From Passive Observers to Active Participants

Klaus Georg Hansen

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- **Mapping the mechanisms behind the last 150 years of social change and the gradual process of democratization in Greenland**

It is the purpose of this journal to disseminate results of research in Arctic regions to the population of Greenland as well as research communities in Greenland and Denmark. The journal wishes to contribute to strengthening cooperation in Arctic research, in particular within the humanities, social sciences and public health.

The editorial board welcomes proposals for publications.

Cover photo: Ceremony to mark the official launch of self-government on June 21, 2009 in Nuuk (Klaus Georg Hansen)

Dedicated to my father

Georg Hansen

1933-2015

He showed me
the joys of immersing yourself
in a fascinating topic

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Prologue

*"He told me that after going hunting we would continue on to Nunaqarfik …
This turned out to be a very large bird cliff that we were heading toward.
When we arrived there, he turned off the engine, grabbed his rifle and fired
into the air. From the hip. I counted 10 shots per magazine, and he emp-
tied seven magazines in rapid succession, without a single bird falling to the
ground … I later learned that this bird cliff was protected and that there
was a ban on killing birds within a five kilometer radius. I was also told that
Valdemar was very law-abiding."*

<div align="right">(Jensen, 1975, pp. 22-23)</div>

It was back in 1986 that I first read Flemming Jensen's "Vejledning i sæl-
fangst" (A guide to seal hunting), a collection of curious short stories that are
entirely unpretentious. Like so many others, I chuckled over the delightful
way in which the book focuses on the topsy-turvy world of cross-cultural
encounters between Greenlanders and Danes.

But aside from having a good laugh, I gleaned something else from this little
gem of a book, which is perhaps best expressed in the excerpt cited here.
Not a single bird is killed, in keeping with the law, yet the birds on the cliff
are undoubtedly disturbed by the shots, so they are effectively robbed of the
peaceful setting that is mandated by law.

In "Vejledning i sælfangst" we find an elegant presentation of the schism
between two different ways of comprehending our surroundings: an Inuit-
Greenlandic approach, which is rooted in the Inuit understanding of the
world, and a Western-Danish approach, which is rooted in the West's under-
standing of the world. And there can be big differences between these two
views of the same surroundings.

The story written by Flemming Jensen is no doubt largely fictitious, but the
author broaches an issue here that — for 30 years — has helped define the
primary focus of my research of the sweeping changes undergone by Green-
landic society over the past few centuries.

For me, it has become a lifelong project to study how the coexistence between Inuit-Greenlandic and Western-Danish cultures has changed over 300 years, and to consider how this relationship could conceivably be shaped in the years to come.

My dissertation "From Passive Observers to Active Participants," along with this revised version in book form, is my latest examination and interpretation of points of contact between two societies and two cultures that have coexisted for several centuries.

Foreword by Kim Kielsen

Klaus Georg Hansen — 'Kilaasi' — has written a captivating analysis of our colonial history from his own unique perspective. This story has been told many times before, but here it offers an important perspective on how we — in a new way — can grasp major developments in our history. Furthermore, this highly inspiring book makes a significant contribution to our understanding of the role that we have played and how we got to where we are now.

As citizens, we are actively involved in shaping our history, for better or for worse. The insights that 'Kilaasi' provides us with here can lead to new ways of understanding our own roles and the opportunities for further advancing our society. We have made great strides in developing our democracy, but it does not end here; our journey continues and it is extremely important that we cherish and respect this fledgling democracy and its codes of conduct.

Like other peoples around the world, we strive for our country to become an independent state, and this remains an inalienable right. We took the first steps back in the late 1970s when we introduced home rule on May 1, 1979, and then voted in favor of the Act on Greenland Self-Government on June 21, 2009.

This last step maps out the road to full independence. We, the elected representatives, cannot make this decision entirely on our own — it also has to involve the Greenlandic people. Together, we must actively work hand in hand and embrace our common goals. But if we are to achieve independence, we need to have more young people graduate from our educational system and, at the same time, assure a good upbringing for our children, just as we as a country must have a healthy and diverse economy.

In the debate on independence, there are many who believe that the goal is only to sever all ties with Denmark. But this is simply not the case. An independent Greenland also needs friends, allies and close partners. There are several models for the future. The Danish Commonwealth is one of many possibilities. An independent Greenland is not at odds with a new form of Danish Commonwealth.

We have launched the debate here in Greenland, so let us take a positive look at the opportunities that lie ahead. Many of us have sensed that there is often uncertainty in Denmark over how we view the relationship between Greenland and Denmark. This book provides a new explanation of why many in Denmark cannot fully comprehend how we have evolved in our understanding of the relationship between the two countries, or how we in Greenland have grown, both in terms of our mentality and our role in the international community.

A partnership is a relationship in which both parties come together and have an equal and open dialogue about the past, present and future, speaking with an equal voice and mutual respect for feelings and other aspects of what is important — in a partnership.

Now that we have acquired new knowledge of our past, it is my sincere hope that this book can help inspire us to actively participate in shaping our country — the future of Kalaallit Nunaat — so we can work together to remove the obstacles along the road to independence.

Kim Kielsen

Nuuk, March 2017

Preface by the author

This book is an academic work. It is a revised version of my PhD dissertation and I have retained the same title, namely "From Passive Observers to Active Participants."

But I have changed the subtitle to reflect a number of important changes, especially to the conclusion. I hit upon the idea for the new conclusion after I submitted my thesis, but before I defended it. Hence, an earlier version of this new conclusion was presented when I defended the work before the thesis committee.

The subtitle of the work here reflects the fact that, since submitting my thesis for evaluation, I have further developed the conclusions that I feel are proven by my analyses.

To make the work more reader-friendly, the chapters on theory, method and the follow-up discussion have been removed.

The seven articles that are part of the PhD thesis are not included in the present work. Brief abstracts of each of the seven articles can be found in appendix 1.

The text has also been edited to reflect the revised conclusion. Furthermore, I have endeavored to render the text a bit more reader-friendly wherever there has been a particular need to simplify the language and make it more comprehensible. But the text has not been completely revised. This will have to wait until an abridged version is written.

This revised version of the PhD thesis has only been possible with support from The Ministry of Industry, Energy and Research, which has included the work in its INUSSUK series of publications.

I am very grateful to the ministry's research unit and would like to express my special thanks to Najâraĸ Paniula for this outstanding collaboration.

In addition, I have benefited enormously from the comments that Aqqaluk Lynge made while reviewing the manuscript.

Without the many comments and suggestions for corrections and improvements that I received, both before submitting my dissertation and during the subsequent process of revising it, I would not have been able to produce the current text. Nevertheless, the responsibility for these discussions and conclusions rests with me alone.

The book generally uses the new orthography for references in Greenlandic, but where the old spelling was used in quoted passages, the written form of the original quoted text has been retained.

When referring to place names, the official current forms are used, with older names occasionally added in parentheses.

Quotes are marked with quotation marks and are written in italics. However, the titles of books, articles etc. that are indicated with quotation marks are written in roman font.

Klaus Georg Hansen

Nuuk, March 2017

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that forms the basis of the present work:

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1 Introduction

1.1 Presentation

It has been nearly 170 years since the Greenlandic population was first allowed to participate in a democratic political process in accordance with European models. This began with the establishment of the Guardian Councils in 1857 (Gad 1984). It was, of course, not a democratic political process as we know it today. Only self-supporting hunters had the right to vote. It was not until later that other citizens were granted access to the same democratic rights.

The Guardian Councils were replaced by Provincial Councils in 1911. Starting in 1979, Greenland had a parliament, called the Landsting in Danish and known as Inatsisartut since 2009. For nearly 200 years, Greenland has clearly been on the road toward greater democracy as defined by the Western world.

There can be no doubt that the island's population has gradually gained more influence in shaping modern Greenlandic society. This is an ongoing process that continues to evolve. *But what mechanisms have had a particular impact on the societal changes and the gradual process of democratization that have occurred since Europeans first came to Greenland more than 300 years ago?*

There is a wealth of evidence that changes have taken place and many diverse influences have come into play, arising from both inside and outside the country. This wide range of influences makes it particularly compelling to research changes in Greenland, and this is precisely the focus of the present work.

Over the past 50 years, several representatives of Greenland have articulated, with various degrees of intensity, the desire to achieve an ever-greater degree of independence from Denmark. In Greenland today, there is a broad political consensus that the way forward is to achieve both greater economic independence and more political autonomy from Denmark. This is true not only from a constitutional perspective, in which the adoption of the Act on Greenland Self-Government on June 21, 2009 was a clear step in this

direction, but also in terms of the desire to formulate a more decisively Greenlandic-rooted version of Greenland's colonial history.

Greenland is carving out a place for itself in the international community, with greater autonomy from its former colonial overlords in Denmark. Greater autonomy from Denmark will mean closer ties and a greater emphasis on working hand in hand with other countries. This heightened degree of cooperation may be with diverse regions, including the West Nordic countries, the Nordic countries, the EU, North America, the Arctic, the Western world and countries all around the globe. It could also be with international corporations, institutions and organizations, although it is almost anyone's guess what this aspect of Greenland's near future holds.

What most interests me here is the human factor. I have been particularly motivated to study whether and, if so, to what extent and how the people who have been affected by the changes outlined here have been personally involved in the increasingly democratic governance of Greenland.

1.2 New research objectives

The overall framework of my academic approach is described in the chapters that can be found online (appendix 3 and appendix 4 at kgh.gl/inussuk). This is where the research objectives of the work are outlined.

Simply put, my research addresses questions like: "Who have I been inspired by?" "What is my contribution?" "Why is it relevant?"

My interest is to analyze changes in Greenlandic society from a historical perspective. I am particularly interested in analyzing changes in power relations and the gradual process of democratization. This is my overriding research goal in the present work.

Ever since early in my studies during the 1980s, I have been interested in the works of Danish anthropologist Jens Dahl (1946-). Dahl received his master's in anthropology in 1974. He first worked as an assistant professor and, after 1981, as a tenured professor at the Department of Eskimology, University of Copenhagen. From 1998 to 2006, he was the director of the International

Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA). In 2007 Dahl was awarded the title of professor emeritus at the Department of Cross-Cultural and Regional Studies, University of Copenhagen.

One of the things that inspired me early on was Dahl's work on identifying sectors where Greenland could achieve a greater degree of self-regulation. Already in his analysis of Greenlandic migrant workers in Marmorilik (Dahl and Lyberth 1980), one of the main topics is greater Greenlandic influence on the country's development. In the work, a number of recommendations are made to shift responsibility and control from the Danish state and mining companies to Greenlandic society (ibid., pp. 100-103).

In an article published in 1985 (Dahl 1985), Dahl stated that the new political structure of Greenland was *far from being only passively determined by colonial dominance,* noting that it *expressed a great leap forward in political consciousness and resistance to colonialism* (Dahl 1985, p. 175). Dahl highlights this perspective in his analysis of the dynamic processes during the 1970s that led to the formation of the first political parties with broad popular support (Dahl 1986a).

In his seminal work "Arktisk selvstyre" (Dahl 1986a), one of the elements that particularly inspired me was Dahl's description of *the home rule state's relative autonomy* (Dahl 1986a, pp. 138ff). Back when I read it for the first time, I found the arguments for relative autonomy somewhat inconclusive. My desire to contribute to a deeper understanding of this autonomy has been one of the driving forces in my work.

In his book on Saqqaq (Dahl 2000), Dahl focused on a small hunting community as a means of illustrating Greenland home rule's first 20 years of dynamic social development, in which a decolonization and a nation-building process go hand in hand, and where tradition serves both as an obstacle and an enrichment in Greenland's ongoing path toward integration into an increasingly globalized Western world.

From 2002 onwards, Dahl was a member of the Steering Committee for the Arctic Human Development Report (AHDR) (Einarsson et al. 2004). Starting in 2004, Dahl was involved in working groups for the Arctic Social Indicators (ASI) project (Larsen, Schweitzer and Fondahl 2010). In 2014 both the AHDR

from 2004 and the ASI from 2010 were followed up with an AHDR II (Larsen and Fondahl 2014) and an ASI II (Larsen, Schweitzer and Petrov 2014). The Arctic Council approved the preparation of these reports, but financial support primarily came from the Nordic Council of Ministers, with funding from the Nordic Council of Ministers' Arctic Cooperation Program.

Dahl's contribution to the AHDR was a discussion of 'political systems' (Broderstad and Dahl 2004) and in ASI he addressed 'fate control' (Dahl et al. 2010). In the AHDR, Broderstad and Dahl discussed nation building in the Arctic, based on the following definition: *"Nation building denotes a process in which central claims on behalf of the state for economic and cultural standardization within its territory are met with counterclaims for political participation and economic redistribution"* (Broderstad and Dahl 2004, p. 85).

The conclusion leads to the formulation of a knowledge gap: *"Modern self-governing arrangements in the Arctic are still of comparatively recent date, and future comparative studies will obviously be able to provide us with an increased understanding of the significance of the various political arrangements for the human development. Information about human participation in political systems and in activities and institutions such as the media, [which are] important for political participation, must be further investigated"* (Broderstad and Dahl 2004, p. 99).

Continuing with this train of thought, Dahl and his fellow authors concluded in their article on ASI: *"Fate control is one of the primary indicators of human well-being in economic, social, political, and domestic realms. An ability to control people's own destiny, as well as to exert authority over land and resources, is a particularly important indicator in the context of the Arctic. … Given its conceptual complexity and all-pervasiveness, fate control is a highly multifaceted category that is hard to measure by a single indicator"* (Dahl et al. 2010, p. 145).

These are precisely the issues that I am venturing to explore in greater depth through my articles and my work. With my analyses, I am seeking to build on a number of the issues that AHDR and ASI highlight, not least the question of how the local population has been able to — and continues to — embrace its own destiny (Larsen, Schweitzer and Fondahl 2010) .

There are a few other authors who have contributed to the overall debate on the development of society in the Arctic, and I would like to mention just two of them who have been a source of inspiration for me.

The first is "Megatrends" from 2011, edited by Rasmus Ole Rasmussen. Based on concrete observations, "Megatrends" provides a comprehensive picture of development in the Arctic within a number of key social parameters.

Furthermore, in 2007 Natalia Loukacheva conducted an excellent comparative analysis of the challenges of steadily increasing autonomy in Greenland and Nunavut. She wrote for instance that *"there should be further dialogue between Inuit and non-Inuit legal traditions so that the legal systems in Greenland and Nunavut can embrace the best of both worlds"* (Loukacheva 2007, p. 102).

The above works repeatedly emphasize the need to better understand cultural interactions. What I contribute to this debate is a deeper and broader analysis of the link between diverse frameworks of understanding of how, and according to what premises, a society should be interconnected. In particular, it is about linking the frameworks of understanding that have been passed down internally over many generations with the corresponding knowledge that has been implemented externally over the space of just a few generations.

One element of enhanced democratization is the strengthening of NGOs in arctic communities, especially in Greenland. This has been pointed out by a number of researchers, including Jens Dahl (Dahl et al. 2010, p. 133). A deeper analysis of these social mechanisms will potentially be of great benefit to those NGOs that are active in Greenland. Likewise, when it comes to strategic community planning, which the Greenlandic government authorities have bolstered significantly in recent years, there is a great need to understand as best as possible the social mechanisms that can affect development over the coming years, and this is an endeavor that I have personally been involved in (Hansen 2015; 2016).

Based on these research goals, in the next chapter I will translate these objectives into concrete analysis questions. At the end of the next chapter, I will provide an introduction to the specific theoretical approaches.

2 The research topic

After outlining my academic approach and research goal, the external framework has been established for structuring the work's synthesizing analysis. The next step is to clearly position the articles in relation to each other as a comprehensive research topic within the overall colonial framework.

Here I will elaborate on my research goals and link them to my seven articles. This leads to a formulation of the work's thesis statement. Finally, based on my thesis statement, I will provide a brief introduction to the concrete theoretical positions that are used in the analyses in the subsequent synthesizing chapters.

All of the theories applied in my analyses remain within the scope of the initially described overall academic approach. In each of the synthesizing chapters, I will point to the relevant and applied theories for each specific synthesis.

2.1 The hypothesis

Based on my research goal, figure 1 illustrates the connection between the seven articles of the work, and hence also describes the focus of the work in the synthesizing analysis. Each of the seven articles has its own angle and conceptual description that focuses on the relationships between the individual and society. The articles deal with various social issues in Greenland's history over the past 150 years.

The starting point for figure 1 is two key sets of juxtapositions, each of which is marked with a horizontal and a vertical line. The horizontal line in the middle of the figure marks the boundary between two spheres of society. This is the first set of juxtapositions. At the top is the 'private sphere' and at the bottom is the 'public sphere.' This division of a society was first described by Jürgen Habermas in his doctoral thesis in 1961 "Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit" (The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere) (Habermas 1962). The private sphere includes both the intimate sphere, meaning the home and the family, and the social sphere, i.e. the workplace. The public sphere consists of a cultural realm, which includes religious and

cultural institutions, and a political realm, which revolves around political parties and parliamentary assemblies.

The vertical line in the middle of the figure marks the boundary between two situations for members of a society. This is the second set of juxtapositions. On the left-hand side is where residents are 'formed into citizens.' This is the situation in which an individual's skills and expertise as an acting member of society are shaped based on the influences to which they are exposed. On the right-hand side is where an individual 'acts as a citizen of society.' This is the situation in which residents are actors and act in society.
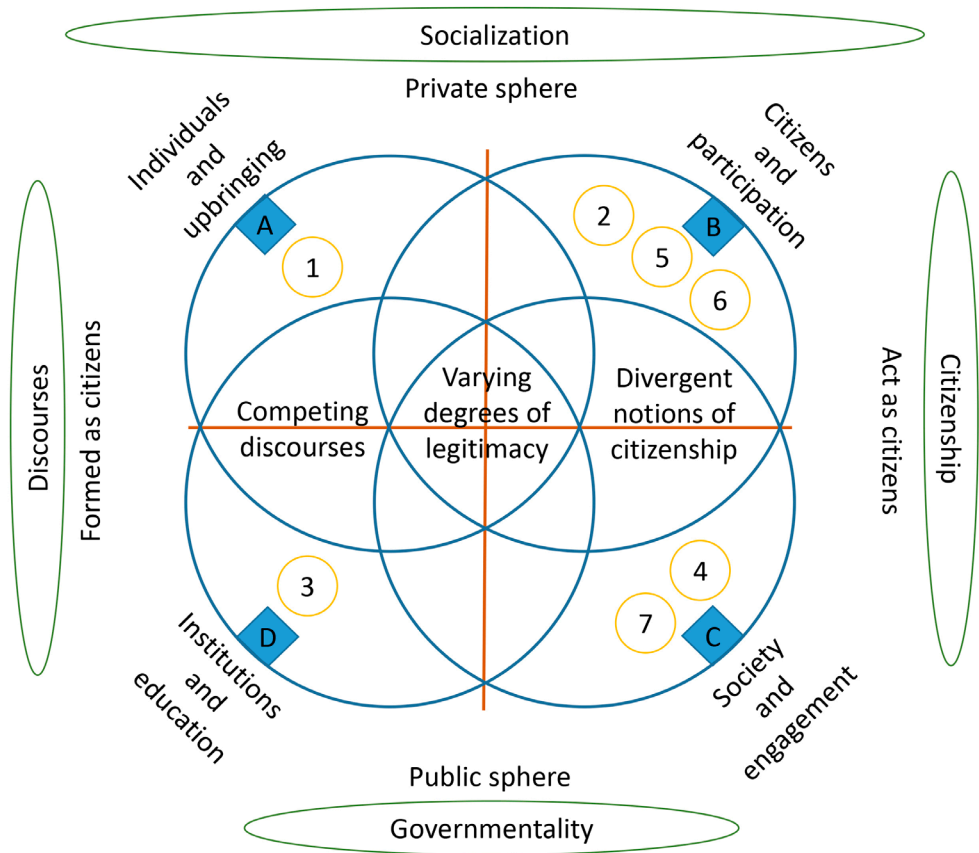
Figure 1. *This figure illustrates the link between the seven articles on which the work is based, and thereby indicates the focus of the work in the synthesizing analysis. The third dimension of the figure is the historical process. This aspect of the figure is explained in chapter 3.*

The two lines create four fields in the figure. For the sake of clarity, the four fields are labeled A, B, C and D. The four fields are not isolated, but interact with each other and, to a certain extent, overlap. In figure 1, this overlapping of the four fields is indicated with four circles. Each circle is centered over its own field, but the circles precisely overlap.

The four fields are to be understood as follows:

A is the field where individuals are 'formed into citizens' in the 'private sphere'

B is the field where individuals 'act as citizens' in the 'private sphere'

C is the field where individuals 'act as citizens' in the 'public sphere'

D is the field where individuals are 'formed into citizens' in the 'public sphere'

An actor has been identified for each of the four fields:

Field A: Individuals   **Field B: Citizens**

Field D: Institutions   **Field C: Society**

Individuals and citizens are actors in their capacity as natural persons. Society and institutions serve as actors in the form of companies, the public, organizations, NGOs, etc.; i.e. as legal persons. By the same token, an action has been identified for each of the four fields:

Field A: Upbringing   **Field B: Participation**

Field D: Education   **Field C: Engagement**

Starting with Field A, the figure is to be interpreted as follows: individuals raise the younger generations in the private sphere to act as citizens. This takes us to field B, where education is designed to ensure that citizens act in the private sphere and participate politically in society. Field C deals with society, which relates to citizen engagement in political decision-making processes in the public sphere. This brings us to field D, in which institutions educate citizens in the public sphere. Education ideally leads citizens as individuals to instruct the youngest generations in the private sphere ... etc.

In an internally well-established society, this circle of actors and actions will ideally be cohesive and the activities in the four fields will harmonize with each other to a large extent. This does not mean that, in its ideal state, the

figure illustrates a static society. Such a thing does not actually exist, of course, because small and large changes will always occur on an ongoing basis.

When a society comes under outside influences, as can be witnessed in a colonization process where unfamiliar and external elements come into play, this can potentially lead to significant changes in the ongoing process that takes place between individuals, citizens, society and institutions.

If there is to be a minimum amount of cohesion in a society, there can be only one valid principle of socialization for the individual in the private sphere while, at the same time, there can be only one valid principle of governmentality for the exercise of power in the public sphere. Hence, in a functioning society that serves the needs of the individual, and in the administration of that society, we would not expect to see any actual disconnect between 'formed into citizens' and 'acting as citizens' within either the private or public spheres. But this level of cohesion would not necessarily be expected between the private and public spheres, and hence one could potentially discern yawning gaps between these two elements of society. Accordingly, the work's synthesizing analyses will focus on discourses (chapter 4) and citizenship (chapter 5) and legitimacy (chapter 6). However, the work's syntheses do not include analyses of socialization and governmentality.

One of the two places with a potential disconnect is between institutions (field D) and individuals (field A) because, although society's logic of education has had a decisive influence on the individual, this has not necessarily been completely transferred to the individual's logic of raising the younger generation. Each of these 'logics' is what I refer to as 'discourses,' which are further defined in chapter 4. To the extent that we can speak of a disconnect, it would be between competing discourses. This leads to working hypothesis no. 1, namely that *due to different discourses emanating from inside and outside society, there can be no complete connection between the principles of society's externally implemented education and the principles in each individual's internally established upbringing*. As we will see later, discourse here is to be understood as a world view or understanding of reality.

By the same token, there is another potential disconnect between citizens (field B) and society (field C), because citizens' participation has been influenced not only by internal upbringing and forms of governance and related principles of citizenship, but also by external logics of society and forms of governance along with relative principles for citizenship that do not necessarily ensure a correlation between expectations for participation and engagement. To the extent that we can speak of a disconnect, it would be between diverging understandings of citizenship. This leads us to hypothesis no. 2, namely that *in Greenland we can point to a number of different externally- and internally-based forms of government that come into play, and these diverse forms of governance are associated with diverse views of good citizenship*.

As for Greenland's history over the past 150 years, which is the focus of this book, the country has been through several variants of colonialism that have gradually evolved. Hence, the two potentially existing disconnects between the public and private spheres can, in many ways, be seen as a central focal point of the work's seven articles. It is against this background that a closer analysis of these two areas is conducted with reference to the articles. The analysis of these two potential gaps is based on a theoretical analysis framework, which, within the described general scientific theoretical framework, consists of a combination of different thematically relevant theories. Theories of socialization can be used to shed light on the figure's upper half (fields A and B), drawing upon articles 1, 2, 5 and 6. The right half of the figure (fields B and C) is based on a discussion rooted in theories of the concept of citizenship and is dealt with in articles 2, 4, 5, 6 and 7. Theories of governmentality, together with articles 3, 4 and 7, provide a general analytical approach to the figure's lower half (fields C and D). An analysis of the left half of the figure (fields D and A) involves theories on discourses along with articles 1 and 3. As stated above, I will only analyze socialization, and hence the link between fields B and C, as well as citizenship, and hence the link between fields D and A.

Figure 1 encompasses the seven articles that enter into the work. Article 1 on the Inuit and Western understanding of kayak dizziness is covered by field A. Field B covers articles 2, 5 and 6 that deal with power, communication, mobility and industrialization. Field C is described by article 4 on democracy

and public debate along with article 7 on legitimacy and public administration. Similarly, article 3 on Inuit and Western pedagogy is associated with field D.

All of the articles deal, both implicitly and explicitly, with the issue of popular legitimacy. Accordingly, this constitutes a key aspect of the entire figure. The decisive factor here is that "*[p]opular legitimacy is the basis of the nation state*" (Pittelkow 2004, p. 24). To ensure a society in the form of a nation state with a long-term and stable form of governance, it is thus important that society be based on a broad popular legitimacy of the country's formal governance. But whenever there is a disconnect between the private and public spheres, the degree of legitimacy will be influenced by fluctuating popular legitimacy. This gives us working hypothesis no. 3, namely that *because of the potentially existing disconnect between the private and public spheres, the prerequisite for a broad popular legitimacy for the formal governance of Greenland has only been partially present in Greenlandic society over the past 150 years, and this is one of the central causes of the upheavals experienced by Greenlandic society during that period*.

2.2 The thesis statement

Based on figure 1 and the descriptions — contained in the work's associated articles — of concepts and relationships between the individual and society, the three above-mentioned work hypotheses were formulated:

Working hypothesis no. 1 says that*, due to different discourses emanating from within and from outside society, there can be no complete connection between the principles of society's externally implemented education and the principles of each individual's internally established upbringing*.

Working hypothesis no. 2 says that *in Greenland we can point to a number of different externally- and internally-based forms of government that come into play, and these diverse forms of governance are associated with diverse views of good citizenship*.

Working hypothesis no. 3 says that *because of the potentially existing gaps between the private and public spheres, the prerequisite for a broad popular legitimacy of Greenland's formal governance has only been partially present in Greenlandic society over the past 150 years, and this is one of the*

central causes of the upheavals experienced by Greenlandic society during that period.

Based on the two potentially existing disconnects between field D and field A, and between field B and field C, which are illustrated in figure 1, and the three established working hypotheses, a corresponding set of questions can be formulated as an approach to the following chapters' synthesizing analyses of the seven articles:

- **How have competing discourses been received** in Greenland over the past 150 years? This question is discussed in chapter 4.

- **How have divergent notions of good citizenship been expressed** in Greenland over the past 150 years? This question is discussed in chapter 5.

- **How have varying degrees of popular legitimacy manifested themselves** in Greenland over the past 150 years? This question is discussed in chapter 6.

These three questions can be summarized in the following overall thesis statement of the work's synthesizing analysis:

How has the existence of different discourses and different forms of governance, along with an associated perception of good citizenship and various degrees of legitimacy, had an impact on the development of and changes in the gradual process of democratization in Greenland over the past 150 years?

Chapter 7 provides an overall conclusion to this thesis statement based on the analyses in the preceding chapters as a model for mechanisms that have had a particular influence on basic social change and the gradual process of democratization.

2.3 Applied theoretical approaches

The theories and concepts that have been broadly introduced in the pre-ceding section will be used in the individual synthesizing subanalyses. These theories and concepts have been outlined in the chapters that can be down-loaded at kgh.gl/inussuk. Furthermore, they are clarified and adapted in the following chapters, where they enter into the analyses.

As can be seen in figure 1 (p. 23) and the associated description, the ground has been prepared for several very different synthesizing analyses. In a broad analytical approach such as what I propose here, a single theory can-not serve as a point of reference for all of the requisite theoretical consi-derations. Hence, a wide range of different theories have to be taken into account. The only essential requirements for the theories considered here are that they must remain within the scope of the scholarly positions that have been established and shed light on the questions associated with the thesis statement.

To conclude this chapter, I will now briefly outline, with reference to figure 1, the diverse theoretical approaches used in the following chapters' synthesizing analyses.

Cumulative changes (chapter 3)

The caption text under figure 1 points out that the third dimension in the figure is the historical process, a fundamental understanding of which is essential to conducting the analyses in the following chapters. Not surpri-singly, chapter 3 focuses on an account of Greenland's colonial history, and thus comes before the three chapters with synthesizing analyses.

In accordance with the framework outlined by the basic scholarly positions, the work views history as dialectical. The use of the concept of dialectics here refers solely to our understanding that quantitative accumulations can trig-ger qualitative transformations.

This understanding of history was developed by German philosopher Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831). In his work "Wissenschaft der Logik" (Science of Logic), Hegel examines the relationship between quantitative

and qualitative transformations. He writes: *"Daß aber eine als bloß quantitativ erscheinende Veränderung auch in eine qualitative umschlägt, auf diesen Zusammenhang sind schon die Alten aufmerksam gewesen"* (Hegel 1812a, p. 591).[1]

Despite major disagreements on other points between the two thinkers, Karl Marx (1818-1883) adopted this theoretical aspect from Hegel. *"Hier, wie in der Naturwissenschaft, bewährt sich die Richtigkeit des von Hegel in seiner 'Logik' entdeckten Gesetzes, daß bloß quantitative Veränderungen auf einem gewissen Punkt in qualitative Unterschiede umschlagen"* (Marx 1867a, p. 315).[2]

Competing discourses (chapter 4)

The theory behind a synthesizing analysis that focuses on the left side of figure 1 must be able to come to terms with an understanding of the above-mentioned qualitative transformations. In addition, the theory must function within the scholarly position that I have adopted. Here this is clearly founded on an understanding of the discourse developed by Michel Foucault (1926-1984).

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1   In English: *"The sudden conversion into a change of quality of a change which was apparently merely quantitative had already attracted the attention of the ancients"* (Hegel 1812b).

The work "Wissenschaft der Logik" was published in three volumes:

a) "Erster Band. Die objektive Logik. Erstes Buch. Das Seyn." Nuremberg, 1812. A new version was published in 1832 (after Hegel's death) as: "Wissenschaft der Logik. Erster Teil. Die objektive Logik. Erster Band. Die Lehre vom Sein." This is the source of the German quote used here.

b) "Erster Band. Die objektive Logik. Zweytes Buch. Die Lehre vom Wesen." Nuremberg, 1813.

c) "Zweyter Band. Die subjektive Logik oder Lehre vom Begriff". Nuremberg, 1816.

2   In English: *"Here, as in the natural sciences, is shown the correctness of the law discovered by Hegel, namely that, beyond a certain point, purely quantitative changes transform into qualitative differences."*

Vol. 1 "Das Kapital. Kritik der politischen Ökonomie" published in 1867. A revised version of vol. 1 was published in 1872. This is what is cited here from the German. Marx died in 1883 before the remaining volume could be published. Volumes 2 and 3 were completed by Friedrich Engels based on Marx's manuscripts and published in 1885 and 1894, respectively.

Divergent notions of citizenship (chapter 5)

In chapter 5, the analysis has shifted to the right side of figure 1. The juxtaposition between citizen participation and engagement is included in our understanding of forms of governance. Hence, a mapping of the fundamental differences between concrete forms of governance could serve as a framework for an analysis of the right-hand side in figure 1. Once again, it is essential that the approach remain within my scholarly position, in which different principles or logics, which are bound to occur in diverse forms of governance, are assessed in the analysis from the same external perspective.

Varying degrees of legitimacy (chapter 6)

Taking the model shown in figure 1 as our starting point, the key to the unifying, synthesizing analysis lies in a closer examination of the core concept of legitimacy. Here again, it is crucial that diverse understandings of what is and is not legitimate must be assessed from an external position that is as neutral as possible. Otherwise, it would not be possible to say that the analysis remains within the defined basic scholarly position.

Conclusion (chapter 7)

The analyses in chapters 4, 5 and 6 provide an opportunity to advance an expanded model that can illustrate some of the key mechanisms behind the latest 150 years of social change and the gradual process of democratization in Greenland.

3 Colonial history

As mentioned in Chapter 2, time — i.e. the course of history — appears as the third dimension in figure 1 (p. 23). Consequently, it is important to establish a well founded, overall picture of the historical changes that have taken place in the geographical area and the time period under consideration in this work.

The thesis statement establishes the last 150 years of Greenland's history as the primary scope for the work's synthesizing analysis. This makes it essential to have a clear overview of the historical course of the period in question, thereby paving the way for statements about the last 150 years of changes that are relevant to the following chapters' analyses.

Within a Greenlandic context, it does not necessarily make sense to limit oneself to just the past 150 years when describing and analyzing the historical process. Here it would be appropriate to follow the prevailing historical account, which lists 1721 as the year that marked the formal beginning of the Danish-Norwegian colonization of Greenland by the missionary Hans Egede (1686-1758) when he established the Haabets Ø colony.

3.1 Historicism

In keeping with my scholarly position and emphasis on the historical dimension, it is fitting here to more closely examine a definition of historicism, which is a relativistic understanding of history that remains within the outlined overall academic framework. Ian Hacking defines historicism as follows: *"The theory that social and cultural phenomena are historically determined, and that each period in history has its own values that are not directly applicable to other epochs"* (Hacking 1995a, p. 53).

The concrete design of Hacking's historicism is based on two elements: *"philosophical analysis and ... history of the present"* (ibid., p. 68). Such an approach is possible *"only by taking a look into the origin of our ideas. That is fulfilling the Lockean imperative. But the look must be into the social rather than the personal formation of the concept. It involves history"* (ibid., p. 70).

The Lockean imperative requires a more detailed description. Hacking refers to John Locke (1632-1704), who was an English philosopher and physician, and considered one of the most influential thinkers of the Enlightenment (Koch 1998). After more than 30 years of work, in 1690 Locke published his four-volume "Essay Concerning Human Understanding," in which he — contrary to the beliefs of the day — stated, among other things, that people come into the world without any innate knowledge or ideas.

It is this work that Ian Hacking refers to when he says *"Locke thought we understand concepts and knowledge better when we understand what puts them in place, what brings them into being. I call this the Lockean imperative: to understand our thoughts and our beliefs through an account of origins"* (Hacking 1995a, p. 63).

In my interpretation of this approach to history in the work, as well as in the articles, I strive to understand concepts and their implications within their contemporary social context by examining, within a philosophical framework, the general conditions at the time in which they were introduced to society.

3.2 Colonialism

In order to relate, in an overall sense, the historicist considerations directly to the seven articles that are part of the present work, I take as a starting point that the articles deal with Greenland's last 150 years of history. With reference to my defining theoretical considerations, a central question is whether it would make sense to have a work entitled "The Social Construction of Greenland's Colonial Era." I cannot rule out that for a few people it would make sense, but for me — and in accordance with the above analysis — it does not make sense to call Greenland's colonial era a social construction because the reality of colonial history in Greenland has such a massive physical presence. For more than a century and a half, the Greenlandic colonial reality has been embedded in an explicit colonial context with colonial administration, governance from abroad, etc. As a result, I would prefer to define colonialism in Greenland as a socio-economic and social reality.

There are many highly similar 'definitions' of colonialism. Since I am striving for a comprehensive description, I have opted to use the definition found in the Oxford Dictionaries: *"The policy or practice of acquiring full or partial political control over another country, occupying it with settlers, and exploiting it economically"* (Oxford Dictionaries [2015]).

According to that definition, [in an external country] there must be a policy or practice (1) and [an external country] must have full or partial political control over another country (2). In addition, there must be colonialists (3) and an element of economic exploitation (4).

Based on the above definition, colonialism can be described as a period that begins with an until-then self-regulated population in a given area being forced to accept an external control from another country. This also implies that a period of colonialism only ceases when that form of external control is no longer maintained by another country.

This definition says that it is a case of colonialism if four key elements are present. As a starting point, I consider the four points of the definition to be present for Greenland. In this respect, Greenland can still be regarded as a colony under Denmark.

Part 4 of the definition in particular has been — and will continue to be — an area of basic disagreement. For instance, it has been discussed by Martin Paldam from a narrow, monetary economic perspective (Paldam 1994). The present work takes the view that the economic perspective must be broad and include both monetary and symbolic capital.

Keeping in mind this perspective of economic exploitation, there is no doubt that Denmark has enjoyed — and still receives — financial benefits from Greenland. Danish 'foreign policy ownership' of Greenland alone gives Denmark a 'superpower status' in arctic contexts and reflects a massive Danish dividend in the form of a large symbolic capital that the country can use to strengthen its position within the international community. This is described, for example, in the award-winning book "Thule-sagen — løgnens univers" (The Thule case — the universe of lies) (Brink 1997), which deals with Danish-American policies on Greenland, as highlighted by Poul Brink when he

exposed the circumstances surrounding the B-52 bomber that crashed near Pituffik (Thule) in January 1968.[3]

The issue of 'external control' by another country was far more unequivocal when classic colonialism flourished during the early period of the nation states. In today's world, no nation state can completely renounce a certain degree of 'external control' in the form of an ever-growing system of international regulations. However, these international regulations are not imposed on the world community by a single country. In fact, they have been adopted by international democratic organizations like the Nordic Council, the EU, ASEAN, the UN, etc. Hence, in these contexts, this is not a case of colonialism in accordance with the stated definition, which says that external control must emanate from the parliament of a nation state in order for it to qualify as colonialism.

In the case of Greenland, however, we have the parliament of another country, namely Denmark, that continues to exert direct 'external control' over the island. It thus follows that, according to the above definition, Greenland technically remains a Danish colony.

If there were no longer partial, formal, Danish political control over Greenland, it would be the clearest indication that we no longer have a colonial situation in Greenland. Chapter 5 discusses the issue of colonialism more extensively.

It is this colonial reality in Greenland that constitutes the overarching social framework for the concepts — along with their importance and scope — that are examined in the articles associated with the present work. The analyses that are developed in the following chapters are thus a synthesizing superstructure for the articles of the work, all of which remain within an overriding social colonial timeframe.

Figure 2 (p. 36) illustrates the division of power among the three branches of government as of 2017. This mechanism of power-sharing is a basic principle of most modern democracies. One of the great political philosophers of the Enlightenment, Charles-Louis Montesquieu (1689-1755), was the first to

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3   In April 2015, film director Christina Rosendahl released a feature film called "The Idealist," which is based on Poul Brink's book.

describe the principles of this three-part division of power in his work "The Spirit of the Laws" (Montesquieu 1748).
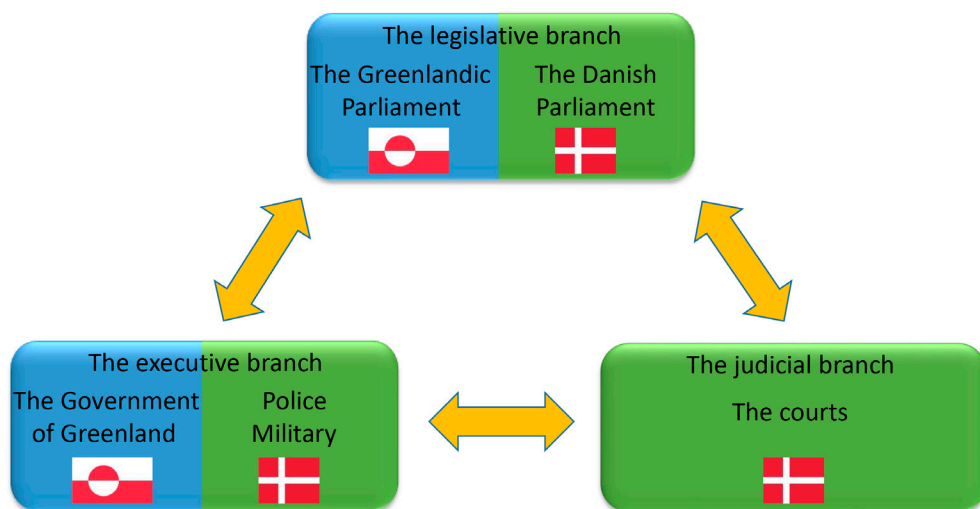
Figure 2. *Illustration of the three-part division of power in Greenland.*

It was in 1998 that Greenland introduced a parliamentary system of government with checks and balances, marking the first time that the country had a three-part division of power. During the first 20 years of home rule, from 1979 to 1998, there was no separation between the Landsting (the legislative branch) and the Landsstyre (the executive branch).

In the preparatory groundwork for the introduction of home rule, no provisions were made for a three-part division of power in the Greenlandic Parliament. This was a need that grew out of political necessity in the early years of home rule. This amendment in the interpretation of Greenland's home rule is an excellent illustration of the dynamic process toward greater autonomy, which is expressed by both home rule and self-government.

For every independent nation state, it is self-evident that it is the state that controls all three elements of the power structure. This is simply not the case for colonies. As can be seen in figure 2, Greenland's autonomous influence over the division of power is currently limited to the legislative and the executive branches, but does not include judicial power.

There can be no doubt that Greenland, with its peaceful path toward greater autonomy, is undergoing a unique development. On a theoretical level, not much has been written about this process. In 2011, the book "Political Theories of Decolonization" was published with the following statement in the introduction: *"Decolonization is unrealized, but not necessarily unrealizable"* (Kohn and McBride 2011, p. 3).

Many existing theories of decolonization focus on the unequal relationship between a colony and its motherland. But there are not many theories about how a postcolonial state can establish itself in its own context. This is expressed in the book as follows: *"A central dynamic of postcolonial political thought is the difficult transition from providing opposition to an established regime to articulating the principles, institutions and methods of self-determination"* (ibid., p. 5).

The need to express this self-determination — or fate-control, as Jens Dahl calls it — continues to increase throughout the gradual process of nation building. An actual theory for this process does not seem to exist.

3.3 Historiography

It is impossible to describe everything that has taken place in a particular place during a limited period of time. It is necessary to narrow the selection and prioritize what is to be described. This allows for many different interpretations of the course of history during a given period and within a specific geographical area. This understanding of historical accounts assumes that *"... the historical reality must always be recognized in light of the one-sidedness that comes with the use of a human recognizer, i.e. that cognition takes place according to an aspect or specific plan. The preferred aspects and plans exclude other aspects and plans that could also be chosen and which others might prefer"* (Paludan 1997, p. 474).

Dutch historian Marnix Beyen elaborated on this notion in his article "Clientelism and Politicization," in which he states: *"I believe it is possible to combine approaches of 'old-fashioned' institutional history with insights from social history, historical anthropology, urban history, cultural history and discourse analysis in order [to] acquire a better understanding of the working of power and decision-making in the past"* (Beyen 2014, p. 17).

This approach to historical writing provides an extremely broad understanding of what can be included in a description of a given historical period. At the same time, it is an approach that, from an academic perspective, lies within the social constructionist and dynamic nominal framework of understanding discussed in the chapters that are available online, as well as Ian Hacking's perspective on historicism, which has been reviewed above.

The field of history has existed as a modern, Western academic discipline since the late nineteenth century (Paludan 1997), and today it includes a number of more or less well-defined branches.

Hence, it is necessary to have an overview of the writing of history, i.e. the historiography, for a given geographical area before ultimately deciding which historical approach to take. In the rest of this section, I will clarify where I see myself with respect to the historiography of Greenland.

Søren T. Thuesen is one of the researchers who have made a historiographical analysis of historical writings related to Greenland. Thuesen addresses this topic in his preface to the book "Fremmed blandt landsmænd" (A Stranger among Compatriots) (Thuesen 2007). He differentiates between *"external and internal history"* (ibid., p. 15), where the "external history" is *"the Danes' history of the Greenlanders, and especially of the Danes in Greenland"* (ibid., p. 16), whereas the "internal history" is *"something distinctively Greenlandic, a core that outsiders can never quite reach"* (ibid., p. 17).

The historiographical classifications drawn up by Søren T. Thuesen partly — but not entirely — concur with the classifications seen in the figure that delineate the scope of the present work (figure 1, p. 23). There is a certain parallel between the first figure's category on the left, i.e. 'formed into citizens,' and Thuesen's category 'internal history,' as well as the figure's category on the right, i.e. 'acts as a citizen of society' and Thuesen's category 'external history.'

When we examine the historical dimension of the left side of the figure, where the focus is on how individuals are 'formed as citizens,' it makes sense to draw on descriptions from conceptual, cultural and institutional history and the history of mentalities. This historical approach matches more or less Thuesen's category of 'internal history.' When, however, we examine the

historical dimension of the right side of the figure, where the focus is on how individuals 'act as citizens,' it makes sense to draw on descriptions from political history, social history, economic history and business history. This historical approach matches more or less Thuesen's category of 'external history.'

This analogy is only partial because a conceptual, mental, cultural and/or institutional approach to history would be better suited to describing Greenland's 'internal history,' whereas a political, social, economic and/or business approach to history would be more suitable to describing Greenland's 'external history.' Nonetheless, it is — in principle — not connected in any way with who is responsible for a specific historiography, Greenlanders or non-Greenlanders. For example, the very same Dane, Søren T. Thuesen, wrote a description of the catechists in nineteenth century colonial Greenland (Thuesen 2007) that is an excellent contribution to Greenland's 'internal history' and how the Greenlandic population was formed into citizens during the 1800s.

H.C. Petersen (1925-2015) was one of the first Greenlanders to write a history of Greenland (Petersen 1987; 1991; 1999). Thuesen writes that one could call H.C. Petersen's history of Greenland *"a Greenlandic nationalist corrective to the previous Danish account of Greenland's history"* (Thuesen 2007, p. 18). I cannot fully subscribe to that description; it is 'nationalist,' yes, but not 'corrective.' I find it more correct to call H.C. Petersen's history of Greenland 'a Greenlandic-oriented supplement' to the previous Danish account of Greenland's history. The same could be said about Tupaarnaq Rosing Olsen's writings on Greenlandic history (Rosing Olsen 2002; 2005).

My point is that just because a Greenlander writes about Greenland's history, it doesn't automatically mean this is another approach to writing about history. Pedersen's and Olsen's writings about Greenlandic history are extremely well-founded, not least because they include Greenlandic people and rely on Greenlandic-language sources that were originally written in Greenlandic, and thus not translated from other languages like Danish. Having said that, however, Petersen's and Olsen's texts on Greenlandic history do not endeavor to emphasize a particular historical or methodical approach that could clash with the conventional, Western (primarily Danish) historiography of Greenland. In fact, Petersen's writings on Greenlandic history are essentially a readily recognizable, event-based, chronological evaluation of

Greenland's colonial era that features a number of Greenlandic perspectives on primarily Danish authors' descriptions of the course of history.

In the introductory section to Inge Høst Seiding's PhD dissertation, "Colonial Greenland — historiographical works" (Seiding 2013, pp. 18-22), the author also provides an exhaustive historiographical review. Seiden primarily focuses on the historiography, which in Thuesen's terminology corresponds to 'internal history.' With respect to figure 1, which clarifies the work's research topic, Seiding's focus is primarily on the category to the left, i.e. 'formed into citizens.'

In a proposal that is in line with a discussion pursued by Thuesen, historian Jens Heinrich also contends that Greenland's history should be rewritten by Greenlanders (Heinrich 2014). Heinrich makes another and very important point, however, when he states that from his perspective historical writing should focus on acknowledging Greenlanders as active participants in historical decision-making processes in and pertaining to Greenland (Heinrich 2015).

Recognizing Greenlandic citizens as active participants in their communities is also at the core of the work of Axel Jeremiassen in his ongoing PhD project "Borgerlig offentlighed og den politiske dagsorden. Avangnâmioĸ og Atuagagdliutit 1911-1940" (The public sphere and the political agenda. Avangnâmioĸ and Atuagagdliutit 1911-1940) (project period 2012-2015), in which he focuses on the Greenlanders who actually took part in the public debate in Greenlandic at the beginning of the twentieth century.

In view of the perspective of recent history that has been put forward by a new generation of Greenlandic historians, I see an up-and-coming "*Greenlandic academic approach to historiography*" (Thuesen 2007, p. 18) that promises to make a huge difference with respect to most previous accounts of the history of the island.

It is also from this perspective that I see this work's contribution, namely as a way in which the Greenlandic population, to a greater extent than has previously been the case, can be acknowledged as active and strategic participants in — as is the focus of the present work — the last 150 years of events in and surrounding Greenland.

Indeed, in my opinion, Greenland's history need not necessarily be written by Greenlanders, but instead Greenland's history must henceforth — to a greater extent than has been the case — be written from an autonomous Greenlandic perspective and based more on Greenland's internal interests. This renewal of Greenlandic historiography could potentially make a significant contribution to the ongoing process of Greenlandic nation building.

3.4 Selection and prioritization

As was pointed out in general terms in the introduction to this chapter, it would far surpass the scope of this work if I were to provide a detailed chronology of all events in Greenland's past 150 years of history for every branch of historiography that has been mentioned. Furthermore, it would not be expedient to the task at hand because the truly important events would then be completely lost in a sea of descriptions of insignificant occurrences.

Hence, we have to select and prioritize a certain number of historical events that we wish to focus on. In the above-mentioned quote by Marnix Beyen (p. 37), he selects and prioritizes by focusing, on the one hand, on *"social history, historical anthropology, urban history, cultural history and discourse analysis"* and, on the other hand, on *"'old-fashioned' institutional history"* (Beyen 2014, p. 17). This division is in keeping with the left-hand side of figure 1, which draws on descriptions of conceptual, cultural and institutional history, and the history of mentalities, while, at the same time, taking inspiration from descriptions from 'old-fashioned' political, social, economic and business history.

It is this division that is used in the following two sections, each with their own presentation of Greenland's history. In a final section, I will provide a synthesis of the points of intersection in the last 300 years of Greenlandic history, with an emphasis on describing the past 150 years. The point here is that I have to conduct a certain number of analyses (which are featured in chapters 4, 5 and 6) before I (in chapter 7) can establish a model for mechanisms that have had a particular impact on fundamental social changes and the gradual process of democratization.

3.5 Conceptual history and more

In earlier contexts, I have dealt with approaches to history based on conceptual, cultural and institutional history, not to mention the history of mentalities. In "Grønlandske og vestlige virkelighedsbilleder" (Greenlandic and Western images of reality) (Hansen 1988), I describe diverse perceptions of a number of selected concepts. The description of the word 'nature' illustrates both the differences and changes that come to light through the use of concepts.

"*When Greenland was colonized in the mid-eighteenth century, there was no Greenlandic word for nature. So the missionaries made up their own word: pinngortitarsuaq (something vast created by God). Of course, they took their own world view — originating from the Christian story of creation — and made it the basis for the construction of this new word*" (Hansen 1988, p. 40).

There is a very extensive range of scientific work that belongs to this category. Without attempting to group the many researchers, I will merely mention some of those that have inspired me.

First, there is one of Greenland's grand old men in the field of anthropology, etc. Robert Petersen (for example, Petersen 1978; 1993). Other examples of researchers and selected works include Kirsten Thisted (Thisted 1999), Frank Sejersen (Sejersen 2000; 2002; 2007) and Inge Kleivan (Kleivan 1995), Finn Lynge (Lynge 1992) and Hans Christian Gulløv (Gulløv 1980; 1985), who, each in their own way, have written significant contributions with a predominantly qualitative approach to this type of historiography. Furthermore, there are significant contributions with a more quantitative approach to, for instance, institutional and cultural-historical issues, such as Rasmus Ole Rasmussen's description of the hunting profession (Rasmussen 2005) and the Greenlandic diaspora (Rasmussen 2013). I would also like to highlight Ulrik Pram Gad's analyses of Greenland's late colonial period (Gad 2004; 2016). The contributions of many other researchers could also be mentioned here.

In my master's thesis, I take a cultural-historical approach to a wide range of concepts and their changed meanings and/or connotations over time, including the terms 'Eskimo' and 'North Denmark,' i.e. Greenland and the Faroe Islands (Hansen 1992).

In article 1 (Hansen 1996) and article 2 (Hansen 2003) associated with the present work, I describe in greater detail some of the discursively determined differences in the perception of two concepts, namely kayak dizziness and pedagogy (to be elaborated upon in chapter 4).

Characteristic of these descriptions is that they are concretely rooted in time and space while, at the same time, there is a dearth of specific years and dates for events and changes. When dealing with changes within the fields of conceptual, cultural, institutional and mentality history, there is usually talk of gradually introducing new aspects while phasing out old understandings, meanings and perceptions.

There are very few early, primary sources in the existing literature that deal with the Greenlandic population's understanding of the conceptual impact of European colonization. One of the earliest examples is a letter written by a Greenlander named Poul Grønlænder who wrote to Hans Egede's son Poul Egede in 1756 (Berthelsen 1983, pp. 31-35).[4] The surviving diaries written by Greenlandic catechists provide excellent insights into the Greenlanders' way of thinking during the nineteenth century, and this includes much of the material that Thuesen used in his description of the colonial era during the 1800s (Thuesen 2007).

There can be no doubt that the views held by the Danish and Norwegian colonial powers, along with the measures implemented and the decrees enforced by these Scandinavian countries, have had a decisive influence on the Greenlanders' understanding of self and their perception of the world around them, including how they interact with each other. A very early example of this can be found in the above-mentioned letter written by Poul Grønlænder.

Although significant information can be gleaned from the few surviving early Greenlandic texts, the picture still remains incomplete and hence descriptions of Greenland's conceptual, cultural, institutional and mentality history must to a large extent also be complemented by other sources in addition to just contemporary Greenlandic accounts.

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4   This letter was originally reproduced in Poul Egede's "Grammatica Grönlandica Danico Latina" (Egede 1760). Poul Egede only printed his own Danish translation of the original letter, which was written in Greenlandic, so the Greenlandic wording of the letter is currently unknown. Furthermore, Fritjof Nansen reproduced the letter in his book "Eskimo Life" (Nansen 1891).

The following subsections contain three examples of historical writing within the fields of conceptual, cultural, institution and mentality history that provide key perspectives on Greenlandic colonial history.

3.5.1 Christianity

The above-mentioned example of the word 'nature' marks one of the major upheavals in the conceptual, cultural, institutional and mentality history of Greenland, namely the spread of Christianity among the Greenlanders.

As mentioned earlier, the first permanent Christian mission in Greenland was established in 1721, when missionary Hans Egede settled on Håbets Ø (Hope Island) near Nuuk. From here, God's word spread in ripples up and down the west coast of Greenland. More than 150 years would come to pass before the first missionary reached the people in Tasiilaq (then called Ammassalik) on the east coast, and it was not until 1909 that a mission was established in the Qaanaaq (Thule) region in northwestern Greenland (Gad 1984, p. 241).

It is impossible to concretely measure the degree of influence that the transition to Christianity had on the Inuit world view (discourse), and thus on the Greenlandic population and Greenlandic society, but it has been of enormous importance. A social order is ensured by means of rules that reflect what society wants, and sanctions for what society does not want. The Christian missionary work and colonization tended to erode existing rules and sanctions along with the Inuit-Greenlandic culture's defined logical correlations among these social norms.

This cultural clash is described by several authors, including H.J. Rink (Rink 1877). This led, for example, to a gradual breakdown of the existing social order and existing conflict management principles increasingly came under pressure (Hansen 1991b). The abnormality that arose in the wake of various prohibitions and orders introduced by the missionary work and the exigencies of trade and commerce does not yet appear to have been fully reevaluated in everyday Greenlandic socialization practices (Mejer 2007; Gregersen 2010). I will elaborate on this issue in chapter 4.

3.5.2 Evolutionary theory

Another major upheaval that had a decisive influence on Greenlandic conceptual, cultural, institutional and mentality history is the discursive change during the 1830s in the Danish narration of their presence in Greenland. An overall analysis of this discursive transition will be conducted in chapter 4. Two key aspects came into play with the discursive evolution during the 1830s, namely changes in how man and his surroundings were viewed as static and created in the image of God, and changes in how the residents of Greenland were viewed as descendants of the Norse.

Regarding the first aspect, the medieval European Christian dogma was built on the concept of universal equality, in other words, the notion that all people on Earth shared a common origin in the biblical 10 tribes of Israel. Furthermore, the eighteenth century philosophy of the Enlightenment was predominantly founded on the notion of universal invariability, i.e., the existing world was largely static, without any major changes taking place. One example of this is the scientific work "Systema Naturæ" on biological taxonomy that Carl von Linné (1707-1778) published in 1735. The work begins by praising God's creation (Linné 1735, [1]).

This reflected the basic understanding that the first missionaries had when they arrived in Greenland. One of these missionaries was Henrik Christopher Glahn (1738-1804), who served in the colony of Holsteinsborg (Sisimiut) from 1763 to 1769 (Gad and Ostermann 1979-1984). Glahn had a very broad and in-depth knowledge of Greenland and the country's population, and he published several works on Greenland. In his short work "Efterretninger om det af grønlænderne saa kaldte angiak" (Notes on the Greenlanders' so-called angiak) Glahn stated that *"it is not unreasonable to believe that the Greenlanders descended from the ten tribes of Israel"* (Glahn 1784, p. 272).

Already in the latter part of the eighteenth century, the understanding of peoples and cultures as being static and equal came under pressure from new ways of thinking in both the natural and social sciences. Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744-1803) was a German poet, philosopher and theologian, and he emerged as one of the early leading social scientists. Whereas the philosophy of the Enlightenment thought of 'culture in the singular,' in Herder's four-volume main work "Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der

Menschheit" (Ideas on the Philosophy of the History of Mankind) (Herder 1784-1791), he introduced the notion of a 'plurality of cultures,' and thus a hierarchy of cultures (Pedersen 2005).

One of the founders of sociology, French philosopher Auguste Comte (1798-1857), had access during the 1820s to the writings of Immanuel Kant (1724-1804), Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831) and Johann Gottfried von Herder (Pickering 1989). Comte postulated three stages of development that he believed all societies had to experience. These new European ideas on social development were brought to Copenhagen in the late 1820s by a number of prominent figures, including the influential literary critic Johan Ludvig Heiberg (1791-1860) (Detering 2001, p. 75). Heiberg was particularly enamored with Hegel's philosophy (ibid., pp. 73-74).

Hence, it was primarily during the early nineteenth century that these new philosophical trends changed the perception of many different peoples that European countries had encountered as they colonized the world outside their continent. Pre-Darwinian views on social development and changeability had also gained a foothold in Copenhagen. These new notions gradually became the accepted norm and were further pursued in the field of natural sciences as the idea of biological variability (called biological evolution) gained widespread recognition in 1859 when Charles Darwin (1809-1882) published his groundbreaking work "On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection" (Darwin 1859) (Strager 2013). The notion of social variability in the form known as Social Darwinism was similarly embraced, especially by Herbert Spencer (1820-1903). One of Spencer's earlier works entitled "First principles" (Spencer 1862) was published already in 1862.

Accordingly, there were no longer any references to a possible connection to 'the 10 tribes of Israel' when the Greenlandic population was described during the latter part of the nineteenth century. Within the new discourse, Greenlanders were now described as a 'primitive people' as opposed to Europeans who were a 'developed cultural people' (Høiris and Marquardt 2011).

The second of the two key aspects of the Danish narration of their presence in Greenland concerned the question of whether or not the inhabitants of Greenland had descended from the Norse. In his arguments in favor of launching his missionary work in Greenland, Hans Egede pointed out that the

Norse had converted to Christianity along with the people of Iceland in the year 1000, but the last recorded contact with the Norse dated back to before the European Reformation in the sixteenth century. The pietist Hans Egede thus intended to proclaim the 'true' Christian doctrine among the Norse, who — despite the lack of physical contact for many centuries — he imagined were still living in Greenland (Hansen 1992).

I have written on several occasions that this Danish notion of the inhabitants of Greenland as descendants of the Norse was a primary motivating factor until the 1830s, i.e. for more than 110 years after Hans Egede launched his mission in Greenland (see, for example, Hansen 2004). Many expeditions were sent up and down the coast to gather information on the presumed surviving Norse settlers.

Consequently, the orders received by Wilhelm August Graah included the search for the missing settlers when he left on his expedition in 1829 along the east coast of Greenland (Graah 1832). Graah found no Norse and he stated upon his return to Copenhagen that there were no longer any living descendants in Greenland. The Norse had vanished from the face of the earth.

The only people now living in Greenland were the 'newcomers,' i.e. the Inuit, pejoratively referred to in the Icelandic sagas as *skrællinger*. Meanwhile back in Denmark, for the first time in more than 800 years, the Danes had to come up with a completely new explanation for why their country should maintain its ties with Greenland, including the ongoing presence of missionaries and colonial officials.

These two discursive shifts — the transition from a static to an evolu-tionary cultural and societal understanding along with the final realization during the 1830s that there were no longer any Norse left in Greenland — led to the emergence in the 1830s of a radically new Danish narrative of why Denmark should continue to remain in Greenland and how the administration of the Danish colonies there should be organized with respect to the Greenlandic population.

This laid the foundation for the new narration that the Danes were in Green-land to help lead the Greenlanders 'up and out' of their current state and

aspire toward the 'higher' culture and civilization of Denmark. Proclamations like 'with the best of intentions' (see: "I den bedste mening," Bryld 1998) clearly illustrate Denmark's vision of its role as a civilizing force.

Already during the early twentieth century, Knud Rasmussen became one of the central icons for this Danish perspective. Knud Rasmussen is still seen by Danes today as one of the Greenlanders who had seized the meaning of it all and consequently supported Danish ambitions in Greenland. Ramussen expressed this on a number of occasions, including in the preface to his free translation into Danish of the first novel written in Greenlandic, "singnagtugaк" (Storch 1914) written by Mathias Storch (1883-1957), in which the translator includes himself as a Dane when he writes *"we Danes"* (Rasmussen 1915, p. XI). Rasmussen notes that there are certain obligations *"that are always incumbent upon a nation that assumes the maternal responsibility of raising a primitive hunting people in new ways"* (ibid.).

This attitude was reflected by new initiatives in education, in which teachers relentlessly pontificated to pupils and students on the virtues of Denmark's self-prescribed mission to bring civilization to Greenland. The massive influence of the colonial power left an indelible mark on the Greenlandic population's understanding of the Danish presence in Greenland, and thus on their own identity as Greenlanders. One example of this is the Greenlandic composer Jonathan Petersen (1871-1961), who published the song "Danmarkip pia" (Denmark's property) (Petersen 1913).

It was not until the early 1960s that we witness a major Greenlandic effort to call into question this Danish narrative, as will be explored in greater detail in chapter 6. Today, this Danish perspective from the nineteenth century continues to leave an indelible mark on the Greenlanders' sense of identity, as will be further explored in the analyses.

It is my opinion that essential elements of the Danish perspective and perception of Greenland and the Greenlanders continue to influence many aspects of current Danish society's views of the island and its indigenous population. This is true of Danes from all walks of life, from ordinary citizens to organizations and politicians (e.g. Hansen 2014b). There are, of course, a myriad of nuances in different Danes' understandings of Greenland and the Greenlanders, but many of their views are still implicitly characterized by

the Danish sense of purpose in Greenland that was forged in the wake of the revelation that there were no longer any Norse on the island, as Graah noted in the preface to his book on the expedition to East Greenland (Graah 1832).

Figure 3. *The Danish view of Greenland, with all of its evolutionary logic, is crystal clear and beautifully illustrated through this depiction of Prime Minister Thorvald Stauning and the working classes. The painting was created by Wilfred Glud (1872-1946) in 1936. In addition to the working classes, there are references to the Faroe Islands, Iceland and Greenland. It should be noted that Greenland — in keeping with the Danish view of the Greenlanders and in contrast to all other figures depicted here — is portrayed in the painting as a child. This reflects the core of the change in discourse that was introduced under the Danish colonial power in the 1830s. It persisted in 1936 and, even today, still remains the prevailing attitude among many Danes.*
*(*The painting is owned by Arbejdernes Landsbank, i.e. the National Workers' Bank, photo: Troels Aagaard*)*

3.5.3 Colonial administration

A third decisive upheaval — which in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was of great importance to the Greenlanders' sense of identity —

is linked to the principles behind the Danish colonial administration in Greenland. The Directive of 1782 prescribed separation as the principle of interaction between the Danish colonists and the Greenlandic population (Instrux 1782). This changed with the discursive reorientation during the 1830s (Sveistrup and Dalgaard 1945).

The Danish colonial administration in Greenland was initially based on direct Danish rule, but already in the 1700s, and largely as a consequence of the 1835 Commission, there was a gradual increase in the involvement of segments of the Greenlandic population in colonial governance, administration and services. With the introduction of the Guardian Councils, first as an experiment in 1857 and then as a permanent arrangement from 1861-1862, the Danish colonial administration was increasingly characterized by a combination of direct and indirect colonial rule (Gad 1984).

It was here that Hinrich Johannes Rink (1819-1893) came to play a crucial role as an effective administrator who organized the Danish colonial administration largely along the lines of characteristic European models. From 1848 to 1851, Rink worked as a geologist in northwestern Greenland. Then, in 1853-1855, he was appointed the colonial administrator and provincial governor (*inspektør*) of the Julianehåb (Qaqortoq) colonial district. Rink's main influence was as a provincial governor for the entire Southern Inspectorate in the years 1855-1868, which had its headquarters in the colony of Godthåb (Nuuk) (Schultz-Lorentzen 2000).

There were first and foremost two areas in the Danish administration where Greenlandic labor was involved early on. Greenlanders worked as catechists who helped the missionaries preach Christianity, and as midwives who helped the colonial administration combat disease and aid women in childbirth.

Already by the late 1820s, there was an initiative to train Greenlandic women to serve as midwives. It was the doctor Johan Frederik Lerch (1780-1855) who took this initiative in the colony of Claushavn (Ilimanaq) in 1829. Furthermore, to educate up-and-coming midwives in Greenland, he wrote a book called "Underretning for Jordemødre i Grønland" (Information for midwives in Greenland) (Lerch 1829), with texts in Danish and Greenlandic. The 1835 Commission discussed the possibility of educating Greenlandic midwives, but it was not until 1847 that the first Greenlander, Rosine Kleist, was sent to

Denmark to complete a two-year course in midwifery. She was followed in 1855 and 1867 by Ane Sofie Rosbach, Meta Karen Rosbach and Karoline Rosing. In 1903 there were 34 trained midwives, and by 1930 the number had risen to 100 trained Greenlandic midwives (Rønsager 2002, pp. 71-76).

It is important to note that the family names of the first educated Greenlandic midwives reappear among the names of today's political and economic Greenlandic elites. Potential candidates for a midwifery education were primarily selected from among the domestic servants working for Danish colonists, girls born of mixed Greenlandic-Danish marriages and women who were married to Danish men (Bertelsen 1945, pp. 124ff).

The other area where Greenlandic labor was involved early on was the missionaries' use of catechists. The catechists in the missions were fervent proselytizers of the faith. Greenlanders had been involved in missionary work since the 1700s (Thuesen 2007), but it was only after the Danes redefined the purpose of their presence in Greenland during the 1830s that the colonial power introduced a proper training program for catechists. Following the recommendation of the 1835 Commission, a catechism seminary, Ilinniarfissuaq, was established in 1845 in the colony of Godthåb. This institution still exists today, and in 2008 it was transformed into a department of Ilisimatusarfik (the University of Greenland). In 1848 a catechist seminary was also established in the colony of Jakobshavn (Ilulissat) to serve northern Greenland. The northern Greenlandic seminary was closed in 1875. Henrik Wilhjelm has very thoroughly described the first period of Greenlandic seminaries in his exceptional three-volume work (Wilhjelm 1997; 2002; 2008).

Similar to the selection of female midwife students, Danish colonial administrators gave preference to male students of catechism in Greenland who primarily came from mixed Greenlandic-Danish families. This has been thoroughly documented by Søren T. Thuesen in his analysis of Greenlandic catechists. Thuesen concluded that the students' family backgrounds played a role in recruitment for the seminary (Thuesen 2007).

"During the first year at the seminary, the student protocol does not provide information about the father's profession, yet it is clear when looking at the surnames that mixed families are strongly represented: Berthelsen, Platou, Berglund, Fontain, Chemnitz, Motzfeldt, etc. In other words, young people

with a Danish ancestor (provider of the family name) going back perhaps two, three or four generations" (Thuesen 2007, pp. 108-9).

In a more general sense, Hans Erik Rasmussen describes in his analyses how traditions based on social endogamy developed among the Greenlandic population during the colonial era (Rasmussen 1983, 1986). Historian Inge Høst Seiding comes to a similar conclusion when she writes: *"A closer examination of the development of mixed households shows how this trend arose as a result of the policies and practices directed toward mixed families in the early heyday of the Royal Greenland Trading Company. Aside from illustrating how, on the Greenlandic side, there must have been significant new interpretations of family households and their functions in small communities, this also shows how mixed families as a colonial category created fertile ground for the establishment of a new, separate Greenlandic population group"* (Seiding 2016, pp. 77-78).

The key point here is that although the Greenlandic population was subject to the decisions and priorities of the Danish colonial administration, the population was not a group of entirely passive and unresisting individuals. Primarily those groups of the population that the colonial power had integrated into the colonial administration, etc., exploited the new situation and the granted privileges in diverse ways, allowing them to think and act strategically and thereby enhance their families' standing in Greenlandic society. This led to the formation of a number of family-based networks, as is well illustrated in Gitte Trondheim's PhD dissertation (Trondheim 2010), and it is these family networks that I have chosen to call in various contexts 'family clans' or simply 'clans' (e.g. Hansen 2002; 2005).

Today's family clan systems took shape during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries from the interplay of three primary factors. The first factor dates back to the days preceding European contact, when life in the winter settlements must have been regulated by some form of social cohesion, which was often family-based. Hence, it was not an entirely unfamiliar notion for the Greenlandic population to think of the family in a broad sense as a social network within the new colonial community structures. The second factor was the colonial administration's approach of selecting some families over others. The third factor was that these families were strategically (including via endogamy) amassing a number of social privileges for themselves within

Greenlandic society and gradually managed to assert their interests more than other families in Greenlandic political and business circles. This family network system is further analyzed in chapter 5.

3.5.4 Mental colonialism

Based on the above, the interaction between an Inuit-Greenlandic mentality and a Western-Danish mentality can be described as a Western mental colonization of the Greenlandic population. This description can be divided into an initial, a main and a phase-out period.

It has been established that the first influence between the two cultures took place during the fifteenth century, when groups of Thule Inuit first came into contact with the Norse, and later encountered early European whalers, meaning that the mental influence could not have begun earlier (Gad 1984). This contact intensified from 1721, but there was still only limited contact between Inuit and Europeans.

The main period of European mental influence on the Greenlandic population began in 1832, which was — as previously mentioned — the year that Graah published his book on the expedition along the east coast of Greenland.

The main period of European mental influence in Greenland ended in 2002, which was the year that marked a discursive turning point in the Greenlandic narration. The decisive event in question was when the home rule administration hired a modern shaman, Maannguaq Berthelsen, to conduct a ceremony, in the days between Christmas 2002 and New Year's day 2003, that would expel 'the evil Danish spirits' from the premises of the government's central administration office building in Nuuk (Politiken 2003). This was a very powerful symbolic act that was initiated immediately after Hans Enoksen had become the country's prime minister in the wake of the general elections on December 3, 2002. News of the event made headlines around the world and Jens Lyberth, the newly appointed administrative director of the home rule government, was subsequently forced out of office, but by then the discursive transition had already become a reality (ibid.).

Although this rupture is connected with a concrete year, namely 2002, it should not be forgotten that these are gradual transitions where, for

example, there was a prelude to this event and where further measures were taken afterwards. It is not possible to make a qualified statement about when the ongoing phase-out of an organized European mental influence will assume a new character.

An overview of the different periods of mental influence on Inuit-Greenlandic thinking in the form of mental colonialism by European-Danish players can be outlined as follows in figure 4.

Period	Time span
Initial period	1400s, intensified in 1721
Main period	1832-2002
Phase-out period	2002 until ????

Figure 4. *Periods of European cultural imperialism in Greenland.*

3.6 Political history

The year 1721 marks the start of the formal, orchestrated Danish-Norwegian colonization of Greenland and, consequently, the start of the first European formal governance and administration of Greenland after the disappearance of the Norse from the island. In this section I will present a few significant events in Greenland's political, social, economic and business colonial history.

It is political and event-based history that has constituted the dominant form of historiography to date. Significant historians here include Finn Gad (Gad 1967; 1969a; 1969b; 1976; 1984), Mads Lidegaard (Lidegaard 1961; 1968) and Axel Kjær Sørensen (Sørensen 1983). In addition, there have been important contributions from people like Jørgen Viemose with his book that was very characteristic of the day (Viemose 1976), Ole Marquardt (Marquardt 2006; 2011) and, last but not least, Jens Dahl (Dahl 1986a). In recent years, contributions have been made by Greenlandic historians such as Tupaarnaq Rosing Olsen (Rosing Olsen 2002), Jens Heinrich (Heinrich 2012) and Inge Høst Seiding (Seiding 2013), to name just a few.

After the initial somewhat erratic 50 years of colonization, the Royal Green-landic Trading Company (KGH) became the dominant player, starting with its founding in 1774. A few years later, the Directive of 1782 came to estab-lish much of the framework for the work of the KGH during the many years that followed. The Directive provided, among other things, for an administra-tive division of West Greenland into a northern inspectorate and a southern inspectorate (Instrux 1782). This administrative division remained in place until 1908 (Sørensen 1983).

The first Greenland Commission was established in 1835, and its recom-mendations significantly affected the development of the colonial govern-ment for many years to come. One of the consequences of the commission's recommendation to involve the Greenlandic population in colonial activities was that, upon the initiative of inspector H.J. Rink, the Guardian Councils were established on an experimental basis in 1857 and made permanent after 1861-1862. With the establishment of the Guardian Councils, Green-landers were allowed a modicum of political participation in certain elements of the colonial administration. The political framework was then expanded to allow the Greenlandic population to become increasingly involved in the formal governance of the country.

When Denmark received a constitution in 1849, it did not have any direct impact on Greenland. However, the legal standing of the Danish West Indies, Iceland, the Faroe Islands and the duchies of Schleswig, Holstein and Lauen-burg was clarified within the first five years after the adoption of the Con-stitution. As for Greenland, another 50 years would come to pass before a similar step was taken because Greenland's constitutional standing was not defined until 1908 with the adoption of the "Act on the Administration of the Colonies in Greenland, etc." (Act 1908).

In the period between the Treaty of Kiel in 1814 and the adoption of the Danish Constitution in 1849, Greenland clearly changed its status from being one of three Danish North Atlantic dependencies (the Faroe Islands, Iceland and Greenland) to no longer falling into the same category as the Faroe Islands and Iceland. This gradual change in the Danish perception of the Greenlanders is brilliantly illustrated in Ole Marquardt's article "Grønlæn-derne og vestens civilisation — træk af Rink-tidens grønlandspolitiske diskus-sion" (The Greenlanders and Western civilization — characteristics of political

debate in Greenland during the Rink era), which focuses on the political debates in the Danish Parliament after 1835 (Marquardt 1999). It was not until the passing of the Act of 1908 that Greenland was officially given a formal legal status that disassociated it from Iceland and the Faroe Islands, which both remained within the framework of the Constitution, whereas Greenland was pigeonholed with the other Danish colony, the Danish West Indies, and thus remained outside the scope of the Danish Constitution.

Time period	Era	Primary external contact	Primary resource exploitation
From earliest cultures till second part of the 17th century	Nomadic hunting and fishing	Almost none; peripherally the Norse and European whalers	Seal, fish
From second part of the 17th century till around 1950	Early industrialization	Denmark-Norway as colonisers	Seal, whales, fish, prawns plus minerals
From around 1950 till around 1979 and 2006	National industrialization	Denmark as developer	Fish, prawns plus minerals
From around 1979 and 2006 and still in force	Global industrialization	The global market as a business partner	Minerals, gas energy resources plus fish, prawns

Figure 5. *The four eras of occupational structure in Greenland (Hansen 2013a, p. 87 [article 6] – with some additions).*

The Act of 1908 foresaw the founding of the regional Provincial Councils, which were formally established after 1911. In 1950 the two Provincial

Councils were consolidated into one Greenlandic National Council, which was the political assembly in Greenland until home rule was introduced in 1979. At about the same time that the Provincial Councils were consolidated into a single national body, Greenland's colonial status was formally abolished by a constitutional amendment that came into force in 1953 and incorporated Greenland into the Danish state, with a status similar to a domestic administrative region, although there was an enormous difference between Denmark's administrative regions (Danish: amter) in Europe and Greenland. It was not until 1961 that East Greenland and Avanersuaq (Thule) were incorporated as fully integrated parts of Greenland. From 1979 to 2009, Greenland had home rule, and since 2009 the country has enjoyed an even greater degree of autonomy with the status of self-government.

The category that covers the political historiography also includes business history. The development of Greenlandic business history has been described in an earlier context in one of the articles of the work (Hansen 2013a [article 6]). An overview of Greenland's business history, which also merits inclusion, is shown in figure 5.

3.7 Comprehensive historical overview

A combination of conceptual (section 3.5, p. 42) and political (section 3.6, p. 54) historical descriptions of Greenland's colonial history provides a more nuanced presentation than relying merely upon a limited subset of historical descriptions.

The year 1721 remains the most significant starting point for the Danish-Norwegian colonization of Greenland. The Directive of 1782 marked the establishment of the first formal colonial administration for the Danish-Norwegian presence in Greenland. The next key date in Greenland's colonial history was 1832, the year when Graah's conclusion served as a catalyst for the 1835 Commission, which defined an entirely new approach to the Danish colonization of the island. Then came the 1908 Act, which formally declared Greenland's status as a colony, the constitutional amendment of 1953, the introduction of home rule in 1979 and, most recently, the introduction of self-government in 2009. This gives us a total of seven distinct periods, each of which is described in detail below.

The first period of Danish colonial history in Greenland extends from 1721 to 1782. This was clearly a **_preliminary_** period of colonization. Religious missions and trading posts were established in several places, and most of the colonies on the west coast date back to this first period.

The second colonial period began with the Directive of 1782 and lasted until 1832. This second period can be referred to as **_parasitic_** colonialism (Kanstrup 1990). Parasitic colonialism denotes a peripheral and not too intrusive form of foreign presence, where trade and missionary work most likely take place, but where the trading companies basically refrain from directly intervening in community affairs, and where missionary activities distinctly and exclusively focus on the salvation of the soul (ibid., p. 233). For example, the restrictions on Danish-Greenlandic marriages ordained by the Directive of 1782 perfectly illustrate this parasitic logic with regard to the local population (Instrux 1782).

The officially stated reason for colonizing Greenland in the eighteenth century was the desire to reestablish contact with the Norse, which had been interrupted since the sixteenth century. But 111 years would pass after the establishment of the first colony in 1721 before people finally admitted around the year 1832 that the Norse no longer lived in Greenland (Graah 1832). The Norse, whose colonization of Greenland was spearheaded by Erik the Red in 982, were no longer in the country. Hence, the official objective of Hans Egede's mission, to bring Protestant teachings to the Catholic Norse, was clearly no longer possible. Until 1832, while there were still hopes of finding descendants of the Norse, the missionary work and trading with the Inuit population should be viewed as a by-product of the Danish-Norwegian presence. This approach had to be amended after 1832.

The start of the third period in Danish colonial history began with the new realization in 1832 that the Norse had completely disappeared from Greenland. This meant that the Danish colonial power had to reformulate the justification for its presence. The new mantra became that Denmark was in Greenland to help the Greenlandic people. Hence, Denmark decided to consolidate its colonization and, in 1835, it established the first commission on Greenland (Sveistrup and Dalgaard 1945). This changed the character of the colonial power's presence and it gradually assumed an increasingly pervasive and regulatory quality. The school system was expanded already in 1838,

and from 1857 Greenland had its first partially democratic body in the form of the Guardian Councils. This was actually not a democratic institution in the contemporary sense of the word. For example, the chairman was appointed by the Danish colonial administration. During this period, Denmark, like other European colonial powers, gradually established a *classic* colonial administration system.

It was not until nearly half a century after the first Danish constitution in 1849 — with the adoption of the "Act on the Administration of the Colonies in Greenland, etc." (Act 1908) — that Denmark achieved its goal of mentally relocating Greenland from its position in 1814, in which it was defined as one of the three Danish settlements in the North Atlantic, to its final category in 1908, whereby it was placed alongside the only other existing Danish colony at the time, the Danish West Indies. The explicitly colonial era ushered in back then was a time of **intensive** colonialism and thus essentially a continuation of the previous period. It was during this fourth period that the Danes cemented their control of the organization of the administration of Greenland. Diverse types of new initiatives were launched: commercial activities progressively focused to a greater extent on fishing; Danish was gradually introduced as a subject in schools; and the 1933 verdict in The Hague in favor of Denmark ultimately gave the country supremacy over the entire island of Greenland. But this decision led to no fundamental changes on the part of the Danes (Sørensen 1983).

However, the outbreak of the World War II meant that Denmark was cut off from Greenland, and this marked the beginning of major upheavals on an international scale as *"[a]ttitudes towards the colonial system changed during and after the war with the realization that colonies had a right to independence… The main result was that… after 1945 it was no longer considered legitimate to try to improve the colonial system"* (DIIS 2007, p. 295).

"Even though Denmark was very keen on supporting the development of the United Nations, it was only after we were pressured that, in 1946, we accepted that Greenland should be considered a non-self-governing territory, i.e. a colony about which information was to be transmitted to the UN. This meant that the decolonization process swayed Danish policies toward a change in Greenland's colonial status. For Denmark, it became imperative to discard the negatively charged term 'colonial power' " (ibid.).

Danish efforts to escape the stigmatizing status of a 'colonial power' culminated in the government's launch of a modernization project for Greenland from 1950 onwards and in Copenhagen's massive integration project, which formally started with the constitutional amendment of 1953. These initiatives allowed Denmark to officially inform the UN in September 1954 that Greenland's status had changed, effective June 5, 1953 – see figure 6.

Figure 6. *The official photo of the Danish delegation on September 7, 1954 at the meeting of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories (the UN committee to which the colonial powers had to report). At the meeting, Denmark informed the UN that Greenland, effective June 5, 1953, had been annexed into the Kingdom of Denmark "with rights corresponding to those of other parts of the country" (UN 2013). The Danish delegation included the first two Greenlandic parliamentarians, so they could vouch for Greenland's new status. The UN accepted that Greenland had been annexed and declared that Denmark should no longer be considered a colonial power. The members of the Danish delegation were, from left to right: Augo Lynge, P.P. Sveistrup (standing), Eske Brun and Frederik Lynge (ibid.).*

(United Nations, New York, photo no. 137004)

The amendment of the Danish Constitution in 1953, in which Greenland was integrated into the Danish kingdom as an overseas administrative district, marks the beginning of the fifth colonial era and a major change in a perception of Greenland that dated back more than 100 years. In 1951 Greenland received a single 'national' council (to replace the two regional Provincial Councils) and was for the first time directly represented in the Danish Parliament by two individual members elected in Greenland. Technically speaking, this brought an end to the colonial era, but in reality a form of colonization persisted with Copenhagen governing Greenland from abroad, as per the definition of colonialism at the beginning of this chapter. The Greenlandic National Council only served in an advisory capacity with respect to matters that were handled by the Danish Parliament (Sørensen 1984). This could be called an era of ***hidden*** colonialism. The National Council had no real, autonomous decision-making authority on issues that were central to Greenland's ongoing development as a society. The transition from the intensive to the hidden colonial era coincided with Denmark's launch of a massive effort to modernize Greenland's social and economic infrastructure, including the establishment of the Greenland Technical Organization (GTO).

Starting in the early 1960s, Greenlandic authorities expressed their desire for greater self-determination on issues that affected the island. These aspirations were primarily voiced by young Greenlanders who were pursuing an education in Denmark. This was a radical departure from the previous sense of identity that had prevailed among Greenlanders for roughly a century. The desire for greater self-determination intensified during the early 1970s and morphed from a popular aspiration to a concrete political demand (Dahl 1986a). The process culminated in negotiations and the subsequent introduction of home rule on May 1, 1979. This marked the start of the sixth colonial era, which can be characterized as a formal, ***early*** decolonization process. The radical transformation in 1979 was on par with the changes experienced in 1953 and 1832. Over the following 20 years, Greenlanders assumed authority over all the areas of jurisdiction that the Home Rule Act allowed (ibid.)

Again, following political pressure from the Greenlandic side, negotiations on revising the home rule agreement were initiated in 2004. This resulted in the introduction of self-government on July 21, 2009, thereby ushering in the

seventh colonial era. With the inception of self-government, Greenland has moved into a more **mature** phase of the ongoing decolonization process, and thus the island is experiencing in many ways a continuation of the previous era. One of the notable differences is that with self-government Greenland has assumed full responsibility for managing its oil and mineral resources. Furthermore, the annual block grant from Denmark to Greenland has been enshrined in law and hence its size is now of a more static nature, since it no longer has to be negotiated on an annual basis, as was the case under home rule from 1979 to 2009.

To understand the changes from era to era, it is important to come to terms with the different logics that prevailed in each of the seven colonial eras of Greenland's colonial history identified in this book. One way that these differences can be illustrated is by pointing to an iconic individual from each of the seven eras.

If anyone is an icon of the **initial** period of colonialism in Greenland, it is the missionary Hans Egede (1686-1758). Egede was the main driving force behind establishing missionary work — and thus also commercial trade — in Greenland. He was involved in the colonization of Greenland right up until the time of his death.

We can also point to the missionary, zoologist and linguist Otto Fabricius (1744-1822) as an icon of the era of **parasitic** colonialism. He is a prime example of the fascination with Greenland during the Age of Enlightenment (Wolff 1996).

In 1780 Fabricius published "Fauna Groenlandica," with descriptions of 468 species. The first described species in the work is "Homo Groenlandicus," followed by a description of the walrus (Fabricius 1780).

An obvious icon of the era of **classic** colonialism is Hinrich Johannes Rink (1819-1893). H.J. Rink was a geologist, colonial administrator and collector of folklore, and he worked in Greenland during the years 1848-1868. Rink, along with the famous linguist Samuel Kleinschmidt, was largely involved in the establishment of the first Guardian Councils from 1857 onwards, and he greatly influenced the organization of the Danish colonial administration. He thus played a key role in the development of society in Greenland during the

late 1800s (Schultz-Lorentzen 2000). Rink was also keenly interested in Inuit ways of conceptualizing the world around us (see Rink 1866; 1868).

The most famous Danish icon from the entire colonial period in Greenland is Knud Rasmussen (1879-1933). He was highly active right up to his death during the **intensive** colonial era from 1908 to 1953. Rasmussen had a significant influence on the Danish colonial administration. The Danes primarily portrayed him as a Greenlander, while the Greenlanders saw him as more of a Dane, as can be seen, for example, in a brief account written by a Greenlandic hunter named Thomas Frederiksen (Frederiksen 1980, pp. 80-83). For decades, Danish researchers have focused on Rasmussen as one of the key icons within the entire Danish 1832 discourse. During the five-year period 2010-2014 alone, Danish researchers published three large monographs about Knud Rasmussen (Michelsen 2011; 2014; Barfoed 2011; Hastrup 2010). Furthermore, the Danish Broadcasting Corporation, Danmarks Radio, recently produced a radio program about Knud Rasmussen with the participation of members of the Danish royal family, including Queen Margrethe II and Crown Prince Frederik (Lowzow and Hansen 2017).

When it comes to choosing an icon for the period of **hidden** colonialism, there are a number of different possible candidates. I have selected Jørgen F.C. Olsen (1916-1985) because, throughout his long career as a Greenlandic politician, he was an influential political representative from one of the leading family clans, the Olsen clan, which primarily has ties with the town of Sisimiut. Having served 24 uninterrupted years as a member of the National Council (1955-1979), he was without a doubt the longest-serving politician in that body (Sørensen 1983). Olsen was nicknamed 'Greenland's Lumumba' (Fleischer 2000).

Jonathan Motzfeldt is the obvious choice as the icon of the era of the **early** phase-out of colonialism, i.e. home rule. The priest Jonathan Motzfeldt (1938-2010) was arguably the most notable politician of his time. He has been referred to as 'the father of the Greenlandic nation' and 'the king of Greenland.' Motzfeldt was a member of the Greenlandic Parliament (1979-2009), the prime minister (1979-1991 and 1997-2002) and the speaker of parliament (2003-2008). He also served as the chairman of Siumut (1977-1979, 1980-1987 and 1998-2002) (Rosing 2008).

The most recent colonial era, the era of a **mature** phase-out of colonialism — the self-government era — only began in June 2009. I have selected Kuupik V. Kleist (1958-, Inuit Ataqatigiit) as an icon of the initial period of the era of self-government. In 2009-2013 Kleist served as the first head of Naalakkersuisut (head of government, i.e. prime minister) under the Act on Greenland Self-Government. This made Kleist the first head of government since the introduction of home rule in 1979 who did not come from the Siumut party. Kleist was a member of the Danish Parliament in 2001-2007, and he served as the chairman of the Inuit Ataqatigiit party in 2007-2014.

From April 2013 to October 2014, Aleqa Hammond (1965-, Siumut) was the head of Naalakkersuisut (prime minister). As the first two leaders of the self-government era, Kuupik Kleist and Aleqa Hammond have each made their distinctive mark on recent years of political governance in Greenland. On election day November 28, 2014, a center-liberal government came to power under Siumut, the Democrats and Atassut, and Kim Kielsen became the head of Naalakkersuisut. This was Kim Kielsen's first coalition. Just two years later, Kielsen entered into a new coalition agreement on October 27, 2016. This coalition consisted of Siumut, Inuit Ataqatigiit and Parti Naleraq. One of the areas that Naalakkersuisut focused on was achieving independence. In addition, a commission was established to draw up a constitution for Greenland.

It remains to be seen over the coming years which ideological path toward further decolonization will gain widespread political support over the long term. Since around 2005, the two major parties — Siumut and Inuit Ataqatigiit — have represented two very different strategies toward greater decolonization.

When these two parties forged a coalition agreement in October 2016, it marked a significant rapprochement in their approach to the issue of decolonization.

A comprehensive overview of the seven eras in Greenland's colonial history is outlined in figure 7, which is referred to in the work's further analyses, including the conclusion, and provides an excellent starting point for examining the mechanisms that have had a notable influence on fundamental changes in society and the ongoing process of democratization.

Star-ting year	Colonial era	Political organ in Greenland	Icon
1721	Initial period of colonialism ('The old Greenland') [5]	None	Hans Egede (1686-1758)
1782	Parasitic colonialism (separation)	Two inspectora-tes (1782)	Otto Fabricius (1744-1822)
1832	Classic colonialism (recategorization)	Two Guardian Councils (1857/1863)	Hinrich J. Rink (1818-1893)
1908	Intensive colonialism (consolidation)	Two regional provincial councils (1911)	Knud Rasmussen (1879-1933)
1953	Hidden colonialism (administrative district)	A collective National Council (1951)	Jørgen C.F. Olsen (1916-1985)
1979	Early phase-out of colonialism (home rule)	Greenlandic Parliament (1979)	Jonathan Motzfeldt (1938-2010)
2009	Mature phase-out of colonialism (self-government)	Inatsisartut (2009)	Kuupik V. Kleist (1958-)

Figure 7. *Overview of seven colonial eras in the governance of Greenland since 1721. The selected icons represent key elements that are characteristic of the respective colonial era. A number of the definitions of the seven identified colonial eras were first proposed by the author.*

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5   The term 'The old Greenland' stems from Hans Egede's book "Det gamle Grøn-lands nye perlustration" (Old Greenland's New Perlustration) (Egede 1741), where it serves as a direct reference to the notion of the Norse presence in Greenland.

Although this overview clearly outlines the seven eras in Greenland's colonial history, it tells nothing about what precisely drove the transitions from one era to the next — for it is these transitions that lie at the heart of social change and the path toward greater democratization throughout Greenland's colonial history. To better understand these mechanisms, I will carry out a number of analyses based on the model in figure 1 (p. 23), in my examination of Greenland's colonial history and in the overview of the seven eras of colonial history as outlined in figure 7. By way of introduction, it is important to point out an important distinction between two terms: (1) discourse, which is taken from the left-hand side of figure 1, and (2) citizenship, which is taken from the right-hand side of figure 1.

Discourse refers to 'the great division.' This division can be synchronous between cultures, as is the case in the Greenlandic colonial context between Inuit and European discourse. Different discourses may also exist diachronically[6] over time, as is the case, for example, with the logic behind the Danish presence in Greenland before and after 1832.

By contrast, citizenship is related to 'the small division,' which refers to different forms of governance. It is called 'small' because there can be several different forms of governance and thus several different perceptions of citizenship within a given discourse, and the same type of governance can occur in different discourses.

Viewed with respect to the seven eras, a discourse typically covers several of the eras, whereas there are a number of different forms of governance and thus several different perceptions of citizenship within each of the seven eras. The seven eras serve as a basic reference for the following chapters and their analyses of discourses, citizenship and legitimacy.

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6   Diachronic means of, relating to, or dealing with phenomena (as of language or culture) as they occur or change over a period of time.

3.8 Summary

This chapter started out by sketching a relativistic view of history and historiography. Based on a definition of colonialism, it appears that Greenland's colonial era began in 1721 and that Greenland formally remains a Danish colony.

By linking a conceptual historical (etc.) and a political, historical (etc.) description of Greenland's colonial period, it was possible to identify seven distinct colonial eras, as shown in figure 7.

Three of the transitions between the colonial eras are identified as highly significant, namely those that occurred in 1832, 1953 and 1979.

Finally, the analyses in the following chapters aim to pinpoint the mechanisms in the transitions from one era to the next.

4 Competing discourses

As part of the explanation in chapter 2 of the work's research topic, working hypothesis no. 1 says that, *due to different discourses emanating from within and from outside society, there can be no complete connection between the principles of society's externally implemented education and the principles of each individual's internally established upbringing*.

The following question has been formulated with respect to work hypothesis no. 1: How have competing discourses been experienced in Greenland over the past 150 years?

The answer to this question that is tied to work hypothesis no. 1 is based on a synthesis of articles 1 and 3, and on a small amount of supplementary material.

4.1 Discourse

In the social constructionist and historicist approaches, researchers have generally emphasized that knowledge is linked to specific times and places. It thus follows that different times and places have given rise to diverse pockets of knowledge, and these have been given different names by theorists. Thomas S. Kuhn referred to paradigms (Kuhn 1962). In the social sciences, French intellectual Michel Foucault (1926-1984) gained a wider degree of acceptance with his designation for this phenomenon.

Foucault spoke of discourses, which he defined in his work "The Archeology of Knowledge" (Foucault 1969) in several nearly identical ways. Initially, Foucault referred to discursive formations:
"Whenever one can describe, between a number of statements, such a system of dispersion, whenever, between objects, types of statement, concepts, or thematic choices, one can define a regularity (an order, correlations, positions and functionings, transformations), we will say, for the sake of convenience, that we are dealing with a discursive formation" (Foucault 1969, p. 45).
Foucault defined the concept of discourse itself as an extension of this concept. *"[T]he term discourse can be defined as the group of statements that belong to a single system of formation"* (ibid., p. 107).

Foucault does not come much closer to making a precise definition. Since then, the concept has been used in a wide range of contexts. A slightly more comprehensive definition is as follows:

"Central to the different perceptions of the concept of discourse is that the patterns of a linguistic character available to people in social contexts, viewed as phenomena that are tied to a specific time and place, shape and limit thoughts and actions. They can therefore be seen both as created by and creators of social order" (Sørensen and Tiemroth 2009).

In the work here, discourse is thus used in the sense of 'groups of statements that are connected within a cohesive system, whose social validity is connected to a time and a place.' A discourse can compete with other discourses both synchronously with interdiscursive sources and diachronically with intra-discursive sources.

4.2 Parallel worlds

By applying the term 'competing' to discourses, both in the title of the chapter and in the question, the intention is to point out that the diverse discourses to be discussed here have been in contiguity with each other, either synchronously or diachronically, and have appeared as mental parallel worlds, i.e. that the current discourses have been exposed to people who have either been affected by the clash between them or have had to make more or less conscious and fundamental choices between them.

This approach to discourses goes hand in hand with an understanding that people can choose in different ways and shop, so to speak, among different and often incommensurable (incompatible) elements of discourses. It essentially allows for a lack of coherence among discursive logics, something that Ian Hacking refers to as *"looseness of fit"* (Hacking 1985, p. 158). The point is that each individual is able in different situations to strategically manage their actions within different discourses, and navigate among them, and thus come to terms with the lack of a logical correlation. It is this lack of a correlation that is referred to in the working hypothesis.

In figure 1 (p. 23) it is the lack of correlation, or the potential disconnect, that can occur on the left side of the figure in question, in other words, a lack of correlation between fields D and A.

The working hypothesis includes the wording "… *discourses emanating from within and from outside society*." 'Within' and 'from the outside' indicate the existence of a particular position, i.e. the position that is the starting point for 'Greenlandic society' in contrast to, for example, 'Danish society.' Greenlandic society is not a homogeneous entity, which is precisely one of the themes of this book. Hence, when we speak here of 'from within' in relation to Greenlandic society, it must be clarified that the position is the segment of Greenlandic society that is to a greater degree a continuation of a previously purely Inuit discourse as opposed to the segment that is more in line with a Western discourse. In other words, this is based on a position that is primarily expressed within the private sphere of Greenlandic society (see figure 1).

During the historical account, it was briefly mentioned that, already during the earliest colonial era, the bans and injunctions introduced by missionaries and traders added to the creation of areas of abnormality in Greenlandic society.

As noted in section 3.5.1 (p. 44), there is a correlation between this colonial abnormality and certain discursive parallel worlds. In the rivalry among various discourses, this is a case of one discourse becoming dominant over another one. Hence, persons acting within the dominant discourse may find that discursively determined cultural logics have been dominated from the outside and deprived of their socially accepted truth value, without forging at the same time a new truth value concerning both old and new logics for certain actions.

It is precisely this issue that is tackled in this work by article 1 on kayak dizziness (Hansen 1996) and article 3 on education (Hansen 2007). The following analysis builds on both of these articles.

With respect to kayak dizziness within the Inuit discourse, for centuries there has been a clear and stable understanding of the disorder as a result of a social conflict between several individuals (Hansen 1996, pp. 59ff [article 1]). It is apparent that the old, purely Inuit view no longer serves as a conclusive explanatory model in all contexts. However, at the same time, there is nothing to indicate that the current Western understanding of the disorder should now have been assimilated as a general Greenlandic understanding of it and thus incorporated into Greenlandic socialization. Consequently, today

there is a pronounced abnormality in the Greenlandic understanding of a concept such as kayak dizziness as a disorder.

There are several factors that have influenced the prevailing Greenlandic abnormality concerning kayak dizziness. Since 1864 the Greenlandic population has been exposed in the public sphere to dominating Western medical explanations of the cause of kayak dizziness (ibid., p. 52). The Western interpretation has changed considerably over the space of 150 years. As a result, less than 50 years ago the Greenlandic health service seriously began to consider the disorder as a normal anxiety and consequently began to treat patients based on this understanding of the disorder (ibid., pp. 57-59).

It is patently obvious that there is an unequal balance of power between the socially accepted Greenlandic understanding of the disorder and the Greenlandic health service's standard understanding of the disorder. At no point in time in the history of the Greenlandic healthcare system did medical professionals approach this disorder based on the understanding that they were dealing with a person who had survived a tupilak attack in connection with a social conflict — not to mention that the attacking tupilak was likely to remain lying in wait for its victim — and that this was the root cause of the patient's anxiety.

This shows that throughout this process Inuit and Western explanations were incommensurable (ibid., p. 68). Moreover, the different perceptions had not been discussed as two potentially connected yet incompatible understandings of the same disorder before being described in article 1 of the present work in 1996, and this, in and of itself, had no real impact on the general socially accepted understanding of the disorder.

Given that the traditional Greenlandic approach to treating the condition, which was centered around the institution of the angakkoq, had been discredited by missionaries and traders already during the 1700s, for some 250 years there has been no socially acknowledged treatment option for people suffering from kayak dizziness. Despite the changing Western understanding of the disorder in the prevailing colonial public sphere, this has not been encoded in today's socialization of the next generation of Greenlanders, thereby causing the current abnormality in this area (ibid., pp. 67-68).

An analysis of the pedagogical field shows a number of analogous elements of an unequal, incommensurable and discursive rivalry. Here the discrepancy lies in two very different perceptions of the respected boundaries of one's personal integrity (Hansen 2007, pp. 163-64 [article 3]). From a Western perspective, it is perfectly legitimate to endeavor to change another individual's opinion without infringing upon their personal integrity. By contrast, personal integrity is inviolable within the Inuit discourse, meaning for instance that it is socially unacceptable for an individual to attempt to sway or convince another person to change their point of view in a concrete situation (ibid).

Here again is an area where for many centuries there has existed an unequal balance between two incommensurable discursive perceptions of the acceptable boundaries of one's personal integrity. This is very palpable in today's Greenland, where the issue is in a state of semi-abnormality. At any rate, there remains a great deal of uncertainty concerning the accepted boundaries of one's personal integrity. But unlike the case of kayak dizziness, people's perception of the nature of personal integrity is not associated with any concrete physical institution that is comparable with the role played by the angakkoq in treating kayak dizziness. This has probably been a significant contributing factor to the fact that the Greenlandic discursive understanding of what constitutes an unacceptable violation of one's personal integrity has been better preserved as an acceptable social norm right up until the present.

The education system is one of the areas where this discursive clash can be witnessed in today's Greenland. The adopted discourse within the Greenlandic education system is the Western approach to pedagogy, in which the relationship between one who teaches and one who learns is, by definition, hierarchical (ibid., p. 165). This is essentially incompatible with the ongoing prevalent and implicit socialization of preschool children in Greenlandic homes based on the understanding that personal integrity is absolutely inviolable.

The Greenlandic understanding is embedded in both Greenlandic students and teachers alike, and it stands in conflict with the prevailing logic of the country's school system. In March 2015 an independent evaluation was published of the first 11 years under a school reform called atuarfitsialak (i.e. 'the good school') (Brochmann 2015). The evaluation concluded that there were

a range of problematic issues associated with Greenland's public school system. The above-described difference between the school system and the teachers and students within that system in terms of their perception of the boundaries of personal integrity is not explicitly included in the aspects under review in the evaluation, despite the fact that it may be one of the key underlying reasons why Greenlandic public schools don't work as well as they should.

The descriptions examined here in articles 1 and 3 are merely two concrete examples that indicate a real — and not just a potential — discursive disconnect on the left-hand side of figure 1 between fields D and A. Based on these articles, the manifestation and consequences of such discursive gaps shall be discussed and analyzed in the following sections.

4.3 Abnormality

To introduce this section, I have chosen a rather long quote from Hinrich J. Rink's "Eskimoiske Eventyr og Sagn" (Eskimo fairy tales and sagas) (Rink 1871) because this text, despite its venerable age, does an excellent job of illustrating the essence of this part of my book:

> "*Due to the great gap between the natives and the Europeans in the country, there is a certain duality among the former, as they are by nature reserved, constrained and act in a somewhat affected manner in the presence of Europeans, while what constitutes the chief subject of their conversations when they gather among themselves and, in particular, serves them as entertainment during the long winter evenings, is generally to be regarded as a closed book for Europeans, even for those who reside among them for the better part of their lives. It is perfectly evident that what occupied people's thoughts and imagination from time immemorial could not be eradicated by the strangers with the introduction of Christianity. Since the more public displays of these convivial diversions were prevented by these outsiders, it is no wonder that the natives felt a strong urge to hear and preserve their old legends. After all, thoughts and imagination require nourishment just as the body does, and there was a dearth of such sustenance in what was told and taught to them by the strangers, as well as in the life that they had come to lead under*

the watchful eyes of the Europeans. Since oral traditions were their most important means of entertaining each other and refreshing their thoughts in the narrow confines of cramped winter dwellings, one could not expect the Greenlanders to abandon these customs merely because they had been baptized, especially since the foreign teachers barely deigned to take note of them at first, and later completely ignored them. This was also an essential means for the Greenlanders to maintain the knowledge of their old beliefs, while incorporating them in a modified form into their present conceptions by seeking to reconcile them with Christianity. Hence, it is still through the legends that, from their earliest childhood memories onward, the natives absorb these beliefs, and it is the legends that serve as a guideline or sorts for such notions" (Rink 1871, pp. III-IV).

Commenting on Rink's observations, Kirsten Thisted points out that he "*eventually realized just how many of the old traditions were still recollected and maintained, along with the 'dual existence' that was pursued in Green-land: one that was familiar to the Europeans and in which they believed they held the reins, and another, secret life in which the Europeans played no part whatsoever*" (Thisted 1999, p. 15). I completely agree with this assessment. Rink also made the very important observation that the traditional beliefs were preserved by "*incorporating them in a modified form into their present conceptions by seeking to reconcile them with Christianity*" (ibid.). This point is reflected in Rink's English-language work "Danish Greenland, Its People and Its Products" (Rink 1877), where he notes that "*[the examples] seem to suggest the idea that at present social order is only maintained by help of foreigners settled among them, their regard for ancient laws and customs being subverted, and the doctrines introduced by the strangers proving to be so superficially rooted that they are unable to replace their old institutions as guides for their social life*" (Rink 1877, pp. 158-59).

Later in this work, Rink provides a more concrete example pertaining to the area of health: "*In former days a great many rules of diet and living had to be observed … All these observances were conscientiously maintained as religious duties, but for this reason were wholly abandoned at the introduc-tion of Christianity … [W]hen the rules given by a European physician are not followed, the ancient observances, although nourishing superstitions, have nevertheless been more advantageous as regards hygiene*" (ibid., p. 286).

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Rink also made similar observations in his three-volume work "Om Grøn-lænderne, deres Fremtid og de til deres Bedste sigtende Foranstaltninger" (About The Greenlanders, Their Future and The Measures Taken for Their Benefit) (Rink 1882a; 1882b; 1884).[7]

These observations are a compelling indication that already during the second half of the nineteenth century the dominance of Western discourses had created extensive anomalies in the logics that were intended to form the basis for the socialization of the Greenlandic population.

Without going into as much depth as his predecessor, the then-newly appointed Danish administrative official Claus Bornemann made similar observations about life in Nuuk during the early 1950s. Bornemann stated in his memoir that Nuuk *was divided into two worlds: the Danish and the Greenlandic*" (Bornemann 2012, p. 68). One of the examples listed was that in *"some houses lights were lit all night. The light was to frighten off the qivittoqs because superstition had not completely disappeared from modern Nuuk"* (ibid., p. 70). One could add that Bornemann's choice of words at the time reveals that the ethnocentric, Danish description of a Greenlandic dis-course had not completely disappeared either.

During the extensive debate that preceded the introduction of home rule, Danish eskimologist Bent Jensen was one of the few researchers who made observations that can be interpreted as reflections on a shift in discourse. In "En livsform ved korsvejen" (A way of life at the crossroads) (Jensen 1971), he was the first to state that, before coming into contact with Euro-peans, Greenlandic society was on its own terms meaningful and *"logically coherent"* (Jensen 1971, p. 26). In his work, which was critical of Danish development policies, he then went on to make the following hypothesis: *"A modern policy that failed to intentionally build on the Greenlanders' own social culture and consistently develop it further would have little chance of achieving a meaningful and logically coherent result"* (ibid., pp. 26-27).

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7   It is not within the scope of this dissertation to conduct a more detailed analysis of these very deep insights by Rink on the nature of Greenlandic society. One possible explanation could be that, in order to maintain the most efficient and comprehen-sive colonial administration possible, Rink needed a very thorough knowledge of socially accepted mechanisms.

However, this is not a point of view that carried much weight in the debates that took place at the time.

It has been pointed out that Connie Gregersen (2010) and Susanne Mejer (2007) have also made critical observations about elements of the abnormality in contemporary Greenlandic socialization. It is precisely this abnormality that must be seen as one of the key challenges facing today's Greenland.

4.4 Diachronic changes

In the preceding sections, the descriptions and analyses have predominantly focused on the synchronous gaps between Western and Inuit discourses. But breaks in discourse can also be diachronous, as witnessed by the decisive shift in Greenland's colonial history within Western discourse during the 1830s, which has already been discussed in chapter 3.

It is not so often that diachronic changes in discourse for posterity appear with such a significant impact over a period of just a few years, such as with the transition that crystallized in the wake of Graah's conclusion in 1832 after he returned from his expedition up the east coast of Greenland. An example of a similarly monumental change in discourse could perhaps be the decision by the Icelandic Parliament in the year 1000 that Iceland as a nation should convert to Christianity (Halfdanarson 1997, p. 523). Both before and after the year 1000 there have been periods when competing religions, or incommensurable discourses, have existed side by side, but the formal transition became clear cut with the parliamentary decision. A similar example is the changeover in northern European societies from Catholicism to Protestantism during the 1500s.

The Danish discursive transition during the 1830s shifted from the previous predominant world view from the Enlightenment, which saw the world as static and egalitarian, to the then-new worldview based on the notion of change and development along with a hierarchy.

The new world view was rapidly embraced by the colonial administration in large part because key representatives of the new discourse had a significant influence on the decisions made in Denmark's far-flung colony. For example,

immediately after his return to Denmark in 1831, Graah was hired as the director of the Royal Greenlandic Trading Company (Hansen 2004).

By contrast, it is very difficult to pinpoint specific times for diachronic shifts in the Inuit discourse of the day. There is no doubt that the current Inuit-Greenlandic discourse fundamentally differs from the Inuit discursive reality that existed 300 years ago. Throughout the colonial era, there has been a constant, massive influence by Western discourse on Inuit discourse. Hence, the diachronic Inuit change in discourse is of a completely different nature from that of the Western diachronic transition described above.

The Inuit discourse has been greatly influenced from the outside by the Danish (and Norwegian) colonial administration for centuries starting with the beginning of the colonial era. This has been a hierarchical relationship with a stigmatizing interpretation of the dominant Inuit discourse.

This discursive disconnect within the Inuit discourse has become extremely prolonged, uneven and diffuse, and it has been a contributing factor to the highly pronounced degree of abnormality in today's Greenlandic socialization. This provides something of an explanation for why segments of the Greenlandic population experience a certain amount of psychological uneasiness that is expressed in different ways.

Aside from the direct influences that have created abnormalities, there have been other types of changes in the Inuit-Greenlandic discourse that have their roots in the introduction of new ways of living in Greenland. These changes have not created states of abnormality because they have not resembled anything previously existing.

A good example of such a completely new element in contemporary Inuit-Greenlandic discourse is the sheep and agricultural sector that has been established in South Greenland over the past 100 years. This example illustrates that the contemporary discourse is much more diverse than it was in precolonial times.

Traditionally, the Greenlandic political focus has been on the Inuit identity as arctic hunters and trappers in pursuit of seal, polar bear and reindeer as prestigious quarry. Not surprisingly, the concerns of sheep farmers were

not given much consideration when politicians discussed Greenland's relationship with the (then) European Community (EC), the forerunner of the European Union, (EU) in the early 1980s. Sheep farmers were one of the groups that benefited from Greenland's membership in the EC because Brussels provided them with agricultural development aid. It goes without saying that Greenland lost this financial support when it withdrew from the EC. At the time, politicians promised that home rule would compensate for lost EC development aid.

The political and, at times, slightly stepmotherly treatment of agriculture and sheep farmers may have come to an end with the formation of Kim Kielsen's second coalition on October 27, 2016. At any rate, the coalition agreement and the distribution of cabinet positions and ministries are a sign that agriculture and, with it, sheep farmers advanced to a decidedly stronger position. Indeed, agriculture was separated from fishing and hunting, with which it had always been associated, and placed under the aegis of a new ministry called the Department for Independence, Environment, Nature and Agriculture (the 2016 coalition agreement).

4.5 How it was experienced

Based on the above synthesis of articles 1 and 3 and the subsequent analysis, we can identify four competing discourses that have existed throughout Greenland's colonial era and three types of transitions, gaps and disconnects among these different views of the world. The four competing discourses consist of two Western ones, i.e. the world view of the Enlightenment (Western I[8]) , which was replaced by the 'modern' world view (Western II), and two Inuit ones, i.e. a pure Inuit one (Inuit I) that has gradually been influenced by Western thought and today manifests itself as an Inuit-Western hybrid discourse (Inuit II).

The three different types of discourse here are (A) the intradiscursive, Western, diachronic, rapid and explicit discursive shift of the 1830s, (B) the intradiscursive, Inuit, diachronic, prolonged and implicit discursive shift

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8   The terms in brackets (Western I & II, Inuit I & II) are introduced here to clarify all future references to these four discourses in the following chapters.

throughout colonial history and (C) the interdiscursive, ongoing, synchronous gaps between rival Western and Inuit discourses. See figure 8.

The synchronous gaps (C) in particular have been characterized by parallel worlds and competing discourses, in which the changing Western interpretations of reality have dominated the Inuit world view. It is primarily these protracted disconnects that constitute the pronounced division between field D and field A on the left side of figure 1 (p. 23).
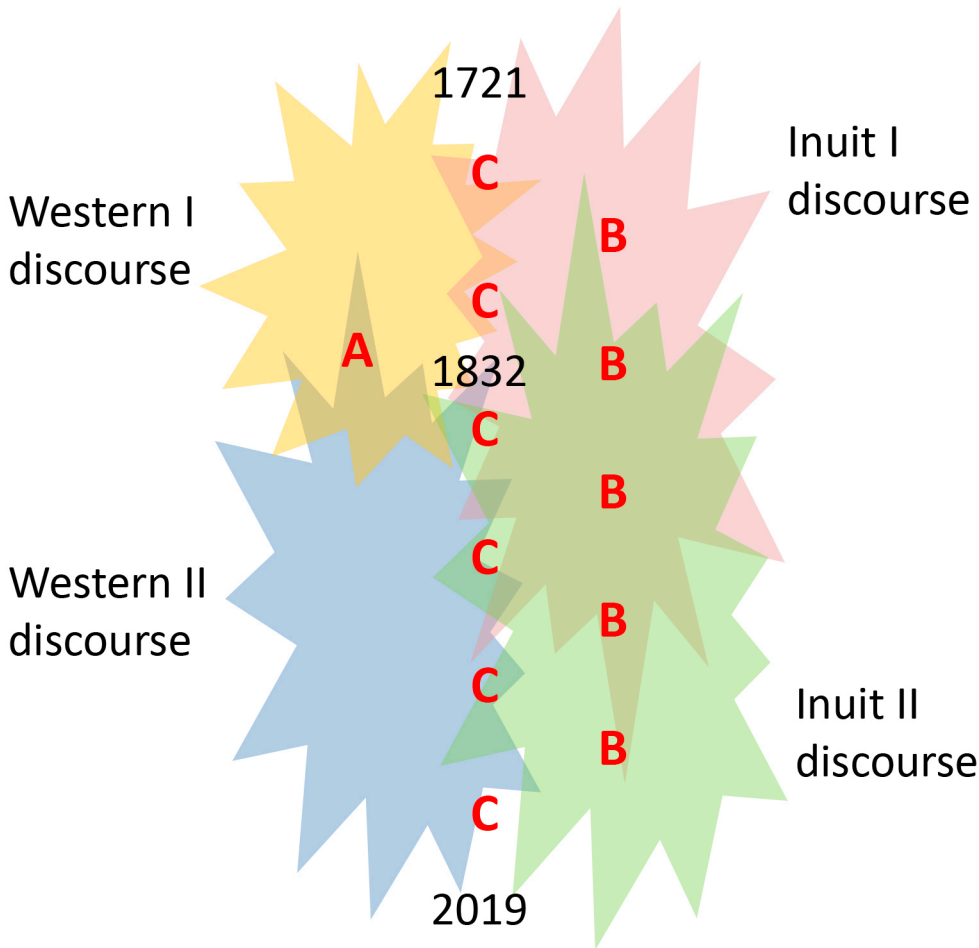

Figure 8. *Illustration of the four discourses (Western I & II, Inuit & II) along with the three types of discursive shifts and disconnects (A, B and C) that have occurred throughout colonial history.*

In answer to the question "How have competing discourses been received in Greenland over the past 150 years?" it is above all clear that the three identified types of transitions and disconnects among competing discourses have been experienced very differently in Greenland.

The Western diachronic shift in the 1830s (A) was not immediately evident to the people of Greenland at the time because the ensuing chaos only occurred in Copenhagen. The consequences of the altered principles had, of course, an impact on the colonial administration, but they had not been experienced as anything distinct.

By contrast, the other type of difference in discourse (C), i.e. the disconnect that arose from the synchronous gaps throughout the colonial period, was experienced throughout the years as a concrete encounter between the Greenlandic population and the Danish (and Norwegian) presence in the country in the form of religious missions and trading posts and, later, as the all-encompassing administration and governance of the country. This encounter was partly physical in the form of merchandise and infrastructure etc., and partly mental in the form of religious missions, educational systems, community structures, historiography and so on. The Greenlanders have had to respond to both of these aspects and it has been a positive experience in many respects. During the colonial period, however, the discriminating elements of Western discourses, the educational system and the structure of society — to name just a few areas — fueled frustration and resistance among the people of Greenland.

The Greenlandic population's experience of the third type of discursive transition (B) in the form of a prolonged, internal, unexplicit, diachronic shift within the Inuit discourse has at times been devastating and traumatizing. It is this transition that has been the most difficult for the Greenlandic population because it is here that ordinary citizens have for centuries, in various areas, had to contend with diverse degrees of abnormality in the private sphere as they were forced to contend with the fragments of a (changing) Western and often incommensurable world view implemented by the colonial power, which rejected the existing and socially accepted, parallel Inuit element, yet failed to be included as a logical and integral element in the socially accepted Inuit discourse and socialization.

In view of the current situation, it is likely that there will be a discursive disconnect on the left-hand side of figure 1, between fields D and A. It is presumably in the interest of Greenlandic society to respond to this discursive gap in different ways. But, looking to the future, should it simply be a question of according power to a new, dominant discourse, for example, the Inuit-Western hybrid discourse, which would then suppress all other competing discourses? Or can Greenlandic society sow the seeds for a more dialogic and appreciatory coexistence between discourses that are, at least to a certain extent, at odds with each other? It might help to articulate and mutually recognize that during the colonial era dominant discourses had a significant influence on other discourses — and not necessarily one that was mutually and freely agreed upon. Could this perhaps help build a kind of bridge — with traffic moving in both directions — that spans the discursive disconnect that has been identified on the left side of figure 1?

4.6 Summary

Based on Michel Foucault's understanding of discourse as a coherent frame of understanding that is linked to a specific time and place, I have provided a synthesis of articles 1 and 3. Both articles discuss aspects of competing discourses and discursive transitions during Greenland's colonial era.

The chapter then went on to discuss and identify four distinct discourses and three different types of discourse; two diachronic discourses and a synchronous disconnect between rival Western and Inuit discourses.

On the one hand, there is the synchronous gap between Western and Inuit discourses that lies at the heart of the discursive disconnect between fields D and A in figure 1. On the other hand, there is the highly prolonged, diachronic discursive shift between a previous purely Inuit discourse and a contemporary Inuit-Western hybrid discourse that has created and continues to create abnormalities in Greenland socialization and thus contributes to social frustrations among segments of the Greenlandic population. This now constitutes a major social challenge today.

5 Divergent notions of citizenship

Chapter 2 provided a clarification of the research topic, including working hypothesis no. 2, which says that *in Greenland we can point to a number of different externally and internally based forms of government that come into play, and that these diverse forms of governance are associated with diverse views of good citizenship*.

The question here is: How have divergent notions of good citizenship been expressed in Greenland over the past 150 years?

The answer to this question is founded on a synthesis put forward by articles 2, 4, 5, 6 and 7, which, to various degrees, deal with various forms of governance and notions of citizenship. Article 2 focuses on citizen participation, while article 4 deals to a greater extent with citizen engagement. Article 5 contains an analysis of citizen prioritizations. Technocracy and public debate are dealt with in article 6, while democracy is analyzed in article 7.

Each of the five articles thus deals with diverse aspects of forms of governance and notions of citizenship. None of the articles contains a comprehensive examination of diverse forms of governance. Accordingly, this chapter is the first instance of a comprehensive, systematic overview and analysis of the forms of governance and notions of citizenship that are relevant with respect to Greenland's colonial era.

5.1 Forms of governance

Political science defines a form of governance as the "*fundamental values and principles of political life in a society, a range of norms and rules that govern how political decisions are made, and detailed information on which authorities can make such decisions*" (Svensson 2000, p. 223).

This definition focuses exclusively on the officially recognized forms of governance for a nation state. Furthermore, most of the literature deals exclusively with democratic forms of governance (for example, Torpe, Nielsen and Ulrich 2005). Within this context, a distinction is commonly made between democratic and authoritarian forms of

governance (Svensson 2000, pp. 223-24), although the range of authoritarian forms of governance is primarily identified as a negation of what is democratic, namely as *"non-democratic forms of governance"* (for example, Udvalget 2006, p. 12).

The Western world's ethnocentric focus on democracy as the only acceptable form of governance has been challenged in recent decades by a number of authors, including Daniel A. Bell (1964-) (Bell 2013). In addition, many researchers have come to the realization that former colonies were more than merely just 'bad democracies.' These ideas are examined for instance by Jeanet Bentzen, Jacob Gerner Hariri and James A. Robinson, who have come to the following conclusion: *"We document that rules for leadership succession in ethnic societies that antedate the modern state predict contemporary political regimes … It shows that contemporary regimes are shaped not only by colonial history and European influence; indigenous history also matters"* (Bentzen, Hariri and Robinson 2014, p. 1). This is based on analyses of *"871 indigenous societies across 106 countries"* (ibid., p. 3).

Hence, there are good reasons to work with an expanded definition of forms of governance that includes more than just merely the officially accepted norms of today's nation states and goes beyond democratic forms of government. Taking this as a starting point, this book will use a definition that has the same structure as the above-mentioned definition, but with a slightly broader perspective. The definition of forms of governance that we use in this chapter is as follows: *A form of governance encompasses fundamental values and principles for the social life within a group and a range of norms and rules that determine how group decisions are made, including detailed specifications on which authorities can make such decisions.*

In this chapter's analysis, each of the forms of governance of relevance to this book will be characterized by eight parameters, which are described in figure 9.

In addition to the 'form of governance' parameter as a heading, there are four parameters (political ideology, key player, ideal and instrument) that reflect the character of each individual form of governance. One of the parameters (discourse) is dealt with in chapter 4 (see footnote 8, p. 78).

The last two parameters, citizen participation and citizen engagement, are two key elements within the analysis of the notion of citizenship.

Parameter	Description
Form of governance	The overriding framework
Political ideology	Scope within the form of governance in question
Discourse	Reference to the relevant four identified discourses in chapter 4
Key player	The authority that can make decisions
Ideal	Ideal behavior for the group's customary participants
Instrument	What is achievable under the form of governance
Citizen participation	Perception of customary participants and thus the parameters for participation
Citizen engagement	Perception of customary participants and thus the parameters for engagement

Figure 9. *Overview of the eight parameters associated with the individual forms of governance.*

There is a difference between citizen engagement and citizen participation. Citizen engagement concerns how and to what extent citizens can actually opt to participate. It also has to do with the extent to which a form of governance allows it citizens to contribute at a given point in time. The Danish term **medborgerskab**, which will be examined in the following section, is central to understanding citizen participation and engagement.

In figure 1, citizen participation and engagement refer to the right-hand side of the chart. Field B covers citizen participation, in other words a form of governance's opportunities seen from below, while field C encompasses citizen engagement, i.e. the demands of a form of governance seen from above.

5.2 Citizenship

The concept of citizenship dates all the way back to the days of the ancient Greek philosophers, but it was further developed during the Enlightenment as a precursor to today's understanding of what it means to be a citizen of a nation state (Korsgaard 2004, pp. 17ff). The modern, theoretical understanding of citizenship was introduced by British sociologist Thomas Humphrey Marshall (1893-1981) (Jæger 2000, p. 219). In February 1949, he gave two lectures in Cambridge that contained the key ideas that led to his seminal essay "Citizenship and Social Class" (Marshall 1950, p. IX).

Although his analysis has been criticized, the subsequent theoretical pursuit of the concept of citizenship still relies upon Marshall's work (Jæger 2000, p. 220). This is particularly true of the Scandinavian tradition since the 1980s, in which *the term has been further developed as a frame of reference for empirical studies*" (Goul Andersen 2004, p. 21). It is this Scandinavian tradition, and particularly the Danish tradition, that is the focus of the present work.

In contrast to languages like English and Swedish, Danish differentiates between two notions of citizenship, namely ***statsborgerskab***, which mainly concerns an individual's legal and political status, while ***medborgerskab*** refers to an individual's perception of their own identity and affiliations (ibid., p. 26).

The generally accepted definition of ***medborgerskab***, as the term is used in this chapter, is discussed in article 2 (Hansen 2003, p. 168). The definition encompasses rights, participation and identities (ibid.). In a recent report by the Danish Ministry for Refugees, Immigrants and Integration, citizenship has a slightly broader definition, but is still based on the following three dimensions: 1) rights and obligations, 2) participation and 3) identity and affiliations (Arbejdsgruppen 2011, p. 28).

Marshall has primarily contributed to our understanding of the first dimension, leading to widespread agreement that "*the term citizenship [is] centered around democracy*" (Goul Andersen 2004, p. 21). Marshall identified modern democratic rights and obligations as the establishment of civil, political and social rights (Marshall 1950, p. 10), and he postulated that these three types of rights had been established at different points in time in Britain. The picture that he painted fits relatively well with the first world in general, i.e. the countries of Europe and North America.

Civil rights encompass personal freedoms such as freedom of expression, of religion and of association. These civil rights emerged during the 1700s. It was not until the 1800s that the general population achieved political rights such as the right to vote and build a modern democratic system, although in many places it took quite some time to establish the right to vote, especially for women. Social rights revolve around the concept of social welfare, including access to education, health services and pensions. These rights were first given serious consideration during the 1900s (Jæger 2000).

With respect to the first dimension of citizenship, i.e. civil rights, there are evidently a number of other historical premises that apply to Greenland, one of the clearest examples being the limited freedom of religion that characterized long periods in Greenland's colonial history in which religious missions cracked down hard on those elements of Greenlandic society that could be linked to shamanism. Mission work officially came to an end in West Greenland in 1905 (Sørensen 1983), meaning that people enjoy religious freedom today, but the social stigmatization of 'paganism' still lurks under the surface (Hansen 2002, pp. 127-28). I have been unable to find written examples of this, but during fieldwork in 1990 I observed that adult individuals were looked down upon merely because they had not been religiously confirmed. These were, of course, individuals who remained unbaptized in the modern sense as a means of consciously opting out of Christianity. At any rate, civil rights are a more recent phenomenon in Greenland than in the first world, and were more recently introduced in North Greenland and East Greenland than in West Greenland (Sørensen 1983, p. 196).

The introduction of political rights did not take place within the same timeframe in Greenland as it did in the old part of the Western world.

For instance, Greenlandic women were not granted the right to vote until 1948 (Sørensen 1997). With the establishment of home rule and a parliament in 1979, Greenland gained for the first time its own elected legislative body with decision-making powers over key areas of society.

When it comes to social rights, everyone enjoys — at least in principle — equal access to social services, but since many people live in small remote settlements with limited transportation and communications infrastructure, this places practical limits on their access to healthcare and education. Furthermore, there is no system of unemployment benefits in Greenland.

The second dimension of citizenship, namely participation, is the main subject of article 2 (Hansen 2003, pp. 179-85), which discusses and analyzes the nature of being a citizen, specifically in relation to electronic media and the internet. An analysis of the level of participation of the Greenlandic population reveals that technology, culture and education all play a role as potentially limiting factors. This is illustrated in figure 10.
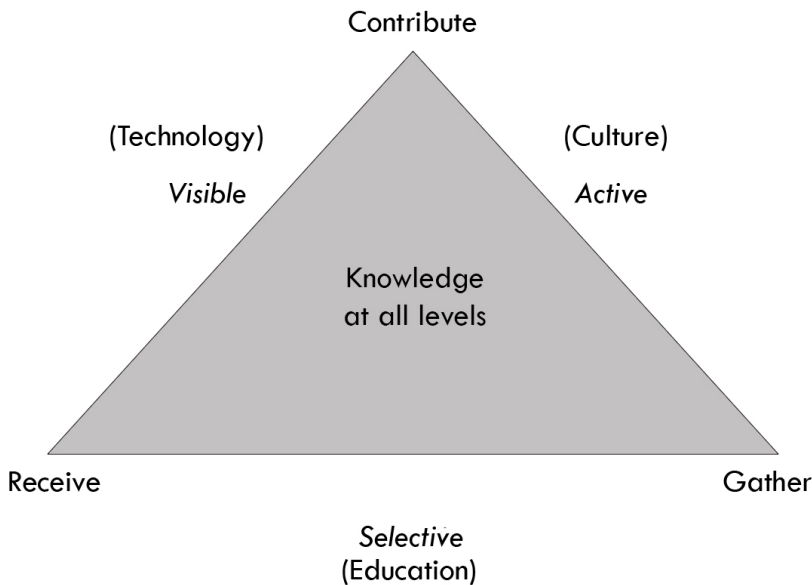

Figure 10. *The participation triangle (Hansen 2003, p. 183 [article 2]).*

Hence, in addition to Greenland's limited communications infrastructure, historical and cultural circumstances (which will be further elaborated on in this chapter) and a generally low level of education present major challenges to full citizen participation.

The third dimension of citizenship — identity and affiliations — becomes particularly relevant in a broad sense of the term because it goes beyond the extent to which individual citizens identify themselves with and have a sense of belonging to the official national (democratic) form of governance, and it raises the question of what identities and affiliations are actively pursued by individual citizens. In addition, the possibility should be taken into consideration that there may be several parallel identities and affiliations pursued by individual citizens.

Within every form of governance there are principles of good citizenship that revolve around citizen participation and engagement. A glance at the current, narrow analyses of citizenship reveals that there is generally a lack of acceptance that, at a minimum, the diverse principles of good citizenship ought to be examined (see, for example, Arbejdsgruppe 2011).

This narrow use of the term citizenship is based on the assumption of a normative definition which states that this is how good citizenship should look under a democratic form of governance. Thus, by definition, the analysis of what is being examined becomes a question of *how well* the predefined ideal of good citizenship is being fulfilled in a given society. The conclusion will therefore reflect *the degree* of fulfillment that can be observed with regard to the predetermined normative ideal.

The broader definition of citizenship that is used here takes an open analysis as its starting point: *What* is the nature of the ideal of good citizenship under a concrete form of governance? This entails an examination of the *principles* behind the ideal that is valid under a given form of governance. This can subsequently be compared, for example, with the ideal for good democratic citizenship because it is still possible to distinguish between more or less desirable forms of governance. The aim of this open analysis is to obtain a uniform and comparable description of the ideals of good citizenship in all existing forms of governance.

5.3 Forms of governance during the colonial era

This section will review the main forms of governance — both formally and informally instituted — that have prevailed during the process that Greenland has undergone over the past 150 years. The formally instituted forms of governance may have been less visible in the public sphere, but in many respects they had just as much influence on the private sphere. The discussion of each form of governance relates to the specific conditions in Greenland to illustrate their scope and extent of application. The seven forms of governance identified and reviewed in the following subsections are as follows:

- *Theocracy* — includes and is also referred to here as **religion**

- *Xenocracy* — includes and is also referred to here as **colony**

- *Meritocracy* — includes and is also referred to here as **education**

- *Technocracy* — includes and is also referred to here as **technology**

- *Autocracy* — includes and is also referred to here as **clan**

- *Ochlocracy* — includes and is also referred to here as **protest**

- *Democracy* — includes and is also referred to here as **rights**

As outlined at the beginning of this chapter, several of the work's articles address a number of different forms of governance. The following overviews expand upon the content of the articles.

5.3.1 Theocracy — religion

Ever since the dawn of humanity, groups of people have found it necessary to organize and govern their lives. Today, we can only speculate on what these very first forms of governance looked like, but it is likely that one of the earliest social organizations was a type of theocracy, meaning a system of government in which priests ruled in the name of a god or gods. In the narrow Christian sense of the word, it is a *"form of government in which all power in a society belongs to God; power is exercised in the name of God by prophets, priests and kings"* (DSDE 2000b).

In a broader sense of the term, theocracy denotes a form of governance that is guided by a divine being. Such a description can be found, for example, in the Encyclopaedia Britannica: *"Theocracy, government by divine guidance or by officials who are regarded as divinely guided. In many theocracies, government leaders are members of the clergy, and the state's legal system is based on religious law. Theocratic rule was typical of early civilizations. The Enlightenment marked the end of theocracy in most Western countries"* (Encyclopaedia 2013).

In that sense, both an early form of government in Denmark and an early form of government in Greenland can be said to be theocratic. In a general sense, theocracy is characterized by the parameters shown in figure 11.

Theocracy	
Form of governance	Theocracy — religion
Political ideology	Fatalism
Discourse	Western I / Inuit I
Key player	The clergy
Ideal	Obedience
Instrument	Balance
Citizen participation	Guided
Citizen engagement	Co-religionist

Figure 11. *Characteristics of theocracy.*

The two respective forms of theocracy in Denmark and Greenland existed completely separate from each other and developed very differently. This does not take into account the Norse period in Greenland from 982 to approx. 1500 because their theocratic form of governance had no tangible influence on the socio-political systems of the Inuit.

Europe found itself under the growing influence of the Enlightenment from the late 1600s to the early 1700s, with influential thinkers like the

Englishman John Locke (1632-1704) and Frenchman Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778). In Denmark one of the early philosophers of the Enlightenment was Ludvig Holberg (1684-1754). The missionary Otto Fabricius was also a proponent of these new philosophical trends. The Enlightenment sparked a gradual departure from theological forms of governance. In Europe this break with theocratic forms of governance was largely a self-imposed and voluntary evolution, and in Denmark this process began during the second half of the 18th century (Busck 2011).

Aside from shifting the legitimacy of the accepted form of governance in Europe from a divine to a social reference, one of the major upheavals was that a predominantly fatalistic view of life was replaced by what is known as the Weberian thesis on Protestant ethics and rationalism (Bruun 2013).

It was a very different story in Greenland, where the break with the Inuit theocratic form of governance was forced upon the Greenlanders from the outside in the form of missionary work and trade through the colonization that formally started when the missionary Hans Egede settled on the island in 1721. These changes in the Inuit theocratic form of governance are one aspect at the heart of the prolonged, diachronic discursive shift in Greenlandic thinking described in chapter 4. This shift is represented by C in figure 8 (p. 79).

Viewed in isolation, theocratic-based fatalism can still be observed as an influential element in Greenlandic socialization. A sweeping internal break with this fatalistic view of life has never been initiated. Interestingly enough, the success of the Christian mission in Greenland has, in its own way, provided a platform for the fatalistic view of life to survive as a socially active element, since the orthodox and traditional Christian view is that everything that happens is merely an expression of 'God's will.' A fatalistic approach remains an essential element of the soul of the Greenlandic people (Hansen 2009). *"Tomorrow, weather permitting"* is a very common answer to the question *"When should we head out with the boat?"* This fundamentally fatalistic inclination is also reflected in a certain reluctance to adhere to any previously concluded plans or agreements.

This socially accepted fatalistic lifestyle in conjunction with the socially widespread dogma of the inviolability of one's personal integrity (Hansen 2007

[article 3]) can be viewed as one of the key components in the often problematized instability of the modern labor market.

Greenlandic employer Krissie Berthelsen Winberg described in a newspaper article the challenges of working with Greenlandic employees who can *"choose to miss work because they are having a bad day, ... and can often call in sick 2-3 times a week just because they don't feel like working."* (Winberg 2012).

The legacy of theocratic forms of governance among segments of the Greenlandic population is thus an essential element that needs to be taken into consideration when forging labor market policies and shaping a Greenlandic democracy.

5.3.2 Xenocracy — colony

Xenocracy means ʹrule by foreigners.ʹ *"The opposite of democracy is usually said to be autocracy, authoritarianism, or totalitarianism. However, it can also be given as xenocracy — a rare term for rule by foreigners"* (Treanor 2006).

There are many different types of rule by foreigners — military occupation, economic control, colonialism, etc. Colonialism here refers to a combination

Xenocracy	
Form of governance	Xenocracy — colony
Political ideology	Imperialism
Discourse	Western II
Key player	Colonizer
Ideal	Conversion
Instrument	Hierarchy
Citizen participation	Disempowered
Citizen engagement	Subject

Figure 12. *Characteristics of xenocracy.*

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of a mission that aims to convert the population to a certain religion and trade for the purpose of securing an economic return, as defined in chapter 3. Hence, with respect to Greenland, the xenocratic framework can be called colonialism. A schematic representation of the characteristics of Greenlandic xenocracy is shown in figure 12.

The roots of economic exploitation under colonialism began when the Inuit and European whalers began to barter for goods during the 1600s. The link between missionary work and trade was firmly established in the early 1700s with the work of Hans Egede and the early trading companies. Danish colonization intensified during the 1830s, especially in the economic sphere, and formally continued until 1953.

It is important to emphasize here the mental colonization that coincided with the physical and structural aspects of the Danish presence in Greenland. Mental colonization refers to the entire set of discourses, norms and values that a foreign power transmits to a colonized population by means of elements like missionary work and a system of education. In everyday life, this can manifest itself as more or less invisible, unexplicit or unproblematized influences on an entire population, as described in chapter 3. Mental colonization has also been called cultural imperialism, which can be defined as ”*the compulsory transfer of the cultural values of a dominant society to other, weaker societies*” (Den Store Danske 2009b).

The instilling of Western discourse as well as Danish values and norms upon the Greenlandic population has been underway for many decades. Chapter 3 describes the events during the 1830s that led to the concerted effort to mentally colonize the Greenlandic population. This coincided with the transition from parasitic to classical colonialism. The fundamental discourse of the Danish mental colonization from the 1830s onwards was based on a cultural-evolutionary understanding of society, i.e. that there is a developmental and ergo hierarchical difference between Greenlandic and Danish culture (Hansen 2002, pp. 157ff; 2014b).

From the mid-1800s, Greenlandic culture was considered by the Danes to be inferior to Danish culture, as exemplified in Mette Rønsager's ”Udviklingen i grønlændernes sundheds- og sygdomsopfattelse 1800-1930” (The evolution of the Greenlanders' attitudes toward health and disease 1800-1930)

(Rønsager 2002). A distinction was made between, for example, primitive and civilized peoples, or between children of nature and civilized individuals. The influence that this exerted on the Greenlandic narrative was so powerful that the Danish perspective was incorporated into how the Greenlanders viewed themselves, and thus came to govern their actions, for instance among the emerging ranks of the Greenlandic elite.

This phenomenon is an integral part of Ian Hacking's concept of *"the looping effect"* (Hacking 1995b). A concrete example is the phrase *"siumut, qummut"* (forward, upward [i.e. toward Danish welfare and culture]) which was used in the early 1900s as the slogan for the Ilinniarfissuaq seminary in Nuuk and for the Peqatigîngniat revival movement (Thuesen 1988, p. 11).

This heavy yoke which, in the form of an exteriorly defined psychological humiliation of the Greenlandic population, has dominated the Greenlandic narrative for some 200 years now was not seriously addressed until the early 2000s. On the Danish side, there is, as a rule, very little understanding of the Greenlandic rejection of this part of the Danish governance in Greenland. Indeed, there appears to be a lack of willingness in Denmark to acknowledge that the Danish colonial power's mental colonization of the island by deni-grating Greenland's culture and its past still represents a huge challenge for large segments of the Greenlandic population today, particularly those who grew up in the era of hidden colonialism, from 1953 to 1979.

One of the standard Danish defensive arguments has been that everything was done *"only with the best of intentions"* (Bryld 1998) and that it is almost obscene that the Greenlandic population is so dissatisfied, despite every-thing that Denmark has done for Greenland. The Danish debate is muddled by confusion over the great technological and infrastructural achievements that have been made over the years and, in a general sense, the self-imposed responsibility for Danish involvement in Greenland and the associ-ated social Darwinian understanding of culture and community.

The aftermath of mental colonization remains, nevertheless, an extremely prominent issue in present-day Greenland and, over the past decade, a change has taken place that has made it possible to articulate it. For instance, this is one of the key topics of the documentary film "Sume — The Sound of a Revolution" that tells the story of the rock group Sume, which

was active during the 1970s (Høegh 2014). Furthermore, the establishment of the Greenlandic Reconciliation Commission under the administration of Greenlandic Prime Minister Aleqa Hammond can be seen as a consequence of the growing desire to come to terms with the many years of Danish mental colonization in Greenland (Forsoningskommission 2015).

5.3.3 Meritocracy — education

Merito comes from the Latin word *meritum*, or ′merit′. Hence, a meritocracy is a society governed by people selected according to merit, e.g. education, experience and expertise.

In the European context, it is a form of governance that was proposed by the classical Greek philosophers. *"Plato's idea was ... to recruit as much 'human capital' as possible - in the service of the state and for the good of the whole. His ideal was a meritocracy"* (Larsen 2009, p. 22).

Meritocracy is also a familiar concept in East Asian countries. The earliest mention of meritocracy dates back to Confucius (551 BC - 479 BC).

Meritocracy	
Form of governance	Meritocracy — education
Political ideology	Elitism
Discourse	Western II
Key player	Officials
Ideal	Excellence
Instrument	Optimization
Citizen participation	Pacified
Citizen engagement	Objective

Figure 13. *Characteristics of meritocracy.*

Daniel A. Bell points out that modern China's administration is based on a meritocratic system within the Chinese Communist Party (Bell 2012a; 2012b). When the foundation of legitimacy in such a system is that only the best educated and the most skilled are employed, then corruption has a particularly undermining impact. This is one of the main reasons why now, for the third year in a row, a campaign against corruption is being waged in China (Gøttske 2015).

Accordingly, as shown in figure 13, meritocracy is partly based on a political ideology of elitism with the aim of forging a society that is governed by the best qualified and most brilliant officials.

The principle that skills, education and experience are the key hiring elements in filling public administration positions has long been widely observed in Europe and is pursued, for example, in the Nordic countries, where highly educated people constitute a social elite, as described by Daniel Bell (1919-2011) in "The Coming of Post-Industrial Society. A Venture in Social Forecasting" (Bell 1973). This is not to say that the principle has been adhered to at all times and in all places. This is far from the case. Nevertheless, it is the guiding principle, as evident from the many job advertisements that emphasize professional and educational qualifications, as well as experience, as leading selection criteria.

The system of meritocracy has also permeated the changing public sector in Greenland via the Danish colonial administration and the establishment of a public system according to Nordic norms. This has been a major contributing factor to the relatively large percentage of Danish staff with academic degrees who have been hired in the central and municipal administrations. Educational and business-related experience is generally given priority when considering job applicants in the public sector. This comes at the expense of a de facto knowledge of Greenlandic society in general and the ability to use Greenlandic as a working language, since these qualifications are not correspondingly incorporated into the meritocratic system.

Since the turn of the millennium, issues related to the problematization of the meritocratic form of governance have increasingly come to the fore of public debate. For example, several initiatives have been taken to give more weight to real-world skills (including knowledge of Greenlandic society and

the Greenlandic language) as opposed to formal skills certified by college and university degrees, which are given priority within the meritocratic system, but it has proven difficult to weigh non-meritocratic qualifications within the current system. This is reflected in the often heated debate on language that has been pursued with various degrees of intensity since the turn of the millennium (Manniche 2003, Gad 2004).

5.3.4 Technocracy — technology

The Greek word techne means 'art, skill, science.' In a technocratic form of government, 'techno' refers more specifically to science as embodied by technicians, engineers and others. This political form of governance is characterized by a system in which *the decision-making power is really in the hands of experts, not politicians*" (DSDE 2000a). Technocracy primarily differs from meritocracy in that a technocracy does not rely on the same institutionalized selection procedure as a meritocracy when positions are filled. *"Advocates of technocracy point to the system's potential for a greater degree of rationality, while skeptics see it as a threat to democracy because they conceptualize politics as more of a question of overriding goals and attitudes than simply a matter of concrete technical solutions*" (ibid.).

Technocracy	
Form of governance	Technocracy — technology
Political ideology	Rationalism
Discourse	Western II
Key player	Technicians
Ideal	Planning
Instrument	Development
Citizen participation	Alienated
Citizen engagement	Decreases

Figure 14. *Characteristics of technocracy.*

The term 'technocracy' is attributed to American engineer William Henry Smyth (1855-1940). In 1919 he published two articles in which he described his understanding of technocracy (Smyth 1919a; 1919b). He drew inspiration primarily from the technological advances made during World War I. During the interwar years, technocracy was incorporated as a key element of American, Soviet and Nazi governance. The dominant characteristic was a virtual blind faith that technical advancements and sheer rationalism could be combined to create the perfect form of governance (Wagner 2009). An overview can be seen in figure 14.

An early example of technologically driven planning in Greenland was the construction of the first telegraph stations in 1924 (Steenfos and Taagholt 2012, p. 105), but it was only after World War II that a technocratic form of governance really took hold with the establishment of the Greenland Technical Organization (GTO) in 1950. During the 1950s, 60s, 70s and 80s, the GTO virtually functioned as a state within the state. The organization was established with the goal of *"ensuring a coordinated and long-term approach to technical problems"* (Steenfos and Taagholt 2012, p. 181).

Overview of key organizational changes under and after the GTO	
Year	**Occurrence**
1946	The Greenland Administration (Grønlands Styrelsen) established a technical division called the Telegraph and Weather Service.
1950	On June 1, Greenland's Technical Organization (GTO) was created as a subdepartment of the newly established Greenland Department in the Danish Prime Minister's Office.
1955	The Ministry for Greenland (MfG) was established.
1955	The GTO became a department within the MfG.
1955	The MfG established an infrastructure construction committee.

1956	Gunnnar P. Rosendahl was appointed to head the GTO.
1965	The GTO became a directorate within the MfG.
1965	Gunnnar P. Rosendahl was appointed the director of the GTO.
1979	The mining sector is transferred to the Joint Council on Mineral Resources in Greenland.
1980	On January 1, responsibility for the physical national spatial planning is transferred to Greenland home rule.
1987	Responsibility for the GTO is transferred to Greenland home rule on January 1.
1987	Gunnnar P. Rosendahl retires, but continues to serve as a consultant.
1987	The Ministry for Greenland was disbanded on September 10.
1988	In the spring, the GTO changed its name to Nuna-Tek, which is an abbreviation of Nunatsinni Teknikkikkut Ingerlatsivik.
1991	On January 1, Nuna-Tek was subdivided into six independent government agencies. Some of these were later transformed into government-owned companies: **Greenland's shipyards**: from January 1, 1991 Amutsiviit. Privatized in 1998. **Greenland's airport authority**: from January 1, 1991 Mittarfeqarfiit. **Greenland's utilities**: from January 1, 1992 Nukissiorfiit. **Greenland's feasibility studies**: from November 1, 1993 Misissueqqaarnerit. **Greenland's telecommunications**: from January 1, 1994 TELE Greenland A/S. **Greenland's construction administration**: from January 1, 1995 A/S Boligselskab INI.

Figure 15. *Overview of key organizational changes under and after the GTO. Sources: Kerrn-Jespersen (1957), Rosendahl (1959), Sørensen (1983), Rosendahl (1989), Danker ([2004]), Køster (2012), Nukissiorfiit ([2013]), Larsen ([2013]), State Archives ([2014]).*

The GTO was run by technicians and it hired technicians. Its stated goal was to improve housing and infrastructure in Greenland, but population-inclusive planning is completely absent from the organization's nearly 40 years of activities, in which it sought to make the most of the available technological possibilities.

A number of the significant organizational changes that were made during and after the heyday of the GTO are shown in figure 15. One of the things that made the GTO such a strong technocratic organization was that it was run by the same manager from 1956 to 1987, namely Gunnar P. Rosendal (1919-1996).

With the establishment of Greenland home rule in 1979, oil and mineral exploitation was placed under the control of a separate authority as a consequence of the decision to make this sector an area of equal joint concern for both Greenland and Denmark (Dahl 1986, p. 117). From its establishment in 1979, the strong technocratic spirit of the GTO lived on in the Common Council on Mineral Resources in Greenland (ibid., p. 119). Article 7 associated with this work (Hansen 2014a) contains a description of how the Joint Council was gradually transferred to Greenland and completely placed under Greenlandic control in 2010. Over the years, the management of Greenland's oil and mineral resources as a joint Greenlandic-Danish administrative unit established a strong technocratic identity and maintained a high degree of autonomy. The technocratic, pure rationality of this approach is reflected in the fact that, while the Greenland Minerals Authority, as it came to be called from 1998 onwards, was diligently working to bring mining projects to fruition, the rationale remained that mines were to be established, so to speak, merely for the sake of technology and the mining industry. In the early days of the authority's existence, very little effort was made to connect the dots and explore the consequences that establishing mines could have for Greenlandic society. For instance, it has generally been difficult even for researchers to gain insight into the processes and correspondence linked to the handling of individual cases (Hansen 2010, pp. 14-15). Furthermore, the main technocratic considerations of the technically feasible options and planning reveal that, even as late as 2014, the administration responsible for the area of mineral resources was not particularly responsive to social concerns, for example, that it might be necessary to establish no-go zones for mining

activities near populated areas. This was a point of view that emerged, for instance, in the report "To The Benefit of Greenland" (Hansen 2013b; Rosing 2014).

The technocratic legacy of the GTO has exerted a clear, ongoing influence on the management of Greenland's mineral resources. In addition, the same technocratic logic seems to have been embraced by the organizational cultures of the five remaining GTO successors:

- Mittarfeqarfiit

- Nukissiorfiit

- Misissueqqaarnerit (Asiaq)

- Tele Greenland

- INI

5.3.5 Autocracy — clan

Autocracy is a form of government in which *"power is concentrated in the hands of one person (an autocrat)"* (Den Store Danske 2009a). There are many types of autocracies, but here we focus on clientelism, which is an *"expression of different ways of establishing and politically exploiting client relationships between a benefactor and protector, a patron, and a client."* (Lammers 1998). The clientelistic system operates informally and occurs in diverse contexts (ibid.).

One of the places where clientelistic logic thrives is where there are clans. A clan is defined as *"a real identity group and binding block of sociopolitical organization. Like all identity groups, its boundaries are somewhat fluid"* (Collins 2006, p. 38). Discourse-external descriptions of clans as a form of governance have both positive and negative connotations. Collins adds that the term 'clan' can be used *"positively to discuss cultural traditions, family values, and social order, and negatively to criticize political behavior that includes kin patronage and corruption"* (Collins 2006, p. 38). Here the word family is to be understood in a broad sense as a group or symbolic family.

Figure 16 shows the characteristics of autocracy that can be found in Greenland.

Autocracy	
Form of governance	Autocracy — clan
Political ideology	Clientelism
Discourse	Inuit I + II
Key player	Resource administrator
Ideal	Reciprocity
Instrument	Loyalty
Citizen participation	Involved
Citizen engagement	Group

Figure 16. *Characteristics of autocracy.*

As mentioned, when observed from the outside, i.e. from a democratic per-spective, kin patronage is one of the downsides of a clan system. However, seen from the inside, i.e. from a clan perspective, this regard for one's own is one of the key advantageous elements of a clan system.

The germ of the Greenlandic clan systems can be traced back to the society that existed before the European presence. The Inuit lived in close-knit communities, especially during the winter, which required maintaining strong social ties and sharing vital necessities like fish and meat. These were primarily family-based communities. Robert Petersen (1928-) offers a partial explanation by stating that *"within the family group there was a defense unit"* (Petersen 1993, p. 125). Furthermore, the extensive vocabulary for genetic and symbolic family relationships (Hansen 1991a) bears witness to a termi-nology designed to safeguard a social network.

As described in chapter 3, the practice of selecting individuals from particular categories of families to become members of the colonial administration was instrumental in creating today's family clans, as reflected today by a long list of family names associated with strong political and economic ties. These individual families are typically associated with one of the original colonial settlements, which are better known as the regional capitals from the home

rule days. Motzfeldt is from South Greenland, Heilmann is from Maniitsoq, Olsen is from Sisimiut, etc., and a number of books provide descriptions of the Greenlandic family clans (for example, Heilmann 1987; 1996; Sandgreen 1994).

In the 1970s a new type of clan structure emerged in the form of party clans. Jens Dahl (1946-) has implicitly described this in several contexts. In "Arctic Self-Government" he provides a comprehensive description of the birth of the three grand old political parties: Atassut, Inuit Ataqatigiit and Siumut (Dahl 1986a), and in a concurrent article he clearly outlines the parties' clan system (Dahl 1986b). In his book on Saqqaq, Dahl illustrates how these clans are divided along political party lines (Dahl 2000, p. 109).

The analysis in article 5 on the pull and push effects of moving to a place with the opportunity to work in a large-scale industrial activity shows that respondents are well aware of whether there are family networks where they now live, which can convince people to stay, or if there are family support structures at their prospective new locations. At any rate, there can be no doubt that *family matters*" (Hansen and Rasmussen 2013, p. 174). Clientelistic structures like this are not unique to Greenland and can be found in other places, like Iceland, for example. Anna Karlsdottir has described how special family-related clan structures can be identified in Icelandic society (Karlsdottir 2012, pp. 29-30).

An external observer might say that favoring one's own within a family or party clan is nepotism, and this entails negative connotations. The first part of the word, *nepos*, comes from Latin and means nephew (and grandson). The concept stems from the common practice among medieval popes of appointing their nephews and close family members to high-ranking church positions. This papal practice was banned in 1692. I use the term in the sense *"that a person gives preference to relatives and friends over others, especially when filling public sector positions*" (DSDE 1999b).

In some circles a distinction is made between favoritism (individuals favored), cronyism (groups favored) and nepotism (family favored) (Arasli and Tumer 2008, Nadler and Schulman 2006), but I use nepotism in a broad sense to denote all forms of conferring benefits to others, which is also the meaning adopted by Transparency International Greenland (Transparency 2014).

Nepotism is practiced in business, politics, the social sphere, conflict management, etc. An indication of this can be seen in the conclusion drawn by Peter Munk Christiansen and Lise Togeby in their article on Greenland's elite (Christiansen and Togeby 2003, pp. 99-100). Nepotism can be said to occur at almost every level in Greenlandic society. For example, in 1989-1990, it was noted that the three major workplaces in the settlement of Niaqornaarsuk — the school, the shop and the salting house — were largely divided among three groups of families (Hansen 1991a). In many contexts this makes good sense on a local level because it is a deep-rooted element of socialization. There are advantages and disadvantages to this system. Among the benefits are a greater degree of employee loyalty and less staff turnover, while the disadvantages include fewer incentives for training to obtain employment or a promotion, not to mention the risk that the entire selection process can be criticized for not being fair and democratic.

At the soft end of the scale, for example, it might have appeared — viewed from the outside — to have been a considerable advantage, at least during the 1990s, to be related to the Olsen family if you lived in Sisimiut and hoped to be selected for the SAK club's first team in soccer.

At the other end of the scale is one of the more recent, notable examples of a nepotistically motivated hiring of staff members in the world of politics, namely when Tom Ostermann, who was in a romantic relationship with Greenlandic Prime Minister Aleqa Hammond (Siumut) at the time, was hired as a special adviser to the Minister for Fisheries, Hunting and Agriculture, Karl Lyberth (Siumut). Ostermann managed to hold this position for two days before he caved in to the pressure of a public outcry over nepotism and resigned. In the wake of the ensuing scandal, Karl Lyberth resigned as minister and decided to leave politics (Sørensen 2014).

The example of Tom Ostermann is by no means unique in the annals of Greenlandic politics. The nepotistic favoring of close relatives by politicians with decision-making power could be seen right from the early days of home rule. There are many examples in Susanne Christiansen's book "Kajs grønlandskrønike" (Christiansen 2015), which describes Kaj Kleist's recollections from his days at the center of power during the first decades of home rule. For example, in a chapter entitled *One Siumut hand washes the other,*" the author writes: "*Being a member of Siumut was virtually a lifestyle that was*

shared by people from all walks of life. Siumut was more than just a political party; it was almost 'a conglomerate', as IA chairman Kuupik Kleist once called it. … The chairman of the Danish chapter of Transparency International, which combats corruption and bribery, stated at one point that: 'The problem is that Greenland is characterized by a family culture in which people help each other. This simply has no place in a political system.'" (ibid., p. 231).

In the examples listed here the focus has been mainly on nepotistic systems that have Greenlandic roots, but it is also a well-known phenomenon elsewhere in the West. By way of illustration, between 2001 and 2006 at Aalborg University 60% of all posted professorship positions had only one applicant (Larsen and Emerek 2008, p. 19). This is not to say that 60% of these university appointments were rife with nepotism, but it does indicate that in the world of research, for example, it is not unheard of for a job vacancy to be tailored to accommodate specific and well-known individuals.

When it comes to proposals for large-scale industrial projects in Greenland over the past decade, there has been a fear that a special type of clientelism was emerging around these projects, where the position of 'patron' (*patronus*) was assumed by large foreign companies and where the 'client' (*cliens*) was played by the politicians and government officials involved in reviewing and, ultimately, approving or rejecting these ambitious plans. This issue is addressed in article 4 of the present work (Hansen, Sørensen and Jeppson 2009), which states that the Government of Greenland's own company, Greenland Development, showed a level of enthusiasm for Alcoa's aluminum smelter project that in some respects even eclipsed Alcoa's own positive projections (ibid.).

This is a well-known phenomenon in countless places around the world where large-scale industrial projects are pursued. The typical incentive is to grease palms in a myriad of ways to keep things moving forward smoothly. It should be pointed out that nothing of the sort has been demonstrated with regard to the aluminum smelter project, but it is an issue that is taken very seriously by the Government of Greenland. Hence, in March 2015, an anti-corruption policy was established for the staff of the Greenland Government Authorities who deal with mining projects (Dam 2015).

Greenland has many of the necessary ingredients required for nepotism and corruption to thrive. This is a young democracy with a not entirely transparent administration, a generally low level of education and — last but not least — an already latent clientelistic approach to clan structures that could make it that much easier for individuals to become involved in a new clientelistic relationship.

5.3.6 Ochlocracy — protest

Ochlos is Greek and means 'a crowd of people' or 'the man on the street.' Hence, ochlocracy should actually mean something akin to 'the rule of the people,' which is a fairly neutral definition, since it is normally interpreted more negatively as mob rule or mobocracy. This was true around 90 years ago, *"the rule of the mob (ochlocracy), when the socially, economically and intellectually lowest-ranking classes seize power in a state"* (Salmonsens 1926, p. 768), and it still applies today, *"rabble [mob], outdated, derogatory term for the lowest segment of a population"* (Den Store Danske 2009c).

The ochlocratic form of governance has also been called a majority or democratic dictatorship, which is a reference to the innate reluctance of such a government to engage in a dialogue or compromise with minorities. The term 'majority dictatorship' was first used in Denmark in an article published by the Jyllands-Posten newspaper on December 28, 1936 under the headline "We Still Ended up with a Majority Dictatorship" (Hansen 1997, p. 306).

Ochlocracy as a form of government was already described by the ancient Greek historian Polybius (ca. 200 BC - ca. 118 BC). According to Polybios, there are three benign forms of government (monarchy, aristocracy and democracy) and three malignant forms of government (tyranny, oligarchy and ochlocracy). These six forms of governance follow a specific cycle, beginning with monarchy, which degrades to tyranny, which is overthrown by aristocracy, which degrades to oligarchy, which is overthrown by democracy, which degrades to ochlocracy, which is overthrown by monarchy, and so on. ([Mogens] Hansen 1999).

The modern use of the term ochlocracy as a form of government — known at the time as populism — first emerged in 1891 with the formation of The Populist Party in the United States. Nowadays, populism denotes popular

political protest movements (Grage 1999) that can be generally characterized as *"decidedly anti-elitist and against the so-called establishment. They harbor a certain mistrust of representative democracy"* (ibid.). Populist movements often stand in opposition to the established political parties, and they often arise in a climate of major socio-economic change (ibid.). Figure 17 shows the characteristics typically associated with this form of governance.

Ochlocracy	
Form of governance	Ochlocracy — protest
Political ideology	Populism
Discourse	Inuit II
Key player	Agitator
Ideal	Unity
Instrument	Notion of a common enemy
Citizen participation	Self-affirmative
Citizen engagement	Fellow sufferers

Figure 17. *Characteristics of ochlocracy.*

In the Greenlandic context, populist rhetoric in national politics has been most evident since the election in 2002, when Hans Enoksen first became the chairman of the Siumut Party and then, after the election on December 3, was elected as the country's new prime minister. There have never been any truly powerful demagogues in Greenland. At any rate, populist strategies in Greenland have followed two lines of attack: a fear-mongering campaign that aims to forge the notion of a common enemy and an enticement campaign with a flurry of untenable political promises made to core groups of voters, most of whom are unskilled, lower-level salaried employees, along with fisherman and hunters in settlements and small and medium-sized towns.

The indirect conflict management method widely embraced throughout society invites people to recognize threats from identified adversaries. For a society marked by colonialism, it stands to reason that such threats would

be perceived as emanating from representatives or elements of the colonial power. At the same time, a group will typically create a sense of cohesion by forging an image of a national political adversary or possibly a significant minority group that is said to represent a threat to the community.

The most noteworthy populist party in Greenlandic politics has been the Partii Inuit, founded in 2013, which entered the Greenlandic Parliament with two mandates after the June elections that same year. Partii Inuit has made its mark on the political landscape with populist, fear-mongering rhetoric. During the 2014 elections, though, the party failed to garner sufficient votes to enter the Greenlandic Parliament. The political rhetoric of the Siumut Party has also endeavored to appeal to populist sentiment. This was particularly evident during the election campaigns in the spring of 2013 and the fall of 2014 (Rostrup 2014).

Ochlocracy in the form of populism has several similarities with autocracy and clientelism. As was particularly evident with, for instance, Inuit Ataqati-giit in the 1980s, Partii Inuit has a clear connection to family clan structures. Hence, three of the twelve candidates in the 2014 elections were siblings (Nikku and Georg Olsen along with Terto Ngiviu). Furthermore, five of Partii Inuit's candidates came from Qeqertarsuaq, and an additional three were from the neighboring town of Aasiaat.

5.3.7 Democracy — rights

The first element of the word democracy comes from the Greek *demos*, which means 'people.' Accordingly, democracy is often translated as 'rule by the people,' and the term dates back to ancient Greece. The modern form of democracy was not developed until the nineteenth century (Svensson 1996, p. 71). Article 7 of the work examines, based on the writings of Robert A. Dahl (1915-2014) (Dahl 1989, 1999), why what we call democracy should actually be called polyarchy (Hansen 2014a, pp. 135-36 [Article 7]).

Here, however, we are focusing on the term democracy. In the Western world, the democratic model of government have been established as the 'right' form of government (Svensson 1996, p. 72). The global dominance of the Western world in international politics, especially after World War II,

contributed to the establishment of several democracies during the second half of the twentieth century. Article 7 of the work (Hansen 2014a) discusses the waves of democracy that were described by Samuel P. Huntington (1927-2008).

Wave	Period	Number of democratic countries	Examples
1st democratization wave	1820 - 1926	29	United Kingdom, USA, France, Denmark
1st reverse wave	1922 - 1942	12	
2nd democratization wave	1942 - 1962	36	West Germany, India, Japan
2nd reverse wave	1960 - 1975	30	
3rd democratization wave	1974 - 1990	60	Spain, Kenya, Greece, Brazil, Poland, Greenland
3rd reverse wave	1990 - ?	58	

Figure 18. *Huntington's Three Waves of Democratization. Source: adapted by the author from Huntington (1991) (Hansen 2014a, p. 135 [article 7]).*

Figure 18 shows that there have been at least two waves of democratization after World War II. Furthermore, we see that the introduction of home rule in 1979, which arguably marks the birth of true Greenlandic democracy, fits into the third wave of democratization.

Figure 19 shows the characteristics that are associated with democracy in Greenland.

The democratic form of governance has been criticized throughout the ages. *"Aristotle sees democracy as a bad form of government. It is a poor man's regime that exercises power without regard to the laws and the interests of the poor. Behind democracy lies a one-to-one notion of equality and a misunderstood concept of freedom"* (Fink 2013). The Danish philosopher Søren

Kierkegaard (1813-1855) also took a critical view of democracy. *"Kierke-gaard's view of democracy was not exactly positive. He saw it as a mob rule or majority dictatorship where 'the people' could take the reins and trump old, God-given truths. He was thus deeply concerned about the Danish Constitution of 1849 and the political developments of his day"* (Holm 2005).

Democracy	
Form of governance	Democracy — rights
Political ideology	Individualism
Discourse	Western II / Inuit II
Key player	Voters
Ideal	Participation
Instrument	Influence
Citizen participation	Empowered
Citizen engagement	Equals

Figure 19. *Characteristics of democracy.*

Despite similar reservations expressed over the years about democracy as a form of government, since the nineteenth century it has *"gained general recognition in the form of representative democracy"* (Svensson 1996, p. 72).

There seems to have been a special legitimacy that was reserved for a coun-try in the 1900s when it appeared to be a democratic one, and *"[h]ighly diverse forms of governance around the world endeavor to call themselves democratic"* (ibid.). This has included countries like the German Democratic Republic (GDR), the People's Republic of Korea (PRK) and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC).

In accordance with Huntington's third wave of democracies (see figure 18), there has been a growing awareness since the 1990s of the existence of hybrid forms of democracy. It is no longer enough to negatively define coun-tries as authoritarian regimes simply because they are not pure democracies

(Yaşar 2014, p. 4). There have been two tendencies in the literature. Some analyses view these hybrid forms of governance as *"democracy with adjectives"* (ibid.), while others see hybrid forms of governance as *"authoritarianism with adjectives"* (ibid.).[9]

In 1953 Greenland was formally included under the provisions of the Danish democratic constitution. This was preceded, for example, by a privately funded Danish information campaign on the nature of democracy. In 1945 the theologian Hal Koch (1904-1963) published a book entitled "Hvad er demokrati?" (What Is Democracy?) (Koch 1945). The book was published by Folkevirke, which was an organization founded in 1944 by Hal Koch's wife, theologian and politician Bodil Koch, as a cross-political information movement for women (Possing 1998). Under the auspices of Folkevirke, two informational books were published in 1950, written in Greenlandic by prominent Greenlanders. One of the works in question was written by a journalist and editor at the Atuagagdliutit newspaper named Kristoffer Lynge (1894-1967) (Lidegaard 1979-1984), who wrote "kalâtdline inuiaκatauneκ" (To be a citizen among Greenlanders) (Lynge 1950), and the author and teacher Frederik Nielsen (1905-1991) (Nørregaard 1999), who wrote "demokrati sunauna?" (What is democracy?) (Nielsen 1950). Furthermore, in 1952 the Greenland Education Association funded the publication of Otto Rosing's book "inûsugtunut isumaliutigssat" (Food for thought for our youth) (Rosing 1952).

The books combined a description of the democratic development in Greenland with descriptions of democratic elements in Denmark. Both of the books bore the subtitle "oκaloκatigĭssutigssanut túngavigssiaκ" (A topic for discussion) and had in each chapter a number of discussion questions.

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9   In his thesis, Nebahat Yaşar (Yaşar 2014, p. 4) points to a number of researchers who have written about *"democracy with adjectives"* including *"illiberal democracy"* (Zakaria 1997), *"pseudo-democracy"* (Diamond 2002) and *"façade democracy and electoral democracy"* (Haynes 2001), and he provides a number of examples of researchers who have written about *"authoritarianism with adjectives"*; including *"electoral authoritarian regimes"* (Schedler 2006) and *"competitive authoritarianism and hegemonic authoritarian regimes"* (Diamond 2002) and (Levitsky and Way 2002).

These researchers' discussions of hybrid democratic forms of governance could be interesting to analyze in relation to democratic governance in Greenland, but such a comprehensive analysis would fall outside the scope of this book.

The books were intended as inspiration for debates in a proper (Western) democratic manner among the Greenlandic population, but, in the astute words of Robert Petersen, both of them were and are an essential part of an upbringing that *aimed to educate children to exercise consideration and restraint. Much could indicate that many in today's Greenland have a lot they would like to address, but are too reluctant to mention ... it is obviously difficult to achieve a healthy balance when you have a ballast that previously had another function than today*" (Petersen 1993, p. 136). [10]

As Robert Petersen clearly implies, democracy in Greenland does not function purely on the basis of active participation and 'one person, one vote,' which is the dominant principle in the Nordic countries. In Greenland there are other and more collectivist factors that play a role in promoting a lively democracy.

The purely individualistic view of humanity is not particularly pronounced in Greenlandic socialization, which continues to practice a complex interplay between building a strong individualistic belief in oneself and emphasizing collective responsibility in relation to one's own group. The principle of direct conversation as a key element of a well-functioning Western democracy is challenged in Greenland to a large degree by, among other things, the prevailing socialization principle of the inviolability of one's personal integrity, which requires a more indirect form of exchanging opinions (Hansen 1991b). This issue will be further explored in the following section.

5.4 How has it been expressed?

The above-mentioned forms of governance have had widely different statuses in Greenland over the past 150 years. Some have been official and have had enormous influence on Greenlandic socialization (Western theocracy, xenocracy and democracy), while others, despite their official status with the power to set the course for Greenland, have had less real impact within

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10   It is beyond the scope of this dissertation, but it could be extremely interesting to conduct a study of the degree to which Hal Koch's "What is Democracy?" (Koch 1945) and Frederik Nielsen's "demokrati sunauna?" (Nielsen 1950) are in agreement, and if so, how and to what extent these two books actually sparked democratic debates in Greenland in the early 1950s.

the socially accepted context (meritocracy, technocracy). Still other forms of government have remained more hidden, at least from the point of view of the governing authorities, yet still play a powerful socially guiding role among the population (Inuit theocracy, autocracy and ochlocracy). These individual forms of governance have also changed over time.

What they have in common is that, at different periods and in different ways and with different degrees of intensity, they have contributed to the changing framework that Greenland has experienced and, more importantly, have helped shape the democracy that we find in today's Greenland. This is outlined in figure 20.
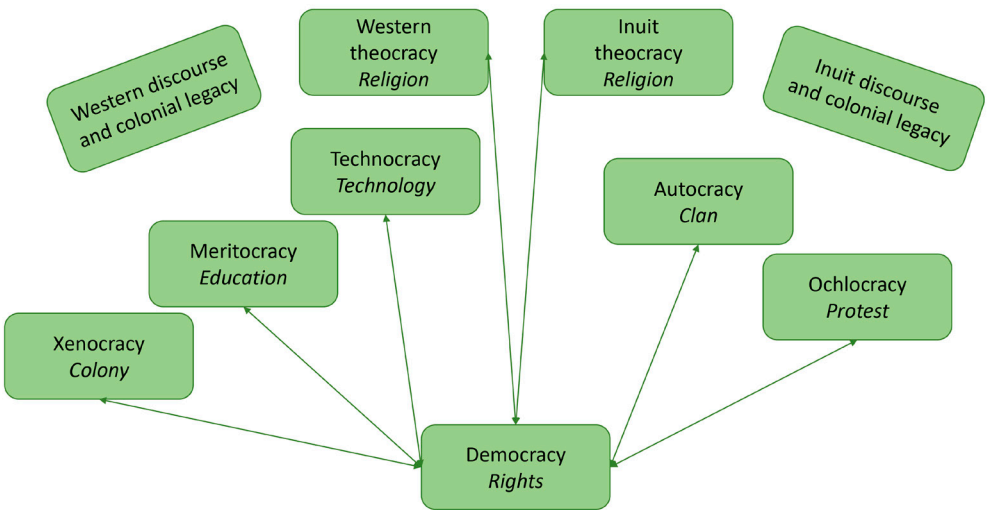

Figure 20. *Model for diverse influences on democracy in today's Greenland.*

The left half of figure 20 — with Western theocracy, xenocracy, meritocracy and technocracy — has predominantly prevailed in the public sphere, while the right side of the figure — with Inuit theocracy, autocracy and ochlocracy — has been primarily active and prevailed in the private sphere. In addition, Western theocracy, xenocracy and democracy have had a considerable influence on the Greenlandic population's private sphere. The disconnect that can be said to exist on the right-hand side of figure 1 (p. 23) is thus between various forms of governance. Field B is to a greater extent dominated

by forms of government such as Inuit theocracy, autocracy and ochlocracy, whereas field C is largely dominated by forms of government such as Western theocracy, xenocracy, meritocracy and technocracy.

In a sense, meritocracy and technocracy can be viewed as nepotistic in their logic, the difference being that selection criteria for meritocratic and technocratic forms of governance are simply more widely accepted in liberal democracies than, say, autocratic selection criteria. Hence, nepotism is not normally associated with meritocratic and technocratic selection criteria. Nevertheless, preference is given to people with specific skills and expertise when filling positions, assigning tasks and hiring for positions of trust. All of the above-mentioned forms of governance have criteria for who can be given preference. In other words, some criteria are accepted while others are viewed as illegitimate within the democratic discourse.

At the beginning of this chapter I mentioned that, since the turn of the millennium, a number of social scientists appear to have adopted a more reflective approach to democracy and other forms of governance. While during the second half of the twentieth century many Western researchers generally held up democracy as an unproblematized ideal, the current debate is, for better or for worse, marked by a more nuanced and broader discussion of different forms of governance. With that in mind, the premise of Western liberal democracy, as discussed in several of the work's articles, has been subjected to a critical analysis in this chapter.

How have divergent notions of good citizenship been expressed in Greenland over the past 150 years? An appropriate response would be to refer to all of the notions of good citizenship mentioned in this chapter.

Theocracy: Both Inuit and Western theocracies operate with a superhuman governing force and thus contain fatalistic elements that, for Christianity, are more apparent in a contemporary Greenlandic context than, for example, in a Danish one. In Greenland, it is more a question of being faithful to the clergy and allowing oneself to be guided. Inuit theocracy in the form of shamanism lies beneath the surface and remains latent and fragmentary, yet emerges partially and implicitly in socialization through unbroken narratives of myths and legends that expose individuals to the age-old social principles. Nonetheless, this cannot today be said to have a significant influence on the

average person's actions as a citizen. The influence of both theocracies was generally more pronounced 150 years ago than it is today. Primarily articles 1 and 3 address aspects of theocratic governance.

Xenocracy: The cultural imperialist influence of colonialism on a population has an enormous impact on its sense of self-worth and identity. A social Darwinian understanding of culture and society, as reflected by the practices and policies of the Danish colonial administration, was widely adopted by the general Greenlandic population and remained virtually unchallenged right up until the early 1960s. In Greenland, at least until 1953, the Inuit were essentially regarded as infantilized subjects who were only allowed to play a strictly limited role in the formal governance of their country. The mental legacy of these social upheavals continues to adversely affect many segments of the Greenlandic population, particularly those who grew up in the era of hidden colonialism from 1953 to 1979.

Meritocracy: In its purest form, the goal is for a society to be governed as optimally as possible on behalf of the population by those who have the best education, have the most experience and are the most skilled. The principle of prioritizing education and experience continues to dominate primarily when filling positions in public administration. However, it is not a principle that is particularly prominent among all segments of the population during the process of socialization in Greenland, and in the private sphere in general, despite a strong political desire that as many people as possible should benefit from advanced education.

Technocracy: Rational social planning should simply be left to tech savvy individuals who will ensure the continued (technological) development of society. This form of governance has dominated many aspects of Greenland since 1950 under the guise of the GTO and, from the 1980s, the organizations that took over elements of its operations. In particular, it has been a characteristic of the management of Greenlandic oil and mineral resources since 1979. However, it has not made its way into the process of Greenlandic socialization or into the private sphere.

Autocracy: Good citizenship is thought of here as a collective understanding of the individual, and it was one of the guiding principles that ensured a mutually supportive social network among the Inuit before their first

contact with Europeans. This social network was first and foremost based on extended family relationships. With the colonial administration's 'divide and rule' principle during the 1800s, reflected in its practice of selecting certain Greenlanders for training and education, particularly to become midwives and catechists, the collective understanding of the individual was reflected in the family clan system, which was strengthened in narrowly defined segments of the population.

In the 1970s this clan mentality was extended to include party clans in the newly established political parties. Within the clan-based collective understanding of the individual, the perception is that blood is thicker than water. The concept of good citizenship thus includes maintaining loyalty to one's own group.

Ochlocracy: As a form of government, ochlocracy typically results from major socio-economic turmoil. It is a protest movement that focuses on single issues and on mobilizing people around them, with the expectation that they will endorse the movement's points of criticism. It was after the turn of the millennium that this form of governance clearly entered the Greenlandic political scene. The espousing of populist views is largely left to the movement's leadership.

Democracy: The prospect of introducing a democratic form of governance has only been seriously debated in Greenland since 1950. Greenlandic society is formally based on the democratic principles that are enshrined in the Danish constitution. In comparison to other Nordic countries, voter turnout in recent parliamentary elections has been low. Greenlandic democracy was only really born with home rule in 1979, and it is still young. Furthermore, there are several cultural and historical elements that give Greenlandic democracy the appearance of being a type of hybrid democracy. Democratic principles are, in a sense, firmly rooted in the consciousness of the Greenlandic population.

A key element of a modern Western democracy is the opportunity and desire of interest groups (NGOs) to exercise their democratic influence. In the Greenlandic context, it is only around 2010 that Greenlandic NGOs started to gain traction. The article entitled "The aluminum smelting project in Greenland — New aspects of an industrialization process?" (Hansen 2013a

[article 6]) discusses the moment of Greenland's actual entry as a player in the process of global industrialization. For the Greenlandic administration and industry, this pivotal point in history came in 2006, when the American aluminum producer Alcoa contacted Greenland with the intention of exploring the feasibility of locating an aluminum smelter in Greenland (ibid., p. 88).

One of the consequences of the greater likelihood of establishing large industrial production plants and mines in Greenland has been the progressive enhancement and coming of age of Greenlandic NGOs. This is reflected in better organization, improved collaboration and more professional communication. In 2013 and 2014 these NGOs demanded that Greenland forge a tradition of genuine citizen involvement in political decision-making (Aaen 2012a; 2012b; 2012c). In 2012 the Greenlandic chapter of the pan-Inuit organization Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC) entered into a two-year project collaboration with the World Wildlife Fund (WWF) in Denmark. *The purpose of the project is to promote the debate and the public's involvement in decision-making processes concerning mining activities in Greenland*" (Langhoff 2013, p. 4). This collaboration has produced several reports on citizens' rights and involvement, including: "Med folkets mandat? Høringsprocesser og borgerinddragelse på råstofområdet" (With the mandate of the People? Consultation processes and citizen involvement in the mining sector) (Langhoff 2013), "Råstofaktiviteter i Grønland. Beskyttelse af grønlændernes kollektive rettigheder i nationalt og internationalt perspektiv" (Mining activities in Greenland. Protection of the Greenlanders' collective rights from a national and international perspective) (Hansen 2013) and "Arktiske erfaringer — sammenlignende studie af borgerinddragelsen i forbindelse med råstofaktiviteter i en række arktiske lande" (Arctic experiences — a comparative study of citizen involvement in mining activities in a number of arctic countries) (Frost and Scott 2014).

In October 2013, seven Greenlandic NGOs and one Danish NGO joined forces to promote citizen involvement in political decision-making. The 'NGO Coalition for Greater Citizen Involvement' is comprised of Transparency International Greenland, ICC Greenland, the WWF, the environmental organization Avataq, KNAPK (The Association of Fishers and Hunters in Greenland), the Association of August 16th and Earth Charter Greenland (the 2014 NGO Coalition).

The NGOs' stance testifies to a growing demand for a full and pure democracy in Greenland, but as stated at the beginning of this chapter, the modern democratic form of governance in societies like Greenland is *"shaped not only by colonial history and European influence; indigenous history also matters"* (Bentzen, Hariri and Robinson 2014, p. 1).

As the above review of the various forms of governance in Greenland has shown, the understanding of what constitutes good citizenship clearly diverges from one system to the next, and this underscores the complex challenge that societies face in ensuring fair, democratic participation and involvement — particularly in a country with a hybrid democracy like Greenland.

5.5 Summary

Five of the work's articles (articles 2, 4, 5, 6 and 7) have, in a variety of ways, dealt with the social aspects of selected elements of forms of governance and perceptions of good citizenship that have been — and continue to be — widely accepted in Greenlandic society.

Inuit theocracy, autocracy and ochlocracy have dominated the Greenlandic private sphere, while Western theocracy, xenocracy, meritocracy and technocracy have dominated the public sphere. Categorizing the various forms of governance in the private and public spheres reveals the substance of the disconnect identified between field B and field C in figure 1 (p. 23).

Furthermore, it has been demonstrated that the influence of the described forms of governance on the country's current democracy constitutes the essence of the hybrid democratic system in today's Greenland.

6 Varying degrees of legitimacy

The third and last working hypothesis to clarify the research topic says that *because of the potentially existing gaps between the private and public spheres, the prerequisite for a broad popular legitimacy concerning the formal governance of Greenland has only partially been present in Greenlandic society over the past 150 years, and this is one of the central causes of the upheavals experienced by Greenlandic society during that period*.

This brings us to question no. 3: How have varying degrees of popular legitimacy manifested themselves in Greenland over the past 150 years?

The answer to the question related to work hypothesis no. 3 is based on a synthesis of articles 6 and 7, where the issue is dealt with in a rudimentary manner. The analysis in chapter 3 of the historical transitions as well as the synthesizing analyses in chapters 4 and 5 necessitated a vigorous re-examination of the observations on legitimacy made in articles 6 and 7. The response will thus primarily rely on supplementary material.

6.1 Legitimacy

Ever since the first communities were formed in which there was some form of leadership, there has always been a need for this leadership to be accepted as legitimate. The question of legitimacy is thus of central importance for all societies. Leaders around the world have differed greatly — both synchronously and diachronously — in their approach to tackling the challenge of legitimacy.

One of the fathers of the Enlightenment, the philosopher and physician John Locke (1632-1704), is said to have introduced legitimate authority as a theoretical concept (see, for example, Torfing 2013, p. 74). We refer here to Locke's work "Two Treatises of Government" (Locke 1689). Locke did not, however, directly use the expression 'legitimate authority,' but instead wrote about a government that relies upon the consent of the people, and subsequent theoreticians have deduced from this that popular consent means that a government has gained legitimacy to exercise power. Locke put it this way:

"For the first conqueror never having had a title to the land of that country, the people who are the descendants of, or claim under those who were forced to submit to the yoke of a government by constraint, have always a right to shake it off, and free themselves from the usurpation or tyranny the sword hath brought in upon them, till their rulers put them under such a frame of government as they willingly and of choice consent to" (Locke 1689, p. 189).

In the social sciences, German sociologist, jurist and economist Max Weber (1864-1920) is recognized as the first to develop a comprehensive empirical approach to the topic of legitimacy (Andersen 2001). In an article published two years after Weber's death (Weber 1922), Weber outlined three types of legitimate rule, each of which bases its legitimacy on a specific type of authority. The three types of authority are: legal-rational, traditional and charismatic authority (Torpe 1994, p. 13).

Legitimacy is a key concept in social science. *"There is no single generally accepted definition of legitimacy, but legitimacy is generally understood as the basis for the type of political power exercised both with an awareness on the part of the authorities that they have the right to rule and a corresponding popular recognition of the governing entity as an authority, i.e. as a legitimate power"* (Knudsen 2010, p. 15). This general definition of legitimacy emphasizes the reciprocal nature of the relationship between government and the people. It is precisely this aspect that Locke had emphasized more than 300 years earlier.

Furthermore, there is a broad consensus that *"for an act to be legitimate, it must be desirable, correct and appropriate within the applicable norms, values, beliefs and definitions. These norms, values, etc. are not universally valid, but socially constructed within the relevant context. The perception of legitimacy may vary depending on the values and norms that apply within the relevant context"* (Niebuhr and Heckscher 2013, p. 15).[11] From this perspective on the nature of legitimacy, the focus is on legitimacy being both discursive and dynamic. In a sense, this is the perspective that Max Weber adopted with his three types of authority and legitimacy.

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11   Within this context, Anne Heckscher Niebuhr and Annette Heckscher refer to the work of American sociologist Mark C. Suchman (Suchman 1995; Niebuhr and Heckscher 2013, p. 15).

A further perspective on legitimacy is that the presence of legitimacy in a society can be said to be one of the driving forces of whether that society's leadership can continue to hold onto power. This is articulated by anthropologists Italo Pardo and Giuliana B. Prato as follows: *"A major argument … is that it is not enough for political and economic action to be within the law, or to be made to fall within the law through ad hoc legislative changes. Above all, it must be seen to be legitimate. Empirical experience suggests that failing to meet such an imperative carries the risk that governance comes to be seen as unreliable and untrustworthy by the wider society"* (Pardo and Prato 2011).

A general examination of legitimacy thus indicates that there is a two-way relationship between those who govern and those who are governed. In addition, the legitimacy that must be present at a given time is discursive and dynamic, which means that a given legitimacy is rooted in time and space. Furthermore, the presence of legitimacy in a community is one of the driving forces for a politically sustainable regime.

6.2 Popular legitimacy

Hans Gammeltoft-Hansen (1944-), who was the Danish parliamentary ombudsman from 1987 to 2012, has postulated that legitimacy can be broken down into three parts. Gammeltoft-Hansen distinguishes between formal, factual and popular legitimacy (Gammeltoft-Hansen 2013, p. 2), which he defines as follows: *"Formal legitimacy denotes decisions that have been made in accordance with the formal rules of decision-making"* (ibid.). *"Factual legitimacy ... is based on the assumption that every political decision must be well-informed"* (ibid.). *"Popular legitimacy ... concerns the experiences and reactions of those affected by political decisions. … The popular legitimacy of political decisions cannot be confused with a clear consensus on the substance of the decisions. One can disagree with a political decision for many reasons, yet at the same time recognize that it is completely legitimate"* (ibid., pp. 2-3). Popular legitimacy frays and falls apart when *"the process has not been open"* (ibid., p. 3).

The connection between Gammeltoft-Hansen's three-part conception of legitimacy and some of the key concepts from the previous chapters is depicted in figure 21.
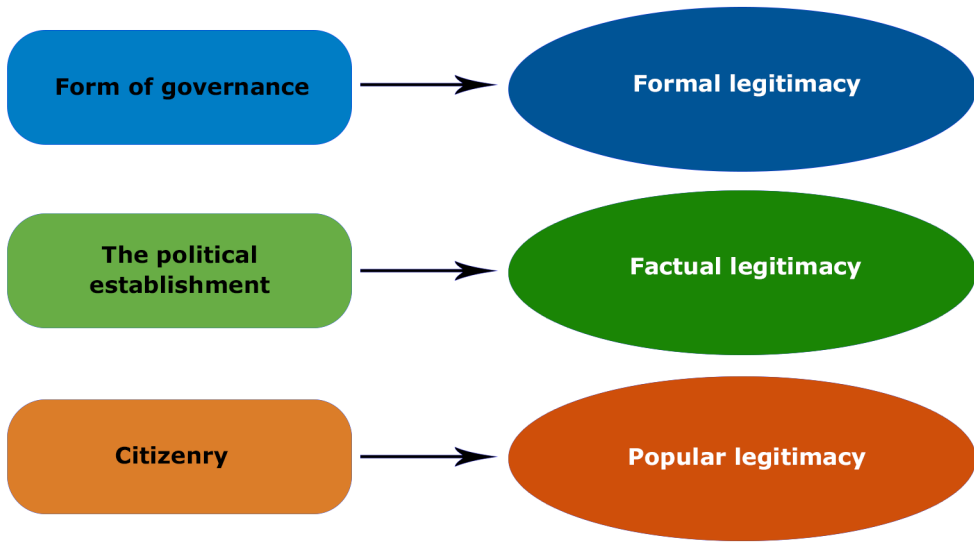
Figure 21. *This illustrates Hans Gammeltoft-Hansen's three-part model of legitimacy in relation to the form of governance, the political establishment and the citizenry.*

In the following sections, the term 'popular legitimacy' is used exclusively as defined by Hans Gammeltoft-Hansen.

6.3 Pluralistic legitimacy model

In order to carry out a more empirical analysis of popular legitimacy, a model is needed that contains all of the previously-mentioned parameters for legitimacy, i.e. it must be a two-way relationship that is discursive and dynamic. Such a model was developed by Bruce Gilley (1966-) in 2009 (Gilley 2009), see figure 22.

Gilley's model is to be interpreted as follows: citizens (I) are relatively autonomous in the demands that they make of the state concerning society (A). However, the state plays a certain role in shaping these demands (B). The state's social infrastructure (II), which consists of institutions and ideologies, delivers results (C) that collectively, through governance and the providing of public services, constitute the state's performance (III). The population's

assessment of the state's performance (D) leads to a level of legitimacy (IV) that, in and of itself, has an impact on the state's ability to perform (E). Furthermore, this level of legitimacy has a certain influence on the relatively autonomous demands made by citizens (F) (Gilley 2009, pp. 62-63). This model illustrates that the state *"is both a consequence and a cause of legitimacy"* (ibid., p. 62).

The results that a state delivers (C) represent a broad spectrum of governance and public services. Gelley posits that the three 'services' that are most relevant to a high or low level of legitimacy are a country's development, democracy and governance (ibid., pp. 26ff).

It is interesting to compare both Gilley's model and the three most relevant public services with the three major transitions under Danish colonial rule of Greenland, as identified in chapter 3, namely the changes that occurred in 1832, 1953 and 1979.
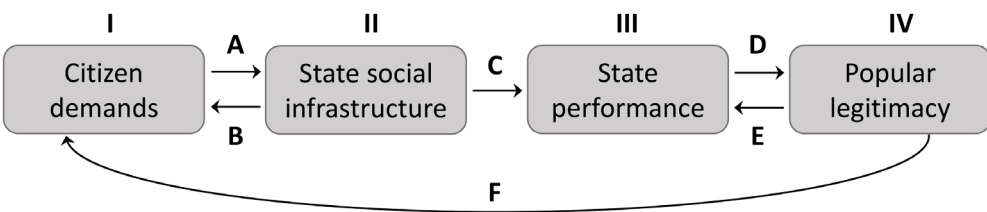

Figure 22. *Bruce Gilley's pluralist model of legitimacy (Gilley 2009, p. 63)*

As described in chapter 3, the first particularly significant transition since the beginning of the colonial period occurred when the entire formal basis for the Danish presence in Greenland had to be revised in 1832 after it became clear that the Norse were no longer on the island. From the early 1700s, the formal purpose of the Danish presence in Greenland was to support the further **development** of Norse society in Greenland. When the Danes realized that there was no longer a Norse society that they could aid and support, it completely undermined the legitimacy of the Danish colonies and it was necessary to formulate a new reason for the Danish presence, namely to help the existing Inuit society in Greenland.

Prior to the 1953 constitutional amendment, which marks the second notable transition, Denmark had to suffer the humiliation of being placed on the list of colonial powers in 1946 by the newly established United Nations (UN). The international community no longer saw it as legitimate to own colonies, since colonized peoples were denied the rights that are associated with *democracy.* This resulted in a major change in Greenland's legal status with the constitutional amendment in 1953, which formally restored legitimacy to the Danish presence, at least in the eyes of the outside world.

One of the consequences of Greenland's new status from 1953 onwards, and of the Danish modernization project during the 1950s and 1960s, was that an increasing number of young Greenlanders were sent to Denmark to pursue an education. This sparked a growing political awareness among these students and, starting in the early 1960s, this coming-of-age of a new generation of Greenlanders — which was largely unintentional from a Danish perspective — led to growing criticism of Danish administration of the island. Throughout the 1970s, the legitimacy of Danish *governance* in Greenland gradually faded. In 1979 negotiations between Greenland and Denmark led to the establishment of home rule, which officially marked the third major transition and thus restored popular legitimacy on the island.

Viewed with respect to Gilley's model (figure 22), the transition of 1832 only came about because a state of non-legitimacy emerged internally, within the state's own definition. Hence, it was solely via B, i.e. the state itself, that the new demand originated. This is undeniably a special situation, in which the affected population had no involvement whatsoever in formulating the demands. The transition in 1953 is also a special case in relation to the model because its structure is endogamous, i.e. it only involves a society's inner mechanisms. Yet the 1953 transition was triggered by a case of non-legitimacy as defined by the international community. The external arrow that could show the triggering factor is not displayed in the model, but it would have to be an arrow like A that simply has its starting point outside the model.

It is only the transition that occurred in 1979 that can be said to be the result of a democratic process according to the model, since it is only in the run-up to this date that a relatively autonomous claim of non-legitimacy was made by the concerned population.

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The above analysis clearly shows that there are slight variations in the type of non-legitimacy that can be identified as key elements in the three major transitions that occurred during Greenland's colonial era. The aspect of non-legitimacy is further explored in the following section.

6.4 Non-legitimacy

One of the main criticisms leveled by British social theorist David Beetham against Max Weber's classic tripartite classification of authority is that *"Weber's lack of concern with non-legitimate 'Herrschaft' becomes a crucial handicap"* (Beetham 1991a, p. 37).

This prompted Beetham to revise the three parameters of legitimacy by adding corresponding forms of non-legitimacy (Beetham 1991b), as shown in figure 23.

Criteria of legitimacy	Corresponding forms of non-legitimate power
1. Conformity to rules (legal validity)	1. Illegitimacy (breach of rules)
2. Justifiability of rules in terms of shared beliefs	2. Legitimacy deficit (discrepancy between rules and supporting shared beliefs, absence of shared beliefs)
3. Legitimation through expressed consent	3. Delegitimation (withdrawal of consent)

Figure 23. *Beetham's three dimensions of legitimacy (Beetham 1991b, p. 20).*

Beetham emphasizes that this is important because the absence of legitimacy is a key destabilizing factor. His distinction for the first parameter is that legitimacy exists when the set of rules or laws upon which a society is based is legally valid. By contrast, a form of power is ***illegitimate*** when the

existing rules and laws are no longer considered valid. This happens when a new set of rules is introduced and the old logic subsequently appears to be wrong or to contravene the new rules.

As for the second parameter, there is a legitimate situation when there is a high degree of agreement on the (moral) justification of a set of rules. This can become a *legitimacy deficit* when the applicable rules no longer enjoy the same degree of support among the citizenry, i.e. a large proportion of the population no longer finds them acceptable and in line with their shared beliefs.

The third and final parameter states that when a form of governance and its principles enjoys the express consent of the people, that government is built upon a legitimate foundation. If, however, this express consent is withdrawn, this constitutes a case of *delegitimation*.

This brings me to the question of how this classification of non-legitimacy as illegitimacy, legitimacy deficit and delegitimation corresponds with the three identified transitions during the course of Greenland's colonial history.

The transition of 1832 was a direct consequence of Graah's conclusion that the Norse had completely disappeared from Greenland. This suddenly removed the legitimate basis, or the legitimate premise, which until then had been used as a justification for the Danish presence on the island. Although the Danish-Norwegian colonists in Greenland in the 1700s and the early 1800s had yet to encounter any descendents of the Norse, they still held onto the hope that some had survived, as was clearly evident in the instructions that Graah had received for his expedition (Graah 1832). After Norway was ceded to Sweden under the Treaty of Kiel in 1814, the Danes persisted in using their search for the lost Norse settlers as the justification for their colonial presence in Greenland, which explains why Graah's conclusion had such far-reaching consequences. It was a *delegitimation* of the Danish government in Greenland and it had immediate consequences because it spread from the very core of the Danish ruling establishment.

Up until the transition in 1953, Denmark was under enormous pressure from the UN. In 1946 Denmark responded to international pressure and formally acknowledged that Greenland was to be regarded as a Danish colony

(DIIS 2007, p. 302; Petersen 1975). This was a prerequisite step for Denmark to become a member of the UN. The key point here was Chapter XI, Article 73 of the Charter of the United Nations, which states that UN members that *"have or assume responsibilities for the administration of territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government … promote to the utmost … the well-being of the inhabitants of these territories, and, to this end … develop self-government"* (ibid., p. 36). In other words, the UN Charter rendered it illegitimate to maintain colonies, thereby rendering Danish control of Greenland illegitimate in the eyes of the UN. Since Denmark had a sincere desire to rank among the leading countries in the UN, this recognition in 1946 provoked a crisis of legitimacy with respect to the governance of Greenland. The DIIS report shows that Denmark diligently worked, in some cases behind Greenland's back (ibid., pp. 206ff), to keep the island from becoming an 'autonomous region,' as stated under Article 73, but instead saw to it that it was incorporated as an integral part of the Kingdom of Denmark. The Danish strategy succeeded in 1953 with the constitutional amendment that the UN accepted on September 7, 1954 (see figure 6, p. 60) (DIIS 2007).

This constitutional amendment marked the beginning of the colonial era that I have called hidden colonialism (see p. 61), meaning that, with the UN seal of approval, Denmark was able to rid itself of the stigma of being a colonial power, while in reality the Danish Parliament continued to control Greenland from afar. In connection with the adoption of the Act on Greenland Self-Government on June 21, 2009, Denmark submitted a notification to the UN on the renewed status of Greenland. This was in the form of a circular note dated October 7, 2009 from Danish Ambassador to the UN Carsten Staur to UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon. The letter was entitled "Act on Greenland Self-Government" (Staur 2009). The diplomatic processing of the Danish notification ended on February 8, 2010, when a report was presented to the General Assembly under agenda item 39: 'Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries' (Lynge 2015).

This renewed notification to the UN on the new status that Greenland achieved in 2009 with the introduction of self-government took place just over 55 years after the previous Danish report to the UN on Greenland. This clearly indicates that Greenland's real status in the intervening years may not have been fully revealed in the Danish report to the UN in 1954. Hence, the real status was one of *hidden* colonialism.

The process that preceded the transition in 1979 was — compared to the two processes described above — protracted and began already in the early 1960s. In 1964 the birth criterion was introduced, i.e. that *"individuals who were born in the country [Greenland] or who, before their fifth year, became permanent residents there, received lower wages and poorer conditions with regards to vacation trips, housing, etc. than Danes stationed there"* (Lidegaard 1997).[12] Based on the criterion of place of birth, Helge Kleivan noted that *"it is ... the wage differences that quite unequivocally follow the ethnic boundary, which, more than anything else, helped make the Greenlandic population aware of its identity and situation in life"* (Kleivan 1969, p. 150). Kleivan also pointed out that it was bilingual, educated Greenlanders, *"the educational elite ... [who] ... were confronted with the discrimination in the most tangible possible way"* (ibid.). This fits well with a statement made by a student at the time and member of the Young Greenlanders' Council who later would become Greenland's first premier, Jonathan Motzfeldt, quoted by the Berlingske Tidende newspaper in 1965 as follows: *"We are the first true Greenlandic opposition and thus represent a break with the previous unreflective and servile yes-mentality"* (Christiansen and Bønnelykke 1981, p. 66).[13]

Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, the Greenlandic population was increasingly dissatisfied with Danish rule. This issue is discussed in article 7 (Hansen 2014a, pp. 146ff) and can be illustrated with protest posters from 1975 (see figure 24). In addition, Frank Sejersen provides a thorough review of the heated debate during the 1970s, especially with regard to the first exploratory oil drilling off the west coast of Greenland in 1976-1977 (Sejersen 2014). For example, a Greenlandic activist is quoted as saying to the Jyllands-Posten newspaper in 1975 that *"weapons may be needed in the upcoming resistance struggle against Denmark"* (ibid., p. 17).

The Greenlandic protests, which started in 1964 (Sørensen 1983, pp. 202-3), demonstrated that among certain segments of the Greenlandic population

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12   Mads Lidegaard is listed as the author despite the fact that the article in the printed version of the encyclopedia has no byline. This stems from the fact that the verbatim corresponding article, which can be found at www.denstoredanske.dk, is attributed to Mads Lidegaard as the author.

13   I have failed to locate the actual article in Berlingske Tidende with Jonathan Motzfeldt's statement. Hence, the only reference here is to Christiansen and Bønnelykke (1981).

Figure 24. *Examples of protest posters from a protest demonstration in Sisimiut in 1975 (Hansen 2014a, p. 148 [article 7]). From left to right: "Welcome, imperialist running dogs," "Safeguard our people! No, to oil drilling," "Are you still determined to use the colonialists' dictatorial methods?" and " No to oil exploration in our fishing grounds."*

there was a pronounced dissatisfaction with the administration of the island by Danish authorities, particularly in relation to Greenlandic society. This shows that the Danish state suffered from an increasing lack of legitimacy in the eyes of the Greenlandic population throughout this period, i.e. a growing popular **legitimacy deficit**, which culminated in 1979 with a formal transition in the governance of Greenland and the introduction of home rule.

Once again, we see that the transitions in 1832 and 1953 did not remain within the prevailing internal social and democratic frameworks. Recognition of the **delegitimated** condition that led to the transition in 1832 came from

the core of the ruling establishment. The pressure on the Danish state stemming from the perception of Greenland's colonial status as ***illegitimate*** was external, i.e. it came from the world's largest intergovernmental organization, the UN. This led to the constitutional amendment in 1953. It was not until the 1960s and 1970s that there was an increasingly widespread perception among the Greenlandic population that Danish rule had a ***legitimacy deficit***, and this led to the transition in 1979, which was the first process that could be referred to as internal and democratically based.

The fact that the social transitions that occurred before 1979 were based on circumstances other than dissatisfaction among the Greenlandic population is yet another indication that Greenland has a relatively young democracy.

6.5 How has it manifested itself?

This chapter is about legitimacy and following key question: How have varying degrees of popular legitimacy manifested themselves in Greenland over the past 150 years?

The analyses of the preceding sections have clearly demonstrated that with regard to 'popular legitimacy' during Greenland's colonial era there has been, at most, only a modest manifestation of popular legitimacy among the Greenlandic population, at least if the word 'manifestation' is meant to reflect having a decisive influence on political practice.

The particularly significant transitions in the governance of Greenland identified in chapter 3 — in 1832, 1953 and 1979 — have been found to be entirely or partly rooted in three very different types of non-legitimacy.

The events surrounding the transition during the 1830s took place in Copenhagen. The only direct popular influence that may have potentially affected W.A. Graah's and other Danish decision-makers' attitudes and perspectives may have been the Greenlanders who took part in Graah's expedition up the east coast, but their influence was probably primarily of an indirect nature. In the debates surrounding this new realization, there does not seem to be any explicit references to any Greenlandic views or attitudes on the possibility of

the continued existence of the Norse in Greenland (Sveistrup and Dalgaard 1945; Graah 1832). The exceedingly small degree of popular Greenlandic influence here is depicted in figure 25.
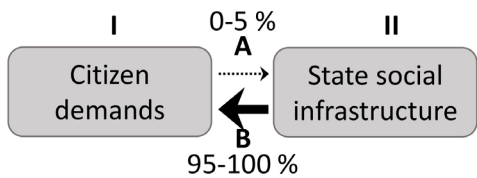

Figure 25. *Excerpt from Gelley's pluralistic legitimacy model showing my calculation of the presumed degree of influence on the transition in 1832.*

As described above, prior to 1953 the National Council served as puppets of sorts in the planning and strategy of the Danish state as it sought to mitigate the demands placed upon it by the UN. The National Council was allowed to have opinions on the issues at hand, but it had no independent decision-making power, and — more importantly — it lacked sufficient independent funding and an autonomous and qualified administrative apparatus, which would have been required to formulate autonomous and independent points of view, as understood today according to the "Principle of Free, Prior and Informed Consent" (Tamang 2005).

The wording of this concept is relatively recent and was incorporated into the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, which was adopted by the UN General Assembly on September 13, 2007 (DRIPS 2008). For example, Article 19 includes the following statement: "*States shall consult and cooperate in good faith with the indigenous peoples concerned through their own representative institutions in order to obtain their free, prior and informed consent before adopting and implementing legislative or administrative measures that may affect them*" (ibid., p. 8).

Since this is arguably a modern-day perspective on the process up to 1953, an obvious objection to this type of argumentation could be that it is not reasonable to judge the processes of the day by today's standards. Further-more, it is not a matter of judging the process itself, but rather of asses-sing whether the pre-1953 process involved relatively autonomous demands by Greenlandic citizens on the state's role in society, see Bruce Gilley's

pluralistic legitimacy model (figure 22, p. 123). The conclusion is that this was not the case, or that these demands only existed to a very limited extent prior to 1953. The popular Greenlandic influence, as illustrated in figure 26 — without conducting an actual quantitative analysis — is estimated at between 10% and 20%, based on the recognition that the National Council was in fact consulted (DIIS 2007).
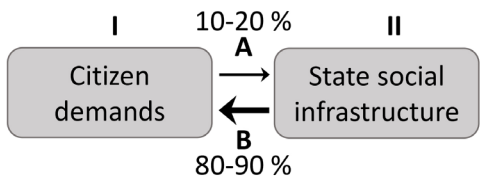

Figure 26. *Excerpt from Gelley's pluralistic legitimacy model showing my calculation of the presumed degree of influence on the transition in 1953.*

It was not until a growing number of Greenlanders began to raise objections to Danish rule during the 1960s and home rule was introduced in 1979 that one could observe a process in which relatively autonomous demands by the Greenlandic population directly resulted in a reorganization of the governance of the island. By extension, it was only when Greenland gradually emerged from the shadow of colonial rule that a relatively autonomous Greenlandic sense of popular legitimacy from the 1960s began to have a tangible impact on formal Danish rule of Greenland.

Figure 27 shows that the popular Greenlandic influence is estimated at between 40% and 60%. This estimate is solely based on knowledge of the process and not on any form of quantitative analysis. One of the indications that there has been a fairly equal degree of influence from both parties is that the home rule agreement introduced measures to address issues of joint concern. There were issues that only concerned Greenland, issues that pertained solely to Denmark and shared issues that involved both parties sitting at the negotiating table.
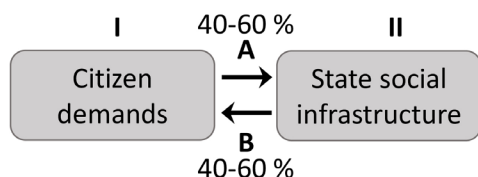
I 40-60 % II
     A
Citizen → State social
demands ← infrastructure
     B
   40-60 %

Figure 27. *Excerpt from Gelley's pluralistic legitimacy model showing my calculation of the presumed degree of influence on the transition in 1979.*

As we can see, the three analyzed major transitions in the governance of Greenland were accompanied by a gradual increase in the influence of popular Greenlandic demands, which, from a democratic perspective, is a highly positive development.

To understand the colonial context, it is important to note that in all three analyzed cases the Greenlandic population had to contend with a ruling establishment that did not originate from the population itself. The state power that the 'citizen demands' in the above figures have been up against is the Danish colonial power — not an independent Greenlandic administration. In all three analyzed transitions, Greenlandic society has had to deal with an external state actor, namely the Danish (and initially the Danish-Norwegian) colonial power.

Hence, the manifestation of varying popular degrees of legitimacy has not yet led to the development of a Greenlandic government that can be said to be the result of sweeping social upheaval. This is something that Greenlandic society has yet to experience. Perhaps Greenland got a taste of this when a large group of demonstrators gathered in Nuuk on Tuesday, September 30, 2014, which resulted in the resignation of Prime Minister Aleqa Hammond and early parliamentary elections (Duus 2014).

From this we can conclude that it is erroneous to assume, as stated in working hypothesis no. 3, that it is Greenlandic popular legitimacy alone that has influenced the transitions in the governance of the country. The analysis in this chapter has shown that in 1832 and 1953 it was the government's (ruling establishment's) own conclusions, or pressures from external players, that — alone or at least to an overwhelming degree — created

a non-legitimate situation and thus sparked the two significant transitions in the governance of Greenland. It was only in 1979 that a Greenlandic sense of popular legitimacy had a decisive influence on a significant transition in governance. This is just one indication that Greenland is on the road toward gradually increasing the degree of democratization in the country.

6.6 Summary

As initially stated, although discussions of legitimacy are included in both articles 6 and 7, the articles' analytical approach to legitimacy is not fully comprehensive when compared with the insights gained in the previous chapters' synthesizing analyses of the historical process, discourses and diverse forms of governance.

This broader and systematic analytical understanding of legitimacy provides the basis for an analysis of the three particularly significant transitions that, as outlined in the previous chapters, occurred in 1832, 1953 and 1979, and were triggered by three distinctly different types of non-legitimacy, namely delegitimation in 1832, illegitimacy in 1953 and a legitimacy deficit in 1979.

7 Conclusion

The previous three chapters have successively presented synthesizing analyses of discourse, governance and legitimacy that stem from figure 1, a defining graphic representation at the outset that links the work's seven articles within a coherent framework.

Based on this structure, the following thesis statement was formulated for the work in chapter 2.2 (p. 27): *How has the existence of different discourses and different forms of governance, along with an associated perception of good citizenship and various degrees of legitimacy, had an impact on the development of and changes in the gradual process of democratization in Greenland over the past 150 years?*

7.1 Differentiation

The analyses of the discourses, forms of governance and types of legitimacy have illustrated differences between the discourses and the forms of governance that have been identified. This differentiation is based on how specific discourses and forms of governance have been of importance to the Greenlandic population as a whole. In addition, these forms of governance differentiate according to their status as a formally instituted form of governance for Greenland. As extrapolated below, the status may refer to primary forms of governance for those that are formally instituted and ancillary forms of governance for those that are informally instituted. Hence, the overall conclusion for the work's thesis statement can be outlined as follows:

Discourse:
For more than 150 years, today's socially accepted Inuit-Western hybrid discourse has constituted the basis of the Greenlandic notion of popular legitimacy for the formal governance of Greenland. In my research on this subject, I have primarily focused on the concept of fatalism and the inviolability of personal integrity, which I consider to be two of the most important parameters for interactions and tensions between an Inuit-Western

and a Western-Danish discourse. One of the biggest challenges facing the Inuit-Western hybrid discourse is the abnormality that can be experienced in elements of contemporary Greenland socialization.

Primary forms of governance:

The predominant framework for the past 150 years of formal governance of Greenland has been xenocracy in the form of colonialism. This form of government has gradually been superseded by a democratic form of government. Although there still remains a clear link between these two forms, democracy has been the most influential system since 1979. Nevertheless, it is the enduring elements of xenocracy that give Greenland its current hybrid democratic form of governance.

Ancillary forms of governance:

In addition, there are at least four divergent forms of government, with differing perceptions of what good citizenship is, that have had, and continue to have, some influence in shaping the prevailing hybrid democratic form of governance in today's Greenland, namely meritocracy, technocracy, autocracy and ochlocracy. These four forms of governance do not constitute formally superior 'globally' applicable forms of governance in Greenland. Instead, these are forms of governance that can be said to be 'locally' occurring and particularly prevalent within specific government agencies or spheres of Greenlandic society.

Between the meritocratic and autocratic forms of governance, it has largely been equal individual rights versus group-based collective considerations that have rendered contradictions visible. This can be seen, for example, in the filling of positions and the appointing of individuals to positions of trust. By contrast, between the technocratic and the ochlocratic forms of governance, it has predominantly been the rationalist, Western scholarly perspective versus the traditional, popular perspective that has revealed a number of contradictions, as reflected, for instance, in the organizational approach to establishing the principles for the exploitation of living resources.

Legitimacy:

By filtering through the changing degrees of logic in the applicable discourses and forms of governance during the period under examination, a wide range

of notions of legitimacy have emerged in relation to the formal governance of Greenland.

Initially, I hypothesized that throughout this period the Greenlandic sense of popular legitimacy had a significant impact on sweeping changes in the formal governance of Greenland. However, a closer analysis revealed that this was not the case with all major transitions in governance. In fact, it was largely other groups' notions of legitimacy that had a decisive influence on the transitions in 1832 and 1953, and it was only in 1979 that the Greenlanders' sense of popular legitimacy was the driving force for change. This is just one indication that Greenland is on the road toward gradually increasing the degree of democratization in the country.

7.2 The mechanisms

My analyses of discourses, forms of governance and legitimacy have provided an opportunity to forge a new understanding of the mechanisms behind the transitions between the seven colonial eras described in figure 7 (p. 65).

The presence of a significant degree of non-legitimacy is the underlying mechanism. Accordingly, the key to understanding the mechanism behind the transitions between the seven eras lies in an insight into the structure of an existing non-legitimacy, which, given sufficiently broad support, can trigger a discursive transition. I will elaborate on this notion in this section.

The analyses reveal that the seven "starting years" in figure 7 do not all fall into the same category, and that the year 1832 marked the beginning of a non-legitimacy, whereas the years 1953 and 1979 revolved around the formalization of constitutional amendments (see figure 28).

In other words, there are more eras (namely seven) in figure 7 then there are discursive transitions (namely five) in figure 28. Hence, it will require a closer examination to achieve a more accurate breakdown of the actual correlations.

Figure 28 depicts the five sets of discursive transitions that the analyses have revealed.

The two earliest 'beginnings of non-legitimacy' — 1721 and 1832 — are also seen in figure 7, but the three later 'beginnings of non-legitimacy' are not included in figure 7.

Furthermore, the first three eras — 1721-1782, 1782-1832 and 1832-1908 — extend between 'beginnings of non-legitimacy' and 'formalization of constitutional amendments,' whereas the three most recently completed eras — 1908-1953, 1953-1979 and 1979-2009 — only extend between two 'formalization of constitutional amendments.'

Beginnings of non-legitimacy	Essence of non-legitimacy	Formalization of constitutional amendments	Essence of constitutional amendments
1721	Presence of non-reformed Norse	1782	Colonization begins (1721)
1832	Danish presence due to the Norse	1908	Colonization is redefined (around 1832)
1945	Retaining colonies	1953	Administrative district status introduced (1953)
1963	Discriminatory treatment by Danish authorities	1979	Beginning of home rule (1979)
2002	Home rule's limitations	2009	Beginning of self-government (2009)
?	?	?	?

Figure 28. *Overview of the beginnings of the five non-legitimacies that have prompted the Danish colonial power to make constitutional amendments for Greenland.*

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This raises, of course, the following question: Why do 1945, 1963 and 2002 not appear as key transitional years? In order to answer this question, we have to examine where the beginnings of each of the five significant non-legitimacies can be localized.

On the left-hand side of figure 29, there is a three-way divide between the international community (UN), the colonial power (Denmark) and the colonized (Greenland). As a colonial power, it is only within the Danish administration or the Danish Parliament that a decision can be made concerning Greenland's constitutional status.

The five green boxes mark the five constitutional initiatives concerning Greenland since colonization began in 1721. The launch of each of these five constitutional initiatives can be linked to a specific date. Aside from the Directive of 1782, this went hand in hand with the introduction of concrete legislation in each case. The Directive of 1782 had the same scope as subsequent laws. All five constitutional initiatives are, of course, located within the two lines that delineate the realm of the Danish colonial power's decision-making process.

In addition to the five green boxes, there are also five red dots. The red dots mark the beginning of the non-legitimacy that preceded each of the five constitutional initiatives. Unlike the constitutional initiatives, it is not possible
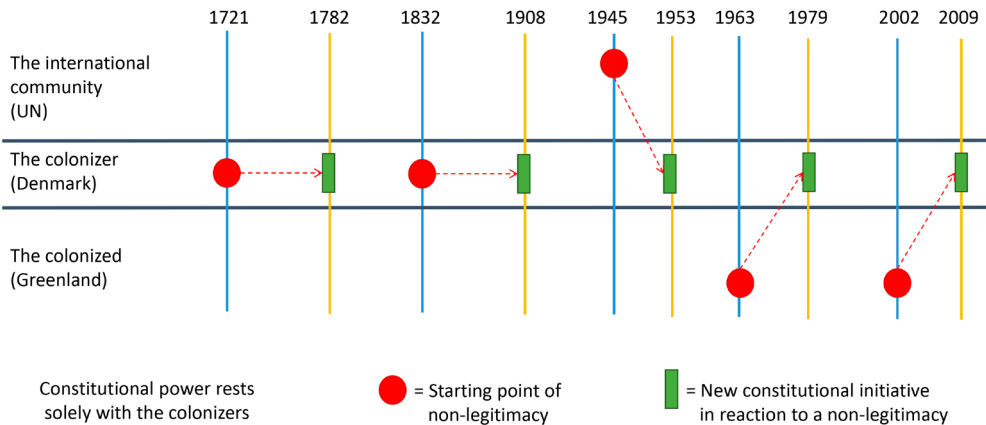

Figure 29. *An illustration of the five constitutional initiatives throughout Greenland's colonial history and the associated preceding action-determining notions of non-legitimacy.*

to say exactly when a non-legitimacy began. The years listed here indicate when the respective non-legitimacies became highly visible.

It is particularly interesting to note that only the two earliest red dots (1721 and 1832) were within the realm of the Danish decision-making process. The other three red dots were outside the realm of the Danish decision-making process, yet these three non-legitimacies nevertheless managed to influence Danish decision-makers and trigger a constitutional initiative.

Both in 1721 and 1832 the non-legitimacies were in fact delegitimacies. In 1945, on the other hand, there was a case of illegitimacy, while in 1963 and in 2002 there were legitimacy deficits. The explanation for why 1945, 1963 and 2002 do not appear to be key transitional years between eras is that all three years mark the beginning of a non-legitimacy that is rooted outside the realm of the Danish decision-making process. It is only when these external non-legitimacies have managed to prompt a constitutional initiative that the change became visible within the context of political eras, as illustrated in figure 7.

Since the revelation of these three most-recent non-legitimacies does not stem from a Danish context, and despite the fact that they have successfully led to constitutional amendments, they are not firmly rooted in a discursive change in how the Danes view the relationship between Denmark and Greenland. The previous analyses have repeatedly noted that the latest Danish discursive change in the perception of the relationship between Denmark and Greenland dates back to 1832.

As for Greenland, the two discursive changes in 1963 and 2002 are rooted in a Greenlandic view of the relationship between Denmark and Greenland. In other words, there has been a Greenlandic discursive change in the perception of the relationship between Denmark and Greenland on two occasions, while during the same period no corresponding Danish discursive change has been observed in the perception of the relationship between Denmark and Greenland.

Both of the Greenlandic discursive changes were motivated by the desire for greater political and economic independence from Denmark. Greenland simply wants to discard any ongoing colonial affiliation with Denmark.

The analyses thus indicate that Greenland is mentally prepared to assume responsibility for independence. Denmark, however, does not seem to have undergone a corresponding change in discourse, which means that it is not yet in a similar position to take the final step toward removing the remaining colonial ties between Denmark and Greenland.

Since such a separation — as illustrated in figure 29 — has to be approved by the Danish Parliament, a peaceful severing of all colonial ties between Denmark and Greenland would necessitate the creation, so to speak, of a new red dot within the realm of the Danish decision-making process. This is the only possible way of putting an end to the colonial situation via negotiations. From an international perspective, it provides a unique opportunity to continue along the negotiating path that both parties have managed to pursue thus far until they can complete the final chapter in the Danish colonization of Greenland.

7.3 The concept of legitimacy

Identifying the mechanisms that drive social change and the gradual process of democratization also involves examining a government's stability and the relative arguments in favor of its position of power.

Character of the legitimacy	Condition for stability	Main period	Key figure
Absolute legitimacy	Presence of legitimacy	-1850	Talleyrand-Périgord (1754-1838)
Dynamic legitimacy	Presence of legitimacy	1850-1950	Max Weber (1864-1920)
Democratic legitimacy	Presence of legitimacy	1950-	Fritz W. Scharpf (1935-)

Figure 30. *Overview of the three forms of legitimacy that have influenced the modern understanding of the concept, based on the work of Nielsen (1985).*

From the perspective of the history of ideas, these arguments and the associated concept of legitimacy have evolved over the past 300 years. In an article published in 1985, Torben Hviid Nielsen postulated, with reference to the history of ideas, three eras and three corresponding forms of legitimacy (Nielsen 1985, 382) that have played a decisive role in our modern understanding of the concept, as schematically illustrated in figure 30.

The analyses in the work have shown that there seems to be an aspect to the relationship between legitimacy and social stability that goes beyond what has been put forward by Torben Hviid Nielsen. The analyses of the social changes in Greenland over the past 300 years indicate that it is probably to a greater extent the absence of non-legitimacy that helps ensure social stability. This form of legitimacy is illustrated in figure 31, which serves as a supplement to figure 30.

Character of the legitimacy	Condition for stability	Main period	Key figure
Non-legitimacy	Absence of non-legitimacy	2000-	?

Figure 31. *The work's contribution to the history of ideas, outlining a fourth form of legitimacy in the modern understanding of the concept.*

7.4 Two apparent tautologies

The title of this book, "From Passive Observers to Active Participants," could lead some to conclude that it is a combination of two tautologies, namely 'passive observers' and 'active participants.' But this is far from the case. The title contains a reference to particularly significant discursive transitions that — as described earlier — took place in 1832 as the result of a delegitimate situation, in 1953 as the result of an illegitimate situation and in 1979 as the result of a situation with legitimacy deficits.

Figure 32 classifies these transitions based on the extent to which the Greenlandic population was primarily passive or active in its interactions with the

colonial power, and whether it was primarily assigned a role as observers or participants.

	Passive	Aktive
Observers	1721 - 1832	1832 - 1953
Participants	1953 - 1979	1979 -

Figure 32. *The connection between major discursive transitions and the roles assigned by the colonial power to the Greenlandic population as observers or participants, as well as the overriding established role of the Greenlanders as passive or active.*

During the period between 1721 and 1832, the Greenlanders were predominantly **passive observers**, a role that was essentially assigned to them by the colonial power and widely accepted by the population.

During the period between 1832 and 1953, the Greenlanders increasingly became **active observers**. Although they continued to assume their role as observers with respect to the governance of Greenlandic society, influential segments of the population became increasingly active within the framework that had been established by the colonial power.

During the period between 1953 and 1979, the population can be primarily characterized as **passive participants**. This was primarily the case during the early part of this period. The constitutional amendment formally transformed the Greenlandic population into participants and gave the Greenlanders two representatives in the Danish Parliament. Until the early 1960s, Greenlanders remained primarily passive and signaled their acceptance of these new privileges. But the artificial nature of a society formally based on equality combined with the reality of widespread inequality led to broad popular support for fundamental changes, as witnessed by the political activism of the late 1970s.

However, it was not until the period that started in 1979 that we can say that the population predominantly consisted of **active participants**. Greenland's own parliament was established, and the current democratic system calls for the population to participate in the democratic process.

7.5 Democratization

One of my underlying, implicit incentives for conducting this study has been the desire to contribute to a greater degree of genuine democracy in Greenlandic society going forward. My rationale has been that in order to strengthen the democratic process it is necessary to gain an understanding of both the historical dimension and the current situation.

In preparing the present work, I hope that I can contribute ideas that help ensure a heightened sense of popular legitimacy for the formal governance of Greenland. It has not been my intention to put forward concrete solutions, as these by necessity must arise from proposals that can gain popular and political support from the majority of the electorate.

From a personal standpoint, I am interested in seeing how Greenland will evolve with regard to the three parameters of development, democracy and governance.

Finally, it should be noted that, in addition to the transitions identified in the work that mark the boundaries between different discourses and different forms of governance, there is an extremely important parameter of the overall picture that should be taken into account. This concerns the over-all role of social and socio-economic conditions with respect to the notion of popular legitimacy. This aspect has not been included in the book at all because it does not fall within the scope of the work, but since there may be social or socio-economic factors that have a significant impact on the individual citizen's degree of active participation, it is nevertheless a key parameter in the overall picture of the state of active democracy in Greenland.

The entire social development, in which this work by necessity also plays a role, can be seen as part of the gradual emergence of a modern national framework that helps facilitate the ongoing nation-building process in Greenland, as reflected in the title of the book: "From Passive Observers to Active Participants."

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9 Appendixes

Appendix 1: Abstracts of the seven articles

This book is a synthesis of seven articles published between 1996 and 2014 that constitute the concrete, empirical basis for my analyses. The following brief presentation of each article places the emphasis on the general issues dealt with by the work.

Article 1 — Hansen (1996)[14]

"Kayak dizziness. Historical Reflections about a Greenlandic Predicament", in FOLK; Journal of the Danish Ethnographic Society. vol. 37, 1996, pp. 51-74.

This article provides an overview of highly divergent explanations of the presumed cause of the "kayak dizziness disorder" that illustrate the many different ways that a single phenomenon can be perceived and described. Within the Inuit-Greenlandic context, this affliction has been described for centuries as the result of a failed tupilak attack, which stems from a social conflict among rival parties.

The first Western medical account of kayak dizziness dates back to 1864, and Westerners have made diverse attempts over the past 150 years to analyze the condition. Some posited that it resulted from poisoning, while others surmised that it must be a manifestation of anxiety. A common thread in all Western analyses is that they focus solely on a single individual who is affected by the disorder.

The Inuit-Greenlandic narrative remains to this day embedded in the up-bringing practiced in many Greenlandic homes. This starkly contrasts with the underlying logic of the medical description commonly used in the Green-landic health system. The article's analysis of these two fundamentally

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14   The Danish-language version of this article, entitled "Kajaksvimmelhed — Begrebs-historiske reflektioner over en særlig grønlandsk lidelse" (Hansen 1995b), is an earlier version of the article described here. The structure in the 1995 version is slightly different and has sections that are not included in the English language version (Hansen 1996).

different understandings of the kayak dizziness disorder illustrates how conflicting discourses can come into play in a concrete context.

Article 2 — Hansen (2003)

"IT-sektoren i et magtperspektiv" Gorm Winther (ed.), in Demokrati og magt i Grønland, Magtudredningen. Århus 2003. Aarhus University Press. pp. 162-94.

This article examines the growing use of the internet in Greenland and discusses the inherent potential of an active citizenry, with a focus on rights, participation and identities. These are contrasted with the current context, which is characterized by (1) a telecommunications infrastructure with limited capacity and a monopoly, (2) a certain approach to knowledge and a low level of education and (3) socialized receptiveness and a lack of social integration.

At the societal level, there is a schism between a socialization that embodies an understanding of the inviolability of one's personal integrity and a social structure based on an entirely different perception of what constitutes an infringement upon one's personal integrity, which in turn helps illustrate social power relationships.

Again, keeping in mind that these are fundamentally different understandings, the focus here is on illustrating the understanding of what constitutes personal integrity.

Article 3 — Hansen (2007)

"Man ser dem aldrig med hug eller haarde ord at straffe deres børn — en analyse af forskelle mellem vestlig og eskimoisk opfattelse af den personlige integritets krænkelighed," in Tidsskriftet Grønland, no. 4, 2007. pp. 162-77.

The Greenlandic educational system has been under development since the 1700s. The formal education system in Greenland was established by the Danish colonial administration. Over the years, teaching has been based on constantly evolving educational principles. From a very broad perspective, pedagogy can be seen as part raising children and teaching them how to behave, and part instruction and education.

In the formal education system, our understanding of pedagogy has — practically by definition — always been based on a hierarchy.

In contrast to this Western-Danish understanding of teaching as a basic hierarchical system, the Inuit-Greenlandic understanding of all interpersonal communication is non-hierarchical, which is the fundamental pedagogical principle in Greenlandic education.

Here again, we see a discursive discrepancy in the understanding of pedagogy, which according to Western thinking is hierarchical, while according to Inuit thinking it is non-hierarchical.

It goes without saying that this difference has an impact on how the pedagogy that is used in Greenlandic schools is perceived by Greenlandic students and teachers.

Article 4 — Hansen, Sørensen and Jeppson (2009)

"Decision processes, communication and democracy; The aluminium smelter project in Greenland", in Knowledge-based tools for sustainable governance of energy and climate adaptation in the Nordic periphery, Janne Hukkinen, Klaus Georg Hansen et al., Nordic Research Programme 2005-2008, Nordregio Report. 7. 2009. Stockholm 2009. pp. 57-84.

An analysis of the debate that took place in the Greenlandic media in 2006-2008 on the plans to allow the US company Alcoa to establish an aluminum smelter in central West Greenland provides a clear illustration of the authorities' actual level of involvement in the decision-making process. This article focuses on the first two years of project development in close cooperation between the American company and the Greenland authorities.

This illustrates that different players working for the authorities have diverging ideals when it comes to the necessary degree of citizen involvement in the political decision-making process. In comparison to a modern understanding of democracy, the conclusion of the analysis is that there has been a clear democratic deficit in the process described here. At the same time, the analysis clearly reveals a broad spectrum of different fundamental views as to what constitutes a good citizen's role in political decision-making processes.

Article 5 — Hansen and Rasmussen (2013)

"New Economic Activities and Urbanisation: Individual reasons for moving and for staying – Case Greenland", in Proceedings from the First International Conference on Urbanisation in the Arctic, Klaus Georg Hansen, Rasmus Ole Rasmussen and Ryan Weber (eds.) Conference, August 28-30, 2012. Ilimmarfik, Nuuk, Greenland. Nordregio Working Paper. 7. 2013. Stockholm 2013. pp. 157-82.

In preparation for the establishment of an aluminum smelter, a comprehensive mobility survey was conducted from 2008 to 2010, focusing on people's willingness to move and on what parameters could entice them to remain living in a place and what would attract new residents.

The degree of willingness to move in light of new employment opportunities in large-scale industrial projects, mining activities and oil exploration helps paint a picture of the number of citizens who might be interested in participating in these business activities, along with insights into the factors that influence people's decisions.

This study confirms the current megatrend towards urbanization witnessed in nearly all societies. However, the pull and push factors have a local Greenlandic element, and gender differences also influence people's priorities. In general, there appears to be a basic link between social development and the population's attitude toward mobility.

Article 6 — Hansen (2013a)

"The aluminium smelter project in Greenland — New aspects of an industrialisation process?", in Urbanization and the role of housing in the present development process in the Arctic, Klaus Georg Hansen, Søren Bitsch and Lyudmila Zalkind (eds.) Nordregio Report. 3. 2013. Stockholm 2013. pp. 85-101.

When an analysis is conducted of business structures in Greenland over the past centuries, four historical eras or degrees of industrialization can be identified: first, a nomadic hunter and fishing era until the second half of the eighteenth century, followed by an early industrialization until about 1950, followed by of a national industrialization for raw materials until 1979 and

2006 for other activities, after which Greenland was fully exposed to global industrialization. The individual eras are characterized by the business activities that were typical of that particular era.

For example, for request from Alcoa in 2006 created for the first time a political need for a strategic environmental assessment. This has spurred a debate on popular legitimacy in the political decision-making process. One important aspect is that the understanding of legitimacy changes depending on the prevailing form of governance.

Article 7 — Hansen (2014a)

"Greenlandic perspectives on offshore oil and gas activities — An illustration of changes in legitimacy related to democratic decision processes", in Journal of Rural and Community Development. 9:1. 2014. pp. 134-54.

This analysis of democracy as a form of governance and the associated issue of popular legitimacy begins with a review of the legislation on Greenland's mineral resources that has been in force since 1932 and examines the three offshore oil exploration campaigns that were conducted in Greenland in 1976-1977, 2000 and 2010-2011.

Modern Greenlandic democracy with a profound sense of national self-determination began with the introduction of home rule in 1979 and thus can be linked to the third wave of democracies on a global scale, which took place in 1974-1990.

The three oil exploration campaigns were conducted under three rather different degrees of democracy in Greenland. This is clearly reflected in different degrees of citizen engagement in the formal governance of Greenland and in different degrees of popular legitimacy with respect to the formal governance of the country.

The seven articles can be downloaded at kgh.gl/inussuk.

From Passive Observers to Active Participants

- Mapping the mechanisms behind the last 150 years of social change and the gradual process of democratization in Greenland

Klaus Georg Hansen (b. 1961) received a degree in ethnography and Greenlandic language and culture from Aarhus University in 1992. He was awarded a PhD in Greenlandic colonial history from Aalborg University in 2016. Since 1993, Hansen has held numerous positions in Greenland, including serving as the director of Groenlandica (the national Library of Greenland), the curator of Sisimiut Museum, the director of land-use planning, the vice director and senior researcher at Nordregio and the director of Ilisimatusarfik (the University of Greenland). He has researched and published in a wide range of areas, including conceptual history, colonial history, social development, large-scale industrial development, demographics, urbanization and the political and democratic evolution in Greenland and the Arctic.

About the book

This book analyzes Greenland's recent history and establishes that Greenland should still formally be regarded as a Danish colony. Seven distinct colonial eras are identified and examined. This reveals that significant transitions took place in 1832, 1953 and 1979.

An comprehensive analysis demonstrates that today's Greenland is dominated by an Inuit-Western hybrid discourse, while an analysis of diverse forms of governance shows that Greenland's current political system is a hybrid democracy.

All in all, these analyses indicate that Greenland is mentally prepared to assume responsibility for a greater degree of independence. By contrast, Denmark does not seem to have undergone a corresponding change in discourse, and hence is not yet in a similar position to take the necessary steps to ensure that the last colonial ties between Denmark and Greenland are severed in a peaceful and equitable manner.

Inussuk • Arctic Research Journal

Inussuk is a Greenlandic word that means cairn. Cairns are man-made stone landmarks that are particularly common in Arctic regions. Throughout the centuries, cairns have been built both by Inuit and Europeans. Cairns serve as a source of information and symbolize the point of reference for new and old knowledge about Greenland's nature and culture.