of the migratory process is very useful. In addition, it is important to stress that migration takes various forms. According to the *Human Development Report* of 2009, published by United Nations Development Programme, which chose human mobility and development as its topic for that year, most migrants by far can be described as internal migrants as they move within their own country. They constitute the largest group of migrants. The report estimates that there are about 200 million international migrants, without here stating which year(s) this number reflects. These are people who cross national boundaries, of whom the majority move between developing countries or from one developed country to another. Slightly more than one third of all international migrants migrated to a developed country from a developing country

[1] See Gardner for a description of the consequences of changed immigration rules for migration flows of Bangladeshi migrants (1995: 43-50).

(United Nations Development Programme 2009: 1-2). The observation that most migrants are internal migrants demonstrates that it makes good sense to look more closely at internal migration, which includes various movements presented in this book.

2.2.1 Migration and mobility

Mobility has become an important subject in order to understand the world in which we are living. The concept of mobility encompasses a larger variety of movements than migration does (Urry 2007). The increased interest in and usage of this concept is referred to by Urry as “The mobility turn” (Urry 2007: 6). Urry also suggests “a new cross or post-disciplinary *mobilities paradigm*” (2007: 18). Urry explains how George Simmel had already drawn attention to mobilities and Urry uses this to present his own ideas on mobilities (2007: 20-26). According to Urry the general use of the term mobility can be categorized into four main groups. He explains that “First, there is the use of mobile to mean something that moves or is *capable* of movement, as with the iconic mobile (portable) phone but also with the mobile person, home, hospital, kitchen, and so on” (2007: 7), “Second, there is the sense of mobile as a *mob*, a rabble or an unruly crowd” (2007: 8), “Third, there is the sense of mobility deployed in mainstream sociology/ social science. This is upward or downward *social* mobility” (2007: 8) and “Fourth, there is mobility in the longer sense of migration or other kinds of semi-permanent geographical movement” (2007: 8). Urry further divides mobility into five mobilities, which are in short: 1. “The *corporeal* travel of people”, 2. “The physical movement of *objects*”, 3. “The *imaginative* travel”, 4. “*Virtual* travel” and 5. “The *communicative* travel” (2007: 47). While these are often studied separately, Urry indicates that these mobilities are linked (2007: 47-48). I distil from this view on mobility that this concept includes a very broad interest in both people and things alike that “move” – or could move – and thereby affect life.

Mobility also entails questioning previous approaches. Urry presents various methodological suggestions (2007) and Vered Amit explains that:

> It has probably never been ‘easier’ to travel the world, for play or work. But much of this is travel without a safety net. It is surely time for us to address the appeals and vulnerabilities of many contemporary forms of mobility within their own terms rather than simply reproducing familiar anthropological frames of community, newly dressed in metaphors of flux and de-territorialization. Something else is happening here and we should be investigating it (2002: 41).

Amit, for example, suggests we should take an interest in disjunction and focus not so much (merely) on continuation or connections (2002). She, for example, found among migrants “a desire for ‘adventure’; ‘escape’ from predictable routines and unfulfilling jobs; for a ‘change’” (Amit 2012: 502). She stresses:

> So in the pendulum swings between rupture and continuity in the scholarly paradigms of mobility, we would be better advised to recognize that the dialectic between these orientations is mediated by the inherent uncertainties of mobility. Such a recognition should go some way towards ensuring a useful scepticism towards the various methodological biases of nationalism, ethnicity or transnationalism that have influenced the study of migration at different times (Amit 2012: 507-508).

Even though Amit's work for a large part is concerned with "temporary" migration, such as visits by international students and consultants (Amit 2012) and thus, as will be demonstrated, differs at least to some extent from the mobility of my informants, her ideas are useful in order to scrutinize the concept of migration. And this counts for Gardner's work as well. Based on fieldwork in Bangladesh Gardner, for example, explains that experiences of international migration also change a migrant's community (point of departure) in Bangladesh and also how local and global become interrelated through migration (Gardner 1995). I hold that change, disjunction/rupture and continuation (and I do consider the latter to be important, for example due to the postcolonial situation in which the movements described in this book take place) are important concepts to keep in mind in order to understand what is happening in relation to movements between Greenland and Denmark and between northern and southern Canada.

The question of whether Greenlanders in Denmark/Inuit in southern Canada are truly migrants or whether they are *just* mobile people is of interest in this context as well. I argue that both concepts, migration and mobility, are useful and applicable in understanding situations described in this book. As such, in an article by Sørensen (1993) on migration to and from Greenland, an appropriate term is presented in the title, namely the Danish word "bevægelser", which I would translate as "movements", a term also used in this book. The focus of this book is on migration, (as opposed to "travel"), on the (long-term) movement of people and on manifestations of Greenlandic culture in Denmark, for which at least some form of settlement in Denmark seems required. This book will study the complexity of migration, the different movements that take place and how mobility plays out in this part of the world.[2] It will thereby demonstrate similarities with movements worldwide and make clear that Greenlanders/Inuit partake in mobilities as other world citizens do. Also for the sake of clarity, the concepts of migration and migrant are used extensively as analytical concepts in this book. I conceive the concept of mobility as a means to see the broader processes that take place in which migration constitutes one movement. Other movements are important as well in order to better understand this one form of movement, which is the focus of this book, migration. In this book

[2] As an example of contemporary mobility in the Arctic, a presentation at the 7th International Conference on Population Geographies in June, 2013 in Groningen by Collignon (2013) on Inuit mobility, including, for example, travel for a holiday, could be mentioned.

various examples of mobility are clearly present. I consider migration to be more specific than mobility. The latter is a useful concept in order to place various processes to be discussed in this book in a broader perspective, thereby being of use to a broader research community, while the former indicates more clearly the focus of this book on the movement of people and the relation of this to identity and ethnicity. As will be shown, anthropologists are often interested in the relation between these concepts.

2.2.2 Migration in anthropology

Brettell explains that it took some time before anthropologists really began to take in interest in migration. This was due to the belief that cultures were fixed and rather unchangeable, which was not compatible with migration (Brettell 2008: 113). Brettell states that: “As anthropologists progressively rejected the idea of cultures as discretely bounded, territorialized, relatively unchanging, and homogenous units, thinking and theorizing about migration became increasingly possible” (Brettell 2008: 113). However, since the 1930s, and possibly earlier, anthropologists have taken an interest in migration processes, and the Manchester School of anthropology was most prominent in this. During the 1940s and 1950s urbanization and related processes in south central Africa triggered the anthropological interest in migration. Now migration is an important subject within the discipline (Vertovec 2007: 961-963).

As presented in the first chapter some anthropologists became interested in the process of urbanization in the Arctic as well, as illustrated by ethnographies by the Honigmanns in 1965 and 1970 on urbanization among Canadian Inuit. More recent (including anthropological) research on urbanization in the Arctic has resulted in several publications (see, for example, Dybbroe, Dahl and Müller-Wille 2010; Forchhammer and Sørensen 2011; Hansen, Rasmussen and Weber 2013; Kishigami and Lee 2008; Sejersen 2007; Sejersen, Thisted and Thuesen 2008; Sørensen 2005, 2008; Sørensen, Lange and Holm 2003).

Migration is often explained by push and pull factors. To put it simply, the push factors are the reasons migrants have for leaving their place of origin and the pull factors are those that attract them to their place of destination (Castles and Miller 2009: 22). According to Castles and Miller describing push and pull factors is very important in economic descriptions of migration, “but is also used by some sociologists, demographers and geographers. It is individualistic and ahistorical. It emphasizes the individual decision to migrate, based on rational comparison of the relative costs and benefits of remaining at home or moving” (2009: 22). As will also be shown in this book, “migrants’ behaviour is strongly influenced by historical experiences as well as by family and community dynamics (Portes and Böröcz, 1989)” (Castles and Miller 2009: 23).

Brettell (2008) explains that because of the interest of anthropologists in culture anthropological studies on migration often concentrate “on adaptation and culture

change, on forms of social organization that are characteristic of both the migration process and the immigrant community, and on questions of identity and ethnicity" (Brettell 2008: 114). More recently transnationalism has become very popular within anthropological studies of migration and this looks into the connections migrants maintain between places of origin and destination. These connections include social ties and economic and social remittances, which demonstrate that migrants operate between the place of origin and the place of destination (Brettell 2008: 120-121). Transnationalism has grown since the 1990s (Vertovec 2007: 963-964) and:

> Transnationalism describes a condition in which, despite great distances and notwithstanding the presence of international borders (and all the laws, regulations and national narratives they represent), certain kinds of relationships have been globally intensified and now take place paradoxically in a planet-spanning yet common – however virtual – arena of activity (see among others, Glick Schiller, Basch and Szanton-Blanc 1992; Castells 1996; Hannerz 1996) (Vertovec 1999: 447).

Anthropological studies of migration also look into the effects of migration on, for example, ethnic identity and also into how cultural change is shaped by the migration experience (Brettell and Hollifield 2008b: 4-5). In addition, Vertovec stresses that:

> Studies of ethnicity – group formation and maintenance, identities, associations and politics – still certainly abound in anthropology today; but perhaps it is now dealt with more as a secondary category of analysis rather than as a core theoretical focus as in the 1980s. Such a shift has not only occurred due to the rise of other topics of interest like transnationalism and gender, but also to the emergence of notions of hybridity (see Caglar 1997), creolization (see Palmié 2006) and cosmopolitanism (the 2006 Diamond Jubilee conference of the Association of Social Anthropologists [ASA] was devoted to this theme). Ethnicity may well remain a crucial component in the study of any of these topics, but it is no longer the focus per se; indeed, such topics serve to challenge many longstanding understandings of ethnicity. It is worth contemplating whether the seeming relegation of ethnicity and the rise of such other topics of study since the early 1990s not only relate to real global flows and new admixtures, but to broad 'anti-essentialist' shifts in methodology. Many anthropologists harbour anxieties over being labeled as 'essentialist' if they dare describe almost any characteristic of a group or category (cf. Grillo 1998, pp. 195ff). Transnationalism, hybridity, creolization and cosmopolitanism are all conceptual devices that anthropologists and others now use to get beyond purportedly bounded and fixed understandings of groups and cultures which, fairly or not, have been associated with studies of ethnicity (Vertovec 2007: 964-965).

Vertovec, for example, also stresses that the interrelations between various groups have not been studied so much by anthropologists (Vertovec 2007: 963). How I employ these various suggestions will be presented in this chapter.

2.2.3 Migration and mobility in the Arctic

In this study the concept of migration is used to describe the movement of Inuit to another locality and also encompasses their experiences as migrants at those new locations. In this case it first and foremost means a movement from Greenland to Denmark and from Arctic Canada to southern Canada. This form of out-migration is the focus of this study, but other forms of migration such as return migration and internal migration will also be included. In the case of Greenlanders moving from Greenland to Denmark one could argue that this kind of migration concerns the movement from one country to another, but the movement does take place within the Kingdom of Denmark. In the case of Inuit in Canada, moving from the North to the South, the migration occurs in one and the same country. These flows can be considered to be part of larger migrations flows, those that take place in, into and from the Arctic.

Here I will suffice by mentioning some of the current migration trends in the Arctic as discussed in *Migration in the Circumpolar North*: *Issues and Contexts* (Huskey and Southcott 2010a).[3] It helps to see the migration of Inuit in a broader context. In the Arctic people move for various reasons including schooling, family and employment opportunities (Huskey and Southcott 2010b: v). Various types of population movement take place in the Arctic, but in general the Arctic is a sending region (Huskey and Southcott 2010b: iv). However, return migration is also a factor in the Arctic (Huskey and Howe 2010: 15), just as stepwise migration, which constitutes migration from smaller villages to ever larger communities (Hamilton 2010: 4; Huskey and Howe 2010: 16; Huskey and Southcott 2010b: v). Differences between indigenous and non-indigenous peoples concerning migration are also of interest. According to Southcott it is because indigenous peoples in Canada conceive of the North as being their homeland that they move less than the non-indigenous population in the North (Southcott 2010: 51). Hamilton shows that Inuit experience gender mismatches because more women leave their native villages than men (Hamilton 2010: 2-7).[4]

Due to the interest globally in the Arctic, it is important to also take into account possible consequences of this global interest. There is major interest in the Arctic worldwide. What happens in the North due to climate change has a worldwide impact. What will be the consequences of the melting of the ice and subsequent sea

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[3] My review of this book was published in *Polar Geography* (Terpstra 2011). For another contribution on Arctic migration, see Heleniak (2014).

[4] See *Polar Geography* 32(1-2), edited by Edwards (2009), for a special issue: *Migration in Northern Russia and Alaska*.

level rise for lower countries such as the Netherlands? In *Megatrends* climate change is also included as one of the nine trends, and reads: "Continued pollution and ongoing climate change will have a significant impact on the nature and environment of the Arctic" (Rasmussen 2011: 11). The community of Shismaref, Alaska, is, for example, in danger of disappearing due to erosion of the coast close to where people live. Similar events caused by climate change are taking place in other parts of the Arctic (Rasmussen 2011: 35-36).

But the global interest also takes another dimension, because what happens when, for example, more oil and gas are discovered in the Arctic? Already now several international companies are interested in having their industries established in the Polar North. Rasmussen explains that:

> Mining and large scale industrial developments are expected to contribute significantly to changing Greenland over the next decade. From a country primarily based on fishing and hunting, minerals and energy may very well become the main contributors to the economy (Rasmussen 2011: 119).

Such developments can also have a major impact on migration flows into the Arctic. The local populations in the Arctic are small and such possible future megaprojects need a larger skilled labor force than the local communities can possibly provide (Rasmussen 2011: 115-121). Due to such possible projects in Greenland, a large study on mobility has been conducted, in which individuals in Greenland and Greenlanders in Denmark participated. The research was, for example, meant to find out whether Greenlanders in Denmark would be interested in returning to Greenland and whether job possibilities related to new industries impacted an interest in moving to Greenland (Rasmussen 2010: 11-12, 22-23). This research will be discussed in more detail in subsequent chapters. But here it is interesting to note that these discussions can and most likely will become very important to the future of the Arctic. This is also demonstrated in *Megatrends*, which includes the chapter: *The need for human capital* (Rasmussen 2011: 104-123).

To conclude I would also mention the arrival of newcomers to the Arctic so far.[5] Because in what by some will be considered to be the remote corners of our world, migrants from different countries have in fact settled. Statistics show that Icelanders (180) form the largest migrant group, not including the Danes here, in Greenland, followed by people from Thailand (152), Filipinos (119) and Swedes (99) (Statistics Greenland 2013: 24-25). Newcomers have also settled in other Arctic areas. The presence of a mosque in the western Canadian Arctic town of Inuvik is another indication of this development (CBC News 2010). While the impact of such newcomers on the Arctic might still be small, it is interesting to see how they perceive the North. Having a different relation to the Arctic to the former colonized

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[5] *Megatrends* includes cases of "The Poles" and "The Thais" in the Arctic (Rasmussen 2011: 115-121).

and the colonizers, what do they think of the North? In the *Arctic Human Development Report* one of the identified "gaps in knowledge" also concerns the settlers in the Arctic and states: "We need to learn more about the experiences of recent settlers in the Arctic and their interactions with the region's indigenous peoples" (Young and Einarsson 2004b: 239).

2.2.4 Migration, mobility and Inuit

Traditionally Inuit led (semi-)nomadic lifestyles. As such the term mobility seems appropriate to describe these lifestyles. Pamela R. Stern explains that:

> Aside from the Inupiat in North Alaska, before the establishment of government-administered towns and villages in the 19th and 20th centuries, Inuit did not live in permanent settlements. Even without permanent settlements, however, Inuit did create stable communities that were associated with specific regions (Stern 2010: 55).

Major changes in ways of living occurred at different times in the different Inuit regions (see for various examples and experiences, for example, Stern 2010: 57-61; Dahl 1988; Nuttall 2000; Csonka 2005). The modern Danish colonization of Greenland started in the 1720s (Petersen 1995: 119), and: "West Greenland was the first Inuit area to be intensively colonized and missionized, beginning in 1721" (Csonka 2005: 327). In relation to Inuit in Canada, Canadian officials held on to a "*laissez-faire*" policy, which was first changed in the 1950s (Damas 2002 in Csonka 2005: 327). One of the major postwar changes for Inuit in both Canada and Greenland has been the centralization or urbanization in their areas. This development has had far-reaching consequences for the Inuit. In Greenland the increased migration to larger towns, for example, has led to ethnic tensions between Danes and Greenlanders (Nuttall 2000: 385). Dybbroe, Dahl and Müller-Wille explain that: "In the 1960s and 1970s, when the assimilation and urbanization policies swept across the Arctic, it gave rise to an increased ethnicity, which in the first instance reigned among the well-educated living in urban areas" (2010: 121).

Concerning the urbanization in Greenland, which will be described in more detail in chapter 4, Dahl states that: "People did not, first of all, settle in the towns but they were *settled* there as a consequence of planned developments" (Dahl 2010: 128). Policies can entail forced migration (Huskey and Southcott 2010b: vi) and as such this urbanization can also be explained as a form of forced migration. It has also been stressed that Inuit chose to move to the larger settlements for various reasons including job opportunities (Damas 2002 in Southcott 2010: 38). In addition, several examples of forced migration can be found in the Arctic (Stern 2010: 61-63). In *Relocating Eden. The Image and Politics of Inuit Exile in the Canadian Arctic* Alan Rudolph Marcus describes the relocation of Inuit to the Canadian High Arctic in 1953 and 1955 in detail. This new area in fact meant a major change for the relocated

Inuit who, for example, were not used to months of darkness in this location far more to the North than their place of origin (Marcus 1995: 103).[6]

These few examples already indicate that Inuit migration includes various forms of movement. This also corresponds with what Carlos Yescas Angeles Trujano describes in a report on indigenous migration. He explains that: “The internal and international migration of indigenous peoples has many facets including: (a) rural-rural migration; (b) rural-urban migration and urbanization; (c) displacement; (d) forced removal; and (e) return migration” (Yescas 2008: 21). This book deals first and foremost with the migration of Inuit out of the Arctic, which forms an important part of the migration experiences of Inuit in addition to the ones described above.

2.3 Identity and anthropology

In this research on migration and identity “the social constructionist perspective” is applied (see, for example, Jenkins (2011) who in his study on Danish identity/ethnicity employs this perspective (Jenkins 2011: 4). Discussions within anthropology on identity can in short be summarized as:

> The primordialist approach, which prevailed until the 1960s, argues that ethnic identity is the result of deep-rooted attachments to group and culture; the instrumentalist approach focuses on ethnicity as a political strategy that is pursued for pragmatic interests; and the situational approach, emerging from the theoretical work of Frederik Barth (1969), emphasizes the fluidity and contingency of ethnic identity, which is constructed in specific historical and social contexts (Banks 1996) (Brettell 2008: 131-132).

While the primordialist approach considers ethnic identity to be something people originally have, the situational approach based on the ideas of Fredrik Barth, stresses that identity is a construction which is produced in interaction with others. Barth’s introduction to the publication *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (1969) has been a groundbreaking work within anthropology. In the introduction of this edited volume, he states that ethnic groups do not continue to exist because of isolation. Instead boundaries and interaction between groups should be studied (Barth 1969). It is this view that considers identity to be socially constructed. Barth stresses the identification from two sides, by both insiders and outsiders. That is “the characteristic of self-ascription and ascription by others” (1969: 13).

In this book I focus on ethnic and cultural identity. Ethnic identity relates to one’s ethnicity. Ethnicity can be described as “perceived differences in culture,

[6] In August in 2010 Johan Duncan, the Canadian minister of Indian Affairs, offered an apology for the High Arctic Relocation and, for example, spoke these words: “The Government of Canada deeply regrets the mistakes and broken promises of this dark chapter of our history and apologizes for the High Arctic relocation having taken place” (Duncan 2010).

origin, and historical experience by which groups of people are distinguished from others in the same social environment" (Nanda and Warms 1998: 265). My study looks at Inuit identity outside the Arctic and is as such directly linked to ethnicity. Historically Inuit perceive themselves and have been/are perceived by others on many occasions as being different from Euro-Canadians and/or Danes. Furthermore, I have focused on Inuit migrants who have migrated themselves – the first generation – and as such it can be expected that they (still) attach a certain value to this origin. A useful definition of ethnic identity is given by Dorais and Searles who state that:

> Ethnic identity is, in this context, the consciousness which a group (whose members are deemed to have the same geographic origins, phenotype, language, or way of life – or a mix of all that) has of its economic, political and cultural distinctiveness in relation to other groups bounded by the same nation-state. If an ethnic group seeks hegemony over a well-defined territory, its identity will most often be labeled national (Dorais and Searles 2001: 19).

Culture can be understood as: "The learned behaviors and symbols that allow people to live in groups, the primary means by which humans adapt to their environments. The way of life characteristic of a particular human society" (Nanda and Warms 1998: 381). According to Oosten and Remie:

> Cultural identities refer to ideas and concepts as well as to cultural practices articulated in behavior patterns such as food sharing, or styles of dress and material culture. People themselves are very much aware of subtle differences indicated by slight variations in e.g. speech, dress, or behavior that tend to escape the outside observer's notice. An ongoing process of construction and communication is essential to the formation of cultural identities. Each act can be viewed as a statement concerning the identity of a person and only those who understand the intricacies implied can assess their value and meaning. Ethnic identity tends to be more obvious to an outsider.
>
> With Dorais we view ethnic identity as a politicized identity (Oosten and Remie 1999: 2).

This explanation of both concepts of identity helps us to understand how the two concepts differ from each other. In my opinion it is important to stress that (various) identities mark both differences and similarities between people. Furthermore people have knowledge of such differences and depending on the context might act accordingly. People use/emphasize/(re-)construct different identities according to what is useful/possible in a specific situation. This also relates to Kishigami, who concerning cultural identity and ethnic identity among Inuit in Canada states that: "The former is reproduced through socio-cultural practices in Inuit ways and the

latter is maintained through interaction with others and use of ethnic symbols in multi-ethnic situations" (Kishigami 2004: 89).

In this study I will also use the concept of identification. I borrow from Richard Jenkins who explains that "identities emerge out of the interaction between *internal* self-identification or group identification, on the one hand, and the *external* categorisation done by others, on the other" (Jenkins 2011: 3). In his study on ethnic identity in Denmark, Jenkins comes up with four paradoxes of ethnic identification, of which I present two here. I find these stimulating for a study on Greenlanders in Denmark. As his first paradox he states that:

> Although identification is an active process in which we engage throughout our lives – and therefore identity is in principle, and regularly in practice, negotiable and changeable – identities that are firmly established and reinforced in early life may be highly resistant to change. This means that while some ethnic identifications, for example, may exhibit a degree of flexibility, others are robust and resistant to change (Jenkins 2011: 18).

For Inuit who have been brought up in a Greenlandic or Arctic Canadian context with "ethnic" Danes or Euro-Canadians who (might have) formed a minority in number but (at times) a majority concerning power, where boundaries between groups were already present just as interaction between the groups, their ethnic identity might be considered to be more robust and seeing how this works out in their place of destination is therefore very relevant. The other paradox explains that ethnic identification is done in everyday life. This is where it is produced and reproduced, for which reason a study of peoples' experiences forms the perfect point of departure. Therefore just as Jenkins describes it so nicely in relation to his research interest by stating: "These concerns can be summarised as an empirical interest in 'being Danish' as an everyday process, and 'Danishness' as an everyday, vernacular ideological construct" (Jenkins 2011: 19), this study takes an empirical interest in "being Greenlandic in Denmark/Inuit outside the Arctic" as an everyday process. The question then is, how does this occur and what identifications are emphasized in this process?

2.4 Identity and Inuit

Inuit are indigenous people in four different countries and due to different (colonial) experiences, identities/identifications also vary. A pan-Inuit identity is however present. The Inuit Circumpolar Council, for example, represents the Inuit from the four different countries. Due to increased international contact, Inuit have in certain arenas chosen to represent themselves as one group. The Inuit Circumpolar Council is, for example, one of the permanent participants in the Arctic Council.[7]

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[7] See the website of the Arctic Council for more information on its permanent participants (www.arctic-council.org).

The indigenous peoples of the North have triggered the fascination of many. As a consequence many studies on Inuit life have been published. Inuit are one of several indigenous peoples of the North. Others include the Sami in Northern Scandinavia and Russia and the Nenets and many other indigenous groups in Russia. Differences between Inuit do not only exist between the Inuit from the four countries, but also between Inuit within those countries. In Greenland differences between the areas most clearly exist between the west, north and east (see, for example, Petersen 1977 in Dahl 1988: 75-76; Nuttall 2000: 384). In relation to perceptions of Inuit, Remie and Oosten conclude that:

> From the outset till recently (and perhaps even till the present day), Inuit have been viewed by *qallunaat* as ‘savages’. And although the image of the ‘brutal savage’ of the early days of the explorers may have made way for an image of a ‘usable savage’ and that of a ‘savage with a human face in need of civilized care’, the persistent element in the definition is ‘savage’ as opposed to ‘civilized’ (Remie and Oosten 1999: 20).

Such perceptions are ascriptions and as such forms of identification. This relates to ascribed identity. It conveys how others perceive Inuit.

Due to the fact that this study also looks into ascribed identity of Greenlanders in Denmark, Danish views on Greenlanders need to be presented here as well. These views of course offer insight into ascribed identities. How others have seen “the” Greenlanders, changes over time. Ole Høiris (1983) describes the views on Greenlanders within Danish anthropology before World War II in an article and also describes how people might change views in the course of their life/career. I suffice here by mentioning some of the developments described by Høiris. He explains that Hans Egede, for example, saw Greenlanders as pagans, who he wanted to convert. Høiris explains that Egede also saw them as “cool-headed, stupid and insensitive, as well as lacking authorities, law, order and discipline” (Høiris 1983: 31, my translation). In relation to Egede’s views Høiris states that:

> Thus the scene was set for two of the themes, which also in the future were important in the view of the Greenlanders, that is the Greenlanders were different and had to be changed, and that the Greenlandic women were in an especially poor state. The framework for the treatment of these themes would change a lot in the course of time, but the essence stayed the same (Høiris 1983: 32, my translation).

Both Heinrich Johannes Rink and Gustav Holm, in the next stage of describing Greenlanders, were more positive. While they saw problems among those who were colonized, problems which they ascribed to the colonization, they saw positive aspects among those Greenlanders who had had much less contact with Danes. With Knud Rasmussen, who later also took a Darwinistic evolution theory perspective, a more romantic and anti-civilization view arose. Greenlanders in this

view were free people and thus real people. Later Rasmussen saw positive sides of Danish colonization and the interaction of Greenlanders with Danes, which had enabled Greenlanders to mature. While Kaj Birket-Smith had criticized a view of Greenlanders as children, he later expressed a view which does in certain ways seem to perceive Greenlanders [nature people] as children, and just as for example Egede and H.P. Steensby had done before him, Birket-Smith also reflected upon the role of Eskimo women. In his view Eskimo men were less primitive than Eskimo women (Høiris 1983: 30-46). This clearly shows that views change over time. Despite the reappearance of certain themes, Høiris' overview also demonstrates that ascribed identity is flexible, not fixed.

Based on the names given to places in Greenland, Robert Petersen explains that he considers "this strategy of naming places as a sign that Greenlandic identity was first and foremost a local identity" (Petersen 2001: 321). He believes "that the knowledge of the European visitors made it more obvious that Greenland Inuit formed a distinct ethnic group. At least, in different colonies, the Danish civil servants and other colonists became the *others*" (Petersen 2001: 323). In 1861 the newspaper *Atuagagdliutit* was established and Thomsen writes that the newspaper enabled people at local level to see themselves as part of an "imagined community" – to provide them with an identity as Greenlander (1998: 27-28).[8] And Thomsen explains that:

> With the teacher-training college and with the newspaper *Atuagagdliutit* the concept of kalaaleq/kalaallit = Greenlander/s also started to be disseminated as a shared basis for identification. The concept has been known since the start of colonization, but was originally only used by the foreigners in Greenland, and not by the permanent »inhabitants«, as Poul Egede wrote in his dictionary in 1750 (Thuesen 1988; H.C. Petersen 1991) (1998: 27-28, my translation).

On the other hand Langgård claims that an imagined community existed before the start of *Atuagagdliutit* exactly because contributors to the periodical did already have words to describe the country and the people – "kalaleeq" – which readers could relate to (Langgård 2011: 323-324).

In this newspaper different discussions on Greenlandic identity took place. This was especially the case during the 1910s and 1920s. For some, hunting seals and using the kayak were important in this context. Others preferred a focus on, for example, speaking the Greenlandic language and knowledge of Greenlandic history (Langgård 2011: 340-344). As we will see later on, during certain eras in Greenland, Danish became an important language in Greenland as well. The language was, for example, considered as a means to acquire education (Langgård 2011: 352-355).

[8] See Anderson (1983) for the origin and idea of the concept of "imagined community".

Nowadays, as will also be shown in this book, people who identify themselves as Greenlandic do not necessarily speak Greenlandic or hunt.

While *Atuagagdliutit* has thus been very important in facilitating such debates, later on, from the 1940s, radio and in the course of time television also contributed to the spreading of news. The establishment of different associations and better infrastructure further enabled the development of a Greenlandic identity (Petersen 2001: 324). Greenlandic national identity has also been reinforced by symbols such as "the national anthem", "the national day", "flag" and "coat of arms" (Kleivan 1991: 4-16). Of importance was also the presence of Greenlanders in Copenhagen during the 1960s and 1970s (Kleivan 1969/70 in Thomsen 1998: 44). When the left wing environment in Denmark criticized society and saw indigenous peoples in a positive light, Greenlanders started to use this view to their advantage (Thomsen 1998: 44). So in the course of time different happenings have contributed to the development or construction of a Greenlandic ethnic identity. These are clear signs of the fact that identity is not fixed. It is in constant change. Both internal and external identification change thus over time.

An important aspect of Greenlandic identity is its relation to Danish identity. In her poem *My country is Greenlandic* Katti Frederiksen writes that the I person is "Greenlandic" and also that the I person has "Danish citizenship" (Frederiksen 2012: 7).[9] And this of course is the case, you can call yourself Greenlandic but for now Greenlanders have a Danish passport. This is an aspect that differentiates Inuit from the four different countries. They are American, Canadian, Danish or Russian. But whether they identify as American, Canadian, Danish or Russian is another question. The relation with Danes intensified for Greenlanders during the 1950s and 1960s when more and more Danes came to Greenland in order to work there (Nuttall 2000: 385). As will be shown in this book interrelations between Danes and Greenlanders have in the course of time also become common and in this context, for children from mixed parents the term "halv grønlænder" [half Greenlander] is heard (see, for example, Sørensen 1997b). And on the other hand, being Greenlandic does not only mean not being Danish. As Petersen explains, and Thomsen illustrates as well, when soccer is played, Greenlanders side with the Danish team and identify with them (Petersen 1990 in Thomsen 1998: 46). Such examples show that Greenlanders choose between various identities. They can be Greenlandic, but also Danish and a trend towards a more globalized identity is clearly on the rise (Thomsen 1998: 46-49). Ulrik Pram Gad (2009), for example, discusses the possibility of introducing English as a second language in Greenland in order to create distance from Denmark and in this context also suggests a "*post-post-colonial* Greenlandic identity" (Gad 2009: 149). Kirsten Thisted describes how

[9] The original poem, included in the same publication (2012: 6) is written in Danish and called *Mit land er grønlandsk*.

the Greenlandic youth play an important part in constructing new identities (see, for example, Thisted 2011a). She states that:

> The young people made it very clear, that they could not or did not want to identify themselves with something that even slightly smelled of a victim role. Probably that was also why they rather wanted to talk about globalization than about colonization. The global is a possibility to break with the old connection between Denmark and Greenland and try out new relations, in which one stands if not entirely free, at any rate in a much more open position in relation to the negotiation of identity positions than in the relation to the old colonial power (Thisted 2011a: 602-603, my translation).

So clearly identity is changeable and through time approached in different ways by different people.

One constant factor in debates concerning Greenlandic identity seems to be the Greenlandic language discussed above. Petersen explains that: “Various symbols – origin, language, eating habits, social status, occupation, etc. – are often used in Greenland in order to describe identity” (Petersen 1985: 295). Thus other symbols have also been used to represent Greenlandic identity. Country food and the importance of being on the land, “living off the land”, are often seen as an important part of Inuit identity in general (Searles 2010; Van Dam 2008: 144-153). But again when hunting becomes less important and more people start working in the service sector such identifications take on a different role to before. For Greenlanders in Denmark their movement means yet another step away from what traditionally might be seen to be an indicator of Greenlandic identity, namely, living in Greenland. Sørensen explains that: “When you are a Greenlander, you naturally belong in Greenland, and exceptions to this rule are expected in part to give cause for problems of an emotional nature, and in part to have to be explained and legitimized” (1993: 31, my translation).[10] Togeby, in reference to an idea presented by Sørensen (1994), makes a similar point by stating that the idea that, for example, speaking Greenlandic, having two Greenlandic parents and living in Greenland are required to be truly Greenlandic, makes it difficult for Greenlanders living in Denmark to fulfill all of the requirements – and to be truly Greenlandic (2002: 23). Greenlanders in Denmark live in a different country, where, for example, the language, the country, the food and the land are less accessible. It will be interesting to investigate what this means for Greenlandic identifications. Interestingly Thomsen makes reference to the former member of the Greenlandic parliament Emil Abelsen who has indicated that mobility is a clear sign of Greenlandicness (Thomsen 1998: 22), which of course is an interesting ascription in relation to the theme of this book.

[10] In the article Sørensen (1993) also shows that the idea exists that Danes moving to and living in Greenland is not a natural happening either.

2.5 Migration and identity

The concepts of migration and identity are often combined in an anthropological study on migration. According to Brettell and Hollifield a key question for anthropologists interested in migration is: “How does migration effect cultural change and affect ethnic identity?” (Brettell and Hollifield 2008b: 4). They explain that:

> Anthropologists who study migration are interested in more than the who, when, and why; they want to capture through their ethnography the experience of being an immigrant and the meaning, to the migrants themselves, of the social and cultural changes that result from leaving one context and entering another (Brettell and Hollifield 2008b: 5).

Studying both migration and identity also corresponds with Cohen’s statement “that people become aware of their culture when they stand at its boundaries: when they encounter other cultures, or when they become aware of other ways of doing things, or merely of contradictions to their own culture” (Cohen 1985: 69). A migrant is of course a perfect example of someone encountering another culture, who stands at the boundaries of his or her own culture and discovers what his or her own culture is about. Interestingly for Inuit, the culture they encounter at their new destination has through colonization at least to some extent already become part of their lives. For that reason Inuit outside the Arctic offer a remarkable opportunity to study migration and identity. In my view this situation is similar to that of other postcolonial migrants.

In a book on postcolonial migrants – migrants from the former Dutch colonies – in the Netherlands, Oostindie (2010) also refers to other countries with postcolonial migrants, and in this context he very briefly refers to Denmark.[11] However, the postcolonial present is hardly recognized here and postcolonial migration to Denmark is mentioned in the main text only in relation to the Danish Virgin Islands and the sale of the islands to the United States in 1917, which therefore, as explained by Oostindie, did not entail postcolonial migration to Denmark. The migration from Greenland to Denmark only appears in a note, with a reference to work by Karen Fog-Olwig, in which Greenlanders – and Faroese – in Denmark are referred to as “the modest migrant communities in Denmark” (Oostindie 2010: 232, 295; 2011: 259). However, this present study deals with one of these groups, that of Greenlanders in Denmark, who do constitute a rather large group when compared to the entire Greenlandic population. In addition, experiences of Inuit in southern Canada are also included. These two migrant groups can be considered to be postcolonial migrants. They are migrants from the former colony or colonized part of the country and they move to these parts of the world because of the historical relations between the place of origin and the place of destination. As such these

[11] For a publication on postcolonial migrants in various countries see Bosma, Lucassen and Oostindie (2012).

migrations are rather similar to the postcolonial migration flows described by Oostindie (2010).

Being a postcolonial migrant can entail certain advantages compared to other migrants. Oostindie refers to this advantage as the “postkoloniale bonus” [postcolonial bonus].[12] Oostindie explains how postcolonial migrants had the advantage of knowing more about the Netherlands, knowledge they obtained through their colonial history. This history, this knowledge and also their legal position within the Dutch context is not shared with migrants from certain other countries (Oostindie 2010: 14). In this light Greenlanders could be said to have an advantage when moving to Denmark due to their colonial past.

There are more reasons why Inuit outside the Arctic form an interesting case for a study on identity and migration. As also shown in the previous chapter Inuit are still often perceived as living a traditional life. Therefore a study which combines Inuit identity and migration to locations not associated with traditional life can possibly contribute to additional views on Inuit culture and identity. Researching perceptions is interesting for another reason as well. The fact that migrants are often perceived as living in the margin, makes investigating identifications by others and Inuit migrants themselves interesting. Concerning perceptions, in the foreword of the *Human Development Report 2009* Helen Clark also indicates that migrants and migration are often seen in negative ways (2009: v).

My study does not follow in every respect the approach as described in the quotation included by Vertovec (2007: 964-965). As described in this chapter and also in the introduction, in this book I do look at ethnicity and do go into detail with the construction of Greenlandic identity by informants themselves and also through external identification. However, the aim is also to describe diversity in, for example, the migration process. As such this study corresponds to what Vertovec has stated in relation to the striving of anthropologists not to focus on the fixedness of groups (2007: 964-965 (see quotation earlier in this chapter)). I, for example, include experiences of Greenlanders who have returned to Greenland. It remains important to stress that Greenlanders in Denmark and Inuit in southern Canada 1) are a diverse group of people, and 2) that focusing on ethnicity alone would highlight an exclusiveness, which makes it hard to understand broader processes and discover similarities with experiences of migrants worldwide.

2.6 Conclusion

Migration is a process and consists of various flows, but it is a more specific term than mobility, which encompasses a larger variety of movements. While migration in

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[12] In this book I will both use the term postcolonial bonus and postcolonial advantage. I use the latter as a synonym of the former. In the English translation of Oostindie’s book the term postcolonial bonus is used. I will refer to both versions of the book (Oostindie 2010; 2011). The English version is used when I quote from the book.

general affects the migrant him or herself the most, the process has a larger outreach and, for example, also affects those who stay behind. Today an important aspect of Inuit migration, is the (postcolonial) migration to the places of origin of the former colonizer. Therefore, for example, Greenlandic Inuit live in Denmark. As such this migration is similar to the migration of other former colonized people to the places of origin/country of the former colonizer. This study scrutinizes Inuit identities outside the Arctic, with a focus on Greenlandic Inuit in Denmark and a perspective on Inuit in southern Canada. On certain occasions Inuit migrants will more easily be able to affirm certain identifications as Inuit. What are those occasions and which identifications matter? An important aspect of identity formation is ascribed identity. This study, for example, also scrutinizes how members of the host society see Greenlanders/Inuit. As explained, identification by others affects people's identity. Including various identifications helps to better understand Inuit identity as it emerges outside the Arctic.

3 Methods and reflection

3.1 Introduction

As point of departure ethnographic methods have been used to conduct this study on Inuit outside the Arctic. Several methods have been employed, which will be further discussed in this chapter. Here I will present the material which I use as the basis for this book. This chapter will also explain how I selected my informants. In addition, I will reflect on my experiences in the field. Within social sciences it is highly recommended to reflect upon one's role as a researcher (see, for example, Bourdieu 2003). Due to the fact that an anthropologist has a major impact on the material that is collected, it is important to explain choices made during the research process.

The information gained through the methods to be described below form the most important sources for this study, but other sources are important for presenting a broader context as well. Therefore I will sometimes also use sources such as newspaper articles, films, novels and poetry that shed light on the situation of Greenlanders in Denmark and Inuit in southern Canada. They are useful sources for putting the data collected into context. How this data has been collected will be presented in this chapter.

3.2 In Canada, Denmark and Greenland

In the course of the research project, choices were made concerning the locations for extensive fieldwork. In Denmark I visited various places, including Copenhagen, Århus, Ålborg, Odense, Esbjerg and a few smaller places. Most time was spent first in Copenhagen and later in Esbjerg, where most of the interviews were also conducted. The former location offered me good opportunities at the beginning of the project to familiarize myself with the subject, while the latter offered me relatively good possibilities to conduct research during the later stages, owing to Esbjerg's relative smallness, the presence of the country's fifth largest Greenlandic population, and despite the closure of the Greenlandic House the existence of various initiatives for Greenlanders. In addition, Esbjerg was also convenient for logistical reasons. Most data were collected in the Region of Southern Denmark and ideas presented in this publication will therefore most likely best reflect experiences of Greenlanders in this region. However, this book is not meant as an ethnography of Greenlanders in a specific location in Denmark, but aims to discuss general issues relevant for the research subject.[1]

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[1] See the study by Barfod et al. (1974) from the early 1970's for information on Greenlandic men in Esbjerg specifically.

In Greenland most research time was spent in larger towns. Therefore this study does not deal much with life in small settlements. No time was spent in such small places. Through conversations, and scientific literature on urbanization in Greenland, I learned that Nuuk is often perceived as a Danish town – comparable to a provincial Danish town. Nuuk would not count as the real Greenland. However, I spent most of my time there and this has greatly influenced my view on Greenland. In addition, I also spent time in different – smaller – places, those of Ilulissat and Maniitsoq. The latter especially did give me a better understanding of life in smaller places in Greenland, but with 2,530 inhabitants Maniitsoq is still a rather big town (Statistics Greenland 2014a). However I agree with Sørensen who states in relation to his fieldwork in Nuuk that: "I find an assumption adopted beforehand that Greenlandic culture is not where the Greenlanders actually are, to be absurd" (Sørensen 1994: 47, my translation).[2] Nuuk has 16,818 inhabitants (Statistics Greenland 2014b) and therefore it makes sense to look at Greenlandic culture in this urban setting as well.

In Canada fieldwork was conducted in Edmonton. Due to the fact that more research on Inuit had already been conducted in Ottawa and Montreal (see, for example, publications by Kishigami on Montreal and Patrick and Tomiak on Ottawa), and to my existing academic contacts in Edmonton, it seemed a good idea to conduct the research in Edmonton. Edmonton has a large concentration of Inuit outside the Canadian Arctic and as such offered a good location for research.[3]

All in all I spent most time in Denmark for this research project. A total of about 3.5 months were spent in Denmark. The fieldwork was divided into three main periods. While some time was already spent in Denmark in 2008 to develop the research plan, the first extended fieldwork was conducted in the spring of 2009. The second time was in the spring of 2010 and the third time took place in the spring of 2011. As I divided my fieldwork into three main stages, I was able to make an appointment with certain informants more than once and during various periods of fieldwork. During fieldwork I visited the four Greenlandic Houses in Denmark, which are located in Copenhagen, Odense, Århus and Ålborg. Through interviews with employees I learned that these houses advise Greenlanders living in Denmark. They also assist Greenlandic students in Denmark, for example. On its website the Greenlandic House in Copenhagen explains that it offers among other things social

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[2] During the research process and before conducting fieldwork in Greenland I contacted the Danish Polar Center, which at that time was the institution that was concerned with issuing permits for research in Greenland, and I was informed that I did not need a research permit. In a course description of a module within the Bachelor of Circumpolar Studies offered by the University of the Arctic, Yvon Csonka also states that: "Research in Greenland is also conducted by researchers and research institutions from countries other than the Danish realm. Part of this research is announced to, and licensed by, the Danish Polar Center (DPC) in Copenhagen (http://www.dpc.dk); but some research, for example in social anthropology, can still be conducted without any official licensing or prior announcement" (Csonka n.d.: 9).

[3] Statistics on Inuit in southern Canada are presented in chapter 8.

counselling (including, for example, interpretation and information on work), student counselling and information on Greenland in general.[4] In addition to the Greenlandic Houses I visited other places that were of interest for my research, for example, some *sociale væresteder* [drop-in day centres/drop-in and activity centres] for Greenlanders. During my first stay in Denmark I conducted several interviews, mainly with employees of Greenlandic Houses and *væresteder*. This approach enabled me to decide how to plan my future fieldwork. During my second fieldwork period the focus was more on interviewing Greenlanders in Denmark. And then during my third extended stay, I focused on interviewing some informants again and conducting some group interviews.

Because of the proximity to Groningen (my workplace), I was able to visit Denmark at other moments as well. I went for instance to the Greenlandic Day(s) in Tivoli in Copenhagen on August 1st 2010. This festive event is visited by many Greenlanders every year. The advantage of this approach was that back in the office I could decide what to investigate in more detail during subsequent fieldwork. In the course of the research process and thanks to advice from various people I met through fieldwork I noticed that language, networks, country food, nature and perceptions/stereotypes were some of the subjects that were of interest to discuss with Greenlanders in Denmark. Therefore these formed some of the topics I continued to be interested in as the research went along.

As is (was) rather common in anthropological research, to begin with I longed for one clear fieldwork location. When I studied cultural anthropology I learned about and was fascinated by the fieldwork experiences of the grand old men and ladies in anthropology, those being, amongst others, Malinowski on the Trobriand Islands, Mead on Samoa and others. Of course those days are gone, conducting fieldwork has altered, but it was my initial plan to focus on one location in Denmark and one in Canada. However, I later decided to take a different approach. For reasons of anonymity and in order to be able to include more informants I have chosen not to write this publication as an ethnography of one locality and instead of focusing on ethnographic descriptions, rather to focus on interviews with various people and their stories. This is what I have done both with Greenlanders in Denmark and Inuit in southern Canada.[5] In fact in the Danish-Greenlandic context of this study I conducted what could be called multi-site fieldwork (see, for example, Hannerz 2003 for experiences with multi-site fieldwork). While I was able to retrieve the information I needed at specific locations, multi-site fieldwork offered me some important

[4] The address of the website of Kalaallit Illuutaat/The Greenlandic House is: http://www.sumut.dk/in-english.

[5] The presentation of my experiences in Edmonton in chapter 8 may come closest to an ethnographic description, but also here the focus is on the interviews and what various people have told me in combination with additional sources that place these experiences into a broader context.

benefits.[6] For this I had several possibilities such as group interviews and visiting several Greenlandic activities in Denmark. Besides offering me the practical and important advantage of having more people to talk to, another asset of this approach was that in this way my study better reflects reality. The lives of Greenlanders take place at different locations and I wanted my material to reflect this. In Denmark it made good sense to me to include the experiences of Greenlanders in various places – various flows – in Denmark as well.

It was also by being in Greenland and not just in Denmark that I became much more aware of the life people would leave behind. I would be better able to understand what the life of a Greenlander in Denmark could look like. Brettell explains that:

> For anthropology, a discipline sensitive to place but also comparative in its perspective, these questions have focused less on the broad scope of migration flows than on the articulation between the place whence a migrant originates and the place or places to which he or she goes. This includes exploration of how people in local places respond to global processes (Brettell 2008: 114).

My multi-site fieldwork approach enabled me to better understand the relations as described by Brettell. And the fieldwork in Greenland has also been important for me in order to better understand the relationship between Denmark and Greenland. Without the fieldwork in Greenland, I would not have been able to write the chapter about the relationship between Greenland and Denmark the way I have done now (chapter 4) and the fact that I had spent time in Greenland, did help me to conduct interviews in Denmark. Knowing where the migrants came from enabled me to better understand their experiences.

I was able to visit Greenland twice. The first time I spent about two weeks in Nuuk. Until then I had not been in Greenland. I used these two weeks to talk to many different people. I went to schools, the local council offices, different organizations, the university, the cultural centre *Katuaq*, the *Malik* swimming pool and so on. Besides reading about urban life in Greenland, this is what helped me to understand life in Nuuk. My first visit took place in June 2009 and enabled me to participate in the celebrations for the introduction of self-government on June 21st. It was a huge happening with people gathering for the visit of Queen Margrethe and the then new premier Kuupik Kleist, with free *rundstykker* [crusty rolls] in the Sports Hall and a concert in *Hallen.*

My second visit to Greenland took place in September and October of 2010. This time I stayed almost three weeks in Nuuk, Maniitsoq and Ilulissat. During this period I was also able to interview family members of Greenlanders I had met in

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[6] Nonetheless it should be noted that for practical/logistical reasons most data were collected in the Region of Southern Denmark and thus, as mentioned, this study probably best reflects experiences in this region.

Denmark. Several of the latter helped me to get in touch with relatives in Greenland, which offered me important insights into the general experience of migration between Greenland and Denmark. Those interviews, for example, showed me that many of these Greenlanders in Greenland had also spent some time in Denmark (return migrants). They were thus also able to tell me about their experiences in Denmark, which has really enriched my material and views. Besides these interviews I was able to visit schools again and the local council offices in both Nuuk and Ilulissat, and to get an impression of the life Greenlanders in Denmark have left behind.

Even though I at some point chose to focus on the relationship between Greenland and Denmark, an important reason being that I was able to visit both places and thus learn about the places of origin and destination by first-hand experience, almost three months were spent in Edmonton in southern Canada in 2011.[7] After an initial short visit to the city in 2009, which I used to get a first impression of Inuit experiences there, to converse about my research with various people and establish first contacts, I realized that because of the number of Inuit living there and the local Inuit organization the city offered good opportunities for fieldwork. In 2011 I returned to Edmonton and familiarized myself further with experiences of Inuit there. Because of several possible similarities to the experiences of Greenlandic Inuit in Denmark, I wanted to include this Canadian case study in my research (see chapter one for the reasons for including a comparative perspective). In Canada I visited the Inuit Cultural Society and several organizations for Inuit and/or other indigenous groups in the city. I made use of my experience of the Danish/Greenlandic situation for the questions I wanted to address, which was useful, but I also found out that important differences existed between the places. A major difference was the size of the city where I conducted fieldwork. The city of Edmonton (census metropolitan area) had a population of 1,159,869 in 2011 (Statistics Canada 2012) and according to census data there were about 600 Inuit in Edmonton in 2006 (Statistics Canada 2008: 23). Finding possible informants for my research was a challenge in this context.

3.2.1 Participating and observing

Besides the interviews, which clearly form the main material for this study, I also conducted participant observation. Sometimes it was more observation, sometimes

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[7] During my stay in Canada I was an academic visitor at the Canadian Circumpolar Institute at the University of Alberta, Edmonton. The Research Ethics Board 1 at the University of Alberta gave an ethics approval for the research in Edmonton in 2011 (study id: Pro00023824). The Canadian Circumpolar Institute (University of Alberta), the Arctic Centre (University of Groningen), and the Association for Canada Studies in the Netherlands made it possible for me to conduct the research in Edmonton.

more participation. In general I would say that I remained an outsider for most of the time. In most circumstances I was the person interested in Inuit culture/Greenlandic culture. I was maybe too interested and therefore remained an outsider. Looking back I feel and realize that much more time is required to really get to know a community, to become less of an outsider. Possibly one longer extended period of fieldwork, instead of several short periods of fieldwork, which worked well for doing interviews, would be better for conducting participant observation. In addition, I agree with Hannerz who concerning multi-site fieldwork and participant observation writes:

> But then if pure observation, or participant observation, has a more limited part in some multi-site studies than in the classic model of anthropological field work, it may not have so much to do with sheer multi-sitedness as with the fact that they tend to involve settings of modernity. There are surely a great many activities where it is worthwhile to be immediately present, even actively engaged, but also others which may be monotonous, isolated, and difficult to access. What do you do when 'your people' spend hours alone at a desk, perhaps concentrating on a computer screen? (Hannerz 2003: 211).

In the course of the research process participant observation became mainly useful in two ways. Firstly, it helped me to understand Inuit culture in Denmark, Greenland and southern Canada better. It enabled me to get an idea of what was going on among/for Inuit outside the Arctic. Attending certain Greenlandic activities in Denmark, for example, helped me to better understand what some informants told me about such activities. Secondly, participant observation enabled me to get to know people and to maybe subsequently be able to meet with these people to conduct an interview. This was, for example, the case when I participated in *banko* [bingo] organized by one of the Greenlandic societies in Denmark. Only a few people showed up for the bingo evening, but I did meet someone who was willing to be interviewed. I hereby made use of advice by Bernard, who explains that: "*There is no reason to select a site that is difficult to enter* when equally good sites are available that are easy to enter" (Bernard 2002: 335). The sites I entered were easy to enter and enabled me to establish further contacts.

During my fieldwork I visited many different places. During my stay in Edmonton, to my knowledge almost no events specifically for Inuit took place, which was different in Denmark. Important in this context are the Greenlandic activities and "locations" in Denmark, such as the Greenlandic Houses, which I was able to visit. For example, I attended Greenlandic church services that are held regularly in Copenhagen and less regularly in other places in Denmark. Other events and activities included amongst others the above mentioned Greenlandic Day(s) in Tivoli, the Greenlandic song contest *Tusa*, and a Tupperware party I was invited to by one of my informants. During fieldwork I also learned about "væresteder" and projects

focusing specifically on assisting socially vulnerable Greenlanders in Denmark. I visited one of these places several times and spent some time there.[8] This helped me to better understand some of the problems some Greenlanders may face when living in Denmark and how these problems are dealt with through such places. It also enabled me to attend a networking day organized by the Social Development Centre SUS for people working in the field of socially vulnerable Greenlanders in Denmark.[9] And I attended Greenlandic choir practice several times. Several Greenlandic societies in Denmark have a choir, whose members practice on a regular basis. Once a year several Greenlandic choirs in Denmark meet and compete at the Greenlandic song contest *Tusa*. Several of such activities enabled me to establish contacts for interviews.

In hindsight I can conclude that participant observation and the different people I was in touch with during the research process have all helped me to understand various experiences concerning migration and living in Denmark and southern Canada. This all helped me to understand and reflect on the interviews, which form the core material for what I present in this publication.

3.2.2 Interviewing

As mentioned above participant observation was an important way to meet informants in Denmark. This approach was less useful in Canada, as almost no activities specifically for Inuit took place there during my fieldwork and I had to rely much more on other Inuit introducing me to possible informants. I used Facebook for example to get in touch with some relatives in Greenland of those Greenlanders I had spoken to in Denmark. In both Denmark and Canada I also used the snowball method to find possible informants. Due to the relatively small number of Inuit at some of the places where I conducted research, it was not always easy to find people to talk to. Therefore in general I was pleased whenever anyone wanted to talk to me. I did not want to be too selective about my informants and in fact I do not think this was necessary, because all Inuit outside the Arctic I spoke to could inform me about their experiences in Denmark or southern Canada. It all helped me to understand the issues I discuss in this book such as perceptions, language issues and reasons for migration.

While the chosen approach might raise the question of the representativeness of the data collected, I would say that to me it was most important to find people who were willing to tell me about their experiences. For example, I talked to people

[8] In order to be able to visit this place and spend time there during various occasions, I had to sign a non-disclosure agreement.

[9] For more information on such projects for socially vulnerable Greenlanders in Denmark and various publications, of which several are referred to in this book, see the website (by the Social Development Centre SUS): www.udsattegroenlaendere.dk.

around their 20s and also to people who had retired. Some informants were still unpacking; others had unpacked several decades earlier. As the focus of this book is on Greenlanders in Denmark, I will present some characteristics concerning my informants in Denmark. Many Greenlanders I interviewed in Denmark and who most recently had moved to Denmark as adults were between 30 and 60 years old, except for those who participated in a group interview in Denmark, see below, almost all of whom were above 50 years of age. Of the Greenlanders in Denmark who had moved to Denmark as adults, excluding those who participated in a group interview, almost half had been in Denmark for less than five years. Most others, also about half of the informants, had lived in Denmark for between five and 30 years. A majority of the Greenlanders who took part in a group interview had been in Denmark for more than 30 years.[10] Except for a few informants, in general the most recent time that the Greenlanders in Denmark/Inuit in southern Canada had moved was as adults.[11] The few others, including people who were not raised in the Arctic could also provide me with relevant information, for example, concerning identity issues. I thus interviewed people with various backgrounds. Hereby I wanted my material to reflect the diversity of Greenlanders in Denmark and Inuit in southern Canada. I chose not to focus on socialt udsatte grønlændere [socially vulnerable Greenlanders] or Inuit in Canada who could be considered to belong to a similar group. My main reason for this was that at least in Denmark this group of socially vulnerable Greenlanders has already received quite some attention and it is interesting to include experiences of other Inuit outside the Arctic in the discussions. As my focus is on how Inuit identity appears outside the Arctic and not on the social-economic issues of a similar group of people, this diversity of informants in fact helps to provide diversity in the presentation.

During the research process a total of approximately 80 people belonging to the categories Greenlanders in Denmark, Greenlanders in Greenland, Inuit in southern Canada and/or representatives of an organization relevant to my research participated in a face-to-face interview.[12] Most of these interviews were conducted in Denmark. During the fieldwork in Edmonton, Canada, in 2011 a total of 21 interviews

[10] These data relate to those people whom I first and foremost interviewed as Greenlanders in Denmark and do not include representatives of organizations. In addition, the length of stay in Denmark presented here is based on informants' time in Denmark since their latest move to Denmark. Chapter 6 will demonstrate that several informants have lived in Denmark more than once.

[11] As I was interested to hear about both people's experiences with migration and living in Denmark/southern Canada, my focus was on the first generation of Greenlanders in Denmark/Inuit in southern Canada.

[12] These categories are the four main categories included in my research, which does not mean that they are clear-cut categories. I have, for example, conducted interviews with informants who had a non-Inuit parent. In a Greenlandic context "half Greenlandic" is, for example, sometimes used when referring to children of mixed parents. For more on "Half Greenlanders", see, for example, Sørensen (1997a, 1997b).

were conducted. I was in touch with more people concerning my research topic; however, I do not consider all these interactions as "official" interviews, which does not mean that they were not fruitful for my research. The interviews include mainly interviews with Greenlanders in Denmark and Inuit in southern Canada (with about 35 individuals), Greenlanders in Greenland (including about 10 return migrants whom I only interviewed in Greenland) and representatives of various organizations relevant to my research (about 30 interviews), including employees of organizations such as the Greenlandic Houses in Denmark, various municipalities and educational institutions.[13] [14] The interviews I conducted were first and foremost semi-structured interviews. While I already knew which topics I wanted to cover through my earlier fieldwork, mainly during my extended stay in Denmark in 2009, this approach allowed the informants to elaborate on issues that were most important to them and also to skip topics they did not want to talk about. The people who participated in

[13] In Denmark and Greenland these include, amongst others, representatives of the following organizations: Greenlandic House (department of social counselling) (Copenhagen), Kofoeds School (drop-in day centre *Naapiffik*) (Copenhagen), Greenlandic House (department of student counselling) (Odense), Greenlandic House (department of social counselling) (Odense), Greenlandic House (management) (Ålborg), Greenlandic House (department of social counselling) (Ålborg), Greenlandic House (drop-in day centre *Perput*) (Ålborg), Greenlandic House (department of social counselling) (Århus), Greenlandic House (the Greenlandic counselling office) (Esbjerg), Kofoeds School/Municipality of Esbjerg (drop-in and activity centre *Oqqumut*) (Esbjerg), Municipality of Esbjerg (Activation project *Morgenrøden*), Municipality of Esbjerg (Jobcenter *Team Norden*), Qeqqani Ilinniarnertuunngorniarfik/ Midtgrønlands Gymnasiale Skole (upper secondary school) (Nuuk), Greenland Workers Union (SIK) (Nuuk), INI Property Management LTO Greenland (Nuuk), Atuarfik Ukaliusaq (primary and lower secondary school) (Nuuk), Municipality of Sermersooq (department of families and children) (Nuuk), Municipality of Qaasuitsoq (social and labour market department) (Ilulissat).
In Edmonton in Canada in 2011, interviews were conducted with representatives of the following organizations: Larga Homes Ltd., Bissell Centre, Aboriginal Relations Office City of Edmonton, Northern Student Education Initiative, Canadian Native Friendship Centre, Aboriginal Student Services Centre at the University of Alberta, Aboriginal Education Centre at MacEwan University and the Edmonton Inuit Cultural Society.

[14] In order to explain how I arrived at these numbers I want to stress that these rounded figures are approximates. In this division of interview informants, some categories could, for example, be added or some informants could be placed in one of the other groups. For example, I conducted two interviews with Greenlanders who I had first met in Denmark and either interviewed or talked to in Denmark and who I later interviewed in Greenland, where they had moved to since our first encounter. I also interviewed a grown-up daughter of one informant who I had first met in Greenland, but who I later interviewed in her new home in Denmark. Are these informants Greenlanders in Denmark, return migrants, in the case of the first example, or Greenlanders in Greenland? It also happened for instance that two Greenlanders participated in (part of) an interview. In general, I have then counted these as two respondents. In Denmark two Danish partners participated in the entire interview, which was very interesting for the interview. But I do not include them in the number of Greenlanders in Denmark. In addition, some representatives of organizations also shared their personal experiences with me. Where relevant I use these experiences as well, as they help to enlighten issues discussed in this publication, and I refer to these experiences in a way that seems most appropriate to me. Similar small exceptions could be added. It is my belief that this mix of informants and the challenge of categorization also demonstrate the diversity to be found in a social context.

interviews did so voluntarily and I informed them about my research and plans beforehand. Thus I ensured informed consent.

The first period in Denmark was mainly used to conduct initial interviews with both Greenlanders and Danes who worked with Greenlanders in Denmark, and with Greenlanders in Denmark themselves. These interviews helped me to decide which questions to pose to informants later on during the research process. In the course of the research process I decided to ask informants about, for example, their first period in Denmark, why they moved to Denmark and to the specific location in Denmark, how they felt about living in Denmark now, whether they would want to live in Greenland again, and with whom they had contact. We often also talked about preconceptions, differences between Denmark and Greenland and self-identification. “Identity markers” such as language and food were also discussed.[15] Similar questions were used in southern Canada. During later fieldwork in Denmark, I was able to go into more detail with a group of Greenlandic migrants. In Denmark I would, for example, visit some informants again and ask further questions about life in Denmark. In Greenland I discussed with informants their migration experiences, various identity markers (e.g. language, food etc.) and what their relation was to Denmark. As already mentioned above, quite often these informants had also lived in Denmark, and this of course was also discussed.

Interviews were conducted at various places, which, for example, include at people’s work places, at the University of Alberta, where I was an academic visitor, and in the homes of informants. Many of the interviews with Greenlanders in Denmark and Greenland especially were conducted in the homes of the informants. In the course of the research process the interviews were used to identify topics for discussion. Quotations from interviews are used to analyze and support the presentation of the topics presented in this book.

3.2.2.1 Group interviews

During the research process some group interviews were also conducted. These interviews enabled me to collect views on migration and on relations between Denmark and Greenland, experiences with migration and living in Denmark and Greenland from more people than individual interviews enabled me to. In the discussions, interesting issues emerged. During my second fieldwork period in Greenland, I interviewed several students. These interviews were conducted mainly in oral form but included some written questions on, for example, whether the student had moved within Greenland, had been in Denmark and had family in

[15] My master thesis for Cultural Anthropology deals with experiences of Dutch farm families in Denmark and also discusses migration and identity aspects (Terpstra 2007). In this thesis, I, for example, use and refer to some of the same concepts, including “identity markers” (Bechhofer et al. 1999: 527-8 in Scourfield, Dicks, Drakeford and Davies 2006: 65) and publications as used in this book.

Denmark. The focus was on their views on the town they lived in, their relation to Denmark and whether they would like to live in Denmark. A total of three group interviews were conducted in Nuuk, one interview with two male students at the Teacher Training College, one interview with ten male students at the Gymnasium and one interview with three male students at the University in Nuuk. In Ilulissat I interviewed five female students at the Pedagogy College. The gender division is coincidental. My fieldwork time in Greenland was limited and I elected to conduct those interviews that were possible in practice.

I also conducted group interviews in Denmark. These interviews were with members of Greenlandic societies at different locations in Denmark. For this purpose a total of three societies were visited and members of all three replied to some written questions, including, for example, on their reasons for moving to Denmark, when they moved to Denmark and whether they had lived in Denmark before. Members of two of these societies participated in an oral group interview. Some of the topics addressed were how they experienced living in Denmark now, who moves from Greenland to Denmark nowadays, perceptions and why they were members of the Greenlandic society. These interviews were very beneficial as I gained a lot of extra knowledge about Greenlanders in Denmark through them. I conducted one oral group interview with nine female Greenlanders and in the other oral group interview six female Greenlanders, one Greenlandic male and two Danish males participated.

In addition, I also arranged a group interview with students at a gymnasium in Denmark to find out and discuss with them what they knew about Greenland. The limited knowledge of Danes about Greenland was criticized by the Greenlandic minister for Education, Mimi Karlsen (Sermitsiaq.AG 2010b), and I wanted to know from Danish students what they knew about Greenland and what topics had been discussed during their education. A total of 25 pupils participated in the interview, which was mainly conducted in written form. I, for example, asked these participants to write down what they thought about when they thought about Greenland and what they knew about Greenlanders in Denmark.[16]

Through the entire research process I have gained a lot of knowledge. I also gained information about informants that I do not think should be written about in this publication. I have wanted to balance the information, so that this book does provide descriptions of Greenlandic experiences in Denmark, and a comparison with Canadian Inuit experiences in the South, but also protects my informants' privacy. In my view this has everything to do with "the responsibilities of anthropologists *towards* informants and others" (Caplan 2003: 27). One way I do this is by not

[16] Except for the students at the university, whom I approached myself, access and permission to conduct group interviews at the educational institutions was gained through the institution's principal, a coordinator and/or a teacher.

attaching names to informants' experiences presented in this book. While this was not an issue for everyone, I stick to this in the presentation of the material.[17] In the case of representatives of organizations, whom I interviewed in their function as employee of a specific organization, I do, however, (at times) refer to their affiliation and/or function.

3.2.3 Reflection

Reflecting on the research is important for anthropologists. According to Bourdieu as an anthropologist one needs to consider one's own role during the research. He refers to this as "participant objectivation", which is also the title of his article. It is important to be aware of your own influence on the data collected (Bourdieu 2003). Therefore I will now present some reflections on my role as a researcher.

During fieldwork I kept a diary to go through the different experiences I had in the field. Why did I do this? The diary entries form an important part of the reflection of my research. In the beginning I would, for example, write about my experiences with conducting fieldwork. How I wondered how I could follow people's daily lives, when I might first see them again only after a couple of weeks. While I was still looking for the right way to conduct the fieldwork at the beginning of the research process, in the course of time I was better able to make choices and suffice with what was useful for my research topic. In Nuuk I experienced both how this place can be considered a "city" and also a small town. Within about two weeks I already started to recognize people in the streets, but at the same time I had to make appointments in order to talk to people because, for example, they were busy with their jobs. My approach shows that anthropological fieldwork today can be something totally different to the more classical fieldwork experiences conducted earlier by famous anthropologists, which also corresponds with Hannerz (2003, as quoted in this chapter).[18] It was my opinion that experiences of Greenlanders in Denmark were followed best by going to Greenlandic activities and through appointments with informants. In this way I would have an hour or two to discuss relevant issues with them. This is how the main material for this publication was collected.

Before reflecting on my own role in more detail, I want to make a short note on the fact that I conducted fieldwork in the western world, which is not new for anthropologists. Having a history of extensive fieldwork in non-western societies, ethnographic fieldwork is now, for example, also being conducted in European and

[17] For the ethics approval from the University of Alberta for the fieldwork in Edmonton in 2011 informants' anonymity is also important. With their consent representatives of an organization are identified as representatives of their organization.

[18] Eriksen and Nielsen, for example, explain that anthropologists in the 1950s interested in urban settings in Africa also considered new methods as participant observation could not be conducted in the same way in an urban setting as in a small village (2002: 131).

North-American countries. In the late 1980s Gullestad stated that: “If anthropology is truly to become a comparative study of society and culture, modern Europe and the United States must become an integral part of the subject matter” (Gullestad 1989: 71). One recent example, referred to in this book, includes Richard Jenkins’ ethnography about Danish ethnicity, for which Jenkins conducted fieldwork in a city in the middle of Jutland (Jenkins 2011).

3.2.3.1 A Dutch anthropologist

One of the consequences of my background as a Dutch citizen conducting this research project was the fact that I became more aware of Dutch relations with Greenland, for example, with regard to Dutch whalers who came to Greenland in the 17th century, and other researchers in the Netherlands interested in Inuit culture (see, for example, Buijs 2004; Schuit 2014; Van Dam 2008).[19] The research also made me more aware of the fact that the Netherlands has a similar colonial past to Denmark. The relationship with the former colonies, Surinam and Indonesia, could be mentioned in this context, but more relevant is the relationship with the Netherlands Antilles. During the research process the status of these islands was changed. Oostindie explains that:

> Aruba seceded from the Netherlands Antilles in 1986 to become a country in its own right within the Kingdom; and on 10 October 2010 (10/10/10), the ‘Antilles-of-five’ were dismantled, with Curaçao and St Maarten attaining country status within the Kingdom and the three smallest islands (Bonaire, St Eustatius, and Saba, together ‘BES’) becoming ‘public bodies’, a special type of municipalities of the Netherlands (2013: 207).[20]

Like Greenland and Denmark, the Netherlands too still has relations with its former colonies, and the Dutch colonial past and postcolonial present does have some influence on this study. During the research I consulted publications about Dutch experiences (e.g. Oostindie 2010) and it has made me use a specific concept in this study, “the postcolonial bonus” (Oostindie 2010, 2011). Such contributions to this study are clearly influenced by my Dutch background.

In this context I also find it interesting to shortly discuss the topic of outsider and insider or outsider and established.[21] I want to employ these terms in relation to my own role in the field. It is clear that I am not a Greenlander living in Denmark, or Inuk living in southern Canada. I am a Dutch citizen, I have a Dutch passport. So in this view I am not an insider. On the other hand, I share with my informants the experience of leaving home for a new location. I also experienced migration in my

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[19] More information on Dutch whalers in Greenland can be found in an early publication by Bobé (1917).

[20] For more on sovereignty in a Greenlandic context see an article by Gad (2013) in the same book.

[21] The choice of words was inspired by Elias and Scotson (1965).

own life. While I was born in the Netherlands, I spent my youth, a total of almost six years, in Denmark. So in that sense I share with my informants the experience of migration and also the experience of being an outsider or newcomer in Denmark, an experience I have used during my fieldwork. It is also a reason for my interest in migration and minorities. During fieldwork I was also sometimes asked questions about my own background. I would then, for example, explain about my own experiences as a migrant in Denmark. Such notes about my life could give people a possibility to ask some questions or make some comments about the Netherlands or myself.

In a sense, due to my background as an emigrant in Denmark, my fieldwork in Denmark could be referred to as "Anthropology at Home" (Jackson 1987). Due to my connection to the country I am rather familiar with Denmark. My earlier experiences have of course had an impact on my fieldwork.[22] Due to my knowledge of Danish society, I was able to understand a lot of issues which would be new to newcomers. I was more of a foreigner in Canada and Greenland, which probably made it easier to ask more questions, to be more naïve (see, for example, Bernard 2002: 344-345 on naiveté in the field).

3.2.3.2 Language use

Concerning the language used in the research, there are also a few comments to be made. In Denmark and Greenland all interviews with Greenlanders and Danes were conducted in Danish. During the research process I met some Greenlanders who had difficulties expressing themselves in Danish, but in general interviewing in Danish worked quite well, for which reason I never worked with an interpreter while conducting my research. This does, however, not mean that it has not had an impact on my research. Because of doing all interviews in Danish, I must admit that I have not gained the knowledge that someone might have gained who could have done the interviews in Greenlandic. Several informants did mention to me that an interview in Greenlandic would have been easier. On the other hand, others I interviewed were very used to speaking Danish, for example because they had been in Denmark for a long time and some informants spoke Danish as their first language. In Canada all interviews were conducted in English. This was again never a problem. But again, for some people it might have been an advantage to speak Inuktitut for example. For others English and not a dialect of the Inuit language was the language they used in daily life.

I also want to reflect upon the fact that through my research and its topic, I myself of course have exerted influence upon my informants. I have made them think about a

[22] This, for example, relates to my earlier fieldwork in Denmark, which formed the basis for my master thesis for Cultural Anthropology on experiences of Dutch farm families in Denmark (Terpstra 2007).

topic which they might not otherwise have considered to be as important as I have made it through all my questions. An informant mentioned to me that he only talked about his experiences of living in Denmark with Danes and with me – the people who were really curious. He explained that to fellow Greenlanders this was not an important matter. On my way to Greenland I met a Greenlander who lived in Denmark but worked in Greenland. We talked about his life shared between Denmark and Greenland in quite some detail, about the fact that he had taken courses in Denmark before and how he had experienced the relocation from his village as a child. And during a boat trip in Greenland I talked with a woman whose son studied in Denmark and who also had a sister in Denmark. To me such informal conversations were really important. They showed me that migration experiences were omni-present. But at the same time I realize that those conversations were triggered by my speaking about the purpose of my stay in Greenland, that is, my research on migration, for which reason people would then most likely tell me about their links with the topic. In fact while research into climate is the hottest topic in a lot of Arctic research at the moment, I hardly talked about climate change at all during my fieldwork. This of course does not mean that this topic is not important, but it was not an important issue in the conversations I had with people. I think this also proves that your own point of departure is an important trigger for the outcomes of your research, for which reason reflection is essential.

3.2.3.3 Anthropological mobilities and strengths

The concept of mobility mentioned earlier should, according to Urry (2007), also influence the approach of social scientists. As stated he suggests “a new cross or post-disciplinary *mobilities paradigm*” (2007: 18). According to Urry: “The term ‘mobilities’ refers to this broad project of establishing a ‘movement-driven’ social science in which movement, potential movement and blocked movement are all conceptualized as constitutive of economic, social and political relations” (2007: 43). Urry also presents various suggestions in order to mobilize methods. An example includes participating with people in their movement and afterwards posing questions about that movement (2007: 40). While this study was not specifically conducted with a mobility approach in mind, which due to its topicality does however require attention in this context, in terms of methodology various forms of mobilities can be specified here. Besides fieldwork in Canada, Denmark and Greenland, one could, in a very general sense, stress the various forms used to get in touch with informants, which include e-mail and mobile phone. In addition, my mobility, for example, also consisted of driving a car in order to visit several informants in Denmark. However, this concerns mobility as utilized by the researcher in order to conduct the research and does not inform us extensively about the research topic.

According to Amit (2002) it is hard to understand that anthropologists have not focused more on disjunction in their research, exactly because fieldwork at least

originally required an anthropologist to displace him or herself quite far and move about in another context (2002: 37). I find this a very interesting observation, which offers a reflection on conducting fieldwork. In the context of mobilizing methods more generally, I consider anthropologists' focus on fieldwork to be very important. I argue that anthropologists through their focus on fieldwork and observing/participating are to a certain degree mobilized instruments themselves. Following people in what they do includes following (part of) their mobility. While I did not focus on travelling with people, I did visit some events/places which informants also (had) visited and thus I did to a certain degree follow the movements of my informants. In general I would argue that the importance of fieldwork and spending time with informants, be it in different ways and for different lengths of time, is still central to an anthropological approach. Empirical research is the key. By learning at first hand, an anthropological account aims to stay close to the sources in the field. In this book an important way to show this closeness is by quoting extensively from interviews with informants in Canada, Denmark and Greenland. People's own words are crucial for understanding their experiences. In addition, it is this closeness, the specific details, wordings by individual informants, which make for rather specific findings, which are subsequently related to broader processes and used to draw more general conclusions.

This understanding of an anthropological account based on closeness also makes the importance of conducting fieldwork in both Denmark and Greenland very obvious, namely that in research on migration (or mobility) one would take an interest in both the place of origin and the place of destination. While this study is not so much about travelling or being on the move, both the origin and the destination of Greenlanders in Denmark have been taken into account. This is not uncommon in anthropological research on migration (Brettell 2003: 1, 2008: 114; Brettell and Hollifield 2008b: 5). In Canada an Inuk, for example, also made clear to me that in order to really understand differences I had "to go up there". I am also certain that I then would have been better able to understand the differences she – and others – encountered as a result of her – their – move south. It would be easier to understand both "the" migration process and "the" transition. Having been at the place of origin will thus most likely enable one to understand issues raised by an informant in more detail. By only looking at the place of destination, one neglects part of the world in which the migration and the resulting experiences take place. It is my belief that including both offers a more holistic view.

Compared to a study which focuses more on statistics, this anthropological account, while certainly making use of statistics, does take an interest in issues which are difficult to grasp through statistics alone. Individual experiences are hard to account for in a quantitative study, while this account, through quotations from individuals, presents snapshots of individual experiences. This at the same time touches upon the question of representativeness, which will be hard to acquire in a

qualitative study. Nonetheless, the experiences accounted for do give an impression of Greenlandic/Inuit experiences. They can, for example, show how people describe identity themselves, which wordings they use etc. In addition, I consider this specific attention for identity and also ethnicity as very appropriate for an anthropological account. I hold that anthropologists' interest in culture, people, change and continuity, can be well researched through "the concepts of identity and ethnicity" (Vertovec 2007: 963), which individuals (informants) can throw light on through their personal stories. As presented in chapter two these concepts are often used in anthropological studies on migration. Various disciplines, despite having areas which overlap, also have their own specific interests. To sociologists "immigrant incorporation" is important (Heisler in Brettell and Hollifield 2008b: 5; see Heisler (2008) for more on migration in Sociology), while geographers focus on "spatial relationships" (Hardwick in Brettell and Hollifield 2008b: 5; see Hardwick (2008) for more on migration in Geography). Vertovec explains that: "As Foner (Ibid.) argues, anthropologists have much to contribute – particularly through their up-close ethnographic accounts of migrants' meanings, values, social relations and experiences – to large studies entailing surveys, questionnaires and large datasets that are the staples of other disciplines" (Vertovec 2007: 973-974). According to Vertovec within social sciences increased interdisciplinarity on migration studies is noticeable (2007). Such an increased interest in interdisciplinary studies for research on migration is also advocated by, for example, Vertovec (2007) and Brettell and Hollifield (2008a).

3.3 Additional sources and practicalities

While the information obtained through interviews conducted during fieldwork form the core of this book, other sources are of course important too. These include various earlier publications on the topic of this study. In this book I will also sometimes refer to fiction. I use it, for example, to present both representations and self-representations of Inuit in southern Canada in chapter 8. Films and documentaries can similarly be used to discuss various (self-)representations. Statistical data from various sources are used to offer a broader overview. For Greenlanders in Denmark this is done in chapter 5, where data on socio-economic issues, mainly related to the first generation of Greenlanders in Denmark, is also presented.

In addition to English sources, various non-English sources, especially Danish sources, have also been used in this book. In cases where I quote from these sources, I have translated the original text, which is indicated after the reference to the original text by: , my translation. For the purpose of readability I have not always included ", my translation" after the translation of a single word or very short piece of text. Quotations included in this publication from interviews conducted in Danish have also been translated into English. Quotations are presented in a manner so as

to be very close to the original oral version but sometimes parts have been excluded (indicated as: ...) or certain identifiers or in my view sensitive information have been excluded (generally this is indicated as: [...], sometimes a description of the omitted part is given within the brackets) and in addition (slight) adaptations can have been made to the oral text in order to increase/enhance readability. In quotations informants/interviewees are indicated by a capital I, while the interviewer (Tekke Terpstra) is indicated by a capital T.

3.4 Conclusion

As an anthropologist I have wanted to hear about various experiences of Greenlanders in Denmark and Inuit in southern Canada. I first and foremost present the experiences of Inuit, mainly Greenlanders, outside the Arctic described in interviews with the migrants themselves. In addition, I also include additional perspectives on the topic based on, for example, interviews with representatives of organizations and return migrants. I do not claim to present the full picture. The experiences of Inuit are diverse and in a publication like this, I need to gather the various experiences together in order to make sense of this diversity to the outside world. Thus this book contains my representation of diverse experiences. This chapter has explained the methodological issues I have dealt with in the course of the research process. I have reflected upon the choices I have made and shared my thoughts about possible limitations of my study. The following chapter will present an overview concerning links between Greenland and Denmark.

4 Greenland and Denmark: relations and identifications through time

4.1 Introduction

Togeby argues that little is known about Greenlanders in Denmark. She explains that this is due to the fact that they are Danish citizens and so not registered separately (Togeby 2002: 9). One way to understand the presence of Greenlanders in Denmark better is by scrutinizing the connection between Denmark and Greenland more thoroughly. This chapter will describe Greenland's colonial history and the relations that came into being due to this history. This helps to understand the presence of Greenlanders in Denmark.

As presented in chapter two, Oostindie uses the concept (or "het begrip"/"the notion" as it is called by Oostindie (2010: 14; 2011: 15) of the postcolonial bonus and explains, in relation to postcolonial migrants in the Netherlands, that:

> Migrants from the colonies had both individual and collective advantages over other non-Western migrants. This involved both 'hard' judicial civil rights, advantages in the realm of cultural capital (knowledge of and familiarity with the Dutch language and culture) and the space that could be demanded for cultural specificity (Oostindie 2011: 15).[1]

To understand the Greenlandic presence in Denmark, it is relevant to know more about the relations between Greenland and Denmark. In addition to gaining a better understanding of the relation between migration and colonial history in general, this is also done with the intention of examining how historical relations between Greenland and Denmark might entail advantages for Greenlanders in Denmark. In this chapter the "cultural capital", in this case the knowledge and familiarity with the Danish language and culture, possessed by Greenlanders will also be discussed. I will examine certain aspects which I describe as being consequences of the colonial relationship between Greenland and Denmark.

For these issues, namely the centralization/urbanization of Greenland and the linguistic situation in Greenland, I will look into both their origin and the more current situation. These two issues are of great interest. I argue that the former does not only help to understand perceptions of urbanization in Greenland but also of Greenlanders in Denmark, which will be discussed in more detail in chapter 7. The latter is of interest because the language issue is directly related to identity

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[1] As explained in chapter 2 as well in this book I will use both the term postcolonial bonus and postcolonial advantage. I use the latter as a synonym of the former. In the English translation of Oostindie's book the term postcolonial bonus is used. I will refer to both versions of the book (Oostindie 2010, 2011). The English version is used when I quote directly from the book.

discussions in Greenland. For both issues, when I relate to more recent time I will make use of interviews conducted in Greenland.

Brettell states that: “An anthropological approach to migration should emphasize both structure and agency; it should look at macro-level contextual issues, micro-level strategies and decision-making, and the meso-level relational structures within which individuals operate. It needs to articulate both people and process” (Brettell 2003: 7). This chapter mainly addresses the “macro-level contextual structure” that explains/triggers migration to Denmark. Even though this study focuses on the personal and individual choice (agency) of Greenlanders to move away from Greenland and on their subsequent experiences in Denmark, their migration is structured in the sense that it is the relations between Greenland and Denmark that make them choose to move there and not to another country.

This chapter does not aim to answer the question why Greenlanders migrate. Instead it relates to the question why Greenlanders migrate specifically to Denmark. The focus in this chapter is on reasons for moving to a specific geographical location, which here is Denmark. Important in this context is the identification that Greenlanders have with Denmark. Why do they have this identification and what is the content of this identification? The attention paid to the place of departure in this chapter is also a consequence of “multi-site fieldwork” (see chapter 3). Visiting various places in both Denmark and Greenland enables me to understand better both the relationship between Denmark and Greenland and the experiences of Greenlandic migrants.

It should be stressed that, as also pointed out in chapter three, my analysis could be influenced by my fieldwork approach as I only conducted fieldwork in places in Greenland that could be considered to be more Danish than small settlements. Especially the capital Nuuk is often described as a Danish provincial town or, as we will see in this chapter, as “Little Copenhagen” (see, for example, also chapter 3). Differences between places I visited also exist. In an interview with a representative of the municipality of Qaasuitsoq in Ilulissat, it became clear that Nuuk is rather different from Ilulissat, for example, in the more frequent use of Danish in Nuuk and the much higher number of people depending on subsistence activities in Ilulissat. However as most Greenlanders live in Nuuk I argue that it is justified to include Nuuk as a point of departure for my analysis. Nuuk is the capital of Greenland and has the highest population of Greenland, and therefore it is of course of interest to include Nuuk in this discussion.

4.2 Greenland and Denmark through time

As also quoted in chapter 2, Csonka explains that: “West Greenland was the first Inuit area to be intensively colonized and missionized, beginning in 1721” (2005:

327).[2] Similar colonization processes have taken place all over the world. Watts states that: “Colonialism is the establishment and maintenance of rule, for an extended period of time, by a sovereign power over a subordinate and alien people that is separate from the ruling power” (1997: 69). For a long time during the colonial period, it was thought best to have Greenlanders continue seal catching. Only they could do this in such a way as to make a profit (Sørensen 1983: 12).

Boel and Thuesen (1993) have referred to the Danish relationship with Greenland as paternalistic. And they have called it “a Danish version of ‘The White Man’s Burden’” (1993: 36; 2010: 11).[3] Through time Denmark acted as teacher for the people in Greenland, in charge of bringing up and educating the people. According to Boel and Thuesen Denmark wanted to protect Greenlanders from being exploited by outside forces and they emphasize that the combination of protection and domination are crucial elements for understanding the colonial relation (1993: 36-37). For Greenland the Second World War meant a new and larger contact with the outside world. After the war major changes took place in the relationship between Denmark and Greenland (Boel and Thuesen 1993: 34-35).

Dahl (1986) has described the colonialism in Greenland as “ekstern kolonialisme” [external colonialism] because of the distance from Denmark. The distance between Greenland and Denmark, separated by the Atlantic Ocean, and the fact that only a rather small number of Danes settled in Greenland permanently, for which reason Greenlanders have always outnumbered the Danes, are the reasons for describing the colonialism as external colonialism. This has resulted in a better situation for the Greenlanders concerning their national struggle compared to that of, for example, Inuit in Alaska and Canada who have undergone an “intern kolonialisme” [internal colonialism] and have been more dependent on the white majority in their struggles for more autonomy (Dahl 1986: 73-74).

While the relationship between Denmark and Greenland first really started to change after the Second World War, this does not mean that Greenlandic nationalism first arose then. “Greenlandicness” had been a highly debated issue before, as also presented in chapter 2, for example, in the Greenlandic press and among hunters and members of the religious group Peqatigiinniat which was established in 1907-1908 (Boel and Thuesen 1993: 47-48). In their publication Boel and Thuesen refer to work by Kleivan and as Boel and Thuesen (1993: 51) have also included from Kleivan’s work, it shows that despite these expressions of a Greenlandic nationalism, Danish symbols like the flag, *Dannebrog*, and the monarch were also important for Greenlanders (see, for example, Kleivan 1991: 4-10). Kleivan explains that:

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[2] Hansen indicates that Greenland by law first became a colony in 1908 (Hansen 1992: 78).

[3] This quotation is taken from the English version of the publication. I have mainly used the Danish version of the publication by Boel and Thuesen, which was published in 1993. An English version of this article appeared in 2010 (see Boel and Thuesen 2010).

> But in the 20th century, and especially from the 1940'ies, many Greenlandic families and associations bought flags and used them often, whenever there was something to celebrate. The Dannebrog became the people's flag. Danes using the Dannebrog did not prevent Greenlanders from considering it their flag, and this is why there was no hurry in getting a Greenlandic flag when Home Rule was introduced in 1979 (Kleivan 1991: 10).

Boel and Thuesen indicate that the wishes of Greenlanders concerning their relations with Denmark after the war were ambivalent. While there was a wish to be reunited with Denmark, they had also experienced more autonomy, which stimulated more Greenlandic ideas. The feeling that reforms were needed in the relationship between Greenland and Denmark arose. Another aspect which explains the start of changes in the relationship between Greenland and Denmark concerns the United Nations who were working to wind up colonial relations (Boel and Thuesen 1993: 55-57). According to Boel and Thuesen: "The Danish government did not want to see its relations to Greenland being equated with the relations between the large European powers and their colonies" (Boel and Thuesen 2010: 31). Since then major changes have taken place in the relationship between Greenland and Denmark. The most important years in this context are 1953, 1979 and 2009.

Greenland became a county within the Kingdom of Denmark in 1953 (Petersen 1995: 120). Greenland acquired two seats in the Danish Parliament (Kleist 2010: 173). In 1979 Greenland obtained Home Rule and in June 2009, self-government was introduced. Over time Greenland obtained more and more authority, but currently Greenland is still part of the Danish Kingdom (Kleist 2010: 171-179).

In the course of time Greenland really started to break away from the mother country Denmark. It was the Greenlandic elite who started the opposition against Danish rule (Dahl 1988: 81-82). The basic idea of "the introduction of Home Rule was to make Greenland more Greenlandic" (Sørensen 2006: 152). Home Rule also meant the founding of a Greenlandic parliament and Greenlandic government (Kleist 2010: 173). With Home Rule Greenland has in the course of time gained more and more control over various internal affairs such as education, infrastructure, taxation and industry (Kleist 2010: 173-174).

In June 2009 the next step was made with the introduction of self-government. Then the Act on Greenland Self-Government was introduced (Kleist 2010: 171). The introduction means a new relationship with Denmark.[4] Greenlanders are now

[4] Almost simultaneously Greenland installed a new government. The new government was formed by the left wing Inuit Ataqatigiit (IA), the democrats and Kattusseqatigiit Partiiat. It was the first Greenlandic government without Siumut. The new premier, Kuupik Kleist, also installed two ministers who do not speak Greenlandic and whose first language is Danish. Recent elections for the parliament of Greenland took place on March 12th 2013 and November 28th 2014.

recognized as a people with self-determination as their right. This is in accordance with international law. In the act it is highlighted that the Greenlandic government and Danish government are equal partners (Kleist 2010: 180). In addition, the Greenlandic language has become Greenland's official language (Kleist 2010: 191). Self-government makes it possible for the Greenlandic government to take over various affairs from the Danish state. However, when such affairs are taken over, Greenland will have to pay for them itself. The Danish block grant will not increase because of it, which was the case during Home Rule.[5] Even though self-government means more influence for the Greenlandic people, Greenland together with Denmark and the Faroe Islands is still part of the Kingdom of Denmark, Greenlanders are still Danish citizens, and Greenland has not become an independent state (Kleist 2010: 176-181). Despite the introduction of self-government, Kleist explains that it is not expected that Greenland will soon have an independent economy. The economy is, for example, still very much dependent on the Danish block grant. According to Kleist despite possible oil and gas discoveries and climate change that might enable the opening of mines, it is not possible to be self-sustaining for the time being (Kleist 2010: 175-176).

The introduction of self-government does entail important changes in the relationship between Greenland and Denmark. Whether this new relationship will also have consequences for the migration from Greenland to Denmark only time will tell. But in the relationships through time described above, one can identify reasons for Greenlandic identifications with Denmark.

4.3 The modernization of Greenland

The modernization of Greenland started after the Second World War and, for example, entailed the resettlement of Inuit from smaller settlements to towns, the economic focus on fisheries and increased ethnic awareness among Greenlanders (Nuttall 2000: 385). The author Magnus Larsen mentions some important elements of the modernization of Greenland in the poem *Some of the historical events*. He writes for example: "They are now to leave their village 'cause they got no water and debts'" (Larsen 2009: 195) and "Greenlanders are to speak Danish" (Larsen 2009: 195). The poem mentions several of the issues that arose because of the modernization of Greenland. To understand the consequences of the modernization of Greenland better, it is useful to describe some of the changes that occurred in Greenland due to this process. First, the urbanization of Greenland is discussed. Secondly, the use of the Danish language in Greenland will be examined.

[5] In 2009 the block grant was 3,439,6 million Danish kroner and constituted "around 55–60% of Greenland's Finance Act's incomes" (Kleist 2010: 186).

The urbanization that came about due to the G-50 en G-60 policy is an important part of the modernization of Greenland.[6] The centralization that took place had a great impact on the distribution of people. According to Dahl:

> In 1960, 43% of the population lived in more than 100 settlements; when Home Rule was introduced 25% lived in about 80 settlements; and in 2004, 25 years after the introduction of Home Rule, less than 20% lived in approximately the same number of settlements (Dahl 2010: 129).

The urbanization of Greenland offers a good explanation for why notions of *us* and *them* became more explicit. Nuttall (2000) explains that besides the changes in the way of living that accompanied moving from a settlement to a town, Greenlanders also experienced the presence of more "Danes, who were living in Greenland because of the need for construction workers, for teachers, for doctors and administrators" (2000: 385). Dahl states that:

> With the policy of assimilation as promoted by the Danish authorities in the 1950s and 1960s there followed a significant (relatively although not in numbers) immigration of Danes to Greenland, all taking up dominant positions in the society and leaving the Greenlanders as onlookers and in inferior positions (Dahl 2010: 126).

In the course of time the number of Danes increased tremendously. Tróndheim (2002a), who indicates that exact numbers on Danes in Greenland do not exist, shows that between about 250 and 950 Danes lived in Greenland from 1800 to 1950. During the early 1960s about 2,600 Danes lived in Greenland, and this figure increased to about 7,400 in 1969. The highest number was reached in 1989, with about 9,500. Tróndheim explains that thereafter fewer Danes lived in Greenland. Since 1993 (till the end of Tróndheim's research) their number has encompassed about 7,000 individuals, a decrease she ascribes to a crisis and to less favorable work arrangements (moneywise) for Danes than before (2002a: 192, 206).[7]

The changes that occurred in Greenland and their impact on people cannot be ignored. They have led to "ethnic tensions" (Dahl 2010: 126; Nuttall 2000: 385). Nuttall also explains that: "Greenland, for example, was long considered a 'hardship posting'. Although this is no longer the situation, Danes were given better housing than Greenlanders, good pay, free return travel home and other benefits, breeding resentment amongst the indigenous population" (1998: 7). In addition the centralization gave Greenlanders a general feeling of powerlessness (Sejersen 2007: 27). Sejersen explains that:

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[6] G-50 and G-60 refer to Danish policies for Greenland during the 1950s and 1960s and entailed an urbanization of Greenland. See, for example, Sørensen (2006) for a description of the reforms implemented in the 1950s and 1960s.

[7] For more on Danes in Greenland in recent times see, for example, Tróndheim (2002a, 2002b).

> During the 1960s and 1970s, Greenlanders fighting for self-governance used the cities as a symbol of *Danification*, i.e. the colonial process of assimilating Greenlanders into a Danish way of thinking and behaving. Not surprisingly, the hunting and fishing way of life in the smaller communities was singled out by these political activists as more in line with the Greenlandic culture and way of thinking than the hectic urban city life (2007: 27).

While the urbanization of Greenland is often perceived in negative terms, in the course of time the positive sides of urbanization in Greenland have also been stressed (see, for example, Forchhammer and Sørensen 2011; Sørensen 2008). Sejersen also shows that in the course of time things can change tremendously as: "Today, urbanisation is determined and operated by the Inuit-run government as part of a strategy to create a more self-determined Greenland, loosening its colonial ties with Denmark" (2007: 31).

In Denmark I interviewed a Greenlandic male who explained to me that he and his family moved from a settlement to a larger town where better health care [a hospital and modern facilities] were available which would benefit one of his siblings. The informant demonstrated that especially the life of his father changed because of their migration to a larger town.

> T: What did your parents do in […]?
> I: All my sisters and brothers moved to […] and got a house. And then my father had to try to learn to be a hunter in his spare time. From being a full hunter, 100% hunter, he had to be a hunter in his spare time. He was then employed various places in the municipality…
> …
> I: My mother became a housewife at home. And she was already in the settlement as well. To be a housewife involved taking care of the house and children, laundry, cooking, preparing the catch, seals and sealskin. Generally to be mother in the house and bring up the children. She continued doing that in […].

So his father had to pursue another job in the town while he – and also the informant's mother – originated from a hunter family. But at the same time it also shows that because of urbanization there were now places, towns, where better medical help – and other facilities – were to be found than in the smaller settlements. Thus urbanization also had positive effects on the lives of Greenlanders. Dahl also refers to the positive attraction of the towns, but underlines, as also quoted in chapter 2: "People did not, first of all, settle in the towns but they were *settled* there as a consequence of planned developments" (Dahl 2010: 128).

With more Danes in Greenland and the centralization of the Greenlandic population, notions of *us* and *them* became more emphasized. Dahl states that:

> Moving to town implied a move from a world of equals to a world of inequality with Danes as those holding superior positions and power. In the towns, the Greenlanders had jobs associated with Danish culture, but occupying inferior positions or having lower salary than Danish persons with the same type of job. In short, it was in the towns that the Greenlanders *de facto* had the experience of being inferior (Kleivan, 1968; 1969/70) (Dahl 2010: 129).

Dahl also explains that: "The quest for self-government, to be called Home Rule, was linked to the wish for promoting the "traditional Greenlandic culture" (including the Greenlandic Inuit language) as epitomized by life in small settlements" (Dahl 2010: 127). Urbanization caused a Greenlandic opposition – led by "the educated Greenlandic élite, many of them educated or still being educated in Denmark" (Dahl 2010: 132) – to promote a more Greenlandic way. Hunting and the way of life in settlements were considered to represent real Greenlandic culture. Different symbols assisted the struggle for this Greenlandic way (Dahl 2010: 127-134). An important symbol in this context is the Greenlandic language and its use in Greenland (Dahl 2010: 134).

As discussed in previous chapters urbanization in the Arctic has in the course of time received more academic interest. While perceptions might often not indicate this, it is no longer impossible to combine Greenland and city life. Statistics indicate that in more recent times 80% of the Greenlanders have been living in urban centers (Statistics Greenland 2006: 79 in Sejersen 2007: 27). In addition, contemporary Greenlanders include "city people from Nuuk" (Sørensen 2005: 185, my translation), something an informant in Nuuk emphasized as well when talking about her children:

> T: And you mentioned that they do not want to go sailing?
> I: Well, because they are teenagers and they are young and city people.
> T: City people?
> I: In our view. Well it is not so big, but compared to the rest of Greenland it is, the town. I think they act as city children.
> T: And what does that mean, city children?
> I: Well, people who are in town, who want to go to the cinema and disco and this and that, which has not so much to do with experiences in nature. Things that are very unfamiliar to us. To me and my husband, somehow…

Clearly this informant touches upon differences between generations.[8] At the same time her comment illustrates that Nuuk has things to offer to people which are connected to city life.

For understanding current views on urbanization in Greenland, it is of interest to know how urbanization in Nuuk is experienced today. In addition to a rather

[8] For more on experiences of youth in Nuuk see, for example, Rygaard (2008) and Pedersen (2008).

widespread idea that Nuuk is not really Greenland, which has been described already, it is of interest to present how Nuuk is experienced by people living there. For that reason I will shortly discuss some of the expressions used by people in Greenland in interviews I conducted. During fieldwork in Greenland, I would ask informants how they felt about living in that specific location. As most interviews in Greenland were conducted in Nuuk, in most instances this dealt with the informants' experiences of living in Nuuk. In general people in Nuuk talked very positively about living there. One informant, for example, explained:

> There are probably more possibilities. Yes, what is it, actually? You probably don't feel as locked up. In a smaller place, where the society maybe is so small. Nuuk has become a little big. You can almost walk about anonymously. No, you cannot. But you are much more free I think. There are also more possibilities. You get used to shops. There is always something to buy, this and that.

Nuuk seems to be considered a good place to live by the majority of people I spoke to. Positive aspects mentioned by informants include the variety of possibilities in town, being close to nature, educational opportunities and a more exciting life compared to "just" family life in a smaller location, whereas one informant in Ilulissat, who had lived in Nuuk during her childhood, for example, explained:

> I: Nuuk is actually like living in Denmark.
> T: Can you explain this?
> I: People don't greet each other, they don't say good morning to each other or good evening, when they meet. They only meet each other in town when they are drunk or go into town to drink. That is how I see Nuuk. Here in town everyone greets everyone. They say good morning. You just know each other, even though you are not so close to each other, but you just know the people. You know who they are, where they live, where they work, where you have met them. As if everyone in town actually is your family.

While in a group interview with gymnasium students in Nuuk, one student, for example, expressed the view: "I think it is fine, but it can become very boring once in a while. There is not particularly much to do in Nuuk." Other students agreed with him. Other negative aspects of living in Nuuk mentioned by informants, including people living in Nuuk, were, for example, the view of Nuuk as being stressful and not as close to nature. This was mentioned for instance during a group interview with students at the university. A student explained that while he would often go sailing in his home community, being in nature was more difficult in Nuuk, because he did not have access to a boat there. Despite such negative elements, in general I encountered several positive views on Nuuk, which is why my findings correspond with those of Forchhammer and Sørensen (2011). They explain that while the

perception of Nuuk can be negative, people in Nuuk like their town (Forchhammer and Sørensen 2011: 593-594).

4.3.1 Danish in Greenland

Another aspect to be considered in order to understand elements of the colonial relations between Greenland and Denmark is the linguistic situation in Greenland. With Home Rule the Greenlandisation of Greenland commenced, which entailed "a cultural struggle" [kulturkamp, my translation] against the Danification which, amongst other things, had had a major negative impact on the knowledge of the Greenlandic language among children from that era (Mondrup 2003: 7-8).[9] Since the era of Danification the linguistic situation in Greenland has changed tremendously. A clear marker hereof is the fact that in 2009, while there still needs to be extensive teaching in Danish, Greenlandic has become Greenland's official language (Kleist 2010: 191).[10]

In the above mentioned poem by Magnus Larsen, the poet speaks of the role of Danish in Greenland at the time of urbanization. He writes that: "Greenlanders are to speak Danish" (Larsen 2009: 195). These words indicate a certain pressure to speak Danish and relate to the years of Danification in Greenland. Before that era Danish was already used in Greenland. Danish became a required subject in 1925 and the introduction of obligatory school attendance for children between 7 and 14 also occurred at that time. In the early 1920s about 10% of children in West-Greenlandic schools learned Danish. Around 1940 this was the case for about 80% of the children (Sørensen 1983: 55-60).[11] Sørensen explains that during the first centuries of the twentieth century the urge to learn Danish was not a hindrance to Greenland's nationalism. Greenlanders perceived Danes positively; they enabled their advancement. Furthermore, Danes held the most important positions in the country and command of their language was seen as important (Sørensen 2006: 44).

In 1950-52, Danish and Greenlandic classes were introduced within the "folkeskole". This meant that Danish speaking pupils and Greenlandic speaking pupils did not receive education together. The system was abolished in 1994, when

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[9] Tobiassen explains that the Greenlandisation consisted of two elements, the "Strukturel grønlandisering" [structural Greenlandisation], which relates more to political and administrative changes during Home Rule, and the "Kulturel grønlandisering" [cultural Greenlandisation], which focuses on culture and identity (Tobiassen 1998: 169-170).

[10] Due to the focus of this study on Greenlanders in Denmark, during fieldwork I have not concentrated on globalization and the use/future of English in Greenland, but on relations between Greenland and Denmark. For more on globalization in a Greenlandic context, see, for example, Jacobsen, Pedersen, Langgård and Rygaard (2004) and Kjeldgaard and Askegaard (2006).

[11] Sørensen explains that the total proportion of pupils actually dropped after the introduction of obligatory school attendance as children before the introduction frequently started to go to school at an earlier age and stayed longer (2006: 45).

pupils were no longer separated, but were placed in the same classes (Frederiksen 2011: 75). In 1967 Danish became the official language of instruction, in 1979, with Home Rule, Greenlandic became the main language in Greenland, but Danish was considered to be important as a language in which to receive education (Frederiksen 2011: 75-76). Trondhjem explains that in the years from 1961 to 1975 many pupils in Greenland, who were in their 5th to 6th year of education, went to Denmark in order to go to school there for one year. Due to the fact that many parents in Greenland were in favor of Danification and some also used Danish at home, especially in Nuuk, many of these children mainly speak Danish today. The same holds true for the children of many Danish men who came to Greenland in the period from the 1950s to the 1970s and started relationships with Greenlanders and settled in Greenland. Most children born out of these relationships speak first and foremost Danish (Trondhjem 2005: 131).

Without doubt the number of people speaking Danish has increased because of the Danification of Greenland. According to Trondhjem:

> Today about 30% of the population always speaks Greenlandic, about 16,950 persons.
>
> 40% has Greenlandic as their mother tongue and is able to manage well in Danish, about 22,600 persons. 15% is only Danish-speaking, about 8,475 persons. 15% is Danish-speaking and speak Greenlandic well, about 8,475 persons (Trondhjem 2005: 133, my translation).

Speaking the language of the former colonizer is obviously an important part of shared “cultural capital” with the former colonizer. The presence and use of Danish in Greenland is a direct consequence of the colonial history shared by Greenland and Denmark. While the status of Danish in Greenland has changed, the simple fact that my interviews were all conducted in Danish demonstrates that the language still plays a role in current-day Greenland.

The importance of learning Danish has also been highlighted in more recent times. Karen Langgård argues, while stressing the importance of learning Greenlandic very well, that it is necessary to also learn foreign languages (Langgård 2004: 231). She explains that:

> If, as a primarily Greenlandic-speaking person, you master Danish well enough, you will have far more possibilities to search for information, to obtain input and to get a wide horizon and be intellectually stimulated. The strength does not lie in a language shift from Greenlandic to Danish, but in having Greenlandic as your mother tongue, but simultaneously mastering Danish and English as particularly good foreign languages and doing this from an early age (Langgård 2004: 223, my translation).

Langgård argues that a monolingual Greenlandic society will not be beneficial for Greenlandic itself. The subsequent lack of possibilities for high level education and

ways to gain knowledge can even threaten both the Greenlandic language and Greenland's democracy, as people from outside Greenland might be needed in the country and the local population then becomes less influential (Langgård 2004: 223-224). Trondhjem also stresses that many Greenlanders realize that knowledge of Danish is needed in order to pursue an education (Trondheim 2005: 134-135).

This realization was also shown in a group interview with two students at the teacher trainer college in Nuuk. In the interview knowledge of Danish was directly related to educational possibilities. The quotation, which also tells a lot about what Denmark can mean to people in Greenland today, is included later on in the text. The same student indicated that despite the clear advantages of mastering Danish, and while he in the course of time had become used to it, he was also sometimes surprised by the linguistic situation in Nuuk. He explained:

> I: But that they run about and pretend as if they are in Little Copenhagen sometimes, that I can find is a little too much.
> T: What is it they do?
> I: That people speak so much Danish here in Nuuk. Even though I might maybe be sitting with someone who is from Nuuk and he is a 100% Greenlander, but still, he might talk Danish to me. In the beginning, that to me can be a bit strange. They do it because they find it easier to speak Danish together. Maybe their parents haven't been so good in Greenlandic in their youth because of their, the policy which was that you had to become more Danish and because, you don't notice it as much along the coast.

While the use of Danish in small settlements is limited (Dahl 2010: 128), I noticed that bilingualism is rather common in Nuuk. From interviews I learned that Nuuk indeed differs from the rest of the country. While I must add that several Greenlanders I spoke to did say that an interview in Greenlandic would be easier (see also chapter 3), Danish is clearly also frequently used. It seems to be a natural part of daily life, and as such not necessarily considered in sharp contrast to Greenlandic.

The language issue is a recurrent theme in debates on Greenlandic identity, which was also evident during fieldwork as speaking Greenlandic was often mentioned as a reason to identify oneself as a Greenlander. The fact that different language policies applied in the course of time has had consequences for the language knowledge of specific generations. Such consequences are also clearly shown in the words of one informant, who has spent time in Denmark but was living in Greenland at the time of the interview. She explained to me that her youngest son spoke almost no Danish before they went to Denmark, because of the Greenlandisation that took place during his youth while her eldest son spoke Danish really well. The informant explained that her eldest son's knowledge of Danish also had a lot to do with their surroundings, having a close family member who only

spoke Danish, for example. After their move to a neighborhood in Nuuk where there were a lot of mixed marriages, her eldest learned Danish very well. She explained:

> I: …There were many mixed marriages. Their children spoke a lot of Danish. So my boy sat there and really wanted to play with the others, but he couldn't, but he was listening to them, and suddenly he could. He had learned Danish. He has become very bilingual. But the small one, it was Greenlandisation. At that time they pressed it on, I could feel it with the small one, his class teacher, he became really like you should only speak Greenlandic in that class… Some teachers who really were, who stuck to that they had to, everything in Greenlandic… Also when we start to mix Danish and Greenlandic, than he, the small boy, the youngest one, says, you should not speak Danish, only Greenlandic. That is what he was told at school, right. So that was what we got told once in a while. But it was difficult for him when he came to Denmark. He learned a lot.
>
> T: But how does it work in everyday life, you speak Greenlandic together or Danish?
>
> I: Yeah, yeah, we speak Greenlandic together. But we can also mix…

The description by the informant touches on several important issues. While both children learned Danish, the Greenlandisation at school was most noticeable for the youngest son.[12] It also shows the importance of language, both Danish and Greenlandic, flexibility in language use and realizing that bilingualism, and mixing, is part of life in Nuuk, for example, due to mixed marriages. This situation also means that making sharp contrasts between what is Danish and what is Greenlandic is not necessarily useful as in several respects the two are closely connected. Langgård also stresses that such contrasting is not useful (2004) and Trondhjem explains that people realize they need other languages (Trondhjem 2005: 134-135).

In spite of the impact of Greenlandisation, Danish still plays an important role in Greenlandic society and seems to be accepted as such in various contexts. The government which was installed in 2009 also underscored this role by stating that: "Greenland is not alone in the world. There will therefore still be a need to improve skills in Danish, English and other languages" (Government of Greenland's Coalition Agreement for 2009-2013: 13).[13]

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[12] A similar quotation concerning language and the focus on Greenlandic can be found in Askegaard, Arnould and Kjeldgaard (2005: 165).

[13] The quotations stem from the English version of the agreement, which is no longer available online. The Danish version was available on the 16th of October 2013.

4.4 Postcolonial relations

Having presented two clear consequences of past colonial relations between Greenland in Denmark, those being the urbanization of Greenland and the linguistic situation, it is also of interest to know more about how people in Greenland have perceived Denmark in more recent times. What do relations with Denmark mean today for Greenlanders in everyday life? Petersen states that: “Two groups might experience the same event differently” (1995: 125). One could add that it means different things to different people at different periods of time. Similarly, one’s views might change in the course of time. The changing use of and views on the Danish language in Greenland manifest this.

I argue that it makes sense to describe the current relations between Greenland and Denmark as postcolonial relations. In *The Dictionary of Anthropology* (Barfield 2007) postcolonialism is described as “a critical, interdisciplinary tradition that explores the impact of colonial power on the cultures of colonizing and colonized peoples in the past, and the reproduction of colonial relations, representations, and practices in the present” (Gregory 1997: 367). As such postcolonial relations in my view concern the relations that exist and are maintained between the former colonizer (Denmark) and the colonized (Greenland) because of their shared colonial past. Petersen argues that: “The colonial history will unavoidably bring about an effect on mental character and might contain elements that need not be limited to the colonial situation” (Petersen 1995: 125). After which he adds the sentence already quoted above: “Two groups might experience the same event differently” (Petersen 1995: 125). According to Petersen: “It is obvious that the introduction of Home Rule in Greenland was considered the official end of the colonial period. But many practices established in the colonial period were maintained” (Petersen 1995: 124). Petersen mentions the partial continuation of “a uniform price system” for daily products after the introduction of Home Rule no matter where in Greenland these products had to be transported (Petersen 1995: 124). Due to the historical relation between Denmark and Greenland, certain practices, ways of dealing with situations, have not vanished. As such identifications between Denmark and Greenland are not strange and have been maintained through the postcolonial situation.

Thisted (2007) offers a historical explanation for a Greenlandic identification with Denmark, more specifically Copenhagen, by stating that: “Not surprisingly Copenhagen, ”The King’s city”, has occupied a central place in Greenlandic consciousness from the beginning. It was from Copenhagen and at the King’s command that the Danish ships were sent out and declared their authority over Greenland and the Inuit and forbade them to trade with other Europeans” (Thisted 2007: 23, my translation). Thus both the king and Copenhagen were symbols that underscored for the Inuit who was in power (Thisted 2007: 23). And during an interview with an employee at the Greenlandic House in Ålborg, I was told, in relation to more recent times, that the city of Ålborg came into many Greenlanders’

consciousness because of the Greenlandic Harbor in town and the ships that leave from there to Greenland with provisions. A poem written by the author Ole Korneliussen demonstrates how Greenlandic children learned about Denmark in a country where this knowledge seemed rather irrelevant. Korneliussen, for example, describes how they learned about Danish geography, which could seem rather irrelevant in a Greenlandic context (Korneliussen 1993: 10-11). Receiving schooling about Denmark, Danish being part of the curriculum, of course brings about an identification with Denmark.

Despite the fact that there is much more focus on Greenland in the current curriculum and the two-class-system has been abolished, there is still attention for "Denmark" in the schools, one of the reasons being that there are still Danish teachers – teachers from Denmark – involved in teaching in Greenland. This is especially the case at secondary schools in Greenland. When I visited the Gymnasium in Nuuk in 2009, the rector informed me that the school had two Greenlandic teachers among the 35 teaching staff members. However, while Greenlandic is now the first language, Danish has become the first foreign language and the subject is called "Dansk i Grønland" [Danish in Greenland]. Teaching material is still first and foremost in Danish and many of the same books are used in Denmark as well. On the other hand the rector at a *folkeskole* [primary school] I visited in Nuuk explained that the school had five Danish speaking teachers and 49 Greenlandic – bilingual – teachers. The rector of the gymnasium in Nuuk also indicated that the students could encounter language problems. According to the rector the problem mainly concerned first year students, who had to get used to the fact that all teaching would be in Danish.

In addition to the use of Danish as the language of instruction, students at the gymnasium today, for example, also learn about the different periods in Danish literary history. The quotation below indicates that Greenlandic gymnasium students will most likely learn about Danish authors:

> I1: We have really really many Danish books and so few Greenlandic books. Danish is included right from the first grade as far as I can remember. And then you start to learn everything about it, what should I say, in social studies. You learn a lot about Denmark, and the different culture over there.
>
> T: What do you say […]?
>
> I2: We had, for example, at primary school when we had history classes, then we often learned about the old Vikings, Denmark and a little about the Second World War and so on, how Denmark, how they were during the Second World War, for example. So we also learn somewhat about, for example, in Danish classes there is a lot, only, about Denmark. You get a little about everything. You learn about the small periods in Denmark. You get like the Modern Breakthrough…

really a lot of literature and such… You also get to know how the persons were back then, provinces and such.

T: What do you think about this, when you have this in literature, what do you think about that?

I2: It is fine, I find it really exciting...

Thus Greenlandic students hereby build "cultural capital" which they can use in Greenland but which can also be helpful when moving to Denmark. In my view the construction of such cultural capital exemplifies the possible content of postcolonial relations. It relates to knowledge about the country and culture of the former colonizer. In reference to Oostindie (2010), this knowledge can be described as a postcolonial advantage.

In the current Greenlandic context one can also expect that Denmark "mentally" still plays a role for Greenlanders. That this is the case became clear to me when interviewing various Greenlanders in Greenland. I wish to exemplify this through knowledge gained by conducting group interviews. During these interviews with students at a secondary school (*Qeqqani Ilinniarnertuunngorniarfik/Midtgrønlands Gymnasiale Skole*) in Nuuk, the teacher training college (*Ilinniarfissuaq*) in Nuuk, pedagogy college (*Perorsaanermik Ilinniarfik/Socialpædagogisk Seminarium*) in Ilulissat and the university (*Ilisimatusarfik*) in Nuuk, I asked students what Denmark meant to them. The interviews showed that Denmark was in their consciousness, sometimes explicitly so, sometimes less:

From group interview at pedagogy college

T: What do the others say, what is Denmark to you?

I1: …as a child I thought of it as a country to spend your holidays, a country with a lot of entertainment, Tivoli, something we don't have here. It is where you spend your holidays. Where I have nephews and aunts in Denmark. That is how I see it. But when I started to investigate/study, first then I realized how much it impacts, this Danish and Greenlandic and the colonial time. Because I always thought, well it is the past, I want to think about the future. But I discovered how much it means to know about the past, history, Greenlandic history. I was really like that was then, I have to think that way. But I have also found out how much it means to know one's…

T: Past?

I1: Yes, past.

T: Because what does it mean according to you?

I1: Because, we have many, for example, neglected children and young people here today. Why is that? It is because the parents cannot take care of them. It stems from the colonial past. The Danes have the power and then they had to work. Suddenly. Several Greenlandic people got confused about their identity, because they were so ruled.

And then they started drinking and neglecting their children. And those repercussions still have an impact today.

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From group interview at teacher training college

T: Then I turn to another question, in case you can say something about it, what is Denmark to you?

I1: Denmark is Denmark. I have really been there many times. When I went to continuation school, I was doing fine in Denmark, especially in Zealand. What should I say? There is not so much to say about Denmark, other than that I like it and that I would like to live there for a longer period of time.

T: Why would you like that?

I1: To try it. I have only, mainly been there on holiday and only been there one year when I went to continuation school, so maybe I could also try to live there for five years.

T: What about you?

I2: I just watched the film *Eksperimentet*, so I'm a bit anti-Danish lately (laughing). No, but what […] just said, Denmark is Denmark. Denmark has been a colonial master towards Greenland, but after all we have 300 years of history together. So I have family down there. There is the Kingdom of Denmark. And it is warm during the summer and there are trees.

I1: There has been so much Denmark in our consciousness that we call Denmark Denmark. So to speak.

T: What do you mean by Denmark in our consciousness?

I1: Well, as […] said, Denmark has been in our consciousness for a really long time, as if it is ingrained, so to speak, in our everyday life, in case you can say that.

T: Because, for example, at primary school and gymnasium, do you hear a lot about Denmark or?

I2: I don't know how it was for […], but when I went to primary school I learned Danish songs, Danish history, the trees and animals, and then we had to speak so perfect Danish to our Danish teacher here, so thought, we were almost better in speaking Danish than Danish pupils in Denmark, because, there was a little bit too much indoctrination I think. But on the other hand, if you think of it, because I can speak Danish, I have taken more education which I could manage, because for most types of education you can pursue here you will have to speak, know Danish.

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From group interview at the university

I1: Denmark is a country where it is possible for people from Greenland to study within higher education… But it is not just the education. Denmark and Greenland have had a long relationship together. Denmark has kind of become part of our lives. We have family, we have friends who live there. I don't know how to explain it.

T: Has anyone something to add to this or?

…

T: You say Denmark is part of our lives?

I1: Yes, concerning the social relations. Many of us… family has met some other Danes who have become friends or maybe family and so on. When you ask what Denmark is to us, well it is just part of our lives. I don't know how the phrase it in Danish.

T: You mentioned self-government, which was introduced last year, what do think about this?

I2: It is the way forward. The way forward to a totally independent country. We have been a colony of Denmark and, for example, all those political issues we will have more influence.

T: And you say it is the way forward?

I2: Yes.

T: What do you think?

I3: The same. Of course there are both disadvantages and advantages... Our vision is to be more and more independent, that we can rule our own country. Instead of we getting some influence from the Kingdom of Denmark.

Thus students can indicate that Denmark is part of their lives, though this is not always equally obvious to all. Reasons why Denmark is part of their lives include having family in Denmark (which is not uncommon), having a Danish parent, holidays in Denmark and education. Many students I spoke to had been in Denmark several times, mainly for schooling or holiday purposes. In addition, all speak Danish, as their education is first and foremost in Danish and its importance is even highlighted in one of the quotations above. Danish is, for example, also the first language for some of the gymnasium students.

The interviews also showed that while negative points about the Danish colonization were made, for example, in one of the quotations above in relation to deserted children and in another about the requirement to speak perfect Danish, in general I did not encounter a very negative attitude towards Denmark amongst these students, which also relates to the fact that Denmark is associated with opportunities, for example, in education. Denmark was also referred to as *mulighedernes land* [country of possibilities, my translation].[14]

[14] This description of Denmark as *mulighedernes land* is really not uncommon. See, for example, Christensen's study on vulnerable Greenlanders in Denmark (2011). Christensen

This positive identification with Denmark demonstrates that today Denmark still plays a role in Greenlanders' lives. I argue that the precise role and its content will depend on many factors, such as educational level, place of residence, social contacts etc. Educational level because those who wish to pursue a higher education will possibly need to study in Denmark. Place of residence because those living in Nuuk will likely hear and speak more Danish than inhabitants of other locations in Greenland.[15] And social contacts because those from, for example, mixed marriages, with a Danish parent, will have a connection to Denmark through their parent and family in Denmark. The importance of such aspects was also illustrated in an interview with an informant in Nuuk, who studied outside of Greenland, but had returned and soon after got a job in Nuuk. She explained what Denmark was to her thus:

> To me, Denmark is a country with which Greenland has a large connection, both historically and culturally. To me it of course has more, because my father is Danish, therefore I of course have a better knowledge of Danish culture, because I am part of it, because I speak Danish and my father is Danish and we have many things we do in a Danish way at home, maybe.

She also mentioned that before moving to Denmark she really looked forward to studying in Denmark, but at some point, as a result of being away from Greenland, she also missed Greenland and its nature.

I argue that in addition to the factors educational level, place of residence and social contacts, the kind of schooling discussed above also contributes to an identification with Denmark. The students become familiarized with Denmark in several ways.[16] The identification with Denmark does seem to work differently now to

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explains that many of her informants referred to Denmark as mulighedernes land (2011: 31, 41, 81). She, for example, writes that: "Several talk about Denmark as the country of 'possibilities', while at the same time expressing that they are disappointed that the possibilities nevertheless did not emerge after their move to Denmark" (2011: 81, my translation).

[15] The (more) frequent use of Danish in Nuuk compared to other places in Greenland is well known. The rather extensive use of Danish in Nuuk is, for example, also mentioned by Dahl (2010: 137) and Sørensen (2008: 116).

[16] It should be noted that (some) familiarity with Denmark might not always be enough in order to experience a smooth transition when moving to Denmark. Rådet for Socialt Udsatte (2014) and Christensen (2011), for example, indicate that not all Greenlanders know enough about what living in Denmark entails before moving. These reports make clear that differences between (living in) Denmark and Greenland/Danish and Greenlandic society should not be overlooked. In her study on vulnerable Greenlanders in Denmark, Christensen states that: "The research sees the lack of connections with the labor market, loneliness and the absence of Danish friends as various expressions of the fact that the families lack knowledge about the codes necessary in order to acquaint themselves with Danish society. Culture and norms are different in Greenland and Denmark, and even though one learns the language, one does not learn how to manage socially just like that" (2011: 81, my translation).

during the period before the introduction of Home Rule, when, as discussed, ethnic distinctions were stressed. According to Dahl:

> One could also say that the Greenlanders seem to have reconciled themselves with the process of invention (Friedman, 1992) during a history of hegemonic relations in which it no longer makes sense to look at the world in oppositional ethnic terms (Dahl 2010: 126).

This also became clear during my fieldwork, because in several interviews, it became clear that precisely because of the connection with Denmark, through language, education, mixed marriages etc., Denmark is not necessarily seen in oppositional terms. While boundaries between Danes and Greenlanders were underscored before, and were at times even stressed, for instance, the students I interviewed seem to indicate that boundaries do not always matter. While sometimes tensions between what could be considered Danish and what could be considered Greenlandic were mentioned, in Greenland I also encountered a view which indicated that Denmark is not a completely different entity unable to go together with Greenlandic culture.

In addition, it should be added, more than thirty years after the introduction of Home Rule, when contrasts between Greenland and Danish were stressed, today young Greenlanders are also trying out new identifications. Thisted (2011a) underscores that young people in Greenland she talked to did not prefer colonization but globalization as a topic to talk about (Thisted 2011a: 602-603). While my conclusion on current Greenlandic-Danish relations derives from my fieldwork approach and my attempt to understand relations between Denmark and Greenland from a Greenlandic perspective, which I would describe as flexible and complementary towards each other, another dimension, that of globalization, should not be neglected. However, I hold that currently there are a multitude of identifications with Denmark, which can help us to understand migration to Denmark and a description of these suffice for the aim of this study. Nonetheless, both now and in the future, with a self-governed Greenland, additional relations – will – form interesting topics for study.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter has illuminated historical relations between Greenland and Denmark. It has described some of the macro-level contextual issues that play a role in the migration to Denmark. Connections between Greenland and Denmark remain omnipresent. This is manifested clearly through the use of Danish in various arenas and schooling, in which (some) knowledge about Denmark is also passed on to the new generations. Informants I interviewed do not necessarily distinguish as sharply between Denmark and Greenland as might have happened in earlier decades. The

relation is clearly not solely considered in negative terms. Denmark is a place where family might live and it offers educational opportunities.

Various identifications with Denmark have not vanished despite decolonization. While notions of us and them became clearer through, for example, the process of Danification, in the course of time specific “cultural capital” has also brought connections between Greenland and Denmark. This cultural capital enables Greenlanders to identify with Denmark and when they move to Denmark it constitutes their postcolonial bonus. A rather clear example of this relates to the use of Danish in Greenland. Within traditional migration theory this cultural capital could be considered a pull factor. However, Greenlanders have diverse reasons for migrating to Denmark on the micro level, which will be discussed in chapter 6.

5 Greenlanders in Denmark through time: migration in the past and present through numbers

5.1 Introduction

It can be difficult to define who is a Greenlander and who is not. This also makes it rather difficult to estimate how many Greenlanders currently live in Denmark. For the Canadian Census Inuit have been able to identify as a distinct ethnic group.[1] This is not the case in Denmark/Greenland where Danes and Greenlanders are not registered separately based on their ethnicity, which makes it difficult to distinguish between Greenlanders and Danes. They are all Danish citizens (Togeby 2002: 17). Statistics Greenland provides numbers which distinguish between people born in Greenland and people born outside Greenland. Statistics Denmark provides statistics on the number of people born in Greenland but residing in Denmark.[2]

In this research I have not used the criterion of being born in Greenland for finding people to interview. However, almost all informants were born in Greenland, but a few were not. One informant was, for example, born in Denmark during his mother's studies in Denmark and moved to Greenland later on. So in this research self-identified identity is first and foremost used for the selection of informants for the research, which means that the migrants I interviewed in Denmark for this study in general identified themselves as being (fully or partially) Greenlander. This does not mean that some would not also identify as being Danes. In this chapter, the definition used by the statistical offices and in selected reports will mostly be used.

This chapter will briefly go into the question of the presence of Greenlanders in Denmark before the Second World War. As most migration occurred after the war, the focus will be on the period since then and first and foremost on the current situation. But in order to be able to understand migration flows to and from Greenland, these will first be discussed.

5.2 From and to Greenland: some trends

Recently a group of researchers has highlighted the importance of not only looking at net migration in the Arctic, which indicates that the Arctic in general is a sending

[1] The most recent Canadian Census was conducted in 2011. A census is done every five years. The 2011 Census takes a different approach to the 2006 Census. For more information on data provided by Statistics Canada, see the website of Statistics Canada (www.statcan.gc.ca).

[2] Togeby explains that quite a number of people born in Greenland but living in Denmark are children of two Danish parents. In her study only people born in Greenland but living in Denmark with at least one parent born in Greenland are included (Togeby 2002: 17, 158).

region, but also at additional migration flows (see Huskey and Southcott 2010a). In this section I want to present a broader perspective on migration from Greenland. I will focus on some of the migration trends since the 1980s. Both in and out-migration will be covered as well as some differences concerning gender. In addition differences between migration of people born in Greenland and that of those born outside Greenland will be presented. Thus some of the particularities of the migration flows should become clear.

After World War II death rates in Greenland decreased, while birth rates were very high. Due to better health infrastructure the Greenlandic population increased. From the 1960s the birth rates started to decline too (Hamilton and Rasmussen 2010: 46). The total population of Greenland is 56,282 in 2014 (January first) (Statistics Greenland 2014c: 1). In 2013 the total population was 56,370 (January first), of whom 89% (50,101) were born in Greenland. The rest, 11% (6,269), were born outside Greenland. More men (53%) than women (47%) live in Greenland, which Statistics Greenland explains by the number of people born outside Greenland, the majority of whom are men who in most cases have come to Greenland for employment (Statistics Greenland 2013: 1-4). As of January first 2014 almost 1,000 individuals of the entire population in Greenland are not Danish citizens (Statistics Greenland 2014c: 3).

Below an overview is presented of the population in Greenland since 1901, also divided between those born in Greenland and those born outside Denmark.

Year	**Total population of Greenland**	**Born in Greenland**	**Born outside Greenland**
1901	11,893	11,621	272
1911	13,459	13,075	384
1921	14,355	14,081	274
1930	16,901	16,488	413
1946	21,412	20,939	473
1951	23,642	22,581	1,061
1961	33,140	30,378	2,762
1971	46,532	38,912	7,620
1981	50,643	41,459	9,184
1991	55,620	46,778	8,842
2001	56,245	49,623	6,622
2013	56,370	50,101	6,269
Source: Statistics Greenland 2013: 11-12.			

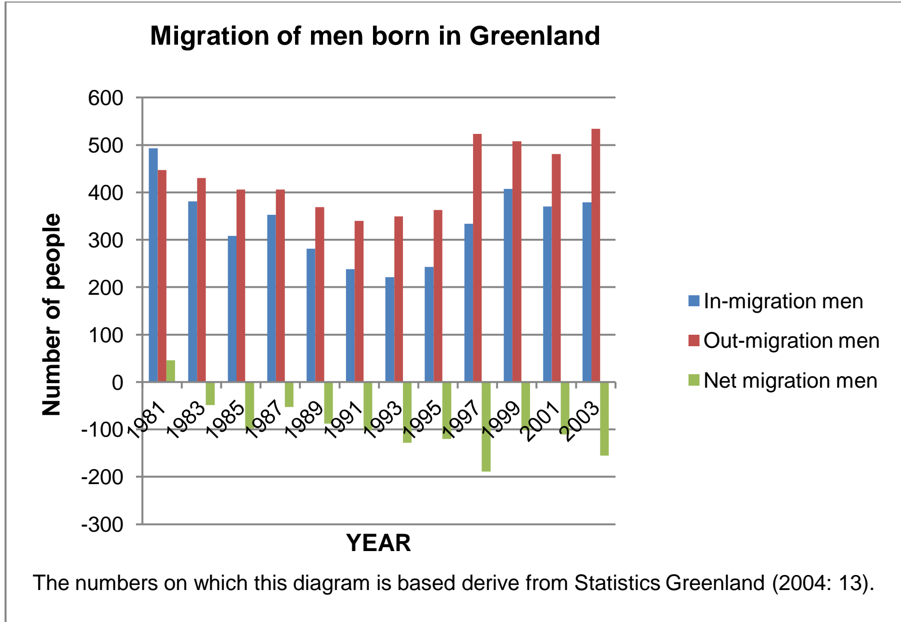
In the statistical yearbook 2013 it is stated that: “From 2005 the population started a slow declining tendency, which is expected to continue in the coming years” (Statistics Greenland 2013: 1). It shows that:

> Since the 1970s, net migration has varied greatly from year to year. With few exceptions, emigration generally exceeds immigration. In the early 1990s a significant decline in immigration led to a large net outflow, so great, that the birth rate could not prevent a decline in the total population. From 2005 to 2008 net emigration was markedly higher than in previous years, especially among ‘persons born in Greenland’ (Statistics Greenland 2013: 9).

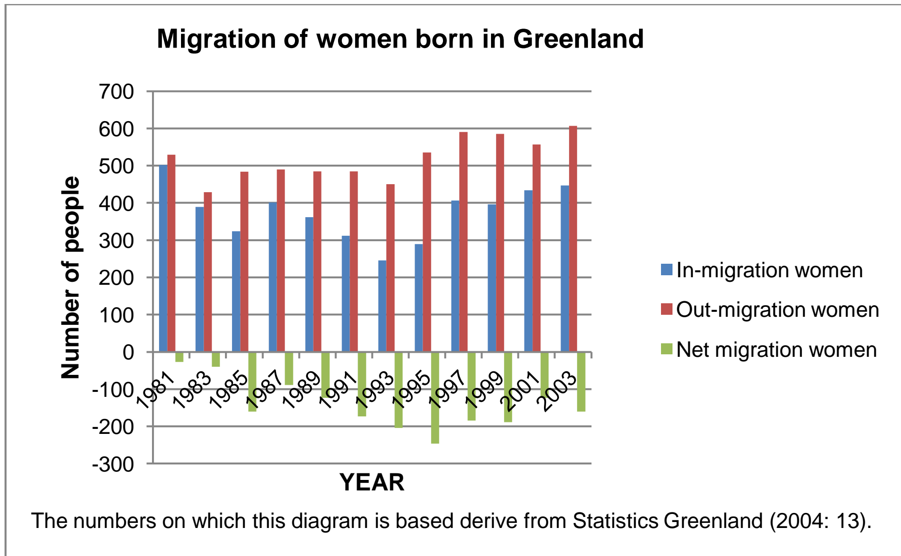
In the same yearbook it is indicated that: “More than nine of 10 migrations are between Denmark and Greenland. The remaining migrations are primarily to or from the other Scandinavian countries” (Statistics Greenland 2013: 9). Concerning return migration of people born in Greenland, statistics for 1981-2003, for example, show that: “After two years between 38 and 49 pct. of those who out-migrated have again returned to Greenland” (Statistics Greenland 2004: 6, my translation).

Another interesting point concerns differences between people born in Greenland and those born outside Greenland. Among the latter the in and out-migration is higher than among people born in Greenland. The number of people born outside Greenland moving to Greenland was much higher in the 1980s than in the 1990s, which as indicated in a publication by Statistics Greenland can, for example, be explained by the fact that more people in Greenland finished their education and consequently skilled labor from outside Greenland was less needed (2004: 8).

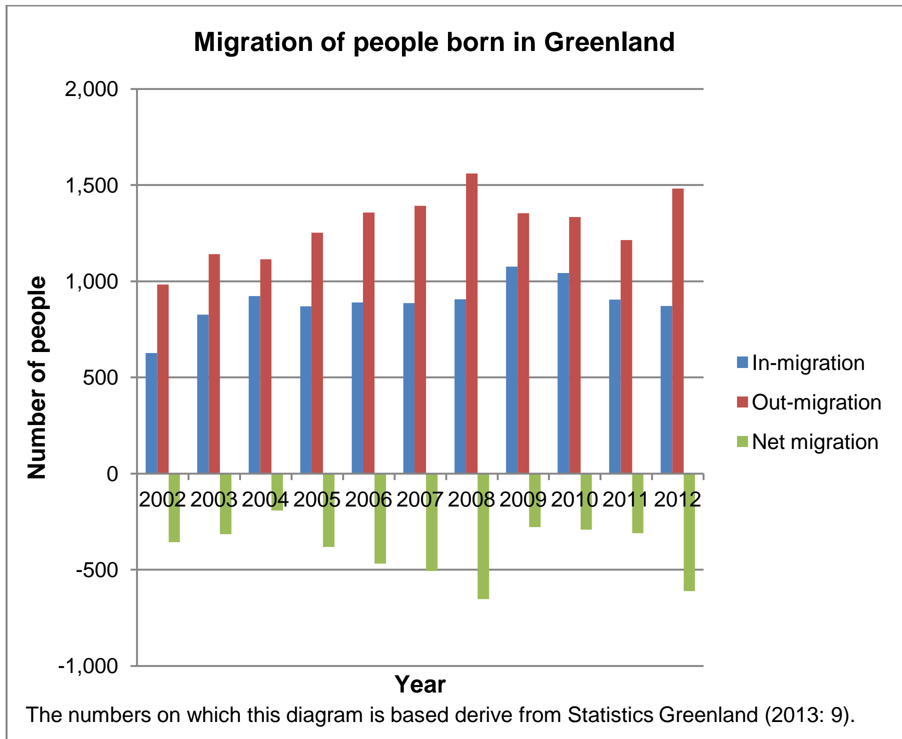
The diagrams below show the in and out-migration and net migration of people born in Greenland in selected years.



The numbers on which this diagram is based derive from Statistics Greenland (2004: 13).



The numbers on which this diagram is based derive from Statistics Greenland (2004: 13).



The numbers on which this diagram is based derive from Statistics Greenland (2013: 9).

The diagrams indicate that in general the out-migration of people born in Greenland is higher than the in-migration. Statistics also demonstrate that women born in Greenland move more than their male counterparts. The opposite is the case for those born outside Greenland, where men move more than women (Statistics Greenland 2004: 5). They state that: "Of the movements that are undertaken by people born in Greenland, on average 114 women immigrated per 100 men and 125 women emigrated per 100 men. On average 48 women migrated for every 100 men in the group of people born outside Greenland" (Statistics Greenland 2004: 5, my translation). In order to understand the difference in migration by men and women during the 1980s it should be noted that "the policy of taking over jobs by Greenlanders turned out to be rather successful in the sense that until 10 years after Home Rule was established the outmigration of men had ceased" (Hansen, Rasmussen and Roto 2012: 73). This "policy" did not have the same outcome for women and "discrimination of women in relation to access of women to higher positions" (Hansen, Rasmussen and Roto 2012: 73) has contributed to a trend of female out-migration (Hansen, Rasmussen and Roto 2012: 73).

This short overview of migration flows from and to Greenland demonstrates that migration to Denmark is the predominant flow and that gender differences also

exist. The presence of Greenlanders in Denmark will be the focus of the rest of this chapter.

5.3 Greenlanders in Denmark until World War II

As discussed in the previous chapter until 1945 Greenland was rather isolated. Denmark first opened up its colony in the Arctic after the Second World War. Due to this isolation, migration to Denmark only took place on a small scale (Togeby 2002). Togeby refers to Bertelsen (1945) and explains that not many Greenlanders came to Denmark and that when they did, education was the main reason why (Bertelsen 1945 in Togeby 2002: 25). As Togeby offers a short historical overview of Greenlandic migration to Denmark, including numbers on Greenlanders in Denmark, in her comprehensive study on Greenlanders in Denmark, this section and the next to a large extent use Togeby's choice of topics and literature related to Greenlandic migration. Some references to original texts are included.

Despite the isolation, Greenlanders have been in Denmark for centuries. They did, however, not always go to Denmark of their own free will. Bertelsen (1945) offers a comprehensive overview of Greenlanders in Denmark until the Second World War, describing the presence of Greenlanders in Denmark from the seventeenth century till then. The author also describes the arrival of Greenlanders who were captured and taken to Denmark. The trip to Denmark by two Greenlanders, Poek and Qiperoq, in 1724, to which I refer in the first chapter, is also included (see Bertelsen (1945: 27-32) for this journey).

Due to the fact that it was especially Greenlandic students who came to Denmark up until the period described by Bertelsen, the focus is on this group. Around 1840 it was decided that those of mixed Danish-Greenlandic origin could undergo education in Denmark (Bertelsen 1945: 124-127). In 1880 a Greenlandic House was opened in Copenhagen (Bertelsen 1945: 99).[3] This house was meant for Greenlanders pursuing education in Denmark. A new "Grønlænderhjem" [Greenlander Home, my translation] was opened in 1928 (Bertelsen 1945: 135). In this period Greenlandic maids also came to Denmark, for example, together with the Danish families employing them (Bertelsen 1945: 178-185). Greenlandic patients also came to Denmark for treatment before the war (Bertelsen 1945: 185-189). The first time this occurred was probably in 1908, when a widow, aged 22, was hospitalized in Denmark (Bertelsen 1945: 186).

5.4 Greenlanders in Denmark since World War II

As presented in the previous chapter, it was after World War II that Greenland's isolation was broken and that the Danish presence in Greenland became more obvious. Togeby (2002) indicates through her choice of sources, that education

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[3] According to Togeby this already happened in 1878 (2002: 48).

continued to be an important reason for Greenlanders to go to Denmark. From the beginning of the 1960s Greenlandic pupils went to Denmark for one year of schooling (Larsen 1992 in Togeby 2002: 25). In relation to the education of young Greenlanders, Togeby also refers to Tine Bryld, who has published a book, *I den bedste mening* [With the best of intentions, my translation], which first appeared in 1998, about these Greenlanders, and is based on interviews (Togeby 2002: 25; Bryld 2010). Bryld describes the story of 22 Greenlandic children who were sent to Denmark to learn Danish in 1951. They were to set the example for the future of Greenland. After one year most of them returned to Greenland and stayed in a foster home in Nuuk, while a few stayed in Denmark with their adoptive parents (Bryld 2010). A recent feature film *Eksperimentet* [The Experiment] (2010) depicts the return of the children to Greenland and their stay in a foster home in Nuuk. In the course of the 1970s fewer young Greenlanders were sent to Denmark for schooling, which was a result of criticism of the Danification of Greenland. In addition, in the course of time more and more schooling became available in Greenland (Togeby 2002: 25-26).

Togeby refers extensively to the study by Barfod et al. (1974) on Greenlanders in Denmark and to a large extent also tries to compare results with this study from the 1970s (Togeby 2002: 18).[4] Barfod et al. conclude that there were 2,853 Greenlanders in 1971 (first of November) who were 14 years or older and registered in Denmark. These individuals have at least one parent who is Greenlandic (Barfod et al. 1974: 56). This number does not include all Greenlandic students who were in Denmark at that time, as not all had to register in Denmark. It does not include other Greenlanders who were not registered either. Therefore Barfod et al. estimate that the number should be around 3,500. According to Barfod et al. about 15% of the Greenlandic population above 14 years of age lived in Denmark in 1971. The authors explain that due to the migration of Greenlandic women to Denmark with their Danish partners, the number of Greenlandic women in Denmark is higher than that of Greenlandic men (Barfod et al. 1974: 58).

With her 2002 study Togeby showed that the number of Greenlanders in Denmark had increased, but according to her the number had only increased slightly in the twenty years from the 1980s (Togeby 2002: 26-28). She estimated that there were about 7,000 Greenlanders in Denmark. This number was based on the criteria that the person was born in Greenland and at least one of the parents was a Greenlander. Togeby estimated that a large proportion of people born in Greenland and living in Denmark had two non-Greenlandic parents. Based on her study's

[4] Togeby also compares the data on Greenlanders in Denmark to various ethnic minorities in Denmark and the Danish population in general (Togeby 2002). In addition, Togeby refers to several other publications which include numbers on Greenlanders in Denmark (Togeby 2002: 25-28).

procedure, it is expected that at least 35% of those people born in Greenland but living in Denmark have two non-Greenlandic parents (Togeby 2002: 26).

Owing to the fact that Statistics Denmark does not differentiate between Greenlanders and Danes – all are Danish citizens – it is difficult to give precise numbers of Greenlanders in Denmark, but Hamilton and Rasmussen explain that:

> The total Greenland-born population living in Denmark (the destination for most out-migrants) rose from 3636 males and 5094 females in 1980 to 5527 males and 7955 females in 2006–about 70 males per 100 females, within a group comparable to 26% of the Greenland-born population still in Greenland (Hamilton and Rasmussen 2010: 49).

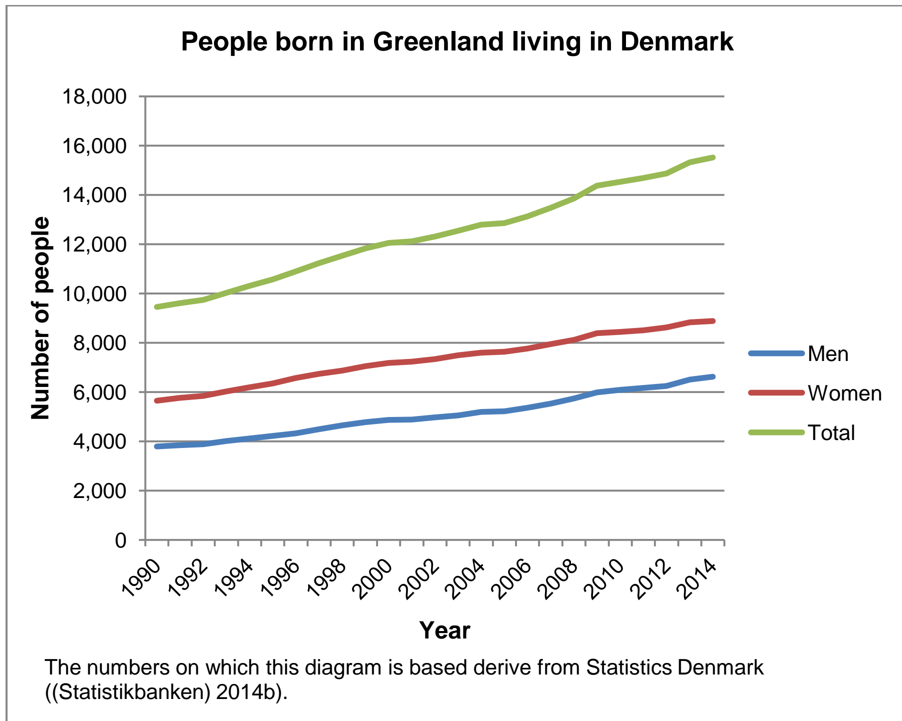
This number is much higher (5,527 plus 7,955 = 13,482) than the number of Greenlanders in Denmark based on the definition used by Togeby and shows the number of people born in Greenland but living in Denmark. As we will see below, a higher number was presented by the North Atlantic Group in the Danish Parliament.

5.5 Greenlanders in Denmark: in recent times

As of January first 2014 Statistics Denmark indicates that the total number of people born in Greenland and residing in Denmark was 15,521. Of these 6,632 are men and 8,889 are women. Most of them live in the municipality of Copenhagen, where 1,957 of the people born in Greenland are to be found. But in fact, in nearly all Danish municipalities there are people who were born in Greenland.[5] In 1974 Barfod et al. already noticed that Greenlanders live all across Denmark (1974: 62). About 30 years later Togeby makes a similar point (2002: 153), as is also the case in a publication by the North Atlantic Group in the Danish parliament (2007: 8). In relation to the higher number of women born in Greenland living in Denmark than men Hamilton and Rasmussen state that: “Among Greenlanders living in Denmark, the preponderance of females at ages 35 and up includes many who married Danish men during the years of high Danish presence in Greenland (roughly 1970-95)” (Hamilton and Rasmussen 2010: 49-50).

Below I present figures showing the number of people born in Greenland and residing in Denmark.

[5] These 2014 numbers were given to me by an employee of one of the Greenlandic Houses in Denmark, which obtain the data from Statistics Denmark (2014a). These data on people born in Greenland living in Denmark are processed by Statistics Denmark by order of the Greenlandic Houses.



The numbers on which this diagram is based derive from Statistics Denmark ((Statistikbanken) 2014b).

Regions in Denmark and number of people born in Greenland (as of January first 2014) (Statistics Denmark 2014a):

Region Hovedstaden:	4,235
Region Syddanmark:	3,544
Region Midtjylland:	3,463
Region Nordjylland:	2,448
Region Sjælland:	1,831

Municipalities in Denmark with the highest number of people born in Greenland (as of January first 2014) (Statistics Denmark 2014a):

Copenhagen:	1,957
Aalborg:	1,337
Aarhus:	1,153
Odense:	717
Esbjerg:	520
Vejle:	374

According to the North Atlantic Group in the Danish Parliament, there were 18,563 Greenlanders in Denmark in 2007. This number includes Greenlanders from three generations. The North Atlantic Group explains that:

> The background for this division and inclusion of second and third generation is because we think that both first, second and third generation Greenlanders in Denmark through their family attachment to Greenland have a relation to the culture and the country that is more nuanced than that of others (NAGDP 2007: 5, my translation).

In their report it is stated that: "Very many Greenlandic citizens contribute positively to Danish society, just as they contribute to enabling us to hereby show that there also is a large group of well-functioning Greenlanders in Denmark" (NAGDP 2007: 22, my translation).

In the publication by the North Atlantic Group in the Danish Parliament Greenlanders are defined as:

> 1) Danish citizens, who are registered as born in Greenland and who reside in Denmark except those persons both of whose parents were born in Denmark (1. generation)
> 2) Children of the 1. generation, who were born either in Greenland or in Denmark and who now reside in Denmark (2. generation)
> 3) Grandchildren of the 1. generation, who were born either in Greenland or in Denmark and who now reside in Denmark (3. generation) (NAGDP 2007: 5, my translation).

In the first generation there are 5,116 persons, in the second 8,097 and in the third generation 5,350 (NAGDP 2007: 5). Of those of the first generation, who were all born in Greenland, most who have moved to Denmark and not returned in the meanwhile came before 1975 between 1975 and 1979, or between 2000 and 2005 (NAGDP 2007: 18). The publication also offers more details about Greenlanders in Denmark.[6] I will use this data to provide more information below about the socio-economic situation of Greenlanders in Denmark. In this, I will focus on the data provided for the first generation as the focus of this book is on Greenlanders in this category.[7]

The number quoted by the North Atlantic Group in the Danish Parliament shows that more Greenlandic women than men live in Denmark, and especially

[6] In later chapters I will go into more detail with subsequent publications by the North Atlantic Group in the Danish Parliament as they are, as is this first publication, interesting for my examination of representations and perceptions of Greenlanders in Denmark and offer recent information on Greenlanders in Denmark. It should be noted that the later reports deal with Greenlanders aged 20-49 from the first generation with a job or enrolled in some form of education (NAGDP 2011a: 4, 2011b: 5).

[7] Percentages presented are either adopted from the sources used or calculated by myself based on the available numbers and then indicate the nearest full percentage.

among the first generation there are more women than men. This high proportion of women corresponds with data presented above. They account for 67% (3,435) of all Greenlanders from the first generation (NAGDP 2007: 6-7). Concerning the partners of Greenlanders in Denmark, of all Greenlanders with a Danish spouse (that is: a person born in Denmark), who account for 19% (3,566) of all Greenlanders in Denmark, 71% are women. Women, as explained in the publication, tend to move to Denmark to accompany their Danish partners. 78% (14,496) of the Greenlanders are not married. Only a very small proportion of the Greenlanders are married to a person born in Greenland (NAGDP 2007: 21). Among the first generation most Greenlanders are between the ages of 40 and 60. They account for almost 53% (2,697) of all Greenlanders in the first generation. Those beneath the age of 25 account for less than 10% (502) of the entire first generation (NAGDP 2007: 6-7).[8]

Selected characteristics for 1. generation Greenlanders in Denmark

Characteristic	Percentage of entire first generation
Women	Circa 67%
Between the ages of 40-60	Circa 53%
Finished some kind of schooling in Denmark	Circa 67%
Employed	Circa 39%
Receiving social benefits	Circa 66%
House rented	Circa 56%
House owned	Circa 37%
The numbers on which these percentages are based derive from the North Atlantic Group in the Danish Parliament (2007: 6, 7, 10, 13, 16, 19).	

Of all Greenlanders in Denmark 53% (9,891) have finished an education. This number includes all kinds of schooling, from primary school up until a university degree. In the publication it is explained that the younger ages of the third generation mean that higher education has not yet been completed by many of this group (NAGDP 2007: 10-11). Of the first generation almost 67% (3,411) have finished some kind of schooling. It is also indicated that due to the fact that the data does not include education finished outside Denmark, the number is most likely higher as it is expected that people from the first generation have in many cases finished an

[8] For similar and additional data see, for example, Togeby (2002).

education before moving. Of the entire first generation almost 7% was undergoing education (NAGDP 2007: 10-12).[9]

Of all Greenlanders almost 34% (6,287) are employed, while the total percentage of persons not working is 66% (12,276). Also in this context, it is explained in the booklet that one needs to be aware of the generally young age of the entire group of Greenlanders. Among the Greenlanders of the first generation 39% (1,988) are employed. Data show that about 63% of the group do not receive social benefits. Those who receive social benefits are mainly to be found among the first (almost 66%) and the second generations (38%). Among the first generation most of the people receiving social benefits either receive “førtidspension” [early retirement money] (27% of those receiving social benefits), “kontanthjælp” [cash benefit] (almost 20% of those receiving social benefits), or “folkepension” [old age pension] (almost 16% of those receiving social benefits) (NAGDP 2007: 13-17).

The North Atlantic Group in the Danish Parliament has also included numbers on the housing situation of Greenlanders. Of the first generation most Greenlanders rent a house in Denmark. They account for almost 56% (2,851), while 37% (1,911) own a house. Of the first generation most Greenlanders either live alone (almost 29%) or together with one person (35%) (NAGDP 2007: 19-20).

The data show that there are important differences between the generations, for example, concerning social benefits and gender. Having presented these basic statistics on the social-economic situation of Greenlanders in Denmark, data from the extensive research on mobility (see Rasmussen 2010) will now be used to supplement the information presented above.[10] This research, which I have referred to in previous chapters as well, also included Greenlanders in Denmark and can be seen both as a result of and a contribution to the discussions on the need for an external labor force if large scale projects are initiated. This, as also presented in chapter 2, is/can become an important topic in Greenland (Rasmussen 2011: 119). The importance of including out-migration in research on Greenlandic migration is also clear as in 1996 22.5% and in 2006 19.9% of migration in a Greenlandic context concerned out-migration (Rasmussen 2010: 37).

The research on mobility in a Greenlandic context (see Rasmussen 2010) has included respondents from three groups of Greenlanders in Denmark. These comprise first generation Greenlanders, meaning people who live in Denmark, were born in Greenland and who have at least one parent born in Greenland. Their children, in cases where they were born in Greenland or Denmark and reside in Denmark, constitute the second generation Greenlanders. Newcomers, that is Greenlanders who moved to Denmark in 2007-2008, encompass the third group

[9] The North Atlantic Group derived these data from Statistics Denmark. The data presents the highest finished education per 1st of October 2005 (NAGDP 2007: 10-11).
[10] For more information and a selection of results from this research in English see Hansen and Rasmussen (2013) and Rasmussen (2013).

(Rasmussen 2010: 190-191).[11] Below I will present data that supplements the data from the North Atlantic Group. Some additional data from this study will be referred to in subsequent chapters.

The data indicate that about 64% of the first generation respondents spent most of the first 15 years of their lives in Greenland. Among the second generation this accounts for 34%. Not surprisingly, within the group of newcomers almost 98% spent most of those first 15 years in Greenland. The study has looked into the role family and friends in Greenland play for the various groups and it shows that of the three groups newcomers find being together with family and friends in Greenland most important, followed by members of the first generation (Rasmussen 2010: 193-195). It is also among newcomers where we find the most participants who consider moving back to Greenland. About 50% of them consider this sometimes or often. Among the first and second generation about 30% consider returning to Greenland, which includes those who infrequently consider returning. Less than 5% often consider returning, which for the first generation, for example, is explained by their adjustment to Danish society (Rasmussen 2010: 196-197). Of the two generations about or more than 50% indicate that they feel very strongly attached to Denmark, while this accounts for a much smaller group of the newcomers (Rasmussen 2010: 197-198).[12] Respondents from both the first and second generations have almost all replied “always” or “mostly” to this question on whether they like living in Denmark. Among newcomers the proportion of respondents replying “always” is much lower. But still by far the majority replied either “always” or “mostly” to this question (Rasmussen 2010: 197).[13] Concerning someone’s partner [Danish: samlever], the research shows that almost 90% of the respondents from both the first and the second generation with a partner have a Danish partner, which in the publication is considered a reason why they feel strongly attached to Denmark. Among newcomers the division between Danish and Greenlandic partners is almost fifty/fifty (Rasmussen 2010: 199).[14]

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[11] The latter group is further divided into those aged above and under 40 (see, for example, Rasmussen 2010: 196-197). In the presentation of selected findings I first and foremost stick to the three groups (first generation, second generation and newcomers).

[12] In the publication it states that about 25% of the newcomers feel very strongly attached to Denmark. The enclosed diagram, however, indicates a lower very strong attachment (Rasmussen 2010: 198). An English publication including some of the same data indicates that about 20% of the newcomers above 40 and about 15% of those under 40 feel strongly attached to Denmark (Rasmussen 2013: 207-208).

[13] Togeby has also asked whether people feel good living in Denmark. Of the males, 61% feel very good in Denmark. For females the percentage is 67%. In comparing her results with those of Barfod et al. (1974) Togeby finds that Greenlanders in Denmark three decades later feel better in Denmark than during Barfod’s et al. study (Togeby 2002: 122-123).

[14] NAGDP (2011a) shows that of the Greenlandic population in Denmark between the ages of 20 and 49 with a job or taking an education (NAGDP 2011a: 4), 82% of the women with a partner have a Danish partner. For men this accounts for 72%. In the publication it is

Last but not least I also want to include the information Rasmussen (2010) provides concerning the education of Greenlanders. In contrast to the report by the North Atlantic Group in the Danish Parliament (2007) Rasmussen (2010) also includes education finished in Greenland. In relation to education this study shows:

> Firstly, that the educational level is considerably above the level in Greenland. In fact it is particularly high, also seen in a Danish context. Secondly, that the educational level is at a higher level among the 2nd generation Greenlanders than is the case for the 1st generation group. The level is high for the first generation, but especially within the long more advanced studies there is a pronounced increase among the group of second generation Greenlanders (Rasmussen 2010: 200, my translation).[15]

Rasmussen points out that the educational level of newcomers is much lower, but also explains that this should be seen in the light of the fact that many within this group will have moved to Denmark in order to pursue further education (Rasmussen 2010: 200).[16]

While various numbers presented here may not be "perfect", which is due to the definition used in statistics to define "Greenlanders", they do provide us with some basic information that enables us to understand the situation of "Greenlanders" in Denmark. This again helps us to understand the more qualitative data, which form the core of the rest of this book. Another important aspect of some of the presented data and their subsequent relevance is that they manifest a specific interest in Greenlanders in Denmark. This interest forms material for subsequent chapters.

5.6 Conclusion

Greenlandic migration to Denmark is mainly a post Second World War phenomenon. Before the Second World War, Greenland was isolated from the rest of the world. Greenlanders moving to Denmark in the period before the war mainly did so to pursue education. This reason for migration continued to be important after the war. Today there are about 15,000 people living in Denmark who were born in Greenland. This chapter has demonstrated that the numbers used to identify Greenlanders in Denmark are disputable. For this reason a qualitative study, in which self-

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mentioned that the higher percentage of Danish partners among women, is seen as a reason why more women stay in Denmark than men (2011a: 8).

[15] Because not all respondents replied to the questions on education, in the study it is indicated that the data is not entirely reliable (Rasmussen 2010: 200).

[16] For some comparative statistics on Greenlanders, Faeroese people and Icelanders in Denmark and the entire population in Denmark see a publication by Økonomisk Råd (2013). For Greenlandic demography in a Nordic context, including information on migration, see Hansen, Rasmussen and Roto (2012).

identification is used makes good sense. In this way it is more likely that people who "really" identify as Greenlander are included.

In relation to the numbers presented, one central aspect is that these numbers do indicate that more "Greenlandic" women than men live in Denmark. While the number of "Greenlanders in Denmark" has increased, it is important to notice that return migration also takes place. Contrasting migration to Denmark with that of additional migration flows offers a better understanding of different patterns of migration. For this reason the next chapter will include such additional migration flows as they were discussed in interviews with Greenlanders in both Denmark and Greenland. Reasons for Greenlanders to migrate and experiences of living in Denmark are presented in the next chapter.

6 Moving to Denmark: migration reasons, diversity and experiences

6.1 Introduction

While the previous chapter was first and foremost based on statistical data, in this chapter the data collected through fieldwork will be used to investigate what reasons Greenlandic Inuit have for moving to Denmark. What do personal stories tell us about migration reasons or motivations? The most prevalent of these will be scrutinized in more detail. Next, it is also of importance to include Greenlanders' experiences in Denmark. This enables us to scrutinize whether Denmark turns out to be the "promised land".

An aspect concerning perceptions of migration that will be manifested in this chapter is that migration of Greenlandic Inuit is not a one-way process. While statistics on migration in the Arctic in general show an out-migration (Huskey and Southcott 2010b), looking at Greenlandic Inuit and their migration patterns in more detail shows a more diverse picture. I therefore also agree with the statement that: "Net migration tells us less about migration than do the population flows into and out of the region" (Huskey and Southcott 2010b: v) and "focusing on net migration provides too simple a story of migration in the north" (Huskey and Howe 2010: 24). Therefore this chapter also deals with return migration to Greenland and internal migration within both Denmark and Greenland to some extent.

It has been demonstrated that Denmark is the most chosen destination for Greenlanders to move to when leaving Greenland. Now the reasons for leaving will also be discussed. I will present data from my research in two ways. First I will use information gained from informants about movements of Greenlanders to Denmark in general. This part includes replies by informants who are not necessarily migrants themselves. Their replies do not necessarily present their own reasons for moving, but as they are in most cases familiar with migration of their countrymen, they are able to give useful data on this. It will enable us to experience the discourses that exist about migration. Next I will go into detail about some of the reasons mentioned by informants/Greenlanders I interviewed in Denmark. As we will see in this chapter, several Greenlanders have lived in Denmark before. The focus in this chapter is on the reasons for their most recent move.

6.2 Various migration discourses: why Greenlanders move to Denmark

Statistics clearly show that Denmark is the main destination for Greenlanders or people born in Greenland. But why do Greenlanders want to move to Denmark? The

North Atlantic Group in the Danish Parliament conducted several studies on Greenlanders in Denmark. The last report indicates what according to the Greenlandic informants are the logical stages in life for considering moving from Greenland to Denmark. These were: “Folkeskole/upper secondary school”, “Higher education”, “First job/new job”, “First house/new house”, “When the children have to go to school”, “Possible divorce”, “Possible illness” [“Folkeskole/gymnasium”, “Videregående uddannelse”, Første arbejde/nyt arbejde”, Første bolig/ny bolig”, “Når børnene skal i skole”, “Evt. skilsmisse”, “Evt. sygdom”] (NAGDP 2011b: 20, my translation).[1] In the report it says:

> All these various stages of life are emphasized as potential moments, when it is an advantage to move from Greenland to Denmark, as Denmark socially is better able to meet the needs, one has as a citizen (2011b: 20, my translation).

I will now discuss what I encountered during my research concerning reasons to move to Denmark.[2]

An explanation for migration to Denmark was given by an employee at the municipality of Sermersooq in Greenland. In our conversation we discussed whether the municipality in general helped people if they wanted to move to Denmark:

> T: In case someone comes here to the municipality, and I don’t know whether they do, someone who considers moving to Denmark, can they enquire at the municipality?
> I: No, than you will just go to Denmark and move in…
> …
> T: Can you receive help here, can you enquire at the municipality and say I would like information about moving to Denmark. Does that happen? Is it possible?
> I: No. I have never run into that. We will never ever help someone financially with that. Never. There is no money for that…
> T: But I also think of, maybe it is not the municipality that does this, in case you live in Nuuk, and think I would like to live in Denmark, you just do it?
> I: Yes.
> T: Yes, that is indeed also my impression.
> I: Yes, you just do it.
> T: But I could imagine you want some information about how living in Denmark is.
> I: I think it goes from mouth to mouth, from family to family. I don’t have the impression that people search for information as such. You have

[1] The report also describes some differences between the stages when Greenlanders tend to move and the stages when Faroese migrants tend to move (NAGDP 2011b: 19-20).

[2] For another recent overview of reasons to move to Denmark, see a report by Rådet for Socialt Udsatte (2014: 12).

> to think of, what is really noticeable… that it has been a colony. They feel like a part of 'what is Danish' also. So going to Denmark is not unfamiliar. That is, in quotation marks, right…

In other words, Denmark might not be considered to be a foreign country. Denmark is close in many respects and therefore moving there might not seem to be a huge step. A social counselor in Denmark made a similar comment when explaining that in Greenland Denmark feels very close, while this is not the case the other way around. The social counselor made me understand that Greenlanders (seem to) perceive themselves more as part of the Kingdom of Denmark/the same community, which includes Danes, than Danes perceive Greenlanders to be part of the same community.

In 2011 the Danish street paper *Hus Forbi* included three short articles (Jensen 2011a, 2011b, 2011c) on (the increased number of) young Greenlanders moving to Denmark. Based on interviews with experts in Denmark, it shows that it is not uncommon that these young Greenlanders have ideas about life in Denmark, where they expect to improve their lives, which are not correct (Jensen 2011a, 2011b). An article based on interviews with two young Greenlanders exemplifies the difficulties they encountered in Denmark. One or both of them have, for example, experienced difficulties in relation to going to school, finding a job without an education, missing family and friends in Greenland and alcohol addiction through joining (other) socially vulnerable Greenlanders in Denmark (Jensen 2011c). Understanding why people choose to move to Denmark is therefore important. An employee at the municipality of Qaasuitsup in Greenland, for example, replied to my question why Greenlanders move to Denmark that:

> Part of the reasons is probably that we keep up with the rest of the world through media. And we watch many programmes from Denmark, where life looks like it is much easier to be in Denmark. They talk to acquaintances and friends who have been in Denmark or live in Denmark and hear, yes there it is much cheaper, food products. That is, life as such is easier, right. And this tempts them…

It shows that people might start perceiving Denmark as a possible destination because they are informed about Denmark through different media, for example, through Danish television which is available in Greenland. It can give the impression that life in Denmark is easier and better.[3]

That the transfer of positive information occurred in the past as well clearly showed in comments by an elderly Greenlandic man and his Danish wife who had

[3] My interest for discourses/imaginations/perceptions of Denmark and migration to Denmark was also triggered by the *Workshop: on the role of imaginations, perceptions and discourses in the migration project decision making process* at the 9th IMISCOE conference in Amsterdam, the Netherlands on the 29th of August 2012, organized by Willems and Timmerman. For a paper related to this topic, see, for example, Timmerman, Heyse and van Mol (2010).

moved between Greenland and Denmark several times, but lived in Denmark at the time of the interview. He (I2) and his wife (I1) explained what one could hear about Denmark while living in Greenland:

> I1: About how nice it is here. Have you never been to Denmark? You should try it. It is so beautiful there.
>
> I2: No, for example, if we take my uncle […], he is a blacksmith, he came to Denmark just after the war, and got trained as a blacksmith and mechanic. He was a skilful guy already… He had a bicycle with him to Greenland. That is what we use in Denmark when we have to go from town to town. That you cannot do in Greenland.

This Greenlander thus explains that Denmark could be perceived as a nice place with education and travel possibilities, which especially during colonial times were much more limited in Greenland. Another Greenlander in Copenhagen explained that due to colonialism Greenlanders have looked up to everything Danish, and when talking to social counselors at a Greenlandic House in Denmark, I was told by one of them that she had experienced in Greenland that going to Denmark was considered “a privilege”.

Fieldwork showed me that networks in Denmark, family or friends who have already moved to Denmark, form an important direct link with Denmark. Such transnational ties also inform stay-behinds about life in Denmark. Today too many Greenlanders have spent time in Denmark and are better aware of what the country has to offer. They include Greenlandic students who moved to Denmark because of their post-secondary studies. Others include younger Greenlanders who spent time in Denmark as children in order to learn Danish. This was very common during the 1960s and 1970s (see Jensen 2001). During this period knowledge of the Danish language was considered an important asset for Greenlanders, but with increased Greenlandisation after the introduction of Home Rule and self-government, including a stronger focus on the Greenlandic language, the role of Danish in Greenland has changed. But despite such changes in Greenland and increased movements between Denmark and Greenland, positive imaginations about Denmark still exist. The idea of Denmark being “mulighedernes land” [The country of possibilities] is common (Christensen 2011: 31, 41). This perception of Denmark by Greenlanders is not exceptional, as Oostindie indicates that in a Dutch context, Antilleans, despite a relatively high level of living in the Antilles, might picture an even better situation in the Netherlands, to which they can move because of their citizenship, which explains their migration. Oostindie also indicates that this situation applies to other non-sovereign Caribbean islands (2010: 38-39). As such Greenlandic migration to Denmark shows similarities with other migration flows in the world.

It is of interest to see whether Greenlandic experiences in Denmark correspond to the pre-existing imaginings about life there. A short answer to this question this would be both yes and no. As Patrick, Tomiak, Brown, Langille and Vieru (2011: 73)

also stress in relation to Inuit in Ottawa, in several publications on Greenlanders in Denmark it is emphasized that Greenlandic Inuit in Denmark constitute a diverse group of people. In, for example, *Hvidbog om socialt udsatte grønlændere i Danmark* it is said that: “It is not possible to talk about Greenlanders in Denmark as a homogenous group with similar backgrounds and vital necessities. The typical Greenlander in Denmark does not exist” (Socialministeriet 2003: 5, my translation). Due to the fact that the group of Greenlanders in Denmark is a heterogeneous group, it is not possible to present a fully representative overview of their experiences there. I will present some of their experiences later on in this chapter.

However, first I want to consider what recent reasons have been for moving away from Greenland. During fieldwork many different reasons were mentioned. Below I present some of the views I encountered. The first quotation stems from a group interview with members of a Greenlandic society in Denmark, the second is from a representative of the Greenland Workers Union and the third indicates what a student in a group interview with two students in Greenland told me:

First

I1: I have heard many who still have the reason of school and the children, schooling. I often hear about them when they move here, families with children, then it is usually because of school conditions.

…

I2: There are some pensioners who leave Greenland and want to live in Denmark when they get a pension. So there are some who move, but not only because of children, but to live another life. And maybe also because they are married to a Dane and have to go back to Denmark again…

…

I3: Sometimes you hear the housing situation is so bad in Greenland that they actually move to Denmark in order to get a place to live in…

…

I4: For instance, a number of Greenlanders, I have noticed, move because of the hospital service. When they get sick, they don’t get the right help for their illnesses. That is one of the reasons why a number of Greenlanders move, because they are supposed to receive the right medicine more easily here in Denmark. Due to a large lack of doctors at those places.

I2: It is also because there are long waiting lists, there are enormously long waiting lists, waiting lists of several years. So then it is much easier to travel to, move to Denmark and say now I can be treated…

I3: The most seriously ill have to go to *Rigshospitalet* [T: in Copenhagen], it is their nearest hospital… For Greenland it takes at least a day travelling to get to the hospital, irrespective of how ill they are. Rigshospitalet is the nearest or Nuuk...

I1: ...There you are very isolated, everyone in his/her own town. And it is very, very expensive, just to travel to the other towns. That can be one of the reasons.

——

Second

I: In case you have been in the shops and you have looked at the prices, then they are relatively high, even though we don't have value added tax in Greenland. They claim it is because of the freight. But I think the shops have a high profit. That is probably where the problem lies.

…

I: And our social networks are very, very, very, very bad. In case you lose your job. There are definitely many of our members who experience it. They only get what they are entitled to during their unemployment. But when they go beyond those thirteen weeks, need further help, then many of our members experience that they need to sign that the day they get a job, they have to pay…

T: You have to pay back?

I: Yes, it sounds strange. It sounds strange.

…

I: I have pointed out in the old program that the municipalities are much more aggressive than the banks. Because the day they get their wages, they have to pay back 1/3 of their wage to the municipality and in addition, they have to pay the bills. And then there is a lack of housing in certain large towns. That is, I think, that it is the social networks here in Greenland which lead to people moving to Denmark…

——

Third

I: It will probably be those who have an education mainly which they can use in Denmark either to study further or to work there. But there are also social moves, in case you can call it such, who think our social legislation is so bad that they need to go to Denmark in order to manage, they think. But I have also heard that alcoholics move there because they think it is easier to get social help which they then use to party. Three different groups, I think, I hear most about.

The third group the last informant thought of were pensioners, who as he mentioned, and his fellow informant during the group interview had also already indicated, can get a much higher pension in Denmark. As such, these reasons mentioned here, to which still others can be added, show that these findings correspond to other research, inasmuch as: "Current research sees the impetus to migration as more complex both for individuals and for entire groups of people. Often push and pull factors operate simultaneously . . . and there is no single profile of a typical migrant" (Lessinger 1995:71, 72 in Brettell 2008: 119). People move for different reasons.

One could add that consequently it is to be expected that migrants will have different experiences at their places of destination.

What adds to the complexity of explaining migration flows, is thus the fact that very often migration is based on a variety of reasons, which, as also discussed in chapter 2, include reasons why people want to move away from their place of origin ("push factors") and reasons why they want to go to a particular place ("pull factors") (Castles and Miller 2009: 22).[4] Castles and Miller also indicate:

> Concentration on push or pull factors is simplistic and misleading. Migration decisions are influenced by a wide range of conditions in both sending and receiving areas. These conditions are not static, but in a process of constant change, linked both to global factors and to the way these interact with local historical and cultural patterns (2009: 25-26).

It may not always be easy to grasp these various conditions, even on the individual level. Some informants indicated they had had personal problems such as the end of a relationship which made them want to leave Greenland and thus triggered their move to Denmark. As such Amit's (2002; 2012) suggestion to consider disruption in relation to mobility seems appropriate for such movements. As Amit points out (2012: 507), disruption and continuation are frequently both at stake, since a migrant who leaves Greenland because of personal problems might, for example, have family in Denmark which adds to the reasons for wanting to leave Greenland and move to Denmark. What is more, of course, not everyone might want to tell all/the real reasons for migrating to a curious anthropologist. When telling your life story is considered to be a process, a construction, for which the informant chooses what to tell and what not to tell (Danielsen 1990), you cannot expect to grasp all their reasons for the migration. A reason might be painful, so this is of course very understandable.[5] [6] Nonetheless, in general, my impression is that informants were rather open about various experiences from their lives, also less positive ones, for example, in relation to previous alcohol problems, as presented later on in this chapter.

In the report *De usynlige grønlændere* (2003) [The invisible Greenlanders] experiences of elderly Greenlanders in northern Jutland are presented. The study has wanted "to form a picture of who the elderly Greenlanders are, how they live, and what wishes they have for their elderly life in Denmark" (Østergaard 2003: 6, my

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[4] Kishigami also points out that Inuit might move to Montreal for a variety of reasons which can include "alcohol and drug problems, sexual and physical abuse, problems of human relations in a small village, lack of housing and a shortage of jobs" and various possibilities in Montreal (2013: 68-69).

[5] Not necessarily being very talkative or "tavsheden" [the silence] as part of Greenlandic culture has also been discussed and presented as a reason why some information can be difficult to obtain (see, for example, Togeby 2002: 24).

[6] A violent partner can, for example, also be a reason to move to Denmark for Greenlandic women (Christensen 2011: 26-29; Rådet for Socialt Udsatte 2013: 12).

translation). Women married to a Dane for approximately 30-40 years constitute “the typically elderly Greenlander” in the report (Østergaard 2003: 10, my translation). The report shows that 56% of the female interviewees came to Denmark due to their marriage with a Dane, while none of the men came to Denmark because of a marriage with a Dane. 50% of the male interviewees came to Denmark for education (Østergaard 2003: 10-14). These two reasons, marriage to a Dane/having a Danish partner and education, were also very important in my research. These reasons were mentioned frequently in the stories by Greenlanders. Other studies support this finding. Barfod et al. 1974 found that most men came to Denmark for education and/or a job and most women due to a “kæreste” [lover/partner] (302-304). A follow-up study (NAGDP 2011b) summarizes reasons for Greenlanders to move to Denmark from an earlier study (NAGDP 2011a). It shows that Greenlanders in this research first and foremost were children when they came to Denmark and moved together with their parents. The second reason concerns studying/education. Thirdly having a Danish partner and moving together with this person is also an important reason to move to Denmark (2011b: 4). The previous study shows, for example, that more women than men move for this last reason. In addition, more women move in order to take vocational training, while more men move in order to pursue an academic education (2011a: 7-8). My findings match the second and third reasons, which makes good sense as I focused on people who moved to Denmark as adults. During the research some of the other reasons indicated were having family in Denmark, employment, wanting to retire in Denmark, personal problems (such as the end of a relationship) and medical care in Denmark.

6.3 Education in Denmark

Many of my informants moved to Denmark for educational purposes. Education as a reason to move to Denmark can be divided into two subcategories. It seems to mainly concern the education of the migrant him or herself and/or the education possibilities for the children of the migrant. It is clear that the education possibilities in Denmark and the more limited possibilities in Greenland play a role for migration to Denmark. Rasmussen states that:

> An important relation in connection to Greenlanders in Denmark is the question of education. Firstly because by far most higher education is undertaken in Denmark, both because of the tradition which has been built and because, seen from the Greenlandic side, the existing agreement of Greenlandic students in Denmark is an economical advantage. Secondly because the employment possibilities for Greenlanders with a middle-range training and long higher education is much higher in Denmark than in Greenland. And thirdly because particularly many relationships between Greenlanders and Danes are

> established in connection with the educational stays at the Danish educational institutions (Rasmussen 2010: 200, my translation).

Rasmussen also indicates that education is a very important aspect for understanding mobility in Greenland in general (2010: 109). Education as a reason to move to Denmark has been important in earlier times as well (see, for example, Bertelsen 1945, Jensen 2001). Greenlanders have been going to Denmark because of education for a long time. As already mentioned from around the year 1840 people of mixed Danish-Greenlandic origin were able to study in Denmark (Bertelsen 1945: 124-127).

While education was long the driving force for Greenlanders to go to Denmark, today Greenlanders do not have to go to Denmark for this reason. Based on statistics from the early 1990s, Sørensen explains that by far the majority of people wanting to pursue an education can take their education in Greenland (1993: 39). However it is not uncommon that Greenlanders pursue (parts of) their education in Denmark. In 2001 approximately 500 Greenlandic students lived in Denmark (Chemnitz 2005: 55) and as Rasmussen also indicates many advanced studies are still undertaken in Denmark (2010: 200).

Ernst Jensen (2001) has written about the young Greenlanders (11-14 years of age) who spent one year in Denmark in order to attend school there in the course of the 1960s and 1970s (2001: 484). He explains that: “In the period from 1961 to 1976 more than 1500 Greenlandic students at the age of 12-14 years came to Denmark for a year’s school attendance” (2001: 484-485). It shows that a stay in Denmark has had quite some impact on the lives of these Greenlanders. Jensen, for example, states that:

> For many of the students it was part of the effect of the stay in Denmark that they no longer had a permanent stay in their childhood home. Many of them went to a boarding school in another town to continue their education, and in this field there is an evident difference between the two research groups. More of those in the comparison group stayed at home (2001: 499).

Jensen compares the experiences of two groups of Greenlanders, the first of which in the quotation below is referred to as “»prep«-group”, who Jensen found had participated in a year’s educational stay in Denmark, and the second a group of Greenlanders who were not listed as having taken part in the same arrangement (487-488). Jensen writes that: “In the prep-group many more than in the comparison group have finished a further education, and they are now much more often represented in the group of public employees” (2001: 499). In addition, Jensen explains that:

> Even though Greenlandic children at the age of 12-14 at that time probably did not pay much attention to politics it appears that more than

> half of the prep-group remember to have been more interested in political questions concerning Denmark/Greenland during their stay in Denmark. Furthermore it appears that the arrangement as a whole came to influence the development in Greenland on the political field by stimulating the wish for home rule (2001: 502).

And while Jensen also mentions less positive outcomes of the young people's stay in Denmark, he states: "But there does not seem to be documentation for the degree of unlucky consequences which some had feared, and which later on was turned into »myths«" (2001: 503).

For Greenlanders from certain generations partially being educated in Denmark was part of their childhood. They shared the experience with many of their peers. During fieldwork I was also told about such experiences of young Greenlanders in Denmark who went to school in Denmark during the 1970s. A Greenlander in Denmark recalled how his experiences were both positive and negative. He looked forward to going to Denmark, which was something his family could not afford, but once there it was all in Danish, which was very hard. However he also referred to the experience as a success as he still had a good relationship with his foster parents. Another Greenlander explained how he wished to go to Denmark at that time because his siblings had also been there and due to their stay in Denmark, they had learned Danish, which was a kind of prestige. It made him want to experience Denmark as well. However being in Denmark was a disappointment for him. After three months there, he had lost his Greenlandic language and only spoke Danish upon his return.

In more recent times the fact that students go to Denmark – or to other universities worldwide – has resulted in discussions on brain drain.[7] This topic is, for example, also raised in the discussion paper *Hvordan sikres vækst of velfærd i Grønland* [How to ensure growth and welfare in Greenland] (Skatte- og Velfærdskommissionen 2010). The report explains that:

> Greenland cannot be self-sufficient on all fronts. This especially applies to the field of education. For many studies it will be both better and cheaper to take a study abroad. This is especially the case for particularly specialized studies. The solution is not to fight migration. Openness and migrations are essential, but you have to make the most of it.
>
> Signs of problems exist. Even though many young people return after one or more years abroad, the end result is a net out-migration for all age groups.

[7] It should be noted that there are various possibilities to pursue post-secondary education in the Arctic. Ilisimatusarfik/The University of Greenland, for example, offers advanced studies (see www.uni.gl).

> It is to be expected that not all return – many establish families etc., and there can be many other reasons. But a systematic tendency of net out-migration is problematic. It is a great problem for the future development of business and welfare when out-migration mainly takes place among the young people and the well-educated. The fruits of the educational efforts are in these instances not reaped in Greenland. Greenland loses a part of the young and educated people, who could have contributed to providing a basis for future growth in society (2010: 14-15, my translation).

An interview with students at the University of Greenland also informed me about this discussion:

> T: We already touched upon it a little bit, but would you like to live in Denmark?
> I1: Yes, maybe for some time, right. Maybe for an education or for work. But to really live life in Denmark, to live there, that I cannot imagine.
> T: Why not?
> I1: Because I am a Greenlander and, like, want to live in my own country, that's why, right. And work, have a job and a family and.
> T: What about you?
> I2: I would like to, but it is not for sure. You will also start to miss the nature here in Greenland, which you are proud of, and the sailing trips, the mountains, reindeer hunt. You cannot do without it when you grew up with it. But I would like to live there for some time, for the same reasons as […] said, for education or career reasons. I cannot do without the nature life here.
> T: What about you?
> I3: Yes, the same. But not permanently. I would like to try and live outside of Greenland for some time and maybe return and use my strengths here.
> T: Use your strengths here, what do you mean by that?
> I3: Well when we finish our education, we can use our knowledge further in the country which is needed.

This last sentence indicates that this student is aware of the role he can play for Greenlandic society. They would all like to live in Denmark for some time, but prefer to return to Greenland as well. All three students, who participated in this group interview, had lived in Denmark during part of their previous schooling, which in addition to the presentation given above also indicates that educational out-migration is still a very important issue.

However, education as a reason to move does not only include those youngsters and young adults who want to pursue further education. Conversations with Greenlanders also informed me that parents moved to Denmark for the education of their children. One informant, who left Greenland the year before I spoke to her first, told me about a happening in her personal life that made her

consider studying further, but also that the language use in the education for her children in Greenland was a reason for her to move to Denmark. She said:

> And I couldn’t really accept that at school everything had started to take place in Greenlandic, their books, all sorts of things, were in Greenlandic. And I started to think more about, what if they want to continue their education. What is the benefit from Greenlandic books when all textbooks are in Danish or English. I started to think of it, of them more and more. That it would be really tough for them. To learn in Greenlandic and then suddenly study further, and it is an enormous step to pursue further education. And then suddenly another language you do not really know. And I couldn’t even help them. I learned it in Danish in Greenland from the 1st grade or preschool class. There we learned everything in Danish. And then they start to learn it in Greenlandic. Then they ask me, mom, can you just help me. And I look at it, try to read it in Greenlandic. What does that mean? But I couldn’t even help them. It made me more and more angry. If I cannot help them, who can help them? This was actually what made me think of Denmark…

She connected this increased use of Greenlandic within school to “Greenlandisation” taking place in Greenland. She was used to being taught in Danish and was consequently not able to help her children when they learned mathematics and the related mathematical language in Greenlandic, which made her “feel powerless”. Discussing with a Greenlandic woman in Denmark why she had moved to Denmark she explained that she had decided with her Danish husband that they would move to Denmark when the children had to go to school. There were not enough teachers in Greenland and in addition her partner's job required them to move frequently. They preferred to have their children educated in Denmark. Schooling for the children was also an important reason for some informants who participated in a group interview in Denmark. One participant explained they moved because they wanted better education for their youngest child. While she felt that the teachers in Greenland were not so much to blame, she indicated that education in Greenland lacked resources. The findings of Christensen (2011: 12) support these views on education in Greenland. The Greenlandic parents she talked to in Denmark also indicated that education was better in Denmark (2011: 12). Christensen also experienced that the people she interviewed felt that Denmark was better for children in general (2011: 65). In the extensive research on mobility in Greenland informants have been asked whether: “Grønland er et godt sted for børn at vokse op” [Greenland is a good place for children to grow up] and the replies indicate that more first and second generation Greenlanders in Denmark disagree with this statement than is the case among more recent Greenlandic arrivals in Denmark, who are less negative on this issue (Rasmussen 2010: 195).

Interesting in the motivations for moving to Denmark presented above is the fact that it shows the relevance for research on migration, as also pointed out by

Brettell (2008: 125), to not only look at individual reasons but also to include the household level. The examples presented show the influence children have on migration from Greenland to Denmark.

6.4 Danish partners and other additional (relational) ties with Denmark

Having a Danish partner is also a very important reason for Greenlanders to move to Denmark. As previously discussed, more Greenlandic women than men live in Denmark, which can be partially explained by the higher number of Greenlandic women married to Danes who worked in Greenland during the modernization of the country. Once these men returned to Denmark, many women followed (Rasmussen 2010: 191; Hamilton and Rasmussen 2010: 49-50). In 2012 the topic of women leaving the Arctic was raised as an issue of concern in the Nordic Council. In a letter by Maria Stenberg in April 2012 the Nordic governments were warned about the trend of women leaving the Arctic regions (Stenberg 2012). It is also well documented that women in the Arctic migrate more than men (see, for example, Hamilton 2011: 2-7). An informant in her sixties mentioned to me that to her it was rather natural to get a Danish husband, as a lot of Danish men worked where she grew up during the 1940s and 1950s. I argue that when you have a Danish partner, this can be an advantage for your life in Denmark. It can of course offer these migrants a network from the beginning. Such a network can, though, also be obtained through other ways. Interestingly many Greenlanders I talked to had family in Denmark before moving there themselves. Surely family ties can be important connections that facilitate migration and lead to some kind of “chain migration”, as earlier migrants can ease the migration for newcomers (Tilly 1978: 53-54).[8]

Such informal networks constitute an important way of getting to know how to go about things when coming to Denmark. This is known for migrants in general. Castles and Miller state:

> The *micro-structures* are the informal *social networks* developed by the migrants themselves, in order to cope with migration and settlement. Earlier scholars used the concept of ‘chain migration’ in this context (Price, 1963: 108-110). Research on Mexican migrants in the 1970s showed that 90 per cent of those surveyed had obtained legal residence in the USA through family and employer connections (Portes and Bach, 1985). Today many authors emphasize the role of *cultural capital*

[8] Oostindie also refers to chain migration in relation to the arrival of Antilleans in the Netherlands. Furthermore, he also refers to circular movements, which occur among Antilleans moving to and from the Netherlands, which they can because of their Dutch citizenship (2010: 38-39). Oostindie explains that Antilleans still return a lot to the Antilles (2010: 189). Current mobility between Greenland and Denmark also indicates such a pattern, as Sørensen (1993) has earlier also pointed to.

> (information, knowledge of other countries, capabilities for organizing travel, finding work and adapting to a new environment) in starting and sustaining migratory movements. Informal networks provide vital resources for individuals and groups, and may be analysed as *social capital* (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 119), which includes personal relationships, family and household patterns, friendship and community ties, and mutual help in economic and social matters. Informal networks bind 'migrants and non-migrants together in a complex web of social roles and interpersonal relationships' (Boyd, 1989: 639) (2009: 28).

And Brettell (2008) explains that:

> While anthropologists, and increasingly sociologists and historians, have recognized the significance of networks of kinship and friendship to the process of migration, they have also paid a good deal of attention to and hence theorized about the role of networks in the process of settlement and adaptation in the society of immigration–that is, how networks provide social capital (2008: 125).

Almost all my informants mentioned that they either had family or friends in Denmark before they went to Denmark. Several migrants said that they first lived with these people when moving to Denmark. In other publications the presence of family in Denmark and the possibility to stay at their place when arriving in Denmark is also mentioned (see, for example, Christensen 2011; Rådet for Socialt Udsatte 2014).

The fact that many Greenlanders have family and/or friends in Denmark triggers migration to Denmark as well. One female informant in Greenland recalls how her mother and sister came to live with her in her apartment in Denmark, when she lived there. They later moved to their own apartment. The informant explained that:

> I: Then she called me almost every day… Why don't you just move to Denmark? It is such fun.
> T: That is what you said?
> I: I bet. That it was such fun. I told her that some really good Greenlanders lived there. Then she considered it for a very long time and then they just came for a visit to […], my mother and my younger sister… And then they just moved to Denmark.
> T: But they first came for a visit?
> I: Yes, I think so, about a week.
> T: And then they stayed?
> I: Then they stayed.
> T: They didn't plan to stay?
> I: No, I don't think it was planned as such.
> T: And how was, you lived together one month you said?
> I: Yes.
> T: And then you moved or?

I: And then they moved.

Talking to her mother and sister, I also learned that some problems in the family in Greenland had also made them want to leave Greenland, which again demonstrates how migration reasons are not straightforward.

In addition, having family or friends in Denmark already also entails the exchange of “social remittances, the “ideas, practices, identities, and social capital that flow from receiving to sending-country communities (Levitt 1998a:76)”” (Brettell 2008: 135). I would argue that one way Greenlanders in Greenland obtain knowledge about Denmark, besides through schooling as discussed in chapter 4, is through their relatives who live in Denmark. Thus ideas about what living in Denmark can be like are transferred between a migrant and a potential migrant. This is also an example of transnational ties between Greenlanders in Greenland and Greenlanders in Denmark. Connections across the Atlantic are omnipresent and thus the relation between the former place of residence and the new place of residence can be maintained.

Speaking to a young Greenlandic woman in Nuuk, she mentioned that indeed the fact that her sister was already living in Denmark made her think of moving there too. However at the time of the interview she was afraid of leaving Greenland as she did not want to give up her current house because of the housing shortage in Nuuk. So the thought of moving had crossed her mind, but at the same time she mentioned that she also preferred the natural surroundings in Greenland. She also explained she had to save a lot of money in order to be able to pay for the tickets. Besides having her sister in Denmark, she explained that living could be cheaper (food) in Denmark, but this was not a reason for her wanting to move, and there were also aspects that made her want to stay in Greenland, which were her friends, nature and less stress in Greenland.

The older sister of this woman, who as discussed above moved for the education of her children, had moved to Denmark the year before. When she moved to Denmark, she first lived at her aunt’s place, who lived with her Danish partner and children, in the same city. She recalls:

T: How did you know what to do when you moved to Denmark, how did you know what to do?

I: I investigated it on internet, where to search for school or, I investigated everything to begin with. And I chose […], because it is a big city with regards to education when you googled it, on education, […] shows up. And I knew my aunt was also here. Then we first were on holiday here [some years ago]. I wanted to see the town first, then we moved. Then I started to collect money, then we moved in […].

…

T: And when you came here, how did you know what to do?

I: The municipality and my family. About what they had done, I asked to find out, wrote it all down. And how did you do it? But mainly the municipality. I went there or called every time I had a question or something else. I was really seeking it out. School, all sorts of things.

The oldest daughter of this woman did not move with her to Denmark as she was grown-up and had moved to the home town of her partner in Greenland. However, not much later she – with her family – decided to move to Denmark in order to pursue an education and after having lived with her mother for a few weeks, she got her own apartment. While her mother, for example, had received help from her aunt and cousin, and, as she highlighted, she also got information from the municipality, her daughter could ask her questions about living in Denmark.

When I visited the daughter during fieldwork, I learned that her parents-in-law had also chosen to move to Denmark after she and her partner and children had moved. According to their daughter-in-law they wanted to be close to their grandchildren. Besides demonstrating that having family in Denmark can be a reason to move to Denmark, this example also indicates that networks of families can help each other with the practicalities of settling in Denmark. Thus family in Denmark can play a very important role for newcomers from Greenland. It supports a statement by Togeby that in general contacts with other Greenlanders who live in Denmark are important to Greenlandic migrants (2002: 58).

In addition to family and friends in Denmark, transfer of knowledge can also take place in other ways. The quotations below demonstrate this point. The first stems from an interview with a Danish woman and her Greenlandic husband. The words are hers. The second is by a Greenlandic man:

> Formerly when we met them in [supermarket], we thought these are new people, new people who have probably just moved here, newcomers. We would ask them whether they wanted to join [the Greenlandic society] and so on. They hadn't really heard about something yet, so they didn't know. Then I would say, if wanted, you can call us or. We gave them some minor instructions about what they could do, right. Because we thought, if so, it could be fine in case they wanted to take part in singing or at least could meet with Greenlanders…
>
> …
>
> Then there were new people with children,... then we asked where they came from, whether they lived here, and if they did, then we told about the society and that they could do this and that. Maybe we gave them a number or something. Because we think you have to take them when they come here, so it does not perhaps turn out badly for them...

——

T: Do you have the impression that new Greenlanders are still coming to [name of city]?

I: Since I have lived here, at least eight families have moved here to […]. Eight families with children.

…

T: How do you know this?

I: When I meet, especially, when I meet them in the street, in the centre of […], the pedestrianized street. Then I am in touch with all the other Greenlanders here…

Thus these newcomers are helped by strangers who, amongst other things, can tell them about the Greenlandic society in town and assist them when needed. The latter informant, who had been in Denmark for about a year when I interviewed him, for example, mentioned that he often helped other Greenlanders, because he owned a car. Greenlanders are often also able to recognize each other in Denmark. An informant in Greenland, for example, mentioned that there were many unemployed Greenlanders in Denmark and that she had met a number of them there. To my question how she met these people, she explained:

> Well you could know their faces and then you just ask… you do it with your eyes and then they greet back… It is impossible to avoid. In case they are from another country, from Vietnam or something like that, they don't greet back with their eyes.

Such meetings can thus occur in the streets. This was also the case for another Greenlandic woman I interviewed. It concerns the woman who found it logical to marry a Dane as there were many Danish men where she lived. After years in Greenland together, they moved to Denmark. Due to other commitments she did not really associate with other Greenlanders to begin with. Then one day she met another Greenlandic woman in the street who invited her to her place. Here they talked Greenlandic together and ate seal meat and the Greenlandic dish "suassa". This woman mentioned the local Greenlandic choir in their town to her and from then on this migrant woman decided to join the choir and has since done so. Thus Greenlanders are able to meet and assist each other in Denmark. Contacts between Greenlanders in Denmark clearly exist and information is shared between countrymen.

In this context of family relations and networks, it is interesting to refer to the work of Janet L. Abu-Lughod. In her book *Changing Cities* (1991) she offers a possible way to perceive Greenlanders moving to Denmark. She writes that: "If social networks can be thought of as the paths through which people move in social space, activity patterns can be thought of as the paths through which people move over time through geographic space" (1991: 318). If we focus on the first part of this formulation, it could be argued that the physical move from Greenland to Denmark not infrequently also constitutes a move within a person's social network. Thus this move does not solely entail a physical movement from Greenland to Denmark, but also a move within one's social network. Among Greenlanders these paths can, for

example, come into existence through a Danish partner or a family member already living in Denmark. Such a path can be beneficial for the transition and as such also explain diverse migration experiences.

6.5 Denmark for other reasons

While education and Danish partners/relational ties formed important reasons among my informants for moving to Denmark, other reasons I learned about through my fieldwork are important to consider as well. These include, for example, social issues, (personal) problems, work, retirement, medical care and the housing situation in Greenland. I wish to explore two of these reasons below.

Receiving medical care in Denmark is an interesting reason to include here. It should be noted that not all treatment has to take place in Denmark, but depending on the treatment required it can also take place in Greenland. A couple I talked to in Greenland had moved to Denmark because their son was ill. He needed treatment in Denmark and the parents moved with the boy. Once the boy recovered, the family moved back to Greenland. Another informant explained that he actually did not consider moving to Denmark in advance, but decided to stay in Denmark during a holiday in the country. He explained that he received better medical care in Denmark for a medical problem and therefore chose to stay. This specific example actually shows how a mobile person can become a migrant. The informant also indicated that he would like to move back to Greenland again and that even though he felt he had had a negative experience with the medical treatment offered in Greenland, he was also very positive about his country. At the same time he now had to consider the future of his son as well. He was satisfied with the education in Denmark and considered staying for that reason.

Another group of Greenlandic migrants in Denmark are retired Greenlanders, who move to Denmark when they retire. In an online article in the Greenlandic newspaper *Sermitsiaq.AG* the former bishop of Greenland, Emma Balslev explains that she moved to Denmark for her retirement because it is financially better to be retired in Denmark (Sermitisaq.AG 2010a). Finances can thus be a reason for Greenlanders to choose Denmark for their retirement, but in an interview with a Greenlandic man and his Danish wife additional reasons related to retirement and ageing became apparent. Together they had lived both in Nuuk and Denmark, but they chose to go to Denmark once they retired. The man (I2) and woman (I1), for example, explained:

> I2: When we were to retire, then we said, then [my wife] said, no, we go to Denmark. And it is not worth being old in Greenland, if you don’t absolutely have to be there. It is too cold and.
> I1: It is cold and there is snowy weather, there is stormy weather.
> I2: But that is also possible here.
> I1: Yes, yes.

…
I2: That is why we came to an agreement, we go to Denmark to be pensioners.

And while they had both been back to Greenland since they moved to Denmark, the last visit was several years ago and I was told that:

I1: A rollator is not so suitable for Godthåb [T: Nuuk].
I2: It is too uneven, and it is not always that all places are asphalted…
I1: It is not easy to go with it there… It is not because we don't want to.
I2: We definitely didn't get bored in Godthåb.
I1: No, we didn't.
I2: It is a nice place when you are young and agile.
I1: But not when you are old and cannot really do this or that.

The son and daughter-in-law of this couple who live in Greenland explained why his parents moved to Denmark by explaining that the climate, the bad infrastructure, weaknesses in the health system and their own busy careers meant that moving to Denmark was the best option for his parents.

The topic of retirement was also discussed with other informants. One couple in Greenland, who had recently returned to Greenland from Denmark, explained they might want to move to Denmark when they retired, because the living standards were much higher there. Just as Christensen also found among her informants (2011: 11), they also mentioned that in general you could buy more in Denmark for less money. A Greenlandic woman who moved to Denmark with her Danish partner mentioned that they decided to move to Denmark once she retired. Reasons to move included the fact that her partner was Danish (and had lived for many years in Greenland) and that they had family in Denmark. She explained that Danes had often asked her whether she was able to find out how to live in Denmark having just arrived there. But as she had visited Denmark many times, this was not an issue to her.[9]

Clearly Greenlanders move for a variety of reasons. Christensen (2011), whose research deals with socially vulnerable Greenlanders in Denmark and their children, also found that people did not always have very clear reasons for moving to Denmark. She does conclude that in general people moved away from Greenland,

[9] In the context of pensioners moving to Denmark an observation in the report by Rasmussen (2010) is of interest as well. In the report, in which it is stressed that due to the low number of participants in this group, the numbers should be taken with some care, the higher number of women among newcomers in Denmark is mentioned, which applies especially to young women who mainly come for education and elderly women who often come to Denmark after the loss of their partner and wanting to be closer to offspring in Denmark. In addition, it is also stated that "also among elderly men from the higher social groups there is a relative over-representation, which shows a new tendency, that is migration of pensioners from the higher social groups who move closer to children and grandchildren in Denmark" (Rasmussen 2010: 193, my translation).

because there was something at the place of origin which they disliked. This, for example, includes a partner's violence (2011: 31-32). While the reasons for migration can already be diverse, below we will see that the migration picture is even more diversified.

6.6 Additional migration flows

While statistics might show a movement mainly from Greenland to Denmark, it is, as stated above, not the entire picture. Additional migration flows take place and it is important to take these into account as well.

Through interviews I noticed that many of the Greenlanders I spoke to had lived in different places in both Greenland and Denmark. Different reasons are again to be mentioned. As discussed the educational system also explains migration. If you want to undertake a certain course or study, it will very likely be that you need to live in Nuuk or one of the other larger towns in Greenland. The infrastructure in Greenland makes it understandable that Greenlanders need to be rather mobile. Mobility in certain situations can thus be a requirement.

While not all my informants had moved so often, below I want to present part of the migration flows of four migrants/mobile informants, including reasons why they moved. I am not claiming that these overviews present the exact movements, one reason being that during interviews not all movements might be discussed and not all reasons might be mentioned. In addition, I also want to keep my informants anonymous, and so I have not included the specific locations and years of migration. However, the short descriptions do offer an insight into migration processes in and between Greenland and Denmark:

Migrant 1:

This man lived at various locations in both Greenland and Denmark. Reasons to move to Denmark included, for example, better opportunities in Denmark and wanting to try living there. This informant was born in Greenland. He first left his home town in order to pursue education in another town in Greenland. After this he returned to his home town. Later he again moved for educational purposes. He then again moved because he worked at various places within Greenland. At some point he moved to Denmark together with his partner, who wanted to study in Denmark. However, because she was not able to find a job in Denmark afterwards they returned to Greenland. After some time they again moved to Denmark. After their divorce, the migrant returned to Greenland, and tried to live with his ex partner. Then later he again moved to Denmark, where part of his family also lives.

Migrant 2:

This woman was born in Greenland. As a teenager she went to Denmark to undergo education. She afterwards moved back to her home town in Greenland. She later

moved within Greenland in order to undergo education. Later she moved several times within Greenland for work/educational purposes. At some point she left Greenland and moved to Denmark because of a violent partner. She returned later on to be with her family and friends. She then moved within Greenland to be together with her partner. Together they moved to her home town and later lived in a couple of other places as well. Next they moved to Denmark, because they wanted to be close to their child who went to school in Denmark. They returned to Greenland to be with their child who had returned to Greenland again. In addition, she had also got a job in Greenland before moving back.

Migrant 3:

This man was born in Denmark, but moved to Greenland at an early age. He then moved within Greenland several times due to his education, for which he was also in Denmark a few times. Later on he also moved various times within Greenland, this time often for reasons connected with employment. However, love also made him move within Greenland a couple of times. At the time of the interview he lived in Denmark, where he was more satisfied with the medical care (as discussed above) that was offered to him.

Migrant 4:

This woman was born in Greenland. At an early age she moved with her family due to her father's job, but later on also due to the illness of one of her parents. These movements took place within Greenland. She also moved to places within Greenland for education and work. She moved to Denmark twice with a Danish partner. When she moved to Denmark for the second time, she also had close family members in Denmark, for which reason she explains that several things were at stake at that time. The relationships did not work out well though. She finally moved back to the place she had lived the longest, which is in Greenland. This return happened after a stay in Denmark.

I hold that I encountered some migration patterns among informants that indicate that moving to some extent can be considered an integral part of their way of life. It is not necessarily a major happening, but to a certain degree part of life in Greenland. This corresponds with the idea of mobility being a sign of Greenlandicness, which as Thomsen points out was indicated by Abelsen in 1991 (Thomsen 1998: 22). Education and medical treatment are reasons which can make it necessary or logical to move (temporarily) within the country or possibly to Denmark. The idea of moving within one's social networks, which constitute paths (Abu-Lughod 1991), is also shown in the examples above, for example moving with a partner. As Sørensen also explains (1993: 31), movements between Greenland

and Denmark are very common. But also within Denmark some Greenlanders move to different places. A social counselor from the Greenlandic House in Ålborg explained that Greenlanders might move to a specific place, because they know someone there, while they later might find out that another location in Denmark is better and subsequently move there. Thus movements, for example, take place within Greenland, between Greenland and Denmark and within Denmark. People come and go. Experiences of various informants clearly manifest that this is the case. It is also clear that social remittances can contribute to triggering migration flows. Various movements entail encounters between various people through which ideas will be exchanged. These can contain positive ideas about living in Denmark, ideas which, for example, can include issues such as better education, better housing and lower costs of living.

But while Brettell refers to Gmelch in order to explain why migrants will be able to remember their migration experiences rather well by stating that: "While the recounting of these events is obviously subject to lapses of or embellishments on memory, Gmelch (1992) stresses that migration is a paramount and disruptive event in anyone's life and is therefore likely to be recalled with more vivid detail than some other events. He suggests that people often omit the unpleasant, but when asked about it they are generally forthcoming" (Brettell 2003: 27), I argue that in cases presented here, the movement to Denmark also indicates that, while not wanting to underestimate the consequences of migration, the movement itself does not always seem to be considered as a major happening. This could be seen in the light of the fact that travelling/moving within Greenland requires a relatively large logistical effort as well. As is the case concerning the possible identifications with Denmark discussed above, in this view Denmark is also not as far away as it might be expected and therefore to a certain degree becomes a rather natural destination. This, however, does not mean that the migration experiences are not fierce. Below, one Greenlander, for example, also explains that moving was a major decision. But recognizing this context does help to understand various migration flows.

6.6.1 Return migration

Return migration of Greenlanders is not unexceptional. Rasmussen concludes that almost 21% of the respondents in Greenland indicated that their most recent move was from Denmark to a town in Greenland (2010: 123). Sørensen has also touched upon migration flows between Denmark and Greenland. He starts his article, which I also referred to above, with:

> Movements between Greenland and Denmark are part of everyday life. Greenlanders move to Denmark for shorter or longer periods of time, and some end up sticking around permanently. Danes move to Greenland for shorter or longer periods of time, and some end up staying (1993: 31, my translation).

Statistics also show that Greenlanders also return to Greenland and during fieldwork I also interviewed Greenlanders who were about to go back to Greenland.[10] Not being able to find a suitable job in Denmark was for example a reason to return. In Greenland these Greenlanders expected to find a job more easily. This also turned out to be the case with people I interviewed. Having a job was very important to several of the people I talked to.

So Greenlanders tend to move quite a lot between Greenland and Denmark. Brettell explains that: "Some of the research on return migration demonstrates that those who do return often remigrate, leading Margolis (1995), based on her research among Brazilian immigrants in New York City, to formulate the concept of "yo-yo migration" as yet another type" (2008: 117). In the case of Greenlandic migration to Denmark, I argue that the migration between these countries should be seen in the light of the close relationship between the two countries. It is a sign of how Greenland and Denmark have become very related in the course of time: through mixed marriages, (colonial) history etc.[11]

As part of my research, I interviewed family members of Greenlanders in Denmark who were living in Greenland. Many of them had lived in Denmark as well. But they had returned for various reasons. A woman, referred to as migrant 4 above, recalls some of the reasons why she returned:

I: I am very kalak as regards to moving. I have tried a couple of times, or a few times, but no. Living in Denmark, does not work for me.
T: Can you explain why?
I: I don't know why, but well maybe the nature, and the people. That is surely something I miss a lot. Life here, close life here in Greenland makes me thrive best. I have family and friends, who I can just see. You can just run into my family and friends, they come without. Well they might just give you a call, maybe in the course of the evening. You can always, but you just cannot in Denmark.
T: You cannot?
I: Well, then you will have to have an appointment and you don't live in the same town. It might take an hour driving, yes, things like that. And the nature and the people, that's what I miss a lot.
T: Yes.
I: I really couldn't.
T: No.
I: I didn't feel complete…

[10] Rasmussen found that if the respondents (Greenlanders in Denmark) would move to Greenland, the majority would prefer to move to Nuuk (2010: 205-206).

[11] The question remains how this relationship will develop in the course of time, for example, in relation to a higher degree of self-government/independence.

This informant seems to indicate that meeting people in Denmark requires more planning than in Greenland and that a more spontaneous contact with people in the place of residence and Greenlandic nature were elements she missed in Denmark.

A father who now lived in Greenland again but had lived in Denmark for some time because of his child's illness, as also referred to above, explained why he did not want to stay in Denmark:

> T: Did you ever consider staying in Denmark?
> I: No, our blood is in Greenland. The time we lived in Copenhagen, there are no complaints about it, but we, we think we are Greenlanders and should live in Greenland. That is always my way of thinking. But if it is possible that we could become older in Denmark, either me or my wife or. But rather live in Nuuk or another place along the coast.
> T: What do you mean by older?
> I: Some elderly people would like to retire in Greenland. It is mainly financial, it entails scaling down. That is the finances are too low to live here as a 60-65-year-old, we cannot pay 4,000 kroner from our pension scheme. But those who would like to live in Denmark, are those who speak Danish, they think they could live in Denmark, then it is mainly more financial. They don't lack anything.
> T: You would maybe like to live in Denmark then?
> I: We could. But the time changes so much. We have just found oil at the coast. By then we might have found a new plan. So we don't know.
> T: But you always had the opinion that you had to live in Greenland?
> I: I always have to live in Greenland.
> T: Why, can you explain it?
> I: Yes, it is, we haven't... like in Copenhagen. When you get out of your house or apartment, then there is housing, housing, housing, housing, it is not like here. When you can see the water from our apartment, it is a view, good view. It is that nature we love. It is not like Danish, well yes when you live in the countryside, then you can almost see it like here. But when we go out, then there is nothing else than the Danish language we have to hear. Here we are used to using the Greenlandic language. Every time we get out, it is the Greenlandic language. That is what you miss when you settle in Denmark that we almost cannot use our own language...

This return migrant is clear about his wish to stay in Greenland. He mentions some of the topics that clearly relate to Greenlandic identity and issues that possibly differentiate – create boundaries between – Greenlanders and Danes. These are the relation to nature and the use of the Greenlandic language, topics which will be discussed in the next chapter as they relate strongly to identity issues.

Another return migrant explained to me that she was not able to live in Denmark. She had not finished "folkeskolen" and found it very difficult to find a job

there. In Greenland she was offered a job in the service industry and enjoyed it very much. Through first-hand experience she realized that she felt much better in Greenland. She considered her current place of residence as her home and preferred to stay there. The only reason to possibly consider moving to Denmark would be in case her partner or the father of her children wanted to move to Denmark. In addition, at the end of a long interview, she added that:

> I: The only thing I can think about when I think about Denmark, I really hope that most Greenlanders who try to move to Denmark, I hope they find what they are looking for. Because they go away because they are looking for something, something else which they cannot get in Greenland. I really hope they succeed. I don't think it will be possible for me. I think my view of Denmark is different from that of most Greenlanders. That is, Denmark is like green forest, gold, and I don't know what, a better life, but it is not for me. It is probably also that which keeps me here in Greenland.
>
> T: Did you say gold?
>
> I: Green forests and gold. You maybe get richer. It has said to my head, I don't get a better life in Denmark. I'm probably doing too well right now.

It shows that to these return migrants Denmark is not really the country of possibilities or the promised land. They prefer to live in Greenland.

Some people did want to return, but felt it would be difficult to really do so for different reasons. One migrant told me he had considered moving back many times, and explained that the problem was that he either did not find a job or suitable housing. Indeed, the fact that it is difficult to get a place to live in various places in Greenland, especially in Nuuk, can make people decide not to move back. During a conversation with an employee of the national housing company in Nuuk, I learned that it can take up to 29 years before you are able to get your own place to live in the Greenlandic capital. "Personaleboliger" (staff houses), which come with certain jobs, on the other hand, are easier to get. A spring 2009 overview of waiting times indicates that such housing can be available after four to 22 months. Research also points out that the housing situation in Greenland can hamper return migration (NAGDP 2011a: 22).[12] In an interview with an informant in Denmark it also appeared that she was really surprised that she was offered a house very fast – which took less than two weeks – in Denmark, which demonstrates how different the situation can be in Denmark compared to Greenland.

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[12] The housing situation has also been referred to in the Canadian context, which can be a reason for Inuit to move away from the Arctic (Knotsch and Kinnon 2011 in Kishigami 2013: 68). Patrick and Tomiak also mention the lack of housing in the North as a trigger to move south for Inuit, but they also mention that for some Inuit finding housing in Ottawa which they can afford can be problematic (2008: 59). For more on housing in the Arctic see Hansen, Bitsch and Zalkind (2013).

In Denmark I also talked to a male migrant who would not mind moving back to Greenland, but our conversation showed how "complex" the reasons actually were for staying in Denmark. He explained it could be difficult to get a job in Denmark, but once he had a job, he also had a network again. His wife wanted to stay in Denmark and they considered Denmark a good place for their children. But coming to Denmark and starting from scratch had been difficult for him. In Greenland he had had a boat and liked sailing in the weekends, something he was not able to do in Denmark. Concerning the decision to move to Denmark he stated:

> I: Because it is an enormous decision to move from your own country. Even though it is within the Kingdom of Denmark.
> T: You mean it is a big decision anyway?
> I: A giant decision to move. It is giant decision we took. We made the decision and then did it…
> …
> I: But I would like to move there again. Not because of all the possibilities you have here, not because it is negative to live here, but because you know, after all there were only 15,000 inhabitants, it is not like you know everyone, maybe some you have never seen, but you know how life unfolds, what to expect, what you can allow yourself, and the like. It is in your veins. But I think in case I return home, now after two years, then I will probably feel it is small, limited possibilities, in case you, for example, don't have a boat to go out. I think so…

Despite the ambiguity, it shows that Denmark is growing on this migrant as well. It also shows the presence of a positive view of Greenland, which in the end might not really fulfill your demands (any more) as this informant points out to himself. This corresponds with a conclusion drawn by Østergaard, who found that among elderly Greenlanders she interviewed in Denmark what they missed about Greenland was often based on "the memory of what there once *was*" (2003: 46, my translation).

6.7 Living and staying in Denmark

As we will see in the next chapter, the perception by Danes of Greenlanders living in Denmark is often rather negative, and negative experiences are indeed to be found. On the other hand many positive experiences are out there as well, which are very important to include as well. These can help to explain how challenges with migration to Denmark can be overcome.

As referred to above in 2011 the Danish street newspaper *Hus Forbi* published three articles on Greenlanders in Denmark. The author writes that: "Life in Denmark is far from always a success for young Greenlanders, who due to cultural differences and the lack of networks often end up with problems with addiction and social comedown" (Jensen 2011a: 4, my translation). Experts in Denmark have noticed an

increase in the number of young Greenlanders moving to Denmark. Young Greenlanders are warned against just going to Denmark without preparing their move and the importance of initiatives to increase knowledge about living in Denmark is stressed by experts (Jensen 2011b: 5-6). As such it can be said that these experts hope to change a dominant discourse about Denmark as the country of possibilities, which it is not for everyone. Concerns about increased out-migration to Denmark and the need to interfere were, for example, also mentioned by the politician Sara Olsvig from Greenland (Mølgaard 2013). This movement by Greenlanders is also referred to as "flugten fra Grønland" [flight from Greenland] (see, for example, Mølgaard 2013).

The realization that Denmark is not the country of possibilities in every respect comes when actually living in Denmark. The experiences of the return migrants referred to above also indicate this. It is really being in Denmark that – not surprisingly – makes one's view of Denmark more realistic. The way you think life in Denmark will be is of course not always how it is. Having spent your holidays in Denmark does not mean you really know the country, as one informant noticed. She recalled that the first six months were very difficult, which she had not expected. But once in Denmark she realized that staying in Denmark for a holiday was something different from living there and having to get used to a new environment and new people. Getting a job after a while helped her to find her way. As others have also indicated (see, for example, Rådet for Socialt Udsatte (2014)) living in Denmark might not be as you expect it to be before moving.

I would argue, and this corresponds to what others have formulated about this issue (see, for example, Kjeldgaard 2008; Laage-Petersen 2013; Madsen en Sullivan 2003; Rådet for Socialt Udsatte 2014; Togeby 2002; Toft 2012) that the reason why moving to and living in Denmark can turn out to be difficult should partly be seen in the light of the fact that Greenlanders are Danish citizens. Togeby, for example, explains that: "As Danish citizens the Greenlanders are expected to be able to manage in Danish society without the offers of support which are given to refugees and immigrants" (2002: 39, my translation). Due to their citizenship Greenlanders are expected to know how to manage in Denmark, but despite their citizenship, knowledge of the Danish language and a shared cultural capital with Danes, as discussed in chapter 4, problems may still arise.[13] They do not necessarily know everything they need to and as indicated above, they do not automatically receive the kind of help that is offered to other migrants in Denmark. This is also pinpointed amongst others in the report by Rådet for Socialt Udsatte

[13] A study by the Greenlandic House in Odense indicates that not only the first generation of Greenlanders in Denmark may experience difficulties. Their study, for example, shows that in the municipality of Odense statistics related to the labor market are less positive for Greenlanders from the second generation than for their non-western counterparts (second generation immigrants) (Det Grønlandske Hus i Odense 2004).

(2014: 7).[14] Language is clearly an important topic to take into consideration (see for example Laage-Petersen 2013: 26-28). Moreover, a person's skills in Danish can depend on where in Greenland he/she was raised (see for example Rådet for Socialt Udsatte 2014), as a person in Nuuk will, for example, experience the use of Danish more than someone from a small settlement. Other explanations are also given, including the period when schooling took place, as a different focus on the role of Danish in Greenland in the course of time has impacted people's Danish skills (Rådet for Socialt Udsatte 2014: 10-11). During fieldwork an informant recalled that she spoke "Nuuk Danish" when she came to Denmark as a child. So while you may speak Danish, it might be something different to speak Danish in Denmark than in Greenland.

In relation to the Danish citizenship held by Greenlanders, Rådet for Socialt Udsatte stresses that:

> There can be a tendency that the public helping system in Denmark takes its starting point in the realm and in the holding of Danish citizenship by Greenlanders. The Danish system's encounter with the Greenlander is thereby based on the rights they have as Danish citizens, but due to the lack of compatibility between Greenland and Denmark, the cultural and linguistic differences are overlooked, and this makes it difficult for some Greenlanders to get fair access to the relevant help (2014: 32, my translation).

Therefore despite having certain advantages in their migration to Denmark compared to other immigrants, such gaps in knowledge can have consequences and can hamper integration. I argue therefore that in relation to Greenlanders in

[14] At the time of writing a representative of the department of social counselling of the Greenlandic House in Odense informed me that a new strategy, *Grønlænderstrategien* [The Greenlander Strategy] to assist Greenlanders in Denmark was being introduced with the aim to offer some kind of integration assistance. It was explained to me that the Danish parliament for now has earmarked money to improve assistance to Greenlanders in Denmark's five largest municipalities, for which several parties have to collaborate. In Odense this new strategy entails offering assistance which to a certain degree resembles what is offered to refugees and immigrants. The representative, for example, also informed me that the Social Development Centre SUS is being involved in order to assist municipalities to put *Grønlænderstrategien* into practice. In fact, various institutions are involved in this new strategy (e-mail correspondence May 2014). This new strategy is also referred to in a recent report by Rådet for Socialt Udsatte. The report refers to the website of Socialstyrelsen (2014: 52). For more information see Socialstyrelsen (www.socialstyrelsen.dk), where the aim of *Grønlænderstrategien* to assist (potential) socially vulnerable Greenlanders in Denmark, the time frame of the strategy (2013-2016), the collaboration with SUS and research to be conducted by SFI (Det Nationale Forskningscenter for velfærd/The Danish national centre for social research) are also mentioned. For examples of assistance possibilities see, for instance, also Sjursen (2014).

Denmark what constitutes their postcolonial bonus (advantage) (Oostindie 2010) can also constitute their postcolonial disadvantage.[15]

In general in the case of Greenlanders in Denmark it is often assumed that they have problems due to the move from Greenland to Denmark. Sigsgård mentions that:

> The view we hold of Greenland determines that we are often liable to search for the causes of the problems of a Greenlander living here in his being a victim of a culture shift or cultural encounter.
>
> This view is probably both right and wrong at the same time. The view can probably be upheld when one remembers that the Greenlander at home in Greenland participates in the same culture shift, and this in even a somewhat cruder, more direct form.
>
> At any rate it is characteristic for many of the social and other difficulties that appear in Denmark that they can often be seen to have started and developed at home in Greenland, and that we find many people with quite similar problems in Greenland today (1975: 81-82, my translation).

In the major study done by Barfod et al. (1974), this topic is also covered. Their research found that most Greenlanders did well in Denmark, but also that some had problems, which mainly related to unemployment and financial problems for men, and problems in the relational sphere for women (1974: 518). However, the researchers explain that: “Furthermore, it needs to be stressed that the difficulties are not necessarily due to their stay in Denmark, but that these Greenlanders maybe would have had – and maybe also had – difficulties in Greenland” (1974: 520, my translation).

In 2008 a report on vulnerable Greenlanders in the city of Århus was published. In the report it is stated that about 1,000 Greenlanders live in the municipality of Århus. Most of them are well integrated, but about 150 of them can be considered to be socially vulnerable. Of these 150 Greenlanders, 120 took part in the research. The researchers, who were Greenlanders themselves, conducted fieldwork and held questionnaires. In the summary of the report, Kjeldgaard states that: “Many of the vulnerable Greenlanders are already vulnerable when they come to Denmark” (2008: 1, my translation). There it is also mentioned that:

> The project is convinced that it is not the Greenlandic culture or ethnicity which creates the vulnerability, but the social situation of the vulnerable Greenlanders, including living conditions, educational level, personal

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[15] Oostindie does, for example, explain that not all postcolonial migrants possess the same postcolonial bonus, that the postcolonial bonus is stronger for some than for others and that in the course of time the postcolonial bonus has diminished and can disappear for postcolonial migrants. Furthermore, postcolonial migrants in the Netherlands can, for example, also experience integration issues (2010).

> history and psychosocial background plus possible abuse (Kjeldgaard 2008: 1, my translation).

In her article on homeless Greenlanders in Copenhagen, Olsen states that two predominant ways of understanding problems of socially vulnerable Greenlanders can be identified, which is not the case for their Danish counterparts. She identifies "a cultural angle" and "a more pure social angle" as the predominant explanations (Olsen 2008: 141, my translation). According to her especially the explanation related to culture as a reason for a Greenlander's (possible) vulnerability is widespread (Olsen 2008: 141-142).[16]

According to various sources, including people with whom I have spoken, it happens quite often that Greenlanders move without necessarily preparing their migration carefully. Recently this was again pinpointed (Rådet for Socialt Udsatte 2014: 12). As my examples above show many people I spoke to did have a network in Denmark. They, for example, knew other Greenlanders in Denmark. However, I also noticed that in some instances this network did not offer the best introduction to Denmark. While networks can provide social capital, as we have seen above, the experiences of some Greenlanders in Denmark also show that networks can also have a negative impact on migration and integration. This is, for example also shown in the articles in *Hus Forbi* (Jensen 2011a, 2011b, 2011c).

Greenlanders in Denmark with rather serious social problems are often referred to as socialt udsatte grønlændere [socially vulnerable Greenlanders]. They constitute one of the groups of Greenlanders in Denmark who have gained quite some attention. The estimation is that about 1,000-1,200 Greenlanders in Denmark are socially vulnerable Greenlanders (Social-, Børne- og Integrationsministeriet in Rådet for Socialt Udsatte 2014: 7). However, it is also indicated that this number might be twice as high (Rådet for Socialt Udsatte 2014: 7).

It often appears that those Inuit with various social problems have a major impact on Danish views on Greenlanders. Olsen describes the situation as follows:

> They are known from most large Danish cities. The large or smaller group of Greenlanders on one or more of the city's squares. They are particularly visible in the street scene, not only because the persons in the group are often clearly intoxicated and noisy, but also because of the

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[16] In her article, Olsen also refers to Thisted (2002a) in order to elaborate on the focus on culture in understanding social vulnerability among Greenlanders. Thisted indicates that, for example, social problems among Greenlanders are often understood as being caused by a fast development in Greenland, which they struggle to deal with (Thisted 2002: 93 in Olsen 2002: 141; Thisted 2002a: 93). For further discussion of elements which are of influence, including the role of culture/ethnicity, on a Greenlander's situation in Denmark, see also Togeby (2002). Togeby, for example, states in relation to her study on Greenlanders in Denmark that: "The nationality of the parents is far and away the factor which has the greatest influence on the Greenlanders' life in Denmark" (2002: 140, my translation). Togeby's study indicates that having a Danish parent has a positive impact on living in Denmark (Togeby 2002: 140).

> group's "Greenlandicness", that is the ethnic markers, with which the group is associated. The group of homeless and socially vulnerable Greenlanders illustrates the ambivalence in the views held by Danes of Greenland and Greenlanders. To many Danes Greenland is almost a mythical place with beautiful landscapes populated by an exotic hunting people. Contrary to this is the image of the visibly intoxicated and shabby Greenlanders in the street scene in Denmark, who contribute highly to forming the general view of Greenlanders in Denmark (and in Greenland) (2008: 136, my translation).

I conducted hardly any interviews with socially vulnerable Greenlanders, partially very consciously, because in my view the attention this group gets, which it does for good reasons, might contribute to an one-sided view of Greenlanders in Denmark in general as other experiences of Greenlanders in Denmark are less visible, but I also chose not to conduct many interviews with socially vulnerable Greenlanders, because due to their problems they are possibly less accessible.[17]

However, I have heard about various difficulties Greenlanders in Denmark can experience, and besides a few interviews with Greenlanders who can be considered still to be vulnerable, I did also conduct interviews with Greenlanders who could be referred to as having belonged to the group of socially vulnerable Greenlanders in the past. At the time of the interview they were in a better situation. These migrants were rather open about what went wrong and how it happened.[18] I met a male migrant who talked openly about this negative experience in his life. He told me:

> T: And how was it in [Danish city] then?
> I: Then the drinking began.
> T: Did it?
> I: Yes, yes, then it went faster going downhill, at that time. And then I moved here. There were many from [city in Greenland], I knew in [this city]. Then the drinking began again. But luckily it stopped totally. I have been sober since.
> …
> T: How does something like this start, I don't know much about this, but, for example, in [your arrival city] how do you get to it?

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[17] Barfod et al. explain that Greenlanders in unfavorable conditions/with problems may be excluded from their study as they might not be registered (1974: 40, 326). Togeby emphasizes that her research does not include those Greenlanders in Denmark with the most severe problems, simply due to the fact that it can be difficult to get in touch with this group (2002: 18). However, as is also demonstrated in this book, several publications on socially vulnerable Greenlanders in Denmark do exist, for which contact with the target group has been established, which indicates that accessibility does not necessarily have to be an issue and that at least part of the target group is accessible. As explained in chapter 3 through my fieldwork I was indeed also in contact with some socially vulnerable Greenlanders.

[18] Through the chosen approach (face-to-face interviews) it was possible to discuss such experiences. Togeby explains that the approach used in her research (phone interviews) was not suitable for discussing similar issues (2002: 30).

I: Yes, in Greenland it is really expensive, cigarettes, beer and the like. When I came to Denmark, where everything is cheap, you can buy beer for one krone and 25 øre. So a crate costs less than 100 kroner. Then it started. I also drank a lot in Greenland. There it had already started. Then it went downhill faster and faster here...

…

I: At that time when I drank I didn't bother about shops, I just wanted to go inside, beer, and buy some... Now I can see how many shops there are. And how much I can buy for the money I normally used on drinking.

…

T: But then you came to [your arrival city], how do you get into, were you together with others there? Did you know many people in […] or?

I: Gradually I got to know them. Because there were some people from [city in Greenland] who I already knew. So that is why it also started like that...

This informant also explained that while he had also drunk in Greenland, the drinking first became a problem in Denmark. It seems that being together – drinking together – is an important reason for getting drinking problems. A similar picture was apparent in another interview with an informant who explained that he got to know some people and was together with both Greenlanders and Danes during the first period in the city where he now lived and that:

I: There was a lot of drinking at that time. Almost a year, almost every day…

…

T: When you mention there was a lot of drinking at that time, why does that happen?

I: We didn't have anything to do…

…

T: But it was together with other people you did it, you drank together with others?

I: Yes.

T: Was it difficult to stop it? Tell me if you don't want me to ask.

I: No, it is not difficult for me. I wasn't a person like that ordinarily back home in Greenland… That's life. When you meet people like that...

T: You say when you meet people like that? What do you mean by that?

I: Who are having fun all the time. Who don't do anything, without thinking of the costs…

…

T: And you had money to pay for those things?

I: Yes, I received cash benefit.

T: And then that is enough money?

I: Yes.

T: Yes, okay.
I: We were a group of people who helped each other.
…
T: But then you help each other you say?
I: Yes.
T: How?
I: For example, with food and when one, some have more, then you just say, we have something, just come to us. We always helped each other. I think they still do [in specific part of town].
T: Are you in touch with some of them who live there now?
I: I know most of them, but I don't go there that often anymore. Greet once in a while. Several months ago I was there the last time.
T: Why don't you go there anymore?
I: Because there is a lot of drinking. You don't feel like it. Don't feel like it.

Thus this migrant shows that he does not want to socialize with addicts anymore. This was also the experience of a young Greenlandic couple in Denmark who had also overcome their addiction. They told me:

T: Do you then lose a lot of friends?
I1: Yes.
I2: That can happen, yes. You can of course meet them, but you can't be with them.
T: Can you explain this?
I2: You can't bear being with them when they drink. That is you can't be with them as long as they drink, when you don't drink, then it can be a totally different story. You don't socialize with them anymore when you are drug-free. You don't…

It seems that when you want to join certain others, you will need to join the group and participate in their way of doing things. Otherwise you will not be part of the group. Olsen explains that based on research on homeless Greenlanders in Copenhagen, the informants showed a close form of community spirit and helpfulness towards each other (2008: 138). At the same time if you do not share this communal spirit, and in the article the example of being willing to offer a place to sleep in your apartment is presented as a sign of this communal spirit, it can mean you are left out of the group (2008: 139-140). In the summary of a report on socially vulnerable Greenlanders in Aalborg, it is, for example, mentioned that not joining others can cause loneliness (Brobyggerselskabet – De udstødte and Hansen 2006: 3-4). Various examples presented in a report by Rådet for Socialt Udsatte (2014) also show that the drinking starts in the company of other countrymen. Christensen found that many informants did not want to meet with other Greenlanders because of two reasons, which were too much drinking and the other Greenlanders not originating from the same part of Greenland (2011: 79).

Socialt udsatte grønlændere have as mentioned a major impact on the perception of Greenlanders in Denmark. Their visibility and problems have caused negative stereotypical views of Greenlanders in Denmark, not only in the perception by Danes of Greenlanders, but also among Greenlanders themselves. The existing views – perceptions – of Greenlanders in Denmark therefore require more attention and will be treated in the following chapter.

For those with problems living in Denmark, but also for other Greenlanders in Denmark, one way to make living in Denmark easier is by visiting the Greenlandic Houses or other initiatives for Greenlanders in Denmark. Many of the employees here either come from Greenland themselves or have worked in Greenland for some years. Thus most employees have first-hand experience with life in Greenland and can empathize with those Greenlanders who ask for assistance and can help them deal with the Danish system, which is not very accessible for everyone. An employee explained that: “Here they can ask about everything. And we can understand that they cannot understand everything.” This again relates to what has been stated above. While Greenlanders are Danish citizens and therefore – sometimes – are expected to “know” Denmark, this is not necessarily the case. This employee indicates that they are aware of this discrepancy. According to an employee at one of the Greenlandic Houses, Greenlanders know how to find the houses:

T: And they are able to find this place, to find you?

I: Yes… Fortunately Greenlanders talk a lot together. It is a very small society altogether. If you come from Greenland to Ålborg directly, you almost always know some Greenlanders in Ålborg, family or friends or so on. And they know, that way, the new ones get thus referred to here, for example. Because all Greenlanders know there is a Greenlandic House in Ålborg. I don’t think there is someone who doesn’t know.

T: You mean those who live in Ålborg?

I: Yes, and they tell it to the new ones. Greenlanders greet each other on the streets, even though they don’t know each other. They greet, because they are countrymen and they help each other very much. Very hospitable and generous…

T: Do you think there is a difference between Ålborg and the other places with a Greenlandic House in Denmark?

I: Whether there is a difference?

T: Yes, like, I can imagine Copenhagen is much bigger, maybe you don’t know there is a Greenlandic House there?

I: I think all Greenlanders know. It is possible they don’t use it, but I am rather certain that they know it exists. I actually think they also know it in Greenland...

So people know about these places, for example, through family or friends. It again shows the importance of informal networks.

The Greenlandic houses have various departments, such as the department that is concerned with education and attends to those young Greenlanders who move to Denmark to pursue education, and a social department that is certainly involved with socially vulnerable Greenlanders and their integration in Denmark, but as I learned, assists any Greenlander in Denmark who requires help. The houses offer information about living in Denmark. The Greenlandic House in Odense has, for example, published a bilingual booklet (Greenlandic and Danish), a copy of which I obtained during my fieldwork, that informs new Greenlanders about what they need to do when they come to the Region of Southern Denmark. The booklet gives information about Danish education, employment possibilities, interpretation (Greenlandic-Danish), the national register, tax issues and Greenlandic societies (Det Grønlandske Hus i Odense, n.d.).

However, with about 15,000 Greenlanders in Denmark, it is clear that many different experiences in Denmark can be noted. In this context recent publications, of which two are based on quantitative data (2007; 2011a) and one on qualitative data (2011b), by the North Atlantic Group in the Danish Parliament are rather interesting. The two latter studies, for example, investigated whether Greenlanders in Denmark would consider moving back to Greenland. The authors have divided their informants into various groups. These are: “1. Mentally at home in Greenland”, “2. Dissatisfied with circumstances in Greenland”, “3. Deeply rooted in Denmark” and “4. Those with strong resources with roots in Greenland” (2011a: 23-28; 2011b: 10, my translation).

The Greenlanders I talked to during fieldwork all fit one of these categories. I interviewed Greenlanders who were about to move back to Greenland, they could be said to belong to the first category. Many of my informants mentioned the problems they saw in Greenland, they could be said to be part of the second category. Others belonged to categories 3 and 4. However, I do find it difficult to make such clear distinctions between the categories based on the interviews I conducted. I feel that most of my informants correspond with all of the categories, except the first one. I see several reasons why my data makes it difficult to make this clear distinction. Firstly, as I conducted a qualitative study my group of informants is relatively small, and therefore it becomes difficult to place the informants in various categories, which would all be rather small in size. In addition, through my fieldwork methods I most likely talked mainly to those Greenlanders who somehow cultivate their Greenlandic roots. As mentioned above, one important way to find informants for my research was by attending Greenlandic activities. Even though I have tried to include various experiences, the Greenlanders I talked to most probably do not represent the full picture of Greenlanders in Denmark. Interestingly, even though I mainly talked to Greenlanders who somehow cultivated their Greenlandic roots, most of these

migrants did not want to return. Even though they might be said to belong to either category 2 (who probably do not want to move back, but possibly would want to move if social issues were to improve in Greenland (2011a: 24) or 4 (who maybe want to move back to Greenland (2011a: 28)), I got the impression that most of my informants were rather certain about wanting to stay in Denmark. This also showed among various informants who participated in the study on mobility (Rasmussen 2010) as presented in chapter 5. The Greenlanders Christensen (2011) interviewed also indicated that they were not thinking about returning to Greenland. Living in Denmark is by and large considered positively (2011: 71-72).[19] Christensen shows that similar findings were made before (Christensen 2010a and Togeby 2002 in Christensen 2011: 72). Rådet for Socialt Udsatte also found that most informants wanted to stay in Denmark (2014: 42).

When asked whether they would consider moving back to Greenland, Greenlanders in Denmark who wanted to stay in Denmark indicated, amongst other things, the following reasons for this to me: having family in Denmark, having no close family in Greenland anymore, better medical help/assistance in Denmark, high cost of living in Greenland, wanting to be able to drive to places and being used to life in Denmark. Several informants had already lived in Denmark for a long time, many had been in Denmark for at least five years, and consequently people may have become very much connected to Denmark through, amongst other things, family ties. Such networks of family and friends are as discussed above important for migrants. In another publication it is also stated that next to a job, the establishment of a family is a very important reason to stay in Denmark (NAGDP 2011a: 19). Togeby also found that their children, education and having a Danish husband/wife or partner were some of the reasons for Greenlanders to live in Denmark (Togeby 2002: 35).[20] NAGDP experienced that reasons which hampered return migration included “limited infrastructure”, “large social inequality”, “an outdated level in the educational system”, “ethnic based conflicts” and “poor housing possibilities” (2011b: 12-13, my translation). Similarly to the reasons for migrating to Denmark people can have various reasons for staying there, but having family in Denmark is clearly a reason that should not be overlooked.

6.8 Conclusion

Education and a Danish partner/relational ties are very important reasons for Greenlanders to move to Denmark. They move for their own education or for that of their children. At the same time other reasons, such as better medical care, retirement or dissatisfaction with certain elements in Greenlandic society, also make

[19] Christensen also notes the possibility of problems, however, which can arise among her target group (2011: 81-82).
[20] For an overview and discussion of elements Greenlanders in Denmark liked and disliked about Denmark, see Togeby (2002: 126-129).

people move to Denmark. It is safe to say that the migration reasons are rather diverse and it is very likely that when people decide to move to Denmark they have several reasons for doing so. Examples presented indicate that to a certain degree in this context too disjunction and continuation are both at stake (Amit 2002, 2012). In addition, the experiences of Greenlanders in Denmark are also diverse.

This chapter has shown that according to recent sources (see, for example, the street paper *Hus Forbi* (Jensen 2011b) and Mølgaard 2013), there is a tendency among (young) Greenlanders to move to Denmark without proper preparation. My fieldwork also shows that not all movers were extensively prepared before moving to Denmark. I hold that an important explanation for this unprepared move is that Denmark is not (perceived as) a totally different country. People already feel some kind of connection with Denmark, which favors the country as a possible destination and explains why moving to Denmark is not necessarily perceived as "a paramount and disruptive event" (Gmelch 1992 in Brettell 2003: 27). This does not mean that moving is unproblematic for everyone, as examples also demonstrate. However, Greenlanders can make use of various channels to obtain the knowledge they need in order to find their way in Denmark. Greenlanders in Denmark can also use different strategies to gain knowledge about living in Denmark. As demonstrated, for example, there are the Greenlandic Houses, but also other initiatives in Denmark specially for Greenlanders, which can form important ways of gaining knowledge about the Danish system, about living in Denmark. Another very important way to get to know more about Denmark are the informal channels. Family, friends or even unknown countrymen can be important in helping new Greenlandic migrants to find their way in Denmark. Moving to Denmark can entail a stay at a relative's home for a time. In this context the conception of social networks as paths is interesting (Abu-Lughod 1991: 318). Besides considering the migration of Greenlanders from Greenland to Denmark as a physical movement, the social networks can also be considered as paths which Greenlanders use for their move and which can facilitate their migration.

Based on my findings, I argue that migration was and continues to be an important element for understanding Greenlandic society. Migration for educational purposes is probably the clearest example of this. During the 1960s and 1970s many young Greenlanders went to Denmark in order to learn Danish and Greenlandic students can still today pursue – parts of their – education in Denmark. In addition, I also noticed that several informants had moved rather frequently, both within Greenland and also between Greenland and Denmark, due to employment possibilities, partners and again schooling. People return to Greenland, because Denmark does not offer what they were looking for. On the other hand many informants I talked to in Denmark wanted to stay there. People get used to their lives – and the possibilities offered – in Denmark.

The question of whether Denmark is the promised land is clearly not straightforward. Some people return to Greenland, others stay in Denmark. This diversity in mobility, as Sørensen (1993) described in the early 1990s, is still important in order to understand migration flows between Greenland and Denmark. I hold that this observation can also be used to discuss what has been referred to as "flugten fra Grønland" [flight from Greenland] (see, for example, Mølgaard 2013), as a thorough understanding of the diverse flows and experiences can place "the flight" into a broader perspective. This is also helpful in order to discuss perceptions of Greenlanders in Denmark, which are examined in the next chapter in relation to (self-)ascribed identity.

7 Identity issues: Greenlanders in Denmark through various eyes

7.1 Introduction

Jenkins has stated that "identities emerge out of the interaction between *internal* self-identification or group identification, on the one hand, and the *external* categorisation done by others, on the other" (Jenkins 2011: 3). How a person – or a group – perceives him or herself and how others perceive this person – or group – affects identity formation. In this chapter I will first present representations of Greenlanders in Denmark. The chapter first examines ascribed identity. The focus is on the external categorization done by Danes. In the second part of this chapter self-ascribed identity will be dealt with. Here the focus is on internal self-identification or group identification by Greenlanders in Denmark. In this part various "symbols of identity" (see Petersen (1985) for a presentation of "symbols of identity" (295) related to Greenlandic identity) employed by Greenlanders in Denmark will be presented. In chapter 2 I expressed my intention of applying Jenkins' idea of "'being Danish' as an everyday process" (2011: 19) to the idea of being Greenlandic in Denmark as an everyday process. In this chapter I will demonstrate when a Greenlandic ethnic and cultural background in Denmark manifests itself most prominently. This all leads back to the main research question, which investigates how Greenlandic identity is manifested by Greenlanders in Denmark and how Greenlandic identity in Denmark is represented by others.

7.2 Ascribed identities

The following section will present views on Greenlanders in Denmark, firstly Danish views based on information gained from a group interview with gymnasium students in Denmark, through which some of the ideas about Greenlanders in Denmark will become manifest. Secondly these ideas will be related to various other views on Greenlanders in Denmark.

7.2.1 Danish views on Greenlanders in Denmark

In order to record existing views of Greenlanders in Denmark, I conducted a group interview with 25 gymnasium students at a gymnasium in Jutland, Denmark. The purpose was to find out how these students related to Greenland and to Greenlanders in Denmark. The group interview consisted of three main parts. Firstly the students were asked certain questions in order to understand their relation to and thoughts about Greenland and Greenlanders in Denmark. Secondly the

students were asked some questions about Greenland to see what they actually knew about the country. Thirdly a short discussion with the students followed in order to reflect upon the questions. The latter offered time for discussion and as such the interview also contributed to informing the students about Greenland. Of the students, more than half of them had no relation to Greenland, while it could be said that some did, as some of them, for example, indicated that they knew a (half) Greenlander (well), had gone to "efterskole" [continuation school] with Greenlandic students or had family members who had been to or lived in Greenland. The main results of this investigation are presented below. I would like to stress that my purpose was not to get students to mention all kinds of stereotypes about Greenland and Greenlanders. While the results do indicate that stereotypes are present, the replies also show us what these students know about Greenland in general, where they have this knowledge from and how they feel about their knowledge of Greenland and Greenlanders. As such this group interview enables us to understand the context of external categorization.

I will first present the most common (written) replies to the more factual questions. The questions were 1. What is the capital of Greenland?, 2. How many people live in Greenland?, 3. What was introduced in Greenland on the 21st of June 2009?, 4. Which languages are spoken in Greenland?, 5. Which means of transport are used the most to travel from one town to another?, 6. What do people live off in Greenland?, 7. Which currency is used in Greenland? and 8. Who is Knud Rasmussen?

The first question showed that almost all students knew that the capital of Greenland is Nuuk. Some replies indicated they doubted whether their reply was correct, but 21 students did reply Nuuk or something very similar (for example, Nunk).[1] Three students did not know it was Nuuk. Some also included the former Danish name, Godthåb, and one student only replied Godthåb and a wrong "Greenlandic" name. The question on how many people live in Greenland was more difficult. Several indicated their reply was a guess. Two students indicated either 50,000 or 55,000, which comes closest to the total population of Greenland. A number indicating that one million or even more live in Greenland was written by 12 students. Of the students eight correctly wrote that "selvstyre" [self-government] was introduced on the 21st of June 2009. Of these students three indicated they were not sure about their reply. With several students either indicating they did not know the answer or not replying to this question, this question was answered by the least

[1] In general it happened that students, for example, did not give a reply or included a question mark with their reply. The latter I have in most cases interpreted as a sign that the student is not – entirely – sure about the answer. But when the reply is correct, I have included the reply as a correct answer. A couple of replies also include possible less serious answers, for example, indicated by a smile included with the answer. I try to represent the answers as accurately as possible. For example, I sometimes specify when students have indicated they doubted their reply.

number of students. Other replies included, for example, “Homerule” by one student who also replied “selvbestemmelse” [self-determination], an answer given by two more students, and (some) “selvstændighed” [independence] by four students. While some students were again in doubt, all of them replied that Greenlandic is used in Greenland and 19 students also mentioned that Danish is used/learned. Other specific languages mentioned include English (three times) and Finnish (one time). Of the students 18 indicated that (dog) sledge is used as a way of transport. Some of these replies include a smile, question mark etc. After the sledge the car was mentioned the most, by 11 students. Other replies, of which some here are combined, for example, included bus by three students, helicopter/airplane by six students, boat/sailing/kayak by seven students, and snow scooter by two students.[2] To the question what people live off in Greenland, fishing was mentioned the most. An answer related to fishing was given by, some in doubt, 18 students. Ten students indicated that people either live off the same kinds of jobs as in Denmark, tertiary sector, shops, trade/export or “almindelige jobs” [normal jobs]. In addition, several students replied (seal) hunting or work related to hunting. Eighteen students, again some in doubt and sometimes indicating that the reply was a guess, indicated that krones are used to pay in Greenland. Of these students, 10 specified their reply by writing Danish krones, which indeed are used in Greenland. Another student mentioned both krones and euros. The latter was answered by one more student. One student replied that Danish/Greenlandic money is used, without specifying this further. Most students did not know precisely who Knud Rasmussen was. Replies include a (Greenlandic) politician and mayor. The replies of about 10 students indicate they have some idea about who he was, without necessarily answering entirely correctly or in detail, by indicating that he has something to do with an expedition to Greenland or the discovery of Greenland. The group interview in fact, at least to some degree, questions the claim that: “To most Danes Greenland is inextricably linked with the name of the polar researcher Knud Rasmussen” (Thisted 2002a: 91, my translation).

Next we turn to the other questions, concerning the students’ thoughts and relations to Greenland and Greenlanders. The first question was meant to see what the students thought of when thinking of Greenland. The replies indicate that they think, for example, of issues such as the nature/natural environment (for example, cold climate, ice, beautiful, seals, polar bears), the (Danish) royal family (visiting Greenland), “famous” Greenlanders (singer Julie Berthelsen, Father Christmas), culture (for example, dog sledges, hunting, clothing, food, language), (stereotypes about) alcohol problems and ideas about the people (for example, appearance,

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[2] In my view, based on my own experiences in Greenland, for which I travelled by plane and boat, air and water transport are used the most to travel between towns. During fieldwork I was told that only two communities in Greenland are connected by a road. Cars or buses are therefore not used to travel between other communities.

Eskimos). Of these "nature/natural environment" appeared in most replies, followed by "culture" and "alcohol problems".

The second and third questions were included to see whether the students had learned/received instruction about Greenland during their schooling and if so what they had learned.[3] More than half of the students indicated that they had learned nothing or almost nothing during their schooling/their time at folkeskolen and/or secondary schooling about Greenland. Most learning about Greenland seems to be done at folkeskolen [school for pupils between 7~16]. Some students indicated that they had a theme about Greenland. Several students recalled they had learned about Greenland in geography classes. Nature and climate are topics that several students indicated they had learned about. One student mentioned that Greenland was mentioned in relation to a short story by the Danish author Henrik Pontoppidan, *Isbjørnen* [The polar bear], which is partially set in Greenland. This student's reply shows how not just subjects such as geography and biology can be used to teach about Greenland, but also a subject such as Danish.[4]

In answer to the question of what the students know about Greenlanders in Denmark quite a lot of stereotypical views (mainly concerning alcohol issues) were mentioned, but several students also reflected on the fact that these were stereotypical views. Of the students, almost half clearly indicated that they did not know (much) about Greenlanders in Denmark. Four students included the singer Julie Berthelsen in their answer. Several informants indicated that Greenlanders came to Denmark for their education, for example, to go to an efterskole. This is also how a few students had got to know Greenlanders in Denmark. On the other hand, more than half of the students did not know a Greenlander personally.

Furthermore some replies indicated that the students were familiar with or had heard about the film *Eksperimentet*, which focuses on the experiences of a group of Greenlandic children in the 1950s who lived at a children's home in Nuuk after having been sent to Denmark for example to learn Danish. The film came out in 2010 and offers a "popular" view of the historical relation between Denmark and Greenland. I argue that that the sending of these children can actually be considered as another example of what Remie and Oosten in discussing "qallunaat" perceptions of Inuit explain thus: "the persistent element in the definition is 'savage' as opposed to 'civilized'" (1999: 20), and even though this perception was especially prominent in

[3] The questions used were: "Did you receive instruction about Greenland?" [Har I haft undervisning om Grønland?] and "What did you learn about Greenland?" [Hvad har I lært om Grønland?].

[4] During my secondary schooling in Denmark, at gymnasium a book called *Litteraturhåndbogen* [The literature handbook] was used as a handbook for Danish literary history. While the edition of the book of 1981 (Hansen, Jørgensen, Michelsen, Sørensen and Tonnesen 1981) did not have a specific chapter on Greenland's literature, for example, the fourth edition (Hansen, Jørgensen, Michelsen, Sørensen and Tonnesen 1990) does contain a chapter on Greenland's literature by Christian Berthelsen. It would be interesting to know whether this chapter is used by teachers to teach pupils about literature from Greenland.

earlier western views of Inuit, to some degree it was also manifested in this event. In this view Inuit had to be civilized.

Another question I posed related to whether students had heard/read about Greenland outside of a school context. In this context a few references to the film *Eksperimentet* or its topic were made again. Other television programs, for example, included various programs about the nature and climate (change) of Greenland. Also programs about the visits of the royal family to Greenland were mentioned by several students. Programs related to Christmas, such as *Nissebanden*, *DR Juleshows* [two programs related to Christmas and Greenland], were mentioned by five students.[5]

After the group interview, there was time to discuss the questions. While one student felt she knew quite a lot about Greenland, some students indicated that they felt they knew rather little. Two students clearly indicated that they actually ought to know more, because, as they explained, Greenland is part of Denmark. To one of my questions on why they knew the capital of Greenland is Nuuk, one student replied through *Julekalenderen*, *Nissebanden* [two programs related to Christmas and Greenland screened in Denmark]. Another student indicated that Greenland is mentioned in the New Year's speech by the queen and that she always talks about her visits to Greenland, and that this might have caused this student to know the capital.

All in all the group interview helps to understand how the students relate to Greenland. It is interesting to see that there are other channels, than purely educational, that give information about Greenland as well, such as the royal family, a Greenlandic singer (Julie Berthelsen) and an event such as Christmas. Despite the fact that the students were able to reply correctly to several of the factual questions, many also indicated they knew rather little about Greenland. This interview does provide an impression of the views – ignorance, which Greenlanders in Denmark can encounter.

In this context a comment made by Mimi Karlsen, the Greenlandic minister for Culture, Education, Research and Church at that time, is interesting. According to her Danish pupils learned too little about Greenland. She felt that something should be done about this "Mangelfuld undervisning om Grønland" [Insufficient education about Greenland] (Sermitsiaq.AG 2010b). In *Sermitsiaq.AG* one reads that:

> Their peers embarrass Greenlandic students when asking where they have learned to speak Danish, or when they express surprise that they do not get drunk like other Greenlanders, says Mimi Karlsen, who thinks it should be a natural part of the education in the Danish folkeskole to explain that there are children of the same age in Greenland who learn

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[5] It should be noted that within Danish Christmas tradition Father Christmas lives in Greenland, which also explains Danish links between Greenland and Christmas.

> Danish because they are compelled to do so (Sermitsiaq.AG 2010b, my translation).

Karlsen also stresses that this limited education on Greenland can hamper the integration of Greenlandic students in Denmark. In the study by Barfod et al. in the 1970s the limited knowledge of Danes about Greenland and the offensiveness of their curiosity was also mentioned by Greenlanders in Denmark (Barfod et al. 1974: 138). Togeby opens her book on Greenlanders in Denmark by stating: "In September 2001 Greenlanders in Denmark were on the front page of the newspapers for once (*Politiken*, 4. September 2001)" (2002: 9, my translation), which also supports the view that Greenlanders in Denmark as a minority group remain rather badly known. This in fact shows a continuation of ignorance about Greenlanders in Denmark. About 40 years after the publication of the study by Barfod et al. the topic seems still actual.

While the knowledge about Greenland might be limited, Kleivan makes an interesting observation concerning differences between the role of Greenland and the Faroe Islands for Danes.[6] In relation to slang expressions on Greenlanders Kleivan states that:

> The number of Danish slang expressions for the citizens of the two other parts of the realm clearly reflect that Greenlanders play a larger part in the Danes' consciousness than Faroese do. In addition to this, Greenlanders in Denmark are often more visible than Faroese (Kleivan 2011: 76, my translation).

Slang expressions used for describing Greenlanders include a word such as "iskineser" [ice Chinese, my translation] (Kleivan 2011: 75). Greenlanders thus seem more visible than the inhabitants of the Faroe Islands for Danes. The slang expressions mentioned by Kleivan (2011), which include negative descriptions, demonstrate that this is not as such an advantage for the Greenlandic population.

Through awareness of such slang expressions, the images presented of Greenland and Greenlanders and the process of conducting this research on Inuit and migration, it becomes very clear that perceptions in the context of Inuit culture are very important. The external identification of Greenland and Greenlanders seems rather strong. Several researchers have also discussed perceptions of Greenland and Greenlanders (see, for example, Bjørst 2008; Høiris 1983, 2011; Thisted 2012). Recently a study was conducted by *YouGov* by order of the Greenlandic tourist office *Visit Greenland* among Danes on their views on Greenlanders, in which several stereotypical views appeared. The main results

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[6] My interest in Greenland and the Faroe Islands, and related hereto the seeming ignorance about both places within education in Denmark, was also a reason for me to write about the reception of Greenlandic and Faroese literature in the Danish press as the topic of my master thesis for my study Scandinavian Languages and Cultures (Terpstra 2005).

were, for example, summarized in the Danish newspaper *Information* (from a telegram by *Ritzau*) and showed, amongst other things, that of the Danes: “40 percent think of drinking, abuse and social problems, when thinking of the Greenlanders”, “42 percent think that every third hunter in Greenland grabs the kayak when going out on the sea to make a catch. 27 percent believe that whale hunting is the primary job for the Greenlandic man” and “43 percent think that more than half of the Greenlanders living in Denmark receive social benefits or unemployment money. In reality out of 14,400 this is the case for only 2,296 – that is 16 percent” (Information 2012, my translations). This study shows that despite the fact that almost all respondents (“9 out of 10”) knew that Nuuk is the capital in Greenland (Information and Ritzau 2012, my translation), the issue of mistaken perceptions among Danes is still relevant, at least to some degree. In this context I will later turn to an article by Kirsten Thisted (2012) who describes how the results of this study can also be interpreted.

Perceptions presented above correspond with views which other researchers too have pinpointed. Nanna Folke Olsen (2008), as also quoted in chapter 6, for example, describes that:

> To many Danes Greenland is almost a mythical place with beautiful landscapes populated by an exotic hunting people. Contrary to this is the image of the visibly intoxicated and shabby Greenlanders in the street scene in Denmark, who contribute highly to forming the general view of Greenlanders in Denmark (and in Greenland) (2008: 136, my translation).

And Søren Thuesen has been quoted in a book on elderly Greenlanders in northern Jutland thus:

> He thinks Danes are very ambiguous in their way of perceiving Greenland and Greenlanders.
> - In a way Danes think Greenland and Greenlanders are exciting and exotic, and are in some contexts slightly proud that Denmark and Greenland are in the same realm. In other instances Danes are totally as racist towards Greenlanders as they are towards all kinds of other foreigners, experiences Søren Thuesen (Østergaard 2003: 68, my translation).

Kirsten Thisted describes the situation as follows:

> The Greenlanders are constantly considered as some people who need to be helped, people who are under development, and such an asymmetrical relation provides a breeding ground for less positive feelings on both sides of the relation. In the unofficial discourse thus a very negative image of the Greenlanders often arises, which is connected to the fact that those Greenlanders, who are not doing well constitute a very visible group in Denmark, while the (much larger) group, who manage brilliantly, are so well integrated that they in the most literal way have become invisible and

> therefore need to draw attention to themselves once in a while, as for example happened in the documentary film *Kolonihaven* (Lise Roos, 1990), in which a number of well integrated Greenlanders, who live very different lives at widely different levels of Danish society, are portrayed (Thisted 2002a: 90, my translation).[7]

In an article by Haagen, it is stated that: “Greenlanders are treated like disabled people, who one does not really know how to relate to in cases of uncertainty when one does not control the situation and fears it can get out of control” (2002: 168, my translation). It shows that perceptions are clearly ambiguous. Sometimes positive elements are stressed, for example, in relation to Greenland’s nature, while a negative focus is prevalent in relation to Greenlanders in Denmark.[8] Both the ignorance and the perceptions about Greenlanders in Denmark manifest a certain continuity.[9] And they are of course connected as increased knowledge about Greenlanders in Denmark will impact perceptions.

The ascribed identities discussed so far show that one striking aspect concerns stereotypical views of Greenlanders in Denmark. Often these views focus on negative experiences of Greenlanders in Denmark. As presented in chapter 2, Sørensen also explains that a Greenlander is more or less expected to live in Greenland. When living in Denmark, difficulties and questions about why he/she is not living in Greenland can be anticipated (1993: 31). As quoted in chapter 1, Sørensen also writes that:

> Both migrations are therefore perceived as problematic, although problematic each in their own way. Where the Greenlandic migration is mainly associated with emotional problems, a feeling of loss and homesickness, the Danish migration is associated with rational strategy and material profit. Where the Greenlandic migration is often seen as a result of circumstances that are outside of the individual’s control, the

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[7] Kirsten Thisted discusses a documentary, *Kvinden fra Godthåb*, which presents the negative experiences of a Greenlandic woman in Denmark and Thisted explains how this documentary upholds a negative discourse about Greenlanders in Denmark (2002a: 105-108). Other documentaries about Greenlanders in Denmark include, for example, *Inuk woman city blues* (2002) and *Dage med Kathrine* (2003). A short online example is *Tupilaq* (2013) directed by Mage, which concerns a cartoon about a Greenlander in a large city longing for Greenland. Another example concerns the short online documentary *Greenlanders in Denmark* (no year; when accessed the documentary was uploaded two years ago) by Karina Vabson and Christian Nees van Hauen.

[8] Ongoing debates in various countries indicate that immigration is a sensitive issue. Negative images about migrants are not uncommon (see also Clark 2009: v). A recent example of a debate related to migration can be given from the Netherlands. In March 2014 the leader of the right-wing Partij voor de Vrijheid [Party for Freedom], Geert Wilders, announced that he would arrange for there to be fewer Moroccans in the Netherlands. His statement made a stir in the Netherlands (see, for example, Theguardian.com 2014).

[9] Another representation of Greenland is the documentary *Flugten fra Grønland*, which was first broadcasted on the main Danish TV-station DR in 2007.

> Danish migration is mainly seen as being individually controlled (Sørensen 1993: 31, my translation).

Sørensen shows that this view exists among both Danes and Greenlanders (1993). This conclusion is also drawn by others in relation to (stereotypical) views about Inuit culture among Danes and Greenlanders more generally (see, for example, Bjørst 2008; Thisted 2005), a point I will discuss in more detail and in relation to Inuit in southern Canada in the next chapter. But an additional supplement to Danish views of Greenlanders in Denmark can be found in the following explanation from a report on socially vulnerable Greenlanders in Aarhus, for which the postcolonial context is stressed (Kjeldgaard 2008: 37-38). In the report it is explained that:

> One thesis is that a bad conscience on the Danish side about the role played by Denmark in Greenland, including the significance of a forced modernization of Greenlandic society from the 1950s onwards, means that we in fact *cultivate* an image that pities the Greenlanders. When we think something is a pity, then we focus on what is bad and not on what is good. We turn our attention to the negative things instead of the positive things. Thus it can happen that we more or less consciously keep the vulnerable Greenlanders in an unworthy position (Kjeldgaard 2008: 38, my translation).

In this understanding the historical relation between Greenland and Denmark reinforces negative views of Greenlanders.

Relating views of Greenlanders in Denmark to views of Greenland as a country helps to understand persistent representations as well. Thisted (2011a) also explains, similarly to others, that there are two ways of seeing Greenland in Denmark. She states that:

> In the "Sunday version" at feasts and in official contexts Greenland is stressed for its proud traditions, the beautiful landscape and the harmonious relations within the realm. In the everyday version . . . the Greenlanders are stereotyped as social losers, dependent on the Danish block grant, extremely alcoholic and "lost in translation" in the modern life (Thisted 2011a: 626, my translation).

Bjørst also mentions dualistic perceptions about Greenland in Danish media (2008: 81) and Togeby states that within Danish media Greenlanders in Denmark are mainly represented through "those Greenlanders who have not been able to manage their lives in Denmark" (2002: 139, my translation). Both versions, positive and negative, are manifested in the replies of the gymnasium students.

It is clear that various researchers have discussed (self-)representations of Greenland and Greenlanders (see, for example, Bjørst 2008; Thisted 2003, 2005, 2011a, 2013b) and here, based on literature and my general impression, I will discuss the origin and maintenance of such perceptions. In order to understand

these negative views, it is important to take into consideration the media and the question of dependency, as Thisted points to when she refers to the dependency on the Danish block grant. In addition, according to Thisted:

> To the discourse on the indigenous peoples sticks the old idea of "fatal impact": that the so-called nature peoples are doomed to founder through the encounter with the white man. In a contemporary form this discourse appears as a concern for whether Greenland indeed really is able to manage without Denmark's protection. It is sometimes said directly, but it lies there unspoken all the time (2011a: 632, my translation).

Additionally Thisted has earlier also explained that Danish views of Greenland are by and large solely based on Danish representations of Denmark and not on Greenlandic representations (2002b: 312, 2003: 62-63). As discussed in chapter 2, several "Danes", going back to Hans Egede in the 18th century, had already developed views of Greenlanders and so through a long period of time ideas about Greenland and Greenlanders have been disseminated in Denmark.[10] In this context Said's *Orientalism* (1978) has, for example, also been used in a Greenlandic/Arctic context.[11] Thisted states that:

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[10] See Thisted (2002b) for a description of the important role Knud Rasmussen plays in the representation of Greenland. Interestingly following Thisted's work (see various publications referred to in this book), it shows, as she indicates in her work herself, that changes in relation to images of Greenland among Danes do occur (Thisted 2012), as will also be discussed in this chapter.

[11] See, for example, the short article "Grønlandsk Orientalisme" [Greenlandic Orientalism] by Mathiassen (2011). Several articles by Thisted (see, for example, 2002b, 2003, 2011b, 2013a) are on authors from Denmark writing about Greenland. Thisted has in this context used the term "Arctic orientalism" (Thisted 2002b: 313). Bjørst has in her publication on stereotypes about Greenland and the Arctic, for example, referred to Ann Fienup-Riordan's idea of "eskimo-orientalisme" [eskimo orientalism] (Fienup-Riordan 1995 in Bjørst 2008: 9, 119). In my master thesis on the reception of Greenlandic and Faroese literature in Denmark I also refer to orientalism (and postcolonialism) (Terpstra 2005). Thisted explains in relation to Danish authors that: "It is very clearly the relation white man/Inuit woman that the male Danish author is best prepared to give form to in literature. There are, though, exceptions to this rule. Knud Rasmussen and Peter Freuchen had e.g. in those days totally different close relations to the men, because they travelled and hunted together with them. Both of these two polar heroes were, however, focused on depicting the "original" culture in Thule, Canada and Alaska, and as a consequence Danish literature abounds in reliable close-ups of Eskimo hunters – but is unfortunately rather poor in ditto of modern Greenlandic men, and successful Greenlandic men do by and large not appear in recent Danish literature. The fascination for the hunter and the man in the kayak as an expression of the "real" Greenlander (Sørensen 1994, Thomsen 1998) brought about the idea of the educated Greenlander as a divided and estranged character; an idea the Greenlanders instantly disclosed as being a strategy to keep them colonized, but which they have since assumed to a certain degree as part of the culturally orientated discourse of the 1970s and 1980s (Thisted 1992, 2005a)" (2013a: 306, my translation). In her article Thisted (2013a) describes how modern Greenlandic men are, though, included in a novel by Hans Jakob Helm.

> Greenland has–both symbolically and in reality–played the part of the Danes' private wilderness, serving as an arena for all kinds of fantasies that cannot be realized in Denmark. Part of the wilderness is the Greenlanders, who are seen as symbiotically connected to the surrounding nature. The relationship Denmark-Greenland is thus mired in a Western concept of "us" and "them," where the idea of a common Western European culture has arisen from the splitting off of "the others." It is for these reasons that Greenland–besides now having long since become a political and administrative reality–can also be seen as a kind of geopolitical construction like the construction of the "Orient." (2002b: 335).

In fact it is well documented that various rather fixed images of Greenland/Greenlanders by insiders and outsiders can be found (for discussions of such images/perceptions see, for example, Bjørst 2008; Sørensen 1994; Thisted 2002a, 2003; Thomsen 1998), which, as various publications also point out, does not mean that identifications do not change. But despite the end of colonialism it shows that the idea of dependency and colonialism can still be present among Danes and Greenlanders (Laage-Petersen 2013: 15-16). Such ideas of (lasting) dependency, various (rather fixed) images, representations in the media, and some students' own observations, as indicated in writing during the group interview, of socially vulnerable Greenlanders which confirm a negative image, help to understand how views of Greenland and Greenlanders (have) come into being and can persist among Danes. Nonetheless, as will be demonstrated later on, some change might occur, as Togeby in an interview also refers to when stating that she expects that the fact that Greenland has gained more independence has had a positive influence on Danish views towards Greenlanders (Bjørno 2007). In this context the emergence of new Greenlandic identities as pinpointed before (see, for example, Thisted 2011a), is of interest.

Even though there is often a focus on negative experiences in Denmark, other views can be found as well. A view I encountered among Greenlanders both in Greenland and in Denmark shows an understanding of the wish to go to Denmark, for example for schooling. At the same time during fieldwork I also learned that someone's move to/stay in Denmark is not always understood, for example, when someone moves to Denmark unprepared or when moving to/being in Denmark when one has social problems. I also encountered a Greenlandic view that Greenlandic students who have studied in Denmark, for which they have received money from Greenland, should also work for some years in Greenland. In other words, you should do something for your country (in return), a view which Sørensen (1993) also discusses in his article in the context of "national loyalty" (1993: 42). This view, which indicates that one needs to help one's country, and its perseverance should also be seen in the light of (recent) developments in Greenland relating to the introduction of self-government. Self-government is a major achievement but now people are

needed in Greenland to help build the country's future. In the earlier mentioned report on well-being in Greenland it is stated that too many young people settle abroad (Skatte- og Velfærdskommissionen 2010: 3). In the foreword of a report by the North Atlantic Group in the Danish Parliament, Juliane Henningsen states that: "A big task awaits, and Greenland therefore needs all the brains and hands, which can contribute to the development of society and pave the way for an independent Greenland" (2011a: 3, my translation).

This latter view can also be considered in a more positive manner. In this view Greenlanders in Denmark are considered to have something to offer to Greenland. This view appears through the earlier mentioned publication on mobility in Greenland (Rasmussen 2010) and reports by the North Atlantic Group in the Danish Parliament (2007, 2011a, 2011b). In one of the latter reports, for example, it is stated that: "In Greenland today there exists a great scarcity of educated labor within by and large all sectors" (Henningsen 2011a: 3, my translation). These studies discuss for example whether Greenlanders in Denmark are willing to move back to Greenland. The report by Rasmussen (2010) shows that most respondents were not considering moving back. This was especially the case for those of the first and second generation, who had already spent quite some time in Denmark. The group of informants who had moved to Denmark more recently were more interested in moving back. The report also shows that these Greenlanders (still) feel less connected to Denmark (2010: 196-198).

What is especially interesting about this approach to Greenlanders in Denmark is the fact that it offers an additional and positive view of them. It does not present Greenlanders in Denmark as an "unsuccessful" group of migrants but rather, in this view, they are considered to constitute a potential labor force for Greenland. They can become important for the future development of Greenland and conversely Greenland may need them in order to realize future developments. As Kleivan explains this view was also expressed by the project Qaami, which addressed "the unused Greenlandic labor force in Denmark" in 2006 (Kleivan 2011: 73, my translation).

While this view is very positive and can (possibly) help to nuance perceptions of Greenlanders in Denmark, at the same time it presents an image that could reinforce the idea that Greenlanders do not belong in Denmark. One could argue that seeing Greenlanders in Denmark as a potential labor force for Greenland does not help them to feel part of Danish society, where many have already lived for a long time. It, for example, shows that some of the Greenlanders in Denmark feel very much connected to Denmark (Rasmussen 2010: 197-199).[12] In the publication it

[12] Togeby (2002) also discusses the attachment to Denmark and Greenland of Greenlanders in Denmark in her study, which will be included later on in this chapter. In addition, Togeby divides Greenlanders in Denmark into various categories. She uses five categories, but she also explains that these do not include all Greenlanders in Denmark. The categories are: "the

is also shown that about 60% were not considering moving to Greenland (Rasmussen 2010: 17). A different report by the North Atlantic Group in the Danish Parliament shows that of their respondents (aged 20-49) 11% often considered moving back (2011a: 20).

The reports show us that many Greenlanders in Denmark do not see themselves as a potential labor force for Greenlandic society. Others might think this, but in their own view this is not of interest to them. It demonstrates that ascribed and self-ascribed identities do not necessarily correspond. Ascribed identities or the external identification as discussed in this first part indicates that negative views are rather prevalent. In addition, ignorance about Greenland and Greenlanders also seems to continue. While replies by gymnasium students also indicate that they have some knowledge about Greenland and that in this context there is more in their minds than negative stereotypes, various sources do also indicate that stereotypes about Greenlanders in Denmark cannot be overlooked.

One aspect to include here concerns the aspect of time. It seems that perceptions do change somewhat in the course of time. Kirsten Thisted (2012) has discussed new images of Greenland and Greenlanders as presented by the government of Greenland in order to attract highly skilled labor through various advertisements, and she explains that: “Several stories are at stake in these advertisements. On the face of it, the most important one is of course to conjure up a picture of Greenland as an open and modern society, ready to receive external, new workers at a high level. The advertisements pass on this story by taking a humorous position towards existing stereotypes” (2012: 215, my translation).[13] In relation to the earlier mentioned study by Visit Greenland, Thisted explains that this study also indicates that Danes probably now know more and better about Greenland than a couple of years ago. While part of the population still hold traditional views about Greenland, another part do have a more accurate picture, which, as indicated in the study, counts especially for Danes who have travelled to Greenland more recently. According to Thisted there is also more attention for Danish stereotypes about Greenlanders in the media and in order to continue this perceptional change the possibilities of organizing study trips to Greenland (and the Faroe Islands) for pupils and for looking at the possibilities for teaching about Greenland within various subjects is also mentioned. Thisted sees including Greenland when discussing globalization within education as a very good option (2012: 223-224).

So while stereotypes continue to be present, changes do also seem to take place. While negative views of Greenlanders in Denmark are clearly not exceptional,

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integrated”, “the partially integrated”, “the marginalized”, “the newcomers” and “the Danish” (Togeby 2002: 135-136, my translation). As presented in chapter 6, in reports by the North Atlantic group in the Danish Parliament Greenlanders in Denmark are also divided into various categories.

[13] See also Thisted (2013b) for descriptions of new images in English.

it should be noted that positive views are not uncommon either. It can be concluded that the perception is ambivalent, which, for example, is manifested through ideas about Greenland's nature on the one hand and alcohol problems on the other. In order to understand the consequences of both continuity and change in the context of perceptions, the relation to prevalent perceptions among Greenlanders in Denmark will also be dealt with. It brings us to the next part of this chapter, which focuses on self-ascribed identities or internal identification.

7.3 Self-ascribed identities

My research has collected stories by Greenlanders in Denmark about their lives in Denmark. These stories for a large part deal with identity issues. The second part of this chapter looks into self-ascribed identity. How do Greenlanders in Denmark perceive themselves? It is not possible to present one single image of Greenlanders in Denmark. As several others have stated before me (see, for example, Socialministeriet 2003; Kleivan 2011; Togeby 2002), the group of Greenlanders in Denmark is diverse. Togeby explains that: "There are many different ways in which to be a Greenlander in Denmark" (2002: 148, my translation). The people I interviewed have various stories. However, I will present some overarching views concerning identity issues.

Petersen (1985) has in an article on Greenlandic identity discussed various aspects of identity, which he refers to as "social parametres in connection with an ethnic identity" (298). These parameters are: *ethnicity parents, informant's place of birth, emigrated from Greenland, married to a Greenlander, speaking Greenlandic and/or Danish, having Greenlandic and/or Danish acquaintances, eating Greenlandic and/or Danish food, education, leading position and employment (hunter/fisherman)* (1985: 298). He discusses "symbols of identity" which relate to Greenlandic identity (1985: 295). This approach is of interest for this study as well. Petersen concludes that: "It seems that the identity of a person may be described in terms of the identity of the parents, the place of birth, place of residence, and language" (1985: 300). Below I will discuss symbols which seem relevant for Greenlandic identity in Denmark. I employ some of the same symbols as Petersen. While there are more topics which could be included in this part on self-ascribed identity, I have chosen to discuss those which seemed very relevant in interviews with various Greenlanders. For that reason not all parameters correspond with the ones chosen by Petersen. Petersen himself explains that certain symbols had been important before, but were no longer so at the time he was writing (1985: 299). As such this shows that identity is flexible and changes in the course of time.

The topics considered below in relation to identity are:

1. Preconceptions, which as we have seen above are important in external identification;
2. Language, which is often seen as one of the most clear aspects of Greenlandic identity;
3. Nature and Food, which are also often considered important to Inuit identity;
4. Relations, Networks and Activities, which present the possibilities in which Greenlandic identity can become manifested.

While this selection was partially caused by my focus on these topics, I will refer to various sources when discussing these topics in order to demonstrate that these elements are also considered important by others, of course not least by various informants themselves. The following examination will show the usefulness of the chosen elements and shed light on their content and importance.

7.3.1 Preconceptions and identity

As the previous part has presented various views on Greenlanders in Denmark, it makes good sense to include how Greenlanders in Denmark relate to such perceptions themselves.[14] Through fieldwork I noticed how some Greenlanders perceive Greenlanders in Denmark with social problems. Some informants clearly indicated that they did not understand those countrymen and disliked their presence in Denmark. Such perceptions are also experienced by socially vulnerable Greenlanders themselves as they do not always feel accepted at places for Greenlanders such as the Greenlandic Houses where those who do well also meet (Socialministeriet 2003: 17).[15] This demonstrates the possibility of a non-identification between various Greenlanders in Denmark. As Brettell explains class is one of the factors which shapes different migration experiences (2008: 136). In this case, the interrelation between socially vulnerable Greenlanders and other Greenlanders in Denmark is probably the most clear example of Greenlandic class differences in Denmark.[16]

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[14] A master thesis by Aya Mortag Freund within Sociology at the University of Aalborg investigates how well-integrated Greenlanders deal with the stigmatization. In the English summary it shows that central aspects in the thesis are “us/them, stigmatization and coping strategies” (2009: 2). The author, for example, concludes that: “The constantly present negative categorization has in other words become so encapsulated in the understanding and expectations of the Danes towards the Greenlandic person, that deviances from this do not penetrate the interaction, and instead entail a form of double stigmatization, because the question; “Why are you not like that?”, also makes itself felt” (2009: 87, my translation).

[15] In the summary of a report on socially vulnerable Greenlanders in Ålborg, a similar difference in interaction between socially vulnerable Greenlanders and other Greenlanders in Denmark is mentioned **(**Brobyggerselskabet – De udstødte and Hansen 2006: 3).

[16] Kishigami describes a similar lack of contact between certain Inuit in Montreal. Here it seems that working Inuit, who often live in the city’s suburbs, do not socialize with homeless Inuit, who often live in the city centre (2008: 81).

While I was also told that Greenlanders were less visible nowadays than before, referring to Greenlanders drinking in public, a Greenlander in Denmark gave his view on this topic during an interview:

> T: But how is it as a Greenlander in Denmark nowadays, do you think, how is it? Maybe I should explain it a little?
> I: I think it is good... I think more and more alcoholics are coming, smoking hash or something like that.
> T: More are coming or?
> I: More of them are coming.
> T: Also hereto?
> I: Yes. They spoil the atmosphere...
> ...
> T: But when you say they spoil the atmosphere, how does that happen?
> I: When you see them in town, for example, in the square, during summer, then there always come really many Greenlanders. They spoil it...
> T: They do?
> I: Yes. I can drink. I know. Maybe once a month, three weeks, not more. But I would never dream of sitting in the square and drink, and be full, smoke hash and the like. It spoils the atmosphere for other Greenlanders.
> T: Do you notice this?
> I: Yes. Many do. Many do.
> T: You mean many who do?
> I: Yes, many who can notice it.
> T: What do you notice, how do you notice?
> I: Like when you meet Danes, many Danes who would say, you drunken soak.
> T: What do you say?
> I: You drunken soak or.
> T: That is what they would say to you?
> I: Yes. The shitty Greenlander or something like that. They think you drink all the time. And some do, Greenlanders. Those from [specific area in town]... I don't know where they get the money from.

This example shows that this Greenlander in Denmark, who also explained that views of Danes towards Greenlanders nowadays are good, is aware of the existence of negative views of his countrymen. In fact, as illustrated in the quotation above, such negative views were sometimes confirmed in Greenlanders' own stories about other Greenlanders in Denmark, views which some of their countrymen feel they have to fight by presenting another image instead. Some informants felt that they had to show they coped well and did not have (social) problems. One Greenlandic woman mentioned that during a school meeting she had said that she was Greenlandic but did not have economic problems. She felt she had to mention this in

order to combat existing views and to enable her children to play with other kids. In her eyes, the view of Greenlanders drinking a lot was very common among Danes. Her example shows firstly that a non-identification with certain other Greenlanders can be emphasized and secondly this informant's example can be described as a coping strategy. In relation to their research on experiences of Inuit in Ottawa, Patrick and Tomiak mention: "These stories suggested that the discrimination was real, and that it had required the development of coping strategies" (2008: 61).[17]

A Greenlandic woman told me that she was in Tivoli during the Greenlandic Day (1st of August) and saw some people using hash, which was the first time she had seen this. Later during the interview I returned to this point and she stressed that the people who used the hashish were not Greenlanders. She felt it was important to mention this. When I asked why this was important, she explained that often negative views existed of Greenlanders in Denmark and:

> We don't like it that some get drunk... Because the reputation the Greenlanders have, that they get drunk. We don't like that... They should not think that we just drink and get drunk and so on... We have been raised thus and thus and thus. Very differently. Some drink, some don't, some a little, with care. There are many differences…

Later on during the interview, after I asked about the reputation, she explained this in more detail. She indicated that many Greenlanders do drink, but also that she wished people would take a more nuanced view and not think all Greenlanders drink so much. However, during a later interview, she indicated that preconceptions were no longer as common as 10-15 years earlier and that Greenlanders and Danes were very close to each other.

The first words by this informant and the wish for more nuanced views and to present positive experiences, which I experienced during fieldwork, also appear in the words by the Greenlandic professor Minik Rosing who works in Denmark.[18] Kleivan refers to a statement by Rosing, who answered the question: "Why don't you live in Greenland?" (Andersen 2005-2006 in Kleivan 2011: 84, my translation), thus:

> "I am an amateur-Eskimo. I believe I can do more for Greenland by being in Copenhagen … Thus I can maybe contribute to breaking down the stereotype of Greenlanders being the kind of people who sit on a bench and drink" (Andersen 2005-2006 in Kleivan 2011: 84, my translation).

As such among certain Greenlanders in Denmark a wish exists to present a different view of who Greenlanders in Denmark are.

Several Greenlanders I talked to indicated they had had some negative experiences in Denmark. Barfod et al. concluded that 1/3 of the informants in their

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[17] For more on this topic in relation to Greenlanders in Denmark, see also Freund (2009).

[18] A report by the North Atlantic Group in the Danish Parliament also expresses the wish to obtain a more nuanced view of Greenlanders in Denmark (Henningsen 2011b: 3).

study in the 1970s had experienced bad treatment owing to them being Greenlandic (1974: 138). Togeby concludes that discrimination is felt by many Greenlanders (2002: 119). This is especially the case for Greenlanders on social security benefits [offentlig hjælp] and for whom the connection to Greenland is strong (2002: 118).[19] In the IMR-report discrimination of Greenlanders in Denmark is discussed. In the report one reads that:

> For instance a female Greenlandic informant and psychotherapist experiences that many Greenlanders carry with them the feeling of inferiority. She explains that this is connected to the existence of a parallel society in Greenland, where the dominant positions are still held by Danes, which holds people captive in the feeling of internal colonialism. And this is the feeling Greenlanders have when coming to Denmark. When so many Danes have so little knowledge about Greenlandic circumstances, it makes the stigmatization flower: Danes walk about with this image of Greenland as an underdeveloped society in contrast to the constant development of Danish society. It means that people feel wrong, feel inferiority and are ashamed (Laage-Petersen 2013: 16, my translation).

Stereotypes were discussed during many of the interviews conducted. However, while this topic was an important element in my research, not all informants had had bad experiences and not all felt that preconceptions were prevalent. While in general informants still often mentioned that rather little was known about Greenland among Danes, several also indicated that the situation had changed. This is also supported by what Thisted has written (2012). One migrant

[19] In a report on socially vulnerable Greenlanders in Århus, it is stated that: “Most vulnerable Greenlanders have experienced being exposed to harassment (93 out of 120). It was much discussed in the local media – e.g. Århus Stiftstidende and Jyllandsposten – in January and February 2007, that the Greenlanders in Gellerup were lowest in an ethnic hierarchy and felt persecuted” (Kjeldgaard 2008: 21, my translation). Problems between some Greenlanders and foreigners in the neighborhood of Gellerup in Århus, Denmark, some years ago were, for example, documented rather extensively in various Danish newspapers. In a newspaper article about the situation in Gellerup, Lise Togeby, whose publication on Greenlanders in Denmark (2002) is referred to extensively in this book, was quoted. In the article she explains that Danes probably perceive Greenlanders in a more positive manner now than before and that possibly immigrants now are the ones who have negative views of Greenlanders. In the article developments in Greenland, related to increased independence, are mentioned as an explanation for this changed view among Danes, while immigrants are expected not to be aware of such historical developments. In the article reasons why the situation in Gellerup is not changing quickly are presented, as provided by Togeby, and include the idea that Greenlanders do not easily talk about problems (Bjørno 2007). A representative of the Greenlandic House in Århus explained to me that while the newspaper *Århus Stiftstidende* attempted to present what was going on in Gellerup as a racist/discriminative issue, they held the view that it was “a social-pedagogical problem” among people with a somewhat lower social position in a neighborhood including, for example, high percentages of people on social benefits, unemployed and with many different nationalities.

who had moved to and lived in Denmark a couple of times recalled how he had had more negative experiences during his earlier stays in Denmark. He felt, for example, that he was not given a job because he was Greenlandic. According to him the situation had changed because of more attention for the situation on television news. This was also discussed during a group interview with Danish and Greenlandic members of a Greenlandic society. A Danish male member explained that through various films about Greenland the knowledge among Danes about Greenland had increased and their views had changed. When I asked the members whether stereotypes existed, I was told that they were on the decline but also that in the countryside, where there was less contact with Greenlanders, the situation probably would not have changed. This indicates that not just television, but also actual contact with Greenlanders can be important in order to change perceptions. Another Danish member of this society also mentioned that the decline could be explained by the arrival of more Greenlanders in Denmark which has led to people realizing that Greenlanders are "ganske almindelige mennesker" [very normal people]. In addition, this decrease in negative stereotypes can possibly also be understood through the emergence of new images. Thisted describes how the singer Julie Berthelsen from Greenland and her appearance in and winning – with her choir – of the Danish television program *AllStars 2010* has been important in encouraging a new relation between Greenland and Denmark and a new self-consciousness – nation-branding – in which traditional culture and cosmopolitanism are combined (Thisted 2011a).[20] Indeed, this "new" Greenlandic presence was also evident in the group interview described above, as Julie Berthelsen was mentioned by some students.

However, during the above mentioned interview with Danish and Greenlandic members of a Greenlandic society it also became clear that little is (still) known about the positive experiences of Greenlanders in Denmark. A focus on negative experiences still seems to prevail, but a change in knowledge does seem to be taking place. On the other hand, more informally I also learned from a few Greenlanders who felt that less understanding for Greenlanders was shown today. I was also informed that this could be related to the presence of more foreigners in Denmark. In general informants did not seldom confirm that stereotypes about Greenlanders still existed. At the same time, I should add that people of course deal with stereotypes differently. For example, I also met a migrant who chooses to

[20] An interest in stressing "positive" experiences of Greenlanders in Denmark is not uncommon and is, for example, also stressed by Madsen and Sullivan (2003). For their article they interviewed Julie Berthelsen and the psychotherapist Henriette Berthelsen. The authors explain that: "A difficult balance must be struck between giving fair attention to the socially excluded but also realizing that they are only 10% of the whole group. Henriette Berthelsen sees signs of this transition already: "Finally, there are Greenlanders on TV, commenting on Greenlandic issues, instead of Danes being the experts." Julie Berthelsen, one of those Greenlanders on TV, says "I've been told by many people that I have made them realize that everything is possible, not only here but in Greenland, too."" (2003: par. 27).

ignore stereotypes. Clearly not everyone is affected by another's opinion. A member of a Greenlandic society mentioned that she had not really had negative experiences. According to her Danes might have some negative views of Greenland, but in her experience not about Greenlanders in Denmark. Barfod et al. also state that about half of the informants in their study felt that Danes were mainly positive towards them or not different from how they were towards Danes (Barfod et al. 1974: 136). Togeby, as already mentioned, concludes that especially Greenlanders on social security benefits indicate having experienced discrimination (2002: 118). She also refers to differences between various generations and explains that younger Greenlanders are more critical and indicate having experienced more discrimination than older Greenlanders in Denmark (2002: 146-148). Togeby also explains that not everything concerning discrimination will necessarily become evident through research. People might not want to tell all they have experienced or on the other hand they might experience something as discrimination, which others might not perceive as such. She therefore explains that her research deals with the "*reported*, *experienced* discrimination" [*rapporterede*, *oplevede* diskrimination (2002: 111), my translation] (2002: 109-111).[21] This is an important observation in the context of discussing stereotypes and experiences of Greenlanders in Denmark in general.

The presence of stereotypes is clearly a sensitive issue. The persistent topicality of the issue was demonstrated through this research, but also through the attention paid by other researchers to perceptions of Greenland, Greenlanders and Greenlanders in Denmark. Danish views of Greenlanders can have an impact on Greenlanders themselves. Some Greenlanders choose to change their behaviour in order not to conform to stereotypes. At the same time according to some Greenlanders the situation seems to be better than it has been. It should be stressed that such experiences and their impact are very personal and people deal with them in their own different ways.

7.3.2 Linguistic identity

The topic of identity and language seems crucial for understanding Greenlandic identity. My fieldwork showed me that it is also a very important topic for Greenlanders in Denmark. While not all Greenlanders speak Greenlandic as their mother tongue, many Greenlanders I spoke to did use Greenlandic as their first language. In interviews speaking Greenlandic was often related to Greenlandic identity. It also showed that several Greenlanders in Denmark were members of

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[21] For more on discrimination experienced by Greenlanders in Denmark see the IMR-report (Laage-Petersen 2013). On its website, the Institut for Menneskerettigheder [IMR]/the Danish Institute for Human Rights (www.menneskeret.dk) explains that more research on this topic will be conducted from 2013-2014. This will be done by SFI (Det Nationale Forskningscenter for velfærd/The Danish national centre for social research), which, for example, also published Christensen (2011).

Greenlandic societies as it offered them a possibility to speak Greenlandic. Sometimes this could be difficult, though, because of people speaking various Greenlandic dialects. The (emphasis on the) importance of the Greenlandic language for Greenlandic identity has been discussed in several publications (see, for example, Dorais 2010; Langgård 2011; Mondrup 2003; Petersen 1985). Dorais explains that “language plays a central part in defining contemporary Inuit identity. In Greenland, for instance, it is generally considered essential to speak Kalaallisut – the local dialect – in order to be considered a genuine Greenlander” (2010: 4).

While Greenlandic is the official language in Greenland, as it became with the introduction of self-government, and its use is stimulated, I noticed that in Denmark the possibilities for speaking Greenlandic are rather limited. Greenlandic societies form an important exception. Other opportunities include Greenlandic events in Denmark such as *Grønland i Tivoli* [Greenlandic Day in Tivoli], *Tusa* [yearly song contest for Greenlandic choirs in Denmark] and *Julehilsen* [Christmas event for Greenlanders in Denmark]. At these events Greenlanders meet each other and have the opportunity to speak Greenlandic. As a Greenlander in Greenland explained this way of using the language in Denmark is very different from the way he uses it in Greenland. I have also quoted him before (chapter 6), but as his words are useful in understanding the use of Greenlandic in Denmark, I also quote him here:

T: But you always had the opinion that you had to live in Greenland?
I: I always have to live in Greenland.
T: Why, can you explain it?
I: Yes, it is, we haven’t… like in Copenhagen. When you get out of your house or apartment, then there is housing, housing, housing, housing, it is not like here. When you can see the water from our apartment, it is a view, good view. It is that nature we love. It is not like Danish, well yes when you live in the countryside, then you can almost see it like here. But when we go out, then there is nothing else than the Danish language we have to hear. Here we are used to using the Greenlandic language. Every time we get out, it is the Greenlandic language. That is what you miss when you settle in Denmark that we almost cannot use our own language...

In addition, directly following the part above, he said the following about members of his own family in Denmark:

I: When you think about […], they are a couple and they speak Greenlandic and Danish and they are now used to living in Denmark. When we call them, we do speak Greenlandic, right. But when they get out on the street, then they are Danish, then they are Danish, European, or also Scandinavian, right. If you are to get closer to Greenlanders, it has to be at festivals. I don’t know whether you have been to, whether you know Tivoli spectacle.
T: Yes.

> I: First of August, Greenlander, Greenlander Day, if you are to meet some acquaintances, old acquaintances and so on, you have to go to Tivoli then. But there are also some others, festivities, like Christmas concerts, both in Jutland and Copenhagen, there Greenlanders also gather. Then you also use the language for some days, then you leave again, and then it is the Danish language you will get to...

It means that according to this informant, who, for example, also explained that he used both Greenlandic and Danish at his work, Greenlandic in Denmark takes on a more symbolic importance. That this is the case for more Greenlanders became very clear in a group interview with several female members of a Greenlandic society. Most of them had lived in Denmark for many years and were very used to speaking Danish. In this context Bourdieu's "participant objectivation" (as discussed in chapter 3) should be recalled, as this situation formed one of the clearest examples where my personal input triggered the subsequent wordings of the informants. After I had told about my own knowledge of Danish and compared this knowledge with my knowledge of Dutch, I learned more about their knowledge of Greenlandic. They explained that they still wanted to speak Greenlandic, but I was told that they did mix Greenlandic and Danish, which worked fine for them, and that their Greenlandic language had become more old-fashioned. The latter was especially noticeable in conversations with Greenlanders in Greenland, who would mention that the migrants used words which were not in use in Greenland anymore.[22]

Retaining Greenlandic in Denmark is not always easy as the possibilities for using the language are rather limited. Some informants in Denmark indicated that it could also sometimes be difficult to speak Greenlandic, for example, because of forgetting a Greenlandic term. Rasmussen (2010: 199) indicates that almost 90% of those first and second generation Greenlanders in Denmark with a partner have a partner who is Danish. This means that speaking Greenlandic at home can become difficult. Furthermore one should realize that in general Greenlandic is not used in schools or work places in Denmark. Exceptions are, for example, the Greenlandic Houses in Denmark where some bilingual employees make it possible for Greenlanders to speak Greenlandic. But clearly Greenlandic is not as logical a part of everyday life any more. At the same time, as mentioned above, it is still an important reason for Greenlanders to identify as Greenlanders in Denmark. Greenlandic is used as an identity marker. I also learned for example that a Greenlandic-speaking parent may be afraid that his/her offspring will forget Greenlandic, while on the other hand, I also spoke to a parent who together with his wife had deliberately chosen to speak Danish with their children. While there are possibilities for Greenlandic children who are raised by Greenlandic parents to attend classes in Greenlandic in Denmark (see, for example, KNR 2010), I did not discuss this or hear about any Greenlandic children of my informants who attended

[22] See Petersen (1979) for information on Greenlandic as used in Copenhagen.

such classes. However, research does indicate that some Greenlanders in Denmark want their children to learn Greenlandic. It shows that this wish especially counts for newcomers, while it is much less important to the first and second generation Greenlanders in Denmark (Rasmussen 2010: 207). According to an NAGDP-report among first generation Greenlanders in Denmark there exists a wish "to give their children (born in Denmark) the possibility to experience Greenland and become acquainted with the language" (2011b: 11, my translation). Christensen found that 19 of the 41 children in her study mainly spoke Danish (2011: 75).

This topic of children speaking Greenlandic is also related to developments in Greenland as one informant explained thus:

> I: Today it is a bit of a pity that my children do not know Greenlandic. Not at all. Because we only speak Danish. That is what we had to do back in the 70s.
> T: Why?
> I: Well, you cannot get on with just Greenlandic. You cannot. You need to supplement with Danish. Then today you need to have at least three or four, Greenlandic, Danish, Spanish or English. That is what they do now in Greenland. Luckily for that, because the pupils learn many languages.

In relation to the Greenlandic language, it should also be noted that the Greenlandic orthography changed in 1973 (Dorais 2010: 174). In a study on elderly Greenlanders in northern Jutland, it is explained that some elderly Greenlanders in Denmark deal with "double halflingualism" ["dobbelt halvsprogethed"], because their knowledge of both Greenlandic and Danish is limited (Østergaard 2003: 34). The study also explains that only very few of the elderly have learned the new writing system (Østergaard 2003: 34). An elderly Greenlandic woman also explained this to me:

> T: Then you speak Greenlandic with them?
> I: Yes.
> T: How is your Greenlandic? You have lived here many years.
> I: Fine. I can speak Greenlandic as in a normal conversation. Like writing I can't do any more, because they changed it. I can only do the old writing. I find it a pity... To me the writing is thus so the Danes are better able to say it.
> T: Who?
> I: The Danes.
> T: Do you think that is why?
> I: I would almost think so. Because, I think the old writing is part of the culture. I think it is a pity.
> T: Is it so different?
> I: I think so. I think so. Well, I haven't learned it either. When I write back home, I use the old way. Then they can find out whether they understand it.

...
T: But do you read in Greenlandic?
I: No. I don't. I did when I was young, at home. Then I really liked reading...

In general one can conclude that the opportunities for using the Greenlandic language in Denmark are limited and possibly even more so for elderly Greenlanders. Consequently the language is not part of everyday life as it was in Greenland. It becomes a speciality, which as we will see later on, holds for other aspects of Greenlandic culture as well. At the same time, this does not mean that these aspects necessarily become less important. They continue to be important markers of Greenlandicness in a primarily Danish context. The mix of Greenlandic and Danish and the use of both by informants should be highlighted and while Greenlandic might be considered an important part of identity, the role and use of Danish should not be neglected. This was shown very clearly through the words of one informant, who felt that his Danish was really improving while living in Denmark, and explained:

> ...The Greenlandic language, I love it. It is my mother tongue. And I'm proud of it. I will never ever forget it. I keep it up as far as it goes, for example, by writing in Greenlandic. Using the Greenlandic language is near to my heart. But that doesn't mean that I cannot change to Danish...

This comment shows that the Greenlandic language can be very important to its speakers, but also that using Danish, which people might have already been used to in Greenland, for example because of Danish teachers – and education in Danish – and colleagues or having lived in Nuuk, is not necessarily an impossibility. As mentioned above all interviews with Greenlanders were conducted in Danish. Despite possible linguistic difficulties, which others have stressed as well (see, for example, Socialministeriet 2003; Rådet for Socialt Udsatte 2014), the fact that both languages are employed and that loving Greenlandic does not mean hating and not wanting to use Danish should be included in this context.[23]

7.3.3 Nature, food and identity

Olsen describes eating Greenlandic food as the one aspect or possibly one of two aspects of identity (the other being the Greenlandic language) which go back to Greenlanders' original roots and: "To eat Greenlandic food is a signal to ourselves and others about who we are and where we come from" (Olsen 2011: 426-427, my translation). As pinpointed by others, the topics of nature and food are often considered to be clear symbols of Inuit culture (see, for example, Olsen 2011; Petersen 1985; Searles 2010; Van Dam 2008). While this is still the case, I would

[23] In the Canadian context difficulties with, for example, the English language for some Inuit have also been noticed (see, for example, Patrick and Tomiak 2008: 61).

also assert that in modern Greenland, owing for example to urbanization and globalization, the relation between nature, food and culture is changing, and the same holds true for those Greenlanders living in Denmark. One obvious reason is the fact that hunting as it is done in Greenland is not possible in Denmark, and country food is less readily available in Denmark.[24]

This section will try to explain the role that nature and food still play for Greenlanders in Denmark. Others have also investigated the role of Greenlandic nature for this group (see, for example, NAGDP (2011a); Rasmussen (2010); Togeby (2002)), which also indicates that these are elements that are considered important for understanding Greenlandic culture. Rasmussen shows that in general many Greenlanders in Denmark miss Greenland’s nature and possible leisure time activities (2010: 195-196). A report by the North Atlantic Group in the Danish Parliament shows that informants indicated that: “In addition to the longing for their family they especially stress Greenland’s magnificent nature as something they miss” (2011b: 11, my translation).

A term that was used by informants both in Denmark and Greenland in connection to Greenlandic food and/or nature was the Danish word “undvære” [do without]. It seems difficult to do without these symbols of Inuit culture. Informants mentioned that family or friends in Greenland would send them country food like reindeer, fish and seal. People are allowed to send packages of 5 kilo. While I did not experience Greenlanders in Denmark sending remittances, except for “social remittances”, which relate to knowledge about and experiences in Denmark, back to Greenland, food being sent from Greenland to Denmark is an important flow between migrants and stay-behinds. This flow has for example also been noticed among Iñupiat in Alaska. Stephanie Martin concludes that: “A key influence on Iñupiat migration is the sending of subsistence food from rural to urban areas” (2010: 159). According to Martin Iñupiat migration thereby differs from other migrations in relation to remittances, which otherwise travel from the migrants to the stay-behinds. She also states that: “Sharing food with relatives and friends in urban areas helps Iñupiat maintain family ties and social support. This may be a key factor enabling return migration” (2010: 159).

For Greenlanders in Denmark, receiving food from relatives in Greenland is not the only way to obtain country food. Another way to get Greenlandic food is, for example, by visiting one of the Greenlandic Houses where Greenlandic food is sold. But due to the fact that Greenlandic food is less available in Denmark, eating the food does become something special. One woman explained that she would eat

[24] Through regulations hunting is also being restricted in Greenland (Olsen 2011: 426). About three decades ago Petersen already mentioned the more limited availability of Greenlandic food and its subsequent use and meaning (1985). For different understandings of Danish and Greenlandic food see also a working paper by Askegaard, Kjeldgaard and Arnould (1999). The authors also demonstrate the close relationship between Greenlandic food and nature (1999: 11-12).

some Greenlandic food every day, but only a little bit and she explained how it was like having some candy (a small portion). She explained that luckily her Danish husband did not really fancy the food. Another couple explained that it was like celebrating Christmas when food arrived from Greenland and they opened the package. They would invite other Greenlanders, they knew and who did not receive Greenlandic food as often as they did, to eat the food together. Sharing the food also happens at get-togethers organized by various Greenlandic societies in Denmark.

In some interviews Greenlandic food was clearly connected to Greenlandic identity. One male migrant mentioned how he was raised very traditionally Greenlandic, where it was more important to catch animals than to go to school. Another migrant mentioned more or less for fun that his daughter was more Greenlandic than he was, because she liked Greenlandic food more than he. I also interviewed a Greenlandic woman who had lived in Denmark but lived in Greenland at the time of the interview. She perceived herself to be a real *kalak*. To my question concerning how often she ate seal meat, she answered that it was kind of embarrassing. While she did eat country food, she did not eat seal meat very often. She explained that there was so much other food in the local supermarket, which is easy to get and prepare. Whether she as a Greenlander really felt she had to eat certain types of Greenlandic food is hard to tell. She indicated that the possibilities for eating seal existed, but that the time taken in going to "brættet" [the local market] and preparing food, was also an issue. In this context an explanation of how not eating Greenlandic food can be perceived is interesting. Olsen describes:

> And when a Greenlander chooses not to eat Greenlandic food, we other Greenlanders feel that he/she chooses not to be part of the group. When someone from outside eats kalaalimernit, we code it as a sign that this person would like to be part of the group. Therefore he/she is more easily included in the group (Olsen 2011: 423, my translation).

On the other hand some Greenlanders in Denmark also admitted that they seldom ate Greenlandic food. An informant, for example, explained that he had been in Denmark for a long time and that the food had become too strong for him. Some would say it was difficult to get the food, however, I was also told the high price was more of a problem. Informants in Greenland also explained that buying the food was expensive.[25]

During an interview a woman in Greenland very nicely explained what catching food/country food meant to her. In short it showed that she felt that catching your own food in Greenland, with its clean nature, offered the best food, and when caught yourself, the food also had a story. You knew where it came from. While she was very glad that she had the possibility to catch her own food, at the same time she

[25] Kishigami explains that: "Lack of access to country food is one of the most deeply felt problems among the Montreal Inuit" (2008: 81).

also explained that her children had other interests. They, as presented in chapter 4, rather wanted to go out and enjoy city life in Nuuk, which indicates that differences between the generations also exist.

The meaning of Greenlandic food was also shown in several interviews with Greenlanders in Denmark. Many positive things were said about Greenlandic food, both about catching it and eating it. People would, for example, say:

> It means all the world to me, it is a part of my culture, it is a part of my flesh and blood. It means a lot. The taste and the consistency and to know the animal has had a good life when it was alive and that it ends as a good meal which you can eat and enjoy. That means a lot.
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> ——
>
> It means that it was what I got when I was a kid, what I got when I was young. It is our way of eating. We also got Danish food, we got it quite a lot as well, beef, pork... That we also got. But twice, once a week Greenlandic food, eider or something, just Greenlandic food. That is really, that is Greenland. Here it maybe happens once a month or once every second month. Then we are very happy that we eat it here now, when we eat Greenlandic food. We appreciate it more than when we did when we lived in Greenland. I miss reindeer meat, it is beef for Danes our reindeer.
>
> ——
>
> T: What does eating Greenlandic food mean then, does it mean something or?
> I1: Nothing else than that it tastes good.
> I2: …Enjoyment.
> I1: We enjoy it. And we then again start talking about, do you remember, and do you remember, and that Christmas, and that Christmas, and that birthday and yes.
> I2: Because it is not so normal anymore to eat Greenlandic.
> I1: No, it is difficult to get hold of, and if we did not have someone who sent it to us, we would never get it.

The last quotation, uttered in an interview with a Greenlandic male (I2) and Danish female (I1), again emphasizes that the food becomes something special, and in this case links back to the past, to something they were used to eating, but now has become an important specialty. It is no longer – at least not for everyone – something that can be enjoyed very often. Askegaard, Kjeldgaard and Arnould have used the term “food nostalgia” in the context of Greenlandic food and Greenlanders in Denmark (1999: 14).[26]

[26] See the working paper by Askegaard, Kjeldgaard and Arnould for more on the role of food for identity among Greenlanders in Denmark (1999).

Like the food, for several Greenlanders living in Denmark, Greenlandic nature often turned out to be something really important, which they clearly missed, and something to enjoy during holidays in Greenland. People would explain to me:

T: So moving back came to nothing?
I: Probably not, no.
T: Why did you consider it?
I: I am a Greenlander, I grew up there, I would like to get old there. It is a country where I can manage. Even without money.
T: Yes?
I: I was brought up to do it. I can fetch my own food there...
T: Do you miss it, doing that, or I don't know?
I: I miss nature, yes.
T: Yes. The nature?
I: I do, really.
T: When you say nature, that also means? What is it you miss about the nature?
I: It is, firstly, it is that silence. You can go a couple kilometers away from the town, then it is deathly quiet, so you can hear it. That is not possible here.
…
I: And then about being the born nature person. It is out there you get your strength, for your soul, to clarify your thoughts. Here at home I find it difficult to remember where I have been as a child, and what nature can bring me. But when I have been in Greenland, not half an hour goes by, when I am out sailing along some coastline, where I am sitting alone, then it appears. I see a seal appear. And it disappears again, then I almost instinctively know where it will appear again. I miss those things. To get your own food, bring it to your family. It is difficult to get the same joy in Denmark. Go to the supermarket and bring it back home. Everyone can do that. You need some kind of talent to catch a seal.

And later on the same informant mentioned:

T: But it means something to you to eat marine animals?
I: Yes, it does. I'm convinced that it is what keeps me healthier than many others.
T: Is it only due to being healthier or?
I: No, of course it is also tradition. To be a Greenlander. There are not that many people except maybe the Eskimo-people who eat seal meat or Inuit people, as called nowadays. Canada, Alaska, Greenland, Siberia. And it is there the animals are. So it is natural that you eat that animal. Whereas today when you go to a shop in the Arctic countries, Canada, Greenland, Alaska, Siberia, you get into a shop, I bet the first

and closest you will find is pork, which is not a natural part of the Arctic nature.

And others explained:

T: And in case you had to say something about what Greenland is to you now?
I: The nature.
T: The nature?
I: Yes. That is what I miss. You get peace in the nature. That I miss a lot. But I have, though, got used to it.
T: How have you got used to it?
I: I have chosen to live here the rest of my life, so I have to adapt myself to that this is how it is... Catching I miss a lot, the fishing I miss a lot. But as long as my children are here... I am only educated within fishing.
T: What do you say?
I: I am only educated within fishing and that I cannot use here. It is the nature I miss the most. Otherwise not life there, no, I don't.

——

T: So back to Greenland now?
I: Yes…, then I can go out in nature again without a car making a noise. For example, when you go to the beach you can hear people all the time or cars, all kinds of things. You cannot really find a quiet place. But in Greenland there are plenty of quiet places. So that I am really looking forward to that, out in nature again.

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T: Is there otherwise something, when you think about Greenland, something you miss?
I: No, I actually don't. I don't miss, yes, the nature of course. That you cannot get here. It is, especially during winter, when it is really, really like that cold, clear weather, really, really fresh air. That is nice. But otherwise, otherwise I don't think so. I'm actually used to Denmark now.
T: But you say nature?
I: The nature. Yes, you cannot get it here. Not like there. Like that dry air.
T: Dry air yes.
I: Yes, but you get used to it. You do.

At the same time not only moving to Denmark means your connection to nature might change. As discussed above, a student I talked to in Nuuk indicated that he was less able to enjoy nature now than he did where he came from, because he did not have access to a boat in Nuuk. Several students also indicated that they might

want to go to Denmark, but that they would probably want to go back because of the nature in Greenland. Interestingly such positive views of Greenlandic nature also appear in the perceptions of outsiders presented above. It is interesting to observe that both insiders (Greenlanders) and outsiders (Danes) perceive Greenland's nature so positively.

Money in order to be able to buy Greenlandic food, and networks, knowing people who can send you food or share the food with you in Denmark, are important in order to keep up with a way of life which was part of people's upbringing. It would be incorrect to state that it is only because people live in Denmark that less Greenlandic food is consumed. Greenlanders in Greenland are also changing their diet. However, Greenlandic food is less easily available in Denmark than in Greenland. Sharing and eating the food becomes something special that can be highly appreciated. The Greenlandic nature, which is related to the topic of food, can be counted as another important aspect for many Greenlanders in Denmark and many Greenlanders in Denmark miss this. Both the food and Greenland's nature are elements Greenlanders in Denmark can strongly identify with, as is the case with the Greenlandic language, and they make the differences with everyday life in Denmark more apparent.

7.3.4 Greenlandic networks in Denmark and identity

The examples given above demonstrate that being in touch with other Greenlanders is a necessity in order to reproduce certain aspects of identity. A clear example of this is speaking the Greenlandic language. In this part various aspects of Greenlandic networks will be discussed. My experiences of such networks in Denmark should of course also be seen in the light of my fieldwork approach. As mentioned in the methodology chapter I found many informants through Greenlandic activities/events/societies and a snowball method. As such I have probably mainly been in touch with Greenlanders who actively try to keep in touch with Greenlandic culture and with other Greenlanders.

Other researchers have also discussed Greenlandic networks in Denmark. Barfod et al. explain that of the Greenlanders included in their study only about 10% often visit a Greenlandic society and: “Of all interviewees about 40% never visit the Greenlandic societies, the Greenlandic Houses nor the Greenlander Home” (1974: 372, my translation). According to Togeby (2002: 51) 72% of the men and 62% of the women never attend activities of Greenlandic societies, while 6% of the men and 10% of the women often attend such activities. Togeby also states that many Greenlanders have primarily Danish friends and not Greenlandic friends (2002: 34). Togeby compares data from the research done by Barfod et al. and her own, and for example found that 65% in 2001 and about 68% in 1972 of the participants: “Are often or sometimes together with Greenlandic friends” and in 2001 38% and in 1972 40-50%: “Participate often or sometimes in Greenlandic church services” (Togeby

2002: 49, my translation). The Greenlandic minister of religion in Denmark explained to me that being away from Greenland, people like to sing in and hear Greenlandic at Greenlandic church services and that being together with other Greenlanders can help against homesickness. The North Atlantic Group in the Danish Parliament found that 26% of the Greenlanders in Denmark included in their research participate in Greenlandic activities on a regular basis, while 74% do not (NAGDP 2011a: 17). Having these percentages in mind, it should be stressed that ideas presented here relate to certain sections of the group of Greenlanders in Denmark, and this is strongly dependent on my fieldwork approach. The focus in this part is on networks in Denmark. The relations with stay-behinds have been touched upon already in the context of receiving country food from Greenland and sending social remittances to Greenland.

During a group interview, one male respondent said that in a lot of research on Greenlandic conditions in Denmark there is often a focus on people without a network. He explained that he did not know these people without networks, and I must admit that I met many Greenlanders with both family and friends also in Denmark. At the same time, this does of course not necessarily mean that all Greenlanders in Denmark have beneficial networks there. In the previous chapter some less positive experiences were discussed. As we saw, ending up in the "wrong" networks can have serious consequences. It makes, however, good sense to look at some of the characteristics of relations and networks, I discovered. The presence of family and friends and of Greenlandic activities in Denmark are important in this context.

I first want to discuss the presence of family and friends in Denmark. As discussed in the previous chapter, many Greenlanders, especially women, have Danish partners (see, for example, NAGDP 2011a: 8), and will therefore have a "Danish" network through their partner. This is also pinpointed in a study on mobility (Rasmussen 2010: 199). The previous chapter also showed that many Greenlanders had family in Denmark before moving there. Family networks between Greenland and Denmark are omnipresent. Greenlanders living in Denmark are visited by relatives and friends from Greenland, some of whom might decide to stay in Denmark. For those who have lived in Denmark for a long time, their family in Denmark is an important reason to stay. When you do not have so many family members in Greenland any more, while your children and grandchildren are in Denmark, it is understandable that you stay in Denmark. Having established families in Denmark is by the North Atlantic Group in the Danish Parliament mentioned as a very important reason for people to remain there (NAGDP 2011a: 19).[27] A Greenlandic woman explained this to me too. She still had nephews and nieces in Greenland, but her siblings in Greenland had all passed away. To her, with her family living in Denmark, it was not logical to move back to Greenland.

[27] A job is another very important reason (NAGDP 2011a: 19).

When living in Denmark, a way to keep in touch with Greenlandic culture, is by visiting activities of Greenlandic cultural societies. The number of activities varies, but, for example, members of a society's Greenlandic choir might meet more or less every week, while at one society I was told that "fællesspisning" [eating together] was popular and happened about once every 1.5 to two months. I was also told that many people show up to celebrate Greenland's national day on the 21st of June. To be a member of a society people pay a certain contribution. According to the North Atlantic Group in the Danish Parliament especially Greenlanders who have been in Denmark for a short time participate in Greenlandic activities (NAGDP 2011b: 17). While I also met newcomers who went to Greenlandic activities, I met people too who had been in Denmark for a long time and who did go to Greenlandic activities. I also noticed during group interviews with members of various Greenlandic societies, that, as far as I experienced it, it was women especially who attended activities. Women seem to be the ones who are more involved in Greenlandic activities and in disseminating Greenlandic culture in Denmark, which, for example, is done through Greenlandic choirs. However, this can also partially be caused by the fact that more Greenlandic women than men live in Denmark. Numbers presented by Togeby, which I have quoted above, also indicate that women are somewhat more involved in Greenlandic activities than men.[28]

My impression of recent years is that women are rather active as bearers of Greenlandic culture. This involvement also corresponds to Brettell who states that: "Within the migrant spaces . . . immigrants engage in a host of community activities that become expressions of their ethnic identity" (Brettell 2008: 134). In this case, it seemed to be mainly the case for women and at the same time offered one of the clearest examples of differences between the sexes in the migration experience, which, however, does not mean that men were not involved.[29] I hold that this observation is very important as it offers a counter image of (earlier) representations of Greenlandic women. As presented above, Høiris demonstrates how Greenlandic women have been viewed in less positive ways than their male counterparts (Høiris 1983).[30] Lill Rastad Bjørst also refers to stereotypical views about Greenlanders in general and includes words by a Greenlander, Nikoline Ziemer, quoted from another

[28] It is interesting to notice that Barfod et al. (1974: 368) found that Greenlandic women compared to men had somewhat less contact with their countrymen. Barfod et al. explain that married women especially live in a rather isolated way, which hampers contact. It also showed that 55% of the women wished to have more contact with other Greenlanders (1974: 368-370).

[29] Other differences between the sexes have been reported as well, examples of which are mentioned in this book. In relation to Greenlandic migration in general, Rasmussen states that the trend of "stepwise migration" is evident among women, who might leave Greenland, while men more often tend not to move far away and return to where they came from (Rasmussen 2010: 16, 64-65). See, for example, also Togeby (2002) for various separate statistics for men and women (Greenlanders in Denmark).

[30] Thisted shows that the authors Sven Holm and Kim Leine in their work depict a more or less reversed view of Greenlandic men and women (2011b: 284).

source, who explains in relation to Greenlandic women in more recent times that “the women are considered to be easy” (Schultz-Lorentzen 2005 in Bjørst 2008: 26, my translation).[31] The active role of Greenlandic women in showcasing Greenlandic culture in Denmark shows a very different and a much more positive picture. This observation is also of interest for the discussion on female out-migration from the Arctic in general. As discussed trends indicate that more females than males move away from the Arctic. This makes an Arctic cross-comparison on the role of women and maintaining contact with the North interesting. In the publication *Megatrends*, which pinpoints various important trends in the Arctic, it is stated that:

> As relatively more women than men leave, this has a profoundly negative effect on the social life and the economy through opportunities for marriage, maintenance of family life and family relations etc., as well as through the loss of educational skills (Rasmussen 2011: 10).

While this is a serious concern, I argue that the role of Greenlandic women outside the Arctic, which can include their involvement in Greenlandic activities, should not be overlooked.

Women seem to be important for Greenlandic culture in Denmark, yet the continuity of aspects of Greenlandic culture in Denmark may be at stake. During a group interview a Greenlandic woman recalled that more people used to show up and meet when the society that she was a member of had just been established. At another Greenlandic society I was told that the society would die out, because most members were older and young Greenlanders did not really attend activities. Depending on someone’s network and interests, it might not be their wish to attend Greenlandic activities. Also, as discussed above, when speaking Greenlandic is an important reason to attend such activities, one can argue that for children who have been mainly raised in Denmark and possibly do not have a command of Greenlandic, this important reason for being a member is lost. It is therefore interesting to consider what Togeby writes with regard to Greenlanders in Denmark. She states that: “If the present development continues, as seems likely at the moment, one probably has to face the fact that the Greenlandic minority in Denmark will not just be overlooked, but will gradually disappear” (2002: 157, my translation). Concerning Greenlandic cultural societies in Denmark, this seems to be an issue. When more Greenlanders in Denmark choose not to attend activities of cultural societies, this way of sharing and showing off Greenlandic culture in Denmark might be lost. But at the same time I think that due to the fact that migration from Greenland to Denmark still takes place some continuity in Greenlandic organization

[31] The novel *Búsime napíneq* (1981) by Mâliâraq Vebæk is an example of a Greenlandic representation of difficult experiences of a Greenlandic woman in Denmark. The Danish version of this novel is *Historien om Kathrine* [The story about Kathrine] and was published in 1982. For a description of this novel specifically and Greenlandic authors and migration more generally see Thisted (2010).

in Denmark will be maintained. People still use their networks. This is not something I expect will suddenly stop happening.

In the context of Greenlandic societies, such Greenlandic events as the Greenlandic song contest *Tusariarlinngooq* (*Tusa*) in Vejle which is organized by the umbrella organization for Greenlandic societies in Denmark, *Inuit*,[32] and Greenlandic Day(s) in the Tivoli amusement park in Copenhagen, should also be mentioned.[33] While these events only take place once a year, they are major examples of manifestations of Greenlandic culture in Denmark.[34] In 2012 the Greenlandic song contest *Tusa*, in which the choirs of several Greenlandic societies and individuals compete, was visited by about 400 people (Høegh 2012a) and the Greenlandic Christmas Greeting Event was visited by more than 1,700 people (Høegh 2012b).[35] A representative of the event Greenland in Tivoli [Grønland i Tivoli] informed me (mail correspondence May 2014) about this. The event took place for the first time in 1976 and was organized by students from Greenland studying in Denmark and since 2002 it has been organized by a steering committee of volunteers. It was explained that it is difficult to present exact visitor numbers, but that according to Tivoli A/S about 15,000 visitors annually are expected to have visited Greenland in Tivoli in the last six years. Funding has been an issue the last couple of years, which the representative explains as being due to both the focus in Greenland on funding activities in Greenland itself and the financial crisis. Beforehand they received about 1,000,000 krones, now about one third. Funding is obtained from various sponsors. In 2013 100,000 was received from Greenland Contractors. Greenland in Tivoli also receives money from Tivoli A/S. Moreover, in order to be able to continue organizing an interesting event, artists in Greenland are asked and helped to apply for funding from funds in Greenland, which they can use to travel abroad. Greenland in Tivoli then helps with, for example, the hotel costs in Denmark.[36]

Tusa, Greenland in Tivoli and the Greenlandic Christmas Greeting are events which offer clear possibilities for showcasing and experiencing Greenlandic culture by singing in Greenlandic, by eating Greenlandic food together, by meeting family, friends and acquaintances from Greenland etc. The events could be considered as

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[32] See for more information Inuit's website: www.inuit-dk.dk.

[33] For more information about *Grønland i Tivoli* and its organization see its website: www.git.gl.

[34] While an interest in Greenland clearly exists in Denmark, which, for example, was also manifested through the attention paid to a new book by Kirsten Hastrup on Knud Rasmussen in 2010 in various Danish newspapers (see, for example, Pedersen 2010), it would be interesting to investigate in detail how much attention such Greenlandic events as *Tusa* receive in Denmark/the Danish press.

[35] In 2014 the 35th edition of the song contest did not take place. An announcement on the website of the umbrella organization Inuit explains that this is due to less financial support from Greenland's self-government (see Inuit-dk.dk). It will be interesting to see what a possible continuous decrease in funding from Greenland will entail for Greenlandic activities in Denmark in the future.

[36] See also Rasmussen (2013) for a short description of the event Tivoli in Greenland.

those few opportunities in Denmark to clearly display Greenlandic identity which is much less possible in daily life. However, I also learned that due to a confirmation ceremony, for example, people might not go to *Tusa*. A Greenlandic woman explained that she planned to go to *Tusa*, but chose her family and went to a confirmation ceremony instead. As such a family event may be considered more important than a specific Greenlandic activity. This also underscores the importance of family networks, which, as mentioned above, can also mean that Greenlanders want to stay in Denmark and/or move to Denmark.

This overview of relations, networks and activities confirms what the migrant I refer to above also stated. Greenlanders have various possibilities for networks and use these as well. This is a reality that is not always properly acknowledged, as the focus often lies on the experiences of socially vulnerable Greenlanders, who may have less successful networks. While several initiatives for helping socially vulnerable Greenlanders have been initiated, which in the approximately last ten years have resulted in many reports, of which several are important sources for this study, I argue that this focus can also create a too unified impression of Greenlanders in Denmark. Despite the important and indispensable role these projects, reports and focus play for the improvement of the situation of socially vulnerable Greenlanders, in my view, as for example a head of one of the Greenlandic Houses in Denmark also indicates in the IMR-report (Laage-Petersen 2013: 15), it has also resulted in major attention for one group of Greenlanders that does not reflect the diversity of Greenlanders in Denmark. While I do not claim that it should be done differently, I think it is important to acknowledge that such a focus can have an impact on general views.

While Greenlanders definitely have Greenlandic networks in Denmark, other experiences should also be taken into consideration. A return migrant, for example, explained that she lived rather isolated in Denmark and her friends lived far away. Back in Greenland, she enjoys knowing the people around her. It is important to include this diversity of relations as well. Therefore I would also stress that of course not all relations and networks are solely based on connections between Greenlanders. Owing to my interest in Greenlandic identity and the reproduction of Greenlandic identity in Denmark, I focus on the events that contribute to this reproduction. It is for this reason that I do not touch upon relations through work, for example. Furthermore, of course not all Greenlanders necessarily socialize with other Greenlanders. However, for the purpose of this study and in order to be able to answer the research question it is important to realize what networks are available in order to help reproduce a Greenlandic identity in Denmark.

7.3.5 Identity and terminology

As a final element of self-ascribed identity I wish to describe how the Greenlanders I interviewed described themselves. It offers a supplement to the aspects of identity I

have presented above. To understand identity ascriptions among Greenlanders and Canadian Inuit, (the latter of which are discussed in the following chapter), a comment by Dahl is useful. He explains that: "The Greenlandic and Canadian scenes are different. In Greenland the process of negotiating self-government was a process of *nation-building*, a gradual process transforming an ethnic identity to national cultural and political identities. The claims process in Canada was a process towards strengthening ethnic identity – a process in which new identities were asserted. This is an important difference between the two scenes" (1988: 83). Dahl's comment indicates the emergence of different identities, which are interesting to keep in mind in order to understand similarities and differences in relation to identity issues among Greenlanders and Canadian Inuit.

During several interviews I asked informants how they would describe themselves. In this context I would often enquire about terms such as Inuit, Eskimo, Greenlander and Dane in Danish. As interviews were conducted in Danish, Greenlandic terms were hardly discussed. While various terms were mentioned, including Greenlandic, half-Greenlandic and Danish, on most occasions the term "grønlænder" [Greenlander] was used. This can partially be triggered by my introduction of my research topic, which I introduced as a project on Greenlanders in Denmark. However, three of the major studies referred to in this book have also included *Greenlanders in Denmark* [Grønlændere i Danmark] in Danish in/as the title of their work (Barfod et al. 1974; Bertelsen 1945; Togeby 2002).[37]

Below I present some examples of identification:

T: And now, what do you call yourself concerning identity?
I: …A Greenlander here in Denmark of course.
T: Why is that, why do you say that?
I: What should I call myself otherwise?
T: I don't know, could you think of saying Dane?
I: No, maybe if I was born here or had lived here 20, 30, 40, 50 years, then maybe I call myself a Dane. But now I have only lived here two years, almost two years, so I am still Greenlandic in my head.
T: But it is because you were born in Greenland that you call yourself a Greenlander?
I: Yes.
T: Other things that play a part?

[37] An informant answered my question whether Greenlanders in Denmark referred to themselves as "migranter" [migrants] or "indvandrere" [immigrants] that they did not call themselves "emigrants" or "immigrants" and that "grønlænder"/"kalaaleq" [Greenlander] was used. It was, amongst other things, also explained to me that sometimes Danes prefer to say "norddanskere" [Northern Danes], which they use in order not to "discriminate" and relates to being part of the same kingdom. According to this informant the term "grønlænder" Greenlander has preference (e-mail correspondence December 2011).

I: That I speak Greenlandic and that I have Greenlander children, or what is it, we are all from Greenland. I'm still a Greenlander. I also think they continue to call themselves Greenlanders when they grow up.

And later I asked her:

T: And you also hear, people say Inuit or Eskimo, is it something you use?
I: No. No, I don't use it. I use Greenlander. I don't use Inuit. I don't feel I am Inuit, I am not from a hunting society. I was born in a city, so I do not have that Inuit mentality…

This migrant stresses both the language and the place of birth, the latter after my stressing it in my question, as reasons to identify herself as a Greenlander. Having moved to Denmark only two years previously, she does not – yet – identify as a Dane. However, she does indicate that this might happen in the course of time. She also explains that she does not identify herself as being "Inuit", which she connects to hunting and not to living in a city. She sees herself as being from a city, urbanized, and called herself a new Greenlander. She also explains that using the term Eskimo is not derogatory to her, she uses it to explain to foreigners who she is. Other Greenlanders I spoke to also indicated that using Eskimo is not necessarily derogatory.

The language as identifier is also used by a Greenlandic male migrant:

T: We have touched upon it a little, but what do you call yourself concerning identity?
I: Usually I say I am a Greenlander. And I don't think I will forget my own language. But the way of thinking is, the way of thinking, I think, it will always be a Greenlander.
T: What does that mean, the way of thinking?
I: Even though I live down here, I have a lot of contact with my parents, and there we only speak Greenlandic. It is only once in a while that they speak Danish with my children... I think a lot in Greenlandic, when I am alone, when the children are in bed. Then I just think in Greenlandic all the time.
T: And what about calling yourself a Dane?
I: Yes, in a way, we are. We live here and most of the time we speak Danish, right…

Living in Denmark means he uses Danish a lot, which makes him consider whether he could identify as a Dane. It is not always easy to answer this question about identity. A woman who had already lived in Denmark for several decades, and who in a quotation above indicated she did not write in Greenlandic any more, for example, indicated through her words that she did not really consider such a discussion on identity to be important. She told me:

T: Do you call yourself a Greenlander?
I: When should I do that? I don't know.
T: But do you, or do you call yourself a Dane or?
I: No, I never think about that. I actually don't. I feel Greenlandic when I am together with the others. And then I feel like Danish when I am with the other Danes. It is little like. I don't know. I am a Greenlander, I am.
T: But how does one notice one is a Greenlander?
I: I don't know.

It shows that she does not really consider this to be an issue. With Greenlanders she feels Greenlandic, with Danes Danish. But possibly after so many years in Denmark and marriage to a Dane, she has become used to the situation and does not reflect upon various identities as much as more recent migrants might do. A double identity, being both Danish and Greenlandic, was also mentioned several times, as, for example, shown in the words of the following Greenlander, who had earlier told me that she had a Danish father, but normally did not call herself half Greenlandic:

T: And what do you call yourself concerning identity?
I: Well, I am both.
T: Both?
I: Yes, I am, because linguistically and then culturally, I am.
T: Why is that?
I: It is because I live both lives, right. Just like Greenlanders live here. We arrange kaffemik and things like that, culturally, that, we keep it. And besides we live like the Danes here. We do.
T: And how is that, live like Danes? What is that?
I: Well, you speak Danish and then you live just like the Danes live, right. To, actually I don't know. You just live like the Danes actually.

Another migrant explained that he considered himself to be a world citizen and did not feel it was very important to identify as either Greenlandic or Danish. Togeby shows that in her research 39% of the men and 35% of the women mainly felt him or herself to be Danish, while 26% of the men and 19% of the women mainly felt Greenlandic. Of the men 28% and of the women 36% felt just as much Danish as Greenlandic. A higher percentage of the participants felt a very strong connection to Denmark compared with Greenland. For 55% of the men and 60% of the women this was the case, while 35% of the men and 41% of the women felt a very strong connection to Greenland (2002: 130).[38] NAGDP state that in their study 43% mainly

[38] In March 2014 the first Turkish guest worker in the Netherlands died. He came to the Netherlands in 1958. In an earlier interview he had explained that he always continued to feel only Turkish (see, for example, Nos.nl 2014). Togeby compares the connection of Turkish migrants with Denmark and Turkey to that of Greenlanders in Denmark with Denmark and Greenland. Among the former there are fewer people who feel strongly attached to both countries and more people who feel slightly attached to both counties, for which reason Togeby supposes that identity problems among the former group are higher than among the latter

felt Danish, 32% just as much Danish as Greenlandic and 22% mainly Greenlandic (2011a: 16).

A Greenlandic man I talked to, who had lived for more than 35 years in Denmark at the time of the interview, expressed clearly how he was not necessarily interested in following the developments in Greenland. He would rather read Danish newspapers than Greenlandic. For the latter he would have to go to the library, which he did not want to do. When he travels to Greenland, he goes there to go sailing, to experience nature. He does not want to stay in town when he is in Greenland. Despite his lack of interest in developments in Greenland, he identified as being a Greenlander, which adds to the discussion on identity. Which aspects of identity matter in this context? And to whom do they matter? This migrant's point of departure shows that in order to define yourself as Greenlandic you do not have to follow developments in Greenland or read Greenlandic newspapers. Rasmussen also indicates that you do not have to feel strongly attached to Greenland in order to identify as Greenlandic (2010: 199).

This shows that the various definitions used by others, both insiders and outsiders, are not always as easy to ascribe to someone. The quotations also demonstrate the flexibility of identities and the changes that might occur over time. Informants, for example, pointed to the language (Greenlandic), place of birth (Greenland) and having Greenlandic parents as reasons to identify oneself as a Greenlander, which corresponds with parameters mentioned by Petersen (1985: 300). It also shows that such elements are not entirely fixed. Kleivan explains that in a Greenlandic context Inuit is nowadays used with the meaning of indigenous people (2011: 59).[39] The informant quoted above links being Inuit with hunting. She does not identify as being Inuit and hunting, in the words of this informant, is not part of her Greenlandic identity. Being a Greenlander is therefore not automatically synonymous with being Inuit. It indicates that while networks, language, preconceptions, nature and food may all be elements that are important in defining a specific identity, in this case Greenlandic identity, this is by no means static. To some people, some Greenlanders in Denmark, these elements are more important than to others. Furthermore they are also contextual. They are not always important, it depends on the situation and on who you are with in a certain context. When you are not able to eat Greenlandic food, you will eat "Danish" food. When others do not speak Greenlandic, you will use Danish. While this does not mean that such elements of identity are not important to a person in these specific contexts, it shows that presenting yourself in a certain way depends on the context. Similarly

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(Togeby 2002: 129-131). In a report by the North Atlantic Group in the Danish Parliament it is stated that: "The feeling of being Greenlandic diminishes the more years the participants have lived in Denmark. The feeling of being Danish grows accordingly" (NAGDP 2011a: 16, my translation).

[39] See Thisted (2013b) for the (non)use of the term "indigenous" in a Greenlandic context.

Askegaard, Arnould and Kjeldgaard, in relation to their study on ethnic identity and Greenlanders in Denmark, also state that “ethnicity is not dispositional, but, rather, is contextually constructed” (2005: 167).

7.4 Debating identities

Having discussed various views on Greenlanders in Denmark, it makes good sense to relate these to views that exist of Greenlanders in general. Some of these have been presented in the theoretical chapter. The description there shows changes of perception in the course of time, from Greenlanders as pagans who needed to be converted in the time of Hans Egede to being free nature people as depicted by the anthropologist Kay Birket-Smith (Høiris 1983). The view of Greenlanders/Inuit in need of civilization was also widespread. It seems to be an important motive for the historical happening of young Greenlanders being sent to Denmark for one year of schooling in the 1950s, which was depicted in the feature film *Eksperimentet*.

While ascribed identities change in the course of time, still today Greenlanders in Denmark very often seem to be seen in a stereotypical way. In this chapter the stereotypical view has been discussed extensively. At the same time, it should be stressed (as also presented in the theoretical chapter) that: “Migration not infrequently gets a bad press” (Clark 2009: v). Greenlanders in Denmark are by no means an exception in how they are perceived. Migrants often have to deal with stereotypical views. With a focus on problems and negative experiences of Greenlanders in Denmark, as several sources point out, the idea arises that Greenlanders do not belong in Denmark and are not suited to living in Denmark (see, for example, Sørensen 1993; Thisted 2002a). Bjørst also explains that:

> It is a caricature of reality when Greenlanders in Denmark are primarily characterized as losers in society, whereas the other group of Greenlanders, who live a totally normal life with work, family, and friends, by and large are invisible. This leads to a distortion in relation to the voice Greenlanders are given in Danish society and contributes to the formation of above-mentioned stereotyped images (Bjørst 2008: 30, my translation).

A form of ascribed identity, which offers a more positive image, relates to the view that is presented through, for example, the research on mobility in a Greenlandic context (Rasmussen 2010), which provides for the possibility to see Greenlanders in Denmark as a potential labor force that can contribute to future developments in Greenland. While this view could still be said not to accept Greenlanders in Denmark as belonging in Denmark, it does offer a more positive view of the group.

Including self-ascribed identities offers a counter force to existing stereotypical views. It offers an insight into the diversity of identity aspects that are important to Greenlanders in Denmark. The Greenlanders themselves oppose stereotypical views, or ignore them, arrange all kinds of activities, showcase their culture, use their

networks of family and friends and/or live their lives like other citizens in Denmark. When, as Oosten and Remie indicate, cultural identity requires: "An ongoing process of construction and communication" (1999: 2), manifesting and/or reproducing Greenlandic cultural identity can be difficult in a Danish context. It is something that at times is done very consciously, for example, through Greenlandic events in Denmark, and without such specific occasions, reproducing a Greenlandic identity in Denmark can be difficult. The situation thereby differs from how Danish identity is (re)produced in Denmark according to Jenkins. He states that: "'Being Danish' is about *doing* stuff, as well as thinking it. *Danskhed* is often the last thing on Danes' minds, and 'being Danish' is all the more powerful for that: it is an axiomatic 'just how it is'. And in everyday life that *is* just how it is" (2011: 292). For Greenlanders in Denmark this is different. While there might be an acceptance of this is just how it is, the situation will entail that, at least for some of the Greenlanders in Denmark, at times Greenlandic identity and at others a more Danish identity is manifested. Therefore not seldom a double identity is part of how it is. As we have seen the possibilities for maintaining the Greenlandic language and enjoying Greenlandic food – often – can become difficult in Denmark. Speaking Greenlandic is for many, for example, no longer just how it was. It is not as much an everyday process as speaking Danish is for Danes in Denmark, as described by Jenkins (2011: 291). Speaking Greenlandic thus – at times – might become a more conscious process.

In fact, as Kishigami stresses in the context of Inuit in Montreal (see, for example, Kishigami 2004), Greenlandic ethnic identity might exist more obviously in Denmark than a Greenlandic cultural identity. Kishigami (2004) explains that ethnic identity comes into play in the interaction with non-Inuit in the South. Owing to their background in Greenland Greenlandic migrants share a common heritage. This heritage constitutes part of their ethnic identity, which can become manifest in contact with others. On the other hand cultural identity is used, as Kishigami also argues for Inuit in southern Canada (Kishigami 2004), in interaction with other Greenlanders.[40] Such interactions, for example, create the possibility of speaking Greenlandic (or, for example, singing in Greenlandic) and sharing country food.

Ethnic identity might thus show more obviously, and possibly also help create stereotypes. Greenlandicness might be linked to appearance (looking "more" Greenlandic) as I learned during fieldwork, and in a report on discrimination [IMR] appearance and ethnicity are linked, as has already been indicated in this book through other sources. It is stated that:

> According to our informants there seem to be a connection between the ethnicity of Greenlanders (as an Arctic people and looking as such) and

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[40] According to Kishigami (2002a, 2004) a difference exists between identity expressions among Inuit in the Canadian Arctic and among Inuit in Montreal. He states, for example, that: "In the arctic village, cultural identity is much more important than ethnic identity for Inuit daily life" (2004: 88).

> the associations and prejudices this ethnicity provokes in the form of stereotyping, and in some cases, unjustified differential treatment. This material, therefore, points to a need to work to secure that the Danish society has a larger knowledge on the issue of Greenland and the Greenlandic culture and mentality. The results of the study furthermore indicates the need to examine the consequences of post-colonial issues for the Greenlanders, and to assess whether there is a connection between experiences of stigma and discrimination and the fact that Greenland has been a colony of Denmark (Laage-Petersen 2013: 41).

So while ethnicity might be more obvious, cultural identity might be more unknown, unclear to others, especially in cases when it is mainly shown in the interaction with countrymen. By such an external focus on ethnicity, cultural identity becomes neglected. If this explanation holds, a stronger visibility of cultural identity of Greenlanders in Denmark seems to offer a possible way to change stereotypical views, which corresponds very well with the suggestion, for example, given in the quotation above, to increase knowledge about Greenland/Greenlandic culture etc. in Denmark.

Togeby states in her study on Greenlanders in Denmark that: “The strong boundary-making between Danish and Greenlandic, familiar from Greenland, does not exist to the same degree in Denmark” (Togeby 2002: 153, my translation). While I agree with Togeby in general, I would like to elaborate on this statement, based on my own experiences. I have noticed some rather clear boundary-making processes, and while indeed the boundaries might often be rather fluid, the aspects of identity I have described above do seem to create boundaries and enable the reproduction of Greenlandic identity in a Danish context. The existence of special societies, networks and activities do indicate that such boundaries exist and at times are emphasized in order to reproduce a Greenlandic identity. For some of the Greenlanders in Denmark it is important to use the possibilities to mark Greenlandicness. Furthermore, the external categorization based on stereotypical views clearly also contributes to boundary-making processes.

This does not of course explain identity formation among Greenlanders in Denmark entirely. There is more to it. In relation to identity Jenkins explains that:

> Identity gives us ways of seeing and understanding ourselves and others, and a vocabulary in terms of which we can talk to, and about, others and ourselves. But identification only has any reality in the world in the context of a range of other factors: the demands of intimate relationships, family ties and friendship networks; our economic interests; everyday moral rights and duties; law and the authority of the state; and so on. All of these factors are, what’s more, reciprocally influenced in complex fashions by our identities. The plural is important, because we all are identified in a range of ways, depending on context; at any given moment, which of our

> identities is most significant, for us or for others, is always a matter of circumstance (2011: 310).

In this book the focus lies on Greenlandic identity and how it is manifested in Denmark, but one should not forget that this indeed focuses on only a part – for some a rather "robust" identification (Jenkins 2011: 18) – of the identifications of Greenlanders in Denmark.

As postcolonial migrants, a term I have also used in previous chapters, Greenlanders in Denmark do take up a special position in Danish society. As such I agree with Sigsgård who states that: "It will be very difficult to understand the Greenlander's situation in Denmark, if you do not also familiarize yourself with his situation in a Danish-dominated Greenlandic nation" (1975: 72-73, my translation). Of course since the 1970s this situation has changed tremendously, but looking at the context and its consequences for Greenlanders in Denmark is still important, as, for example, is indicated in the quotation from the IMR-report (Laage-Petersen 2013) above. This also contributes to understanding Greenland today. Kleist stresses that: "Understanding Greenland's former colonial past is essential to understanding its modern development" (2009: 174). In this context I have discussed the postcolonial bonus or advantage (Oostindie 2010: 14). Rasmussen (2013) also makes an interesting statement related to the position of Greenlanders (in Denmark) in the realm. He states that:

> Migration has become a critical issue in the former Danish colonies Greenland and Faroe Islands (and partly also Iceland) as the options of "well-educated returners" have been an important issue for all three countries. At the same time, the recognition of diasporic conditions may become important for Greenlanders in Denmark because such recognition means that language questions and other means of support should be made available. Today Greenlanders are recognized as regular Danish citizens and moving between Greenland and Denmark is basically a process of internal mobility.
>
> Recognizing Greenlanders as Danish citizens AND as members of a diasporic community (as the outcome of colonialism) ought to ensure support for enabling Greenlanders in Denmark to be granted rights equal to other citizens, and to be provided with appropriate opportunities to maintain their language skills in order to be able to migrate within the diaspora! (Rasmussen 2013: 209)

Interestingly in referring to the role of newcomers and Danish identity Jenkins mentions Greenlanders as well and touches upon their relative invisibility within the Danish kingdom. He writes: "As long as the excluded were 'home Germans' or Inuit, tucked away in pockets of Southern Jutland or Greenland, out of sight and out of mind, then this wasn't much of a problem" (2011: 300). Moreover, in relation to Greenlanders in Denmark, Sørensen explains that Danes probably do not perceive

Greenlanders in Denmark as a threat, for example, in relation to obtaining work (1993: 38). While I do basically agree, I argue that in this context the shared cultural capital, which stems from the colonial past, also helps to understand why Greenlanders hold a special position in Danish society.[41]

While cultural identity can be underscored through, for example, the Greenlandic language, eating habits and similar cultural traits, Greenlanders in Denmark can also make use of those aspects of identity which they command through the broader relationship between Greenland and Denmark, and which are part of their identity as well. As such stressing clear distinctions is not always useful or needed. In this context the Danish language constitutes one obvious example. All interviews I conducted with Greenlanders in Denmark and Greenland were conducted in Danish and this shows that the Danish language clearly is a shared aspect of identity. Shared elements of identity and experiences, of which Lyberth, for example, presents an early example (1950s) by describing how well Greenlandic and Danish tuberculosis-patients in Denmark got along due to their shared experience (1955: 140), can ease interrelations and integration. Such openness towards and use of other aspects of identity than purely those connected to a Greenlandic identity is in my view an example of the "both and" approach ["både og"], for which Thomsen refers to Wåhlin and states that:

> Today in Greenland there is tendency towards saying 'both and' and to see getting on in several contexts as an enrichment and a possibility, and there is therefore also a tendency to not only underscore the identification with what is Greenlandic and Inuit, but also the identification with what is Danish and Nordic (Wåhlin 1994) (Thomsen 1998: 46, my translation).

Togeby explains that Greenlanders choose their ethnicity (2002: 148-149). She also mentions the "double identity" in relation to Greenlanders in Denmark and explains that for many Greenlanders in Denmark it is not about choosing between Greenlandic and Danish.[42] She describes her general impression of Greenlanders in Denmark thus:

> One is a Greenlander, who lives in Denmark, and one feels attachment to both Greenland and Denmark. One expects to continue living in Denmark, but still has contact with family and friends in Greenland. At times one

[41] In 2009/2010 some problems between Moluccans, postcolonial migrants in the Netherlands, and Moroccans in the neighborhood of Terweijde in Culemborg, the Netherlands, occurred and caused the leader of the anti-immigrant party Partij voor de Vrijheid [Party for Freedom] to sympathize with the Moluccans (see, for example, Visser 2010). This may indicate that postcolonial migrants are perceived differently to migrants from "less" related countries.

[42] The aspect of "both" being applicable to Greenlanders' ethnicity/identities is, for example, also mentioned by Tove Søvndahl Petersen (Greenland Representation) in the short online documentary *Greenlanders in Denmark* by Karina Vabson and Christian Nees van Hauen.

> may well miss Greenland, the language and the nature, but in general one is relatively satisfied with living in Denmark (2002: 133, my translation).

The embracing of a double identity is also supported by the earlier described attachment to Denmark. While this book has focused on the Greenlandic-Danish context, today, globalization, not just the connection to Denmark but to the rest of the world is an important dimension as well. This is also indicated for example in a recent publication on Greenlandic identity with the main title *Fra vild til verdensborger* [From savage to citizen of the world] (Høiris and Marquardt 2011a). In this publication Høiris and Marquardt also highlight that:

> Among the young people and probably especially among the highly educated there seems to be a strong tendency to dissolve that which previously was categorized as an either/or between what is Greenlandic and what is Danish, and replace it with a both/and between what is Greenlandic and what is global (2011b: 8, my translation).

In the contribution by Thisted (2011a) in this publication similar new identifications are discussed. Perceptions and identities change in the course of time. This is a natural development due to ongoing (new) interactions. Jenkins explains that: “In short, Danes in their everyday lives, without making any fuss about it, are already busy redefining *their* Danishness” (2011: 307). Similarly, Greenlanders are busy redefining their Greenlandicness too. Greenlandicness deals with the relation to Danish identity, but also surpasses Greenlandic and Danish identifications.

Nonetheless, I would argue that in the context of Greenlanders in Denmark, the boundaries between Greenlandic and Danish are still prevalent at times, which however does not have to be problematic. It can be concluded that these identity traits, which Greenlanders and Danes share, such as using the Danish language, are becoming more clearly part of everyday life while in Denmark than is likely ever to be the case in Greenland. The specific traits, that relate to Greenland/Greenlandic culture such as the Greenlandic language, are less easily reproduced, but not necessarily therefore less important. As Castles and Miller indicate:

> For ethnic minorities, culture plays a key role as a source of identity and as a focus for resistance to exclusion and discrimination. The culture of origin helps people maintain self-esteem in a situation where their capabilities and experience are undermined. But a static, primordial culture cannot fulfil this task, for it does not provide orientation in a hostile environment. The dynamic nature of culture lies in its capacity to link a group’s history and traditions with the actual situation in the migratory process. Migrant or minority cultures are constantly recreated on the basis of the needs and experience of the group and its interaction with the actual social environment (Schierup and Ålund, 1987; Vasta et al., 1992) (Castles & Miller 2009: 40-41).

While various elements of identity discussed above can constitute precious special elements to these migrants and can continue to be of symbolic importance for Greenlanders in Denmark, re-creation, including both what can be identified as Danish and Greenland, is also at stake in the "new" context.[43]

7.5 Conclusion

Greenlanders in Denmark are a diverse group of people and I have only been in touch with a very limited number of people out of the entire group. Paying attention to both ascribed and self-ascribed identity is very useful. As, for example, Jenkins (2011) indicates, the two create identity together. Ignorance about Greenland and Greenlanders continues to play a role, as do negative perceptions about Greenlanders (in Denmark). On the other hand the importance – and presence – of change in this field should not be overlooked. While changes are experienced and remarked upon by Greenlanders, continuity on this front can also be observed. This is also demonstrated, for example, through the continuous attention for such perceptions. But views do not only relate to Danish perceptions of Greenlanders in Denmark. The views of Greenlanders themselves both in Greenland and in Denmark can also be added. Such views can mark differences within ethnic groups and possibly provide a way to mark class differences.

My examination also shows that ascribed identity has an impact on self-ascribed identity. Some migrants indicated that they behaved in certain ways in order not to conform to stereotypical views. Due to the negative impact of ascribed identities, it is crucial also to pay attention to the various aspects of self-ascribed identity which are much more diverse than the often superficial and stereotypical ascribed identities. This chapter has highlighted the importance of the Greenlandic language, country food, nature and existing Greenlandic networks for Greenlandic identity in Denmark. All these elements can contribute to the reproduction of Greenlandic identity in Denmark and can be stressed at times, while more Danish elements of identity, like speaking Danish, can be employed at other times. In more Greenlandic contexts in Denmark, it becomes easier to manifest certain aspects of identity which relate to Greenlandicness. While it also becomes clear that the reproduction of these aspects is not always easily guaranteed in a first and foremost Danish context, they can constitute important aspects which give the power and possibilities to move beyond stereotypes. In this context the role of Greenlandic

[43] For another study on ethnic identity and Greenlanders in Denmark see Askegaard, Arnould and Kjeldgaard (2005). Based on interviews with Greenlanders in Denmark they found "four identity positions" which include "*Greenlandic Hyperculture*," "*The Oscillating Pendulum*," "*The Danish Cookie*" and "*The Best-of-Both-Worlder"* (2005: 166-169). These positions show resemblances with identity expressions discussed in this book. An example concerns the last mentioned identity position as I found that informants, depending on the context, can manifest a more Danish or Greenlandic identity. Thus they make use of both worlds.

women is one element related to Greenlandicness in Denmark which stands out. Their role as agents who are important in ensuring connections to Greenlandic culture is an example of a positive image of Greenlandic experiences in Denmark.

8 Inuit in southern Canada: a comparative perspective on Inuit outside the Arctic

8.1 Introduction[1]

So far this book has focused on Inuit living in Denmark. In this chapter a broader perspective will be presented. A study of Inuit outside the Arctic in fact comprises many different experiences. In this book I focus on those Inuit who moved away from their communities in the Arctic "voluntarily".[2] Hereby I want to present images of Inuit living in the South as agents choosing to migrate out of free will and not as so often is the case as non-agents. During the research process fieldwork was also conducted in Edmonton in Canada. This chapter will use fieldwork experiences in Edmonton to relate experiences of Greenlandic Inuit in Denmark to those of Canadian Inuit in southern Canada. Thereby I will answer the question whether experiences of Greenlanders in Denmark and Inuit in southern Canada are comparable.

In her publication *Grønlændere i Danmark*, Togeby (2002) offers a perspective on Saami in Oslo. Such broader perspectives are useful, as they enable us to see whether or not certain situations are specific to one group. Comparing various indigenous groups in the Arctic is one possible way of comparing experiences.[3] My comparative perspective concerns Inuit in two different countries. Despite the fact that there are important differences between Inuit in Canada and those in Greenland due to different processes of colonialism as, for example, discussed by Dahl (1986: 73-74), there are important similarities as well. These similarities – for example, both are a minority at the receiving end – and dissimilarities will be compared. Stern states that: "It seems likely that more and more Inuit will move both to cities outside the Arctic and to larger towns in the Arctic over the next several years. As this occurs, Inuit urban residents will create new social and cultural institutions associated with life in urban centers" (2010: 67). For that reason too, a comparative perspective on Inuit migration out of the Arctic makes good sense. This chapter will seek to understand various migration experiences and to place them into a broader perspective. Firstly a short overview of Inuit in Canada will be presented, followed by one of Inuit in southern Canada. Then experiences of Inuit in Edmonton will be

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[1] Parts of this chapter are intended to be published as an article entitled: "Images of Inuit in the Canadian South: (self-)representation, urbanization and identity" (Terpstra forthcoming).

[2] For various reasons, Inuit have left the North involuntarily as well, for example during the tuberculosis epidemic, which forced many Inuit in northern Canada to undergo medical treatment in the South during the 1950s and 1960s (Stern 2010: 161-163).

[3] For more on the situation in Alaska see, for example, Fogel-Chance (1993) and Lee (2002).

described. Next images of Inuit in southern Canada, as they appear in selected non-academic sources (for example, a film, documentary and children's book) will be presented. Then some issues in relation to Greenlanders in Denmark and Inuit in southern Canada will be compared, including a comparative perspective on language and identity and on Inuit local organization outside the Arctic, and finally a discussion will follow of perceptions on Inuit outside the Arctic.

8.2 Inuit in Canada

In Canada there are four Inuit regions. These are the Inuvialuit Settlement Region, Nunavut, Nunavik and Nunatsiavut. These Inuit homelands are called Inuit Nunangat. In the past Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, for example, used the term Inuit Nunaat as well, but in 2009 the national Inuit organization in Canada decided to call the Inuit Homelands in Canada Inuit Nunangat. On their website, ITK explain that while "nunaat" – a Greenlandic term – means land, "nunangat" also includes the water and ice, which Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami refer to as essential for Canadian Inuit (Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami website). In 2006 a total of 49,115 persons identified as Inuit only in Canada.[4] Most Inuit live in Nunavut, where 50.1% reside. Of all Inuit 19.4% live in Nunavik. The Inuvialuit region and Nunatsiavut have 6.1% and 4.4% of the total number of Inuit respectively (Indian and Northern Affairs Canada [INAC] 2009: 33-34). In 2011, according to the *National Household Survey*, 59,445 people identified as Inuit in Canada (Statistics Canada 2013: 5).[5] As described in chapter 2, changes in relations between the Canadian North and South really occurred after the Second World War. Then Inuit were stimulated to move into fixed settlements (Stern 2010: 57). Residential schooling led to Inuit children being separated from their families for months (Bonesteel 2008: 82). In his autobiography Anthony Apakark Thrasher, who went to the South himself in the 1950s, describes several of the changes that occurred in the North, including the effects of the schools on Inuit culture. He writes that: "From too many years in school, Eskimo children have even forgotten how to speak our language. When they come home they can't communicate with their parents. They are not thinking the same thoughts, or speaking the same words" (1976: 157). In relation to the changes brought on Canadian Inuit by the Canadian government after the Second World War, Mark Nuttall has explained that:

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[4] In the report by Indian and Northern Affairs Canada [INAC] it is explained that: "The Census asks a variety of questions to enumerate the Aboriginal populations. As a result, there are different ways to count the Inuit population. The count of 49,115 refers to the population that identified as Inuit only. The number of individuals who indicated both Inuit and Registered Indian status was 1,365. Therefore, the total population that identified as Inuit, including those who also identified as Registered Indian, is 50,480" (INAC 2009: 33).

[5] In the publication it is stated in a footnote that: "Data for Inuit outside of Inuit Nunangat, as it represents less than 1% of the Canadian population, should be used with caution because of lower reliability" (Statistics Canada 2013: 14).

> While it is easy to judge these government policies as misguided from the perspective of today, it is important to recognise that this was a paternalistic rather than a necessarily colonialist attitude and that successive Canadian governments believed they were doing a good thing for the Inuit. After all, in popular imagination as well as in official legislation, the Inuit were believed to be living on the edge of starvation in a barren, inhospitable wilderness. Through education and training, the indigenous inhabitants of the Arctic were to become modern Canadians, able to improve their lifestyle options and take their place in the new period of economic development on the Canadian Arctic frontier (Nuttall 2000: 383).

In addition, it has been explained that the residential schools also made possible contacts between Inuit youth and the subsequent struggles for their rights (Stern 2010: 29, 90). Today Inuit in Canada have negotiated land claims with the federal government. In 1999 this, led for example, to the establishment of the territory of Nunavut, where a large majority is Inuit (Nuttall 2000: 384).

8.3 Inuit in southern Canada

Of the 50,485 Canadian Inuit 22% lived outside Inuit Nunangat in 2006.[6] Ten years earlier, 17% of all Inuit lived in the South (Statistics Canada 2008: 23). Most Inuit outside Inuit Nunangat live in urban centers. They account for 17% of all Canadian Inuit. This comes down to 8,395 Inuit, while 5,235 Inuit lived in the southern urban centers in 1996 (Statistics Canada 2008: 23). In 2006 most Inuit in cities outside Inuit Nunangat lived in “Ottawa - Gatineau, 725; Yellowknife, 640; Edmonton, 590; Montréal, 570; and Winnipeg, 355” (Statistics Canada 2008: 23). The *National Household Survey, 2011* indicates that 26.9% of all Inuit lived outside Inuit Nunangat in 2011 (Statistics Canada 2013: 14). According to these data the highest number of Inuit in cities outside Inuit Nunangat lived in “Edmonton (1,115), Montréal (900), Ottawa - Gatineau (Ontario part) (735), Yellowknife (735) and St. John’s (680)” (Statistics Canada 2013: 15).[7]

Inuit have various reasons for going south, which include jobs, education, medical treatment, and economic and social concerns in the Arctic (Kishigami 1999,

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[6] In the report it is stated in a footnote that: “Although single and multiple responses to the Aboriginal identity question are possible, only the population reporting a single response of ‘Inuit’ is included” (Statistics Canada 2008: 19). The difference between the number of Inuit stated on the previous page and this number, stays unclear, as they present different numbers but seem to indicate that both figures represent the number of people identifying as Inuit only.

[7] In relation to statistics from 2001 it is stated in the report of the National Urban Inuit “One Voice” Workshop that these statistics do not include all Inuit in southern Canadian cities and that the actual numbers in certain cities therefore are higher (Tungasuvvingat Inuit 2005: 6-7). Other researchers also refer to this possible shortcoming of available statistics (see, for example, Kishigami 2008: 75; Tomiak and Patrick 2010: 131, 134-135).

2002b: 55).[8] While not all of these reasons may be considered migration reasons, it does indicate why Inuit stay in the South (temporarily). Based on fieldwork in Montreal in 2004, Kishigami shows that most Inuit he interviewed "moved to Montreal to accompany their spouses, boyfriends or families" (2013: 68). Donna Patrick and Julie-Ann Tomiak point out similar reasons (2008: 58). Edna Elias also mentions medical treatment, work and education as reasons for Inuit to move to Edmonton and states that: "Many Inuit families move to the city to be with their children who are involved in post-secondary education so that they can be there to support, nurture and foster their growth; the security of their children is important enough to move the whole family south" (2011: 27).

Movements to specific places in the South can be explained by transportation routes. Several Inuit in Edmonton, for example, explained to me that Edmonton is a logical destination for Inuit from the western Canadian Arctic. Kishigami states, based on census data, "that the Inuit population is growing in the cities whose airports are gateways from the Canadian North to the South such as Ottawa, Edmonton, Montreal, etc" (Kishigami 2013: 66). This division of (migration) routes is to some degree already visible in a publication from 1981, in which the destinations of Inuit patients who had to go south for treatment are mentioned. The author explains that:

> Patients from the western and central Arctic go to hospitals in Edmonton; usually to the university of Alberta Hospital, the Charles Camsell Hospital or the Royal Alexander Hospital. Patients from the Keewatin go to the Churchill Health Centre in Churchill, Manitoba or to the Health Sciences Centre in Winnipeg. Patients from northern Quebec, and some from Baffin go to Moose Factory, Ontario. Some are sent further south in Ontario – mostly to the Kingston General Hospital in Kingston for specialized care. Most patients from Baffin go to hospitals in Montreal, mostly to the Montreal General Hospital, Royal Victoria Hospital and the Montreal Children's Hospital (Kaplansky 1981: 31).

In the late 1950s the number of Inuit in the South was very small. This can be seen for example in the novel *Life among the Qallunaat* by Minnie Freeman, an Inuk from Cape Hope Island in James Bay, who came to Ottawa in the 1950s in order to work as a translator for the Canadian government. She states: "I had been a year in the South before I saw another Inuk" (1978: 29). However, many Inuit were brought south in the course of the 1950s, 1960s, because of required treatment for tuberculosis (Stern 2010: 161-163).

More in-depth attention for Inuit in the Canadian South seemed to arise at the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s. Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, the

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[8] Another reason to leave the North includes pregnancies. Stern explains that: "Beginning in the mid-1970s, pregnant Canadian Inuit women were required to deliver their babies in southern hospitals" (Stern 2010: 170).

name of the national Inuit organization at that time, published a booklet about Inuit living in the South in 1981 called *Inuit in the South*, which was published with texts in both English and Inuktitut, based on research that aimed "to find out what was happening to Inuit who lived in Southern cities and to somehow arrive at solutions to the problems they encountered" (Kaplansky in foreword). This booklet was followed by the handbook *Living in the South* (Inuit Tapirisat of Canada 1982) with advice for new Inuit in the South on how to ride the bus, use the telephone and write a résumé, for example. The first booklet indicates that there are three groups of Inuit living in the Canadian South.[9] But the author also concludes that:

> The more people I talked to, the clearer it became that Inuit in the South actually weren't one group by anyone's standards. Often they had little in common with each other; coming from different communities in different northern regions to different cities. They arrived in the South at different times in their lives for different reasons. Three distinct "groups" emerged according to the general situations people had in common; students, working people and patients (Kaplansky 1981: 3).

For Inuit students homesickness seemed to be the biggest problem (Kaplansky 1981: 9), while working Inuit indicated: "Financial - handling new Expenses" as the main problem (Kaplansky 1981: 19-20). Other issues for the latter group included: "Discomfort with the environment itself - i.e. confusion, claustrophobia with density, size, speed, crowds, noise. Just not feeling at home" and "Transportation access to services, people; logistics of access" (Kaplansky 1981: 19-20). The later published handbook *Living in the South*, for example, also offered Inuit in the South practical information about such logistics.

In the last decennium, more seems to have been done for and by Inuit in southern Canadian cities. Some southern cities now have associations and organizations for urban Inuit (Kishigami 2013: 72).[10] It is, however, not always easy to secure the continuation of such initiatives. Kishigami, for example, mentions that the lack of money and of a central meeting place are reasons which have made it difficult to run an association for Inuit in Montreal (Kishigami 2008: 82-83). Others have also described that it can be difficult to obtain funding for Inuit specific initiatives in the South (see, for example, Tomiak and Patrick 2010: 132-135).[11] In

[9] Kishigami has also divided Inuit he interviewed in Montreal into three groups (see, for example, Kishigami 1999, 2006, 2013). According to Kishigami: "The Inuit that live in Montreal can be divided into three occupational categories: students, workers (including self-employed persons and part-time workers) and the jobless (homeless, retired, welfare dependents and patients)" (2002b: 55).

[10] In an article Elias describes, amongst other things, the establishment of the Edmonton Inuit Cultural Society (2011: 26-27).

[11] During fieldwork in Edmonton, the challenge of getting funding in order to run programs was, for example, also mentioned in an interview with board members of the Edmonton Inuit Cultural Society.

several publications it is made clear that such initiatives offer Inuit in the South the possibility to stay in touch with Inuit culture.[12] Based on her personal experiences in Edmonton, Elias explains that "a strong sense of Inuk identity, culture, and the knowledge of one's roots and background are crucial to feeling secure" (2011: 30).

In 2005, a workshop (National Urban Inuit "One Voice" Workshop) was organized in Ottawa and brought Inuit together from different southern Canadian cities to find out more about the situation of urban Inuit in the South. The report of the workshop explains that isolation, housing and homelessness form some of the challenges for southern urban Inuit (Tungasuvvingat Inuit 2005: 11-13).[13] In the report it is also noted that:

> Inuit are often faced with racism and prejudice in courts, with police and with the general public. People in southern Canada do not differentiate between First Nations and Inuit. Southern Canadians only see drunk, homeless Aboriginal people and have no knowledge of Inuit successes and contributions (Tungasuvvingat Inuit 2005: 14).

This issue relates to perceptions, and will be discussed extensively later on in this chapter. But first more information about Inuit in one specific southern city, Edmonton, will be presented.

8.3.1 Inuit in Edmonton

In 2006 there were about 600 Inuit in Edmonton (Statistics Canada 2008: 23). In 2011 Edmonton (census metropolitan area) had a population of 1,159,869 (Statistics Canada 2012). According to the *National Household Survey, 2011* 1,115 Inuit lived in Edmonton (census metropolitan area) in 2011 (Statistics Canada 2013: 15). Inuit constitute the smallest Aboriginal group in the city (Statistics Canada 2010: 6). The total Aboriginal population of Edmonton counts 52,105 people of whom 22,440 are First Nations and 27,740 Métis. Inuit in these statistics numbered 590 persons. Inuit make up 1% of the Aboriginal peoples in Edmonton (Statistics Canada 2010: 6). In 2006 Edmonton was the city with the largest number of Aboriginal peoples after Winnipeg, followed by Vancouver, Toronto and Calgary (INAC 2009: 3).

During the fieldwork a total of thirteen semi-structured interviews with different Inuit were conducted in Edmonton. These Inuit were approached first and foremost

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[12] See for example Elias (2011: 26); Kishigami (2002a: 186-187, 2008: 82-83); Tomiak and Patrick (2010: 138-139); Patrick, Tomiak, Brown, Langille and Vieru (2011: 81-82). See Patrick, Budach and Muckpaloo (2013) for rather extensive examples from Ottawa of what can be done in relation to language for Inuit – indigenous peoples – in urban centres.

[13] I refer to Inuit living in southern cities in various ways. I apply the term urban Inuk/Inuit for two groups, those Inuit living in cities in the North and those Inuit living in southern cities. The latter could in my view also be called urban Inuit in the South or southern urban Inuit. For studies on various urban Inuit see, for example, Kishigami and Lee (2008) and see, for example, Searles (2010) for a description of the ambiguity in relation to Inuit identity and urbanity.

in order to hear about their experiences in this city. In addition, eight interviews were also conducted with representatives of organizations familiar with Aboriginal experiences in Edmonton. These interviews first and foremost dealt with the work of the organization and the representatives' knowledge of the experiences of Inuit in Edmonton specifically and/or of Aboriginal peoples in Edmonton more generally. The Inuit who participated in an interview included Inuit who had come to the city both as adults and as children, both workers and students, and both newcomers and people who had already lived in Edmonton for many years.

In Edmonton I learned that for Inuit from the western Canadian Arctic Edmonton is the main gateway to the South.[14] Informants, for example, said:

> T: If you go to school in [town in the Arctic],… would you, I mean, learn a lot about Edmonton as such, as a city, would you hear a lot about Edmonton?
> I: In […]?
> T: Yeah.
> I: Well everybody goes to… Edmonton.
> …
> T: Really everyone? But not to Ottawa, it is too far?
> I: Ottawa, that is mostly from the eastern Arctic. It is a little cheaper for them to go to Ottawa than it is to go Edmonton. Just because of flight connections.
>
> ——
>
> T: But why Edmonton, for example, not Calgary or Vancouver. What is Edmonton?
> I: Edmonton is always the major point for northern, for northern routes. From the North you have to pass through Edmonton. To go anywhere. So. Edmonton has always been our major stop... Over the years I started to like Edmonton.
> T: Over the years?
> I: Yes when you pass through you come here, you visit with your kids, you're on vacation you come to Edmonton, you spend your two weeks here... You go back home, you come back here next year…

Inuit stay in Edmonton for a variety of reasons. These include education, medical reasons, jobs and partners etc. The Inuit I interviewed had, for example, come to Edmonton, which is not necessarily the first more southerly place they moved to, for education and to be with/follow family. A representative of the Edmonton Inuit

[14] Ironically, Edmonton was often and still is referred to as the "Gateway to the North" by Canadians. Several reasons exist for this reference. In the book *Gateway to the North,* Tony Cashman explains how Edmonton became a hub for air transport to the North (2002). Another reason is the Alaska Highway which was constructed during the Second World War and made Edmonton the "Gateway to the North" for road transport (Hayes 2002: 229).

Cultural Society explained to me that many of the members were people in group care.

For some illnesses Inuit have to go south for treatment, as it is not available in the North. While this reason to go south may mean that the movement is not considered as migration, it does demonstrate connections between the North and South and flows of people. Inuit patients coming to Edmonton can stay at Larga Homes Ltd., which is a home that assists Inuit who are ill as well as other people from northern Canada (northerners) who come south for medical treatment. At Larga, the guests get assistance with the practicalities of staying in a large southern city and are offered rides to the hospital. Larga started operating in the 1980s and today also has boarding houses in Ottawa, Winnipeg and Yellowknife, hoping to provide its guests a "home away from home" (Larga Ltd. Edmonton website). According to the manager of Larga in Edmonton, almost all Inuit clients there, who constitute about 30-35% of all clients at Larga in Edmonton, will go back north. Edmonton is very different from their northern world, which they really miss. Others also pointed to challenges in Edmonton. Two board members of the local Inuit cultural society, for example, explained that when coming from the North, it could be very difficult to adjust to this urban environment. Similar comments were made by others. While I did not discuss this extensively in my research, I was told that those who did not do well in the South would move back.[15] [16]

In relation to living in Edmonton, an Inuk who had moved to Edmonton a couple of months earlier told me:

> T: And how is Edmonton now, how do you feel about living in Edmonton now?
>
> I: Edmonton, like I said is different, too many people. Too much of a consumer society. I think. I noticed there are a lot of churches... And a lot of different people living here. Whereas back home there is mainly Inuit and a few Qallunaat. Qallunaat are white people. It is good so far. But I really do miss my family, my relatives, my sisters, brothers, and my co-workers… my acquaintances. That is where my support system is. So, living here I feel sometimes lonely, isolated, but it is good so far. It is very convenient living here. Like there is lots of food to choose from. Oh it is so cheap, so cheap here…

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[15] On the other hand, for the Greenlandic-Danish context Barfod et al. found that Greenlanders in Denmark did not feel like moving back after sensing they had failed in Denmark (1974: 436). Togeby also mentions this reason for some of those Greenlanders not wanting to return to Greenland (2002: 123). The same reason not to return to Greenland has also been mentioned very recently (Rådet for Socialt Udsatte 2014: 44). In Edmonton an Inuk, for example, indicated that returning to the North is not necessarily easy because the fact that someone had been for a time in the South, for example because of higher education, could give the impression among people in the North that they felt themselves to be better.

[16] It should also be noted that Inuit, for example, (want to) return to the North after finishing their studies.

Later during the interview I asked her:

> T: And do you call yourself a migrant as well now, living in Edmonton, is migrant a word you would use or?
> I: …I am starting to understand the Canadian system. We have a mobility to go to provinces wherever you want to go. So I'm just being part of Canada. I am just visiting. Not a migrant. Makes me think about migrant worker. I'm not a worker. I'm here to study. So I'm just visiting, going to school. It doesn't really feel like home anyway, so.
> T: How do people in like [town in the North] feel about you leaving or in general Inuit leaving for the South, is that something people talk about it or is it something?
> I: Sometimes we joke, maybe we are not good enough for them. Generally the responses I got was no we don't want you to go. It is not your time to go yet. I don't know. When my [family member] moved to [city in the South], we just said good for him, it is better education there anyway, more opportunities, so we are mainly happy about them, but also joke about, what we are not good enough for you that you have to move south to live their kind of standard of living. But if you are going to school in the South, that is really good. Because that will benefit where you live.
> T: So that is considered good?
> I: Yeah.
> T: But is it different if people move like entirely? Would that make a difference?
> I: It depends on what kind of life they had up north. If you know they are going to have a better life living down south, then it is good for them. But if we know they had a good life, they had it all up north anyway, why did they choose to go, then you have questions. That is when we start joking, we are not good enough for them.

Another student explained that once she had children she would not like them to grow up in a city. She mentioned:

> And where I am from it is very protective. Everybody watches out for each other for the most part. So, that makes me comfortable. And honestly in the next couple of years, I don't think I will be going home to stay. For visits definitely, but the weird thing is it is hard to no matter how long I'm out here, I could be out here for 10 years, I'll still feel like an outsider. I'll still feel like I don't belong here. This is not my home. I will never call Edmonton my home. But when I go back home I feel, like if you were to tell me I'm going home for two weeks, I will probably get bored in two weeks. If you were to tell me I'm going home for a year, I would set myself back into my thought of being home. Everything would be the same. So I feel like I have to change my, the way I think while I am out here. I have to

> think of myself as I'm going to be here for a long time, you might as well wait it out.

While challenges met while living in Edmonton were mentioned, it is important to note that I also interviewed Inuit who were very content with living in the South. The fact that some Inuit called Edmonton their home (too) is a clear indication of this. While some considered their stay in Edmonton as temporary, other Inuit mentioned that they did not plan on moving to the North again. Some informants indicated that, for example, (educational) possibilities for the children were a reason to prefer the South/Edmonton. Informants would, for instance, tell me:

> T: And when we were walking down the stairs, you mentioned how do you like our city or my city, our city I think you said, you consider Edmonton your city?
> I: I do now, just for the length of time I have lived here.
> T: And in general, how is it for people from the North, even though you have been living here long, how is it to live in Edmonton? Anything you can say about that?
> I: I think it is okay. I, personally I like it. I think it is a beautiful city. It is not a large city in comparison to a Toronto or a Vancouver, which is appealing to me, by all means. So I like it. I like the fact that it is on that transportation hub, so I can see my family. I am not in a Vancouver, or, but I am close to, if I want to go north, or to do anything, so.
>
> ——
>
> T: And if you, I mean you have been here for [number of years], thinking back about [town in the Arctic], what is [town in the Arctic] for you now? What does it mean to you?
> I: Still my home.
> T: Still your home?
> I: Still call it my home. It will always be home, right. That is where my culture is and whatever. I mean, it is where I am from. I have my home now, I love my home now.
> T: Because what is Edmonton now? What would you call Edmonton?
> I: Well, it is my home too. Culturally my home is [town in the Arctic]. And that is where I'm from, and that is where most of my family live. Home is where you want it to be and right now this is my home.
>
> ——
>
> T: And in your case, would you consider moving back to [town in the Arctic]?
> I: No.
> T: To the North?
> I: No.

T: No?
I: No.
T: Can you explain why?
I: Because my, it is more for, I want my kids as they adjust to city life and to them too they don't want to, because they know there is more here... And it is a faster pace in the city than back home, where it is just… relaxing, easy going, you know. But when you are here, they strive to, it is different, they have to fulfill themselves, they have to make sure they meet their criteria for continuing their education... Mainly it is just for their education.

Another informant explained that she got homesick sometimes, not for her home town, but for her family. Her home community did not as such mean anything to her anymore. Edmonton was home to her, because she had been in Alberta the longest time of her life and because of her children. She mentioned that her kids were doing very well in Edmonton, and she "guessed" that she felt that where her kids were, her home was. I also interviewed an Inuk who explained she really did not want to move back north again. In the interview we had discussed problems in the North as well, and when I asked whether these problems meant she did not want to move back, she answered in the affirmative. The woman also explained she wanted good education for her children and that amongst other things, she did not like the alcoholism and violence.

As Jane George shows in an article in the newspaper *NunatsiaqOnline* from 2005, positive experiences of Inuit in the South are also reflected in statistics (by Statistics Canada) which show that Inuit outside their original homelands on certain fronts have advantages compared to Inuit in the North, with higher percentages of young Inuit attending school and higher salaries for those employed. However, in the article it is also stated, and this is especially true for women, that slightly fewer Inuit in cities are employed compared to in the North (George 2005). More recent statistics show that while Inuit outside Inuit Nunangat earn more or less the same as Inuit in the North, compared to the North more Inuit in the South are actually in employment and a larger proportion has a university degree (INAC 2009: 36-38). An Inuvialuit woman, who as mentioned above considered Edmonton to be her city, emphasized positive sides of living in an urban setting as well, by explaining what urban Inuk was to her thus:

T: Do you then consider yourself, because I have heard the term urban Inuk, is that something you would use?
I: Yes, I am. I wouldn't, I have never used it. But I would consider, I would think that I fit that definition.
T: And what does that mean, being an urban Inuk?
I: Probably more opportunities, more, more wealth, probably, I would say, a higher standard of living than you find in most of the

communities. The food that I eat is different. So all of that I think make me an urban Inuk.

T: Is the term urban Inuvialuit used actually, because I have heard urban Inuit, urban Inuk, but I don't know whether?

I: I have never heard that.

T: No, okay. So the one, if you would use it, would probably be urban Inuk?

I: Yeah, yeah.

Despite the positive sides, in certain ways the fieldwork also indicates what was stated in the above mentioned report of the National Urban Inuit "One Voice" Workshop (Tungasuvvingat Inuit 2005) concerning the lack of differentiation between Aboriginal groups among Canadians in the South. This, for example, became apparent in relation to some negative experiences a few Inuit talked about. From what they said about such negative experiences, these did not seem to result so much from them being seen as an Inuk, but rather from being seen as "native" in general. This could be a sign that non-Aboriginal Canadians indeed do not always distinguish between Aboriginal peoples, because still today "a continuing misconception is that there is one homogenous Aboriginal culture in Canada, when in fact there are many. As a result, the large numbers and wide diversity of Aboriginal peoples and cultures existing in cities today are largely invisible" (Howard and Proulx 2011: 2). As other researchers have also shown, southern urban Inuit are a diverse group of people with different experiences in the South (see, for example, Elias 2011: 27-30; Kishigami 2013: 66-67; Patrick, Tomiak, Brown, Langille and Vieru 2011: 73). In general, indigenous peoples are seen as traditional, not belonging to cities (Howard and Proulx 2011: 2-3), and while, for example, my fieldwork showed more diverse experiences, perceptions of Inuit in the South correspond to this view. According to such perceptions, as others have pinpointed as well (Tomiak and Patrick 2010: 133-134, 138; Patrick et al. 2011: 71), Inuit belong in the Arctic and not in a southern Canadian city.[17] I argue that this image also appears in various non-academic sources in which Canadian Inuit outside the Arctic play a central role. For this reason, some images of Inuit in the Canadian South will be discussed next.

8.4 Images of Inuit in the Canadian South

In this examination of (non-academic) sources about Inuit living or spending time in the South, the focus is on what image these sources present of Inuit outside Inuit Nunangat. Five sources about southern Inuit have been selected, including two films, one children's novel, an autobiography and a drawing. There are other sources

[17] Thisted refers to a similar perception of Inuit culture by stating: "Inuit 'belong' in the Arctic region and are so closely associated with the hunting culture that it appears almost impossible to imagine the existence of the Inuit without this culture" (Thisted 2013b: 229).

that represent Inuit in southern Canada, and the goal of this examination is clearly not to present a full picture of the sources on Inuit in the South, but the sources chosen here do seem to present an image that seems rather prevalent.

The first image presented is that of Inuit who had to go south for medical treatment. As mentioned above in the fifties and sixties of the twentieth century a tuberculosis epidemic caused severe problems in the Canadian North. During this time Inuit with tuberculosis were brought to southern sanatoriums for treatment. For those family members staying in the Arctic and those being treated in the South, it was a very difficult time with a lot of uncertainty (Stern 2010: 161-163).[18] A recent representation of this traumatic period is the 2008 feature film *Ce qu'il faut pour vivre* (The necessities of life). The film is set in 1952 and was directed by Benoît Pilon. It tells the story of Tiivii, an Inuk hunter from Baffin Island (now part of Nunavut), who is diagnosed with tuberculosis. Just as many of his fellow Inuit, he is shipped south without his family for a stay in a southern sanatorium. After three months at sea Tiivii arrives in Quebec City, where he is impressed by the trees and buildings he sees from the cab that takes him to what will be his “home” for the next many months. In the sanatorium he is to share a room with southern Canadians (Quebecers), whom he does not understand as they speak French while he speaks Inuktitut. Being in the hospital is a struggle for him. In a letter to his wife, he utters in Inuktitut: “I have food, but I'm not hungry. I am not alone, but I have no one to talk to.” He tries to escape from the hospital, but unsuccessfully. His situation leads to him not wanting to live anymore. But this changes when a nurse puts him in contact with an Inuk boy who is also hospitalized. Tiivii regains the will to survive in contact with the young boy Kaki with whom he communicates in his own language and with whom he talks about the North. Being back in touch with his culture makes Tiivii want to live again.

The film offers an image of an Inuk in the South as a foreigner, someone who does not belong in the South and who is unfamiliar with southern facilities such as a toilet, a bath and cutlery. Clearly such a person wants to go back north as soon as possible. This image is not an invention. Many Inuit went through this difficult time (Stern 2010: 161-163). The film shows that Inuit culture and southern culture hardly go together. Inuit and southern Canadians clearly belong to and live in different worlds. In this case Tiivii could also be considered to be a non-agent. He is not the one who decides what is going to happen to him. The white doctor decides that he has to go south for treatment and from then on, his fate is in the hands of the whites. On the other hand, the young Inuk Kaki has more or less lost his culture, but he knows his way in the white man's world. He speaks Inuktitut, but also French and to begin with he is more interested in his toy airplane than the toy dog sled Tiivii gives him. In order to be successful in the South, it seems one has to abandon Inuit culture and embrace southern Canadian culture instead.

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[18] Pat Sandiford Grygier (1994) describes this history in *A Long Way from Home. The Tuberculosis Epidemic among the Inuit.*

The children's book *Napachee* by Robert Feagan, which was first published in 1999, takes another point of departure. The main character of the book is the young Inuk Napachee who lives in Sachs Harbour on Banks Islands in the Inuvialuit Settlement Region of the western Canadian Arctic. Napachee longs to go to and experience the South:

> Napachee was almost fourteen. He had known for some time that he was not interested in the land and the hunt. When he was younger he had loved going out with his father. Despite what he had just said he knew he was already a very good hunter, but now at night, when he lay awake in bed, he dreamed of greater things; things that were only found in large cities. He had seen these cities on TV and read about them in school. He was fascinated by what he might find there and eager for adventure.
>
> "I do not have the love of the land that you have," Napachee said quietly. "I have outgrown the North, and I have outgrown the hunt. I want to see a city, to live there, to experience something different." (Feagan 2007: 3-4).

In the story, he gets the chance to visit Edmonton, but once there, he soon finds out that life in the city is not what he expected it to be. He does not like the hot weather, the unfriendly people, the crowds or the food ("He had eaten at McDonald's three times, but the thrill was over; he longed for food from the land" (2007: 49)). He wonders: "How could he be surrounded by so many people and still feel so lonely?" (2007: 49). It is in the city and during his adventure getting home that he discovers how important Inuit culture, and living off the land is to him. It is this culture he embraces.

In general the book has the ambition to educate the young reader about the North and its peoples, for example, through such explanations as:

> Napachee comes from Sachs Harbour, which is in the Western Arctic, part of the Northwest Territories. People who live in that part of the North are called Inuvialuit. People who live further to the east of Holman and far across to Iqaluit are called Inuit. That territory is called Nunavut. Both peoples used to be called Eskimo, but prefer the other proper names. Eskimo means 'eaters of raw meat' and is often seen as negative. Their proper names mean 'The People' (Feagan 2007: 36).

However, *Napachee* also depicts an image of Inuit (and Inuvialuit) that underscores that Inuit do not belong in the South. As such, the novel presents an image that fosters a division between us (Inuit) and them (southern Canadians). Despite dreaming of the South, Napachee discovers that the North is home. Returning there after a great adventure, in the novel it reads: ""I am home Father," Napachee whispered in Inuktitut. "I am home where I belong."" (2007: 106). While the novel from Napachee's perspective argues that it is necessary for Inuit to collaborate with

white people in order to retain their own culture (2007: 107), the novel also shows that city life is not really suited to Inuit.

Life among the Qallunaat by Minnie Aodla Freeman was published in 1978 and provides an Inuk view, a self-representation of moving south.[19] Grace (2007) considers Freeman's book an example of (the North) writing back as Freeman addresses the Canadian South and brings an Inuit perspective to "the dominant discourse" on the North (2007: 241-243). The book consists of three parts. The first part explains Freeman's experiences of moving to and living in Ottawa in the 1950s. The second part recounts her family history in the North. Freeman describes how they still led a very traditional semi-nomadic life. The third part tells about Freeman's increased contact with white people owing to, for example, her education, for which she had to leave her family. For the purpose of this examination, the first part is especially interesting as it shows Freeman's first experiences in the South. Freeman is asked to move south to pursue a career as a translator at the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources (1978: 19). In her book, she recalls her first experiences in the South, as Grace (2007) also points to, in an anthropological manner. She depicts her experiences in the South as a (participant) observer, who researches the lives of southern Canadians (Grace 2007: 241-243). In *Life among the Qallunaat* Minnie Aodla Freeman is in many ways an outsider living among the *Qallunaat*, the white people.

In the novel, Freeman recalls how she was somehow seen as an oddity, for example, being interviewed for television (1978: 28). At some point she gets the chance to go back north, and on her return to the South, she explains: "I went back to the South excited, but very much alone" (1978: 39). Later on, she also describes how it is for Inuit who have been brought south by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development:

> I do not know of anything that has been done for the comfort of the Inuit in the South. The department has taken families out of the North to employ as translators. Before coming out, the family had no training whatsoever or any kind of preparation on how to survive in the South – though they do not forget to tell the Inuit what time to come in to work, where to sign their names in their black books and how to fill out an income tax form (Freeman 1978: 63).

The interesting thing about Freeman's book is that, besides mentioning the struggle of being in the South, which is also demonstrated in the sources described above, she gives a very comprehensive account of how she herself experienced the South, of how she struggled, indeed, but also of how she succeeded in living there.

[19] Freeman has also written the short play *Survival in the South* (1980) about her experiences in southern Canada.

Nonetheless, we also see here an image of Inuit alienation in the South: a self-representation of living in a different world among a different people.

While Freeman went south as early as the 1950s, more in depth attention for Inuit in the South seems first to arise at the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s. Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, the national Inuit organization, published the earlier mentioned booklet about Inuit living in the South called *Inuit in the South* (Kaplansky 1981). As mentioned above, this booklet was followed by the handbook *Living in the South* (Inuit Tapirisat of Canada 1982). While the information provided in these publications seems both very useful and nuanced, and can help us to understand experiences of Inuit who moved south during a period when the number of other Inuit in the South was still very limited, I want to look more closely at a drawing published in the first booklet by the Inuk artist Alootook Ipellie (1951-2007). His illustration comes with the subtitle: "What city living can be to an Inuk".[20] Ipellie's drawing depicts an Inuk who is divided. On one side of his head we see musical notes or harmony, which might refer to the positive sides of living in a city, while on the other side we see disharmony and all kinds of disturbing elements that an Inuk might face in the South. This side includes the following words: "pressure", "love", "homesick", "city life", "liquor", "exams", "drugs" and "tension". Ipellie himself lived in the South for several years and as such his drawing can be seen as an example of a self-representation.[21] Clearly, this is again an image that shows the struggle faced by Inuit in the South.

A more recent representation of Inuit in the South is the documentary *Qallunajatut (Urban Inuk)*, which was released in 2005. It was directed by Inuk Jobie Weetaluktuk. The film is set in Montreal and follows three Inuit during a hot summer. They have come south for different reasons. One of the Inuit in the film came to Montreal for medical treatment and stayed. Another came south because of a relationship with a southern Canadian woman. The reason for the third Inuk to move south is not given, but she was 17 when she came to Montreal. After years on the streets, she now works as an outreach worker for native people in the city. During the film, pictures of the North pass by as well. Flashbacks of old and new Inuit culture, of changing lifestyles from a semi-nomadic past to living in settlements. They seem to be used to explaining why life in the cities can be difficult for Inuit and portray the differences that exist between living in the North and the South. While the film does present personal stories of urban Inuit, it also confirms an image of Inuit who struggle to get by in the city. The narrator of the film underscores this when he introduces one of the three Inuit in the film and states: "Like me, he is trying to survive in Montreal." The three Inuit in the film have all had their problems with living

[20] Ipellie's illustration is included on one the first pages of the booklet. These first pages have no pagination.

[21] In the introduction to *Arctic Dreams and Nightmares* (1993) Ipellie describes some of his experiences in the South.

in the city, including with drugs, drinking, and homelessness, and one of them especially has found her way out of them. As such the film does present possibilities which exist in the city, but also clearly looks at the difficulties faced by the urban Inuit. It does not offer a very positive picture of Inuit experiences in the South.

Despite depicting different experiences and images of Inuit living or spending time in the South, certain general characteristics can be taken from the sources presented. One is of “the” Inuk as a stranger in the South, a person who does not belong there and for whom it can be a struggle to cope in the new setting. An image that focuses on problems also prevails in these sources. As such a rather negative picture of Inuit in southern cities emerges. But as this negative image shows in both representations and self-representations it does seem rather convincing.[22] This image does represent experiences of Inuit in the South. In his autobiography, Thrasher (see above) also reinforces this image in a statement he makes about “an Indian girl” (1976: 91). He states: “But just like any Eskimo who came South, she couldn’t adjust to the new society. So she turned to drink to forget she was a rejected person. She had no chance to do anything else” (1976: 92).

The discussions on perceptions of Greenlanders in Denmark in the previous chapter already show a clear similarity between Greenlanders in Denmark and southern Canadian Inuit. Of both an image exists of people living somewhere where they do not really belong and do not really fit in. In the following section comparative perspectives on Inuit in Canada and Greenlanders in Denmark will be presented and discussed in more detail.

8.5 Some comparative perspectives on Inuit in Denmark and Inuit in southern Canada

In this section I want to describe some of the similarities and dissimilarities between Inuit in Denmark and southern Canada. I focus on some of the experiences I have described in previous chapters on Greenlanders in Denmark and use experiences of Canadian Inuit to discuss these issues in a comparative perspective. Firstly the Inuit language and its role for Inuit identity outside the Arctic will be discussed. Next differences in organization of Inuit outside the Arctic will be presented. Finally images or perceptions of southern Inuit will be discussed in detail. In this context the fact that Inuit in Canada are one of three indigenous groups in Canada, while Greenlandic Inuit are the only indigenous group within the Kingdom of Denmark, will also be taken into account.

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[22] In this context the documentary *Qallunaaliaqpallianiq – Heading South* (2011) on Inuit in the South should be mentioned. The director, Guy Simoneau, explains on his website that with this documentary he has not wanted to depict the common stereotypes, but rather “to present a positive point of view”.

8.5.1 *Inuit language and Inuit identity outside the Arctic*

As we have seen in chapter 7, the Greenlandic language, which is one of the variants of the Inuit language, and which can be divided into three subcategories (West Greenlandic, East Greenlandic and Thule) (Dorais 2010: 47), plays an important role for those Greenlanders I interviewed in Denmark. It was, for example, mentioned as an important reason to be a member of a Greenlandic society since activities organized by such societies offer Greenlanders a possibility to speak their mother tongue. But how does this work in southern Canada?

In 2006 of all Inuit in Canada 51.5% indicated they were "Inuit-home-language speakers" (Dorais 2010: 240). While statistics show that the number of people using the Inuit language as a home-language in the Inuvialuit Settlement Region (Nunaqput) has increased in the period 1986 to 2006, Dorais explains that: "Absolute figures are very low, however. In both Nunaqput and Nunatsiavut the 130 individuals in each region (for a total of 260) who spoke the Inuit language at home in 2006 accounted for a mere 5% of the local Inuit population" (Dorais 2010: 242). Patrick and Tomiak explain that: "Over the course of our research, several interviewees noted that tensions can arise between northern- and southern-born Inuit, given that linguistic and cultural skills and knowledge associated with the North are the ones that clearly mark Inuitness (*e.g.*, Dorais 1997; Dorais and Sammons 2002; Tulloch 2004)" (2008: 59). In another publication Patrick et al. mention that: "For Inuit, who counts as a "real Inuk" is embedded in language ideologies whereby speaking particular forms of Inuktitut might classify one as more or less "real Inuk."" (2011: 71). However, the linguistic situation in the Inuvialuit Settlement Region is reflected among Inuit in Edmonton. Here, for several Inuit (Inuvialuit) the language is not necessarily a way to mark Inuitness, since in this city I spoke to several informants, who used English as their first language.

However, some Inuit in Edmonton do speak the Inuit language. I think it makes good sense to point out those situations which offer the possibility to speak the Inuit language. This observation is not necessarily based on interviews, but on my general impression of the situation. For the Canadian situation, and here I mainly focus on my impressions from Edmonton, one of the few places where people would be able to use the Inuit language is at the local Inuit cultural society, which of course does require more people who speak the language to show up.[23] To this cultural society other opportunities can be added, for instance in personal contacts within the city but also when in contact with relatives and friends still living in the North, when speaking to temporary visitors from the North, for example people who come to take a course in the South, and of course when "at home", although here again several

[23] As far as I am aware the Edmonton Inuit Cultural Society hardly organized any events during my stay in Edmonton in 2011. The only activity I am aware of concerned the Annual General Meeting. As such during my fieldwork the possibilities for Inuit to attend an activity and use an Inuit language there hardly existed.

Inuit have a non-Inuit partner and therefore speaking the language at home can become difficult. In addition, in contrast to Denmark, in Edmonton I did not hear about choirs, institutions or church services where the Inuit language is used extensively.

So using the language in the South is not always easy, which has also been highlighted in self-representations. In her novel *Life among the Qallunaat* (1978) Minnie Freeman mentions some of the linguistic problems she encountered in the South. Working as a translator she noticed that she could not understand Inuit patients from the western Canadian Arctic in a hospital in Edmonton (1978: 43). Kaplansky also mentions dialectical differences between “Inuk interpreters” and patients (Kaplansky 1981: 34). In addition, in her autobiography Freeman, as referred to above, also describes the loneliness in the South (1978: 29). Only very few Inuit lived in the South in the 1950s and this of course also made it difficult for them to speak the Inuit language. This situation has, though, changed a lot as statistics presented earlier also indicate. An Inuk in Edmonton recalled how this situation has changed in Edmonton. Previously she was one of few Inuit in the city, but in the last couple of years many more had come. Now she sees other Inuit all the time. This does not, however, necessarily mean you can speak Inuktitut, for example, due to the existence of various dialects, and with Inuit who do not command an Inuit language, people might speak English.

In Edmonton the Inuit cultural society has organized classes in Inuktitut. These are basic courses. While it is probably not a necessity for every Inuk in Edmonton to learn Inuktitut, because many Inuit in Edmonton are Inuvialuit and as such possibly do not identify with Inuktitut, which is used more in the eastern Canadian Arctic, such courses do provide an opportunity to learn or get acquainted with the language.[24] According to Patrick and Tomiak (2008) who have discussed the language issue with Inuit in Ottawa, this is very important for them, as “the desire and need for language-learning was echoed by the vast majority of those interviewed. As such, it was one of the key concerns related to urban Inuit identities and the sense of belonging and connectedness to Inuktitut-speaking family members, whether in the Arctic or in the southern city” (2008: 67).[25]

In Edmonton I also noticed that using/living off the land and country food could seem more natural as markers relating to northern culture than language. This does not mean that the Inuit language is not important. For example, an informant who did not speak an Inuit language herself, which she regretted, referred to the language as “my native language from home”. This use of “my” or “our” (example below) demonstrates that the language is clearly connected to Inuit culture and identity. An Inuvialuit woman explained to me:

[24] See, for example, Lyons (2009) for more information on Inuvialuit identity.
[25] For a description of approaches used to learn Inuit language in Ottawa see Patrick, Budach and Muckpaloo (2013).

> The Inuvialuit they lost their mother tongue, the Inuit they have their mother tongue. I cannot speak my own tongue, because it was taken away from us. And the Inuvialuit, western Arctic, the Inuit, the Eskimos in the western Arctic… were forbidden to talk our mother... that is how we, our mother tongue... like the majority of my people of my age, there we went to school, we don't speak our language, our mother tongue…

Despite the existing possibilities, it should be stressed that for those Inuit who speak the Inuit language several factors contribute to making it rather difficult to retain and maybe more crucially to transfer the language. I believe the following aspects, which are not necessarily based on interviews, but on my general impression of the situation in Denmark and Edmonton, make it rather difficult for Inuit in both Denmark and southern Canada to use an Inuit language: Danish and English speaking colleagues, marriage to a non-Inuit language speaker (e.g. Dane/southern Canadian), children at school where teaching is in the predominant language, a limited number of fellow Inuit language speakers and differences between Inuit dialects. In addition, funding should also be included. In Canada I learned, as mentioned above, that it can be difficult to get funding in order to run programs. This of course relates to running cultural societies in general. In cases where it becomes difficult to run such societies, one way to meet fellow Inuit, to speak a/the Inuit language and to offer language courses is hampered. All in all it is my impression that it is more difficult to use and transfer an Inuit language in Edmonton, where fewer people seem to command and use an Inuit language, than is the case for Greenlandic among Greenlanders in Denmark.

8.5.2 Local organization and Inuit identity outside the Arctic

In chapter 4 I mentioned that Dahl (1986) has explained a difference between colonialism in Greenland and in northern Canada – and Alaska – as external colonialism contra internal colonialism. Owing to the possibility of entering northern Canada over land, the impact of southerners on northern Canada is different to the Danish impact on Greenland, where the number of Greenlanders outnumber(ed) the number of Danes by far. In the latter context, the ocean also creates a boundary – disconnection – between Denmark and Greenland (Dahl 1986: 73). An illustration of varying colonial pasts can be seen in the situation of “the” Inuit language in Canada and Greenland. As described in chapter 4, Danish and Greenlandic have both been important in Greenland, but today Greenlandic is the official language there. While in Canada “the” Inuit language is used in several areas in the Canadian North, English has also had a severe impact on its everyday use. As described above, in some Inuit areas there are only a few Inuit-language speakers (see, for example, Dorais 2010).

In addition I hold that the local organization of Inuit in the South can partially be understood by differences in the colonial past. Both in southern Canada and in Denmark there are Inuit cultural societies. It is my belief that the presence of Inuit

cultural organizations in southern Canada differs considerably from what I encountered in Denmark. I noticed for instance especially that there are many Greenlandic societies in Denmark. In addition, such societies and additional institutions specifically focusing on Greenlanders have already been around for quite some time. As mentioned in chapter 5 a Greenlandic House was already opened in Copenhagen in 1880 (Bertelsen 1945: 99). The first Greenlandic society was established in Copenhagen in 1938 (Barfod et al. 1974: 420). Barfod et al. explain that: “When the interview research took place, there were Greenlander societies and/or Greenlander Houses in Copenhagen, Århus, Ålborg, Esbjerg and Holstebro” (Barfod et al. 1974: 140, my translation). An appendix in the publication of Barfod et al. includes the addresses of Greenlandic societies in Esbjerg, Kolding, Copenhagen, Odense, Ålborg and Århus as of January 1974 (1974: 581). Togeby explains that these societies “are combined in the umbrella organization Inuit. The goal of the societies is to establish networks between Greenlanders in Denmark and to give Greenlanders living here possibilities to maintain their attachment to the Greenlandic culture. Greenlanders in Denmark are very well-organized” (2002: 49, my translation). During fieldwork I noticed that several of these societies in Denmark were established in the 1970s. The earlier mentioned Greenlandic events in Denmark, such as the song context *Tusa* and the Greenlandic Day in Tivoli, also show that this organization of Greenlanders in Denmark has already been going on for quite some time. In *Sermitsiaq.AG* it was mentioned, for example, that *Tusa* was going to take place for the 32nd time in 2011 (Sermitsiaq.AG 2011) and the annual Greenlandic Day (days), as mentioned in the previous chapter, was organized for the first time in 1976. Such initiatives were taken in a period around the establishment of Home Rule in Greenland. As explained above, the presence of Greenlanders in Copenhagen during the 1960s and 1970s was important in relation to the growth of Greenlandicness (Kleivan 1969/70 in Thomsen 1998: 44). The relationship between Denmark and Greenland at that time might also explain why Greenlanders in Denmark wanted to meet and have their own societies and activities. As such the establishing of such societies and the arranging of activities, plus a strong interest in maintaining ties to Greenlandic culture at that time can I believe be connected to colonial relations.

In Canada Inuit cultural societies seem to be much newer. In 2011, I was told by representatives of the Inuit cultural society in Edmonton that this society was six years old. Kishigami (2006) also explains that the Association of Montreal Inuit was first established in 2000, and in describing the situation for Inuit in Montreal about halfway through the 1990s, Kishigami states that: “Generally speaking, Montreal Inuit found it difficult to create and maintain arctic lifestyles and a particularly Inuit cultural identity” (2006: 213). For the Canadian situation, Kaplansky explains in the publication from 1981 referred to above that: “Aside from Inuit organizations and government offices which work with Inuit, there are no special helping resources or

facilities for Inuit in cities other than Ottawa. There are Native Friendship Centres in most cities which Inuit have not yet made much use of" (Kaplansky 1981: 30). Kishigami explains that: "In the late 1990s, police and social workers in Montreal began to recognize socio-economic problems concerning the Inuit in the city" (2013: 70-71). This does not mean, however, that there were no services at all for Inuit in the South during earlier times. For example, in the 1960s offices were opened in Winnipeg and Edmonton, which could assist Inuit students (Bonesteel 2008: 121-122).[26] In addition the magazine *Inutitut* published by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development offered Inuit students advice about living in the South (Bonesteel 2008: 122).[27] But in general these examples could be interpreted as a sign that, as statistics also show, the migration of Inuit to southern Canada – or at least the organization of and for Inuit in the Canadian South – is a more recent phenomenon than the migration – organization – of Greenlanders to/in Denmark.

It seems clear that the presence and organization of Greenlanders in Denmark has been visible for a longer time than the presence and organization of Inuit in southern Canada. The study by Barfod et al. in the 1970s demonstrates that there was a certain awareness of Greenlanders moving to Denmark at that time. Even earlier examples can be mentioned, including Bertelsen's study on Greenlanders in Denmark (1945). Publications on Inuit in southern Canada appeared much later. In addition, an aspect that should be added concerns the number of Greenlanders in Denmark and the number of Inuit in southern Canada. While both constitute rather small minorities, Greenlanders in Denmark live in a much smaller country and have the possibility to arrange activities which can be attended by Greenlanders from various locations in Denmark. In contrast, owing to the size of Canada and the travel costs, realizing such activities for Inuit from the entire Canadian South will be much more difficult. In fact distances within a large Canadian city can also constitute a challenge for some Inuit and hamper interactions (see, for example, Kishigami 2008: 82-83; 2013: 71; Tomiak and Patrick 2008: 62-63).

These observations will be of importance for understanding the reproduction of Inuit identity outside the Arctic. These differences in organization can mean that, if

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[26] While it would be interesting to investigate in more detail differences between Inuit cultural societies on the one hand, and organizations and services for Inuit, such as the Greenlandic Houses in Denmark and such early examples of services for Inuit in southern Canadian cities on the other in order to, for example, compare their coming into existence and their aims, the examples presented do clearly show that the Greenlandic organization in Denmark occurred earlier than the Inuit organization in southern Canada.

[27] In this context Tungasuvvingat Inuit could also be mentioned. On the website (www.tungasuvvingatinuit.ca), it is stated that: "Tungasuvvingat Inuit (TI) aims at empowering and enhancing the lives of Inuit. Since 1987, TI has been operating in Ottawa as a community-based counselling and resource centre" (Tungasuvvingat Inuit website). In 2011 the national Inuit organization Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami had existed for forty years. See the website (www.itk.ca) for more information on a conference held as part of its' fortieth anniversary in 2011 (Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami website). For more examples of initiatives/services for Inuit in southern Canada see, for example, Kishigami (2013: 72); Patrick et al. (2011: 77).

such cultural societies and their activities are considered to be important, which of course is not automatically the case for all Inuit, it can become more difficult to reproduce Inuit identity in southern Canada than in Denmark. As mentioned above, funding seems to be an issue for the (continuation of) societies specifically for Inuit in southern Canada (see, for example, Tungasuvvingat Inuit 2005). Due to a relatively new and less developed “Inuit infrastructure” in southern Canada, at least in some places, the possibilities to reproduce Inuit identities seem more limited in Canada than in Denmark where the “Greenlandic/Inuit infrastructure” is more extensive. However, the reproduction of Inuit identity in the Canadian South can be further illustrated by scrutinizing perceptions, which will be discussed below.

8.5.3 Perceptions and Inuit identity in and outside the Arctic

One similarity I experienced in Denmark and southern Canada lies in the wish expressed by several informants to showcase Inuit culture in a positive manner. It is striking that a number of the informants I interviewed in both Denmark and Canada wanted to share the knowledge of their culture. This could, for example, be through giving presentations at school, singing in Greenlandic, and/or being active in Inuit cultural societies. In the report of the National Urban Inuit “One Voice” Workshop, two concluding remarks directly relate to this observation. These are: “1. Inuit living in urban areas must promote, preserve, strengthen, and embrace the Inuit culture and the use of Inuktitut through diverse cultural programming” and “2. Inuit must educate non-Inuit about Inuit culture” (Tungasuvvingat Inuit 2005: 38). As discussed in the previous chapter in relation to Greenlanders in Denmark, in Canada I also noticed most clearly that various women were actively involved in such activities, for example, through teaching about Inuit culture. I should add that I mainly conducted interviews with Inuit women in Canada, much less with men, but this in itself, the presence of women in the South and their willingness to participate in my study, could be interpreted as a sign that Inuit women are rather involved in disseminating Inuit culture there. During an interview with two representatives of the Inuit society in Edmonton I was also told that women take greater part in the society and later on I asked:

> T: And you mentioned that women are more active than the men actually?
>
> I: Yeah. Because I think women, traditionally Inuit women, they are the caretakers of everything, so they really hold their traditions in their heart, where men, it is more traditional to go out hunting, but where is there to hunt, like you lose your manhood when you come down here. Where do you hunt? What do you do…

Despite clear efforts to showcase Inuit culture, some stereotypical images of Inuit persist. The 1922 documentary *Nanook of the North* by Flaherty is interesting to mention in this context. According to Grace: “The film made Flaherty famous and

popularized the image of the "Eskimos" as childlike, fur-clad, smiling people" (Grace 2009a: 28). Alia states that: "Even today, Nanook is a familiar name and an emblem for things indigenous, "primitive," and "Northern""(Alia 1999: 16) and: "*Nanook* continues to reach contemporary audiences and thus to represent and misrepresent Inuit" (Alia 1999: 19). Alia explains how in the media northern Aboriginals are often seen traditionally and admired for their special clothing and skills (Alia 1999: 24). In relation to her observation of seemingly more representations (texts) by Inuit than by other northern Aboriginal peoples, Grace states that:

> The possible reasons for this difference are many: the Inuit may occupy a more positive position in the southern, Euro-Canadian view of North because they were constructed, early on, as childlike and smiling (by Flaherty most notably) and because they are geographically distant, remote, well removed from competitive proximity with the South (2007: 243)

I also consider "Canada's adoption of Inuit art as a symbol of Canadian identity" (Stern 2010: 154) important in this context. Patrick et al. (2011) have also commented on the appreciation of "Inuit heritage and cultural forms" (76), including the Inukshuk, in a Canadian context.[28] And despite the possible ambiguity of this incorporation as Patrick et al. point to (2011: 76), it does indicate that Inuit culture, at least in part, is appreciated by southern Canadian culture, and embraced by it, which can help to cherish a positive image.

What I find interesting is that while the Canadian North and its meaning or content has changed overtime, which Grace has emphasized (see, for example, Grace 2009b), "the" image(s) of Inuit seems much less changeable. In his study on representations of Inuit in Canadian and British juvenile literature, David also discusses stereotypes:

> Anachronisms in the stereotype result from the disproportionate attention given to the Inuit living in the smaller communities. The Inughuit of northwest Greenland, who have maintained their traditional way of life more than most communities, have come to represent the Inuit for many juveniles, as they are particularly well represented in the photographic collection of Bryan and Cherry Alexander Photography, one of the most important Arctic picture libraries in the United Kingdom. Traditional hunting, though carried out by only a minority of the Inughuit, encapsulates much that is exotic about the Inuit, and the representation of urban Inuit life, whether in Greenland or Canada, does not demonstrate

[28] It was probably the Inukshuk I noticed most clearly as an Inuit symbol in the public domain while conducting my fieldwork in the city of Edmonton. In the city at least two Inuksuit are to be found and symbolize relations between Edmonton and the North. In addition, the Inukshuk is also used in the logo of the Edmonton Inuit Cultural Society. Fletcher also describes a changing use of the Inukshuk. He writes that: "The original association of Inuksuk to Inuit and the Arctic seems to be shifting to encompass Canada in entirety" (Fletcher 2009: 174).

> the distinctiveness of the culture or fulfil the expectations of readers—both features that help to sell a book (David 2001: 144).

This does not mean that counterparts have not arisen at all, as, for example, with Rudy Wiebe's map *Inuit view to the South*, which takes the Canadian North as the centre and looks down towards the Canadian South (Wiebe 1989 in Grace 2009a: 22-24) and various representations by Inuit and other northerners (Grace 2007, 2009a, 2009b).

And while discrimination and stereotypes seemed less important in the interviews I conducted with Inuit in Canada than in the interviews I held with Greenlanders in Denmark, I do not claim that racism or negative experiences were non-existent in these conversations.[29] At the Aboriginal Relations Office City of Edmonton I was told:

> And we fare better in the urban centres, we are able to participate. Yeah we still experience discrimination, we still have a higher level of underemployment even though we are highly educated now in the urban centres, we are still underemployed and underpaid. We only make fifty percent. Well, our study shows, where we only make 50% of what non-Aboriginals make... So when we talk about Aboriginal people, we are being inclusive of the Inuit. That is the same experience.

Informants in Canada did indeed tell me about such experiences, for example, discrimination as experienced by the person him or herself or by a family member. The effects of such negative perceptions were also discussed by Patrick et al., who state relating to experiences by two urban Inuit that: "During their childhood they felt that negative perceptions of who they were had an impact on their sense of self as Inuit" (2011: 78). Discrimination resulted in many homeless Inuit in Montreal, for example, not going to shelters (Kishigami 2008: 77-78). The words of one informant, who replies to my question about what people in Edmonton, for example, know about the North, explain that people relate to this topic in different ways:

> I: They might know a little bit, you know, they know about the caribou, the mattak, well they don't say mattak, they say whale fat, you know. If they are interested, if a person is interested, they will find it out themselves. Anybody can google, right. So, nowadays it is very easy to find out information about a culture if they are interested.

[29] The *Urban Aboriginal Peoples Study* shows in relation to Aboriginal peoples in Canada in general that: "In short, urban Aboriginal peoples today maintain strong Aboriginal *and* Canadian identities, and are forming stable and vibrant Aboriginal communities in Canadian cities. However, they do this despite a widespread belief that they are consistently viewed in negative ways by non-Aboriginal people. If there is a single urban Aboriginal experience, it is the shared perception among First Nations peoples, Métis and Inuit, across cities, that they are stereotyped negatively. Indeed, most report that they have personally experienced negative behaviour or unfair treatment because of who they are" (Environics Institute 2010: 10).

T: But, I mean, they don't offend you or anything, does that happen? That people would say something maybe racist, or about the North, or about coming from the North? Does that happen here?
I: Of course it does, with any culture. Do Scottish men still wear kilts? Seriously. It does not matter where you're from. With any culture, no matter what, there is always gonna have somebody say something, about whatever, whether you're black, white, brown or yellow. It doesn't matter.
T: So but you, I mean, it doesn't offend you as such?
I: It happens everywhere.

As several Greenlanders also indicated in Denmark, the situation seems to be changing in Canada as well, and this was indicated for instance by an urban Inuk, who told me that she felt the interest for the North was increasing, for example through more media coverage. She called it "a great fascination with the North and the Inuit people generally by people in the South if you will. Just because it is a very unique and tight-knit culture with its own language." She was not sure, but she believed this increase of knowledge/interest had been going on for about the last ten years. Shadian also refers to a changing situation and perception of the North. She states that:

> Domestic events transformed the relationship between Canada and the Inuit in the midst of a larger reconstruction of *Arctic* identity as a whole. The end of the Cold War, while fundamentally shifting the global political landscape, equally changed the meaning and significance of the Arctic. The far North shifted from an economic periphery into a region where resources, indigenous peoples, the environment, and development all came to intersect into a political discourse dominated by the notion of sustainable development. More recently, this rhetoric has gone so far in certain circles as to assert that the Arctic serves as a world "barometer" for climate change and global warming (Shadian 2007: 334).

While things seem to be changing, one cannot ignore the fact that stereotypical views of Inuit in the South still exist. Kishigami explains that: "Many people have a perception that urban Inuit are generally addicted to alcohol and spend most of their time in pubs. In reality, the urban Inuit themselves consider that they drink too much and cause alcohol-related problems. The stereotype of the urban Inuit is not always wrong, but also it is not true of all urban Inuit" (2002b: 55).

In relation to existing views of Inuit in the South, another element to take into consideration concerns the pan-Aboriginal view. This view explains why Inuit are not (always) visible in the South. As mentioned above Inuit in Canada are not always seen as Inuit but are very often taken to be Aboriginal and as such seen as belonging to the same group as First Nations and Métis people. In Canada there are three indigenous groups. These are the First Nations, Métis and Inuit. First nations, which again consist of many different cultures, are the largest indigenous group in

Canada. In 2006 1,172,790 Canadians (about 4% of the entire population in Canada) identified as Aboriginal. The Inuit constitute 4% (50,485) of the entire Aboriginal group, while First Nations people and Métis make up 60% and 33% respectively (Statistics Canada 2008: 9-10). A pan-Aboriginal approach leads to differences between the groups being overlooked. In the earlier mentioned report of the National Urban Inuit "One Voice" Workshop the pan-Aboriginal approach is also mentioned and it is explained that: "Inuit, a unique people with their own culture, language, and history, are often forgotten" (Tungasuvvingat Inuit 2005: 7).[30]

At the same time this pan-Aboriginal approach is of course not an issue in the same way in Denmark, where Greenlanders are the only indigenous group. It seems as if Greenlanders both through their organization in Denmark and "exclusiveness" do stand out more than Inuit in southern Canada. Possibly the fact that Inuit are not the only indigenous group in Canada also explains why in certain contexts images of Inuit are also lacking. In a broader Canadian Aboriginal context they are not always specifically seen as a different group and are part of the larger Aboriginal Canadian population. Inuit in southern urban cities are part of the much larger urban Aboriginal group, in which they constitute a very small minority.[31]

In Edmonton I also noticed that various organizations do not focus specifically on Inuit, but offer services to Aboriginal peoples in general. These organizations are inclusive of the different groups. At the same time, I also learned that the various Aboriginal groups share experiences through their move to the city. This was also explained to me at the Aboriginal Relations Office City of Edmonton, where I was told why Aboriginal peoples move to the city "Yeah, a better standard of living. So those are the things we look for I guess. Education, medical, better standard of living. Those three main things." During an interview with the manager of the Aboriginal Education Centre at MacEwan University in Edmonton the importance of an awareness of the differences between Aboriginal peoples was mentioned. While teaching non-Aboriginal students, the manager would, for example, explain that they should see different First Nations as Europeans, in the sense that both within the group of First Nations and Europeans there are differences between the peoples. She mentioned:

> I: Aboriginal again the same thing about our different nations, I think I told you this, like when I do a presentation, I actually do a presentation for our social work students, our nursing students, and it is a session on understanding Aboriginal people. So I often will start off one of those sessions by saying.

[30] In the *Winnipeg Urban Inuit Study* it is stated that: "However, Inuit are unique in many ways and express a strong desire to maintain their culture rather than be assimilated into a pan-Aboriginal perspective" (Bloy 2008: 12).

[31] See the *Urban Aboriginal Peoples Study* for comparisons between Aboriginal peoples in cities in Canada (Environics Institute 2010). For another study about all three Aboriginal groups in Canada see Tomiak (2011).

T: But that is for students in general?
I: Yeah, non-Aboriginal students.
T: Yeah, exactly.
I: Because in those areas like in health care, in social work, child welfare, they are going to come across Aboriginal people and they need to understand, that we are all very unique and very different, right. I speak Cree, but there is a community, it is about one hour out of Edmonton, out by Wabamun Lake, they speak Stoney, I don't understand one word of their language, right. So I try to get students to think of Europeans, who makes up Europeans. Well then I will start talking about well the French, the German blah, blah, blah. And I say for First Nations communities, think about them in that perspective. We say First Nations, because each one of these groups are a nation and they have their own language and own customs, we are not all the same just because we are brown, right. And if you think of people from the North, right, don't ever call anybody from Northwest Territories Inuit, because there are four nations, and they belong to one of those four nations, and the only Inuit there are, are the people from Nunavut. So you are insulting them when you say that…

And she also explained that:

> Even our own students sometimes will not even know that in the North they, there is no such thing as a powwow, it is for the first nations communities, so I educate not just some of our programs on campus, but I also educate our own students, because they don't know.

In addition to the pan-Aboriginal approach, it also occurs that an Inuk gets confused with other nationalities, which supports the view of a lack of a distinct perspective in certain contexts. An Inuk told me:

T: And if you, concerning identity, one of my topics, what do you call yourself?
I: Like ethnic, ethnicity?
T: Yeah.
I: Inuk.
T: Inuk, yeah?
T: But here people don't understand, what Inuk is. So I call myself an Eskimo.
T: Yeah, okay, you do?
I: But a lot of people they think I am Filipino.
T: Okay, here you mean?
I: Yeah, here.
T: How is that?
I: Like if I go to the store, a Filipino clerk will talk to me in Filipino. Or in a conference, for example, that I just attended here, somebody from the North, an Inuk, thought I was Filipino as well.

T: Yeah, really?
I: So that was embarrassing. I was very offended.
T: Yeah, but why?
I: I have always been Inuk. Inuit way. That is who I am.
T: If you say Inuit way, what is that for you?
I: My culture living with people is a little bit different, I think, and. We are not too concerned with time. So we are less stressed. We tend not to plan too much. So we are less stressed. And we share a lot of things. I come from a very sharing culture. As opposed to here...

At the same time, her words support what Greenlanders sometimes also told me concerning the use of the word Eskimo, which is, for example, used to explain to others who they are. In Canada some informants did not mind the term being used, but at the same time some informants did not like the usage of this word.

A possible explanation for the pan-Aboriginal view could in my opinion be found in the fact that the North and Inuit were isolated and more unknown for a long time. As a consequence Indians became a category much earlier than Inuit in the Canadian South, and Greenlanders in Denmark became a category much earlier than Inuit in southern Canada. Also in relation to the Canadian government, this discrepancy in knowledge and possibly categorization of different Aboriginal groups in Canada is known, as it is stated in a publication that: “While there is a great deal of information about the history of relations with First Nations, much less is well known about the history of the Government of Canada’s relationship with Inuit” (Anderson 2008: iii). For Inuit in southern Canada, Patrick et al. (2011) explain that: “In these geographical imaginings, urban Inuit in southern Canada often get sidelined, not only with respect to national bodies dealing with Inuit but in the public imaginary as well” (2011: 71). Inuit are thus not necessarily considered/perceived as a group living in southern Canada. In his autobiography Thrasher also touched upon this categorization in the South, into which he did not really seem to fit. About his time in Edmonton, he writes: “Racial tension was running high between whites and Indians and niggers. As an Eskimo, I was in the middle. I didn’t exactly fit into any of those groups” (1976: 122). While First Nations were categorized much earlier, at least as people living in southern Canada, Inuit can “suffer” a fate of not being perceived and/or recognized as a distinct group in the South.

While several aspects which specifically concern Inuit in the South have been addressed above, it should be pointed out, as I did earlier concerning experiences of Greenlanders in Denmark and experiences of other migrants, the experiences of Inuit in southern Canadian cities do also contain similarities with those of other groups, clearly including other Aboriginal peoples in Canada, as demonstrated for instance through the words quoted above in relation to the reasons of Aboriginal

peoples for moving to the city.[32] Howard and Proulx explain that stereotypical views concern Aboriginal peoples in Canada in general. They state that:

> Ideas such as the reputed primitiveness of Aboriginal peoples versus the civilized nature of non-Aboriginal peoples, that Aboriginal peoples live only in rural spaces close to the natural world and not in cities, the inability of Aboriginal peoples to effectively cope with industrialized urban life, and that Aboriginal peoples must be benevolently managed by paternalistic non-Aboriginal actors continue to have negative symbolic and material effects on Aboriginal peoples living in cities (Andersen and Denis 2003; Wilsen and Peters 2005; Peters 1996, 2004; Furniss 1992) (Howard and Proulx 2011: 2-3).

Furthermore, if we take a step further away from Inuit in the South, the misrepresentations are, according Alia, the case for northerners in general. She states:

> It is not just Aboriginal northerners who are in need of more accurate representation, although they have long been the primary subjects of journalistic misrepresentation of the North. All northerners are misrepresented at one time or another, in one way or another. The North continues to be exoticized, romanticized, and distanced (not just geographically) from the rest of the world. Northerners in general continue to be portrayed as a special breed of people (the very persistence of the word “breed” suggests something apart from humanity). And, as we observed earlier on, there are layers of misrepresentation – of northerners, Aboriginal northerners, northern and Aboriginal women (Alia 1999: 163).

Alia explains that: “Although in the case of Euro-Canadian northerners the element of racism is sometimes less obviously involved, the idea prevails that northerners in general are quaint and that only social misfits voluntarily move North” (Alia 1999: 24). These additional views demonstrate that not just Inuit but also other people in and from the North have to deal with various, often stereotypical, views. Experiences of Inuit in southern Canada can also be compared to other groups. Tomiak and Patrick (2010) see similarities in experiences of Inuit in the South and those of

[32] And of course, trends indicate that more and more Aboriginal peoples, including Inuit, are being born and raised in (southern) cities. As Patrick and Tomiak have mentioned in relation to experiences of Inuit in Ottawa and Kishigami in relation to Inuit in Montreal (see, for example, Kishigami (2004: 81); Patrick and Tomiak (2008)), experiences of those born in the South will be different from those who have moved there. The *Urban Aboriginal Peoples Study* shows that: “Almost nine in ten Inuit are first generation urban residents, reflecting the fact that Inuit are the least urbanized of Aboriginal groups in Canada. They are most likely among *UAPS* participants to feel a very close connection to their home community and have plans to return there permanently one day. Nonetheless, majorities feel their city of residence is home, although this feeling is less widespread compared to Métis and First Nations peoples” (Environics Institute 2010: 30).

transnational migrants, one reason being "that southern Inuit cannot return home often, given the extremely high travel costs to the Arctic" (Tomiak and Patrick 2010: 132).[33] A similar comparison was made by a representative of the Northern Student Education Initiative in Edmonton, an initiative that assists students from the Canadian North (not just Inuit), who indicated that immigrant and international students can have similar experiences to northern students. But according to her, for those students from abroad who are used to city life it might be easier to settle in the city.

This shows that comparing experiences of Inuit in southern Canada with Greenlanders in Denmark, but also with other Aboriginal groups within Canada and other migrants, offers interesting insights. Some experiences do correspond. But what I think is especially interesting in relation to both Inuit in southern Canada and Greenlanders in Denmark is the difference of perception between an Inuk living in the North (northern Canada, Greenland) and one living in the South (southern Canada, Denmark), which for the Canadian context, for example, can be seen in the non-academic sources I discussed in this chapter. In the *Arctic Human Development Report* it is stated that: "Human societies in the circumpolar North are highly resilient; they have faced severe challenges before and adapted successfully to changing conditions" (Young and Einarsson 2004b: 230). However, this view does not always manifest itself in perceptions of Inuit in the South. It appears that when the setting changes and an Inuk no longer lives in the North, he/she – Inuit culture in general – seems much less likely to be considered to be resilient and adaptive. The image of the "smiling Eskimo" then disappears. In relation to Greenlanders in Denmark Sørensen explains that they are often depicted as victims who do not really want to be in Denmark at all (1993: 36). In this context we should continue to be aware of the impact of academic views as well. As presented in the first chapter, others have pointed out that in academic views on Inuit culture, to various degrees "'tradition' still rules" (Riches 1990: 86; see also Sørensen 2008). As such "the" perception of Inuit, both in the North and South, suffers from a diversity of stereotypical or traditional views, which "continue" to construct identifications which do not reflect the diversity and flexibility (Inuit) culture encompasses.

The question that remains is why a more stereotypical image of Inuit prevails, yet Inuit also live in southern Canadian cities. While a more diverse picture of Inuit urban experiences can be found, the image of Inuit best suited for a non-urban life seems rather fixed. It relates to similar discussions on perceptions of urbanization processes in the Arctic as written about by, amongst others, Searles and Sørensen. Searles discusses the situation in Nunavut (2010), whereas Sørensen depicts the situation in Nuuk/Greenland (see, for example, Sørensen 2008). It happens that Inuit

[33] See Tomiak and Patrick (2010) for a discussion of the (in)applicability of the concept of cosmopolitanism in relation to Inuit in Ottawa.

in cities/towns in the North are not entirely seen as reflecting "the true Inuit culture of today", and the situation looks similar for Inuit outside the Arctic. In the Canadian context, the research done by Searles is especially interesting, as he presents a case study from the Canadian Arctic. He has demonstrated how similar discussions about (self-)representations of Inuit are at stake within the territory of Nunavut. Searles explains that:

> The possibility of an authentic urban Inuit identity continues, in many ways, to be frustrated by an unwillingness on the part of Inuit and Qallunaat alike to imagine the more densely populated, ethnically diverse towns (e.g. Iqaluit's population includes as many Inuit as Qallunaat) as places where Inuit culture and identity can prosper (2010: 157).

In a footnote to this statement, Searles adds that: "Although many Inuit might think an authentic urban identity is absurd if not impossible, a growing number of Inuit raised in larger towns in the Arctic and southern Canada would recognize the concept as providing cultural and moral legitimacy to the traditions and experiences of Inuit living an urban lifestyle" (Searles 2010: 164-165). This corresponds to my findings in that the Inuit I interviewed also felt/identified as Inuit "despite" living in a southern city.

I argue that Searles' explanation also works to provide a greater understanding of negative images of Inuit in southern cities. It shows that more stereotypical perceptions of Inuit in the South are not only manifested in representations by others, non-Inuit, but can also be found in self-representations as demonstrated in the various examples above.[34] Part of the fixed nature of these perceptions could be caused by the idea among both non-Inuit (external identification) and Inuit themselves (internal identification) that Inuit do not belong outside the Arctic. Such images still prevail because they – at least to a certain degree – are held on to by both Inuit and non-Inuit. They support "the assumption that Inuit do not really belong in towns; their natural place is out on the land hunting, trapping, fishing, and gathering" (Searles 2010: 164).[35] In this view, living in a city in the Canadian South does not match a real Inuit lifestyle. Various representations and self-representations, as others point to as well (Tomiak and Patrick 2010: 136-140; Patrick et al. 2011: 71-72), present a view, which indicates that being Inuit and living in a southern city is not unambiguous.[36] However, in relation to his discussion on this

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[34] Other researchers have also discussed the fact that "traditional" views of Inuit/Greenlandic culture are in the course of time presented by/held on to by both insiders (Inuit/Greenlanders) and outsiders (non-Inuit/Danes) (see, for example, Bjørst 2008; Thisted 2005).

[35] Searles does mention that positive views about living in Nunavut's capital Iqaluit among Inuit in Iqaluit are really not exceptional (Searles 2010: 160-161).

[36] Patrick et al. comment on internal differences between Inuit in Ottawa and explain that: "Tensions between forms of desired symbolic capital that Northern-raised Inuit possess (linguistic and cultural knowledge that could define "authentic Inuitness") versus that of Southern-raised Inuit (the language, literacy, and social capital necessary for urban life) might

topic in Nunavut, Searles does, for example, also mention that “an urban Inuit identity is becoming less stigmatized” (2010: 163). Inuit in the South also demonstrate that being Inuit is not fixed and that (new) Inuit ways can, despite possible difficulties, develop in a southern city (see, for example, Kishigami 2006; Tomiak and Patrick 2010; Patrick et al. 2011). Based on their experiences in Ottawa Tomiak and Patrick (2010) explain that in southern cities “new forms of Inuitness emerge” (140), for which links between the North and the South are important (2010: 138-140).[37] In the Greenlandic context, Sørensen has shown that perceptions of Nuuk are also becoming (much) more positive (see, for example, Sørensen 2008: 132). Bjørst, who explains that Ann Fienup-Riordan came to the same conclusion almost twenty years earlier, concludes “it is quite possible to be Inuit and to live in a modern world” (Bjørst 2008: 114-115, my translation). Thisted has also discussed new images of Greenlanders (see, for example, Thisted 2012). In addition, informants in Denmark also indicated a (positive) change in relation to Danish perceptions. It seems that this change, which has already been manifested more clearly in the Greenlandic-Danish context, is also developing in the Canadian context. It can be expected that such developments eventually, in the course of time, will also lead to new images of Inuit in the South.

8.6 Conclusion

Inuit in southern Canada constitute a small minority. They live in the South for example for family reasons and in order to pursue an education themselves or for their children. While Canada is often seen as multicultural, the experiences of Inuit in the South are not very visible in this cultural diversity. The presence of Greenlanders in Denmark, who are not necessarily very visible either, does seem more apparent than the presence of Inuit in, for example, Edmonton. Various explanations for this difference in visibility can be given. While the Inuit language could be considered as a symbol of identity for both Canadian Inuit and Greenlanders, it manifested itself much more obviously in Denmark. In Edmonton several informants used English as their first language. Furthermore, when we follow official statistics more Greenlanders – people born in Greenland – live in Denmark than Inuit in southern

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create a boundary between community members, but the boundary is fluid and becomes more salient at certain times than others” (2011: 72).

[37] In this context Kishigami has also made interesting comments in several publications concerning relationships of Inuit in Montreal with Inuit friends instead of kin for example by stating that: “Unlike Inuit in the North, whose primary interactions and food sharing occur with kin, Montreal Inuit conduct most of their social interactions with other Inuit as coethnics. In other words ethnicity has become a substitute for kinship. Significantly, a new type of food sharing– that is, a regular feast organized by the recently established Montreal Inuit Association–has the potential to produce and reproduce social relationships within the Montreal Inuit community, based not on kinship but on friendship and the shared experience of living as an Inuk in Montreal” (2006: 215).

Canada. The presence of Greenlanders has also been noticeable for a longer time in Denmark, and a clear “Greenlandic infrastructure” has been established in Denmark.

To a certain degree these explanations are linked to different colonial histories, which have meant earlier contacts between Denmark and Greenland than between northern and southern Canada. Migration of Greenlanders to Denmark has taken place for longer than migration of Canadian Inuit to southern Canada. Greenlandic cultural societies in Denmark have already been in existence for several decades, while similar cultural societies seem first to have appeared much later in southern Canadian cities such as Montreal and Edmonton. In addition, the Greenlandic Houses in the four largest Danish cities offer stability in the network with initiatives for Greenlanders. Taken altogether, these combined initiatives and organizations enable a network to be maintained. An additional aspect that makes a network of Greenlanders and Greenlandic activities easier is the relative small size of Denmark. As a result a community of Greenlanders in Denmark is easier to realize and to manifest than a community of Inuit in southern Canada. The former can be and is stimulated on various occasions, which is less the case for the latter. In Canada, where notwithstanding the various initiatives in the South, it does seem to be more difficult to build such a network. This is also caused by the pan-Aboriginal approach. Inuit in Canada are one of three Aboriginal groups in Canada and as newcomers in the South they can become overlooked among the other Aboriginal groups.

The perception that Inuit belong in the North and not the South adds another dimension. In addition to the role Inuit women play in disseminating Inuit culture in both Edmonton and Denmark, this perception also shows a major similarity between Inuit in southern Canada and Greenlanders in Denmark. While changes might take place which positive experiences of Inuit living in southern cities can contribute to, the idea of an Inuk living in the South is still found to be questionable. This does not correspond with various Inuit experiences in the South, which, despite possible difficulties, demonstrate that many positive Inuit experiences can also be found outside the Arctic. In comparison with Greenlanders in Denmark, time seems a crucial element, since in the course of time more Inuit will be living in the Canadian South, and this will possibly result in a more extensive “Inuit infrastructure” in several Canadian cities and the coming into being of more positive images of Inuit in such cities.

9 Conclusion

In this book the focus has been on Greenlanders in Denmark. The last chapter offered a broader context by also looking at experiences of Inuit in southern Canada. I have presented various patterns which can be found when looking at the two groups of migrants, which have formed the basis for this study: Greenlanders in Denmark and Inuit in southern Canada. In this conclusion these patterns are presented once more and summarized. By including a Canadian perspective and comparing experiences between Inuit in Denmark and those in southern Canada, this qualitative study, in addition to discussing various aspects of migration, identity and perceptions related to Greenlanders in Denmark, also offers new comparative insights on Inuit outside the Arctic. Besides offering a better understanding for two different migration flows, this is also a step towards more integration of research traditions. Through my research I have found that in general a lot of anthropological/social scientific research about Greenlandic Inuit culture is published in Danish. As a result the information is not readily available. This book has also aimed to bridge this linguistic gap and connect research on Greenlandic and Canadian Inuit culture by referring extensively to both Danish and English literature and by discussing experiences of Greenlanders in Denmark in English and offering a comparative perspective by including Inuit in southern Canada.

While the research question as stated in the introduction of this work focuses on firstly how Greenlanders in Denmark manifest Greenlandic identity in Denmark themselves and secondly on how others represent Greenlandic identity in Denmark, the research question has been discussed in a broad way. The concepts of migration and identity have been key in this context. The first three chapters have explained the background (the questions, the theory, the methodology) of this book. Chapter 4 has presented a historical overview of relations between Denmark and Greenland in order to understand migration and mobility between the two areas. The following chapters focused on Greenlanders in Denmark by presenting numbers on migration (chapter 5), reasons for migration (chapter 6) and examples of identifications concerning Greenlanders in Denmark (chapter 7). Lastly experiences of other Inuit outside the Arctic, Inuit in southern Canada, have added a broader perspective on the research topic (chapter 8).

Before presenting the final conclusions, some last comments about the research and its reporting should be made. This qualitative study has aimed to offer various experiences, not just by comparing Greenlanders in Denmark and Inuit in southern Canada, but also by including various voices within these groups. For this study in which identitie<u>s</u> and perception<u>s</u> (note the plural!) play a central role, the diverse experiences have been fruitful. Diversity is central to this study. For these reasons the inclusion of experiences of return migrants has also been very

enlightening. In addition, combining Denmark and Canada has been useful in order to discover similarities and dissimilarities in specific contexts. It thereby lays bare whether certain aspects are specific to one group or another and can possibly help to predict future developments.

In order to gain further insight into such future developments, more research will of course be beneficial. Future publications could, for example, look into connections/networks between Greenlanders in Denmark and in Greenland, for example between families, and into interrelations in more detail. What role do such connections play for Greenlanders in Denmark? I hold that more research on the establishment and maintenance of networks will be worthwhile. Also, how do Greenlanders in Denmark, for example, relate to other ethnic groups in Denmark? And how do relations between Inuit in southern Canada and other Aboriginal peoples in Canada evolve? Such questions have not been focus points in this book. In relation to theory, another approach would be interesting to investigate in more detail. While the umbrella concept of mobility has been touched upon in this book and various forms of mobility can be pinpointed and are crucial in order to understand flows between Greenland and Denmark, the focus here has been on migration and identity. A more thorough investigation of various mobilities in, to and from Greenland, to lay bare the diverse connections between Greenland and Denmark would also be interesting. I would, though, argue that such an approach needs careful consideration in order not to become too generic by describing various flows as mobility, while more specific concepts can describe certain phenomena more precisely. Furthermore it is important to stress that Greenlanders in Denmark can be categorized into various groups and their diverse experiences can be compared to those of others, which include postcolonial migrants (see, for example, Oostindie 2010), migrants in (from) an Arctic context (see, for example, Huskey and Southcott 2010a) and indigenous migrants (see Yescas 2008). A thorough comparison with experiences of Inuit in southern Alaska and Inuit outside their original homeland in Russia would also be interesting. A following step would be to compare various experiences with those of other migrants. In a Dutch context it would be interesting to compare in more detail how, for example, experiences of postcolonial migrants in the Netherlands compare to those of Inuit outside the Arctic. Such diverse approaches can help to shed further light on various migration experiences.

The topics I will stress further in this conclusion, which in my view all constitute important key elements in order to understand the theme of this book, include the following items: housing, gender, perceptions, education, language, country food/nature, relational ties, children, informal networks, cultural capital, postcolonial bonus and various migration patterns. These aspects form some of the main aspects of what I found during the research process. They contribute to the understanding of various migration experiences of Inuit. For now, based on what has been presented

it this book, and in order to answer the main research question, it can be concluded that Greenlandic identity in Denmark is manifested on various occasions and through various aspects. The latter include the Greenlandic language and Greenlandic food, which will be further discussed below. While possibilities to manifest Greenlandic identity, which also seems appreciated by Greenlanders in Denmark, do exist, these are limited and include for example specific Greenlandic events in Denmark or other activities where Greenlanders meet. As a consequence some "traditional" Greenlandic symbols of identity become precious and take on special significance.

This book has also scrutinized relations between Greenland and Denmark and presented continued relations as an explanation of migration flows between them. In this context the migration of Greenlanders to Denmark has been the focus, but other flows – for example, Greenlanders returning to Greenland – should not be overlooked. Clearly not all Greenlanders move to Denmark in order to stay there for always. "Return" migration to Denmark is a flow to take into consideration as well. People may return to Greenland and may later move to Denmark again. It is important to realize that the migration is not an one-way movement to Denmark. At the same time it is also important to stress that clearly not all Greenlanders prefer living in Denmark. People have enough reasons to prefer to stay in/to return to Greenland, which I argue are important to consider when discussing "flugten fra Grønland" [the flight from Greenland] (see, for example, Mølgaard 2013). It helps to understand what aspects of Greenland people appreciate the most and of these Greenland's nature constitutes an important element, while housing can be an element which both hampers (being afraid of losing your house in Greenland as an informant explained) and trigger (expecting to get a house easily in Denmark) migration. On the other hand, others move to Denmark and do not plan on moving back. Denmark has become their preferred place of residence. Both elements are important in order to acknowledge diversity in migration flows. Additional migration flows to be included constitute movements of Danes and people of other nationalities to Greenland. Such flows can also be of interest for future developments in Greenland.

Migration to Denmark by Greenlanders is clearly not just a phenomenon of the last couple of years. While the migration mainly occurred after the Second World War, Greenlanders have been going to Denmark for a much longer time. In chapter 5 I refer to migration of Greenlanders in the 19th century and even before then there were Greenlanders in Denmark. Statistics indicate that today about 15,000 people born in Greenland live in Denmark. The numbers also indicate that more women than men born in Greenland live in Denmark (Statistics Denmark 2014a). Recording migration reasons can be complex as people might have several reasons to move. In addition the reasons for moving given by my informants indicate that both disjunction and continuation can be at stake (Amit 2002; 2012). A constant,

important factor for moving to Denmark is education. Greenlanders have been going to Denmark, for example, to learn Danish. Several of my informants indicated that they chose to leave Greenland and move to Denmark for educational purposes. Some migrants move in order to pursue an education themselves, others move for the education of their children. The latter reason, for the children, can also express dissatisfaction with the education in Greenland. Denmark in this view offers children better possibilities. This can also explain why Denmark can be considered the country of possibilities. It demonstrates a very positive perception of Denmark.

Relational ties also constitute a clear reason to move to Denmark. Many of those Greenlanders living in Denmark have moved there because of a Danish partner or family in Denmark. Due to the historical connections between Denmark and Greenland, people have intermarried and connections across the ocean have come into being. Again this is not a new phenomenon, Greenlanders and Danes have been in touch for centuries. Having a Danish partner as a reason to move to Denmark is therefore not surprising. It should be added that not only having a Danish partner is a reason to move, but that relational ties should be considered in a broader way. People may, for example, also move because one of their children has moved to Denmark or because another family member lives in Denmark. These relational connections are crucial for understanding migration to Denmark.

Having relations in Denmark can mean that new migrants have a ready-made entrance to their new environment. Having family in Denmark before moving there, can, for example, help a newcomer concerning housing. Some Greenlanders spend the first period in Denmark in the house of a relative. Social networks – for example, based on relatives in Denmark – can also be considered as paths (Abu-Lughod 1991: 318), which constitute the relational context in which the movement from Greenland to Denmark occurs. Related to this topic is the importance of informal networks. Such networks help newcomers to get settled in Denmark. They can provide access to important information needed by a newcomer in Denmark. Experiences in Denmark also depend on these networks as negative networks can, for example, entail negative experiences in Denmark. In addition, these informal networks can also trigger migration. The impact of migration on the place of origin through "social remittances" (as defined by Levitt 1998a: 76 in Brettell 2008: 135) has also been discussed. In this context the concept of "the migratory process" (Castles and Miller 2009: 21) is of interest as it makes one understand that the movement of a person from Greenland to Denmark is not just of impact on that specific person, but also on this person's wider network. When certain positive information is passed on from Denmark to Greenland, it can result in people considering moving as well. Positive imaginations, seeing Denmark as the country of possibilities, can turn Denmark into their new home or temporary place of residence.

Positive thoughts about Denmark are not uncommon among Greenlanders in Denmark either, and the importance of feelings of attachment to Denmark and not

planning on moving back to Greenland also appeared in the extensive research on mobility in a Greenlandic context (see, for example, Rasmussen 2010). This research has also been discussed in this book in order to present a counter image to stereotypical views of Greenlanders in Denmark, which I will summarize below. The fact that such research is being conducted also demonstrates the topicality of this issue. Various reports make clear that for future development in Greenland Greenlanders now in Denmark might also be of interest in order to enhance further development (see, for example, Rasmussen 2010; NAGDP 2011a, 2011b). These have researched whether Greenlanders in Denmark can and wish to contribute to the future of Greenland. While this approach to Greenlanders in Denmark is interesting, as it highlights the positive aspects of this group in Denmark, I argue that it can also contribute to the idea that Greenlanders in Denmark do not really belong in Denmark. As also becomes manifest in these studies, many Greenlanders have settled in Denmark, want to stay there and are therefore not potential return migrants.

In the discussion of (possible) migration flows, the perception of Denmark by (potential) Greenlandic migrants should also be included. While differences between Greenland and Denmark and Greenlandic and Danish culture are apparent, through time some differences have become less important. What becomes clear is that Denmark is not always considered to be a totally different country, unknown to Greenlanders. On the contrary, in many ways they have established connections with Denmark, for example, as presented above through family networks. But this also occurs through education/the school system, which partially takes place in Danish. As a consequence, differences between Denmark and Greenland are not always emphasized, as Togeby also indicates specifically in relation to Greenlandic and Danish identity among Greenlanders in Denmark (Togeby 2002: 153). I hold that it is important to stress that Denmark is clearly not (solely) seen in negative ways in Greenland either. Discussions with young people in Greenland taught me that Denmark can be present – in various ways – in their lives too. It is this connection, which has come into existence through the colonial past, that also explains migration flows between Greenland and Denmark. Through the relationship Greenlanders can also identify with Denmark. In this book the relationship between Greenland and Denmark has been central, but it is important to notice that in recent times the connection between Greenland and globalization has also been highlighted. However, the relationship between Greenland and Denmark is of course still of interest in order to understand flows between them. The longstanding relationship between Greenland and Denmark means that moving to Denmark is not necessarily perceived as a big step. While migration is considered as a “disruptive event” (Gmelch 1992 in Brettell 2003: 27), this relationship can also help to understand how in a Greenlandic context moving to Denmark might be a rather logical step.

When moving to Denmark is not seen as a major step, which does not mean that settling in Denmark is necessarily considered to be easy, the concept of mobility is interesting to employ in the context of Greenlanders moving to Denmark – and Inuit moving to southern Canada. I argue that mobility, besides encompassing more flows/movements, is also a more subtle concept than that of migration, which has a more disruptive connotation. Mobility, on the contrary, stresses more the naturalness of people, things and ideas being on the move. As such one could argue that referring to informants in this book as mobile people instead of migrants is more logical. The latter emphasizes more the situation of an outsider, a person not from the location where he/she is living, yet as I noticed many informants preferred to stay in Denmark. The term migrant also seems rather bound to the physical movement from one place to another. In addition, Greenlanders in Denmark and Inuit in southern Canada will hardly consider themselves to be/define themselves as migrants. A mobile person, on the other hand, makes use of the possibility to live different places. In addition, mobility also encompasses the movements of ideas as explained by Urry (2007), which is important for understanding relations/movements between Greenland and Denmark and mobility also reflects the back and forth movements by some people. Such movers constitute very mobile people. To conclude I argue that both concepts are useful in order to understand movements between Greenland and Denmark, northern and southern Canada and also other regions in the world. But the fact that migration is central to this book relates to the focus on 1) the movement of people and not on other flows, which, however, can be important in order to understand "the" migration and to some extent have been touched upon here, and 2) the form of movement, which encompasses mainly more long-term instead of short stays outside the place of origin. As such migration becomes more specific than mobility.

In this book migration to Denmark has also been illuminated through the concept of the "postcolonial bonus" (Oostindie 2010). It is through the colonial past that Greenlanders have certain advantages compared to (other) migrants in Denmark, owing to the fact that Greenland is part of the Kingdom of Denmark, for which reason people can move between the areas freely, and that Greenlanders already have a certain knowledge of Denmark and the Danish language, which can be beneficial when moving there. At the same time, as mentioned in sources referred to in this book, it also shows that their Danish citizenship can mean that certain assistance offered to other migrants does not reach Greenlanders in Denmark, which indicates that their Danish citizenship – and postcolonial bonus – in certain contexts can turn out disadvantageously. Nonetheless it cannot be denied that Greenlanders have a certain cultural capital related to Denmark, knowledge of their country of destination, which can be useful when settling down.

While certain cultural capital is clearly shared with Danes, such as the Danish language, and boundaries between Greenlanders and Danes do not always have to

be emphasized, when in Denmark certain aspects of identity which relate to Greenland can become – continue to be – important. In chapter 7 I have presented the importance of the Greenlandic language, relations to Greenlandic nature and food, networks and the role of perceptions. The latter has been important in order to scrutinize relations between various groups, in this case first and foremost between Greenlanders and Danes. As Jenkins explains internal and external identification together shape identity (Jenkins 2011: 3). Discussions on perceptions of Greenlanders and of Greenlanders in Denmark are definitely not new. Stereotypical views of Greenlanders in Denmark often focus on problems. Greenlanders in Denmark have diverse experiences in Denmark, but perceptions often indicate negative ones. It is a view which contrasts sharply with what others also have discussed, the positive image of Greenland, which is mostly based on its nature. In general, it seems that the external identification focuses on Greenland's nature on the one hand, and problems in relation to alcohol on the other. The former is positive, the latter negative. In addition, internal negative views of Greenlanders in Denmark also exist. Greenlandic internal identifications are however also demonstrated through aspects such as language, food/nature and relations. Thus Greenlandic internal identifications demonstrate positive flows of Greenlandic culture in Denmark, but these aspects of Greenlandic identity are not always very visible. External identifications do not demonstrate a clear awareness of such aspects.

This perception can in fact be related to the discussion between rural and urban, which has been discussed in both the Canadian and Greenlandic context. Literature shows that during the centralization of Greenland, Inuit culture was not considered to prosper in towns but in settlements. Moreover, in very general terms Inuit living in towns/cities are still not always considered to be examples of what Inuit are supposed to be (see, for example, Searles 2010). Those leaving the Arctic (whether Greenland or northern Canada) might even be considered to be taking another step away from what is considered the best place for Inuit culture to thrive (see, for example, Sørensen (1993) for Greenland; in relation to Canada see, for example, Tomiak and Patrick 2010). For this reason it is important to include self-perceptions. They show diverse and flexible Greenlandic identifications in Denmark and thus demonstrate power among this migrant group. Ascription and self-ascription clearly do not always correspond. In Denmark – and in southern Canada – several indications of thriving forms of Inuit culture and/or attempts to make Inuit culture thrive can be found, which show that resilience and continuation also apply in this 'new' context. While a focus on problems might exist, positive experiences are really not exceptional but might still be rather unknown to the wider public.

In this book aspects are identified which several of the people I interviewed use to construct Greenlandic identities while in Denmark. Greenlandic cultural identity is reproduced through various aspects including the Greenlandic language, social networks and country food. These concern aspects which (may) clearly mark a

difference between Danish culture and Greenlandic culture. Such aspects of Greenlandic identity show more obviously in certain contexts, for example, when together with other Greenlanders. However, marking a difference between Danish and Greenlandic culture is not necessarily always important, and Danish aspects of identity, for example, the Danish language, can be employed just as well. Several Greenlanders indicated they still really wanted to eat Greenlandic food and several people get sent food from relatives/friends in Greenland. It is one of the clearest examples of a transnational flow, besides the sharing of information through informal networks, taking place between Greenlanders in Greenland and Greenlanders in Denmark. This food, once in Denmark, can be a means to maintain contacts with fellow countrymen in Denmark. Related to the food is the Greenlandic natural environment which provides it. In various interviews nature was a clear aspect which informants living in Denmark missed. The Greenlandic language is another important aspect which contributes to the construction of Greenlandic identity in a Danish context. It is another clear example of an aspect that differentiates its users (speakers) from the majority in Denmark. In fact using the Greenlandic language can be considered a bonus as many Greenlanders also use Danish. Greenlandic then is used in contact with other Greenlanders in Denmark and Greenland. Often the language is considered to be a very important aspect of identity by the speakers themselves who frequently consider the fact that they speak Greenlandic as a reason to call themselves Greenlanders. However, it should be noted that not everyone who identifies as being a Greenlander necessarily has a command of Greenlandic, which also relates to the (historical) role of Danish in Greenland, and that therefore a personal Greenlandic identity does not have to depend on language. Networks form the means to construct Greenlandic identity in a Danish context. Through various networks, which include Greenlandic events and contacts with other Greenlanders on a smaller scale, the aspects of identity become reconstructed.

I argue that these aspects of identity, which are used as markers of Greenlandic identity, and their presence, use and highlighting at certain times in Denmark and among certain Greenlanders in Denmark, are important as they provide a counter image to the public discourse which often focuses on socio-economic aspects/social problems. The perceptional dichotomy of a spectacular Greenlandic nature on the one hand and Greenlandic culture in Denmark in decay on the other neglects the expressions of Greenlandic identifications which do not support the prevalent image. It shows that in the course of time both insiders and outsiders have represented Inuit/Greenlandic culture in traditional ways. As discussed in this book, and in line with other work referred to on Greenlandic/Inuit culture more generally, such representation can therefore occur both in internal and external identifications. This is probably also what makes it difficult to change this image as it is believed to be true – at least to some extent – among (some) insiders and outsiders. It is also this aspect which can be found among both Greenlanders in

Denmark and Inuit in southern Canada. The latter group too deals with the issue of both negative internal and external identification, while this is demonstrably not the whole picture. However, more varied and positive experiences are not always taken into account. Nonetheless, changes have been noticed in relation to this topic, which are important to be aware of, but it remains a topical issue.

When comparing Greenlanders in Denmark and Inuit in southern Canada another similarity relates to gender. Various Greenlandic women in Denmark and Inuit women in southern Canada are involved in showcasing and "maintaining" Greenlandic/Inuit culture. This does not mean that men are not involved, but the role of women in this context should not be overlooked. Recently concerns about women leaving the Arctic have been expressed. The out-migration of women from the Arctic is a hot topic. In this context it should be noted that women are not only important for the Arctic, but also for continuity among those who choose to settle in Denmark – or southern Canada. They seem important for "keeping alive" Inuit culture in the new context. The presence of Inuit women in Denmark and southern Canada can contribute to the continuation of certain aspects of Inuit culture outside the Arctic. In addition, this finding is also of interest as a counter image to (negative) stereotypical views of Greenlanders in Denmark.

While additional similarities between Greenlanders in Denmark and Inuit in southern Canada can be found in reasons for leaving the Arctic, which, for example, include educational purposes, medical treatment and relational ties, important differences can also be identified when comparing their experiences. Whereas Denmark is relatively small and therefore offers the possibility for Greenlanders to meet each other, and organize events, across the country, Canada's size makes similar meetings between Inuit in the South more difficult. It will be difficult to organize an Inuit event in one specific location in southern Canada and have Inuit gather from various locations spread across the South. The migration of Inuit to southern Canada is also a more recent phenomenon than the migration of Greenlanders to Denmark. This can also be explained by the relative isolation of northern Canada until about the 1950s. Before that time some Greenlanders did already go to Denmark. Migration of Inuit to southern Canada occurred much later. This also explains differences in organization of Greenlanders in Denmark and Inuit in southern Canada. Generally speaking, and here I should stress that my view is largely based on my experiences in Edmonton, the latter (still) seem less organized than the former, who dispose of what I have referred to as a "Greenlandic infrastructure" in Denmark, including, for example, Greenlandic cultural societies, which have already been around for several decades. As a consequence one could argue that there is a history of Greenlanders in Denmark. In southern Canada such societies were established much later. A similar history is therefore absent in the Canadian context. The relative smallness and the higher number of countrymen in Denmark can also be seen as reasons why, even though it is not always easy,

Greenlandic societies/events are more easily maintained in Denmark than in Canada.

Another difference concerns the presence of three indigenous groups in Canada, while Greenlanders are the only indigenous group in the Kingdom of Denmark. In southern Canada, Inuit, as a relatively small group, sometimes have to compete with the other two much larger groups, First Nations and Métis, for example in relation to obtaining funding. In addition, the pan-Aboriginal approach also overlooks differences between Aboriginal peoples in Canada, who thus are sometimes perceived as one group. While the funding question can cause difficulties in continuing initiatives for Inuit in the South, the perceptional question can be used to understand why Inuit in southern Canada constitute a rather unknown group. In addition to the idea that Inuit belong in the North and not in a southern Canadian city, the relatively small number of Inuit in the South can mean that they become less visible and are overshadowed by the other two indigenous groups. While Greenlanders in Denmark are also a rather unknown minority group in Denmark, this seems to be even more the case for Inuit in southern Canada, who in comparison to Greenlanders in Denmark lack a longer exchange with the South, where they have been building their networks and showing forms of Inuit culture since only more recent times than Greenlanders in Denmark.

Another important difference between Greenlanders in Denmark and Inuit in southern Canada concerns language use. Based on my experiences in Edmonton, I noticed that English is used a lot among Inuit as a first language. In Denmark more people spoke Greenlandic. This difference is not solely based on their specific location in the South, but also reflects the actual situation in the North. While Greenlandic is used by a large proportion of the Greenlandic population, a relatively smaller proportion of the Inuit in northern Canada use an Inuit language (see, for example, Dorais 2010). When one considers the linguistic situation and observes the use of English as the first language among Inuit in Canada, this could be interpreted as a sign of greater assimilation/integration in the Canadian context. As such differences do not only indicate differences in the experiences of Greenlanders in Denmark and Inuit in southern Canada, but also reflect broader differences between Greenland and northern Canada in general. Relations between the North and South and differing colonial histories (between Greenland and Denmark on the one hand, and between northern and southern Canada on the other) are also manifested in a new context, the destination of the migrants. It underscores the importance of looking at the broader context when looking into experiences at the place of destination.

In the course of time, Greenlanders/Inuit have moved to Denmark and southern Canada, where many have settled and plan to stay. When looking at experiences of Greenlanders in Denmark and Inuit in southern Canada it becomes apparent that they have followed various paths in establishing themselves at the place of

destination. Some settled a long time ago, for others the process has just started. In this process identities are reestablished at the place of residence. Certain aspects of Inuit identity can be reaffirmed, which definitely does not mean that this cannot go together with Danish or southern Canadian aspects. A question which remains is whether continuous flows entail (further) change in perceptions. In the case of Greenlanders in Denmark it is clear that ignorance about Greenlanders has been identified as an issue in earlier research on Greenlanders in Denmark and specific ways of seeing Greenlandic/Inuit culture and ignorance about Inuit culture to a certain degree continue to be an issue. In the course of time various researchers have discussed perceptions of Inuit, also in the South, and thus added to discussions on perceptions. In this context it is also important to notice that change in relation to perceptions, including increased awareness of Greenlandic/Inuit culture, has been experienced as well. In this book diverse experiences have been included. A better awareness of such diversity and various manifestations of Inuit culture and identity – in this book represented through Greenlanders and Canadian Inuit – outside of what is often perceived as where Inuit culture belongs, can result in more nuanced perceptions of both Inuit generally and Inuit outside the Arctic specifically.

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Nederlandse samenvatting

Inuit buiten het Arctisch gebied
Migratie, identiteit en beeldvorming

Dit boek presenteert ervaringen van Inuit buiten het Arctisch gebied. De nadruk ligt op ervaringen van Groenlandse Inuit/Groenlanders in Denemarken. Tevens wordt er aandacht besteed aan ervaringen van Inuit in Zuid-Canada, waardoor er ook een vergelijkend perspectief op Inuit buiten het Arctisch gebied geboden wordt.

In 2009 verwierf Groenland een grotere vorm van zelfbestuur, maar het land maakt nog steeds deel uit van het Koninkrijk van Denemarken. Groenlanders zijn Deense staatsburgers en kunnen daarom onbeperkt reizen van Groenland naar Denemarken en terug. Aangezien Groenlanders Deense staatsburgers zijn, is het exacte aantal Groenlanders in Denemarken moeilijk vast te stellen. Cijfers van *Danmarks Statistik* geven aan hoeveel mensen er in Denemarken wonen die geboren zijn in Groenland. Per 1 januari 2014 ging het om ongeveer 15.000 personen. Er worden evenwel verschillende definities gebruikt bij het vaststellen van het aantal Groenlanders in Denemarken en hierdoor verschillen de cijfers nogal. Dit boek is echter gebaseerd op kwalitatief onderzoek, waarvoor zelfidentificatie is gehanteerd om informanten voor het onderzoek te werven.

Voor dit onderzoek is gebruikgemaakt van bestaande theorieën op het gebied van identiteit (bijvoorbeeld Barth (1969); Jenkins (2011)) en migratie (bijvoorbeeld Vertovec (2007)). In dit boek is het idee dat identiteit afhankelijk is van de eigen perceptie en die van anderen en de veranderlijkheid van identiteit, benadrukt. Migratie wordt beschouwd als de verhuizing van één plek naar een andere evenals het proces van het vestigen op de nieuwe plek. Mobiliteit en transnationalisme zijn meegenomen als actuele termen die tot op zekere hoogte inzicht bieden in de migratie zoals beschreven in dit boek. Het begrip “de postkoloniale bonus” (Oostindie 2010) is toegepast om inzicht te krijgen in de relatie tussen Groenland en Denemarken en in ervaringen van Groenlanders in Denemarken. Dit begrip gaat ervan uit dat migranten uit voormalige koloniën bepaalde voordelen ondervinden ten opzichte van bepaalde andere migranten wanneer zij naar het land van de voormalige kolonisator verhuisden/verhuizen, bijvoorbeeld vanwege kennis van de taal en cultuur van het land van bestemming.

De centrale vraag in dit boek luidt: Hoe wordt Groenlandse identiteit door Groenlanders in Denemarken zelf naar voren gebracht en hoe wordt Groenlandse identiteit in Denemarken door anderen gepercipieerd? Om een antwoord te kunnen geven op deze vraag, zijn meerdere subvragen geformuleerd, waaronder de vragen

waarom mijn informanten naar Denemarken zijn verhuisd, welke Groenlandse identificaties bijdragen aan het begrijpen van Groenlandse ervaringen in Denemarken en welke rol verschillende identificaties spelen voor Groenlanders in Denemarken.

Voor het onderzoek is antropologisch veldwerk verricht in Denemarken, Groenland en Canada. Tijdens het veldwerk zijn verschillende informanten geïnterviewd zoals 1) Groenlanders in Denemarken/Inuit in Zuid-Canada; 2) Groenlanders in Groenland (inclusief remigranten) en 3) Representanten van verschillende organisaties die een rol spelen in dit proces van migratie. Zowel in Denemarken als Groenland is ook een aantal groepsinterviews afgenomen. Deze interviews boden onder meer de mogelijkheid om ideeën over en/of ervaringen met migratie van meerdere personen tegelijkertijd te horen. In Denemarken omvatte dit groepsinterviews met leden van Groenlandse verenigingen en een afname van vragen bij een klas op een middelbare school. In Groenland vonden vier groepsinterviews plaats met leerlingen/studenten. Op basis van het veldwerk en diverse andere bronnen wordt in dit boek over Inuit buiten het Arctisch gebied ingegaan op de hoofdthema's migratie, identiteit en beeldvorming.

Groenland en Denemarken: relaties en identificaties in de loop van de tijd

Tussen Groenland en Denemarken bestaan vele banden. Dat geldt ook voor de recentere periode in de relatie tussen Groenland en Denemarken. Dit is onder meer duidelijk te merken aan het gebruik van de Deense taal in verschillende contexten in Groenland en het onderwijs, waarbij bepaalde kennis over Denemarken overgedragen wordt aan nieuwe generaties. Het onderzoek laat zien dat informanten niet per se een scherp onderscheid maken tussen Denemarken en Groenland. De relatie tussen Groenland en Denemarken wordt duidelijk niet alleen als negatief ervaren. Denemarken is vaak de plek waar men familie heeft wonen en wordt ook gezien als een plek met onderwijsmogelijkheden.

Ondanks de dekolonisatie, zijn verschillende identificaties met Denemarken niet verdwenen. Hoewel begrippen van wij en zij door Deense invloeden in Groenland in de jaren vijftig, zestig en zeventig van de vorige eeuw scherper waren, heeft in de loop van de tijd specifiek cultureel kapitaal ook gezorgd voor banden tussen Groenland en Denemarken. Dit cultureel kapitaal maakt het voor Groenlanders mogelijk om zich te identificeren met Denemarken en indien zij naar Denemarken verhuizen, wordt dit cultureel kapitaal hun postkoloniale bonus. Kennis van de Deense taal vormt hier een duidelijk voorbeeld van.

Verhuizen naar Denemarken: migratieredenen, diversiteit en ervaringen

Onderwijs en een Deense partner/relationele banden zijn zeer belangrijke redenen voor Groenlanders om naar Denemarken te verhuizen. Men verhuist bijvoorbeeld voor onderwijs voor zichzelf of voor dat van de kinderen. Andere redenen om naar Denemarken te verhuizen zijn medische zorg, pensionering en ontevredenheid over bepaalde elementen in de Groenlandse samenleving. Het is heel waarschijnlijk dat een migrant meerdere redenen heeft om naar Denemarken te gaan. *Disjunctie* en *continuering* (Amit 2002, 2012) kunnen beide een rol spelen in dit proces. Gesteld kan worden dat niet alleen migratieredenen divers zijn, maar ook de ervaringen van Groenlanders in Denemarken.

De tendens onder (jonge) Groenlanders om onvoorbereid naar Denemarken te verhuizen, heeft recentelijk tot bezorgdheid geleid. Mijn informanten waren ook niet per se allemaal uitgebreid voorbereid op hun verhuizing naar Denemarken. Als een belangrijke verklaring hiervoor kan worden aangegeven dat Denemarken niet (beschouwd wordt als) een totaal vreemd land is. Mensen voelen een bepaalde connectie met Denemarken. Hierdoor wordt een verhuizing naar Denemarken ook niet per se gezien als een enorme stap. Dit betekent niet dat de migratie voor iedereen gemakkelijk en zonder problemen is. Groenlanders hebben echter meerdere mogelijkheden om hun weg in Denemarken te vinden. Instanties als de Groenlandse Huizen in Denemarken, waar Groenlanders advies kunnen krijgen over wonen in Denemarken, en verschillende initiatieven voor Groenlanders in Denemarken kunnen hierin een belangrijke rol spelen. De informele kanalen zijn in dit kader ook zeer belangrijk. Familie of vrienden in Denemarken betekenen veel voor nieuwkomers. In dit kader is het ook interessant om de sociale netwerken van Groenlanders te beschouwen als paden (Abu-Lughod 1991: 318) die zij gebruiken bij hun migratie.

In mijn ogen blijft migratie een belangrijk element om de Groenlandse samenleving te begrijpen. Sommige mensen vertrekken uit Groenland, terwijl anderen weer terugkeren. Zowel migratie als retourmigratie komt voor. Sommige mensen verhuizen meerdere malen tussen Groenland en Denemarken. Een goed inzicht in de diverse migratiestromen kan helpen om migratie naar Denemarken beter te doorgronden.

Identiteitskwesties: Groenlanders in Denemarken door verschillende ogen

Groenlanders in Denemarken zijn een diverse groep van mensen. Voor dit kwalitatieve onderzoek is er contact geweest met een klein deel van de hele groep. In het proces van identiteitsvorming spelen zowel interne als externe identificatie een rol (Jenkins 2011: 3). Geconcludeerd kan worden dat onwetendheid over Groenland en Groenlanders nog steeds een rol speelt in Denemarken. Het negatieve beeld van

Groenlanders in Denemarken is ook niet verdwenen. Veranderingen op dit vlak moeten echter niet over het hoofd gezien worden. Hoewel veranderingen genoemd en ervaren worden door Groenlanders, kan een continuïteit op dit vlak ook opgemerkt worden. De beeldvorming betreft overigens niet alleen Deense percepties over Groenlanders in Denemarken. Ook percepties van Groenlanders in Groenland en Groenlanders in Denemarken over hun landgenoten in Denemarken spelen een rol. Dergelijke beelden kunnen bijdragen aan het aangeven van verschillen binnen etnische groepen.

Het onderzoek toont aan dat externe percepties invloed hebben op eigen percepties. Sommige migranten gaven aan dat zij zich op een bepaalde manier gedroegen om niet te voldoen aan het stereotype beeld. Vanwege de negatieve invloed van externe percepties, is het zeer belangrijk om ook aandacht te besteden aan interne identificaties. De Groenlandse taal, Groenlands voedsel, Groenlandse natuur en Groenlandse netwerken in Denemarken zijn van belang voor het behouden van Groenlandse identiteit in Denemarken. Deze identificaties kunnen op bepaalde momenten benadrukt worden, terwijl op andere momenten bijvoorbeeld meer Deense identiteitselementen toegepast kunnen worden. In de meer Groenlands georiënteerde kaders in Denemarken is het makkelijker om bepaalde aspecten van Groenlandse identiteit te uiten. Hoewel het niet altijd gemakkelijk is om dergelijke aspecten te behouden in een met name Deense context, zijn het wel elementen die juist een ander beeld bieden dan de stereotype beelden. De rol van Groenlandse vrouwen die bijdragen om verbonden te blijven met de Groenlandse cultuur, is een voorbeeld van een positief beeld van Groenlandse ervaringen in Denemarken.

Inuit in Zuid-Canada: een vergelijkend perspectief op Inuit buiten het Arctisch gebied

Om ervaringen van Groenlanders in Denemarken in een breder perspectief te kunnen plaatsen, is er voor dit onderzoek ook gekeken naar ervaringen van Inuit in Zuid-Canada. Hiervoor is veldwerk verricht in Edmonton. Inuit in het zuiden van Canada vormen een kleine minderheid. Zij wonen daar onder meer vanwege familieredenen of voor het onderwijs voor zichzelf of dat van hun kinderen. Hoewel Canada vaak gezien wordt als een multicultureel land, zijn de ervaringen van Inuit in Zuid-Canada nauwelijks zichtbaar binnen deze culturele diversiteit. De aanwezigheid van Groenlanders in Denemarken, die ook niet heel zichtbaar zijn, lijkt duidelijker dan de aanwezigheid van bijvoorbeeld Inuit in Edmonton. Hiervoor kunnen meerdere verklaringen worden gegeven. De Inuit taal wordt vaak gezien als een belangrijk symbool en bindend element voor zowel Canadese Inuit als Groenlanders. De taal was echter veel duidelijker aanwezig in Denemarken. In Edmonton gebruikten meerdere informanten Engels als hun eerste taal. Tevens, als we de officiële statistieken volgen, gebaseerd op het aantal personen geboren in Groenland

woonachtig in Denemarken, wonen er meer Groenlanders in Denemarken dan Inuit in Zuid-Canada. De aanwezigheid van Groenlanders in Denemarken is ook al langer zichtbaar, wat bijvoorbeeld duidelijk wordt door de oprichting van een duidelijke “Groenlandse infrastructuur” in Denemarken.

Tot op zekere hoogte hangen deze verklaringen samen met verschillende koloniale verledens, waardoor er eerder contact was tussen Denemarken en Groenland dan tussen Noord- en Zuid-Canada. Migratie van Groenlanders naar Denemarken vindt al langer plaats dan migratie van Canadese Inuit naar Zuid-Canada. Groenlandse culturele verenigingen in Denemarken bestaan al meerdere decennia, terwijl soortgelijke culturele verenigingen pas veel later in Canadese steden zoals Montreal en Edmonton zijn ontstaan. In Denemarken bestaan tevens de Groenlandse Huizen in de vier grootste steden, die het netwerk voor Groenlanders in Denemarken stabiliteit bieden. Door de relatief korte afstanden in Denemarken is het netwerk van Groenlanders in Denemarken ook gemakkelijker te realiseren. Zo wordt het gemakkelijker om een gemeenschap van Groenlanders in Denemarken te realiseren en tonen dan een gemeenschap van Inuit in Zuid-Canada. In Zuid-Canada, waar wel verschillende initiatieven voor Inuit bestaan, lijkt het wel lastiger om een dergelijk netwerk op te bouwen, wat onder meer ook veroorzaakt wordt door de pan-inheemse benadering. Inuit zijn één van de drie inheemse groepen in Canada en door hun relatief recente aanwezigheid in het Zuiden, kan het voorkomen dat zij over het hoofd worden gezien tussen de andere inheemse groepen.

Het idee dat Inuit in het Noorden thuishoren en niet in het Zuiden, is in dit kader ook van belang. Naast de rol die vrouwen spelen in het overbrengen van Inuit cultuur in het Zuiden, is het dit aspect dat een grote overeenkomst laat zien tussen Inuit in Zuid-Canada en Groenlanders in Denemarken. Hoewel veranderingen plaats kunnen vinden, waar positieve ervaringen van Inuit die in steden in het Zuiden wonen, aan bij kunnen dragen, wordt het idee van een Inuk in het Zuiden (buiten het Arctisch gebied) nog steeds in twijfel getrokken. Dit komt echter niet overeen met ervaringen van verschillende Inuit in het Zuiden, die, ondanks mogelijke moeilijkheden, aantonen dat er ook vele positieve ervaringen van Inuit buiten het Arctisch gebied zijn. In vergelijking met Groenlanders in Denemarken, lijkt tijd een cruciaal element. In de toekomst zullen meer Inuit in het zuiden van Canada wonen, wat mogelijk kan bijdragen aan een uitgebreidere “Inuit infrastructuur” in meerdere Canadese steden en het ontstaan van meer positieve beelden van Inuit in steden.

In de loop van de tijd zijn Groenlanders naar Denemarken en Inuit naar Zuid-Canada verhuisd, waar meerdere zich gevestigd hebben en van plan zijn om te blijven. Een vergelijking van hun ervaringen laat zien dat Groenlanders in Denemarken en Inuit in Zuid-Canada zich op verschillende manieren hebben gevestigd op hun plek van bestemming. Sommigen vestigden zich al lang geleden, voor anderen is het net

begonnen. In dit proces worden identiteiten opnieuw gecreëerd op de verblijfplaats. Bepaalde identiteitsaspecten van Inuit cultuur/etniciteit kunnen hier herbevestigd worden, wat zeker niet betekent dat deze ontwikkeling niet samengaat met Deense of Zuid-Canadese identiteitsaspecten. Het blijft de vraag of aanhoudende migratie een (verdere) verandering van percepties tot gevolg kan hebben. Wat betreft Groenlanders in Denemarken blijkt dat ook in eerdere onderzoeken de onwetendheid over Groenlanders al opgemerkt is. Specifieke beeldvorming over Inuit cultuur en onwetendheid over Inuit cultuur zijn niet verdwenen. In de loop van de tijd hebben verschillende onderzoekers percepties over Inuit, ook in het Zuiden, bediscussieerd en zo bijgedragen aan de discussies over percepties. In dit kader is het ook belangrijk om op te merken dat veranderingen wat betreft percepties, inclusief groeiende bekendheid met Groenlandse/Inuit cultuur, ook ervaren worden. In dit boek zijn verschillende ervaringen opgenomen. Een betere bekendheid met dergelijke diversiteit en verschillende uitingen van Inuit cultuur en identiteit – in dit boek gerepresenteerd door Groenlanders en Canadese Inuit – buiten de context dan die vaak beschouwd wordt als waar Inuit cultuur thuishoort, kan leiden tot meer genuanceerde percepties over Inuit in het algemeen en over Inuit buiten het Arctisch gebied in het bijzonder.

Dansk resumé

Inuit uden for det arktiske område
Migration, identitet og opfattelser

Denne bog præsenterer inuits erfaringer uden for det arktiske område. Bogen fokuserer på grønlandske inuit/grønlændere i Danmark. Desuden behandles også erfaringer hos inuit i Sydcanada, således at der også præsenteres et sammenlignende perspektiv på inuit uden for det arktiske område.

I 2009 indførtes selvstyre i Grønland, men landet udgør stadig en del af Kongeriget Danmark. Grønlændere er danske statsborgere, og de kan derfor rejse ubegrænset mellem Grønland og Danmark. Eftersom grønlændere er danske statsborgere, er det svært at vurdere det præcise antal af grønlændere i Danmark. Tal fra *Danmarks Statistik* viser, hvor mange mennesker der bor i Danmark men er født i Grønland. Per første januar 2014 drejede det sig om cirka 15.000 personer. Der bruges dog forskellige definitioner for at fastslå antallet af grønlændere i Danmark, hvilket gør, at tallene er ret forskellige. Denne bog er imidlertid baseret på kvalitativ forskning, og her er selvidentifikation blevet brugt for at hverve informanter til undersøgelsen.

Til undersøgelsen er der gjort brug af eksisterende teorier om identitet (for eksempel Barth (1969); Jenkins (2011)) og migration (for eksempel Vertovec (2007)). I denne bog fremhæves ideen om, at identitet afhænger af ens egen og andres opfattelse samt identitetens foranderlighed. Migration betragtes som flytning fra et sted til et andet, og selve processen i forbindelse med at slå sig ned det nye sted. Mobilitet og transnationalisme er blevet taget med som aktuelle begreber, der til en vis grad anskueliggør migrationen som beskrevet i denne bog. Begrebet “den postkoloniale bonus” (Oostindie 2010) er blevet anvendt med henblik på at få indsigt i forholdet mellem Grønland og Danmark og i grønlænderes erfaringer i Danmark. Begrebet forudsætter, at migranter fra tidligere kolonier oplever visse fordele i forhold til andre migranter, når de flyttede/flytter til den tidligere kolonisators land, for eksempel på grund af kendskab til bestemmelseslandets sprog og kultur.

Det centrale spørgsmål i bogen er: Hvordan giver grønlændere i Danmark selv udtryk for grønlandsk identitet og, hvordan bliver grønlandsk identitet i Danmark opfattet af andre? For at besvare dette spørgsmål, er der blevet formuleret flere underspørgsmål, som for eksempel spørgsmålene om, hvorfor mine informanter er flyttet til Danmark, hvilke grønlandske identifikationer bidrager til at forstå grønlandske erfaringer i Danmark, og hvilken rolle forskellige identifikationer spiller for grønlændere i Danmark.

Til undersøgelsen er der blevet udført antropologisk feltarbejde i Danmark, Grønland og Canada. Under feltarbejdet er forskellige informanter blevet interviewet som 1) Grønlændere i Danmark/Inuit i Sydcanada; 2) Grønlændere i Grønland (inklusive remigranter) og 3) Repræsentanter for forskellige organisationer som spiller en rolle i migrationsprocessen. I både Danmark og Grønland er der også blevet udført nogle gruppeinterview. Disse interview gjorde det blandt andet muligt at høre ideer om og/eller erfaringer med migration af flere mennesker samtidig. I Danmark drejede det sig om gruppeinterview med medlemmer af grønlandske foreninger og en gymnasieklasses besvarelse af spørgsmål. I Grønland udførtes fire gruppeinterview med elever/studerende. På grundlag af feltarbejdet og adskillige andre kilder behandles i denne bog om inuit uden for det arktiske område hovedtemaerne migration, identitet og opfattelser.

Grønland og Danmark: forhold og identifikationer i tidens løb

Der er knyttet mange bånd mellem Grønland og Danmark. Det gælder også den nyere periode i forholdet mellem Grønland og Danmark. Det kan blandt andet tydeligt mærkes på brugen af det danske sprog i forskellige kontekster i Grønland og undervisningen, hvorved bestemt viden om Danmark gives videre til nye generationer. Undersøgelsen viser, at informanter ikke nødvendigvis skelner skarpt mellem Danmark og Grønland. Forholdet mellem Grønland og Danmark bliver helt klart ikke kun erfaret som negativt. Danmark er ofte stedet, hvor man har familie og bliver også betragtet som et sted med undervisningsmuligheder.

Trods dekoloniseringen er forskellige identifikationer med Danmark ikke forsvundet. Selvom opfattelser om vi og de på grund af danske indflydelser i Grønland i 1950'erne, 1960'erne og 1970'erne var skarpere, har specifik kulturel kapital i tidens løb også medført forbindelser mellem Grønland og Danmark. Denne kulturelle kapital gør det muligt for grønlændere at identificere sig med Danmark, og hvis de flytter til Danmark, bliver denne kulturelle kapital deres postkoloniale bonus. Kendskab til det danske sprog er et tydeligt eksempel herpå.

At flytte til Danmark: migrationsårsager, diversitet og erfaringer

Undervisning og en dansk partner/relationsforbindelser er meget vigtige årsager for grønlændere til at flytte til Danmark. Man flytter for eksempel af hensyn til egen eller børnenes undervisning. Andre årsager til at flytte til Danmark er sygehusbehandling, pensionering og utilfredshed med visse forhold i det grønlandske samfund. Det er meget sandsynligt, at en migrant tager til Danmark af flere grunde. Både *Disjunction* og *continuation* (Amit 2002, 2012) kan spille en rolle i denne proces. Det kan

fastslås, at grønlændere ikke kun har diverse migrationsgrunde, men også, at de har diverse erfaringer i Danmark.

Tendensen blandt (unge) grønlændere til at flytte uforberedt til Danmark har for nylig ført til bekymring. Mine informanter var heller ikke nødvendigvis alle sammen grundigt forberedte på at flytte til Danmark. Som en vigtig forklaring herpå kan anføres, at Danmark ikke er (bliver betragtet som) et totalt fremmed land. Mennesker føler en vis forbindelse til Danmark. Herved bliver flytningen til Danmark heller ikke nødvendigvis set som et enormt skridt. Det betyder ikke, at migrationen er let og problemfri for alle. Grønlændere har dog forskellige muligheder for at finde sig til rette i Danmark. Institutioner som de Grønlandske Huse i Danmark, hvor grønlændere kan få rådgivning om at bo i Danmark, samt forskellige initiativer for grønlændere i Danmark kan spille en vigtig rolle heri. De uformelle kanaler er i denne sammenhæng også meget vigtige. Familie og venner i Danmark betyder meget for tilflyttere. I denne sammenhæng er det også interessant at betragte grønlænderes sociale netværk som stier (Abu-Lughod 1991: 318), som de bruger i forbindelse med deres migration.

I mine øjne forbliver migration et vigtigt element med henblik på at forstå det grønlandske samfund. Nogle mennesker forlader Grønland, mens andre vender tilbage. Både migration og returmigration finder sted. Nogle mennesker flytter flere gange mellem Grønland og Danmark. En god indsigt i de diverse migrationsstrømme kan bidrage til en bedre forståelse for migration til Danmark.

Identitetsspørgsmål:
forskellige syn på grønlændere i Danmark

Grønlændere i Danmark er en forskelligartet gruppe af mennesker. Til denne kvalitative undersøgelse har der været kontakt til en lille del af hele gruppen. I identitetsdannelsesprocessen spiller både intern og ekstern identifikation en rolle (Jenkins 2011: 3). Det kan konkluderes, at uvidenhed om Grønland og grønlændere stadig spiller en rolle i Danmark. Det negative billede af grønlændere i Danmark er heller ikke forsvundet. Forandringer på dette felt må dog ikke glemmes. Selvom forandringer nævnes og erfares af grønlændere, kan der også iagttages en kontinuitet på dette område. Billeddannelsen vedrører i øvrigt ikke kun danske opfattelser af grønlændere i Danmark. Også opfattelser hos grønlændere i Grønland og grønlændere i Danmark af deres landsmænd i Danmark spiller en rolle. Sådanne billeder kan bidrage til at angive forskelle inden for etniske grupper.

Undersøgelsen viser, at udefrakommende opfattelser har indflydelse på egne opfattelser. Nogle migranter gav udtryk for, at de opførte sig på en bestemt måde for ikke at blive identificeret med det stereotype billede. På grund af den negative påvirkning fra udefrakommende opfattelser, er det meget vigtigt også at være opmærksom på interne identifikationer. Det grønlandske sprog, grønlandsk mad, grønlandsk natur og grønlandske netværk i Danmark er vigtige for at bevare

grønlandsk identitet i Danmark. Disse identifikationer kan blive fremhævet på visse tidspunkter, mens på andre tidspunkter mere danske elementer af identitet finder anvendelse. I de mere grønlandsk orienterede sammenhænge i Danmark er det lettere at give udtryk for visse aspekter af grønlandsk identitet. Selvom det ikke altid er let at bevare sådanne aspekter i en især dansk kontekst, er det alligevel elementer som netop giver et andet billede end de stereotype billeder. Grønlandske kvinders bidrag til opretholdelse af den grønlandske kultur er et eksempel på et positivt billede af grønlandske erfaringer i Danmark.

Inuit i Sydcanada:
et sammenlignende perspektiv på inuit uden for det arktiske område

For at kunne sætte erfaringer hos grønlændere i Danmark i et bredere perspektiv, er der til denne undersøgelse også blevet set på inuits erfaringer i Sydcanada. Hertil er der blevet udført feltarbejde i Edmonton. Inuit i den sydlige del af Canada udgør en lille minoritet. De bor der blandt andet af familieårsager eller på grund af egen eller børnenes undervisning. Selvom Canada ofte ses som et multikulturelt land, er inuits erfaringer i Sydcanada næsten ikke synlige i denne kulturelle diversitet. Tilstedeværelsen af grønlændere i Danmark, som heller ikke er meget synlige, ser ud til at være tydeligere end tilstedeværelsen af for eksempel inuit i Edmonton. Det kan skyldes forskellige forhold. Inuitsproget bliver ofte betragtet som et vigtigt symbol og et bindende element for både canadiske inuit og grønlændere. Sproget var dog meget tydeligere til stede i Danmark. I Edmonton brugte flere informanter engelsk som deres første sprog. Hvis vi holder os til de officielle statistikker, baseret på antallet af personer født i Grønland og bosat i Danmark, bor der også flere grønlændere i Danmark end inuit i Sydcanada. Tilstedeværelsen af grønlændere i Danmark har også strakt sig over en længere periode, og det har blandt andet manifesteret sig i tilvejebringelse af en tydelig "grønlandsk infrastruktur".

Til en vis grad hænger disse forhold sammen med forskellige koloniale fortider, som førte til, at kontakten mellem Danmark og Grønland fandt sted tidligere end kontakten mellem Nord- og Sydcanada. Migration af grønlændere til Danmark finder allerede sted over en længere periode end migration af canadiske inuit til Sydcanada. Der har været grønlandske foreninger i Danmark i flere årtier, mens lignende kulturelle foreninger først er blevet til meget senere i canadiske storbyer som Montreal og Edmonton. I Danmark er der desuden de Grønlandske Huse i de fire største byer, som stabiliserer grønlænderes netværk i Danmark. På grund af de forholdsvis korte afstande i Danmark er det også lettere at realisere grønlænderes netværk i Danmark. Således bliver det lettere at realisere og vise et fællesskab for grønlændere i Danmark end et fællesskab for inuit i Sydcanada. I Sydcanada, hvor der dog er forskellige initiativer for inuit, ser det alligevel ud til at være mere vanskeligt at opbygge et sådant netværk, hvilket blandt andet skyldes den panindfødte tilnærmelse. Inuit er en af tre indfødte grupper i Canada og på grund af

deres forholdsvis nyere tilstedeværelse i Sydcanada, kan det ske, at de bliver overset blandt de andre indfødte grupper.

Ideen om, at inuit hører hjemme i norden og ikke syden er i denne forbindelse også vigtig. Ud over rollen som kvinder spiller i videreførelse af inuitkultur i syden, er det dette aspekt, som viser en stor lighed mellem inuit i Sydcanada og grønlændere i Danmark. Selvom der kan ske forandringer, som positive erfaringer hos inuit, der bor i storbyer i syden, kan bidrage til, bliver ideen om en inuk i syden (uden for det arktiske område) stadig draget i tvivl. Det stemmer dog ikke overens med erfaringer hos forskellige inuit i syden, som, trods mulige besværligheder, viser, at der også er mange positive erfaringer hos inuit uden for det arktiske område. I sammenligning med grønlændere i Danmark ser tid ud til at være et afgørende element. I fremtiden vil der bo flere inuit i den sydlige del af Canada, som muligvis kan bidrage til en mere udførlig "inuit-infrastruktur" i flere canadiske storbyer og tilblivelsen af flere positive billeder af inuit i byer.

I tidens løb er grønlændere flyttet til Danmark og inuit flyttet til Sydcanada, hvor flere har slået sig ned og har tænkt sig at blive. En sammenligning af deres erfaringer viser, at grønlændere i Danmark og inuit i Sydcanada på forskellige måder har slået sig ned på bestemmelsesstedet. Nogle slog sig ned for længe siden, for andre er det lige begyndt. I denne proces bliver identiteter skabt på ny på opholdsstedet. Visse identitetsaspekter af inuitkultur/-etnicitet kan her blive genbekræftet, hvilket helt klart ikke betyder, at denne udvikling ikke går hånd i hånd med danske eller sydcanadiske identitetsaspekter. Spørgsmålet forbliver, om vedvarende migration kan resultere i en (yderligere) forandring af opfattelser. Med hensyn til grønlændere i Danmark fremgår det, at der også i tidligere undersøgelser er iagttaget uvidenhed om grønlændere. Specifik billeddannelse om inuitkultur og uvidenhed om inuitkultur er ikke forsvundet. I tidens løb har forskellige forskere diskuteret opfattelser af inuit, også i syden, og dermed bidraget til diskussioner om opfattelser. I den sammenhæng er det også vigtigt at bemærke, at der også erfares forandringer, hvad angår opfattelser, inklusive øget kendskab til grønlandsk kultur/inuitkultur. I denne bog beskrives forskellige erfaringer. Et bedre kendskab til en sådan diversitet og forskellige tilkendegivelser af inuitkultur og -identitet – i denne bog repræsenteret ved grønlændere og canadiske inuit – uden for den kontekst som ofte anses som værende, hvor inuitkultur hører hjemme, kan føre til mere nuancerede opfattelser af inuit i almindelighed og af inuit uden for det arktiske område i særdeleshed.

Curriculum Vitae

Tekke Terpstra (1982) was born in Groningen in the Netherlands. He holds an MA in Scandinavian Languages and Cultures from the University of Groningen and an MSc in Social Anthropology and Sociology of Non-Western Societies from the University of Amsterdam. From 2009 through July 2013, he was employed as a doctoral candidate at the Arctic Centre at the University of Groningen. During this period, he also represented the Netherlands as observer in the Sustainable Development Working Group of the Arctic Council. Tekke Terpstra has contributed to tertiary education within the study programs of Arctic and Antarctic Studies, Canadian Studies, and Scandinavian Languages and Cultures at the University of Groningen. He is also a member of the Centre for Canadian Studies at the University of Groningen and participates in the Research Group Circumpolar Cultures. During the fall of 2011, he was an academic visitor at the Canadian Circumpolar Institute, University of Alberta, Edmonton, Canada. He is currently employed at the Department of Sociology at the University of Groningen. In addition, he is a board member of the Scandinavian Translation and Information Bureau Netherlands, where he also teaches Danish.