Contesting Green(HOME)land: Power, participation, and resistance in Kalaallit Nunaat

by

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Abstract

In Greenland today oil, gas, and mineral resource development is being pursued as a means for financial independence from the Kingdom of Denmark. Such development carries the potential for radical and unprecedented environmental and societal change. Recent years have witnessed intense political and social debates concerning the lack of appropriate public consultation and the deficiencies of environmental and social impact assessments. There is a call to action for increasing public involvement and legitimacy in decision-making. This thesis constitutes two empirical analyses. First, a case study of the hearing processes in Greenland is provided. The problems with and barriers to public participation that arise from structural and cultural inequalities are highlighted. Secondly, the lack of appropriate and accessible outlets for public participation and the deficiencies with the current political process in the country has led to Greenlanders taking their future into their own hands and negotiating a new identity within society. Actors may begin to engage in movements of resistance in order to encourage a process of a restructuring of power. The politics of resistance serve a dual purpose in challenging power, while challenging and creating knowledge. I seek to identify resistance movements in Greenland whereby local people are collecting at the margins and refusing to be silenced. It is often understood that no knowledge-production will take place in the margins or by the counter-hegemonic groups. However, this is not the case. Just by existing and challenging the dominant paradigms and understanding, these marginal sites in Greenland and their counter-hegemonic groups play a role in knowledge production.

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1.0 Introduction

Since 1979, Greenland (Kalaallit Nunaat) has been a self-governing territory within the Danish Realm. The population is approximately 57,000 people, of whom around 50,000 are Inuit.

Figure 1. The Country of Greenland[1]

Greenland's diverse culture and economy includes subsistence hunting, commercial fisheries, sheep farming, tourism, and emerging enterprises related to the oil and mining industries. Approximately 50 per cent of the national budget is currently subsidized by Denmark in the form of an annual block grant. A number of commentators have outlined how Greenland is likely to be impacted significantly by resource and industrial development in the Arctic, particularly by the development of extractive industries (Aaen, 2012; Hansen, 2010, 2013; Nuttall, 2009, 2012a/b, 2013). Greenlanders[2] face some of the highest prices for basic

[1] Source: http://wwp.greenwichmeantime.com/time-zone/north-america/greenland/map/

[2] Greenlanders are to be defined as people who reside in Greenland. Not to be confused with the "Inuit" who are a cultural group who live in numerous parts of the world, including in Greenland.

necessities in the world. As noted by Hubbard "they suffer poor, uneven economic development and unsustainable levels of government subsidy" (Hubbard, 2013, 106). There is a notable distinction between the residents of settlements and towns, with the former averaging only two thirds the income of the latter. Today, Greenland is an extraordinary, dynamic and vibrant Arctic region, in which everything from law, to governance to climate change is in a constant state of flux (Hubbard, 2013). In such a small, segregated and marginalized country, the potential influx of billions of dollars in extractive industry investment can and will create fundamental changes to Greenland. Whether this change has a positive impact or not, remains to be seen and will depend largely on the choices made by elected officials and by the business enterprises pioneering the development process (Hubbard, 2013).

The first step towards ending and replacing the colonial system occurred when Greenland was granted Home Rule within the Danish Realm in 1979; subsequently, most of the domestic matters were controlled by the newly-formed Home Rule government. Home Rule was established as a process of devolution and nation building. In a continual process of state-formation, Greenland entered a new era of self-determination in 2009 with the inauguration of the new Act on Self-Government, which gave the Country further rights within the State of Denmark. The Act on Self-Government led to a greater degree of autonomy within the Kingdom of Denmark. Greenland now has a public government that aims to establish a sustainable economy in order to achieve greater independence (Wessendorf, 2011). Extractive industries are now being pursued as a cornerstone of government policy, witnessed by the recent report entitled "For the Benefit of Greenland" produced by The Committee for Greenlandic Mineral Resources to the Benefit of Society that was released in early 2014. This report provided a comprehensive explanation and analyses of the issues pertaining to natural resource development in Greenland.

With the increasing pressure on extractive industries and their promise for independence, lively political and social debates have emerged regarding the impact assessment process in Greenland and how it is, or is not, protecting the rights of Greenlanders. Concerns surrounding the legitimacy of the process, the impacts of development, and the lack of regulation have been central to the debate. One important aspect of this thesis is to analyse the challenges associated with involving the public in hearings processes during a time of unprecedented global interest in developing Greenland's subsurface resources. The recent hearings processes in Greenland have been an example of the efforts made by the previous government[3] to include the public in decision making. They have also been put in place to "secure the public's influence and involvement in the decision-making processes" (Naalakkersuisut, 2009). Yet there are criticisms that this is not far-reaching or participatory enough. As noted, Greenland is a country characterised by significant economic, social and political inequality. Research has illustrated the way that these inequalities perpetuate a cycle in which people remain marginalised and unable to influence the political agenda (Winther, 2007 and Transparency Greenland, 2012). In particular, Winther (2007) notes how the continual segregation between decision-makers and the Greenlandic population will eventually lead to a crisis of legitimacy in a time characterised by great change. Numerous scholars (Nuttall, 2008; Kornov, *et al.,* 2010; Hansen, 2010; Aaen, 2012; Nuttall, 2012a/b; Transparency Greenland, 2012; Hansen, 2013; Nuttall, 2013; Thomsen, 2013; Olsen and Hansen, 2014) have reported on the numerous problems with the current participation process in Greenland, but continue to ignore the barriers to participation. This study builds on this existing research by questioning the capacity of the hearings to act as a means for the public to communicate demands to elected representatives while further questioning the

[3]The previous government was led by Kuupik Kleist and his Inuit Ataqatigiit party. Kuupik Kleist served as the premier of Greenland from 2009 until the Siumut party, led by Aleqa Hammond, formed a government following the election in March 2013.

deficiencies to public participation in Greenland as they pertain to the perceived barriers. I wanted to lead the discussion with the structural/systematic problems with participation which were illuminated by my research and subsequently follow them with an overview of the perceived barriers to participation as highlighted by my participants. These barriers refer to the more cultural obstacles that influence people's willingness to participate in debate. Furthermore, I also seek to question the extent to which wider societal inequalities may influence the conditions for democracy in the case of the hearings by addressing the role of power. This was a central theme revealed throughout my ethnographic research and interviews and it is my hope that this thesis will contribute new insights into public deliberation and democratic legitimacy in Greenland. Also, rather than simply reiterating an evaluation of past hearings, my intention is to illuminate some of the challenges surrounding public involvement in a society that has pervasive social, economic, resource and political power inequalities.

As the country advances towards industrial development, there are calls for an increase in public participation in decision-making to strengthen the legitimacy of decision making processes. As has been shown with reference to public protest over large-scale mining, including that for iron ore, uranium and rare earth metals, new resistances and grass roots organisations are challenging the lack of deliberative democracy in Greenland (Nuttall, 2012b). This thesis illustrates this with reference to my work as an active and central member in the newly formed NGO Coalition. My work draws on ethnographic work, mainly in Nuuk, by exploring how Greenlanders are speaking from the margins and furthering the politics of resistance in the country. These counter-hegemonic narratives are gaining strength as a means for local people to gather and fill the perceived voids in the political process. As places of knowledge production and terrains of resistance, I seek to analyse the role of NGOs and resistance movements in

Greenland. My passion and long-time interest in the North informed my decision to study in Greenland. One of my first participations said to me that, "Greenland is perfect for your type of work because you can actually see things happening and you can bring something that can change us or influence the country…in a good way" (Personal interview, 2013). I carried this message with me through every stage of my research and I hope, through my ethnographic work, that I can make them proud and effect change in a positive way.

1.1 Thesis Structure Outline

This thesis is divided into twelve connected parts that inform one another: an introduction, nine additional chapters, a discussion including contributions to knowledge and moving forward, and a conclusion. Chapter one informs readers on the general outline of the inquiry and context of the research.

Chapter two outlines the general topic under review. It is focused on the geographical, theoretical, and historical context of Greenland to prepare readers for further discussions. I place particular attention to how Danish policies affected Greenland in the 1950s and 1960s and provide details on Greenland's road to self-governance.

Chapter three is a discussion of the nation-building and state-formation policies in Greenland and places the country within a time of change. The impacts of climate change, changing politics and resistance movements on Greenland are central to the discussion. A brief overview of land ownership policies concludes this chapter and provides readers with context required for further discussion.

Chapter four provides an analysis of Greenland within the so-called "new" arctic. I explore the notion of geopolitics and the arctic frontier as they being articulated, discussed and negotiated in popular literature. The chapter also looks at how Greenland's increasing

geopolitical importance will potentially affect numerous aspects of the country, including extractive industries, which is central to this thesis.

Chapter five outlines the theoretical and methodological considerations that informed the project, the fieldwork, and the analysis of the fieldwork results. A personal narrative adds depth to the discussion of place in this chapter.

Chapter six is devoted to the peculiarities and essential nuances of law-making and the legal frameworks for the protection of indigenous rights in Greenland. The discussion begins with an overview of the Inuit Circumpolar Council and their role in Greenland and concludes with the peculiarities of law-making in Greenland and the laws governing resource development. I also take a closer look at the role of public participation in decision-making.

Chapter seven is devoted to an in-depth analysis of democracy and public participation in Greenland. I discuss the tools used in impact assessments, including Social Impact Assessments and Impact Benefit Agreements, and introduce the democratic ideal. Habermas (1991) and Dahl's (1989, 2000) notions of deliberative democracy are explored and I conclude the chapter with an overview of the case study approach that I used to inform my research.

Chapter eight covers the empirical analysis and the problems with and barriers to public participation in mineral resource extraction. This is an extensive chapter, in which I explore the main results of my fieldwork in Greenland and compare them to the democratic ideals outlined in the previous chapter. This section ends with a summary and analysis of my results against the criteria for deliberative democracy proposed by Habermas (1991) and Dahl (1989, 2000).

Chapter nine takes a look at the politics of resistance. I base the chapter on the work of bell Hooks and her "Center-Margin" theory. I also explore resistance movements in Greenland and how democracy is occurring from the margins, including via local and international NGOs.

Chapter ten explores my role in the newly formed Coalition of NGOs in Greenland advocating for better public participation (referred to as "the Coalition" from this point onward). This chapter provides another empirical analysis of the Coalition and offers a critical reflection on my role as a researcher in Greenland.

Chapters eleven and twelve complete the work by providing a discussion of the potential contribution of my work to the social sciences and anthropology, as well as pointing to future research that I will hopefully be conducting in upcoming years.

1.2 Preface

In order to grasp fully the current situation in Greenland it is important to provide a summary of recent history and politics as a way of understanding the paths taken towards Home Rule, Self-Rule and possible independence (or at least greater political and economic autonomy). I also want to provide a significant literature review to illuminate the way Greenland is being articulated and shaped in this new era of change, and also is (or is not) preparing for industrial development (Nuttall, 2013). The articulation of the varying forecasts of Arctic futures *describe* the possible scenarios of change, but they also play an interesting rhetorical role in *producing* futures (Avango, *et al.,* 2013).

This thesis, however, can only be a provisional account of the contemporary situation in Greenland, which is moving quickly in terms of political decision making over extractive industries and arguments for greater autonomy. Time and resource constraints have prevented a more comprehensive study involving additional public hearings and the broader public. Yet, this study is based on the inputs and information of key stakeholders in the process during a period of ethnographic research in Nuuk during which I was able to observe and participate in discussions concerning extractive industries and public concern. As such, this study is not a generalization

derived from or based on the broader population nor do I claim that its insights are transferable to all other hearings processes in Greenland. Rather, it forms the basis for further research and I aim to build on it in future years.

2.0 The History of Greenland: The Past, Discovery and Heritage

"If you don't know your history, then you don't know anything. You are a leaf that doesn't know it is a part of a tree."- Michael Crichton

An understanding of Greenlandic history is vital for understanding the relationships between Greenland and global political and economic forces. A look into the past experiences of the country that can provide insight into the future concerns and compatibility with development.

2.1 The Colonial Period

Not far from Nuuk, today's capital of Greenland, is a place that marks the first colonial settlement established by Danish-Norwegian missionary Hans Egede in 1721. Egede arrived on Greenland's west coast, in search of the remnants of the Norse colony which had inhabited the land since 985 AD. The fate of the Norse settlements has long been fraught with uncertainty and remains a matter of conjecture for archaeologists and historians (Nuttall, 1994). Following Egede's initial founding of a trade and mission station, a number of colonial settlements were established along the west coast of the island. The colonial settlement moved to Nuuk in 1728 and it has remained Greenland's political and administrative centre, emerging in recent years as a dynamic, but small Arctic urban hub. Less than 60 years after Hans Egede's landing, the entire west coast had come under colonial rule (Dahl, 2005). Before the end of the 1700s, real power came into the hands of the Royal Greenlandic Trade Company (KGH)[4] of Copenhagen from where all colonial and trading settlements were ruled for more than two centuries. Along with the KGH, Denmark established a Danish Greenland trade monopoly which lasted until the end of the World War II (Nuttall, 1994). The settlements located in East Greenland and North Greenland became under Danish control shortly before the start of the 20th century. From its inception "Danish colonial policy was based on mission and trade" (Dahl, 2005, 156). The

[4] KGH (Royal Greenland Trade Company) is also known in Danish as the Kongelige Gronlandsk Handelskompangni (Nuttall, 1992).

missionaries soon learned Greenlandic and the use of common language throughout the Country created a sense of unity around being a Greenlander, and the identity of being a Greenlander, *Kalaaleq,* emerged gradually in the 18th and 19th century (Dahl, 2005). The significance of this is that Greenland had been a political reality for many years when the demand for Home Rule was heard in the 1970s, as will be discussed in subsequent paragraphs.

2.2 Post World War II

The impact of World War II on Greenland was far-reaching. For over five years, Greenland was cut off from German-occupied Denmark and relied on newly established links with the United States. The historical processes which followed established the basis for growing ethnic consciousness and nationalist movements in Greenland (Graugaard, 2009). When the war was over, the colonial system did not remain unchallenged and the protective policy of Danish authorities was slowly abolished (Dahl, 2005). Under the new Danish constitution of 1953, Greenland lost its colonial status and became a distinct region of the Danish Realm. The ending of colonial rule marked the start of another era characterized by widespread changes in Greenlandic society (Nuttall, 1994). Despite the Danish discourses of creating "equal footing", the relation between the two countries was still characterised by a colonizing power and the colonized (Graugaard, 2009). Heavy Danish investment programs funded the fishing industry and housing during the 1950s and 1960s. An important demographic change occurred in the wake of industrial investment; the influx of people from the small settlements into the economic and administrative centres of Greenland. The G-50 and G-60 policies implemented in Greenland (see below) were aimed at encouraging state modernization and transformation through various assimilation tactics. By modernizing Greenland and assimilating it fully into the Danish Realm, policy makers aimed to normalize relations between both Greenlandic and

Danish institutions (Caulfield, 2000). A large number of rural settlements were abandoned; along with their traditional livelihoods and values. The resettlement programme was carried out by the use of administrative force but there was no check-and-balance between the motivations and opportunities created in these centres (Dahl, 2005). The ultimate consequence of the resettlement policy came when the colonial authorities closed down the coal mining town of Qullissat and 1,000 people were relocated to several towns along the west coast. When the last inhabitants were forced to move in 1972, Qullissat became a symbolic representation of the effects of colonial rule in Greenland. The early 1970s were years of lasting and profound change in Greenlandic society. The effects of colonialism were crystallized and, in many cases, the demise of colonial relations was seen and understood by all Greenlanders. Within a few years, the humiliation and devastation was turned around as Greenlanders took initiative to take back their land and way of life.

2.3 The G-50 and G-60 Eras: Social Experiments in Greenland

Following the war, Danish authorities and Greenlanders attempted to "normalize" relations between Denmark and Greenland (Caulfield, 1997). As a result of anticolonial public sentiment and political pressure, the government formed the so-called "Big Commission" in 1948. The commission's recommendations, published in 1950, addressed pertinent issues ranging from education to economic development. These recommendations formed the basis for the ten-year state modernization plan, commonly known as the G-50 which encouraged the *"danization"* of the Greenlandic population (Caulfield, 1997). Through the vision of transforming Greenland's economy through massive investment in commerce, the G-50 plan led to the abolition of the KGH trade monopoly and to the creation of a single provincial council for all of Greenland, based in Nuuk. The G-50 policy was the first modernization policy; one that

stressed the importance of turning Greenlanders into Danes and this transition marked colonialism under a new guise. Frustration with the results of the G-50 led to the creation of another state-controlled commission; the G-60 (Caulfied, 1997). The new commission's goal was to assimilate Greenland fully into the Danish realm. A key element of the G-60 policy was the resettlement of Greenland from smaller settlements to larger towns. This policy was marked by massive social upheaval and set the conditions for Greenland to move towards Home Rule. This policy furthered investment in Greenland, but failed to provide the appropriate training and education for Greenlanders to perform at the jobs carried out by Danes (Loukacheva, 2007).

2.4 The Road to Home Rule

An overwhelming transformation from small-scale subsistence hunting and fishing to a modern, export-oriented economy marked the 1960s and 1970s for Greenlandic society (Nuttall, 1994). The Inuit culture, hitherto sheltered by Greenland's geographic isolation and Danish policies, was suddenly confronted with the industrial era (Auchet, 2011). The path towards modernity resulted in a significant transformation of Greenlandic society. Anthropologists have written how kinship and tight-knit social networks characterized life in Greenland, particularly in the small settlements (Nuttall, 1994). However, the movement of people to towns led to the destruction of kin-based groups and society became plagued with social alienation, marginality and discrimination (Nuttall, 1994). Discrimination was characterized and accentuated by ethnic divisions between Inuit and Danes as the presence of the latter increased drastically as the need for workers grew. As a direct result of the changes and upheaval experienced during this time, Greenland witnessed an unprecedented Inuit political awareness and engagement (Nuttall, 1994).

2.5 From Home Rule to Self-Government

Almost thirty years after Home Rule was introduced, there was widespread feeling throughout Greenland that this initial form of political autonomy had served its purpose and that a new constitutional arrangement is in need of negotiation with Denmark. In order to explore the new possibilities and options for this new form of self-government, a Danish-Greenlandic Self-Government Commission was appointed in 2004. The Commission was established to access whether the Greenlandic authorities could assume further powers and pursue ways in which this could be done. The Commission's work concluded in 2008, and was followed by a non-binding referendum on Greenland's autonomy in 2008 (Loukacheva, 2007). The main barrier to the search for greater autonomy, at least economically, was the annual 3.5 billion DKK block grant that Denmark gives to Greenland, on which the Greenlandic economy depends (Nuttall, 2008). The 30-year period following Home Rule was marked by Greenland taking control of a number of administrative areas previously overseen by the Danish state. Greenlandic authorities were dedicated to dealing with internal matters; education, the economy, health, and domestic policy issues (Nuttall, 2012a). The Home Rule government took over the KGH in 1979, which had dominated Greenlandic society and controlled its economic growth since the mid-eighteenth century. Not without limitations, Home Rule set forward a process whereby Greenlanders were able to gain a significant degree of control of their society and its institutions. For many Greenlanders, however, Home Rule was not sufficient and, on November 25, 2008, 75.5 percent of those who voted in a referendum were in favour of self-government. The preamble of the 2009 act on Greenland self-government states that Greenlanders form a "separate people under international law with the right to self-determination" (Auchet, 2011, 961). Like Home Rule, self-government marked a critical moment in Greenland's political process and was a strong

expression of a wish for Greenland to re-evaluate its relationship with Denmark in order to gain more autonomy than the existing Home Rule structure allowed (Dahl, 2005). The new act on Greenland Self-Government meant that it has become possible for the Greenland government to assume authority from Denmark over almost all areas of public life.

2.6 Politicization and the Quiet Revolution

It has been argued that emergence of Inuit political parties and a heightened sense of Inuit cultural and ethnic identity is the direct result of the social changes and upheavals experienced in Greenland during the 1950s and 1960s (Nuttall, 2000). A nationalist movement thrived in Greenland during the 1970s, driven by the libertarian ideas of the time. This mobilization led to the creation of three political parties, two of which; the social-democratic *Siumut* party and the *Inuit Ataqatigiit*, demanded further autonomy and independence (Larsen, 1994). Greenland's political parties played an integral role in the composition of the legislative and executive institutions of Home Rule. The parties emerged before the emergence of the Greenland Home Rule Act and played a significant role during Greenland's first elections in 1979 (Loukacheva, 2007). In many regards, Greenlanders are at the forefront of indigenous peoples globally in responding to threats to cultural survival. These threats include economic vulnerability, social and cultural change, climate change, and animal rights concerns (Caulfield, 2000, 172). In Greenland, there is not an extensive history of resource development as witnessed elsewhere in Northern Canada or Australia. The survival, in the context of resource development, is yet to be witnessed in Greenland. The Danish modernization programs of the 1950s and 1960s left Greenlanders experiencing a period of immense change over which they had little control (Caulfield, 2000). Rather than being passive victims of the progress, as witnessed throughout the years leading up to Home Rule in 1979, they have struggled continually to secure control over

their homeland, to protect their language and livelihood, and to ensure the rights to control what course future development will take (Caulfield, 2000). The Inuit have been extremely successful in adapting and incorporating new technologies into their traditional ways of life, ever since contact was made between the first whalers and traders (Nuttall, 2000, 633). The cornerstones of these efforts were the establishment of Home Rule in 1979 and Self Rule in 2009. These vital forms of government provided Greenlanders with a dynamic vehicle for protecting their rights and for pursuing self-determination through what some call a "quiet revolution" (Caulfield, 2000).

3.0 From Nation-Building to State-Formation: Greenland and Self-Government

"*What transforms this world is — knowledge. Do you see what I mean? Nothing else can change anything in this world. Knowledge alone is capable of transforming the world, while at the same time leaving it exactly as it is. When you look at the world with knowledge, you realize that things are unchangeable and at the same time are constantly being transformed*." Yukio Mishima, *the Temple of the Golden Pavillion*

It is no small irony that climate change, exacerbated by the exploitation of natural resources, has aided in the availability and access to these prized resources in the Arctic, ripe for exploitation (Hubbard, 2013). As the permafrost melts, sea ice retreats, and new shipping channels are opened, resources long considered economically unfeasible have now become viable. As Nuttall argues, the media often plays a role in calling attention to climate change as being the catalyst for global interest in Greenland, accounting for it in terms of the new possibilities for multinational corporations to explore places previously untouched, and thus furthering the "rush for resources" narrative (Nuttall, 2012b, 23). This process has triggered what many commentators have argued is a rush for resources, throughout the Arctic generally and in Greenland specifically. This potential exploitation of resources could be lucrative; however, a resource boom would create significant problems for Greenland's indigenous people, local regulators and politicians, and the corporate actors who aim to ensure positive economic results, while protecting the rights and interest of local people (Hubbard, 2013).

3.1 A Time of Change: Climate, Politics, and Resistance in Greenland

Internationally, Greenland has become symbolic in the representation of both the image and reality of climate change (Nuttall, 2009; Bjorst, 2011). Climate change has already resulted in profound changes to Greenland's society, economy and culture. As Aqqaluk Lynge, former president of the Inuit Circumpolar Council, stated in a submission to the Stansted airport inquiry, "The Artic is the barometer of the globe's environmental health. You can take the pulse of the

world in the Arctic. Inuit, the people who live farther north than anyone else, are the canary in the global coal mine" (Ikeda, 2014, 1). We can look to the Inuit in Greenland to see what impacts climate change is already having on their livelihoods. Recent reports produced by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (herein IPCC), reveal significant trends of thinning around the periphery of the Greenland Ice Sheet, where summer melts have increased during the past 20 years (IPCC, 2013). There is evidence of more rapid disappearance of snow and sea-ice cover in some areas which consequently leads to more climate change due to albedo and insulation effects. When the artist Rockwell Kent moved to Greenland in 1931, he described Greenland as "buried under a vast ice sheet with a narrow strip of mountainous land between the ice cap and the sea. It is a stark, base, treeless land with naked rock predominating everything" (Conkling, *et al.,* 2011). His depiction of Greenland will eventually only be found in his writing as climate change continues to threaten ice coverage.

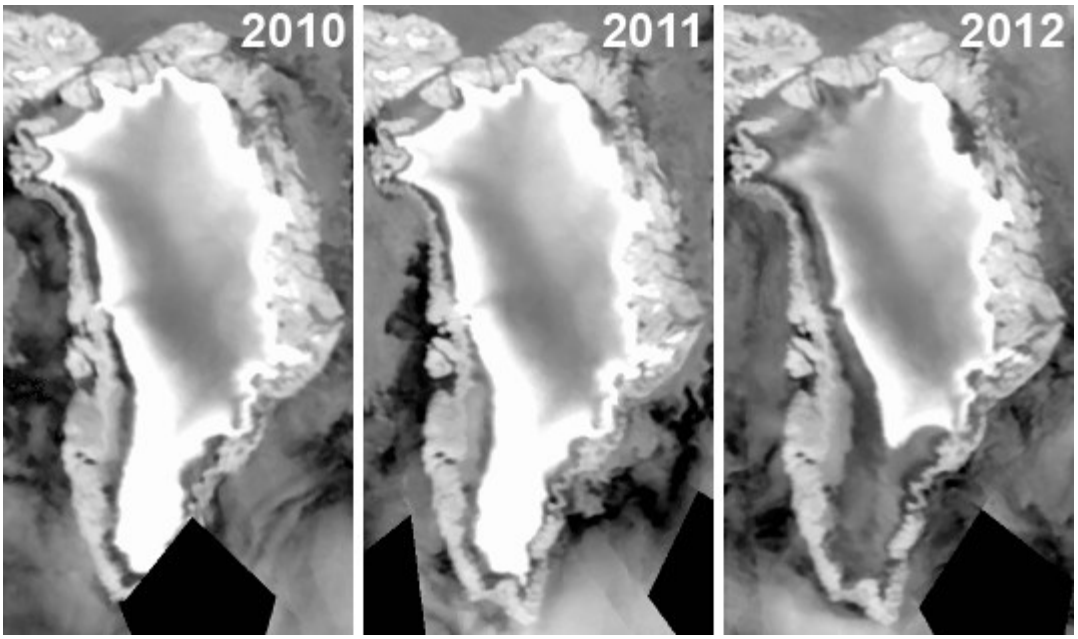

Figure 2. Jakobshavn Glacier Sea Ice Retreat (2010-2012)[5]

[5] Source: http://neven1.typepad.com/blog/2012/07/the-dark-side-of-greenland.html

Climate change is having major consequences on resource availability, accessibility and mobility of ice-dependant ecosystems. As the fishing economy has been one of the fundamental pillars of the Greenlandic economies, changes in this sector brought on by climate change promise to bring large consequences (Sejersen, 2010). In addition, there are cultural impacts of climate change in Greenland. As reported by Milton Freeman and his "Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project" done in the 1970s, sea ice has always been an extension of Inuit land. The thinning ice, as a result of climate change, leads to hunting being more dangerous, changes in run-off patterns, shifting seal and fish populations northwards, and rising sea levels (Lynge, 2009). All of these modifications result in insurmountable cultural and social changes Greenlanders.[6] Numerous reports are contributing to the narrative of a "tipping point" being reached in the North in relation to its vulnerable ecosystems and climate change A tipping point can be considered a threshold whereby one small qualitative change in the system can result in reaching a point of no return within the system (Wassman and Lenton, 2012). Before reaching such a point, the system can be characterised as being resilient and stable, uninfluenced by change or disturbance. Once the tipping point is reached, even the smallest of changes can trigger large consequences within the system (Wassman and Lenton, 2012). In both social and environmental perspectives, it is assumed that once a tipping point is reached, non-linear change will result and be abrupt, irreversible and detrimental to the system (Young, 2005).[7]

As mentioned, these changes promise to have negative consequences for some communities and economic systems, but they also bring with them opportunities for opening Greenland to a world of financial freedom and industrial development (Nuttall, 2012b).

[6] For more information on the science of climate change in Greenland please refer to Dansgaard, 2005; Funder, 1989; Jennings & Weinger, 1996; Long, 2009.

[7] This is a very brief description of tipping points. Please refer to Holling & Gunderson, 2002; Harris, 1998; Lenton, *et al.,* 2008.

Furthermore, it is incorrect to assume that Greenland's new accessibility to multinational investment will only be as a result of climate change. There is another influential force at play which can be accredited to an active international marketing campaign by the Bureau of Minerals and Petroleum (BMP), a Greenland government agency controlled by the Minister for Industry and Mineral Resources (Nuttall, 2012b, 33). The Employers' Association of Greenland (GA) also plays a major role in this development, catalyzing a relationship between Greenland and foreign companies. As Nuttall notes, the discourse of the "greening of Greenland" cannot be separated from climate change entirely; however, there is another factor controlling the international image of the country (Nuttall, 2012b, 25).

Nation-building and state formation processes occurring since the formation of Self Rule in 2009 have led to the development of Greenland as a resource frontier. Despite gaining greater autonomy from the Kingdom of Denmark by way of Self-Rule, the Greenlandic economy remains dependent for almost 60% of its budget revenue on a 3.5 billion DKK annual block grant (Nuttall, 2012b). The most pronounced barrier to Greenland gaining independence from Denmark is overcoming its reliance on the Danish block grant and replacing it with revenues generated from within Greenland and through economic diversification (Nuttall, 2012b). This path to independence is now being forged, by prominent figures in Greenland, through the exploitation of oil, gas and minerals. The development of extractive industries is now a pillar of the Greenlandic government. On January 1st 2010, Greenland took control of sub-surface resources, therefore catalysing the way for direct negotiation between Greenlandic authorities and corporations interested in exploiting Greenland's sub-surface resources (Nuttall, 2012b). Nuttall points out that foreign investors are being courted by the Greenlandic government and welcomed to explore the country's riches and argues that "it is the very *idea* of Greenland

becoming greener and warmer as a result of climate change that often frames political discourse about economic opportunities" (Nuttall, 2012b, 25) (See Nuttall, 2008, 2009).[8] A participant commented to me during our interview, "climate change is not the most impactful…it is politics…it is the rapid change that is the most harmful" (Personal interview, 2013). This framing of climate change is seen as empowering for many Greenlandic politicians and business leaders as the promise of economic development reiterates Greenland's global importance and entrenches the country further into the realm of resource production. However, this transformation, if not done properly, has the potential to cause significant damage to Greenland society. As a member of a Greenlandic non-governmental organization (NGO) based in Nuuk concerned with the uncritical nature of the development process commented to me, "everyone believes their bullshit, we are entering in on a time of change with transnational companies and power as a means for political independence and financial security."

As Nuttall frames climate change as a source of authority and opportunity for Greenlanders, my research reveals another form of empowerment occurring in the country. As Greenlanders navigate, negotiate and contest their futures, we are witnessing an increase in resistance movements across the country, illustrated by, for example, public protest over mines and lifting a ban on uranium mining (Nuttall 2013).[9] These counter-hegemonic movements, both small and large, are gaining momentum as outlets for Greenlanders to speak from the margins. This resistance does not exclusively take place as a form of opposition to the dominant ideology, but rather, it acts as a platform for communication and awareness. The disempowered are

[8] Refer to Nuttall's work for more information on how climate change can be framed as empowering for Greenlanders.

[9] Please refer to Chapter 9 for an extensive discussion of resistance theory and movements in Greenland based on my ethnographic work in Nuuk.

speaking out and providing counter-hegemonic narratives and movements in Greenland in hopes of regaining some of the power lost to their colonial rulers and powerful elite.

3.2 Danish vs. Greenlandic Culture

To comprehend the potential effect of extractive industries in Greenland fully, it is essential to have a at least a cursory understanding of Greenlandic culture and context. Greenlanders comprise a large percentage of the Inuit population spread across Canada, Russia, and the United States (Hubbard, 2013). Despite the strong cultural bonds with other Inuit groups, Greenland remains inextricably linked to Denmark because of its colonial and post-colonial history. Dahl (1988) has stated that the ethnic identity of Greenlanders took shape because of colonialism, but while Canadian Inuit ethnic identity has been rectified and strengthened by the claims process, the situation in Greenland is distinctly different.

3.3 From Subjugation to Self-Government

The first step towards ending and replacing the colonial system occurred when Greenland was granted Home Rule within the Danish Realm in 1979, subsequently; most of the domestic matters were controlled by the newly-formed Home Rule government. Home Rule was established as a process of devolution and nation building. Home Rule, however, was not an indigenous or ethnic settlement as witnessed in other northern locations through land claims. It was a public government that resulted in the development of a Greenlandic, not Inuit, government. The country's leaders have long shown an interest in attaining a further degree of political and economic independence through a process of *Greenlandisation* (Nuttall, 2008). This is a process based on Greenlanders claiming their right as political agents to determine their own futures rather than one based on a well-defined and determined cultural agenda (Nuttall, 2008). It is an economic and a political process, along with being ideological, stressing national

identity. The rhetoric of nationalism exists, before and after Home Rule, and plays an integral role in the idea of a "common culture, past heritage, and present and future identity" (Nuttall, 1992, 21). The 3,000 kilometers of ocean separating Greenland from Denmark constitutes one of the unique features of the Greenlandic Home Rule. It is also a factor the undeniably adds to the notion of Greenland as "the last frontier" in the minds of many Danes, and of Denmark as the distant colonial power in the minds of Greenlanders (various frontier discourses are explored in later chapters) (Dahl, 2005, 162). The history of Greenland reveals substantial and psychological truth to those notions. Danish development and the subsequent economic and social changes led to the image of a Greenlandic nation, an Inuit homeland: *Kalaallit Nunaat, "the Greenlanders' land"* (Nuttall, 1992). The Danish-speaking Greenlandic elite help to reinforce this image and also represented all ethnic Greenlanders for the development of Home Rule. However, since the implementation of Home Rule, the initial ethnic identity has now been shaped by emerging political and nationalistic ideologies that no longer pertain to ethnicity. The Greenlandic Home Rule government is committed to a process of nation-building and aims to develop the economic in terms of Greenlandic conditions and ambitions (Nuttall, 1992). As a Greenlandic friend said to me, "national aspirations are increasingly being tied to political goals and is seen as breaking part of the economic dependency with Denmark." The aforementioned legacy of colonialism that impacted Greenlanders in the 1950s and 1960s is not a distant memory and there is a danger that current development strategies will create their own problems not too dissimilar to those of the post-colonial period in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s which sparked early antagonism towards Denmark administration. One of my participants actively involved in politics noted "the 50s and 60s are still fresh in our minds….there is an air of mistrust…we don't want to be bystanders to

our own development, again." A local Greenlander and member of ICC Greenland also remarked to me that "the powerlessness is in our backbones" (Personal interview, 2013).

Although the protection of Inuit culture remains central to the Home Rule government, there is little evidence to indicate that Inuit cultural values are of any considerable importance in informing and shaping the economic and political policies that are being implemented. This political aspect, rather than cultural or ethnic dimensions, of government is of critical importance in Greenland as it underlines the decisions and actions made to increase self-determination and the Greenlandic economy (Nuttall, 2008). The nation-building process, which strengthened under Home Rule, has involved the creation of many national symbols and the term *kalaallit* emphasizes the ethnic roots of the nation in the making (Sorensen, 2008, 106).

3.4 Land Ownership and Lived Topographies

"The experience of physical places and the journeys between them is one of the commonest underpinnings of human being's characteristics sense of living" (Hastrup, 2009, 182). The texture and contour of the Arctic landscapes itself is a profound mixture of emptiness and solidity, of sparse populations separated by vast distances, intersected by large gatherings and intense moments. There is a sense that people must constantly be aware of the environment with an acute attention to the moment. The wholeness of impression and awareness likens the Arctic landscape more to a poem than a narrative (Hastrup, 2009). Arctic topography is towered over by geographical structures that entrap inhabitants, only a sensation of temporary emergence exists. This gives rise to a particular topophilia, defined by Tuan (1990, 4) as "the affective bond between people and place or setting." A close, inseparable, and historical relationship with the land and its resources has become one of the critical features of the cultures of indigenous peoples throughout the world, including the Inuit (Sejersen, 2004). The intimate attachment and

sense of attachment to the land emphasize local bonds to place. Place has a prominent position as a metaphor for culture for indigenous peoples. The road to Home Rule revealed an emphasis on ethnic identity and the emerging self-awareness that Greenlanders have common links with other indigenous people of the Circumpolar North. There was also a feeling of common origin, culture, history and future within Greenland. This is expressed as the official name for Greenland is *Kalaallit Nunaat*; the Greenlanders' land (Nuttall, 1992, 21). Attachment to the land is one dimension of national identity that is often cited as an integral characteristic of "Greenlandicness" in popular discourse (Graugaard, 2009).

Furthering the discussion on Greenlandic or Inuit sense of place brings forward a discussion on land ownership in Greenland. A part of Greenlandic identity and attachment to land is central in the unique way that land is considered in the country. Land ownership is a complicating factor when discussing resource development, and thus I find it pertinent to include. Legal literature suggests the "principle rule" in Greenlandic law is that the lands and its produce are free for one and all (Brøsted, 1986, 327). A situation that still prevails in Greenland today is the lack of private ownership of land and common resources. Both the land and common resources are owned by the community. Historically, this interpretation had a minimal effect on Greenland, as the land was not conducive for agriculture, but in connecting with resource development, it has become much more important. Opposing political ideologies once caused stark debate in Greenland over the concept of land ownership, but the issue of Greenlandic ownership of land and subsurface rights ended with Greenlandic people having "fundamental rights in Greenland" (Petersen, 1995, 121). The Danish-Greenlandic Self-Rule Commission, established in 2004 to further self-government within the country, reviewed Greenland's claim to sub-surface minerals and the rights to profit from the extraction of these

minerals. The Commission found that the minerals belong to Greenland and the rights to extraction belong to the country (Nuttall, 2008). In the debate over resource extraction, apprehensions surrounding land use, access and ownership have only exacerbated concerns. Hubbard (2013) adds to the discussion by noting that the BMP currently administers ownership of natural resources; therefore, the rights of Greenlanders are not properly recognized outside of the democratic process. Furthermore, many of the Danish lawyers at BMP are not well versed in the ideals of Greenlandic collective ownership principles or the critical cultural relationships to land and its resources (Hubbard, 2013). A former politician expressed her concerns as follows, "it is not like we are in Canada where they have land rights and property rights, and here we are like ok, you can just use our own natural resources but great, who actually owns the country? It scares me, we do not even own our land…" (Personal interview, 2013).

4.0 The "New" Arctic

"Narrative succeeds to the extent that it hides the discontinuities, ellipses, and contradictory experiences that would undermine the intended meaning of its story" - William Cronon, A Place for Stories : Nature, History, and Narrative, 1992

"The Arctic is hot", as stated by Sweden's Arctic ambassador Gustaf Lind in March of 2012 (The Economist, 2012). Lind's comment is not only in reference to the warming climate, but also to the overwhelming commercial and political interest in the North. "The double meaning of the phrase is instructive" states Avango, *et al*. (2013). Climate change is still noted as the dominant hegemonic driver of Arctic change, despite environmental determinism having been out of fashion for decades. Conflicting visions of the future Arctic are being produced at unprecedented rates (Avango, *et al.,* 2013). Recent reports state that there have been over 50 such publications in the last 10 years, appearing in the form of scientific assessments and national policies. These reports range from optimistic visions of wealth due to mineral development to pessimistic realities of environmental degradation. It is important to identify the narrations of physical and human geographies in the future as they play a rhetorical role in producing the futures of these high-latitude places. Deconstructing these dominant articulations of the future will reveal power relations and frame the context for further discussion in this thesis. As noted by Avango, et al., there are three types of visions that contribute to the production of Arctic futures. Firstly, there are *voices,* these refer to the actors that depict the future and play the role in actualizing these futures. Secondly, there are *resources,* which refer to the physical geographical components upon which the actors inscribe values. Lastly, there is *governance*, which is the political structures that regulate the specific actors and their subsequent actions (Avango, *et al.,* 2013). These three iterations of visions for the future of the Arctic are imperative when examining how the North is narrated as a place of increasing geopolitical

importance. Greenland is changing as noted by a Greenlandic woman in Nuuk; "one of the biggest issues that we have here in Greenland is that the ice is melting, the ice in general is just melting, the sea ice and the ice cap and that changes the natural resources- the whales, the seals, the Inuk, everything is changing. The recent tales that I have been told and stories from mouth to mouth from hunters in Upernavik onwards…they said it is impossible to catch seals and whales in general because the sea ice is just breaking…it is too thin…it is unstable…." (Personal interview, 2013).

4.1 Polar Geopolitics

This section specifically, but the entire thesis generally, is not dedicated to resurrecting traditional themes of geopolitics (Tuathail and Dalby, 1998). Geopolitics in this thesis does not refer to the mummified remains of the Cold War, but rather, it involves the numerous geographical representations and practices that yield the spaces of the world politics (Agnew, 2002). Instead of following the neutrality of geopolitics as offered by the conventional Cold War understanding of the concept, I want to begin with the understanding that geopolitics itself is a form of geography and politics tied to the ongoing representation of power and politics. This new, critical approach to polar geopolitics must rest on the idea that the North is not autonomous and independent of human beings themselves (Chaturvedi, 1998).

The October 18th 2007 headline "Scramble for Antarctica: Argentina hits back after Britain makes land grab" in the British newspaper, *The Daily Mail*, refers to the reported decision by the British government to relay geological and geophysical materials to the UN body, the Commission on the Limits of the Continental Shelf (CLCS) (Powell and Dodds, 2014, 3). The material pertained to the outer continental shelves of numerous South Atlantic islands including Falkland Islands/Islas Malvinas. Powell and Dodds argue that the narrative of the

British "land grab", is useful when identifying how remote regions like the Antarctic and, as this thesis will make clear, the Arctic are represented in literature (Powell and Dodds, 2014, 3). We cannot dismiss these headlines as being strictly sensationalistic; instead, it is prudent to discover why the Polar Regions attract such headlines. The Law of the Sea, a legal regime, was enforced in hopes of managing and regulating Arctic Ocean governance; however, it appeared to propel further speculation about spatial expansionism, resource development and regional domination. These discourses, combined with the thinning sea ice over the Arctic Ocean fuelled headlines about the increasing accessibility and resource grabbing in the Arctic. Once again, headlines such as "Rush for resources", "Exploiting the last frontier", and "The greening of Greenland" become increasingly ubiquitous (Powell and Dodds, 2014). The idea of the bountiful North, full of resources waiting to be exploited, is compelling but also capable of generating both optimistic and fearful futures of and for the Arctic (Knecht and Keil, 2013). The Arctic is being impacted and reconfigured by a number of developments and processes, which promise to alter both its human and physical components. Most dramatically, the prevalence of reported incidence of sea ice thinning are enhancing the narrative that the Arctic is better conceived as a "polar Mediterranean" rather than a "frozen desert" (Powell and Dodds, 2014, 7) (See Stefansson 1921, 1922). These notions further the idea that the Arctic is being imagined as a zone of transition, where either peaceful cooperation and/or harmful conflict might prevail. Climate change combined with an increasing global demand for resources are now transforming the Arctic region to the extent some are referring to it as the "New North" (Smith, 2010). The "New North" prevails as a powerful trope for reimagining the lines between north and south, and east and west. The increasing globalised perspective resonated with a retired member of Naalakkersuisut[10] in Greenland "we ourselves are our own worst enemies because we think we

[10] Naalakkersuisut is the Government of Greenland who is primarily responsible for the administration of the

can prove to the whole world that we can be an international mining industry who can do so well and become independent…it is just wrong because nobody can do without any other coalition with other countries nowadays, it's a globalised world…it's a dangerous world…" (Personal interview, 2013).

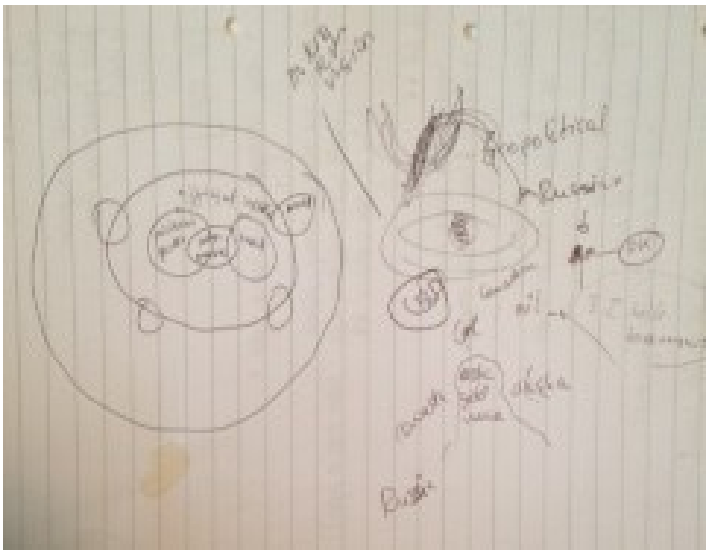

Figure 3. A Handmade Photo Depicting Globalisation[11]

By situating Greenland within this new paradigm and geography, I hope to create an image how tropes and narratives can act as rhetorical spaces whereby it is possible to define and redefine, to fix and loosen the Arctic (Stuhl, 2013).

Geopolitics has a legacy of being a contested term. "It has invited both fascination and revulsion in equal measure" (Powell and Dodds, 2014, 8) (See Dodds, *et al.,* 2013). Greenland, located in the "New North", is at the epicentre of two types of geopolitics as they interact in a global context. As a warmer climate and global demand for resources make exploiting Greenland's prominent natural resources more feasible, the geopolitics of mining defines and shapes the country's political future and impending independence from Denmark (Rasmussen,

Greenlandic Self-Government. Inatsisartut (Danish: Gronlands Landsting) is the Greenlandic Parliament. There are 31 members of the Assembly.

[11] Source: Personal interview, 2013

2013). The newly sustained geopolitical importance of Greenland is critical to my thesis because geopolitical discourse is about the restrictions and opportunities offered by geography as much as the way these restrictions and opportunities are articulated in politics.

Secondly, geopolitics may refer to the ways in which natural resources are associated with certain places and how these places are redefined upon extraction (Rasmussen, 2013). Geopolitics is about the study of power. This is an interesting concept in the context of Greenland, especially when they are on the cusp of extractive development. "This power," John Agnew writes, "is manifested geographically in the definition of boundaries between states or other political-territorial units, in the control exerted by powerful states and empires over less powerful ones, and in the material and emotional connections people make between themselves and they inhabit, thus limited the access of others to them (Agnew, 2002, 141). The power associated with people and place is especially important when examining extractive industries in Greenland. Resource development has the potential to redefine how Greenlander's conceptualise, use, and envision their land.

Lastly and outside the scope of this thesis, the geopolitical perspective of Greenland additionally offers insight into the potential for describing spatial conditions and the connections between the country and the rest of the world. From this perspective, one is mostly concerned with the security concerns that arise and are internalised from the community in question (Rasmussen, 2013). In summary, the term "geopolitics" has emerged as a buzzword with respect to the Arctic region. The deterministic Cold War dichotomy of space and place in geopolitics has resulted in this so called "last frontier" being poorly conceptualised. In this thesis and as argued by Chaturvedi in the *Encylopedia of the Arctic,* geopolitics are defined by "a historically

contingent, but ongoing, political project of scripting, staging and projection of the circumpolar northern region" (Chaturvedi, 2005, 724).

4.2 The Arctic Frontier

Throughout the process of nation-building, discussions and negotiations have occurred between Denmark and Greenland on a new self-government, one that would eventually lead to independence. This emphasis on autonomy is undermined by the annual block grant from Denmark, which essentially supplements 65 percent of the country's budget. Greenland must seek independence through expansion and diversification of their economy. The government continues to embark on a course of nation-building and is actively seeking ways to revitalize the country's ailing economy. There are numerous trends and factors that will affect the future of Greenland and its fate as it seeks independence from its previous benign colonial ruler; Denmark. Economic development can no longer depend on the shrimp and cod fishing industries. Exploitation of the country's natural resources is viewed as lessening the dependence on imports and block grants. The government is looking to alternative industries such as tourism and resource development, the latter of which will remain the focus of inquiry. This form of development in treating the Arctic as the last resource frontier, has led to ideological tension and polarisation as the Inuit have reacted against being labelled as a frontier or *wilderness* and have instead called for the recognition of their lands as indigenous *homelands* (Nuttall, 1998). Greenlanders are well aware that economic vitality, diversity, and autonomy are critical for meaningful self-determination as one Greenlandic minister stated in January 2009, "taking advantage of what nature has provided us when it comes to non-living resources has become closely related to our political quest for more economic self-sufficiency as well as the opportunity to someday establish our own nation-state" (Howard, 2009, 211).

Along with the increased geopolitical importance of the North and this "rush for resources," we are witnessing another prominent narrative emerging from Greenland; one that is impacting the way in which people imagine and anticipate the Arctic. Following the publication of Northern Frontier/Northern Homeland by Thomas Berger in 1977, shifted the attention away from framing the Arctic as a frontier towards viewing it as a homeland imbued with meaning and home to numerous indigenous people. However, as discourses and narratives surrounding resource extraction are increasing in Greenland, it comes as no surprise that the country is being articulated as a frontier, an empty space. There seems to be a reimagining and awakening of a "resource frontier." On the verge of resource development, Greenland is being increasingly recognized as a frontier for supplying global energy needs. This (re)production of Greenland as a frontier perpetuates the erasure of local ontologies imbued in the landscape and the country as a whole (Nuttall 2012a, 2013). This is necessary to be compatible with the idea of a frontier; a place void of humanity, separate from the human world and characterised by wilderness (Nuttall, personal communications, 2013). As noted by Webb "[a frontier] is not a line to stop at, but an *area* inviting entrance" (Webb, 1951, 2). This area and what is represents is constantly being changed and reconstituted by the people to whom it is of interest. The divergent images of frontiers are integral in shaping frontiers as processes (Anderson, 1996). The process of framing Greenland as a resource frontier has significant symbolic, psychological and sociological implications. They have a strong hold on the human imagination, furthering their potential for negative consequences for the country (Anderson, 1996). This can already be witnessed with in the hearings processes taking place in Greenland. Proponents and their consultations spoke of areas that were empty, virgin, and that were inhabited by no one. At the TANBREEZ hearing which I attended on November 20, 2013, I was surprised with how the consultants spoke about

the potential impacts of the project. Both the leaders of the EIA and SIA, with authority, stated that there would be absolutely no adverse impacts on either the people or the landscape. This apparent downplaying of the environmental and social impacts was necessary to parallel the narrative of Greenland as a frontier, a place void of meaning and humanity. For the purpose of this thesis, I will refer to Nuttall and his interpretation of the Greenlandic resource frontier as being a space with multiple layers; exploitation, opportunity, contestation, aspiration and I will add my own layer, resistance (Nuttall, 2013, 374). The country is a place with the exploitation of extractive industries providing opportunity for the Greenlandic elite to pursue industrialisation, while adding a layer of contestation as Greenlanders contest and confront their identities and ideologies on the path to independence. It is a place witnessing the culmination of various aspirations to its future, while being a place of resistance as Greenlanders forced to the margins are contributing counter-hegemonic movements to development in the country.

5.0 A Research Travelogue: Research Strategy and Method

"Research" is probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world's vocabulary." -Linda Tuhiwai Smith, 2002

"Well, what may seem like the truth to you," said the seven-teen-year-old bus driver and part-time philosopher, "may not, of course, seem like the truth to the other fella, you know." "THEN THE OTHER FELLOW IS WRONG, IDIOT!" - Philip Roth, The Great American Novel, 1993

In this section, I will discuss the methodological components of the research with the intention of providing thorough reasoning for the choice of design, methods and mode of analysis employed in the remainder of this thesis. Linda Tuhiwai Smith's book *Decolonizing Methodologies*, sets the scene for an expansive critique of Western paradigms of research. This book informed my general methodology for conducting my fieldwork in Nuuk, Greenland. According to Tuhiwai Smith, "decolonization is concerned with having a more critical understanding of the underlying assumptions, motivations and values that inform research practices" (Tuhiwai Smith, 2002, 1). Under the Western paradigm, colonisers, adventurers and travellers alike, researched the indigenous Other through their falsely objective and neutral gaze. Western culture is often characterized as the ethnocentric centre of legitimate knowledge. I accepted that Western research brings with it a unique set of values and conceptualisations of time, space, gender, subjectivity and knowledge. Often Western research is encoded in colonial discourses and I set out to ensure my research did not perpetuate the long history of colonialism experience by Greenlanders. My research was very flexible and adaptable. I entered my fieldwork with a loose agenda and allowed my research to change, grow and reflect the specific places and people I was working with. I chose to take a space of marginalism and historic oppression and develop my research in a culturally sensitive manner and in accordance to my participants and confidents wishes. I did not impose my research agenda on my participants, but

rather allowed them to inform my research. This symbiotic relationship allowed me to conduct research that was more critical, without perpetuating marginalising stories of the Other. Tuhiwai Smith's work revealed to me the power of research and representation and I carried this knowledge throughout my fieldwork.

To conduct research for this thesis, I employed several qualitative methods for the three stages of research involved. These stages were a preparatory research stage, the ethnographic research stage, and the analysis stage. These stages of research centered on the main component of my research, elucidating the problems with and barriers to public participation and the ways in which local people are negotiating their role within the changing political arena. This research required me to travel to Nuuk and interview Greenlanders themselves instead of relying exclusively on secondary accounts. The availability and type of secondary accounts emphasised the importance of ethnographic research to reveal the silences in available government reports and to gain a first-hand perspective of the situation in Greenland. As Helgason and Palsson suggest, "The proximity of the ethnographic gaze is better suited to the data at hand than the detached neo-classical view from afar" (Helgason and Palsson, 1997, 467). The methods employed and their applications are described below in their respective research stages.

5.1 Preparatory Research Methods

Devereux and Hoddinott's steps of preparatory research and procedures informed my intial preparations for my fieldwork. The steps offered include choosing a location, conducting a literature review of pertinent current and historical primary and secondary documents, receive ethics clearance, secure funding for travel, food, and accommodation, and taking a preliminary visit (Devereux and Hoddinott, 1993, 6-11).

Coming into my Master's program I had already conducted work pertaining to Indigenous People, impact assessments and the Arctic. Working with my supervisor and Henry Marshall Tory Chair, Dr. Mark Nuttall, allowed me to cultivate my interests in pursuing work in the Arctic and more specifically, Greenland. Dr. Nuttall has conducted extensive work in Greenland spanning several decades and was the optimal supervisor and supporter for me during this stage of my academic career. His visiting position as a Professor of Climate and Society at Ilisimatusarfik (the University of Greenland), along with his role directing the Climate and Society Programme at the Greenland Climate Research Centre at the Greenland Institute of Natural Resources, allowed me an unparalleled opportunity to conduct fieldwork in Nuuk.

Figure 4. A Picture of the Greenland Institute of Natural Resources in the Background and the University of Greenland in the Foreground[12]

[12] Source: http://www.natur.gl/index.php?id=15&L=3

I was put in touch with Lene Kielsen Holm, a research scientist and project leader in the Climate and Society Programme, and other Greenlandic researchers upon my arrival in Nuuk. Dr. Nuttall had also arranged for me to have visiting student status and therefore office space at the University of Greenland (*Ilisimatusarfik*). Thus, upon landing in Nuuk, I had a place to base my research, and a group of people to talk to. This in turn reduced my time, effort, and the frustration of trying to establish oneself in an unfamiliar setting resulting in what Devereux and Hoddinott refer to as the "fieldwork blues" (Devereux and Hoddinott, 1993, 15).

This section does not set out to reiterate my literature review, but this research method of gathering, analysing and synthesizing information from documentary sources was imperative in the my preparation and the formulation of research design including tentative research questions and interview guide. My interviews were conversational with no specific direction or intention. This was a purposeful design as to spark organic and natural conversation and avoid any interview bias from occurring. No formal letters or introductions were given to my participants, as I wanted to keep my research culturally sensitive as stated in the aforementioned paragraphs. In providing formal statements of intent to participants, Dr. Nuttall warned me that this could be perceived as off-putting and suspicious as this practice does not occur in Greenlandic culture. All of my participants were made clear of my intentions with their interviews and to respect their rights I will use pseudonyms and initials when mentioning them in my research.

After confirming a research location and home base to conduct my fieldwork, I applied for ethics clearance from the University of Alberta and the Human Research Ethics Review Process (HERO). On September 19, 2014 the organization cleared the ethical conduct of my research. Dr. Nuttall informed me that in order to clear the ethical requirements for research in Nuuk, I needed a letter of institutional support from the Greenland Institute of Natural Resources

which I promptly obtained from Peter Schmidt Mikkelsen, the Deputy Head of the Greenland Climate Research Centre at the Greenland Institute of Natural Resources. The next step in ensuring that my fieldwork was successful was to secure funding for my travel to Greenland, and the expenses incurred during three months of fieldwork in Nuuk. The main sources of funding I received was from the Social Science and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC), Northern Scientific and Training Program grant (NSTP), and a Circumpolar/Boreal Alberta Research grant (CBAR). Dr. Nuttall also graciously provided me with financial support throughout my fieldwork.

The only component of Devereux and Hoddinott's preparatory steps for fieldwork that I omitted was the preliminary trip to Greenland. The authors suggest the preliminary visit to the field to reduce the fear of the unknown and establish contacts and research locations (Devereux and Hoddinott, 1993). Due to financial and time restraints, I was unable to take a preliminary trip to Greenland. However, with the support of Dr. Nuttall, and my extensive scholarly and secondary source preparation, I did not feel like I was at a disadvantage without completing a preliminary trip. With technological advances of the 21st Century, I was able to contact and remain in touch with key players at both the University of Greenland and the Greenland Institute of Natural Resources before my arrival in Nuuk via email. One of these key players compares to what Hammersley and Atkinson refer to as gate-keepers, key informants providing access to social networks in a community where the ethnographer is researching (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995, 64-65). This informant was my first contact in Nuuk and remained an invaluable teacher, friend and confident during and after my fieldwork was complete. However, unlike Hammersley and Atkinson, this was not my only gate-keeper in Nuuk. I was fortunate

enough to have numerous key players, therefore I was not limited to the people they suggested as potential participants in my research.

5.2 Ethnographic Research Methods: Being an Anthropologist in Nuuk

I began the ethnographic phase of my research on September 30, 2013 with a flight from Kelowna, BC to Copenhagen, Denmark where I spent two nights before continuing on to Greenland. Before I begin the more formalized explanation of qualitative methodologies utilized in my research, I want to take readers into my world. I want to share a piece of my story by way of narrative into the dualism of complexity and simplicity of place and frame my work by way of description. My work does not set out to by an authoritative account of life in Nuuk. I by no means can provide an all-inclusive account of the culture and life in Greenland. At best, like any anthropological work, it can aim to be provisional (Nuttall, 1992). By way of ethnography and narrative, I try to communicate a picture that is illustrative of my experience as an anthropologist in Nuuk, Greenland. Numerous characters will appear throughout the text. Many of them are people who I developed strong and lasting relationships with. I have changed their names but hope to still deliver the warmth and essential characteristics that made my experience so memorable.[13] There is no better place to begin then, at the beginning.

5.2.1 Getting Blown Away

My journey to Nuuk started the trip off with a bang. Upon landing in Kangerlussuaq in central west Greenland, I was expecting a brief thirty minute layover until my connecting flight to Nuuk. My ride had been arranged from the airport in Nuuk and the keys to my apartment all set up. A few minutes after landing in Kangerlussuaq, word spread about the storm grounding

[13] I have chosen for my most of my participants to remain anonymous or in some instances, I have used pseudonyms. Not mentioning names is a personal choice as I want to protect the people who I have met, those who have become personal friends and those whom I think would appreciate discretion and anonymity. I, however, will use some names of people who were already public figures or who have already positioned themselves within the public domain.

all flights out of the airport. My first lesson on language barriers began as the flight updates were first announced in Greenlandic, then shortly after in Danish, then finally in a muted and unrecognizable manner, they were given in English. As the updates grew fewer and far between, so did the potential to make it to Nuuk. After nine, lonely and frigid hours, we were finally free to fly. While boarding, I met a young lady from Copenhagen named Sylvie. Sylvie and I instantly bonded and she soon became my closest friend on our journey to Nuuk. It wasn't minutes in the air, until we realized why all of the flights were grounded. With winds gusting over 125 kilometers per hour and a veil of rain in the sky, our little prop plane bounced around like a pinball in an arcade. Luckily the flight was just shy of two hours and then we were safely on the ground signified by the Danish traditional "round of applause" given after a successful landing. A rope had to be tied to the plane and to the airport to allow for assistance when attempting to walk across the tarmac. This is a level of wind I have never experienced before. Getting swept away took on a whole new, less romanticised meaning. Little did I know that the gusting winds would soon become a familiar sensory experience during my time in Nuuk. The wind became somewhat of a comfort; a familiar sound, smell and touch that guided me along my way during my fieldwork. The way the wind moved across the untouched landscape was like none other. I arrived to my room at the Anneks, the accommodation provided by the Greenland Institute of Natural Resources, and I proceeded to go to bed for two days straight. I was sick and scared and gravol solved all of my problems.

On the second day, a knock at the door awoke me from my sleep. Little did I know but it was the most precious and valuable part of my time in Nuuk and it came in a very small and smiling package by the name of Arnatuk. Arnatuk is a local Greenlander and a fellow researcher at the Climate and Society Programme at the Greenland Institute of Natural Resources. I owe

much of my invaluable experiences in Nuuk to her. I was quickly whisked off with Arnatuk and her family to the largest grocery store in Nuuk, Brugsen and experienced my first grocery shop. Brugsen, as with other supermarkets and markets are places for information exchange and socializing. Although there was an inordinate number of taxis and cars, it did not seem busy. Numerous children were playing, and residents, young and elderly, were out and about chatting, greeting and passing the time. It would not take me long to realize it was always like this. I felt the line blur between public and private spheres of life more than I had previously experienced in my life. The pathway out front of Brugsen housed an informal market that I saw during my first shopping trip and continued to explore during my stay in Nuuk. Grocery shopping soon became a weekly lesson in communication and organization as it presented many language challenges. To my surprise I paid $75 CDN for beets on a regular basis as the attendant did not know what they were, and prepared reindeer on numerous occasions, while thinking I was cooking beef. These "mishaps" shaped my experience in so many ways.

Soon after the shopping, I was attending family dinners at Arnatuk's house and being welcomed to join on many experiences including movies, fashion shows, coffee and tea dates, gym classes and shopping. I began to experience many prevailing Danish traditions that permeated Greenlandic daily life including the consumption of various Schnapps, rye bread, cheese, and pickled herring. I also took part in traditional Greenlandic experiences like the consumption of *mattak*, masked dancing and traditional birthday celebrations known as "kaffeemik", where on birthdays and similar celebrations, the host's house becomes inundated with coffee, tea, cakes and a feast. I quickly learned that Greenlandic words like Mammoq (tastes good) and Quanoq (thank-you) would carry me very far. Many of my experiences took place in the form of consumption; consuming a place through food and experience.

I was apprehensive to learn to take public transportation in a foreign country as my bus taking abilities lacked even in Canada where the signs and symbols were in a legible language. I prepared as best as I could, looking up bus schedules, maps and memorizing the proper currency. I began to feel trapped and isolated at the Anneks, which is located opposite to "downtown" and to where all the action is. So I decided within the first week that I was going to take the bus. I paid in coins every time as I never built up enough courage to ask for a bus pass in Danish. This was exclusively due to my insecurities, and nothing to do with the no less than cordial manner of every bus driver. I would catch the bus outside of the Anneks and Ilisimatusarfik and take it into town to get groceries. I caught the bus with about a dozen other people at the stop and began my first ride into the center of Nuuk. The bus ride took me to parts of Nuuk that I had not yet seen. It was breathtaking. I still get chills thinking about the natural beauty of Greenland. As a participant stated "I have lived here all my life and I never get tired of nature, ever. It is amazing. I think we are one of the few who never gets tired of it…or stops appreciating it" (Personal interview, 2013). I could relate to this sentiment as I observed the massive mountains surrounded bright coloured homes perched alongside massive bodies of water. The simplistic nature of the architecture did not undermine its attraction, but rather, added to it. The red, blue, yellow and pink homes dotted the landscape, with clothing lines strung across the property and various meats and fish hanging out to dry.

My first bus trip was successful. I made it to Brugsen with the confidence to do it again. My second bus trip was to attend a fashion show at Katuaq, the cultural centre in Nuuk. My friend Arnatuk was walking in the show and I had agreed to go in support. I hopped on the bus and off I went. The show began in a rather startling manner. Two barely clothed men jumped out from behind the screen. The men wore what resembled fur loin cloths and had their faces

painted with large bones in their mouths which stretched their cheeks in very unimaginable ways. They proceeded to go around the room scaring guests of the show. I was so nervous and had no idea what was going on. I would soon find out that I was witnessing a traditional event known as Inuit mask dancing. This cultural phenomenon is aimed at scaring children and foreign researchers with no previous experience with masked men. After the initial shock, I settled in for the show. It was incredible. The creativity, use of colours and patterns and artistry is like nothing I had ever seen before in Western fashion. The show was fantastic and deepened my appreciation for Greenlandic clothing and design. The show finished around 9:30pm and I went to my bus stop outside of Brugsen and waited patiently in the howling winds and snow for my bus, the 2A. An hour went by with no sign of the only bus that I knew how to take and I became increasingly frantic as to how I would return home. Just before all hope was lost, a friendly face appeared in the bus shelter. A young Greenlandic woman bundled from head to toe, spoke quietly and let me know that the 2A's service ended early in the evening and would not continue to run until the morning. I guess she picked up on the desperate look on my face, which to me might have looked like I had "foreigner" or "tourist" stamped on my forehead. Her name was Lene and she was originally from Sisimuit and was now in Nuuk to attend the business school. Lene asked where I was headed and offered to take the bus home with me to ensure I arrived safely. I was so touched by her generosity and kindness. She took me from a moment of insecurity, fear and disorientation to an invaluable one filled with kindness and new friendship. Upon arriving at the closest stop to the Anneks, I realized I still had about a 15 minute walk home. Instead of parting ways, Lene insisted on walking me to my door in the gusting winds and snow, which was at least twenty minutes out of her way. Just like with Arnatuk, I was taken aback by the generosity and openness that I had experienced from

Greenlanders. This feeling did not subside during my time in Nuuk. Local Greenlanders continued to impress me with their kindness, munificence, humor and their overall welcoming nature. As I asked Lene why she helped me she stated "well you look lost and confused…and also like you did not come from Greenland. I wanted to help. It is important that we help people. I want you to know you have a friend in Greenland as we have a friend in you. We need people like you to come and help us out and this is the least I could do" (Personal interview, 2013). So simple- yet so profound. That day will forever remain one of my favourites.

I soon settled into a routine of daily coffee dates at the GINR with researchers from Denmark, Ireland and Belgium, workouts at Fit og Fun, lunches with Arnatuk at Ilisimatusarfik and nightly dinners at the Anneks. One of my favourite weekly pleasures was going for lunch or coffee at a place called Pascucci in Nuuk Centre, the only shopping mall in Greenland and home to Greenland's only escalator. Pascucci is a café, restaurant and lounge in the evenings. I often met friends and participants at Pascucci and talked over a delicious latte and fruit cup, or burger, fries and a beer. I went to Pascucci for the first time with Sylvie, the Danish woman who I met on the plane to Greenland. We randomly walked into the mall in a desperate search for a cup of coffee. The place was packed to the brim and filled with laughter, children and conversation. I knew right from the start that this would be a place that I frequented often. Every age group was present, from young families to groups of teenagers; it seemed to attract various demographics of people and was a hub of socialization and celebration. To me it represented a perfect place to meet new people and friends, to observe a small part of Greenlandic life, while still enjoying the comforts of home like skim lattes and bagels.

5.2.2 Getting Down to Business

News of my presence spread at "kamik" speed and soon I was being approached by people who wanted to talk with me and get to know me. Before embarking on my fieldwork, I was hesitant about how I would get people to talk with me and participate in my research. All of my fears were quickly abandoned as I had more people than I could possibly talk with in three months approaching me. Whether it was the excitement of something new or the possibility for change, or Arnatuk being the "gate-keeper" to Greenlandic society, I was rapidly and happily thrown into my ethnographic work in Nuuk.

According to Hammersley and Atkinson, ethnographic research often combines qualitative research methods applied to both social and cultural studies (Hammerlsey and Atkinson, 1995, 1-2). The two methods that I primarily used to collect my data were participant observation and unstructured interviews. I also spent a significant time collecting and reviewing scholarly and secondary sources. This review primarily focused on gathering existing data from multiple sources including scientific literature but also secondary sources like newspapers, governmental documents, and videos. I employed this method of data collection initially to get a clear understanding of Greenlandic politics, impact assessments, industrial development and regulatory methods. In this next section, I will discuss how I applied methods of participant observation and unstructured interviewing to collect my data in the field for my ethnographic research.

5.2.2.1 Participant Observation

Qualitative methodology and more specifically, participant observation, is dependent on the social relations between researcher and informants in the field. More than fifty years ago,

Whyte reflected on the methodology of fieldwork and notes that the personal life of the researcher is increasingly mixed with his research:

"There are many good public studies of communities or organizations, but generally the published report gives little attention to the actual process whereby the research was carried out. There have also been some useful statements on methods of research, but, with few exceptions, they place the discussion entirely on a logical-intellectual basis. They fail to note that the researcher, like his informants, is a social animal. He has a role to play, and he has his own personality needs that must be met in some degree if he is to function successfully. Where the researcher operates out of a university, just going into the field for a few hours at a time, he can keep his personal social life quite separate from the field activity. His problem of role is not quite so complicated. If, on the other hand, the researcher is living for an extended period in the community he is studying, his personal life is inextricably mixed with his research. A real explanation, then, of how the research was done necessarily involves a rather personal account of how the researcher lived during the period of study" (Whyte, 1943, 279).

The "field" in this thesis is noted to be Nuuk, Greenland; however, it can also extend far beyond a geographical place and into the social networks and intangible places between reality and representation (Jacobsen, 2013). While not paying full homage to Whyte's call for comprehensive portrayal of the social life of the researcher, this thesis will include a few citations from my field journal, along with personal experiences in the field.

For numerous decades, advocates of participatory research methods have been challenging the traditional hierarchical relationships between research and action, and between researchers and "researched" (Wadsworth, 1998). They have sought to replace an extractive, imperial model of conducting social research with one where the benefits of the research are

retained by the communities involved. After establishing my bearings in Nuuk, I began to explore. During my fieldwork I attended many events that shaped my researched including; daily walks around town, weekly coffee dates at the local coffee shop Pascucci, plays and movies at Katuaq- the cultural centre in Nuuk, fashion shows, Urani Naamik (anti-uranium) debates, extractive industry hearings, political demonstrations, a radio appearance, and partaking in weekly meetings for a new NGO Coalition formed during my time in Greenland. A unique blend of cultural, political, spiritual, and environmental events formed an incredible basis for my ethnographic research.

5.2.2.2 Unstructured Interviews

Harrits *et al.*, guided my reasoning for conducting interviews based on their three arguments for when qualitative research interviews is appropriate. These included "1) an interest in meaning and significance, 2) an explorative investigation and 3) an interest in unique information" (Harrits, *et al.,* 2010, 146). Upon arriving in Greenland I had very few formal contacts, with the exception of fellow researchers and staff at the Greenland Institute of Natural Resources and the University of Greenland. Before the trip I had prepared a list of topics and questions to loosely guide my research. I had a very flexible sampling criterion to narrow the participants in my interviews to people who I thought would have an intimate local or expert knowledge of impact assessments, public participation, and power dynamics in the Greenlandic context. I also selected people, following in the tradition of other Arctic social scientists, who had strong traditional knowledge of their homeland (Krupnik and Jolly, 2002; Riedlinger, 2001).

I cast my net very wide when first embarking on the interview process. I knew that interviews would be a critical component of my research as they could provide me with information not otherwise accessible through strictly observing. As stated previously, word of

mouth spread rapidly, and not long after I arrived in Nuuk people were contacting me to connect. The interviews I subsequently carried out were a result of me contacting potential informants directly, local people reaching out to me, and then establishing relationships with people through participating in local events and meetings that allowed me to become accepted within the community. Often participants were collected from what Hammersley and Atkinson refer to as "snowball sampling method" whereby researchers often ask respondents to give referrals to other possible participants (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995, 135). I would often ask my participants if they knew anyone else that would be interested in talking with me, and this method allowed me to connect to numerous people from a diversity of backgrounds. I decided to make use of semi-structured interviews; however, they ended up being on the more unstructured end of the spectrum. This type of interview style provided a flexibility, which in turn resulted in the interviewee having opportunity to discuss what they felt important and steer the interview into areas of which they felt most interesting. The flexible, colloquial, and conversational style of interviewing was very successful, though I always remained conscious as to not imbed my preconceptions in the conversation or steer the informant in any way as noted by Bryman (2012).

My interview style and design evolved continuously as I become more knowledgeable of the factual details of impact assessments and how people conceptualised the barriers and problems with public participation in Greenland. In selecting the sample, the main criterion was to gather the richest amount of data without conducting more interviews than needed due to personal and financial restrictions. The colonial legacy inherent in language remained imperative throughout my research and I attempted to ameliorate this by ensuring interviewees were comfortable communicating in English. I ended up with 18 interviews, which reflected a diversity of perspectives on the topics at hand. Most of the interviews I conducted were with

individuals already engaged in social life[14] and politics in Greenland, therefore I acknowledge the limitations of this study in terms of transferability (Bryman, 2012). I would have liked to interview the labour organisations and representations from Naalakkersuisut and BMP, but due to the constraint of time and resources, this was not possible. I did however, conduct a thorough review of the documents provided by Naalakkersuisut and BMP and felt that they provided me with an accurate representation of their respective positions on impact assessments and public participation in Greenland. All of my interviews were recorded on a Dictaphone and notes were taken throughout each interview. All recordings were fully transcribed upon returning back to Canada where it was later analysed and categorized.

I now find it imperative to explain my research experience and processes as it helped to shape my field work in Greenland and can provide context to my findings and future research. As mentioned, news of my presence in Greenland spread rapidly. Along with my presence, people became increasingly aware of my intentions in Greenland and what I hoped to accomplish. This resulted in me being initiated into local discourses very early on in my field work. Within the first few weeks I was being approached by students, local stakeholders, scientists and Greenlandic NGO's, all of whom were interested in hearing about my research and partaking in it. My presence as a researcher was welcomed and I immediately began receiving invitations to meetings, both private and public, where people were very receptive to my research as well as my previous research experience in the area of extractive development and impact assessments. Within the first month, I was the only public member (with no scholarly or political association) to be invited to join and present at the newly formed NGO Coalition's weekly meetings. This new NGO Coalition (to be referred to as "the Coalition") was led by

[14] By "social life" I refer to members who actively participate and engage with ongoing social matters like industrial development and political reform. These members are common throughout Greenland and were easily identifiable through various pieces of literature and newspapers.

some of the prominent activists and scientists in Greenland; people I had often read about in literature and in the newspaper.[15] I was immediately and unofficially appointed as a specialist on impact assessments, public participation and industrial development within the Coalition and I was soon representing the entity at public events.[16]

In November, 2013 I was contacted by the head of KNR (the Greenlandic Radio station) and asked to participate in a debate on London Mining's impact benefit agreements and regarding the Canadian experience with such contracts. I prepared as best as I could without fully knowing or understanding the details surrounding the debate or my role in it. I arrived at the radio station to find it completely under renovation with no one in sight. But in typical Greenlandic fashion, a friendly face soon appeared and led me to the recording room where I was given ample amounts of coffee and Danish chocolate. I was briefed on my role and introduced to the other debate participants. I donned my headphones and took a deep breath. The radio host introduced me and I began my part of the debate. The language barrier added in an additional complication as she had to state the question in Greenlandic, then in English, followed by a quick translation of my answer into Greenlandic. Despite the confusion, the debate was enigmatic, lively and fun. In that moment I could not believe that I was participating in it. In that moment it became increasingly clear that people saw me as providing a different and valuable perspective and I quickly became an active contributor to the debate in which I was interested in researching. I was researching the material, while contributing to its development. This was a rewarding, and completely unexpected component of my ethnographic research.

[15] I refer to this group as "the Coalition" although it is comprised of numerous grassroots organizations and NGOs, I have chosen to let the individual groups remain anonymous and deliberately unnamed when discussing the on-goings of the Coalition. .

[16] An in-depth discussion of the Coalition will take place in Chapter 10.

5.3 Analytical Research Methods

Despite the analysis of data as being described as the last stage of research, it was an ongoing process in my research. The analysis of ethnographic research starts as soon as the research project is designed, as noted by Hammersley and Atkinson (1995). The formal analysis of my research was not completed until I returned home from Greenland.

The first step was to transcribe the eighteen interviews I recorded, along with the numerous meetings, field notes, and presentations I stored on my Dictaphone during my fieldwork. I had over fifty hours of recordings which took over 150 hours to transcribe due to language and translation difficulties. I incurred numerous challenges throughout the collection and analysis of my research. I was fortunate enough to have all interviewees who were able to speak some English as either their first, second or third language. For those who were not proficient English speakers, this resulted in some challenges with transcribing. I feel that all of my interviews accurately represent what participants stated as I was very diligent in my transcription efforts. Interviewing took some considerable effort as well as it often took significant time and patience on behalf of my interviewees as we tried to find effective ways of communication. This, however; proved to be very successful as every interview was able to be completed, despite some language barriers. Upon reviewing and analysing the data that I had collected from participant observation, it merits attention to note that despite significant language difficulties, I was still able to collect valuable and effective data. This particular research revealed the importance and significance of body language. I was able to develop my awareness of the signs and signals of body language therefore facilitating an understanding of people without verbal communication. From the hearings to town meetings, it was evident that a lot of data could be collected despite obvious language complications.

The approach I used to analyse my data was thematic. I began to code my transcriptions to reveal themes related to my topic of study. This is a popular approach when analysing ethnographic and unstructured interview data, as new and unexpected results may appear when utilizing this type of research method (Taylor-Powell and Renner, 2003, 3). I allowed themes to naturally emerge out of my interviews, as to not introduce any prejudgements, or force interpretations onto my participants (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995). As I was trying to gather information regarding personal experience with the problems and barriers with public participation and impact assessments in Greenland, I allowed my research to evolve and develop along the way.

Analysing the data from interviews and grey literature consisted of reviewing transcriptions and field notes to elucidate common themes in the data. Shagoury-Hubbard and Miller-Power (2003) suggest colour coordinating similar responses and then to create categories from the coded responses. This was very helpful when coding over fifty pages of qualitative data and increased the efficiency of my analysis. My results were coded as follows:

Pink= Examples of resistance

Blue= Power and transparency

Yellow= Barriers and problems with public participation

Purple= Greenlandic values and identity

Green= Industry and mapping

Orange= Politics

6.0 From Ice Sheet to Outback: An Overview of the Exploitation of Resources, Impact Assessments and Participation in Greenland

"We always hear about the rights of democracy, but the major responsibility of it is participation" –Wynton Marsalis

In an effort to achieve autonomy, it has been commented upon that Greenlandic politicians widely agree that the development of minerals and hydrocarbons is the key to financial and economic independence (Nuttall, 2009). The Self-Government agreement does not propose any tangible strategies for obtaining growth to achieve independence. The only explicit source of economic growth mentioned, is mineral resources. In this light, the Self-Government agreement has left Greenland at a vulnerable starting point for increasing Greenlandic self-determination. With such a narrow approach to independence, the Self-Government agreement puts self-determination in jeopardy if ventures with extractive industry fail or do not deliver the economic means for independence from Denmark.

There has been knowledge of mineral deposits in Greenland since the time of Hans Egede's sojourn in the country, but the production has been modest. At the end of the nineteenth century approximately 7,000 tons of graphite were quarried at several sites and copper was mined in numerous places. Most important was the cryolite that was shipped from Ivittuut during 1856-1980. On Disko Island between 1924-72, about 600,000 tons of coal were shipped out and in 1952-55 about 560,000 tons of lead and zinc ore were mined at Mestersvig in East Greenland (Taagholt, 1994). The activity that had the most importance to technological and social development in Greenland during the post-war years was the lead and zinc mining in Maarmorilik. However, as Nuttall points out, these activities took place within Greenland's colonial and post-colonial history and, up until recently, no extractive industries have been in large-scale operation in the last two decades (Nuttall, 2012a). As noted, the discussion

surrounding Greenland's potential mineral wealth is nothing new as speculation of the country's riches has taken place for many years and continues today.

In recent years, international attention and excitement has grown surrounding the potential possibility of Greenland containing an abundance of available resources. The US Geological survey estimates there to be more than 110 billion barrels of oil in the waters off Greenland's west coast which is attracting interest in the territory's potential as a hydrocarbon province. ExxonMobil and Chevron from the US, Husky and EnCana of Canada, the UK's Cairn Energy, and Denmark's Dong Energy are among the companies that have already won or applied for exploration licenses from Greenland's Bureau of Minerals and Petroleum for claims to the subsurface resources (Nuttall, 2009). Since 2002, five application rounds have been launched for mineral exploration. The period of 2002 to 2011 revealed great interests in mineral licenses which corresponds to an increase in meters drilled as a part of exploration. Previously, Greenland's Home Rule government signed a memorandum of understanding with Alcoa, based on the promise of major hydroelectric development. Greenland is also hopeful to establish and maintain a relationship with Chinese investors. This is consistent with the current political thinking about economic development and aspirations for political independence. As Nuttall (2009) argues, ambitious for industrial development in the wake of self-government, Greenland is experiencing a "rush to resources" as multinational corporations engage in a search for oil, gas and minerals. These foreign companies perpetuate the image of Greenland as a resource frontier and make promises of great economic benefit and job opportunities for local people (Nuttall, 2012b, 24).

Furthermore, hydrocarbons are not the only riches in Greenland's subsoil. While cryolite played an integral role in the country's economy for a century, there are iron ore mines to the

north of Nuuk and uranium, gold, diamonds, coal, lead, zinc, silver, platinum, uranium and nickel to the south (Auchet, 2011). While this wealth is speculative and basically undeveloped, its promise nonetheless perpetuates a sense of optimism regarding Greenland's future autonomy. A large project for the construction of an aluminium smelter by the American giant Alcoa is under negotiation. With an initial investment of approximately twenty billion kroner, the project is said to generate thousands of jobs. Most politicians are confident that mining will eventually overtake the fishing industry and Greenland's dependence on marine resources as their main source of income (Nuttall, 2008a). In addition, in the fall of 2013 Naalakkersuisut granted UK-based company London Mining a 30-year exploitation license for the Isukasia project. This giant iron-ore mine is expected to produce 15m tonnes of iron ore concentrate per year. London Mining is currently trying to increase their financial resources in order to go forward with the development of the mine in the Nuuk Fjord (London Mining, 2014). [17]

6.1 Legal Frameworks: The Legal Protection for Indigenous Rights

As identified by ICC Greenland in 2010, Greenland does not have an inclusive or systematic approach to the protection of indigenous rights. Consequently, there are no indigenous-specific legal protections at all in the country (ICC: Greenland, 2010). The Government of Greenland instead relies on the participatory democratic process and mandatory consultation frameworks to ensure the protection of indigenous rights. Whether this approach is effective will be discussed in significant detail below. This framework results in extractive industry business that believes that "Greenland is a remote extractive periphery where the regulatory process and less than stringent legal requirements for environmental hearings make it an attractive place to invest" (Nuttall, 2009, 68). A local Greenlander commented to me during a conversation "the government does not want to make the process too strict or else people will

[17] As was the case at the time of my research.

leave. It is simple. It comes down to money and we need money" (Personal interview, 2013). With government ownership of 100% of the land and over 80% of commerce, Greenland appears to be a very promising place for development (BMP, 2009). In the following section I will review the role of the Inuit Circumpolar Council in Greenland, along with discussing the legal frameworks for the protection of indigenous rights in Greenland.

6.1.1 Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC)

The 1970s debate surrounding the potential for oil and gas development in both Alaska and Canada sparked the development of the ICC, as a "transnational organization that represents the approximately 155,000 Inuit living in Alaska, Canada, Greenland, and Russia" (Shadian, 2013). This formation coincided with new political and governance ideals of the time. Marianne Stenbaek states, "Our challenge is first and foremost to decolonize ourselves. We suffer from a colonized mind" (Stenbaek, 1985, 59). The establishment of the ICC was nested in global movements away from paternalism and assimilation towards a whole new set of political ideals regarding the rights of indigenous people to self-determination (Shadian, 2013). Since its inception in Alaska in 1977, the ICC has pursued ways to create its own Arctic policy. The goals for the policy have always been to seek environmental protection through indigenous knowledge and expertise (Nuttall, 2000). With a focus on security, power and sovereignty, the ICC has set out in recent years to redefine the normative state centred approach to independence so that Inuit can be formal participants within international political systems. It serves as an alternate voice for Inuit people in Arctic policy making and as a representative of Inuit people as a whole (Shadian, 2006). The ICC has historically been known as a major player in the vanguard of environmental protection and is currently still a major player in Arctic policy-making. In a state, like Greenland, where the elite are seen as gatekeeper to information and decision-making, the

influence of NGOs is paramount (Nuttall, 2000). The ICC performs much like a conventional NGO; however, it is not exclusively an NGO. It is a collectivity, characterised by its own history of interactions, economics and co-operations (Shadian, 2013). It provides a narrative of the history of the Inuit as a people, a history that informs and drives its political motivations. While not being a legal instrument, the ICC provides a platform for increased co-operation and sustainable development in the Arctic, including in Greenland. It is an institution that functions from the ground, providing Greenlanders, and the Inuit as a whole, an additional tool for expressing their concerns over modernisation and development, while advocating for indigenous self-determination. The ICC has done this by turning negative stereotypes of the Inuit as savage, backward, and not as owners of their own land, into global advocates for sustainable development with rights to control their land and resources (Shadian, 2013).

6.1.2 The Bureau of Minerals and Petroleum and Extractive Industry Regulation

The Greenlandic Parliament is the principal legislative figure in Greenland and one of its responsibilities, among others, is to oversee extractive industries. The Mineral Resources Act of 2009; however, resulted in the Parliament granting the Government of Greenland sole administrative responsibility and authority over the development of minerals and hydrocarbons (BMP, 2009). The government agency created by Parliament, the Bureau of Minerals and Petroleum (BMP), is responsible for these functions. Of the numerous mineral extraction projects currently being developed in Greenland, all but a few remain in the exploration stage. The most advanced project is the ISUA Mine, proposed by London Mining Corporation. This project completed the approval stage of development in late fall 2013 (Hubbard, 2013). The BMP is currently functioning, under the auspices of the Mineral Resources Act, as the primary decision-maker for resources. It is operating under the assumption that all resources are

government property and therefore it has all rights to the extraction of minerals (Hubbard, 2013, 1150). On the contrary, as noted by the former international chair of the Inuit Circumpolar Council Aqqaluk Lynge, the government does not own the land and resources and that under the Constitution of Greenland, the Greenlandic people actually own the land and all of its resources. An amendment to the Mineral Resources Act of 2009 took effect in January 2013 (Hansen, 2013). The amendment altered the assembly of the Ministry of Industry, Mineral Resources and Labour and divides the responsibility for mineral resource activities between two agencies; The Environmental Protection Agency and the BMP. The administration of SIA is now the responsibility of the Department of Business and Labour; however, it is still governed by the BMP (Hansen, 2013).

6.2 Extractive Industry Regulation and Impact Assessments

The Mineral Resource Act establishes a "one door policy" which grants the BMP exclusive power over the control of all extractive industry development licensing and management (Hubbard, 2013). This *one-stop shop* is an expedited approach that requires developers to only need to visit "one-door" during the entirety of the resource development process, from prospecting to decommissioning. The BMP has the responsibility to report to the Parliament annually; however, the parliament does not have any veto authority regarding the issuance of licenses. There have been numerous complaints regarding the BMP's "one door policy", as local people feel that there needs to be a more systematic approach to reviewing potential projects, one that allows for a less bias approach to licensing (Personal interviews, 2013). A member of the Coalition commented, that the "…[one door policy] is a critical model that we criticised last year and we think that the experience with Cairn industries, we were able to hire an expert from Alaska…we asked her to look into the whole process of Cairn's activities

from the application to the issuance of the license to the exploratory drillings and to track where we were last year. She came up with a lot of questions and all of these were supposed to be publically available information on the control and the ongoing monitoring of the activities and the reports from the companies on any incidents or accidents that happen during the activity itself…many of them were under blackened ink so she couldn't look or have the possibility of confirming whether the authority who issues the licenses controls itself or whether they have actually conducted these follow up controls as they have requested the companies to do in reports. So we actually documented that BMP's one-stop shop model is not the most ideal model to be used here in Greenland….and it is the biggest challenge we have…it is only efficient, for them…" (Personal interview, 2013).

In reference to minerals, under the Mineral Resources Act, potential licensees are obligated to submit an application to the BMP, containing a Strategic Impact assessment, including an Environmental Impact Assessment, Social Impact Assessment and Economic Impact Assessment, as well as an Impact Benefit Agreement. In addition to these requirements, licensees must submit a thorough report detailing the plans for the entire extent of the project. This includes information on the exploitation process, potential revenues, expected employment requirements and proof of financing (BMP, 2009). Combined with the political wish for independence, there is a conscious sentiment in Greenland that development should occur in a sustainable fashion, therefore demanding effective impact assessments. This widespread interest, combined with lack of public participation in Greenland, has resulted in a complex situation as stated by the chair of the NGO Narsaq Earth Charter, the late Finn Lynge: "…paradoxically, independence and growing autonomy for that matter- can only be seen as economically viable in contravention of what is strongly emerging as universally accepted

mandatory environmental policy-making in the rest of the world- a process none of us would think of contradicting on the international scene. We are here touching upon a very big area of contention: the conflict between the need for industrial development read: future political independence of Denmark needing big money and on the other hand the basic, unquestioned desire we all harbour to keep our marvellous country unspoiled for our children and grandchildren. The problem is so simple as it is awful: we can't have our cake and eat it" (Lynge, 2008). I feel this quote accurately represents the general concern in Greenland when reviewing the nature of impact assessments in the country. In Greenland, the use of EIA is still in early stages. In relation to extractive industry (oil, mining, and gas) there is some experience, mostly in recent years, with EIA, but for many years the EIAs conducted have been done so without fulfilling the basic internationally documented principles, such as a review of alternatives and public participation (Hansen, 2010).

6.3 Public Participation

Public participation is required within the environmental impact assessment and social impact assessment processes in Greenland, as the authorities may require public consultations to be held as a part of the EIA guidelines (BMP, 2009, 2011). Following the submission of the appropriate documents, public consultations must be held in all affected communities. The duration, content or procedures of these consultations are not specifically defined. The appropriate outcome to consultations should result in amending the application to contain the concerns raised by the hearings process. However, there is currently no requirement that the consultation process is considered by the application or the approval processes. There is also no requirement that the proponent state why it did not make the changes as suggested by the consultation process. As mentioned, in Greenland the SIA is a legal requirement for companies

in their planning process and is the only tool to inform decision-makers on the potential social impacts of projects. It is important to note that in Greenland, the legislation is focused on managing change at the individual project level rather than at the broader, strategic level (Hansen, 2013).

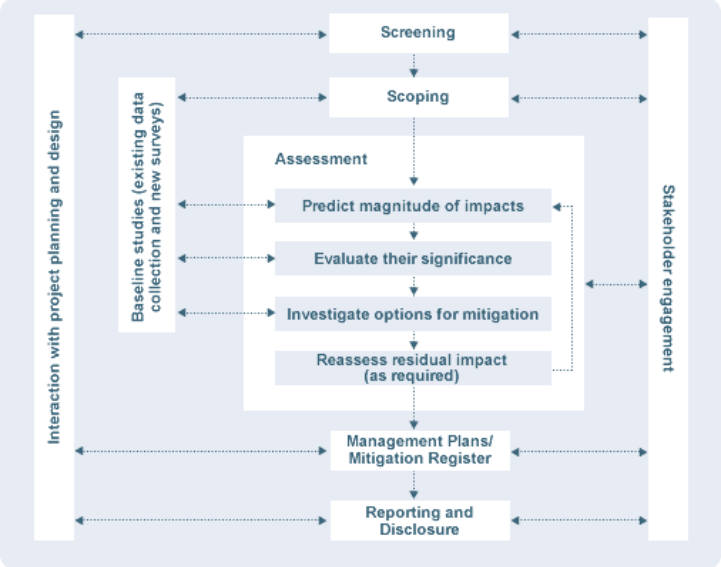

Figure 5. Overview of EIA Approach in Greenland[18]

The Greenlandic authorities require public participation in the form of stakeholder consultation, but it can often be conducted as a part of the SIA process (Hansen, 2013). According to Naalakkersuisut, "it is the current Naalakkersuisut goals that citizens must be informed and involved more in the planning of future mining projects. The involvement must be made through a variety of activities, which will include among other things, meetings with stakeholders, information and public meetings, focus groups, interviews, dissemination of information through newspapers, radio, mining, websites and the like" (Naalakkersuisut, 2013). The Government states to have taken into consideration the expressed desire for greater involvement of citizens in the decision-making processes regarding extractive industries in

[18] Source: http://www.cairnenergy.com/files/reports/responsibility/cr2010/environment/environmental-impact-assessments.html

Greenland. According to the BMP guidelines and Naalakkersuisut, the SIA processes in Greenland should be characterized by having great levels of public participation; all pertinent stakeholders should be included and involved in a timely manner, and information should be made available via workshops and public meetings held in both Greenlandic and Danish (BMP, 2011). However, there are no specific guidelines for public participation in Greenland (Olsen and Hansen, 2014). The ambiguous and unclear nature of the guidelines pertaining to citizen involvement in industrial projects has resulted in public concern being expressed over the process and its non-transparent nature (this will be discussed in detail in the next chapter). Much critique has fallen on the public participation processes in Greenland. The lack of specification and detail arguably creates a significant barrier to having effective and meaningful public participation (Olsen and Hansen, 2014).

6.3.1 Recent Developments

The integration of extractive industry, new legal regulation and indigenous culture can be detrimental for many communities. In Greenland, tensions between the indigenous culture and fast paced industrial development, along with concerns over fishing quotas, culminated with the opposition victory in March, 2013 (Hubbard, 2013). The spring elections were a game changer for the potential for extractive industry in Greenland. There has been ongoing support for foreign investment within the country; however, the parameters of the investment are set to drastically change (Scrutton, 2013). The outgoing premier, Kuupik Kleist, commented on the sudden change, "it has been a slap in the face" (Scrutton, 2013). The primary focus of the 2013 election result was the lack of participation and oversight from Greenlanders themselves. The new premier, Aleqa Hammond, maintained a platform based on "the most important thing for us is to work with someone who also views citizen involvement as the most important thing"

(Scrutton, 2013).[19] Another issue that thrust Hammond to triumph was the overall concern for the environmental impact of mining. Greenland's population is remains heavily reliant on its natural, renewable resources for survival including hunting, gathering and fishing. The lack of current oversight and management of extractive industries resulted in widespread skepticism about the potential for industrial development and the massive size of the proposed projects (Hubbard, 2013). Not all of the action has been negative for foreign investors. In addition to Hammond's pro-mining stance, the Siumut party also quarrelled with the outgoing government regarding the extraction of uranium. Greenland's rare earth minerals are often mixed with uranium deposits, therefore Hammond fought to have the ban on uranium lifted to provide increased access to these lucrative resources. Lastly, there seemed to be an element of nationalism and xenophobia that was proven to be detrimental to Kuupik Kleist's Inuit Ataqatigiit party. The Partii Inuit, a protest party that stood in opposition to foreign influence from China and Denmark, took 6.4%. The opposition consisted of numerous concerns including the potential influx of Chinese guest workers combined with the impression that BMP employed primarily young, pro-industry Danish bureaucrats, with little knowledge or concern over Greenland's Inuit people (Hubbard, 2013).

[19] It should be noted that since the inception of this thesis the political situation has dramatically changed in Greenland. Due to destructive allegations, Aleqa Hammond has stepped down from her role as Prime Minister of Greenland and new election will take place on November 28, 2014. I find it imperative to include this as it illustrates how Greenland is such an incredibly fast-paced target with the political landscape continuing to change as my thesis unfolds.

7.0 Participation and Democracy in Greenland

"People shouldn't be afraid of their government. Governments should be afraid of their people"
–Alan Moor, V for Vendetta[20]

Local NGOs, including Avataq, Friends of the Nuuk Fjord, and ICC Greenland and separately, the Greenlandic government, acknowledge the importance of the inclusion of Greenlanders in decision-making during the primary, developmental processes[21]. This involvement will aim to ensure local adaptation and retention of benefits (Aaen, 2012; Olsen and Hansen, 2014). The expected benefits of public participation in Greenland parallel those found in international EIA literature. There are a myriad of benefits that can accrue as a result of public participation including "conflict mitigation, information exchange, mutual learning, and as a means to avoid costly delays" (Olsen and Hansen, 2014). In addition, public participation may provide proponents with increased access to local information, apprehensions and preferences, and the potentially affected communities with a more comprehensive understanding of the proposed projects, equipping them to make more informed opinions and decisions (Weston, 1997; Bisset, 2000; George, 2000; Kapoor, 2001; O'Faircheallaigh, 2010). Furthermore, public participation may result in a more democratic process, where the relocation of power from the government to local citizens allows the public to influence decision-making (Olsen and Hansen, 2014). In order to achieve these benefits, PP must be applied effectively to EIA as stated by numerous EIA scholars in recent publications (Glasson *et al*., 2005; Stewart and Sinclair, 2007, O'Faircheallaigh, 2010; Weitkamp and Longhurst, 2012). Public participation can be seen as a systematic means to inform and/or include communities affected by a project and

[20] Source: http://www.goodreads.com/quotes/tag/democracy
[21] A more thorough discussion of NGOs in Greenland will take place in subsequent chapters. Also, ICC Greenland may not consider itself an NGO, but an indigenous people's organisation. The groups' platform is based on the fact that the Inuit are rights holders rather than stakeholders.

promote the inclusion of these communities in the decision-making process. An effective public participation process involves an open dialogue between proponents, organizations, agencies, and the affected and/or interested public (Burdge and Robertson, 2004).

Despite the numerous ways to gather information, public participation is a critical part of SIA. Public participation is argued to be essential for democratic governance and provides opportunity for local empowerment of the potentially affected communities (Burdge and Roberston, 2004). There are various levels of public participation involved in impact assessments. They can vary from passive participation- where individuals are primarily receivers of information- to participation through consultation (through public hearings and open houses), to interactive participation (workshops, negotiation, mediation, and co-management) (Hansen, 2013, 15). Different phases of the impact assessment process may demand different levels of public participation, ranging from initial community input and the announcement of the proposed project, to decision making approval, monitoring and follow up (Andre, *et al.,* 2006, 1). Therefore, a good public participation process is one that is individually tailored to meet the needs of each individual project as the level of public participation and the ways of involving people may differ with the specific community, culture, values, power-relations and political situation (Kornov, 2007).

7.1 Impact Assessment Tools: SIA and IBA

A brief, tertiary discussion of Social Impact Assessments and Impact Benefit Agreements will follow in order to provide the necessary background information into the tools in Greenland used to involve the public. Impact assessment tools, at an international level, are employed in systematic and structured way as to recognize and predict trends in relation to important issues like environment, climate change, health, etc. One of the challenges is to scope and assess in

order to isolate what factors really matter (Hansen, 2013). When the plans, projects or proposal may cause significant impacts, it is imperative to conduct an impact assessment to secure the inclusion of local knowledge in decision-making. SIA aims at offering a base for understanding communities, including local peoples' culture, health, well-being, property rights, and their goals for the future (Hansen, 2013). IBAs are formal contracts that outline the potential impacts of a project, the commitment and responsibilities of both parties involved, and how the benefits of the project will be retained by the local community (including employment and economic development potentials. IBAs are a part of the SIA process in Greenland and according to the BMP, they are to be negotiated between mining companies, the government and the municipality in which the project is taking place (BMP, 2011).

7.2 The Democratic Ideal

This section is concerned with identifying branches of democratic theory that are applicable to public involvement in decision-making processes. These intersections are evident in work by Robert Dahl and in theories of deliberative and participatory democracy. Robert Dahl states that "throughout the process of making binding decisions, citizens ought to have an adequate opportunity, and an equal opportunity, for expressing their preferences as to the final outcome. They must have adequate and equal opportunities for placing questions on the agenda and for expressing reasons for endorsing one outcome rather than another" (Dahl, 1989, 109). The involvement of citizens in political decisions is one of the pillars of democratic legitimacy. This thesis is based on the work of the sociologist Jurgen Habermas as emphasized by Sara Aaen, a lead researcher in Greenland, specifically that democratic legitimacy requires that "people, through debate and argument, are given an opportunity to influence the political decision-makers" (Aaen, 2012, 3). The document produced by Aaen is regarded as a critical piece of

work in the Greenlandic context and therefore, I have based this section on the work conducted by Aaen in 2012. Habermas (1996) emphasises the importance of the actions that take place before voting occurs. In order to assess the extent to which Greenlandic consultation processes may be viewed as democratically legitimate, it is imperative to outline a normative ideal of democracy against which to measure the reality (Aaen, 2012). The founding principle of the deliberative democracy ideal is that citizens should have the opportunity to influence policy-making directly, and not just through elected representatives. The general public must be able to be a part of the decision-making process and it is not democratically legitimate for decision to take place behind closed doors (Aaen, 2012). Power relations must not be apparent nor able to influence decision-making. The focus of deliberate debate is on realising a kind of agreement that can form the basis for decision-making and Habermas (1996) states that the only way to do this is through control-free communication. To prevent my work from being based exclusively on subjective assessments, I will base my analysis on the five criteria for "good democracy" that it has been argued constitute the basis of the process which a consultation must meet in order to be considered democratically legitimate (Aaen, 2012). The five criteria for deliberative democracy, which were previously used by Aaen (2012), were derived from Habermas (1991) and Dahl (1989, 2000). For my analysis, I would like to add a sixth criterion which has not been evaluated in the context of democracy in Greenland thus far. As stated in Aaen (2012) the five criteria that must be met for the process to be considered democratically legitimate are as follows:

1. Special interets must not be incompatible. This ensures that the participants are open to the arguments put forward by other participating parties

2. The most resourceful and powerful stakeholders must take responsbilit to equalise power differences in the debate
3. There must be equal access to the public sphere for everyone in society, so that all arguments can be advanced.
4. There must be equal and effective opportunities to acquire knowledge of political initiatives and their consequences.
5. The consultation process must have a real impact on the political decisions made.[22]

In addition to these five criteria, I add one more which is derived from Altamirano-Jimenez (2013) and Turner (2009). This criterion emerged as an important feature of democracy throughout my empirical analysis. I argue that it adds a significant and understudied aspect of public participation and democracy in the Greenlandic context. The sixth criterion is:

6. *There must be equal gender representation in the decision-making processes, so that the desires of both men and women and equally representated in politics.*

I noticed in my work that participatory models, including the realm of impact assessments, are often gender neutral. This uncritical view facilitates a disregard for the process, power and differences that reinforce inequalities and a highly inequitable status quo.

7.3 Case Study Approach

A qualitative case study can lend itself to providing an "in-depth understanding of a process, event or situation" (Halperin and Heath, 2012, 173). Furthermore, Conrad *et al*., states that case studies provide the best method for assessing the role of public participation due to its sensitivity to the broader socio-political context which is incredibly influential on the case being

[22] These criteria can be found in Aaen (2012) on pages 10-12. The five criteria have been derived from Habermas (1991) and Dahl (1989, 2000). For further clarification or additional information, please refer to the original work conducted by Habermas and Dahl in their respective publications. I do not claim any of this information as my own.

examined (Conrad, *et al.,* 2011, 764). The previous literature review, combined with this idiographic approach of case studies will hence allow me to answer my own research questions regarding public participation in Greenland. This approach will help by analysing the process from numerous perspectives which would not be accessible if conducted without the use of case studies.

My case pertains to a hearing conducted by TANBREEZ on November 20, 2013 in addition to my interviews and observations. I attended one of the hearings held at Ilisimatusarfik during my fieldwork in Nuuk. Before entering my fieldwork in Greenland, I came across a thesis produced by Eva Theil Thomsen from Lund University. Her paper does an exemplary job at outlining the hearings process conducted by London Mining in the autumn of 2012. The thesis is based on deliberative theory and reveals the number of challenges associated with the London Mining hearings process (Thomsen, 2013). Along with other scholarly literature as outlined above (Nuttall, 2012a/b; Aaen, 2012; Langhoff, 2013), I have used Thomsen's thesis to inform my case study regarding public participation in large-scale development in Greenland. Equipped with the findings of Thomsen's work, I set out to find commonalities between the identified problems in PP that she outlined, and ones that occurred at the TANBREEZ hearings. Furthermore, I used the themes identified in these hearings and triangulated them with theory and evidence found in additional scholarly literature.[23] While a more expansive assessment of public hearings in Greenland could be reasonable, it was impractical considering available resources, as all investigations are subject to limitations in terms of time, money, and skills (Thomsen, 2013). Case studies are noted to be credible in that findings are triangulated in the process of examining the case (Bryman, 2012). This notion parallels Halperin and Heath's claim that case studies often have high internal validity due to their suitability with theory and evidence

[23] Refer to Langhoff (2013) and Hansen (2014).

(Halperin and Heath, 2012). What often challenges case studies is their transferability, which results in it being difficult to generalise beyond the investigated sample (Bryman, 2012). I however, tried to mitigate this flaw by combining enough varieties of qualitative research, including historical information, grey literature, scholarly articles, interviews, participant observation, and government reports in order to further ground and substantiate my claims. My work with the newly formed NGO Coalition (as will be discussed in subsequent chapters) also provided me with unique insight and further evidence and grounds to validate my research. As mentioned, the government of Greenland, Naalakkersuisut, has established a number of structures to ensure the involvement of the public in development. Therefore, the motivation behind this case study and empirical analysis is to assess whether these consultation processes fulfil their purpose and can be regarded as democratic, i.e. do they conform to the democratic principles of which Greenland's political system is based?

7.3.1 Case Study Details: TANBREEZ

TANBREEZ is an anagram of Ta (Tantalum), Nb (Niobium), REE (Rare Earth Elements) and Z (Zironium) which constitute the main elements of the project. The deposit, located in Southern Greenland, is currently undergoing the final stages of approval for an exploitation license. The reserve is said to have 4.3 billion tons of ore, making it the largest deposit of REE outside of China (GB Barnes & Associates, 2013). The mining project consists of an open mine pit, a processing plant, a port, a mine camp, a tailing deposit, and a network of roads. The TANBREEZ Project is owned by a Greenlandic company called TANBREEZ Mining Greenland A/S. The company has been running since 2010 and was established by its parent company, Rimbal Pty Ltd (GB Barnes & Associates, 2013).

8.0 Empirical Analysis: Problems *with* and Barriers *to* Public Participation

"The best argument against democracy is a five-minute conversation with the average voter"
–Winston Churchill[24]

Through a combination of sources including a first-hand case study, numerous interviews and a substantial literature review, I have divided the inefficiencies in public participation in Greenland into two separate, but not mutually exclusive, categories; problems with participation and barriers to participation. The problems with participation in Greenland have been extensively studied in recent years; however, my research revealed significant flaws in the discussion surrounding the barriers to participation in the Greenlandic context.[25] I will begin the discussion with the problems with participation and close with the barriers as were revealed through my ethnographic research. This study builds on existing research by questioning the capacity of the hearings to act as a means for the public to communicate demands to elected representatives. Further, the second part of the discussion in this chapter seeks to question the extent to which wider societal inequalities may influence the conditions for democracy in the case of the hearings by addressing the role of power. This was a central theme revealed throughout my ethnographic research and interviews and it is my hope that this thesis will contribute new insights into public deliberation and democratic legitimacy in Greenland[26].

Rather than simply reiterating an evaluation of past hearings, my intention is to illuminate some of the challenges surrounding public involvement in a society that has pervasive social, economic, resource and political power inequalities. As a participant notes, "the responsibility is what they [government] give us, what's the easiest, and so there is no parliamentary control at

[24] Source: http://www.brainyquote.com/quotes/keywords/democracy.html
[25] For more information pertaining to information on the problems with public participation in Greenland please refer to Aaen, 2012; Hansen, 2013; Hansen, 2010; Hansen, 2014; Langhoff, 2013.
[26] There is extensive literature on impact assessments throughout the world but for the purpose of this thesis and due to time constraints readers can inform themselves with the following literature: Glasson, *et al.,* 2012; Eccleston, 2011; Hanna, 2005. This information will be pertinent for my PhD research.

all, there is no public control it's only the government who receives the application for the exploitation applications and issues licenses and it's the government who then put out the conditions and requirements and environmental protection standards and so on and so forth….so they are controlling themselves for their own activities…" (Personal interview, 2013). In the following section I will analyse my empirical findings based on the theoretical data provided above. These ideas are based on democratic principles as they prove to be a useful tool when assessing the hearings processes in Greenland. The problems associated with the hearings processes of both TANBREEZ and London Mining appear to be the same as a colleague actively involved in hearings processes in Greenland stated, "the projects that are going on right now, TANBREEZ in south Greenland, they also have problems with the hearings…it is the same case as London Mining" (Personal interview, 2013).

8.1 Problems *with* Participation

I begin this section with a quote by a former politician, whose evocative message resonated with me:

"*But it worries me of course, having been to Alaska, having lived in Alaska and seeing what the resource development has done to the native people there and how I saw you know, because I was informed about it by people themselves and I attended public meetings for the whaling commission and for resource development. It was extremely interesting and that is where I learned the words Environmental Impact Assessment, that is where I learned it in the late 1970s and I looked it up in the dictionary because I wanted to know exactly what it meant because it was talked about over and over…I see it now again in our country [Greenland] where my own party has been involved in the previous election period for four years, without addressing the regulations which we should. We ignore these things and I was so disappointed about it and*

worried about it and I see now that I had a reason to be worried you see…now the opposition, the then opposition has taken over and you now see the result and how dangerous of a situation we are in" (Personal interview, 2013). As already mentioned, many commentators and analysts argue that Greenland is a country characterized by systematic inequalities. Previous research reveals that these inequalities continue to feed into a reinforcing cycle in which people remain marginalized and unable to influence decision-making (Thomsen, 2013; Winther, 2007). My research reveals that public hearings in Greenland contribute to the perpetuation of marginalization and to a crisis of legitimacy. The newly introduced consultation processes were implemented as a part of the SIA framework and were designed to mitigate some of the concerns raised during the 2013 elections. Yet, this process appears to be riddled with problems and deficiencies as discussed below.

8.1.1 Timing Issues

Many reports point to time being an issue in the hearings processes (Aaen, 2012; Smits, 2012; Thomsen, 2013), specifically a concern that there are significant limitations on the time needed to complete the process effectively. Public hearings can be characterized by inadequate time to process everything. As a participant stated, "the projects that are going on right now, TANBREEZ in south Greenland, they also have problems with hearings with how much time there is to read this stuff, it's the same case as London Mining" (Personal interview, 2013). According to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development's (OECD) principles for open and inclusive governance, adequate time is necessary for consultation and participation to be effective (OECD, 2001). In addition, the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) and "free, prior and informed consent (FPIC)" principle can be seen as a fundamental concept in consultation when it comes to extractive industries.

FPIC, as outlined by UNDRIP provides specific guidance on how consent of indigenous peoples should be acquired in situations which may impact them directly (UN, 2008). Article 19 of the UNDRIP is unequivocal and guarantees the rights of indigenous peoples to participate in the decisions affecting their land, it notes that "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" (UN, 2008, 8). In recent years, the ICC has been advocating for the concept of FPIC to be used in regards to the treatment of oil, minerals, use of lands, territories and resources and for good governance (Olsvig, N.D.). Reference is often made to FPIC as a process pertaining to a particular chronology of events wherein free information is provided prior to when people are required to give their consent. The ICC promotes the rights of the Inuit as a part of the decision-making processes regarding the future of indigenous peoples (Olsvig, N.D.). As a cornerstone of UNDRIP, FPIC is increasingly seen as a necessary requirement in the decision-making process in Greenland. [27] In reference to timing issues, a participant from the Teslin Tlingit Council in Yukon Territory, spoke at a workshop of leaders from indigenous communities from Alaska and Canada and said:

"Regulatory processes take time as they involve the general public – the people have the power. … This must be a partnership because it is coming from our land; we should not be incurring costs until the gas and oil starts to flow from our land. It is our land and we should not be rushed into any deals, which is what happened in the first pipeline in Alaska where it is the corporations that are benefiting and not the people at the grassroots. … We need to take time to discuss issues and come to an agreement. People can only learn so fast" (in Nuttall, 2014, 282).

[27] For more information on ICC and FPIC please refer to ICC's Declaration on Resource Development found at http://www.inuitcircumpolar.com/uploads/3/0/5/4/30542564/declaration_on_resource_development_a3_final.pdf

Another complicating factor of time is the fear that if Greenland makes its regulatory processes too hard or time-consuming; proponents will just take their business elsewhere. Currently, Greenland is seen as one of the best places to invest in extractive industry due to its ease of access and lack of regulation, as stated by a prominent public figure in Greenland (Personal interview, 2013). On the one hand, many Greenlandic politicians, business leaders, and members of local NGOs argue that while Greenland cannot afford to make hasty decisions that will harm their society or environment; on the other hand it cannot afford to wait too long as it is understood that investors will move their business to another part of the world. A member of the Coalition commented, "we need to find a balance between ensuring people are protected versus making the rules too strict that people will leave. They [proponents] have to say they will leave. If it's not the first company, another company will come along. It is a part of the future for Greenland, it is a big part because you know the fish disappear and what is left, there is mining and oil, you can start tourism…it would still be difficult" (Personal interview, 2013). Whether timing is a perceived or actual fear, it is most definitely a complicating factor in the hearings processes. The same conclusions regarding timing problems associated with public hearings were published in two reports, one by the Employer's Association of Greenland (Aaen, 2012), and one by Transparency Greenland (Transparency Greenland, 2012).

8.1.2 Lack of Information

My experience in Greenland points to another failure in the efforts of proponents to include people in the process which is the lack of adequate information basis that could result in a higher degree of public participation. As one participant in the hearings commented, "they do not even let us speak…we are sitting on a decision already made for us…they do not even ask us what we want…" (Personal interview, 2013). Information can be seen as a resource, and if the

balance of resources is so far off then people are unwilling to participant in events that they feel are out of their control. If the inputs of numerous people are not being utilized for productive ends as a result of their nonparticipation, this in turn undermines the democratic capacity of decision-making in Greenland. A member of ICC Greenland commented, "…when there are public meetings, they usually bring prominent politicians and it is very much like the politicians are on the same side as the companies, both with London Mining and TANBREEZ, the company, Grontmij and even sometimes the minister of mineral resources all sit on the same side. So it appears like a united front" (Personal interview, 2013).

People do not feel empowered to influence decision-making, ultimately they feel powerless as amply noted by a participant, "they [government] have all the power, they can do whatever they want" (Personal interview, 2013). A part of this powerlessness again, can be attributed to the colonial legacy of Greenland, expressed in a sentiment by a retired political official: "part of this [problem] is because we are post-colonial where somebody else decided everything for us, but you can't use that anymore because for over 30 years we have had Home Rule and there's a whole generation who has been raised on Home Rule but is still the way people are raised unfortunately." He continued, "this [powerlessness] reflects the history of [Greenland] being a true colony where there was no power, the people had no power. For example the coal mine that was closed based on a decision made in Copenhagen, one of the biggest and most best working society in Greenland was closed from one year to another" (Personal interview, 2013). Another consideration surrounds who is attending the hearings in Greenland. Many of the hearings take place in Nuuk, which is the town closest to London Mining's project, and the location that will be the most affected.

8.1.3 Ability to Influence Decision Making and Outcomes

Many scholars emphasize the importance of stakeholders being able to influence the outcomes of the process (Young, 2000; Dryzek, 2007; Barrett, *et al.,* 2012). Fung has argued that participants in public policy rarely feel capable to influence political outcomes, which he attributes to the nature of communication that occurs during the participatory process (Fung, 2006). The endless frustration of the public was evident during the hearings as many people commented to me on their concerns over the decision-making process. Numerous participants, from academics to local fisherman, passionately displayed their concerns about being bystanders to their own development process again. Many remarked on how the centralisation and transformation movements of the 1950s and 1960s were still fresh in their minds. As a doctor in Greenland said to me, "people want to participate, but what are the results?" (Personal interview, 2013). He felt as though the country is already resting on a decision that has been made for the people. In November of 2013, the research group that I am a part of at the Greenland Climate and Research Centre at the Greenland Institute of Natural Resources held an open forum at Katuaq for local people to express their concerns and become informed of ongoing research projects. An elderly hunter spoke eloquently about his concerns with the decision-making in Greenland while holding a framed picture of himself as a child with hides from that day's hunt, "But who is listening to us? No one is listening. I have tried to tell them [proponents, more specifically, London Mining] that they will hurt my family with this project. They do not listen…my voice does not count. I am now told that my family will not be able to hunt on the land in Godthabsfjord that we have been hunting on for decades. The houses are set up now so we cannot go fishing near the shore either. But we don't count. My life, the life of my family,

will never be the same again and we can't do anything about it" (Personal interview, own translation, 2013).

This process of commodification of the environment could eventually exclude people from traditional activities including hunting, fishing and travelling on the land, what Harvey (2003) refers to as "accumulation of dispossession", and a point elaborated by Nuttall (2012a, 2013) in recent writings on the Isua project and the lifting of the zero tolerance policy. Many members of the Coalition, and general members of society, expressed their concern over not being involved in the assessment processes from the beginning. Generally, people felt as though too many decisions were made before the hearings took place that did not require or demand public involvement. Members of the Coalition were more specifically concerned with the scoping process and how in other places, like Canada, public participation is a requirement of the initial scoping processes. Not only did people feel excluded from the initial assessment process, they also felt that they did not have a significant influence on the decisions being made. Participants often talked about their rights to say "yes or no" to a particular project and how their voices are commonly silenced in the hearings. The final decision rests with Naalakkersuisut upon the completion of the required hearings and EIA and SIA reports. Therefore, citizens felt the only opportunity for impactful participation is at the elections for Inatisisartut. The hearings really only provided an opportunity for indirect participation by stating potential environmental and social concerns that could influence Naalakkersuisut's decision regarding the project. However, this is far from a true democratic process which requires meaningful deliberation. A local NGO leader remarked, "we are excluded from the process completely…well not physically…we are allowed to attend but with no real impact on the final decision" (Personal interview, 2013). Piitannguaq Tittuseen from Friends of the Nuuk Fjord, a local NGO, states

that he believes that people should be brought into the process much earlier on, maybe even four or five years before the hearings. "Since the 8000-page report was published, the citizens are asked to give their opinions within 12 hours (four times three hours at public meetings)", his criticism remains "we are questioning where the democratic rules have been and we believe there are many mistakes in the process" (Langhoff, 2013, 38). This perceived inability to influence the decision-making process resulted in numerous stakeholders boycotting the hearings held by both TANBREEZ and London Mining in Greenland. Fellow members of the Coalition and local leaders of Greenlandic NGO's commented that they felt as though their presence at the events signified approval and support, therefore, they decided to not attend any more meetings upon realizing their limitations for authentic and impactful debate and decision-making.[28]

8.1.4 Lack of Educational Capacity

After the TANBREEZ hearing on November 20, 2013, members of the Coalition expressed their concern for the blame placed upon the public, by the proponent, for their lack of education and awareness of pertinent issues. This concern was also seen throughout the London Mining hearings (Thomsen, 2013). A capability failure at the societal level seemed to emerge during the hearings processes. I decided to ask local stakeholders about this obvious theme and it seemed to be much more complex than originally thought. It seems as though there is a significant lack of education and awareness by the general public in Greenland on the concerns surrounding extractive industries. A student at Ilisimatusarfik commented that "it has to start with the people, we have to be more active, aware and educated…it has to start with the people" (Personal interview, 2013). Another one of OECD's guiding principles to effective participation is active citizenship. Their report states that "societies benefit from dynamic civil society and governments can facilitate access to information, encourage participation, raise awareness,

[28] For information regarding the Coalition and its members, please refer to Chapter 10.

strengthen citizen's civic education and skills, as well as to explore new roles to effectively support autonomous problem-solving by citizens" (OECD, 2001, 4). Education is a key component of public participation that seems to be missing from the majority of the public. BMP officials have expressed their frustrations with the public claiming a lack of information when they believe the information is out there and available if the public were to become more educated and aware of where to find it (Thomsen, 2013). The fact is that only about 25% of the population pursues an education beyond primary school and that education competencies are notably concentrated in Nuuk. Furthermore, this means that structural factors may be the biggest barrier to overcome if hearings processes are to be more inclusive in the future. A member of ICC argued that competency and capacity building in Greenland in regards to education and knowledge is key to more successful hearings processes in the country (Personal interview, 2013). A member of the Coalition stated, "legislation can change but fundamentally it has to start with the people, having an informed and educated public on their rights and why public participation is so important. Greenland is a democratic society so people do have rights and they do influence decision makers, it is the collective" he continued, "there are a lot of examples on the very little understanding on the democratic principles, there are quite a few decisions that are being debate after the fact…" (Personal interview, 2013). As a result of a relatively inactive and underqualified civil society, the BMP, together with extractive industry have a near monopoly on industry and information (Hubbard, 2013).

8.1.5 The Media

Greenlandic media and media dealings in Greenland are critical for ensuring a qualified civil population. The role of media was an unexpected theme that emerged throughout my research. A necessary function of the media is to provide an outlet for information regarding

extractive industries. The media landscape in Greenland covers a variety of mediums. Most notable is the Kalaallit Nunaata Radioa (KNR Radio) which has five daily newscasts on the radio and a daily news broadcast on television (Langhoff, 2013). KNR also offers a website and provides a series of current affairs programs on television and radio. For print media, there is a publishing media house Sermitsiaq.Ag that has two weekly papers, namely *Sermitsiaq* and *Atuagagdlitiutit* (AG).

Despite the various media outlets, it seems they are limited in terms of their resources and they also lack a common archive of Greenlandic journalism (Langhoff, 2013). This has resulted in citizens lacking the access to historical information which may be needed to sufficiently participate in the hearings process. An educated and aware population is needed for an effective and informed debate. The President of the Greenland Journalists Association, Mariia Simonsen, has been critical of the way the consultation processes were conducted for London Mining. She argues that the media should have played a larger role in informing the population, therefore, the hearings lacked large sections of the population. Simonsen also emphasizes the importance of the media having access to the hearings and consultation processes early on (Langhoff, 2013). She also presented another concern, this time with the consultation portal of nanoq.gl and its limitations. According to Simonsen, the site suffers from information and timing deficiencies (Langhoff, 2013, 42). The lack of an independent and robust media appears to have resulted in a disconnect between the BMP's licensing process and the civil society in Greenland. A participant commented, "and then there is the press, which are very bad they have bad resources too, both money and competencies. They are not that good of journalists unfortunately and they play a very big role as a watch dog" (Personal interview, 2013). Overall, it is a fundamental problem that parts of the population do not participate in the discussions due to a lack of the

necessary knowledge to participate as people must have the basic knowledge in order to give insight into the proposed project.

8.1.6 Information Overload and Confusion

The majority of my participants agreed that education is a problem; however, most of them pointed to the "information overload" that they experience during hearings processes. At the TANBREEZ hearing, Grontmij, the company responsible for both the EIA and SIA, stated an incomprehensible amount of statistics, facts and data in only a few short hours. This left me, someone who has years of experience in impact assessments, overwhelmed, confused and generally exhausted. This "data tsunami" as coined by Thomsen (2013), was evident throughout my time in Greenland and resulted in an inactive, powerless, and confused civil society. "The man who knows everything about the environment says there is no environmental impact, so why do I need to participate? It is unbelievable. The uncritical acceptance of what people are saying…" (Personal interview, 2013). Proponents stand up and give fancy presentations and summarize several thousands of pages of technical reports in a matter of hours. I witnessed this data overload and confusion first hand at the hearing held by TANBREEZ. Both the leaders of the EIA and SIA went so quickly that it was almost dizzying, showing an array of figures, charts, graphs and pictures. "Oh my god we have a musician" a participant stated regarding the consultations "performance" on the environmental impacts of the project and his use of neon signs and props (Personal interview, 2013).

The PowerPoint presentations were not the only tactic used to disseminate information, as Grontmij (the consultants) also brought along coloured, coil bound notebooks for all attendees. These notebooks were published exclusively in English and were covered with large pictures and technical jargon, not unlike the overwhelming presentations and discourse. "Maybe

they are trying to be tactical" a local Greenlander said at the conclusion of the hearings in reference to the PowerPoint presentation (Personal interview, 2013). A participant said, "knowledge is power…confusion results in inactivity, government and industry are clear and have a plan, they people are the ones that can be bulldozed" (Personal interview, 2013). The proponents claimed to have all of the knowledge, even above and beyond the local people's knowledge of their own land, and therefore held all of the power in these information sessions. This again contributed to local people's sense of powerlessness and inability to influence decision-making.

8.1.7 Language Issues

Another important complicating element is language. Greenland has two official languages, Danish and Greenlandic. Despite the country being officially bilingual, many people in the settlements do not speak Danish. This is further complicated by the fact that corporate actors usually operate in English and the BMP primarily operates in Danish. Furthermore, regional dialects can often require the presence of a translator who is well versed in extractive industry terminology to be present during hearings. A participant commented, "there are a lot of issues with language…this leads to a barrier between Denmark and Greenland, one that still lies beneath the surface" (Personal interview, 2013). From my experience in Greenland, it seems that language is often used to further confuse the population to decrease the participation in hearings. The same participants spoke about his experience with the hearings held by Cairn industries, "people do not understand the language. Even if it is in a language they speak, they use words that we do not know. What is a consultation? Many people do not know that word or its importance. They do not know how to participate. Then the people [proponents] put one sign for the time on one board, another sign for the date and place on another. This is confusing and

people do not understand what to do" (Personal interview, 2013). I had my own experience with translation and language problems at the TANBREEZ hearing held at Ilisimatusarfik on November 20, 2013. Here is an excerpt from an entry in my field journal taken during the hearing:

"*I walked into the room and grabbed a seat. I actually found a seat with some fellow Coalition member so I didn't feel so alone. Looking around the room, it appeared there was a mix of both Danish and Greenlandic participants from various backgrounds. The presenters from Grontmij sat as a united front at the head of the class room. The PowerPoint was to be held in Danish. I began to look around to see if there were headsets indicating the presentation would be translated. I saw a lady at the front of the room with a row of headsets. I walked down to speak with her and asked if this would be translated to English. She proceeded to roll her eyes and respond with a firm no. I was disappointed as I was told it would be offered in English, but nonetheless I returned back to my seat, at least I could pick up on bits of the presentation and body language from the discussion. It wasn't until about 10 minutes into the presentation, and after numerous translations from my friends from the Coalition, that I felt a tap on my shoulder. A lady behind me asked if I needed it to be translated to English. I quickly responded yes and she gave me a headset. During the intermission the translator struck up a conversation with me, expressing her frustration that she was hired as a translator for English but no one had requested a headset. I sat there shocked. Had I not just asked for the presentation to be translated to English? I am so confused. Why would the lady not give me a headset? It seems as though she did not even care about my participation in the hearing at all. I guess my voice or opinion does not matter. This; however, is far from the most disturbing thing I am witnessing. The man responsible for giving the overview of the geological importance of rare earth minerals,*

who is strictly English speaking, appeared to not put on his headset for the translation from Danish once during the hearing. No, he did not put it on once. He is just sitting there with the most profound look of boredom and disinterest on his face. At least he could try to look somewhat engaged in the discussion. But to my dismay, he remains this way for numerous hours. Not once putting on his headset." Another problem with translation is translating the hearings not only into a comprehensible language, but also using words that carry meaning and into a context that is understandable by the Greenlandic population. The then head of Transparency Greenland, Anders Meilvang (there is now a new head for the next couple of years), remarked "you have to translate the problem so people can relate, you have to make it a question about people getting jobs, pollution and environment not being able to go out hunting or something…it has to be put into a problem that people can relate to because when you go out that is what they say here, they think that people involvement is only going out and having a meeting and sending information and they think that when we are done that we will travel around the country and tell them something, then they are involved" (Personal interview, 2013). The consultants and their reports have to be delivered in a way that is easily graspable by the general public. The messages have to be relatable and within their context of understanding. "Imagine someone damning Niagara Falls, when I was in a meeting in Katuaq and there was a federal official and they said that we should have a debate and we should not be emotional about it. I was quite provoked, but I didn't say anything at the time. But later if someone say that to me again, I would say what about if we damned Niagara Falls, then the emotions, I would say don't be emotional…Niagara Falls is a perfect example. It is a real issue driven by passion" a member of the Coalition said during a meeting (Personal interview, 2013). This message illuminates the importance of putting context into the discussion. To Greenlanders, mining in the Nuuk Fjord or

in South Greenland, would be just as devastating and impactful as damning Niagara Falls. It is imperative to phrase things within the context of which they are taking place. This is yet another problem with translation; the lack of contextualization within commentary and the hearings processes.

The problems with participation in Greenland are apparent in the discussion above. The hearings processes are expedited at unfathomable rates and are characterised by confusion, coercion, co-option. This analyses of the hearings processes revealed stark differences between the principles of inclusion, openness and consent outlined by OECD and UNDRIP's FPIC as noted at the beginning of this section. As a benchmark for successful hearings, the OECD and FPIC emphasized the importance of an inclusive process that respects the rights of indigenous people to be included in the decisions affecting their livelihoods and their land. It is evident that the hearings conducted in Greenland are flawed and do not live up to the standards outlined for the proper execution of hearings pertaining to development in indigenous land.

8.2 Barriers to Participation

As noted above, my ethnographic research revealed that the deficiencies in public participation and the hearings processes in Greenlandic branched off into two distinct areas. As discussed above, there are numerous problems with public participation and the structure of public hearings in the country. Additionally and less widely studied, my research offered another problematic component of public consultation and that is the barriers to public participation in Greenland. These new themes will be discussed below.

8.2.1 Lack of Debate Culture

Public hearings are often criticised for lacking the opportunity for public debate (Nuttall, 2012; Thomsen, 2013; Smits, 2012). My research exposes that this is a result of structural and

cultural deficiencies. Firstly, the structure of the hearings does not permit debate or at best, provides limited opportunity for them. During the TANBREEZ hearing, I noted that the public's concerns often went unanswered and dialogue was not initiated. There was very little time left for the public to take the floor and ask question, most of which were met with short, simple and relatively dismissive answers. This is amply reflected by a private citizen who attended the hearing, "we ask questions and they attempt to write them down…there is no debate. We do not have debate…it leaves you thinking what is the point?" (Personal interview, 2013). There seems to be no room for debate or dialogue at the public hearings as another participant stated, "there is no dialogue or debate, no room for challenge or protest" (Personal interview, 2013).

Numerous participants commented on the hearings as more accurately described as "information sessions" with primarily a monologue discussion from the proponents (Personal interviews, 2013; Thomsen, 2013). People often felt like there was no room for negotiation, resulting in a fundamental misunderstanding of negotiation and democracy as a former politician remarked, 'they [government] has no idea what diplomacy, what negotiation, or what democracy is, it is very, very, very sad" (Personal interview, 2013). Another participant commented on the hearings held for Cairn Energy and how they only allowed for 10 minutes of questioning, if they allowed questioning at all (Personal interview, 2013). This one-sided discussion often resulted in the hearings being seen as a battle between strong stakeholders against the experts (Thomsen, 2013). I experience this in the TANBREEZ hearing as the only people who felt prepared and comfortable enough to challenge the experts were prominent members of local NGO's, while the rest of the public remained silent. It appears that the words "debate" and "critique" carry significant negative connotations in Greenland. One participant mentioned, "it does not have to be a debate or a critique if those words are scary, it just needs to be a conversation, a dialogue,

something to hold industry and businesses accountable" (Personal interview, 2013). Culturally, it seems there is a strong emphasis on non-interference, which proposes a fundamental challenge for authentic deliberation and democracy in Greenland. Reports state that it is difficult to create a lively debate in Greenland due to a lack of will to verbalise problems and conflict (Transparency Greenland, 2012).

Furthermore, Greenlanders have a rich tradition of respecting authority and there is not tradition for holding public figures or administrators accountable. This complicates matters as it becomes increasingly difficult to promote a culture where all parties take part in a debate (Transparency Greenland, 2012). Many participants in varying terms, pointed to this as being one of the largest barriers to participation in Greenland. The challenge of proper consultation in Greenland seems to be exacerbated by the cultural approach to decision-making (Hubbard, 2013). The non-interference culture leads to Greenlander's internalizing information and discussing it only within their family and close friends. Friendships form the basis for this relationship culture (Hubbard, 2013). This decision-making process is very slow and contradictory to the aims of proponents in the country. As a result, a time-limited, as mentioned above, public consultation process wherein the corporate stakeholder and/or BMP representative is present is the last culturally appropriate way to reach agreement on project development (Hubbard, 2013). A Greenlandic man amply noted, "we are raised to not ask questions. We listen to what we are told. The word debate is not even something we are familiar with as kids…" (Personal interview, 2013).

8.2.2 Lack of Inclusion

The existing disparities in power, knowledge and resources in Greenland calls for a consideration of the challenges of engaging the population in hearings process, regardless of

socio-economic resources. In the London Mining Whitebook, there were recurring comments on the dominating presence of public officials at public hearings. The power asymmetry between officials and civil servants may create an intimidating atmosphere in which Greenlanders are not comfortable to engage in participation. Again, the head of Transparency Greenland, relates it back to culture and the non-interference nature of most Greenlandic people. Greenlandic scholars also support this notion and attribute it to the previous colonial relations between Danes and Greenlanders (Winther, 2007; Hansen, 2010).

8.2.3 Nepotism

Greenland, being a country with a very small population creates numerous challenges. It is incredibly easy to be influenced and influence others when everyone lives so close together and everybody knows everyone else. Added to this is the Greenlandic tradition of helping family and friends, which historically has helped the society thrive. A participant commented, "it is important you know these things because when you say bad things, people say of that is my uncle… it used to be a good thing back when we were a clan based system, everyone knowing everyone" (Personal interview, 2013).

I quickly picked up on the closeness of community and the people during my stay in Nuuk. As stated in the methods chapter, I regularly took the bus to do daily chores and for research purposes. I began to observe the "coffee-shop" like nature of the bus. Unlike in larger cities in North America or Europe, for instance, people did not get on the bus, find their seat and remain exclusively self-interested. Instead, people paid their fee and proceeded to look around to see who they knew. The bus was a place for social interaction, casual conversation and mixing. People rarely sat in their spots for very long, instead opting to walk around and socialize with friends and family. I began taking the bus with a young woman from the university and soon

realized how every second person was a relative of hers. Riding the bus was like a dream for an anthropologist as it appeared to be representative of the community on a micro level. It appeared that everyone knew something about someone else and was quick to comment on it. Personal business was anything but personal. This is a message that was delivered many times in my interviews and I began connecting the dots to its detrimental influence on public participation. In turn, this closeness and cultural propensity for socialization, has led to a fear of speaking out. A former politician commented, "so you can imagine if you have a label put upon you, it is very difficult to get it off of you. You should be one of those that never ever listen to gossip. You can imagine how much you would know about everyone if you listen to gossip" (Personal communication, 2013).

After completing around a dozen interviews, this nexus of gossip was becoming actualized in my research. I realized that every person I had talked to knew something about every other participant, and often their remarks were less than friendly. A fellow Canadian researcher commented, "you probably heard mixed things about everybody, it's a small town. You could do an anthropological study on that. Everybody knows everybody" (Personal interview, 2013). This narrative of mistrust and skepticism towards others was profound and I could only imagine how it would come into play when speaking out against the newly elected government and their pro-industry platform. A Danish researcher said to me, "speaking out is seen as a complete ridicule, it is not taken as a healthy debate or opposition" she continued, "anyone that comes forward, it comes at a personal costs and it makes it very difficult. That comes with living in a small society that you can easily be shut out if you don't behave in accordance with government (Personal interview, 2013). I asked a former politician who had been shunned from the community for speaking out against industry about why she was speaking

with me, she responded, "I never ever talk, I do not trust anyone. But I am trying to be open. It is very important, it is not about me…I don't care if I am getting more isolated, it is important that this is not repeated in history" (Personal interview, 2013).

The fear of speaking out is further complicated by the non-debate culture, "the consensus society is a big problem also democratically, you don't have a debate culture, which is so important. It is very hard to get people's real opinions, they are all very positive, they said it is ok, even though it is bad…so democratically it is a real problem" (Personal interview, 2013). Another participant stated, "historically we are told not to speak out or debate, we listen to what we are told. I think the companies [Alcoa] they have used the power structure, they have done some research on the power structures of Greenland because not only have they got the politicians on their sides, but they got the elders in Maniitsoq. I think the Greenland government established a company, Greenland Developments, to promote or rather inform about the project and they also established a citizen group consisting of representatives from different groups but from the elders group…So they used the power structures, which are very pronounced in Inuit societies…when elders speak, that is the end of the discussion" (Personal interview, 2013).

The fear of speaking out against elders, industry and government is further complicated by nepotism in Greenland. In principle, this closeness is a good thing, but as in other neopatriarchal societies, it offers some challenges in regards to nepotism and favours between friends (Transparency Greenland, 2012). Nepotism is one of the most severe consequences of a close relationship between citizens and the public administration in Greenland. The administration is so deeply rooted within the local society, it is a consequences that arises very often. Sentiments like, "there are favours for people you know in government. Every intern is a nephew or friend of your sister's boyfriend's cousin. That's nepotism" and, "nepotism is a pain

in the ass and probably always has been in Greenland" were commonly shared with me during my fieldwork (Personal interview, 2013). Transparency Greenland employs the traditional definition of corruption as "the abuse of entrusted power for personal gain" (Jensen, 2012). Their 2012 report reveals nepotism as being a potential problem in Greenlandic society, "the government knows how to feed their friends" (Personal interview, 2013). Again, it is not pinpointed as necessarily being conducted in bad faith, rather it appears to result from the closeness of the community (Transparency Greenland, 2012). Anders Meilvang further states, "there is not very much hard core corruption in the way that brown envelopes with money and so on but of course the two large problems in Greenland are of course nepotism in all small countries, we only have size of province city and you know there is always a city king and special families that have everything and Greenland is a clan based country" (Personal interview, 2013).

As Anders Meilvang states "these are really large companies with a lot of resources. So the question is, what kind of mechanisms do we have that will hold them accountable? Not very many" (Jensen, 2012). It seems that many of the problems with participation and the consequent powerlessness felt by citizens is exacerbated by the lack of transparency and apparent corruption in Greenland. The BMP is perceived as being particularly closed (Transparency Greenland, 2012). A participant spoke passionately, "you have these very young, inexperienced people right out of university doing the cases and then you have the bosses which many of them are Danish, many of them have been here for many years, they have the old kingdom area, they think that knowledge is power and you don't cooperate with others but you help each other. You cover up each other and BMP is the worst place" (Personal interview, 2013). Furthermore, complaints often surround the young and inexperienced leaders in the ministry. A member of civil society

remarked, “then of course we have the government, and the government is…one of the biggest problems is that we don’t have academics enough so we have so many foreign workers, especially from Denmark and they are only here for a year or a year and a half and in my opinion, first of all it is very expensive this way…but it also takes atleast a year to get into things here, how society works and many of them only learn how it works in Nuuk…then they leave again. There is no continuity or no knowledge carried on. They are not trained well. Human resources is a big problem and it leaves a big space for random decisions and that is a way of corruption…” (Personal interview, 2013). Many Greenlanders commented about the inexperience of ministers in charge under the new Prime Minister, Aleqa Hammond. The new government and the new politicians were a reoccurring problem when discussing barriers to participation in Greenland and corruption. “Actually we used to say that was a good thing [clearing out ministry] to get fresh air, but the combination of when you have young, inexperienced politicians with the new heads of administration and very young cases…it leaves room for bad administration, bad decision-making” remarked a member of the Coalition, he continued “the problem is we are so few so that actually one person has the total power of one area. So when you sit there if there is a lot of money coming from the outside there is a risk that you could somehow influence the decision-making…the most important thing is to open up administration” (Personal interview, 2013). The lack of transparency and subsequent trust in authorities has led to questions regarding the potential competences within the government administration.

8.2.4 A Gendered Debate

An unexpected theme emerged through my interviews and observations. At every stage of participation including voting, debates, hearings, protests, and in the Coalition, a gender

component materialized.[29] A look into gender roles in Greenland reinforced a call to action to this inequality. As discussed in Nuttall (1992), Greenlandic society is very male dominated. Men and women occupy different roles, with men being primarily responsible for hunting and fishing, and women having more task oriented responsibilities. This apparent male domination is evident in not only the gendered dimension of work, but it is also represented in the public domain. Most of the official positions are filled by men, including in the ministry and in the BMP as furthered by a female former politician, "I was the only woman in our little party in the Parliament…or many years I was the only woman and the youngest woman…" (Personal interview, 2013). This male domination is evident in the media as well, especially pertaining to resource development. A quick glance at Sermitsiaq illustrates the dominance of male interviews over their female counterparts. After reviewing the London Mining Whitebook and taking part in the hearing held by TANBREEZ, I witnessed the prevalence of male speakers out and the rather submissive and quiet nature of women. The hearings were mostly attended by men, with women primarily excluded from the discussion. Furthermore, most NGO's and organizations in Greenland are initiated and controlled by men. I believe that this unequal gender representation under-representation of woman can be contributed to two primary factors. First, the literature reveals that historically men have dominated Greenlandic society. There are structural inequalities that tend to give men more opportunities to resources and political positions within the country (Personal interview, 2013). But I think my research illuminates another piece of the puzzle; how participation in Greenlandic society is designed to serve in the interest of the particular way in which men participate and engage in democracy. My research, including interviews and observations, revealed that the way men and women participate differs

[29] This discussion only includes my preliminary findings on this gender component. These are my experiences as I have observed. Due to time constraints, a complete analysis of the role of gender in Greenland and resource development will take place in subsequent research efforts

vastly. By this conclusion, I do not mean to perpetuate gender roles or normative ideals; however, I feel responsible to accurately depict what I witnessed. In the Coalition, protests, hearings, and interviews, men articulated their concerns significantly differently than women. The men tended to be louder, more aggressive and emotional in their actions than women. The women participants were prone to being more silent, practical and rational in their efforts. With national efforts being made to pursue resource development as a means for independence, my research suggests that women will continue to be under-represented in the decision-making process. Therefore, nationalist projects and projections will continue to primarily preference the male population. This is due in part to the structure of the impact assessments and hearings processes that favour the style in which men publically participate in Greenland. These systematic and cultural barriers are significant in preventing a large percentage of the population from exercising their democratic rights in Greenland.

As this chapter outlines, there are numerous barriers to public participation in Greenland including the non-debate culture, lack of transparency, inequalities in gender representation, nepotism and lack of inclusion in decision-making. My research also illuminates a significant obstacle to effective public participation in the form of power dynamics and asymmetries in the Greenlandic context. This trend revealed to be imperative in the discussion of consultation processes. Due to the complexities and importance of this theme, I have designated a new section to discuss it in further detail below.

8.3 Power as a Barrier to Participation

As my data collection and investigation continued, I was pointed in the direction of the influence of power dynamics within Greenland and set out to investigate how structural power dynamics influenced decision-making. Identification of the central concepts of power dynamics

has thus been informed by empirical investigation. In the previous section I discussed ideas related to decision-making power which is defined as the ability of an actor to have authority and influence decision making. It was apparent by my analysis of the problems with and barriers to participation, that decision-making power is low in Greenland. This leads into the discussion of structural power which has a broader base and goes beyond interpersonal relations and single situations and questions the power inherent in the whole system (Kasanen and Heikkinen, 2012).[30] A participant remarked, "we are victims or we are our own master, there is no one in between, there is this belief that we can do anything like the current premier that has lost any sort of realistic sense of the circumstances. Then there is the poor victim which is maybe a hunter or uneducated single mom, but there is really no grey zones anymore because I believe I think everythings been forced on us…we have to be globalized, we have to be independent here now that is the goal, it doesn't matter what price or how fast of how slow we just do it because I say so, there is no diplomacy, there is no intercultural understanding or politeness in Greenlandic political arena right now…" (Personal interview, 2013). This conversation was the start of my inquiry into how power dynamics influence decision-making and can act as a barrier to public involvement in impact assessments. In this study, power dynamics can be viewed as being the use of resources in order to achieve a desired outcome (Hansen, 2010). As I will illustrate, in Greenland it appears that most actors who influence decision-making do so by using their authority in transformative capacity to achieve their desired outcome, while dominating all other actors' access to influence (Giddens, 1984). As noted by Jacobsen and Raaknaer (2012) the model for governance in Greenland is subject to the power structures inherited from Denmark at the inception of Home Rule in 1979. Greenlandic governance has long been criticised for its

[30] An extensive review of power theory lies outside the parameters of this inquiry. For more information on power dynamics and structural power please refer to Wolf, 2001; Gaventa & Cornwall, 2001; Kirby, 1993; Hansen, 2010; Mills, 1956)

colonial legacy and history of centralisation leading to a lack of democratic participation. A colleague stated that, "the power is concentrated in the hands of a few" (Personal interview, 2013). Reports show that a new post-colonial social class controlled these pre-existing institutions with no regard for decentralisation or democratisation (Winther, 2007). The political elite furthered the alienation of large parts of the population from decision-makers. This, in turn, has led to the Greenlandic government experiencing significant problem maintaining legitimacy (as discussed above in relation to transparency issues). The voters in Greenland are characterised by immobility as they lack both the resources and opportunities to effectively participate (Jacbosen and Raakjaer, 2012). This concentration of power and lack of democracy is further complicated by the emergence of resource development in Greenland. A colleague noted that, "some of the inherent problems in the process might not be because of some kind of master plan to keep citizens out of development, it's pretty new regimes and there is scrambling, scrambling to keep up" (Personal interview, 2013).

A common theme identified by my interviews, was the perceived use of power to influence decision-making as stated by a participant, "it is easy to grind and get your way. I would think it is relative easy because most of the elected officials have been within the Home Rule and Self Rule and know the systems and the law and know the people working in Demark and have a lot of connections. Decision-making is often seen as being made behind closed doors with an element of secrecy" (Personal interview, 2013). Transparency Greenland's 2011 report revealed complaints regarding the lack of openness particularly with the Ministry of Industry and Labour and the BMP. These two entities were perceived as being particularly closed with a general culture of secrecy within the ministries. These particular ministries handle large-scale projects in mineral resource activity in Greenland (Transparency Greenland, 2011). In furthering

this co-option of power, numerous participants expressed concern over the disregard for democracy. This was mainly seen through decisions being made by elected officials with no input from local people as a friend commented, "you can see that is how the government is, they are saying it should be this way then it should be ok…the premier [Aleqa Hammond] says, and I couldn't believe it, that we were elected so we can decide this, so why ask anyone about it?" He goes on to state that, "this is a misunderstanding of democracy, an open democracy you have to have your finger down in the population. But they think up in their minds that if they have the power they can do anything they want" (Personal interview, 2013). The perceived power is also said to be used to control access to resources including housing. A Coalition member stated, "they [government] give each other positions and giving access to cheap housing, inviting each other on tours in foreign countries to travel…" (Personal interview, 2013). In this context, power is used as a tool to control resources within the Country.

Thus, a picture emerges of the Greenlandic governance system characterised by opaque decision-making processes, centralised power, a close-knit elite controlling decision-making, political positions, administration and business, resulting in a disempowered local population (Jacobsen and Raakjaer, 2012). The prevalent power dynamics is further complicated by the additional barriers to participation in Greenland. All of these barriers results in a population that is skeptical, powerless and unmotivated to change. This reliance on undemocratic principles has an immense impact on the mobility and the voice of the population, leaving people feeling silenced and unable to affect decision-making.

Another barrier to participation that has been exacerbated by the current government and inherent power dynamics is the prevalence of identity issues in Greenland. During my research, I witnessed a discourse of identity loss that reflects a concern that Greenlanders in a modern

"Danicized" Greenland are beginning to lose their "Greenlandicness" (Graugaard, 2009). An Australian blogging in Greenland and close friend eloquently wrote "the danger of calling something real is that you are potentially socially excluding something else" (Por, 2014). In Bjorst's interviews with a young song writer, Daani Lynge, she commented:

"*There are two types of Greenlanders today. Those who care about the Greenlandic and would like to be Greenlandic, and those who keep it as an image. There are some who keep it alive as hunters…And those who wear ties, they only keep it as an image and want to build Greenland in their way. It is not good. We are losing our souls. This is unfortunate[…]. Most people have lost their soul, me too[…]"* (Bjorst, 2008, 38-39). This identity loss is perpetuated by the newly elected government. Aleqa Hammond's Siumut party and their notorious "with or against us" mentality has resulted in inactivity among civil society. Dahl (1989) notes that Siumut developed into a broad political movement whereby "you are either for or against Siumut" (Dahl, 1989, 320). This statement perpetuates the idea that in order to be fully recognized as Greenlandic, you must support the Siumut party. The narrative of "Greenlandicness" and "who is the most Greenlandic" can be witnessed and debated in Greenland throughout many centuries, and it still is (Graugaard, 2009). This concern with national identity, and the question of "the definition of a Greenlander" is often accentuated and discussed in media and public forums. The national identity in Greenland seems to be particularly relevant to young Greenlanders who have grown up in a modern society and engage in different interpretations and realities of "Greenlandicness" than their older counterparts. This confusion resonates with me as I experienced it numerous times in Greenland. A former politician remarked, "one thing you need to look upon is the inter-marital[31] dispute. We have with the Danish Kingdom, the mentality

[31] The use of the term inter-marital by this particular participant is noted to mean a Danish and Greenlandic couple or a half Danish, half Greenlandic person.

within Greenland is that you have a whole Greenlander, half Greenlander, half Danish and then you have the Danish" (Personal interview, 2013). An interview with a half Danish and half Greenlandic man was eye-opening as he commented, "with Aleqa in power, I feel like I need to decide which side I am on [Danish or Greenlandic]. We are different species. I do not know if I fit in anymore because what is a real Greenlander? Aleqa often talks about how real Greenlanders will vote for her. But what if I did not vote for her? Then am I not a real Greenlander?" (Personal interview, 2013). This participant further commented on the emotional and psychological toll that this identity confusion has taken on him and revealed numerous suicide attempts were taken as a means to overcome his turmoil (Personal interview, 2013). I also experienced this confusion surrounding identity during my fieldwork. Due to time and resource limitations, I was only able to conduct research and spend time in Nuuk. I often received many derogatory comments from people about how I did not experience the "real Greenland." I accept that Nuuk, more colloquially referred to as "Nuuk City," is more developed and modernized in comparison to coastal villages and settlements in the country. I, however, do not feel that my research is unrepresentative of the on-goings in Greenland due to its geographic limitations. These comments reiterated to me the large difference between the self-image that Greenlanders of different backgrounds and regions have. The current government has also been reported to downplay Danish influence in Greenland, therefore continuing to segregate the Greenlandic population. A participant added, "the current premier [Aleqa Hammond] was asked last week what are the benefits from being a part of Denmark and she said brown sauce...not free education, free dental, free medical…we have inherited a lot of good from Denmark including inter-marital[32] cultural heritage that is very important" (Personal interview, 2013). Furthermore, I argue that the national and personal identity debate is important to the political notion of self-

[32] By inter-marital, this participant was referring to a marriage between a Danish person and Greenlandic person.

governance. Self-governance and Self-Rule are being furthered by pursuits to forge political independence from Denmark. This path to independence is being formed by way of extractive industry, and therefore, I do believe this idea of "identity" and "Greenlandicness" to be an imperative component of the discussion surrounding public participation in Greenland. The process of defining "the public" and "the people" inevitably entails a discussion of the interpretations of "Greenlandicness." I thus argue that the increasing identity confusion has resulted in a stagnant and politically isolated population. The increasing pressure for modernization in Greenland will undoubtedly add to this identity loss if the proper protection and support strategies are not implemented.

8.4 Summary and Analysis

In the context of participation in governmental and industrial decision-making, I believe my research reveals significant threats to the democratic ideals of which Greenlandic society is based. The aim of this component of my research is to identify some of the main challenges in ensuring a deliberative hearing and related democracy in Greenland. The empirical analysis above revealed a hearings processes characterised by a myriad of challenges. I will now briefly analyse my results in relation to the six criteria for deliberative democracy as noted at the beginning of the chapter. This will illuminate how my experience in Greenland compares to the requirements for democracy within a given society

8.4.1 Analysis of the Six Criteria for Deliberative Democracy

<u>Criterion 1: Special Interests must be Compatible</u>

In the analysis of this criterion, one must look at two components: whether the interests are strictly exclusive and whether the interests are held by one lone player. As noted, the interest in resource development in Greenland is vast. However, the platforms and interest of NGOs and

corporate actors are very different. In theory, the BMP, Naalakkersuisut and Inatsisartut are all stakeholders that should act to converge and represent all interests of society. These stakeholders are imperative to democracy as they should act to ensure all interested parties are included in the debate. The government and its close relationship with the BMP has its own priorities, but with the division of power between knowledge-weak stakeholders and the powerful elite being so pronounced, it becomes very difficult for minor stakeholders to control or participate in the debate. This also leads to minor stakeholders, like civil society, feeling powerless and unable to influence decision-making. This is a critical problem for the deliberative process.

Criterion 2: Equal Power in the Debate

In order for power to not be a problem in the debate, the powerful must counteract the asymmetry by assuming responsibility for creating an open debate. Although the government of Greenland has expressed interest in openly including people in the hearings processes and in the decision-making processes surrounding large-scale development, the research shows that they have failed in many areas. With regards to mineral development, the BMP is responsible for organizing consultation with interest groups, leaving the companies to hold public meetings (Aaen, 2012). With corporate stakeholders responsible for the hearings, this has left them prone to problems associated with timing, organization and inappropriate design, thereby limiting the ability of the population to influence decision-making. The way the process is constructed is problematic in relation to democratic legitimacy. The government has also been accused of siding with corporation, therefore producing an air of skepticism and mistrust among the local population. This mistrust continues into the consultation process as a whole, which again, limits the amount of public participation. Trust is a critical feature of deliberative democracy (Aaen,

2012). Another evident contributing factor is the BMP's one-door principle. This combined with pertinent transparency and power concentration concerns in the country, has a negative effect on the confidence of the population. According to Criterion 2, decision-making processes must ensure public participation is free from the asymmetry of power. It is evident by this discussion that Criterion 2 is not fulfilled and therefore supports the illegitimate nature of democracy in Greenland.

Criterion 3: Public Debate

The third criterion for deliberative democracy pertains to the equal access to the deliberative debate via the public sphere. As Aaen (2012) notes, it would be too simplistic to view the public sphere as one entity. In effect, the public sphere in relation to consultation processes can be divided into four sub-groups: the media, the NGOs, the formal consultations, and the public meetings (Aaen, 2012). The problems with the media in Greenland relates to their inexperience and ability to prioritise reports for their own benefit. The access to the media is rather open, which is good for the deliberative ideal. However, there are a number of problems that impeded the ability of the media to critically participate in the debate. These issues surround their lack of resources; both financial and personal, lack of time and consequent lack of skill (Aaen, 2012). The NGOs (which are discussed more thoroughly further in the thesis) are also at a disadvantage in terms of their competencies; both human and financial. The hearings processes and other formal consultation processes are legally-sanctioned opportunities for the public to participate critically in decision-making. However, a lack of resources including translation, education and training can make it difficult to respond within the stipulated timeframe. As a result, the EIA and SIA deadlines limit the ability for people to participate in formal consultations. Lastly, the public meetings are also plagued with the same insufficiencies of time and resources. A

disproportionate amount of time is spent informing and not involving people, leading to the consultation processes being colloquially redefined as information sessions. The four components of the public sphere are all complicated by the debate culture in Greenland. As a result, there are a number of barriers to participation in all sub-spheres, therefore impacting the ability to fulfill the requirements of deliberative democracy.

Criterion 4: Equal and Effective Access to Information

This criterion was set out as a prerequisite for deliberative democracy by Habermas (1991) and Dahl (1989, 2000). The population's access to information is primarily controlled through pubic authorities in Greenland, including through the BMP. Consequently, openness becomes a central feature in ensuring the fulfillment of this criterion. Transparency has been an issue in the context of large-scale development, even with the BMP making efforts to inform the public on projects. These efforts are constrained by the BMP's interpretation of the public's right to information and there is a strong focus on the public seeking information for themselves. This is further complicated by the education and capacity limitations as illustrated above. There is an overall need for more clear and open communication. The communication efforts lead by industry and government tend to be jargon-laden and too extensive for the public to understand. Part of achieving this criterion is ensuring proactive, open and clear information efforts which are not being made in Greenland.

Criterion 5: Influence on Decision-Making

The ability to influence the consultation processes and consequent decisions made in relation to large-scale development in Greenland is a critical component of deliberative democracy. If the expressed concerns of citizens during public debate have no real impact on decisions, the consultation process will be ineffective. There is evidence to prove that Greenland's

stakeholders have been ignored and their ability to influence is limited. The extent of influence is incredibly difficult to assess but there are identifiable obstacles that would suggest its ability to be problematic. Timing, language barriers and insufficient notification of public hearings all contribute to the lack of ability to influence decision-making. Along with these actual barriers, there is a general sense among many stakeholders that they are debating on decisions that have already been made. This in turn, leaves the population with the perception that they have little influence on decision-making in the country. In referencing the hearings in Greenland, evidence concludes that this criterion is not completely met and therefore influences the legitimacy of democracy.

Criterion 6: Equitable Gender Distribution

This criterion is based on gender equality as an important factor in the process of democratization and therefore as a component of deliberative democracy. I believe that in order for a political system to be deemed legitimate, both men and women must be represented equally in the decision-making processes. As a result, the structural process responsible for governing public participation must be effectively designed to encourage and support the participation of both men and women. The different gender-based roles in Greenland have led to men and women having different knowledge of, and access to, natural resources and different opportunities to participation in natural resource governance. Men's and women's roles within Greenlandic society affect how they use and prioritize natural resources, furthering the importance of equitable gender representation in public participation pertaining to resource development. The varying types of knowledge, and articulations of such knowledge, must be supported by the consultation process. In relation to large-scale projects and the hearings processes in Greenland, evidence reveals them to be incompatible with the kind of participation

illustrated primarily by women in the country. Hearings require participants to speak out amongst numerous others, including people of power, and also support emotional responses common to debates. The fact that males tend to be in the limelight more in Greenland also perpetuates this gendered disparity in participation. According to my research, the structural barriers in reference to the hearings protocol and format in Greenland impede the willingness and ability of women to participate. Therefore, I do not consider criterion 6 to have been fulfilled which only furthers the illegitimacy of democracy in Greenland.

The aim of this empirical analysis was to identify some of the main problems with and barriers to public participation as identified during my fieldwork in Nuuk in the fall of 2013. The analysis was informed by the hearing held by TANBREEZ, interviews, and literature pertaining to other hearings held in Greenland. My analysis revealed a hearing process that is characterised by a plethora of challenges preventing it from being considered truly legitimate and representative of deliberative democracy. As an "industrial nation in the making," it is imperative that elected representatives and officials in Greenland begin taking measures to ensure a healthy democratic system prevails in the country (Nuttall, 2012b, 33). If Greenland continues to rush for economic prosperity and political independence before addressing the fundamental issues and cultural barriers to large-scale decision-making, it will continue to undermine the democratic rights of the local population.

9.0 The Politics of Resistance

"*The idea of society is a powerful image. It is potent in its own right to control or to spring men to action. This image has form; it has external boundaries, margins, internal structure. Its outlines contain power to reward conformity and repulse attack. There is energy in its margins and unstructured areas. For symbols of society and any human experience of structures, margins or boundaries is ready to hand"* (Douglas, 1970, 114).

My ethnographic work surrounding the problems with and barriers to participation in Greenland allowed me to explore another theme that emerged as my research progressed. As illuminated above, the lack of appropriate and accessible outlets for public participation and the deficiencies with the current political process in the country has led to Greenlanders taking their future into their own hands and negotiating a new identity within society. In both the modes of power as discussed above, decision-making and structural power, the positions of actors may shift depending on the situation (Kasanen and Heikkinen, 2012). Actors may begin to engage in movements of resistance in order to encourage a process of a restructuring of power. Resistance can be a critical component of power relations (Kasanen and Heikkinen, 2012). During my fieldwork I witnessed how local people who felt disempowered came together to fill a void in the political process and advocate for change. This chapter will begin by a discussion of the pertinent theories that support my observations, followed by an overview of my experience as an anthropologist working and witnessing resistance movements in Greenland, along with a detailed discussion of the Coalition which has been mentioned throughout my work. The Coalition reveals important ways about how power relations are being contested in Greenland.

To begin with, it is important to identify that the concept of "place" can include the notion of politics. Politics in this context should be broadly understood to encompass actions that are not only practised within institutions nor by politicians, but also within a wider context by civil society (Kuusisto, 1999). Politics in this context concern the processes of influencing

decision-making and action within a society. The role of power is critical when analysing the politics of place. Furthermore, power, especially hegemonic power, defines the boundaries of action and the asymmetries of influence. Hegemonic power can create "spaces of domination" as witnessed in the hearings processes in Greenland whereby the powerful elite within society, along with corporations, dominate the decision-making processes. However, as exemplified in this chapter, counter-hegemonic power as a form of resistance can sometimes get enough space and place to influence the larger society (Kuusisto, 1999). The counter-hegemonic construction of people is aimed to challenge the dominant group and therefore resist their stigmatising as "Others" (Kuusisto, 1999).

9.1 The Power of the Margin

In contemporary literature and theory, the use of the word "margins" or "marginal" usually carries with it a strong negative connotation (Walker, 1999). The master discourse in society is often oppressive and dominant over the marginal. The marginal are often silenced and limited by the power structures of the hegemony. The act of marginalization is to be displaced and denied within society. The margin is a place of powerlessness, limits and constraints (Walker, 1999). bell hooks's "Choosing the Margin as a Space of Radical Openness" offers a look into the politics of location and an alternative use of the margin (hooks, 1989). As stated by hooks (1989) "as a radical standpoint, perspective, position, the 'politics of location' necessarily calls those of us who would participate in the formation of counter-hegemonic cultural practice to identify the spaces where we begin the process of re-vision" (hooks, 1989, 149). For hooks, the margin is a "space of radical openness…a profound edge" (149). This is a space whereby people can stand up to their oppressors and say no to the downpressor. It can provide a place of resistance for the silenced and oppressed people.

Seen in this light, the margin is not a place one hopes "to give up or surrender as part of moving into the center- but rather…a site one stays in, clings to even, because it nourishes one's capacity to resist. It offers to one the possibility of radical perspective from which to see and create, to imagine alternatives, new worlds" (hooks, 1989, 150). In hooks's view, the margin therefore becomes a place of strategic importance, not just of belonging. Just as the margins of a book exist outside of the words, a person in the margins exists outside of the dominant discourse. This person has the ability to (re)define themselves. A person in the margins exists outside the usual binaries and categories imposed on oneself; not to be recognized as "Self" or "Other."

In the Greenlandic context, Graugaard (2009) writes about her experience with national processes and politics. She examines Greenland as a post-colonial nation and how it is represented in Denmark. Her critical study reveals how images of Greenland continue to position Danes as superior to Greenlanders. As stated in her report, "What is so special about being a Greenlander is that we all the time have to represent our country. As the Danes only know about the stereotypes which are either 'the drunk Greenlander' or 'the noble savage', they will never get to know the core- the real so to say. It is very tiring in the long run" (Graugaard, 2009, 33, personal interview). In this way, the images of Greenlanders as "the Other" represents disguised (re)productions of colonial relations. This national process combined with the prominent power asymmetries in the country, accurately depict a country whereby people are continually "Othered" and left to the margins. The process of "Othering" is one of control and therefore, new perspectives on the margins are imperative in Greenland. This person develops their own subjectivity and identity and categorizes the worlds according to themselves (hooks, 1989, 153).

For hooks, it is necessary to find such a space to facilitate resistance, to find one's voice, and a space to theorize one's beliefs. The speech heard from the margins is aimed at transforming society into a more pleasurable and powerful one (hooks, 1989). One must not see the margin as a place of despair, but rather, one of power and resistance. hooks states that "everywhere we go there is pressure to silence our voices, to co-opt and undermine them." This parallels many of the sentiments and concerns expressed above by participants and the problems with public participation outlets in Greenland. There are numerous examples of organizations, groups, and individuals taking matters into their own hands and resisting from the margins in Greenland. This concept of the margin being a place of radical possibility for individual expression is powerful when observing the political processes in Greenland. In this chapter, I will use hooks's idea of the margin to explore how people are negotiating new roles and empowering themselves from within the margins.[33]

9.2 Democracy from the Margins

Democracy can occur outside of state sanctioned events. Often, citizens who feel like they have been placed into the margins of decision-making, take it upon themselves to have their voices heard through spirited resistance, which can be seen in Greenland. As stated in Nuttall (2014, 284) by Randy Mayo from Stevens Village, "*for the smaller more remote communities that were safe in the past, they are not prepared to deal with these new developments. When our community dealt with the pipeline in the past, we made lots of noise and we learned a lot about how to deal with industry and government. We learned that we must be sharp on the issues and we knew that the more noise we make now, the better it will be in the future- like the miners'*

[33] Due to time constraints, a limited discussion of resistance theories is provided in this thesis. However, for further information on resistance theories see Kirby, 1993; Tuathail & Dalby, 1998; Brighenti, 2011; Certoma, *et al.,* 2012.

canary, we were the warning signal." The proverbial "warning signal" is being sounded through various activities and can be heard throughout Greenland.

9.2.1 Media

Firstly, the role of media has come into play as a form of resistance. Given the apparent flaws in the media landscape in Greenland, as discussed above, individuals and groups have taken to social media to express their concerns over politics and industry. Social media sites like Facebook offer Greenlanders a space and place for resistance. It also offers a platform, from the margins, for people to create awareness and catalyze change. One of these pages is the Nuup Kangerluata ikinngutai/Nuuk Fjord's Friends page lead by local activist and NGO leader, Piitannguaq Tittussen.[34] He has been one of the most prominent and outspoken citizens in the debate about London Mining. He embodies perfectly the ideals behind hook's centre-margin theory by ensuring the voices of his people are heard by creating spaces of resistance. Another example of resistance on social media is found on a personal page by Martin Brandt Hansen, which was shown to me by a participant during an interview. Hansen, an artist and outspoken citizen, has taken his passion for the arts and politics and combined them by producing satirical and rather beautiful drawings pertaining to current issues in the country.

[34] A discussion of Non-Governmental Organizations in Greenland is pertinent and will take place in subsequent paragraphs.

Figure 6. Martin Brandt Hansen's Depiction of Aleqa Hammond[35]

Figure 7. Martin Brandt Hansen's Depiction of Aleqa Hammond[36]

[35] Source: Martin Brandt Hansen's Facebook Page.
[36] Source: *Ibid.*

His depiction of Premier Aleqa Hammond following the overturning of the uranium ban in the country went viral. Hansen's online social media presence on Facebook and Twitter has a large following with commentators taking part in the discussion. It may not seem significant at first glance, but what Hansen has accomplished through his personal resistance to decisions being made in Greenland, helps to fuel the overall resistance movement in the country. His voice, like many others, is being heard- albeit via a rather non-traditional route.

9.2.2 Protests

Protests are another way in which Greenlanders are speaking from the margins. The perceived exclusion from decision-making in Greenland has led to an emergence of coercive territorial practices, or protests. These practices act as visual, auditory and tactical non-violent attempts at disrupting hegemonic power and their "spaces of domination" (Kuusisto, 1999, 5). The counter-hegemonic groups can lead to the appearance of a kind of politics of opposition whereby the group is organised to challenge the dominant power and to gather the disempowered and subordinated. Active resistance and protests offer people an opportunity to secure a new place within the hegemonic order; an order which they are often excluded from. Paul Routledge explored the notion of the "terrains of resistance" which refer to the particular sites of contestation (Routledge, 1994; 1996). The terrain of resistance can be both literal and metaphorical as witnessed in the protests held in Greenland. Pittannguaq Tittussen is responsible for organizing a protest against London Mining in February 2012 where the group, Nuuk Fjord Friends, held their own public meeting. Over 100 people were in attendance and topics such as citizen inclusion, EIA processes, and local stories were discussed (Langhoff, 2013). The fact that so many citizens feel that their views and voices are ignored by Naalakkersuisut forced them to assemble and protest. A lack of public inclusion and participation motivated the protests held

by Nuuk Fjord Friends. Some of the protests were held in the streets of Nuuk where signs stating "Stop London Mining" were visible from all around (also discussed in Nuttall 2012b, based on observations of the protests). These protests provided a disruption to hegemony just by their presence and their opposing messages. Other protests and demonstrations were held on the land in the Nuuk Fjord. These particular demonstrations occupied an important place. This terrain of resistance was literal in that it occupied a place where London Mining will develop their mine, along with metaphorically communicating the importance of the land and their importance on it. Numerous protests were also held to take a stance against overturning the Uranium decision in the fall of 2013.[37] This decision ultimately led to lifting the zero tolerance ban on uranium mining in the country. The president of Inuusuttut Ataqatigiit[38], Mute Bourup Egede, has claimed that Naalakkersuisut has "not involved the public and ignored the divisions in society" (Duus, 2013).

Figure 8. Urani Naamik Demonstrations in Greenland[39]

[37] In October of 2013, Inatsisartut, the Greenlandic parliament, voted by a margin of 15 votes to 14 votes ended the 25-year prohibition on uranium mining. Since the decision, the issue has sparked a wide-reaching debate that has put the government against a host of opponents.
[38] Inuusuttut Ataqatiggit is the youth organization for the opposition party Inuit Ataqatigiit.
[39] Source: http://arcticjournal.com/oil-minerals/845/fallout-continues

The large "Urani Naamik" and "Naamik Qujaannarpungas" (anti-uranium) signs, the loud chants, and the white painter suites worn by some participants, all together provided a major disruption. Another demonstration organizer, Falke Thue Mikailsen, claims that Hammond's government has put significant energy towards silencing the dissenting voices of the public, "our activities and the material we have about the consequences of this are not allowed to reach the media in Greenland. A lot of money and power is being used to silence all critical voices. The government is using its influence to force the issue through without discussion" (Thorsson, 2014b). This time the demonstration took place in Copenhagen and coincided with an annual Greenlandic festival in Copenhagen that attracts thousands of Greenlanders to the city. The demonstration interrupted ordinary life in Copenhagen and sent the message out that Greenlanders are not willing to stand by and be silenced. The demonstration illustrated a unified front, unwilling to be co-opted and uncritical from the margins. I was able to take part in the Urani Naamik demonstrations which occupied the streets of Nuuk in October of 2013. I noted something very significant about these particular protests. The numerous cultural barriers that were revealed throughout my research that stinted participation throughout the hearings processes, did not seem to be as prevalent in these particular protests. The "Greenlandic silence" or non-interference culture that is innately engrained in many Greenlanders, was not as apparent. It seemed that these protests and demonstrations provided a space for participation and a place of safety, free of the cultural barriers that were evident in the impact assessment process.[40]

The politics of resistance serve a dual purpose in challenging power, while challenging and creating knowledge. The types of knowledge produced by the hegemonic and counter-hegemonic groups vary significantly. Most often, the counter-hegemonic groups are seen as

[40] Due to time and other constraints, this line of thinking will not be explored further in this thesis. However, I acknowledge its importance and plan to expand more on this topic in my PhD research.

deviant and subordinate to the hegemonic understanding (Kuusisto, 1999). It is often understood that no knowledge-production will take place in the margins or by the counter-hegemonic groups. However, this is not the case. Just by existing and challenging the dominant paradigms and understanding, these marginal sites and counter-hegemonic groups play a role in knowledge production. This can be seen in Greenland through the various protests and their resultant increase of awareness regarding the issues with public participation and overall dissatisfaction with politics. This "unofficial" wave of knowledge has played a significant role in educating the general public who for various reasons are not compelled to participation otherwise. I had participated in the Urani Naamik meetings held by the opposition party, Inuit Atagatigiit, during my fieldwork. Like the marches and demonstrations, these particular meetings provided civil society with an opportunity to express their concerns that were often silenced throughout the hearings processes. The meetings were informative and provided an alternative discourse from what was heard within the sanctioned hearings. This discussion thus, helped in the formation of an alternative knowledge produced from the margins that helped citizens to become more aware and involved.

9.3 Greenlandic NGOs: Struggling from the Margins

NGOs are often prominent examples of the kinds of nongovernmental advocacy organizations that have the potential to flourish in democratic societies. NGOs play a strong role in alternative politics and offer an opportunity for people to gather and advocate for change. NGOs and numerous associations in Greenland have entered the public participation arena in recent years.[41] There are many synergies between their concerns including the current form, content and requirement of public participation. The lack of appropriate consultation processes,

[41] These include Avataq, Nuuk Fjord Friends, the Coalition, August 16, KNAPK (hunters and fisherman association), Transparency Greenland, ICC Greenland, and Greenland Worker's Association.

transparency in decision-making and inequitable access to resources has dominated their campaigns. Furthermore, they demand a higher level of public engagement to ensure the democratic rights in Greenland are protected (Aaen, 2012; Nuttall, 2012b; Hansen, 2013). Historically, Greenland does not have a strong tradition for NGOs. Transparency Greenland reported that the most influential organizations are the ones that have the capacity to document their allegations (Transparency Greenland, 2012). Piitanngauq expressed to me and other researchers his concerns over NGOs in Greenland. The financial costs that he and the board members of Nuuk Fjord Friends incurred to start their NGO and host events is substantial. His passion is evocative and contagious as he is quick to state the importance of NGOs in Greenland (Personal communications, 2013). A major concern of Piitanngauq's is the general disregard for the importance of NGOs in Greenland by the general public. This brings me to a central part of my empirical research which covers my ethnographic work with the new NGO, the Coalition.

10.0 The Coalition: Advocacy for Legislation

"Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful, committed, citizens can change the world. Indeed, it is the only thing that ever has." –Margaret Mead

Furthering the geopolitical approach exercised in my research, there is much to be gained that does not exclusively privilege a Westphalian imagination concerning Polar Regions. Not least, a expansive range of actors, including Non-Governmental Organizations, which have played an integral historical role in the geographical imagination and political governance of these spaces, including in Greenland (Shadian, 2013). As discussed, Greenland does not have an extensive history of NGOs; however, this is not to say they have not played an important role throughout the country. The NGOs and grassroots organizations in Greenland range from small local initiatives to more widespread international groups. In mid-October, 2013, I was fortunate enough to join a newly formed coalition of NGOs aimed at fighting for better public participation in Greenland.[42] The coalition, appropriately named "The Coalition for Better Citizen Involvement of Large-Scale Projects and Other Resource Activities," was formed on October 14, 2013. In the following chapter I will provide an ethnography of the Coalition and my experience as an anthropologist in the newly formed group. I will reflect on not only my experiences, but also the opportunities for growth and flaws within the Coalition, along with raising personal questions about the nature of the research I was doing and my role as a foreign researcher.

According to hooks, it is necessary to have a voice and to speak from a place with a personal vision. The speech from the margin is the counter-language, which is a language that has undergone a significant transformation in order to empower its speakers. The counter-language enables the marginalized people to (re)define themselves according to their own terms

[42] This consortium of NGOs has been referred to as "the Coalition" throughout the thesis.

and express the radical new perspective that the margin permits (hooks, 1989, 150). In furthering notions of resistance and hooks's centre-margin theory, I view the Coalition as another counter-hegemonic form of resistance within the Greenlandic context. Furthermore, the group takes on the role of knowledge-production through its terrains and forms of resistance. According to Kornov, *et al.* (2010) there are three distinguishable roles of researchers.[43] The role that best suits by experience with the Coalition is that of a change agent. This is where knowledge is produced in cooperation between researchers and practice (Hansen, 2010). The negotiation between researchers and practice informs the goals and methods of knowledge production. This in turn, forms an interdependent relationship between the researchers and practice (Hansen, 2010). As noted, I identify my role in the Coalition and throughout my fieldwork as an change agent. I primarily maintained an interdependent relationship between myself and the central actors of the Coalition. Kornov, *et al.* (2010), stress that when conducting research as a change agent, it is imperative that "one needs to know and recognise [one's] own knowledge, values and delimitations- and at the same time recognise others'" (Kornov, *et al.,* 2010, 17). The article also describes a critical need for reflection on one's own values. In the following section, I therefore reflect on my role in the Coalition to bring focus onto the challenges and rewards I experienced as working within this new organization.

10.1 The Coalition

As mentioned, on October 14, 2013 a number of NGO's including Transparency International Greenland, ICC Greenland, WWF, Avataq, KNAPK, The Association of 16 August, along with a few members of civil society, formed a coalition to encourage better citizen

[43] For a more thorough explanation of all three roles of researchers refer to Hansen, 2010.

involvement in large-scale projects in Greenland.[44] The Coalition claims to be open to all organizations, informal groups and individuals working for better public participation and democracy linked to the development of large scale projects and other resource activities. The *vision* of the Coalition is to be a forum for discussion and development, which includes open discussion meetings, training courses and other initiatives to create an informed public in decisions on the development of new industry in Greenland and on Greenlandic waters. The *purpose* is to be working for an early, informed and fair public participation in the decisions to be taken by the elected representatives. The decisions which have major implications for the environment, nature and society for generations to come are the most important. The decisions can relate to feasibility studies or extraction phases, whether they take place on land or water. The Coalition aims to achieve these *objectives* through numerous avenues including being an open forum for the exchange of knowledge and views between organizations and interested or affected citizens participating in the debate on new industry and citizens. Also by being a constructive forum with the focus of suggesting ways to better citizen involvement. Lastly, the Coalition hopes to strengthen the work already under way in several organizations to ensure greater involvement of the population in an informed manner. By combining the forces of numerous NGOs in the country, the Coalition aimed to strengthen its capacity and impact. According to the Coalition, there are various forms of citizen participation, which can be divided into four stages according to the varying degrees of involvement:

[44] All the information used in this section was taken during the Coalition meetings and therefore is personal information. Transparency International Greenland is the local chapter of Transparency International; an international anti-corruption organization. ICC Greenland is the local chapter of the Inuit Circumpolar Council. WWF refers to the World Wildlife Fund. Avataq is a local environmental NGO, KNAPK is the National Hunter and Fisher Association and The Association of 16 August is another local, Greenlandic NGO. The members of civil society that participated in the discussion will remain anonymous as explained at the beginning of the thesis.

1. **Information** is the lowest level of public participation in decision-making and usually characterized by one-way communication from authorities to citizens. Information is also provided for the more extensive forms of citizen participation.

2. **Consultation** is a higher level of citizen participation in decision-making, where the authorities are asking for citizens 'and NGOs' opinion and comments for a specific project or policy developments in a specific area. The consultation is initiated by the authorities, so comments can be included in decision-making

3. **Dialogue** is an even higher degree of public participation in decision-making processes, which is characterized by two-way communication between authorities and citizens respectively. Both parties may initiate the discussion and not only for specific projects, but rather, it is a regular exchange of views on the development of society in a broader sense.

4. **Cooperation** (partnership) is the highest level of citizen participation in decision-making, where authorities and citizens work together. NGOs are working together to make decisions and share responsibility for decisions and their implementation. At the same time, they retain their NGO character of civil society organizations by preserving the right to advocate for their own views, regardless of their partnership with the authorities.

The weekly Monday meetings were held in a conference room at the ICC headquarters. Each meeting was chaired by a previously selected member and the minutes were recorded and later disseminated to members. Together, the Coalition worked towards submitting their

recommendations to Naalakkersuisut by January 21, 2014. This work consisted of recommendations regarding the overall structure of impact assessments in Greenland, legislation, citizen capacity and involvement, the dissemination of information/knowledge, and the qualifications of consultation processes.

10.2 Empirical Analysis: *One Step Forward and Two Steps Back*

The previous section sets forward the vision, purpose and objectives of the Coalition as stated at its formation. I will now offer a critique and insight into the various disconnects between their intentions and how they were actualized in reality. I was hesitant to include this in my thesis at the beginning of writing, but after analysing my data, I found it so rich and pertinent that it needed to be included. My hesitations stemmed from concern over appearing to bash or cast a deleterious gaze onto the group. However, a bit of introspection and a frank conversation with a Coalition member provided clarity as he said, "you need to talk about this, of course you don't want to use this only as a negative example, but if you're going to use this as an example you need to tell what can be change and best case information for what an NGO can be because we could use you so that would be great for us. But you know it's a critique and that is not often taken as something good…" (Personal communication, 2014). By critique, I do not mean to offend or shed exclusively negative light upon the Coalition, but rather to illuminate opportunities for growth and change. In addition, as Crampton (2010) states, a critique examines the basis of our decision-making knowledges and it places knowledge within specific spaces (rather than being universal). The purpose of a critique is not to state that our knowledge is not *true,* but that the truth is deeply embedded in conditions that have a lot to do with *power* (Crampton, 2010). "Critique is therefore a politics of knowledge" (Crampton, 2010, 16). Looking at the relationship between power and knowledge is not to state the "knowledge is

power" but rather, it states that what we know is affected by relationships of power. Critical analysis does not aim to overturn ways of knowing, but ask how they became so powerful and to question the implications of this knowledge and whether alternative ways of knowing are possible (Crampton, 2010). Not only did I want to identify ways in which the Coalition could be strengthened but I wanted to reveal if and/or how power dynamics were imbedded within the organization.

Firstly, and most significantly, the lack of organizational capacity appeared to be the most impactful downfall of the Coalition. By attempting to meet weekly in Nuuk, this excluded members that were living abroad. There were no efforts to make the meetings accessible to international members via skype or any other online meeting platforms. They were simply sent the minutes from the meetings and that was their participation. The meetings were also organized and lead by a different member each week which resulted in a lack of continuity and coherence. As a member noted, "the things that need to change are very, very simple. That includes the fact that someone needs to be the one who is coordinating all the meetings" (Personal interview, 2013). The meetings are often cancelled, delayed and are very disorganized. They did not even take place every week and members were often left with last minute notice of cancellations. "People are talking over everybody, and the attendance is weak…it [the Coalition meetings] are not a true representation and are very unorganized" as stated by a Coalition member (Personal interview, 2013). I experienced this disorganization during a presentation I gave for the Coalition. I was asked during a meeting to give a PowerPoint presentation at the following week's meetings on general lessons Greenland can learn from impact assessments in Canada. I spent a significant amount of time compiling literature and putting together a presentation. While I was giving the presentation at the

following week's meeting, people were entering and leaving the room, active on their cell phones and even talking over me. After volunteering my time and spending numerous hours preparing for the presentation, I was very upset with how the members conducted themselves while I was speaking. If this were to happen to other volunteer presenters, there is no doubt they would not return to the meetings. The lack of organizational capacity also resulted in an unfortunate mistake at the onset of the Coalition entering the public domain. One of the press releases made on behalf of the Coalition unfortunately ended up having negative results for one of the parties involved. This was a result of communication and organizational deficiencies.[45]

From the beginning, it seemed that the Coalition, not unlike the hearings processes that they were critiquing, were rushed and lacked the appropriate timing. As a participant commented, "you need to find a way of handlings these timing things. You cannot just say you have 24 hours to get back to us because people have other responsibilities so making sure things like that don't happen" (Personal interview, 2013). Another member of the Coalition remarked, "I think it [change] has to come from within, we need to support this NGO coalition and it has to be changed slowly, it will have to be a gradual thing" (Personal interview, 2013). I witnessed numerous issues with timing during my part in the Coalition as emails and requests for work were sent out only a day or two before the meetings were to take place. At my third meeting, I was asked to give a presentation on the impact assessment processes in Canada and provide some takeaway lessons to be considered at further meetings. Numerous members requested additional topics for me to discuss during my presentation. I spent over a week preparing for my presentation, complete with a full PowerPoint. I arrived at the meeting the day of my presentation to find out that I was only given 20 minutes of talking time. My presentation, which

[45] For the protection of those parties involved, I will not include the name of the party that was impacted by this negative press release.

fulfilled all of the requests from the members of the Coalition, would have required at least 45 minutes to effectively deliver. This again reiterates the timing and organizational deficiencies. The members were quick to demand work from me, but in turn, I was not given enough air time to even get through half of their requests.

Another dimension of concern is the lack of educational capacity and guidance within the Coalition. Members are very passionate and driven, but they often lacked the ability to translate information into action and were misguided in their attempts. A participant remarked, "when people do get involved, they are very passionate. You get the most passionate people. They just don't know what to do with it" (Personal interview, 2013). Members constantly repeated Foucault's popularized "knowledge-power" concept but when asked what it meant, most members had no idea of the true intention behind the phenomenon. Finally, on member told me it is something they heard and it seemed to just fit. This again reiterates the uncritical acceptance that was so prominent within the group. Just like the Canadian model being pursued as the "ideal" concept for impact assessments in Greenland, many members threw out popularized terms and ideas without even being sure of their proper use or meaning. This lack of educational capacity is also illustrated by the Coalitions use and adoption of international documents relating to impact assessments and public participation. This includes the promotion of UNDRIP's Article 19 on FPIC as mentioned earlier. A member of the Coalition remarked, "what we want to use is free and prior informed consent…is it free? Informed? And do they achieve prior consent? I keep repeating the free, prior, and informed consent. It is very important. The people and the government need to understand those principles" (Personal interview, 2013). One of the strengths of the group is their drive and capability to seek out relevant documents and principles; however, once the documents were printed, it seemed as though no one had a clue about what to

do with them. It is important to note that most of the members of the Coalition knew the importance of FPIC; however, there was an apparent disconnect between the principle in theory and how to actualize it on the ground. The fact that the discussion surrounding UNDRIP and FPIC is a step in the right direction but it is evident that more work is needed to help Coalition members to better grasp the importance and impact of FPIC in reality. This is especially notable as I continuously receive emails from a very prominent leader of an NGO asking for help deciphering information on numerous decisions being made in Greenland. Even during my fieldwork, I could not keep up with the flood of emails from the Coalition members asking for help ciphering through document after document. The group knows that these decisions and actions are important, but they really do not know how to make sense of the information. The members constantly struggle to make sense of the events that are unfolding around them in Greenland.

A discussion with a prominent figure in Greenland furthered the message that the Coalition lacks the capacity to fully develop ideas with available material. He states, "it is quite funny because these NGO groups are much more interested in the Canadian tradition on impact assessments than the European, and that is interesting in of itself" (Personal interview, 2013). This point reiterates the lack of educational capacity in the Coalition. During my fieldwork, it appeared that members were prone to jumping on certain bandwagons, while uncritically accepting that information. As soon as ideas of the Canadian models of impact assessment came into discussion, the Coalition did not once even talk about other models that could inform the discussion in Greenland. Not to discredit the Canadian model of impact assessment, but it would have been prudent to explore other models to make a more complete list of recommendations to Naalakkersuisut. This uncritical acceptance of information can be partly because most of the

NGOs and the Coalition members have full time jobs and other responsibilities consuming most of their time. The NGOs are only run by a few people with very little resources at their disposal. "It [the Coalition] is not even a side job, it is a hobby for everyone" said a fellow Coalition member (Personal interview, 2013). Education and awareness are so critical; however, it seems that most members did not have the time, understandingly so, to dedicate to the Coalition outside of their careers, families and other responsibilities. A member commented, "we are all occupied by our daily jobs and our situations here. So that is why we have so many things we need to do and we are so few who are informed enough or educated and we also have a family we need to take care of and things like that…" (Personal interview, 2013).

Given the cultural barriers to participation in Greenland, including the non-debate culture and fear of speaking it, the Coalition is a great resource as members can participate without feeling the individual attention or spotlight. A friend commented, "a lot of people are talking because as soon as you silence people, they are looking for an outlet to talk, looking for someone to listen" (Personal interview, 2013). As stated by a member of the Coalition, "you need something to unite people, you need something to unite society and I think that [the Coalition] is a way of doing that. We have a stronger voice against the very powerful and economically powerful companies coming in…we put together a united front and that is important" (Personal interview, 2013). In theory, the Coalition can provide an anonymous platform for people to express their concerns, while removing the barrier to participation. However, this does not remove the barrier of acceptance by the general public. The Coalition appeared to be known for going against the grain, therefore speaking out against Naalakkersuisut, and was consequently cast in a negative light. The foreign history of NGOs in Greenland has created resentment among the population and therefore people fear being involved due to public reprisal (Personal

communication, 2013). A member commented to me, "maybe it's because NGOs in Greenland are new and maybe it's because, I think that you have realized from being up here, that criticism is not always welcome, that you don't show disagreement and if you do you end up in a corral, it's not like this is my decision and this is yours and lets have a dialogue about it" (Personal interview, 2013). Instances like the unfortunate press release do not help encourage public support as it made the Coalition appear to lack credibility and organization. With education and awareness, I do believe the Coalition and NGOs in Greenland can have a positive influence on society, while breaking down some of the public concerns with their presence as stated by a former politician, "you don't have these debates but I think it will be, now with all the mining, I think you will get more and more understanding by the public of the role of NGOs and how they can help and actually be something good that you can have a forum for discussion or for bringing out new positions on something on something and in a debate you hear various positions from various groups that you wouldn't otherwise. At least you have more than just the government telling you or BMP telling you that this is fact" (Personal interview, 2013).

My work with the Coalition provided me not only with insight into how Greenlandic people are resisting from the margins and filling a void in the political process, but it also shed light on democracy as a whole and how NGOs can play a role in contributing to deliberative democracy as discussed earlier. Broadly defined, deliberative democracy refers to the concept of legitimate lawmaking is a result of deliberation of citizens (Habermas, 1994). Habermas (1994) notes that deliberative democracy begins before the voting procedures and focuses on the actions that predicate voting action. Legitimate decision-making should be tied in to a process of collective deliberation where choice, rather than coercion, prevails (Habermas, 1994). The process should also be fair and all participants should be treated equally. As a normative account

of legitimacy, deliberative democracy evokes standards of rational legislation and governance. In short, it presents an ideal of political autonomy that is based on the rational, practical reasoning of citizens (Habermas, 1994). My work with the Coalition reveals that even if Greenland was operating in a fully democratic manner, the citizens themselves would find it difficult to fulfill the requirements of deliberative democracy. Deliberative democracy is two-fold; one on hand, it must be mandated and operationalised by government. My research with the problems and barriers to participation in Greenland illustrates that there are apparent flaws in the legitimacy of democracy on the side of the government. On the other hand, there is an evident role of citizens in fulfilling their side of deliberative democracy in being capable of reasoning and being able to intelligently participate. Therefore, with my work in the Coalition and informed by the work of Habermas, I find the problem with deliberative democracy in Greenland to be complex and multi-faceted.

10.3 My Role as a Researcher in Greenland: Critical Reflection

Informed by Kellet (2009), I set out to reflect upon Karl Marx's statement that "The point is not merely to understand the world, but to change it."[46] With no disrespect to Marx and in reference to anthropology we might re-phrase it to read: Is the role of anthropologists to try and change the world or to understand it? Also, what is the nature of the relationship between advocacy and anthropology? Can and/or should anthropologists advocate for the rights of the people they study, or does that compromise their objectivity? (Kellett, 2009, 22). These questions inevitably and intentionally are the fundamental questions of the role of anthropology. In the following section, I reflect upon my role in the Coalition, bearing in mind key questions like: What is anthropology for? Who is it for? Can anthropologists remain objective? These questions are central to the discipline of anthropology and may reveal some of the underlining

[46] Quote found at http://quotes.gaia.com/Karl_Marx, accessed August 24, 2014

tensions inherent in the discipline and in the development of its role within academia (Kellett, 2009). Referred to by some as the 'bastard child of European colonialism', anthropology has a history of involvement in the colonial project.[47] The unequal power relations are still evident in the world today as global inequalities continue to prevail, as well as the disparities between North and South, between rich and poor continue to increase. Within this complex nexus of growing inequality, anthropologists including myself, find themselves involved in communities. As I reflect on my experience in the Coalition I consider questions relating to my role and if we, as anthropologists, should act to improve the conditions of local people under the guise of 'agents of change'? Finally, I will conclude with a discussion about some reflections on the relevance of these concerns and my role in Greenland for 21st century anthropology.

As I began my ethnographic work in Greenland, I reflected upon some of the founders of anthropology including Rivers and Malinowski and how their ideas of positivism and objectivity informed their scientific method. Those who advocated for this approach treated 'native' people as subjects and aimed to remain at a 'safe' distance from them (Kellett, 2009). I know, and as emphasized by Hastrup and Elsass (1990), that neutral objectivity is a myth within my discipline and "subject and object merge in a world of 'betweeness' and fieldwork is now openly recognised as a personal encounter and ethnography as an intersubjective reality' (Hastrup and Elsass, 1990, 302). With this in mind, I entered the Coalition aware of objectivity concerns. My goal was to be able to remain critical and reflective throughout my fieldwork. Upon returning home, I can see that I struggled with this. My research in Greenland took place at a very important time. As noted, Greenland is currently negotiating a new role in the geopolitical arena and furthering efforts to become independent from the Kingdom of Denmark. The

[47] For more information on anthropologists involved in the colonial project, please refer to Asad, 1973; Barnard, 2000; Ervin, 2000, Sillitoe, 2007.

importance of which was not unnoticed by Greenlanders who were very passionate, concerned and expressive when conversing with me. I myself, being extremely zealous and well aware of this time of change and its potential level of impact on the country, found it hard to remain neutral and therefore objective when taking part in my role within the Coalition. The members drive, emotion, and ambition were contagious and the more I researched and the more firsthand experienced I gained in Greenland, the more motivated I became. My emotional and intellectual inclination to help them overtook everything else. It wasn't until I returned home that I began to realize the neutrality of this component of my research had been compromised.

My discussion surrounding the problems with and barriers to participation provided me with a strong side of the debate that was furthered by the comments of the Coalition members. However, I stand confident in the fact that I entered into my fieldwork with no preconceived research questions or parameters. All of my research and data emerged from conversations that I had with people of varying interests and backgrounds. I am therefore satisfied with the fact that my research is as representative as it can be of the desires/comments/concerns/voices of the people I interviewed. When I began my analysis, I had over sixty pages of transcriptions and dozens of pages of field notes, and had no idea what would transpire or if anything would be noteworthy. Upon finishing my analysis, I was overwhelmed with my research. There was such a rich ethnography and compelling information. It reminds me of story of Inuit soapstone carving told to me by a colleague. When embarking on a carving, Greenlandic soapstone sculptors do not know the shape of which the carving will take. A polar bear carving did no begin with the sculptor's intent on it being of that animal. With each gentle movement and stroke, the stone is one step closer to becoming what it is meant to become. As the sculptor moves about the carving, its true character is being revealed. At the end, when a polar bear

appears, it means the essence of the stone has always been that of a polar bear. This is analogous with my research. With each interview, conversation, and day in the field, I feel like my research was appearing as it was truly meant to. Its essence was there the entire time. With this, I am more confident in my results and their objectivity as my research is truly reflective of the place in which it took place. Also, by offering a critique of the Coalition, I hope to assert some objectivity in my research. My critique attempted to provide insight into both the apparent strengths and weaknesses of the group, and therefore, aimed to be a neutral space for discussion and reflection.

In questioning the role of anthropology and advocacy, I turn to my role within the Coalition. Further complicating matters was the fact that the group thrust me into an 'unofficial' position of power as a pseudo representative and spokesperson for the Coalition, as noted previously. As the weeks went on, the Coalition put more and more emphasis on my importance in the group and began demanding an increasing amount of my time and resources. Upon reflection, this placed me in a possible situation where my work could have been compromised and in the Coalition unintentionally co-opting my fieldwork. As an academic, I set out to produce an academic piece of work that can inform policy and decision-making within Greenland, but the Coalition began to steer me towards a position where I had to navigate along the boundary between advocacy and academia. At first, I felt this was an imbalanced relationship. I found myself dedicating more time to the Coalition than to my own research. The Coalition provided me with the opportunity to carry out ethnography while being able to move beyond research and engage in advocacy work. It took me a while to understand the pragmatism and effectiveness of my advocacy work and how it could contribute to my research. This new advocacy role was overwhelming at first as I tried to navigate my way through its responsibilities

and demands. As noted, I was constantly being asked for advice, feedback and participation on varying matters to do with extractive industry and resource development. Some I was prepared for, others I was not. I was quickly propelled into the public domain when I appeared on the national radio to debate the nature of Impact Benefit Agreements in Greenland. Before the debate took place, I intentionally set out the parameters of my participation as I felt appropriate. The discussion was centred on one of the largest mining proponents in the country, and I was neither compelled nor comfortable speaking-out directly against them. As the discussion quickly entered into previously established off-limit areas, I began to reconsider my role within the Coalition. Although completely unexpected, my work within the Coalition challenged me and expanded my research repertoire immensely. As Layton (1996) states, "Advocacy derives naturally from the practice of anthropology…it is an integral part of the process of representing other people's views" (Layton, 1996, 40). In this new light, I felt excited about this new aspect of my research and also, despite moments of hardship, I felt privileged to have been given this opportunity.

My active role in the Coalition brings up issues of moral engagement in anthropology. As noted, I became rather immersed in the politics of the group and their political positions within the country of Greenland. This combined with my work as a change agent can bring up questions of morality when one is politically committed and morally engaged within a community. Like Scheper-Hughes and her refection of an anthropologist as a "neutral, dispassionate, cool and rational, objective observer of the human condition," I too, began to focus on my journey from an objective observer to an engaged participant (Scheper-Hughes, 1995, 410). In dealing with my expressed concerns over the objectivity of my participation in the Coalition, Scheper-Hughes's belief that "there was little virtue to false neutrality in the face

of broad political and moral dramas of life" and "What makes anthropology and anthropologists exempt from the human responsibility to take an ethical (and political) stand on evens we are privileged to witness?" really helped in solidifying my personal concerns with the ethics of my research (Scheper-Hughes, 1995, 411). As an anthropologist, I had the privilege of working with local Greenlanders and facilitating a new movement towards political engagement and awareness. I was able to work with disempowered people who were filling a void in the political process and did not idly sit by and take field notes. I partook in a journey of a lifetime, and as stated by Scheper-Hughes, "those of us who make our living observing and recording the misery of the world have a particular obligation to reflect critically and to produce politically complicated and morally demanding texts…capable of sinking through the layers of acceptance… (Scheper-Hughes, 1995, 116-117). My research and subsequent writing and reflection have been very challenging and morally demanding and in turn, I hope to produce something that is capable of being widely accepted and thought-provoking. Greenland has always changed at a rapid pace. The country and its people are not static and live knowing that change is inevitable. I would argue that my role as an anthropologist is to acknowledge and celebrate my role as a change agent. Heightened reflexivity is prerequisite for using our knowledge and insights in attempting to facilitate positive change in any capacity and despite potential pitfalls (Kellett, 2009). For some, including for myself, the positive change from my research included advocacy. Concern over the situation is insufficient: "the issue for us [all] is how to translate concern into action; and an anthropologist without concern is no anthropologist at all" (Paine, 1990, 210).[48]

[48] Cohen as quoted by Paine (1990).

11.0 Contribution to Knowledge

In the two decades since the seminal work of Alexander Lockhart was produced, the insider-outsider dialectic and its use in native socioeconomic development has proliferated as new challenges emerge in research and development in high North areas. As stated in the methods chapter, I utilized participatory research methods in my work and therefore the use of the insider-outsider dialectic is apropos as it is often seen as a participatory tool. With an increasing number of participatory methods in research and community development being co-opted for political or corporate interests, which is far from their radical origins as movements for social change, we see a demand for resistance movement in new autonomous spaces (Caine, *et al.,* 2007). The academic outsider occupies a unique position within communities and university spaces and can act as a facilitator of critical intervention (Caine, *et al.,* 2007). This is where I see the results of my work with the Coalition being utilized. The members of the Coalition, along with many other participants were eager to learn about my work within the group and what my research revealed in terms of the opportunities, successes and failures within the newly formed NGO. I still remain in contact with numerous members of the Coalition, all of whom ask me regularly about a return trip to Greenland. I believe that returning to Greenland is imperative in order to discuss my results and analysis with the Coalition in order to educate them on my findings and make the appropriate changes to deepen their impact within the Greenlandic society and political system. My research reveals that the passion, intention and motivations are all evident; however, maybe a bit misguided and unorganized. My work in the Coalition will help illuminate the areas of which are in need of the most work.

An increasing number of discussions, seminars and conferences are being held in Greenland surrounding resource development and capacity building within the country and I feel

that my work can contribute to this discussion. I think that the power of civil society in forming the Coalition and the lessons learned from my research could be an integral resource to those functions. However, much of the attention, in both the society and university settings, has been spent defining aspirations and impacts, much less has been focused on the process that can help to realize these aspirations from within civil society. Furthermore, this has subsequently led to the advance of an opposing scenario whereby communities, including in Greenland, are forced to hire foreign professionals to realize their own aspirations (Caine, *et al.,* 2007). This can complicate matters as it goes against national aspirations for capacity building and independence.

I believe that my work reveals how an outsider can help to empower and educate insiders, leaving them stronger, more self-sufficient and able to actualize their own aspirations. It is my aim that my research and myself be rooted in the participatory process in Greenland, while it is paramount that the outsider research contribute to long-term sustainability and relative autonomy that can be accessible through institutions such as universities (Caine, *et al.,* 2007). Based on my experiences, and where I feel I want to develop my work, I can act as an appropriate liaison between the Coalition and Ilisimatusarfik and the University of Alberta. The advantages of this relationship go beyond institutional support and can provide a continuous relationship between the NGO and myself, while provide the community with academic support. As stated by a Greenlandic musician, "we have a small population and a language that few people speak, and we do not need to get qualified people from abroad. But we live in a globalised world, and we are building on our Greenlandic identity, with the help of international skills and experience" (Thorsson, 2014a, 3). Outside researchers, including myself, will unavoidably be asked to exhibit their findings and how their research contributes to community development as participatory research and development are linked in this research context. My aim was to

rescue participation and resistance from the forces of co-option and coercion. My vision of participatory research goes beyond development or independence objectives in Greenland and hopes to transform knowledge to power by exploring new "spaces for participation" (Gaventa, 2004, 35).

Participatory research often is infused with a testimonial character, evaluating the process from a localized, individualized case perspective. It is my hope that more research like mine within the Coalition will help to discourage this from taking place in Greenland. Numerous scholars have commented on NGO's within Greenland; their strengths, weaknesses and participation in the hearings processes, but a first-hand perspective from ethnographic research is missing from the discourse. My work as an anthropologist within the Coalition allows me to offer a unique perspective into this increasing opportunity for participation and resistance within Greenland and I hope it will help to catalyze more research in this area. The results of the convergence between myself; the critical outsider, and the Coalition; the insider, has enormous potential by forging new knowledge that can facilitate self-determination beyond the boundaries of state (Caine, *et al.,* 2007). I would like to conclude with a quote from Cohen as included in Paine (1985), *"I am always a little ambivalent about advocacy. I always want to advocate; but I also always think that they (the people I have studied) could speak better for themselves than I could for them. And, further, to make myself an advocate would provide the other side- government, officials, etc.- with an excuse for not talking to the people themselves…I have to distinguish between the local community's need for my advocacy and my emotional and intellectual need/inclination to sympathize with them. I decided long ago that my advocacy- such as it is- had to live in my ethnography: in presenting them and the complexity of their lives in a way that they would feel did them justice."*

12.0 Moving Forward

"The trouble is that it's so different, it's so dangers, it's so wrong to impose a foreign alien system on people in a totally different culture." –Hans Christian Raffnsoe, chief justice, High Court of Greenland

In recent years, numerous scholars have focussed on the problems with public participation and the hearings processes in Greenland in terms of the structural or systematic problems like timing, language, information overload, but continued to ignore the barriers to participation. This void inspired me to further question the deficiencies to public participation in Greenland as they pertain to the perceived barriers. I wanted to lead the discussion with the structural/systematic barriers to participation which were illuminated by my research and subsequently follow them with an overview of the perceived barriers to participation as highlighted by my participants. These barriers refer to the more cultural obstacles that influence people's willingness to participation in debate. These innately engrained barriers like non-interference and the "Greenlandic silence" are pervasive and will not be fixed by exclusively allowing more time for the hearings to take place or by removing language barriers. We can go back in a change the structural issues and logistics like timing, preparation and organization, as has been successfully witnessed elsewhere in the world. This would make it a structurally more sound process, but still does not fix the barriers to participation that exist within a particular cultural context. Numerous scholars are quick to point out the flaws in the process, with little mention of how to change these deficiencies or point to new directions. We can continue to change minor things within a flawed system, which only continues to leave us operating under an ineffective system that is inappropriate for Greenland. This incompatibility parallels the concerns with land-claims and Aboriginal rights as introduced in Canada. As the late Inuit leader Mark R. Gordon commented, "[land-claims] are a tool not of our invention" (Moss, 1995, 81).

The Inuit Tapirisat of Canada furthers Gordon's sentiments, "Needless to say, Inuit are placed at some disadvantage in attempting to express Inuit perspectives of Inuit rights through an alien legal system" (Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, 1994, 8). The current impact assessment process reiterates the colonial legacy in Greenland, whereby the people are operating under a structure imposed by outsiders. This does not, is not and will not work. My research also points to a critical need for a fundamental restructuring of the impact assessment process in Greenland; one that does not perpetuate Greenland's colonial ties. This new structure needs to consider the ways the Inuit are embedded in and dependent on their culture. It needs to be evaluated through the prism of Inuit understanding (Loukacheva, 2007). There is no need to reinvent the wheel- it can be informed by other locations, like from the European and North American models of impact assessment; however, it needs to be a process that is truly Greenlandic and reflective of Greenlandic values. This impact assessment takes place in a country with a strong cultural traditions and emphasis, and therefore it needs to be a culturally sensitive process that encourages appropriate participation for the cultural context in which it is taking place.

The chapter on resistance and NGOs illustrates the passion, drive and motivation for change is profound. It is taking place- perhaps it is a bit misguided and disorganized but the fundamentals are there. It is evident that the current system is not working by people having to take matters in to their own hands and form resistance movements outside of the impact assessment process to have their voices heard. The message is loud and clear. This again points to a necessary restructuring of the way impact assessments are conducted and situated in Greenland. We need a process that harnesses this energy and passion felt by so many people and corals them together in a society and system that allows people to participate. This process will be open for participation, but will also be culturally sensitive so that people feel comfortable

participating by removing the cultural barriers prohibiting people's involvement. The research conducted thus far can be seen as a foundation; one that will support subsequent research efforts throughout my PhD research, which will be the next stage of my academic career.

Colonization can subjugate both land and knowledge. Historically, settlers acted as the superficial link between the natives and imperial hegemony which bridge the gap between colonizer and the colonized. Tools like cartography supported the proliferation of the colonizer's super powers (Monmonier, 1994). Their education, strength and practical skills gave them superior knowledge which in turn, created power. This idea is supported by Foucault and his infamous systematic phenomena of "power-knowledge." The desire to regain political, cultural and linguistic influence has resulted in counter-mapping and in new indigenous place-making efforts which could greatly influence the Inuit in Greenland and parallel the intent and actions of the current Climate and Society Research Group's Mapping and Monitoring Project that I am a part of at the Greenland Institute for Natural Resources.[49] I hope to further my work on public participation, power and resistance by incorporating counter-mapping into the realm of impact assessments in Greenland. Counter-mapping has been a decisive strategy for indigenous communities and organizations in their struggles for political, economic, and territorial rights. It has been an efficient tool to appropriate the state's techniques and modes of representation and reinforce the legitimacy of indigenous claims. The resistance and the struggle for emancipation have developed primarily within the epistemological framework of the decolonization of indigenous methodologies that formed the basis for my Master's thesis (Tuhiwai Smith, 2002). With the numerous social ramifications and cultural consequences of technology transfer, re-inscription of uneven social relations and the vexing questions of the ownership of maps,

[49] For more information on the Greenland Institute of Natural Resources please refer to their website at http://www.natur.gl/?L=3

indigenous cartographies articulate in varying ways to help in shifting power relations that traverse indigenous landscapes and therefore, could prove to be very beneficial in the Greenlandic context (Sletto, 2009).

13.0 Conclusion

"*But then, what is philosophy today- philosophical activity, I mean- if it is not the critical work that thought brings to bear on itself? In what does it consist, if not the endeavor to know how and to what extent it might be possible to think differently, instead of legitimating what is already known?* -Foucault, 1985

Following the ideas of Foucault, this thesis aimed to think differently, thinking critically about unexamined ways of knowing. The process of navigating and negotiating Greenland's self-determination requires caution and critical thought. I found inspiration in the words of Arturo Escobar, "…the product of critical thought should be a history of our present, of those discourses and practices that made us what we are, shaped what we think, determined what we see and feel, a history, in short, which clears the way so we may help bring into being, through reflection, those things that have never been thought or imagined" (Escobar, 1992, 22). My initial ideas of considering the inefficiencies with public participation in the Greenlandic context seem minimal and insignificant in comparison to my completed ethnography. My goal, keeping in line with Foucault and Escobar, was to produce something different, something that considered alternative ways of knowing and critically reflect upon life in Greenland.

A central focus on the history of Greenland, along with the importance of how Greenland is framed, articulated and depicted in current literature catalysed the initial goal of connecting place, identity, culture and development in the Greenlandic context. My thesis began with a discussion of the geopolitical importance of Greenland in order to set the stage for further discussion and analysis. A historical review of Greenland's colonial past and their road to independence explored ways in which the country is seeking the means to set the terms for defining the sort of society they want.

As Greenland unfolds as an industrial nation, I sought to address the problems with and the barriers to public participation. The hearings processes in Greenland revealed significant

deficiencies in opportunities to effectively participate, along with significant cultural obstacles to participation. In general, the citizens have little opportunity to hold the authorities accountable. By utilising the five criteria for deliberative democracy as derived from Habermas (1991) and Dahl (1989, 2000), with the addition of my own sixth criterion, I set forward an analysis of the hearings processes in Greenland as they relate to the ideals of deliberative democracy. The hearings processes are characterised by issues with timing, understanding, language and the ability to influence decision-making. As a result, this has an impact on the independence of the public sector and makes it susceptible to arbitrariness and corruption. These drastic results lead me to identify alternatives to the current public participation process in Greenland.

The lack of appropriate and accessible outlets for public participation and the deficiencies with the current political process in Greenland has led to people taking their future in to their own hands and negotiating a new identity within society. As this information emerged, I was presented with a call to action to identify ways in which Greenlanders were speaking from the margins of society (hooks, 1989). In a society where prevalent power dynamics exist, actors may begin to engage in movements of resistance in order to encourage a process of a restructuring of power (Kasanen and Heikkinen, 2012). My work with the Coalition provides an example of how Greenlanders are negotiating a new role within the political structure in Greenland as they gather to demand democracy from the margins of society.

Next, and perhaps in need of immediate research, I plan to pursue ways of completely restructuring impact assessments in Greenland. The current impact assessment process reiterates the colonial legacy in Greenland, whereby the people are operating under a structure imposed by outsiders. My research points to a critical need for a fundamental restructuring of the impact assessment process in Greenland; one that does not perpetuate Greenland's colonial ties. There

is no simple answer to Greenland's problems with impact assessments, but I hope to further my research in this area during my PhD and explore ways in which Critical Cartography can be utilised to provide an additional layer of meaning and understanding to EIAs and SIAs in Greenland.

In completing my fieldwork in Nuuk, I was often asked questions like where are you going? When will you come back? Are you done your research? What are you going to do with your research? I now realize that I was nowhere near being done; my research had essentially just begun. In time, these questions begged me to reflect upon the role of research and my role as an anthropologist in Greenland once again. As a long-time student and lover of learning, I realised that my participants had taught me just as much about myself, alternative ways of life and knowing, and about life in Greenland than I taught them about impact assessments, public participation and democracy. My research has come full circle and I close this chapter feeling a sense of peace knowing that Greenland and my participants turned close friends will forever be a part of both my academic and personal life. The human dimension of resource development remains central to my research. As an anthropologist, I know that cultures and societies are never static and are constantly changing. My time in Greenland however, opened my eyes to the fast pace in which it is moving. My research reveals the complex nature of development, democracy, participation and resistance in Greenland. As a result, I see the protection of indigenous rights as the most important job, in the face of drastic change and development. Resource development that is being prospected in Greenland must not become the new colonizer. The people of Greenland must have their rights protected and become decision makers regarding the development of their own country. I want to end my thesis with what might be the most important quote that informed my research and has meaning that is clearer now than ever before.

In the words of Albert Camus "*don't walk behind me; I may not lead. Don't walk in front of me; I may not follow. Just walk beside me and by my friend.*"

Qujanaq.

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Supplement 1. Project Information Sheet

Kaitlin Young, MA Candidate
Anthropology Department
University of Alberta

In fulfilment of Kaitlin Young's Master's thesis requirement, you are being invited to take part in a research study. Before you decide whether or not to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully.

WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF THE STUDY?

Together with the Greenland Climate Research Society and the Nuuk Fjord Mapping and Monitoring Project, my project aims to identify gaps in existing Social Impact Assessments (SIAs) as Greenland embarks on its path to independence by engaging with industry (mining and oil). With a specific focus on extractive industries (particularly, oil and mining) this project will argue for a more inclusive approach to assessment. Literature in Greenland reveals public concern over the lack of appropriate consultation and hearings processes, and there is a demand for an increase in public engagement in discussions on extractive industries. By identifying the past, present and future uses of the land along with contested and conflicted uses of the Fjord, I will attempt to utilize local knowledge to outline and map the historical and contemporary uses of the Nuuk Fjord and its complex human-environmental relations in order to project the land and its people from the negative impacts of development.

My study will run approximately three months. I will conduct my study by simply talking to community members and gaining information that will be recorded by an audio recording device.

It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you do decide to take part you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a consent form. If you decide to take part you are still free to withdraw at any time (up until the first draft amendments have been made) and without giving a reason. There will be no penalty or repercussions for not participating in this study. There are also no foreseeable risks involved in participating in this study.

If you do decide to take part in this study, you will simply be asked to answer questions, tell stories, and take me to places of importance. This study is very flexible and you will not have to do anything that makes you uncomfortable or goes against your wishes.

There will be many potential benefits to the participants, both directly and indirectly. First, it has the potential to benefit Social Impact Assessments by making them more inclusive of indigenous people's perspectives. This will in turn aid in protecting the participant's rights and land from development if my research is to be included in impact assessments. Second, Greenlandic politicians widely agree that securing foreign investment for the development of minerals and hydrocarbons and turning Greenland into an exporter for raw resources is key to economic and eventual independence from Denmark. The also acknowledge that one inevitable consequence of development is the trade-off between environmental protection and environmental disturbance. Development literature already reveals public concern over the lack of appropriate consultation and hearings processes and there is a demand for an increase in public engagement in discussion on extractive industries in Greenland as stated above. This project will directly

provide an outlet for participation and discussion for local people in the context of development. The participants will also benefit by being involved in a process that may lead to their eventual independence from Denmark, with my project aiding in doing so in a sustainable and bottom-up process. The many benefits from critical cartographic methodologies that will be used in my project include and are not limited to the following: gaining recognition of land rights, demarcation of traditional territories, protection of demarcated lands, gathering and guarding traditional knowledge, management of traditional lands and resources, and community awareness, mobilization and conflict resolution.

Since it might be essential to collect and link identifying information to subjects' responses or information, I will do my best to be creative to provide the utmost confidentiality of subject data. I will use study codes on data documents (like questionnaires or transcribed documents) instead of recording identifying information and keep a separate document that links the study code to subjects' identifying information locked in a separate location and restrict access to this document (only myself and my supervisor, Mark Nuttall, having access). I will always limit the access to identifiable information to myself and my supervisor to ensure limited access to the information and secure all data documents in locked locations. I will properly dispose, destroy and delete study data and documents if required after the research is completed.

The results of this study will be used in fulfilment of Kaitlin Young's thesis requirement from the University of Alberta. A copy of the thesis can be made available upon request if participants wish to review their contributions.

I am conducting the research as a student of the University of Alberta and together with the Greenland Climate Research Centre. This study is being funding by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC), the Northern Scientific Training Program (NSTP), and by the Circumpolar/Boreal Alberta Research (C/BAR) grants.

This research has been approved through the University of Alberta's ethical review process through the Research Ethics & Management Online (REMO) system.

For further information please contact Kaitlin Young at ksyoung@ualberta.ca.

Thank you for taking the time to read the information sheet provided.

Sincerely,

Kaitlin Young
MA Candidate, Anthropology
University of Alberta
Alberta, Canada
ksyoung@ualberta.ca

Supplement 2. Kaitlin Young Consent Form

Consent for Participation in Interview Research

I volunteer to participate in a research project conducted by Kaitlin Young from the University of Alberta. I understand that the project is designed to gather information on a number of topics including mapping, sense of place and extractive industries.

1. My participation in this project is voluntary. I understand that I will not be paid for my participation. I may withdraw and discontinue participation at any time without penalty. If I decline to participate or withdraw from the study, no one will be told.

2. I understand that most interviewees will find the discussion interesting and thought-provoking. If, however, I feel uncomfortable in any way during the interview session, I have the right to decline to answer any question or to end the interview.

3. Participation involves being interviewed by a researcher from the University of Alberta. The interview has no specific time frame and will contain open-ended questions. Notes will be written during the interview. An audio tape of the interview and subsequent dialogue will be made. If I don't want to be taped, I will not be able to participate in the study.

4. I understand that the researcher will not identify me by name in any reports using information obtained from this interview if that is my request. Also, my confidentiality as a participant in this study will remain secure. I acknowledge that I have a choice as to whether I want my name used to identify my contributions, with possible limitations upon my request. I also acknowledge my right to have my identity concealed upon request. Subsequent uses of records and data will be subject to standard data use policies which protect the anonymity of individuals and institutions.

5. I understand that after the first draft of Kaitlin Young's thesis has been released and one round of amendments, comments, suggestions, and requests have been solicited; I cannot withdraw myself from the study or make any other requests regarding my participation. Up until that point, I acknowledge that Kaitlin Young will openly accept my right to withdraw from the study.

6. I understand that there are minimal risks involved in participating in this study. I also understand that by participating in this study there may be great benefits for myself and my community.

7. I understand that this research study has been reviewed and approved by the REMO (Research & Ethics Management) which is a review process for human subject research. For research problems or questions regarding subjects, I can contact the REMO office at the University of Alberta.

8. I have read and understand the explanation provided to me. I have had all my questions answered to my satisfaction, and I voluntarily agree to participate in this study.

9. I have been given a copy of this consent form.

_____	_____
My Signature	Date
_____	_____
My Printed Name	Signature of the Investigator