

Bates College

SCARAB

Honors Theses

Capstone Projects

5-2020

The Construction of Exceptionalist Nationalism: A Critique of Danish Imperialist Shame and Ongoing Colonialism in Kalaallit Nunaat

Sofie Lee Sogaard

Bates College, ssogaard@bates.edu

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scarab.bates.edu/honorsthesis>

Recommended Citation

Sogaard, Sofie Lee, "The Construction of Exceptionalist Nationalism: A Critique of Danish Imperialist Shame and Ongoing Colonialism in Kalaallit Nunaat" (2020). *Honors Theses*. 332.

<https://scarab.bates.edu/honorsthesis/332>

This Open Access is brought to you for free and open access by the Capstone Projects at SCARAB. It has been accepted for inclusion in Honors Theses by an authorized administrator of SCARAB. For more information, please contact batesscarab@bates.edu.

The Construction of Exceptionalist Nationalism: A Critique of Danish Imperialist Shame and
Ongoing Colonialism in Kalaallit Nunaat

An Honors Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of American Cultural Studies

Bates College

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

Degree of Bachelor of Arts

By

Sofie Lee Søgaaard

Lewiston, Maine

April 2020

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I want to thank the Indigenous communities of Kalaallit Nunaat, whose voices and generosity made this thesis possible. Without your collaboration, this thesis could not exist.

Thank you to my advisor Professor Kristen Barnett, who has guided me through my four years at Bates with wisdom and kindness.

Thank you to the American Studies Department for your flexibility and encouragement.

Thank you to my family: Mamma, Pappa, Kristian, Niels, Peanut, and RBG for your unwavering love and support. I love you!

Mara and Topher, thank you for always being there for me. You have been my rocks these past four years. I love you more than I could ever express in an acknowledgement.

“The Rat Pack” (you know why you are). Thank you for your constant stream of “tea” and chaos. I love you forever.

Thank you to the Multifaith Chaplaincy for being a space of refuge and peaceful retreat. Brittany, Raymond, and Zara, you are wonderful!

Thank you to Lexie Mucci, the kindest person I have ever known. Please come back to Bates!

Thank you to the Anthropology Department for the Hamill Grant; the Center of Global Education for the Barlow Grant; and Bates College for the Bates Student Research Fund.

Abstract

This research provides an anti-colonial perspective on Denmark's ongoing colonial relationship with the Inuit peoples in Kalaallit Nunaat. The objectives of this work are to explore the foundational reasons behind the nation's lack of transparency when discussing its imperialist past and present focusing on the construction of exceptionalism and the use of the educational system as a tool of cultural violence. It includes interviews with members of Inuit communities in Nuuk and Odense that address topics of colonial history, national identity, school systems in Kalaallit Nunaat, and lived experience through local Indigenous perspectives. This thesis is rooted in a process of academic thought that prioritizes Indigenous peoples and their knowledge systems and is written with the philosophy of creating a product with and for Indigenous communities. It centers the idea that radical, anti-racist, anti-colonial frameworks are a threat to the oppressive social order within which Indigenous peoples are currently located and are the key to creating real change. Further, the thesis acknowledges the history of *research* as a tool of colonialism disempowering Indigenous communities and using Indigenous peoples as passive objects in, and of, western research. As a result, the personal narratives used as its core were collected in an ethical manner and participants were reimbursed with honorariums and provided copies of interviews and additional documentation including editorial power of the final thesis. At its core, this thesis hopes to amplify and center Indigenous peoples and their voices, bringing national imperialism to the forefront of the Danish conscience.

Table of Contents:

Acknowledgements	ii
Abstract.....	ii
Introduction.....	1
Theory: Radical Possibilities in Academia	5
The Use of Theory in Decolonizing Research	6
Theoretical Applications	8
Post-Colonial Theory	10
Anti-Colonial Theory	13
Decolonizing Theory	21
Indigenous Theory	29
Thoughts on Research.....	43
Kalaallit Nunaat Creation Story	50
The Coming of Men, A Long, Long While Ago	51
A Western Perspective of the History of Kalaallit Nunaat.....	53
Nationalism and Exceptionalism.....	58
Nation and State: Understanding Nationalism	60
Danish Exceptionalism.....	68
Language and Schools	81
Language and Schools in Kalaallit Nunaat.....	82
Language/Schools' Influence on Colonialism	91
Methods.....	100
Interview Methods:	103
General Ethics.....	110
Interview Analysis	111
Cultural Identity	112
History	119
General Feelings and Experiences.....	131
Trump and the USA.....	140
Possibilities	143
Bibliography	147
Appendices	159
Appendix A: Informed Consent Forms Interviews.....	159

Appendix B: Debriefing Form	160
Appendix C: Internal Review Board Approval	161
Appendix D: Interview Questions	162
Appendix E: Participant 1 Interview Transcript.....	163
Appendix F: Participant 2 Interview Transcript.....	166
Appendix G: Participant 3 Interview Answer	169
Appendix H: Participant 4 Interview Transcript	173
Appendix I: Participant 5 Interview Transcript.....	177
Appendix J: Participant 6 Interview Transcript.....	185
Appendix K: Participant 7 Interview Transcript	190
Appendix L: Participant 8 Interview Transcript.....	194
Appendix M: Participant 9 Interview Transcript.....	196
Appendix N: Juaaka Lybert Interview Feedback	203

Introduction

December 6th
By Kenji Haakon Tokawa

there is violence
in forgetting.
violence in asking me
to change my poem from saying 'asian women
instead, to just 'women'

violence in forgetting
the doctor's offices of Puerto Rico dirty hands blocking the nation's births

violence in forgetting
African women raped
in the name of producing more slaves
the economy you and i have inherited

don't forget violence against women
don't forget residential schools
CNN's Afghan women
Toronto Life's misstory on Aqsa Parvez

don't forget
the Japanese imperial army
the pro-life movement
the de-listing of sex reassignment surgery

violence against women is the missing and growing ocean
of Indigenous women
the back of the NOW magazine
the fetishization of asian women
don't forget the criminalization of sex work

the continued closing of shelters
the Israeli occupation of Palestine

violence is acting like violence affects all women evenly
that Indigenous women
trans women
homeless women
poor women

women of colour
institutionalized women
women who are sex workers
disabled women
women addicted
refugee women
immigrant women
women without status

experience the same violence as whomever you were expecting this audience
to be comprised of today

there is violence in forgetting
that this is older
than nineteen years
bigger than fourteen lives
darker
than a white ribbon
twisted
and pinned
to your
jacket

So, What's the Deal with Denmark?

What do people think when they hear “Denmark”? Hygge? Healthcare? Rødgrød med fløde? As a Dane, the first word that comes to my mind when I think about Denmark is nationalism. To be Danish means to have an intense sense of nationalistic pride that idealizes the Scandinavian state; “We are red, we are white, we are Danish dynamite!” Many ethnic Danes are indoctrinated with a blind love for their nation via national social and educational systems, never fully learning about the country’s current and historical wrongdoings. This chauvinistic approach has led to a non-critical view of Denmark that erases past and current violence and fuels national systems that actively work to cover up Denmark's colonial history, as well as its ongoing colonization.

As a Dane who was raised in the United States for the majority of my life, I was always taught to love Denmark. I did. And to some extent I still do. I love my Danish family. I love the icy Scandinavian beaches that are minefields of sea smoothed lumps of amber and sun-bleached driftwood. I love the flaxen fields of rye and wheat, lined with tall, white windmills and idyllic blue skies. But no matter how much I love Denmark; I cannot ignore the history that so many Danes have forgotten.

In the spring of 2019, while studying abroad in København, I became aware of Denmark’s lack of transparency, in regard to their colonial past, through talking to my cousin (Danish Inuit) and visiting the National Museum of Denmark. While this museum has an exhibit focused on Danish colonies, the discourse surrounding the cultural violence that occurred was vague and congratulatory of Denmark’s establishment of colonies around the world. This thesis will center decolonization, with an objective to create a space for the voices of the Indigenous peoples of Kalaallit Nunaat, instead of the voices of white, ethnic Danes. This will help shed

light on the cover-up and lack of dialogue surrounding Denmark's colonial past and break down the idealistic façade of the "perfect Denmark" that works to erase the struggles of Indigenous peoples and other people of color. In short, I write this thesis because there is violence in forgetting and power in reclaiming history.

I offer this analysis, in part, as a person of the in-between; stuck with different feet in different doors. I am bi-racial, queer, an immigrant, the child of immigrants from Denmark and Korea. My mother's migration journey from East Asia is riddled with the lingering effects of U.S. and Japanese occupation, pockmarked by interrupted relationships to land and culture, stamped with forced assimilation and resistance, indented with a history of forced migration that yearns for settlement. My father comes from the land of Vikings, people with skin like elderberry flowers, and a "forgotten" history wrought with stolen land and broken promises. My veins course with the blood of my mother and my father; the East and the West. I am both and I am neither. I live on land that does not belong to me. I am the colonizer and the colonized. Using a critical lens, I will detail the history and colonial entanglements of Kalaallit Nunaat and Denmark, referring to Greenland as Kalaallit Nunaat, "the land of the Kalaallit" and the Indigenous people as the Kalaallit or Inuit peoples, as multiple sources have described the terms Greenland and Greenlandic as intrinsically colonial labels for the island's Indigenous peoples.

Theory: Radical Possibilities in Academia

Theory Doesn't Live Here
by Gwen Nell Westerman

My grandparents never talked
about theory, decolonization, or
post-colonial this or that.
They talked about
good times and bad times.
Their self-determination was
not a struggle against
colonialism affecting their
Self-imagination.
They worked hard to survive.
They didn't imagine themselves
through story.
They knew themselves
through the stories they heard
as they sat under the kitchen table
listening to the old people talk.
They didn't need theory
to explain where they came from--
they lived it.

The Use of Theory in Decolonizing Research

Indigenous knowledge has long been dismissed by academia because it has not been considered to be belonging to any existing theory (Cook-Lynn 1997, 21) or been reduced to nativist and even illogical, contradictory discourses (Smith, 1999, p.14). Thus, the “theoretical value of Indigenous approaches has been denied because ‘theorizing’ has been evaluated on the premises of Western academic knowledge and epistemology” (Porsanger 2004, 112).

While Indigenous theorizing, which employs Indigenous approaches, epistemologies, ontologies, and axiologies, has had a relatively short history, the body of Indigenous academic knowledge is growing (Mihesuah 1998). The term theory is not a monolithic construct, rather it is a site of contestation and cultural struggle (Pillai 1996, 207). Theory refers to “materialist explanatory critiques” (Ebert 1992, 12) that provide a fundamental critique of socio-economic institutions and practices and participate in transformative change in society (Pillai 1996, 207). Ebert’s notion of theory is compelling because it understands theory not only as affirming, describing, and incorporating cultural differences, but also in terms of explaining exploitative relations of power at the level of both discursive and material practices (Pillai 1996, 207).

Within this understanding of theory, different groupings of sociality: race, gender, and nation are critiqued at the levels of signifying practices and within systems of exploitation and the social struggle it engenders. Theory, according to Ebert, is thus “a double operation: it is both the frame of intelligibility through which we organize and make sense of reality, and the critical inquiry into and contestation over these modes of meaning making” (Ebert 1992, 13). It is a political practice because it gives a historical understanding of how meanings are materially formed and social reality is constructed in relation to strategies of power. Theory is important, that is obvious. I come to theory, as bell hooks writes, “because I was hurting--the pain within

me was so intense that I could not go on living. I came to theory desperate, wanting to comprehend--to grasp what was happening around and within me” (hooks 1994, 59).

Theory can and has been used against people like me, like the people I love, like the people I am working with to write this paper. It has long been inaccessible for people of color, women, queer people, poor people, etc. because of its use and valuing of convoluted vernacular; this is a tool used to keep marginalized groups out of academia and out of power. If theory is not accessible because of the language chosen by academics, then the potential for that theory to transform the lived realities of marginalized groups is severely restricted (Pihama 2005, 197). Simply put, knowledge is power. bell hooks describes the praxis of feminist theory as “metalinguistic, creating exclusive jargon; it was written solely for an academic audience...As a consequence of academization of feminist thought in this manner undermines feminist movement via depoliticization. Deradicalized, it is like every other academic discipline” (hooks 2000, 22). hooks emphasizes that the in-accessibility of theory gets in the way of its liberatory possibilities and forces its radical intentions into a box that prevents growth and beneficial action. Further, when members of traditionally marginalized groups try to fit into the molds that will hypothetically allow us to succeed within academia, it still does not mean our knowledge will be valued within the system. As Auroroa Levins Morales states:

My intellectual life and that of other organic intellectuals, many of them women of color, is fully sophisticated enough for use. But in order to have value in the marketplace...[academia] must find a way to process it, to refine the rich multiplicity of our lives and all we have come to understand about them into high theory by the simple act of removing it, abstracting it beyond recognition, taking out the fiber, boiling it down until the vitality is oxidized away (Morales 2010).

However, theory is not inherently oppressive, just as it is not inherently transformative. hooks writes, “Theory is not inherently healing, liberatory or revolutionary. It fulfills this function only when we ask that it do so and direct our theorizing towards this end” (hooks 1994,

61). Instead of utilizing theories traditionally used by anthropologists to conduct research with Indigenous communities; I will avoid theories and frameworks of academic thought that have historically been used to further colonize academia and oppress Indigenous peoples. This is because, as Audre Lorde states, “the master’s tools will never dismantle the master’s house” (Lorde 1984). While I believe in the possibility for the master’s tools to be used to dismantle the master’s house, it will never be my first choice to employ such a framework when I see better routes for radical change; like anti-colonial theory. Although a lot of theory is inherently flawed, I think it can be used for liberation and radical thought if it is thoroughly shaken up and changed. I don’t think it is impossible to flip oppressive tools to better serve marginalized groups, just difficult considering the world that we are currently living in. This is why it is so important to define theoretical positions. Without framing each theory, it is easy for these divergent, emancipatory methods to lose their meaning, or simply confuse one theory for another. Radical, anti-racist, anti-colonial theoretical frameworks are a threat to the survival of the oppressive social order within which Indigenous peoples are currently located and does so from a distinctive base of Indigenous culture and knowledge. As Indigenous writer Rayna Green writes, “In Indian country, maybe the most radical change we will ever have is a return to tradition” (Green 1990).

Theoretical Applications

Along with using critical reflexivity, I will use the frameworks of anti-colonial theory, decolonial theory, and Indigenous theory in order to better understand discourses surrounding decolonization and the experiences of Indigenous peoples, as they pertain to my research. I exclude postcolonial theory from this discussion as it is a lens which gives an incomplete perspective on colonialism and the process of decolonization within a Western context.

However, I will include a short description of post-colonial theory to provide a reasoning for why I will not use it as a lens of understanding.

Before I can get into the details and critiques of post-colonial theory, anti-colonial theory, decolonial theory, and Indigenous theory, it is necessary to define the framework that binds them all together: colonialism. Adam Gary Lewis uses Anne McClintock's 1992 theoretical framework to define colonialism as a territorial appropriation of another geo-political body that exploits the resources and labor of another group, as well as systematically interfering in the capacity of the appropriated entity to function. Colonialism is maintained within this system, even after struggles for independence, via internal colonialism, where the colonial culture persists in its use of a similar administration of power over other groups (Lewis 2012, 231). The roots of colonialism lie with the often-violent maintenance of "structural domination and a suppression... of the heterogeneity of the subjects in question (Mohanty 2003, 18).

Post-Colonial Theory

Postcolonial theory will be excluded from my analysis because it is arguably a “settler move to innocence” (Tuck and Yang 2012) and it glosses over contemporary global power relations. Linda Tuhiwai Smith perhaps best summarizes the problem with the concept of postcolonial:

Post-colonial discussions have . . . stirred some Indigenous resistance, not so much to the literary reimagining of culture as being centered in what were once conceived of as the colonial margins, but to the idea that colonialism is over, finished business. This is best articulated by Aborigine activist Bobbi Sykes, who asked at an academic conference on post- colonialism, “What? Post-colonialism? Have they left?” There is also, amongst Indigenous academics, the sneaking suspicion that the fashion of post-colonialism has become a strategy for re-inscribing or reauthorizing the privileges of non-Indigenous academics because the field of “post-colonial” discourse has been defined in ways which can still leave out Indigenous peoples, our ways of knowing and our current concerns (Tuhiwai Smith 1999, 24).

Ella Shohat (1992) argues that any claim that colonialism is over conceals the fact that global hegemony still exists in forms that are not outright colonial rule. Postcolonial theorists avoid examining the relationship between post-colonialism and global capitalism, covering up “contemporary problems of social, political, and cultural domination” (Dirlik 1994). Postcolonial scholarship is politically and theoretically ambiguous, blurring the distinctions between the colonized and the colonizer. As a result of “not clearly articulating the systems of domination and making a clear call for opposition, political opposition can easily dissolve” (Moorhouse 2016, 3). The ambiguous nature of postcolonialism also leaves itself “open to the charge of ahistoricism” (Bahri 1996, 138), especially when scholars “do not contextualize exactly when the postcolonial happened or articulate the specific meanings for different postcolonial regions” (Moorhouse 2016, 4).

Similarly, Anne McClintock (1992) criticizes the term postcolonial for its premature celebration of the end of colonialism and for its palatability in terms of academic marketability. This palatability is arguably an example of “those strategies or positionings that attempt to relieve the settler of feelings of guilt or responsibility without giving up land or power or privilege, without having to change much at all” (Tuck and Yang 2012, 10). The term postcolonial, as well as the idea that colonialism is over, aims to lessen the guilt of settlers that they are “directly or indirectly benefiting from the erasure and assimilation of Indigenous peoples...The weight of this reality is uncomfortable; the misery of guilt makes one hurry toward any reprieve” (Tuck and Yang 2012, 9).

Sexton (2010) argues that if the focus on subversive relationships is making it more palatable, it simply reproduces colonial relations in place of resistance. George Dei (2016) notes that postcolonialism does not take into account that many structural frames mimic Western intellectual traditions when theorizing non-Western identities and subjectivities within social theory. For instance, Homi Bhabha’s (1994) conceptions of hybridity, are key to understanding textuality theory, but this post-colonial theorizing, while useful, is limited in how it addresses the “question of ‘elite culture and power’ and, particularly, the dynamics of the oppressed social and political ecologies when read across time and history” (Dei and Lordan 2016). Bhabha’s theory is therefore only relevant when it comes to understanding the experience of the colonized in white contexts. While postcolonial theory aims to be anti-essentialist, it is in fact essentialist in that the discourses of cultural identity and language “do not fully capture the relations between the experiences of colonized and Indigenous bodies in Euro-American contexts” (Dei and Lordan 2016). Similarly, Loomba (1998), asks “why postcolonial scholarship has ignored the wealth of Indigenous texts and methodologies, and how this may be central to the psychological

and spiritual healing of Indigenous peoples, black folks, and non-black people of color” (Moorhouse 2016, 4).

Emily Moorhouse agrees with Dei and Lordan’s sentiments that theories of hybridity do not allow critical interrogation of the policies of settler colonialism and anti-blackness. She argues that “the frameworks from post-colonialism and cultural studies are insufficient methodological tools for theorizing how different groups relate to land, and the way that land plays a central role in Indigenous survival and resistance” (Moorhouse 2016, 1). Writing about colonialism in Canada, she states that postcolonialism has failed Indigenous peoples by “under-theorizing land” and not acknowledging how different bodies may have different relationships to land. Postcolonial scholars “have also failed to see how reclaiming a relationship to the land has been at the core of Indigenous survival and resistance in Canada. Indigenous peoples have fought to maintain their identity despite five centuries of colonization (Moorhouse 2016, 5). Lawrence and Dua argue that this “derives from the fact that they have retained knowledge of who they are due to their longstanding relationship to the land” (Lawrence and Dua 2006, 127). Elizabeth Cook-Lynn disagrees with the use of postcolonial frameworks of identity because of the way it constructs Indigenous identity “in an individualistic sense, instead of individuals seeing themselves as members of a collective community with shared responsibilities to one another and to the land (Cook-Lynn 1998, 125). Echoing Cook-Lynn, Bonita Lawrence argues that “Bodies of law...distorted and disrupted older Indigenous ways of identifying the self in relation not only to collective identity but to the land” (Lawrence 1999, 4). This is precisely why the ongoing displacement of Indigenous peoples from their ancestral lands is a clear, simple example of why colonialism is not over and postcolonial theory is flawed in its perceptions of contemporary colonizer/colonized relations.

Anti-Colonial Theory

The field of post-colonial theory, founded by such scholars as Edward Said, Homi Bhabha, and Gayatri Chakrovorty Spivak, emphasizes the ways in which anti-colonialism has evolved from being a subversive source of political discourse found around the world to a form of academic knowledge that is accepted among many disciplines, even in those of “former” imperial powers. Anti-colonial thought has been heavily influenced by figures like Mohandas K. Gandhi, Ho Chi Minh, Patrice Lumumba, Franz Fanon, and Nelson Mandela who, before becoming emblematic symbols, served as speakers for the political struggles they represented.

As a historical phenomenon, anti-colonialism and anti-colonial theory defies easy categorization, despite its usage as an expression across disciplines. Anti-colonialism resists “simple definitions of practical form, political scope, and empirical content. This situation is undoubtedly due to the ubiquity of anti-colonial thought and activism across time and geography” (Lee 2018, 436). Meanwhile, the concept of anti-colonialism is positioned against the equally hard to define “colonialism”, which has been construed as a “totalizing structure of brutality, violence, objectifications, racism, and exclusion” (Scott 2018, 6). This monolithic account of colonialism is flawed because it cues uniform ideas of what anti-colonialism is, has been, and can be. Instead, Lee believes that anti-colonialism should not be categorized as strictly reactionary, “but rather as motivated by evolving principles of accommodations and self-rule. Situating anti-colonialism as a historical formation underscores this gestation and scale of response” (Lee 2018, 437). Like other social processes, anti-colonialism is not static as a practice nor a concept but is always subject to changes in historical conditions across place and time. In other words, colonialism is not just a historical relationship, but also a continued process of the intersections of power oppression that should be resisted and changed.

If boiled down to the simple notion of opposing foreign domination, anti-colonialism as an idea is arguably one of the oldest models of political conduct. Based on this history of political use, anthropologist David Scott describes the approach, writing “Anti-colonialism has been a classic instance of the modern longing for total revolution” (Scott 2004, 6). Therefore “anti-colonialism is built upon a European Enlightenment tradition of radical thought and activism articulated by such figures as Karl Marx--an intellectual genealogy that, while valid in a number of instances, nevertheless positions anti-colonialism as derivative of Western thought political thought to the neglect of non-Western sources” (Lee 2018, 436). While there is a great deal of anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist theory intertwined within Marxist traditions, it is essential to acknowledge the notion of Marxist universalism, which is grounded in eurocentrism. Moreover, Dei and Asgharzadeh argue that Marxism, because of its Euro-centric, class-based, and economic reductions “could be harmful to diversity, hybridity, and the heterogeneity of cultures, communities, collectives and languages”(Dei and Asgharzadeh 2001, 312). Despite this, anti-colonial thought recognizes the importance of solidarity and the collective fight against hegemonic colonial relations; solidarity is both possible and necessary. Anti-colonial thought, therefore, “rejects the Nietzschean view of the world that calls upon its followers to ‘rest their swords’ and remain indifferent to oppression and injustice” (Dei and Asgharzadeh 2001, 312). In Zarathustra, Nietzsche states:

There is much justice and injustice: he who sees it becomes angry. Looking down and striking hard--that becomes one and the same thing: so go away into the forests and let your sword rest! Go your ways! And let the people and peoples go theirs! (Nietzsche 1892, 20)

Within Nietzsche and Marxist traditions, solidarity is based on “the privileging of class struggle and material conditions, in anti-colonial discourse collective action is based on common individualistic and collective desire for emancipation” (Dei and Asgharzadeh 2001, 312). This

wish can be achieved through resistance against dominant and dehumanizing structures--what is colonial.

Anti-colonialism has been influenced by various beliefs, including millenarianism “the belief that a major social transformation is about to occur... a common aspect of the colonial encounter in such places as southern Africa, Southeast Asia, and the American West...fomented rebellion with the desire to reinstate control to Indigenous authorities and communities” (Lee 2018, 441) and religions like Islam that played an important role in the rationalizing and coalescing anti-colonial resistance in places like Senegal, Algeria, and Afghanistan. However, non-religious Enlightenment notions of individual rights, suffrage, economic justice, and national self-determination had a greater influence on anti-colonial thought than those based in religion. These religious and secular ideas evolved concurrently with imperial expansion, gaining traction with political movements including the Haitian Revolution (1791-1804) and Russian Bolshevik Revolution. The Haitian Revolution, led by Toussaint L’Ouverture and former and rebel slaves, was a seismic world event, with ideas based on “the rights of liberty, equality, and fraternity as established by the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen (1789) during the French Revolution (1789-1799)” (Lee 2018, 442). This seismic world event showed the global reach of the French Revolution, highlighted the capacity of African slaves to combat their forced bondage and create a new political structure, and became an early symbol of anti-colonial revolution (James 1938). Similarly, the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 showed the power in ideas, especially those of Karl Marx, to garner political change. While its focus was not specifically anti-colonial, it “provided a twentieth century paradigm of political insurrection led by intellectuals and supported by peasants and the working classes... and established a state that was sympathetic to anti-colonial movements across the world”.

It is essential when trying to understand anti-colonial theory to be able to distinguish the various thinkers in the field in order to avoid the homogeneity that anti-colonial as a category can imply. For instance, while both from the small island of Martinique in the French Antilles Frantz Fanon and Aimé Césaire, both theorists had distinct political paths. Although Césaire was one of the founders of Négritude, a literary movement that critiqued French racism, with Léopold Senghor and Léon-Gontran Damas, he was not entirely critical of French rule. In fact, Césaire and Senghor both served in the French National Assembly and supported a federal model of decolonization that would keep their countries (e.g. Martinique and Senegal) as French colonies (Cooper 2014). Fanon, while also critical of French racism, diverges from Césaire in that he supported total decolonization as the only option for a complete political and social revolution (Fanon 1961). While Césaire was not entirely complacent to French colonial rule, it is necessary to differentiate between critical views and total decolonization. Similarly, “Mohandas Gandhi deliberately pursued a philosophical agenda, anti-colonial in scope, which proved far different from the diplomatic pragmatism of the compatriot Jawaharlal Nehru” (Lee 2018, 443). Gandhi, in his book *Hind Swaraj* or *Indian Home Rule*, critiqued British colonial rule in India on several levels, while framing colonialism and decolonization as political issues and matters of personal attitude (Lee 2018, 444). Meanwhile, Nehru’s *The Discovery of India* is similarly positioned with a backdrop of a civilizational point of view but argued that it provided a “historical rationale rather than a purely cultural or philosophical one, to make a specific political claim for India’s right to sovereignty” (Lee 2018, 444).

The intricacies of nuances and arguments between scholars in the field raise important questions “about how broadly (any critical position) or narrowly (a position specifically calling for complete decolonization) the term anti-colonial should be defined and applied” (Lee 2018,

443). Within the scholarly category of anti-colonial theory, there has been a history of radical thought that is defined by the internal tensions between different groups of thinkers, as well as the appropriation and intertwinement of western and non-western ideas, as seen in the works of Muhammad Iqbal of Pakistan, Abdulrahman Mohamed Babu of Zanzibar, M.N. Roy of India, and B.R. Ambedkar of India (Lee 2018, 444).

These anti-colonial scholars provide alternative political narratives through religions and philosophies like Islam, Maoism, Marxism, and Buddhism, while using methods of “borrowing and bricolage” (Lee 2018, 444) to challenge binary ideas of their political present. Along with Albert Memmi, Fanon is characteristic of this idea, promoting the Manichean worldview of the colonizer vs. colonized trope in literature. However, Fanon saw this binary as colonial and therefore aimed to subvert it. For instance, in *Black Skin, White Masks*, Fanon notes the binary structure’s possible instability through colonial assimilation and in *The Wretched of the Earth*, he pushed for its elimination via decolonization and thus bring about a new humanity. Therefore, it is necessary in order to understand the complexities of anti-colonial arguments to pay homage to certain thinkers and their ideas and understand the colonial sources of stereotypes and their persistence today (Lee 2018, 444).

There is a tendency within academia to focus on the work of non-Indigenous scholars in North America, even in the case of anti-colonial theory. While academics like Arlo Kempf see the emergence of formal discourses of anti-colonialism with the writings of Fanon, Cabral, Memmi, Césaire, and Gandhi, these theories neglect to recognize the resistance and writings of Indigenous peoples in North America (Kempf 2009, 15-20). Dei argues that the “centuries of contextualized Indigenous resistance to settler colonial assaults on lands, communities, and bodies should be taken into consideration” (Dei 2001, 297-323). This is tied to the approach to

anti-colonialism by many scholars, who see it simply as a resistance to any type of domination. However, if one sees colonialism in Canada and the United States as a specific type of imposition: settler colonialism, “predicated on the dispossession of Indigenous peoples’ lands and political authority” (Coulthard 2016, 151), based in the erasure of Indigenous peoples and the pursuit of land for settling, then one can see that an anti-colonialism that is specific to settler colonialism is essential. Tuck and Yang argue that if the “homogenizing of various experiences of oppression as colonialism” obscures one’s relationship to settler colonialism and neglects to address Indigenous sovereignty, Indigenous rights, and the de-occupation of Indigenous lands (Tuck and Yang 2012, 17), “the homogenizing of anti-oppression (e.g. anti-capitalism, anti-racism, and feminism) as anti-colonialism risks reproducing a similar dynamic” (Carlson 2016, 4). Instead, Indigenous research is the center of anti-colonialism, with Indigenous resurgence pushing out from the center, reclaiming the space stolen and occupied by settler colonialism (Hart 2009, 25-41). Anti-colonialism is based on the use of traditional knowledge as a tool to resist the erasure of Indigenous ways and knowledge by those of the West, a trend that is common in colonialism. Leanne Simpson agrees with Hart’s sentiments, stating that anti-colonial strategies “foster the political mobilization to stop the colonial attack on Indigenous knowledge and Indigenous Peoples... and require the recovery of Indigenous intellectual traditions, Indigenous control over Indigenous natural territories, and the protection of Indigenous lands from environmental destruction” (Simpson 2004, 381). The benefit of using the term anti-colonial is that it emphasizes the reality and current existence of settler colonial structures and practices. This is why terms like post-colonialism and decolonization ease the ability of scholars to position colonialism as something that existed in the past, implying that colonialism no longer exists and now non-Indigenous people can decolonize.

While anti-colonial theory is similar to postcolonial theory in that it is a “theorization of issues, concerns, and social practices emerging from colonial relations and their aftermath” (Dei 2000, 7), it is starkly different because of its use of Indigenous knowledges and interrogation of “the power configurations embedded in ideas, cultures, and histories of knowledge production and use” (Dei 2000, 7). As a theoretical framework, anti-colonial theory pushes back against discourses that deny and repudiate the oppressive contemporary presence of colonialism, affirming the existence of re-colonization processes, and questioning the power structures embedded in the ideas, cultures, and histories of knowledge production and use. George Dei describes the theory as “an epistemology of the colonized, anchored in the Indigenous sense of collective and common colonial consciousness. ‘Colonial’ is conceptualized, not simply as ‘foreign’ or ‘alien’, but rather as ‘imposed and dominating’”(Dei 2000, 7). Anti-colonial theory emphasizes the importance of locally produced knowledge and “sees marginalized groups as subjects of their own experiences and histories” (Memmi 1969). As a result, this theoretical approach sees local languages, Indigenous cognitive categories, and cultural logic as essential to foster social understandings and celebrates the resistances of colonized groups. This shift away from a focus on victimization offers a critique of the discard and degradation of tradition and culture in the interest of “modernity” and advancement. Only by validating the voices of the oppressed and their accounts of their histories and cultures, can colonial imperialist projects be destabilized.

The anti-colonial discursive approach calls institutionalized power, privilege, and justifications for hegemonic dominance in society into question, acknowledging the influence of societal structures in creating and reproducing inequalities that are planted in the intersections of race, class, gender, sex, and sexual orientation. While some argue that these structures are

created by the state to serve their interests and economic and social formation, Dei argues that “power and discourse are not possessed entirely by the colonizer and the dominant” (Dei 2000, 8); discursive agency and power to resist lives in colonized groups (Bhabba 1995). Anti-colonial theory relies on the notion that the nation state and its accompanying ideas of citizenship and community are not only imagined constructs but have profound real-life consequences for colonized and marginalized groups. Dei agrees with Homi Bhabha’s statement that an anti-colonial discourse “requires an alternative set of questions, techniques, and strategies in order to construct it” (Bhabba 1995, 43), emphasizing that “an anti-colonial stance requires that the knowledge producer be aware of the historical and institutional structures and contexts which sustain intellectualism and intellectual projects” (Dei 2000, 8).

Patel writes that she prefers the term “anti-colonial” to “decolonial” because the former feels, temporarily more appropriate to me given the widespread and rather sloppy metaphorical uses of decolonization (Tuck and Yang 2012). She argues that her preference for anti-colonial is a pause from the overuse of decolonization, with an intention of leveraging both terms. Similarly, Calderon sees it as a term that more fully meets the task of locating genealogies in current colonial relationships to learning, knowledge, and knowledge production (Calderon 2014). She argues that while “anti-colonial still allows for locating the hydra-like shape-shifting yet implacable logics of settler colonialism” (Calderon 2014, 15), it does not include the unmet promises that decolonization does. Although this labels anti-colonial views as incomplete, as they do not address material change, “it is between the tension of the West and Indigenous that an anti-colonial approach bears fruit, allowing us to at once identify the epistemological and ontological projects of colonality and also explore our relationship to these projects” (Calderon 2014, 15). By utilizing an anti-colonial approach to my research, I hope to write in a manner that

will break down hegemonic structures that place Indigenous people and people of color in positions of exploitation both in society and within the academy.

Decolonizing Theory

Theory is essential to the writing of histories that aim to interrupt, rather than reproduce, the colonial hierarchies within which the West operates. However, theory itself has been historically Eurocentric. This Eurocentrism “consists not only in the specific claims made by individual theorists but also in the way scholars employ theory as a set of ideal types with which scholars organize any given history as a process of modernization” (Bhambra 2018, 144). Decolonizing theory is thus a disruption of the norm, a “reconfiguration of history and theory such that the former ceases to produce raw material for the latter and the latter ceases to be an ahistorical processing apparatus, a set of external categories applied from some unmarked scholarly outside” (Zimmerman 2018, 144). This is a theory that is inherently decolonized. Zimmerman describes decolonial theory as not floating “above history, for scholars to apply as they see fit, but rather emerges toward us from the history we study. Decolonizing theory seizes us, perhaps possesses us” (Zimmerman 2018, 145). Decolonization is “ongoing, radical resistance against colonialism that includes struggles for land redress, self-determination, healing historical trauma, cultural continuance, and reconciliation. (Driskill 2010, 70).

In 2005, Norman Denzin and Yvonna Lincoln claimed that the academy was decolonized because of the contributions of people from traditionally marginalized groups: women, postgraduate students of color, non-U.S. born faculty members, and faculty of color. While these traditionally excluded people have more of a presence in academia in the West, this does not mean that academic research has been or is now decolonized. This is because, despite one’s social location, in order to achieve decolonization, one must think from a “subaltern

epistemological location” (Grosfoguel 2007, in Chambers and Buzinde 2015, 13). The idea that the academy is decolonized only serves to “obscure and to make invisible its continued coloniality” (Chambers and Buzinde 2015, 13). Decolonization and the decolonizing theory are not just “healing from a past traumatic event. It is contradictory to suggest that Indigenous peoples should reconcile or heal from past colonial abuse and the legacy of colonization so that they can better assimilate into a colonial society that is designed to eliminate them; physically, ontologically, and through the destruction of their ability to exist without being undermined by the colonial, imperialist state that is heavily based in extractive capitalism (Geiger 2017, 226). Geiger states that, “while there certainly are many past colonial abuses, the symbolic effect of framing colonialism as a past event, as opposed to a residual structure, serves the goal of anesthetizing a rational and critical confrontation of settler-colonialization’s ongoing activity--the survival of coloniality beyond the classic images of colonialism” (Geiger 2017, 226). The Merriam-Webster dictionary defines decolonizing as “to free from colonial status” (Merriam-Webster 2013). This definition employs the colloquial sense of “stripping away” what is considered to be colonizing. Patel argues that it is problematic to define decolonization as a stripping away of anything non-Indigenous because of its “implications for maintaining essentialized identities and social locations” (Grande 2004 and Lyons 2010, in Patel 2014, 359). However, Wyner describes coloniality as inextricable to the ongoing projects of delineating human status, and thus the ability to own land and others (Wynter 2003). Coloniality has sustained the project of “material domination, whether through religious or state-defined delineations of wealth” (Patel 2014, 359). When “decolonization” is used metaphorically, the impact strengthens colonial structures by maintaining relationships among being and land abstract and vague (Tuck and Yang 2012), “paradoxically and dysfunctionally enabling an

erasure of the roots and tendrils of coloniality” (Patel 2014, 359). Patel writes that the term is flawed because of the widespread, sloppy metaphorical uses of “decolonization”, as well as the “the unmet promises of stripping away colonization, as the term decolonization gestures to do”.

Nelson Maldonado-Torres describes decolonization as the “restoration of the logic of the gift”; decolonization should attempt to at least restore or create a reality in which racialized subjects can give and receive freely in societies that are founded on the ideal of receptive generosity. Receptive generosity “involves a break away from a racial dynamic as well as from conceptions of gender and sexuality that inhibit generous interactions among subjects” (Maldonado-Torres 2007, 260). Therefore, the logic of the gift is not just a call for the colonial settlers to give things to Indigenous peoples. These sorts of “gifts” have historically been used to preserve, rather than move away from, the dynamics of race, gender, and sexuality that prevent generous interaction among people. Rather, the logic of the gift means “materially, subjectively, and politically reorganizing society such that the people, languages, and forms of knowledge that have been marginalized, dispossessed, and subject to the logic of elimination could become subjects of generous inter-human interaction, rather than objects of unidirectional (false) charity” (Geiger 2017, 230). Instead of seeing decolonization as “something that has a fixed and finite goal, decolonial activism and scholarship ask us to radically reimagine our futures” (Driskill 2010, 70).

While decolonizing theory has many “disciplinary tentacles” (Chambers and Buzinde 2015, 5), there is a common link between the branches. Decolonizing theory can be regarded as a “family of diverse positions that share a view of coloniality as a fundamental problem in the modern (as well as postmodern and information) age, and of decolonization or decoloniality as a necessary task that remains unfinished” (Maldonado-Torres 2011, 2). Decolonizing thinking

demands one to “take seriously those epistemic perspectives/cosmologies/insights of critical thinkers from the South thinking from and with sub-alternized racial/ethnic/sexual spaces and bodies” (Grosfoguel 2007, 212). Whereas postcolonial theory is focused on transformation within the context of dominant Western knowledge, decolonization seeks to change “the terms and the content of the conversation, to develop a different ‘epistemic grounding’ rather than pursuing change within the context of prevalent European paradigms” (Grosfoguel 2007, in Chambers and Buzinde 2015, 50). Tuhiwai-Smith agrees, adding that the process of decolonization “critically engages, at all levels, imperialism, colonialism, and postcoloniality. Decolonizing research implements Indigenous epistemologies and critical interpretive practices that are shaped by Indigenous agendas” (Tuhiwai Smith 1999, 20). It is the acceptance of inquiry, which “involves performance of counter-hegemonic theories that disrupt the colonial and postcolonial” (Denzin, Lincoln, and Tuhiwai Smith 2008, xi).

Similarly, Swadener and Mutua write that decolonization involves the “valuing, reclaiming, and foregrounding of Indigenous voice and epistemologies” (Swadener and Matua 2008, 31). Decolonizing theory is heavily informed by the practices of Indigenous peoples who participate in ongoing resistance and cultural continuance for self-determination and sovereignty. Within a decolonizing framework, the ultimate goal is to produce and sustain a livable space for present and future generations; the practice of decolonizing theory is a form of care and love for Indigenous ancestors and relatives. Decolonizing scholars are traditionally Indigenous or First Nations peoples and there is nothing “post” about the colonialism they write about: “they are writing out of and about the continuous colonization and re-(or neo-) colonization of the countries where their ancestors have always lived” (Noxolo 2017, 342). Decolonizing theory is a radical approach to academic colonization, linked to protest and direct confrontations with

existing practice. Mignolo emphasizes the epistemic challenges to colonial thinking, with a focus on the radical delinking from the sources of continued inequalities that are rooted in European imperialism and are still being “re-staged and re-rooted” via the ongoing and worsening inequalities brought about by neoliberalism and the neoliberal systems within academia (Mignolo 2010).

Decolonizing theory is based on the notion that while postcolonial theory has done a great deal to open up the understanding of the normalizing effects of Western knowledge, it also privileges Western epistemologies and theoretical frameworks (despite the fact that many key postcolonial theorists are from the global South). For instance, Edward Said’s seminal text *Orientalism*, was based on the postcolonial theories that drew from the idea of discourse written about by French philosopher and post-structuralist theorist Michel Foucault. Similarly, Homi Bhabha who was influenced by Said’s work in his creation of the terms hybridity and ambivalence, drew on poststructuralism and the works of French intellectuals Jacques Derrida (deconstruction) and Jacques Lacan (psychoanalysis). Gayatri Spivak’s articulation on the subaltern was shaped by the works of Karl Marx and Jacques Derrida” (Chambers and Buzinde 2015, 4). In other words, “postcolonial theories and/or postcolonial studies entered the US carrying in their hands the books of Michel Foucault, Jacques Derrida, and Jacques Lacan” (Tlostanova and Mignolo 2009, 141).

In contrast, decolonizing theory urges people to be open to the possibility of other ways of knowing and being that do not privilege Western epistemologies. Decolonizing theorists like Ramon Grosfoguel stress the necessity of acknowledging the geo-political and body-political location of the speaking subject. By the geo-political location, Grosfoguel is referencing the regional and cultural location of the subject and by body-political he means the ethnic, racial,

gender, and sexual that embodies the position of the subject. Within Western knowledge, there is an egotistic tendency to ignore the geo-political and body political locations of the “other”, the subjects that the West has traditionally studied. As a result of this occlusion, Western knowledge “is thus able to articulate a myth of knowledge as Truthful and as universal (or as ‘God eyed’) and it is this view that has enabled Western knowledge to be represented as the ‘only one capable of achieving a universal consciousness [thus dismissing] non-Western knowledge as particularistic’” (Grosfoguel 2007, Chambers 2015, 6).

In *Discourse on Colonialism*, Aimé Césaire writes that “colonization works to decivilize the colonizer, to brutalize him in true sense of the word, to degrade him, to awaken in him buried instincts, to covetousness, violence, race, hatred, and moral relativism” (Cesaire 2000, 35). Instead of depicting colonizers as victims, Césaire is saying that human subjects established through conquest, through racialized, gendered, and sexualized categories that are privileged within colonial systems, should not be accepted as ontological ways of being. To focus only on the victims and not the perpetrators of colonialism, leads to preserving and perpetuating destructive colonial structures in the future. Decolonizing theory and decolonization consider both sides of colonization in their deconstruction of Western normative structures.

Within decolonizing research, there is an emphasis on “forging cross-cultural partnerships with, between, and among Indigenous researchers and allied others” (Rogers and Swadener 1999, 31) along with the creation of joint projects that pull from common goals that reflect decolonial sensibilities. Decolonizing theory is a rhetorical tradition that constellates with and around other traditions. The scholars of ‘The Cultural Rhetorics Theory Lab’ write of the importance of treating all traditions and histories as equally legitimate in terms of origin and descendants of concurrent rhetorical traditions. They emphasize the importance and rhetorical

power in building relationships between many different traditions, histories, and practices. Through this constellation, one is provided many options and orientations for understanding rhetorical traditions without beginning or ending with Aristotle (Powell, Levy, Mukavetz, Brooks-Gillies, Novotny, and Fisch-Ferguson 2014). Building off of this, Malea Powell observes that the practice of constellation offers the opportunity to critically analyze the ways in which knowledge is valued and considered intellectual in relation to historical events, giving them the tools to see all the options available to them, “as forces, discourses they can negotiate, as decisions that they can make” (Powell 2012, 401). The decolonization of research methodologies and Indigenous research dismantle colonial views of Indigenous communities as “data plantations (Chambers and Buzinde 2015, 8) that serve the researcher and exploit members of the community, without sustained relationships being built or reciprocal possibilities explored” (Swadener and Matua 2008, 35). When research does not include meaningful interaction and involvement by the Indigenous subject group “and/or when it is not based on mutuality it results in charity and is regarded as operating within an imperialistic and colonialistic framework” (Rhoads 2009 in Chambers and Buzinde 2015, 8). This type of research can replicate colonial ideals through “its approach, its creation of knowledge and its production of histories” (Tuhiwai Smith 1999 in Chambers and Buzinde 2015, 8). Chambers and Buzinde write, “these colonial ideas can also be reproduced simply by not acknowledging the power of the researcher and not recognizing the transference of Western knowledge to Indigenous and colonized communities...such research endeavors silence the voices of the colonized and their descendants” (Chambers and Buzinde 2015, 8) because the basis of the research is grounded in Western contexts, follow the Western principles of research and work within Eurocentric parameters. We need to be aware that, as Audre Lorde stated, “the master’s tools will never

dismantle the master's house" (Lorde 1983, 98). Thus, scholars cannot seek transformation in the context of pre-existing Eurocentric, colonial paradigms; they must create a new logic.

Moreover, the colonial apparatus is capable of appropriating the language of decolonization towards its own goals; using an ideology of overcoming the legacy of colonial violence as a way to cover up and sustain the structural colonization at play in the present. Driskill writes, "part of the colonial experience for Native people in the United States is that we are constantly disappearing through the stories that non-Native people tell, or don't, tell about us" (Driskill 2010, 79). The act of "speaking for others is arrogant, vain, unethical and politically illegitimate" (Alcoff 1991, 6) and "results in "epistemic violence" (Spivak 1988, 280). This is simply another tool to erase the perceived humanity of Native peoples. While "Western self-reflexivity can be intuitive and cathartic... it is still complicit in the profane conventions of Enlightenment thinking and a failure to acknowledge the limitations of this condition means that it is hardly possible for any sort of effective intervention in emancipatory discourses" (Majid 1996, in Chambers and Buzinde 2015, 3). In other words, decolonizing theory runs the risk of dilution and domestication by an academic system that relies heavily on the tenets of imperialism and colonialism. Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui describes this "political economy of knowledge" through which decolonial theory is circulated in Western academic spaces in a "logocentric and nominalist version" that does not challenge colonial paths and ongoing inequalities in those spaces (Rivera Cusicanqui 2012, 102). She outlines the process through which theories and concepts by Indigenous scholars are "repackaged and disconnected from the struggles and concrete experiences in which they were originally grounded" (Rivera Cusicanqui 2012, 102). Thus, the Western academic system appropriates decolonial theory for profit, while failing to produce the conditions where Indigenous scholars are respected, allowed the right to self-

determination, and have an “intellectual presence as Indigenous peoples within its very own bricks-and-mortar institutions” (Todd 2016, 10). Decolonizing theory, therefore, can become yet another tool for colonialist maneuvers of exploiting and erasing Indigenous peoples.

Indigenous Theory

Within colonial discourse, “the Indigenous has always occupied the space of the other; as the subordinate term in binary relation to the terms western, colonial, or elite” (Pillai 1996, 210). The language of colonialism constructed the “other” as primitive and subhuman, with a longevity matched only by the resilience of Indigenous peoples. Edward Said argued in *Orientalism* that these interpretations of the “other”, while not disinterested representations, played an essential role in the growth of colonial power by building an ontological and epistemological duality between the Orient and the Occident” (Said 1978). Frantz Fanon, describing the Manichean order of the colonial world, argues that for the settler, it is not enough to restrict the place of the native physically. Instead, the settler is represented as “a sort of quintessence of evil” (Fanon 1963, 41) and “the native is declared as insensible to ethics, he represents not only the absence of values, but also the negation of values” (Fanon 1963, 41). Further, Western discourses of science, literature, philosophy, anthropology, and history, long considered to be authentic expressions of universal human values, have functioned as forms of colonial knowledge. For instance, Darwin’s notions of natural selection and the moral philosophy of Mills and Rousseau, have “provided the inspiration for representing ‘non-European’ peoples as embedded within nature” (Pillai 1996, 211). Historically, discourses of culture and race have both accommodated themselves to the needs of colonial mentality and justified colonialism as a process of natural evolution and human progress (Pillai 1996, 211).

The word “Indigenous” is often interpreted in different ways, depending on where and who you are. While some argue that “Indigenous peoples are those who were the first inhabitants of a place, sometimes called First Peoples” (Davidson and Andrade 2018, 760), others argue that Indigeneity applies to any people who live in a specific location but with a focus on the local nature and context of the group. Indigenous peoples are often lumped together by colonizers; they do not form a racial group, nor do they form a common culture, race, religion, ethnicity, nation, or social organization. Further, Indigenous peoples do not form an ethnic group or ethnic groups within nation-states or internationally. Indigenous communities are diverse culturally, politically, linguistically, and do not want a common nation state status, at least not in the sense of contemporary culturally homogeneous bureaucratic nation state (Champagne 2008, 3).

Indigenous peoples have specific, diverse cultures and identities and often have local, tribally specific, cultural commitments. The Indigenous theoretical framework emerged because theories of ethnicity, race, nationality, and assimilation can only partially capture the cultural and political layers of Indigenous identities and communities and to “accommodate the differences within the various cultural traditions as well as the desire to describe in a comparative way the features shared across those traditions” (Ashcroft 1989, 10). Political and cultural mono-centrism within the colonial discourse resulted from the philosophical traditions of the European world and the systems of representations that they privileged. This colonial discourse underpinned the nineteenth-century imperial expansion--the crux of the dominating thrust of Europeans into a world beyond Europe--that began during the early Renaissance. However, the imperial expansion has had a destabilizing effect upon its own power. Ashcroft argues that “in pushing the colonial world to the margins of experience the ‘centre’ pushed consciousness beyond the point at which mono-centrism in all spheres of thought could be accepted without question”

(Ashcroft 1989, 12). Therefore, the alienating process that originally served to relegate the “post-colonial” world to the margins, turned on itself and pushed that world through a sort of mental barrier, into a position from which all experience could be seen as uncentered, pluralistic, and multifaceted (Ashcroft 1989, 12). As a result, marginality became a source of creative energy, creating an impetus towards decentering and pluralism. Indigenous theories emerged, forming an important element in the development of national and regional consciousness (Ashcroft 1996, 12). These new theories of Indigenous peoples must be “more closely crafted to fit the historical, political, and cultural experiences, aspirations, challenges, and achievements of Indigenous communities” (Champagne 2008, 1).

Non-Indigenous scholars have controlled academia and perpetuated the (re)presentation of Indigenous peoples for far too long. When these outside researchers write about other people’s knowledge(s), or construct theories about other people’s cultures, they constitute an epistemological community. Therefore, academic theories of other people’s cultures are not Indigenous theories of those cultures (Gegeo and Watson-Gegeo 2001, 58). While some Indigenous scholars have tried to address these unjust representations, most are tangled up in the framework of mainstream schools of thought, with their ideas imagined, conceived and carried out within the theoretical frameworks of Western, Anglo-European forms of research, reasoning, and interpreting. Thus, they do not wholly represent Indigenous perspectives (Killsback 2013, 132).

There is an assumption within the academic world (Killsback 2013, 128) that Indigenous scholars conduct research out of personal interest or to help “vulnerable” Indigenous peoples. It is this assumption that burdens the Indigenous scholar. While non-Indigenous researchers are free to pursue primarily personal research agendas, Indigenous scholars “undertake obligations to

affirm the significance of our societies and cultures and, without taking on an exploitative mindset, bring a sense of ‘Indianness’ or ‘Indigenusness’ into the academy” (Killsback 2013, 128). Further, Indigenous scholars must also confront dominant discourses that aim to marginalize and ignore Indigenous rights to land, history, and humanity; mainstream research agendas continue to add to the exploitation and violence against Indigenous identities. The process of knowledge production within dominant institutions often involve epistemic violence (Spivak 1988), or the “work of discourse in creating and sustaining boundaries around what is considered real, and by extension, what is seen as real (or to be seen at all)” (Hunt 2013, 3). Therefore, it isn’t just that there is a “discourse” of dehumanization that establishes these effects, but rather that there is a limit to discourse that produces the limits of human intelligibility (Butler 2004, 35). “So how can Indigenous ways of being and knowing become legitimized within theorizations of ontology, given the ongoing (neo) colonial relations that shape geographic knowledge production” (Hunt 2013, 1).

Further, while there is a burgeoning number of new Indigenous based theories, there are also numerous outdated theories that dominate how Indigenous peoples are presented within academia. To decolonize history and academic discourses, these theories must be reevaluated and readjusted. Historically, historians have studied Indigenous societies within a structuralist paradigm, within which only parts of a culture are prioritized. This structuralist approach limits scholars to pick and choose the “important” events among isolated phenomenon, while devaluing other events or parts of the culture (Killsback 2013, 129). Similarly, scholars who study Indigenous cultures often use a positivist paradigm that places all human societies on linear paths to what the West considers “civilization”. These notions of “progress” assume that all human societies will eventually develop from the states of “savagery” to civilization (Killsback 2013,

130). As a result, conclusions drawn within these paradigms are flawed and have an incomplete understanding of cultures that maintain racist ideas of Indigeneity, assume that all human societies will respond in the same ways as European states, and allow harmful structures to remain. On the flip side, while scholars may reject these skewed theories and racist assumptions, they may then turn to paradigms that are sympathetic towards Indigenous peoples. These “sympathetic” approaches come from non-Indigenous perspectives and use flawed methods and concepts that allow studies to be conducted from sympathy, but not with sympathy for Indigenous peoples. Often, this sympathy is eventually abandoned and scholars arrive at the same conclusions as with the other paradigms. Regardless of the approach, scholars must acknowledge that they remain the “handmaidens of colonialism who have the privilege to passively perpetuate false truths to protect an establishment based on thievery, genocide, and lies” (Killsback 2013, 132).

Rather than replacing one ethnocentric theory for another, it is essential to emphasize how Indigenous cultures have always had their own theories woven into their traditions. Academia should not devalue these Indigenous theories, nor erase the historical effects of colonization on Indigenous cultures by continuing to privilege theories of dominant culture that can never fully grasp the understanding of Indigenous cultures (García 1995, 7). The very existence of Indigenous language, theory, and storytelling is radical because it fights back against the idea of a homogeneous America or an “American” language and culture. Indigenous cultures are therefore “powerfully resistant to the interpretive modes of Western-European...discourses and theories” (García 1995, 5). The radical aspect of Indigenous theory--what sets it apart from other theoretical frameworks--is that it is hard to put in a box; it is not static and unchanging. Just like the Indigenous oral texts that it critiques, Indigenous theory is

emergent and must shift and change depending on context. There is a growing movement among Indigenous scholars to challenge normative, mainstream perspectives in academia by reclaiming the power to tell the stories of their own people and rewrite their histories, actions that serve a greater purpose than simply challenging colonial, orthodox theories. Indigenous peoples see academia and history as tools to confront racist assumptions that have disenfranchised and marginalized Indigenous communities in regard to law enforcement and the judicial system. When armed with an Indigenous theoretical framework, scholars can “retain a degree of ‘Indigeness’ in their decolonizing efforts” (Killsback 2013, 129); to conduct research that honors and legitimizes the intellectual and spiritual legacies of Indigenous cultures and push decolonization further away from the alien ideals that are not effective when applied to Indigenous causes. Recently, historians have begun to use the concept of agency, which moves Indigenous peoples from being the victims of history to active agents. However, the use of agency is often a facade to give a seemingly objective narrative as the ‘Indigenous voice’, but scholars arrive at the same biased conclusions as before (Killsback 2013, 131). Further, these conclusions often even assert that Indigenous peoples played an “active role in their own demise. For instance, “in extreme cases of denial, historians ignore or excuse Christian roots of colonization (for example, the doctrine of discovery) to characterize European invaders as mere products of circumstance, especially when suppressing” (Killsback 2013, 131) and killing Indigenous peoples. Are we to hold Indians accountable for the atrocities that [colonizers]....committed against them” (Killsback 2013, 131). Despite the notion of agency in academia, the Indigenous voice is still missing, the humanity of marginalized groups generalized beyond recognition.

The project of reconstructing Indigenous theories challenges dominant, colonial notions of the Indigenous, recasting the Indigenous as a subject of theory. Pillai describes Indigenous theory as “explanatory critical frameworks that draw upon non-western epistemological systems that have become marginalized through the progression of western modernity” (Pillai 1996, 212). Indigenous theories do not draw upon non-Western epistemologies exclusively. Instead, they emphasize to the “hybridity of social criticism, the specificity of which lies in the recognition that though there is syncretism between different cultural formations, it is constituted through the reproduction of neo-colonial hegemonies” (Pillai 1996, 212). Thus, Indigenous theories resist the intellectual division of labor that paints the West as the subject of theory and its “others” as evidence. Therefore, the articulation of Indigenous theories must be seen as a “transaction between heterogeneous cultural formations, epistemologies, aesthetics, ethics, and politics, and distinguished from any claim to cultural or ethnic absolutism” (Pillai 1996, 212). It is important to show that there are bases of criticism, other than those intrinsic within Western epistemologies, that have been marginalized with the advance of colonial and post-colonial modernity. Indigenous theories give a historical critique of relations of domination and exploitation, at the levels of both discursive and material social relations, from the perspectives of the Indigenous. As well as drawing upon categories of race, class, gender, coloniality, and nation, they shed light upon questions of land and nature which are essential to transforming existing power relations within a global context. Indigenous theories, embedded within marginalized knowledges, push back against hegemonic Western theoretical production. They provide alternative contexts of interpretation within which difference that has formally been constructed as absence, lack, or deformity can be read in new, transformative, oppositional ways (JanMohamed and Lloyd 1978).

Indigenous scholars who aim to expose the atrocities of colonial history want to connect history to modern challenges and rewrite their ancestors into existence with honor. They seek to do this with a cultural and spiritual relationship with their work, which should not be confused with bias, as it is an important part of most Indigenous cultures. Indigenous theorizing has become a method to develop and apply theoretical concepts specific to their research and culture. These new Indigenous scholars create theories from and for their culture, people, and land are well suited for decolonizing history and academia (Killsback 2013, 133). Linda Tuhiwai Smith's *Decolonizing Methodologies* (1999) has been particularly influential, inspiring Indigenous scholars and becoming a defining text that nurtures Indigenous-centered research. Smith emphasizes that decolonizing work requires scholars to re-evaluate (re-read, re-write, and re-right) the "purposes, agendas, outcomes, and uses of studies conducted on, within, and in collaboration with Indigenous communities" (Killsback 2013, 133). Killsback argues that instead of relying on sympathetic theories of tolerance or problematic notions of victimization and racial inferiority, scholars must turn to a general theory that allows Indigenous scholars to approach research in a just, respectful manner. His theoretical model has four major postulates derived from his understanding of Indigenous perspectives of time and history: sacred geography, sacred history, sacred practices, and sacred laws (Killsback 2013, 133). By using Indigenous theories and epistemology, the world will see that Indigenous societies have a great deal to offer mainstream society. Indigenous epistemology is a "cultural group's ways of thinking and of creating, reformulating, and theorizing about knowledge via traditional discourses and media of communication, anchoring the truth of the discourse in culture" (Gegeo and Watson-Gegeo 2001, 58). Based off Indigenous epistemology, Indigenous critical praxis is a people's critical reflection on culture, history, knowledge, politics, economics, and the socio-political contexts in

which they reside; and then acting on these critical reflections (Gegeo and Watson-Gegeo 2001, 58).

Indigenous researchers are often attracted to critical sociology and post-structuralism because of their critiques of grand theory, positivism, the functional perspective, and classical theories (Sargent, Nilan, and Winter 1997). Within this process, it has been argued that academic fields like sociology and post-structuralism are “colonizing discourse[s]” (Moreton-Robinson 2000), especially when they involve feminist theory (Sargent, Nilan, and Winter 1997; Smith 1999; and Rigney 1999). While postmodernism tries to critique dominant structures, the post-modern perspective makes it hard to maintain values, as it proposed that there are no intrinsic human values. As a result, the post-modern discourse emphasizes the importance of hearing the voices of the oppressed, but its literature still privileges a white Euro-centric voice (Jary and Jary 1995).

To the Indigenous scholar, critical theory, standpoint theory, and insider-outsider theory are emancipatory epistemologies in their deconstruction processes, guided by a vision that emphasizes the fact that there is more than just one worldview and interpretation (Ebert 1995). Critical theory is a theory that stimulates self-reflection, with the goal to “free individual groups and society from conditions of domination, powerlessness and oppression, which reduces the control over their own lives” (Rigney 1997, 633). Despite this fundamental goal, critical theory still maintains a racialized epistemological approach, like many other dominant theories, in its overtly political intentions. However, these intentions also suit the Indigenous perspective because they allow Indigenous researchers a process to critique colonialism with its characteristics of oppression and power (Rigney 1997). Feminist standpoint theory allows a different approach when examining constructs like “Indigenous discourse” (Foley 2003, 45) and

can help shape structures of power, work, and wealth when applied into reality from the vantage point of womxn's lives (Smith 1999; Moreton-Robinson 2000). This theory is the basis of Indigenous standpoint theory because it refers to a societal position that provides a way to understand what is affected by dominant discourse and society as a whole. Insider-outsider theory is an approach that has historically been used to justify many wrongs within academia, as "the social base of insider doctrine is the elitist theory of white male Anglo-Europeans" (Foley 2003, 46; Merton 1996). Foley explains Merton's assertions that, "in its extreme, it moves toward a doctrine of social solipsism where the collective group has a monopoly of knowledge about itself to individual solipsism where the individual has absolute privacy of knowledge" (Foley 2003, 46; Merton 1996).

This is similar to the standpoint stances of Smith (1999) and Moreton-Robinson (2000) in that the purity of the research outcomes is enhanced Indigenous peoples are researched by Indigenous peoples. This rationale is justified from an Indigenous perspective because of the long history of discriminatory and ideologically controlled Western discourse. Stanfield states, "the white skin of dominant researchers adds to the authoritative posture of European-descent ethnographers" (Stanfield 1994, 176), that affects the validity and objectivity of the research outcomes. Merton agrees with this notion, writing, "the Outsider has a structurally imposed incapacity to comprehend alien groups, status, cultures and societies...the outsider has neither been socialized in the group nor engaged in the run of experience that makes up its life, and therefore cannot have the direct, intuitive sensibility that alone makes empathetic understanding possible" (Merton 1996). Therefore, this theory asserts that non-Indigenous researchers cannot and will not understand the complexities of being Indigenous with the same level of empathy as an Indigenous researcher

Indigenous standpoint theory is a means for Indigenous peoples to articulate critical viewpoints that are rooted in the lived experience of indigeneity, while also balancing the complex intersections of oppression that have grown from colonialism. While Indigenous standpoint theory draws from the works of feminist scholars, it is essential to acknowledge that the “ancient knowledge-ways of Indigenous peoples have always required locating oneself amongst the networks of relationships that comprise Indigenous realities” (Kwaymullina 2017, 15). Therefore, Indigenous standpoint theory can be seen as a piece of a growing puzzle by Indigenous scholars to actualize Indigenous ways of being, knowing, and doing within academia. Thus, standpoint theory is closely linked to the large body of Indigenous scholarship labeled “Indigenous research”, which is research composed of transformative practices that come from and for Indigenous peoples (Kwaymullina 2017, 15). Martin Nakata defines Indigenous standpoint theory as “a method of inquiry, a process for making more intelligible ‘the corpus of objectified knowledge about us’ as it emerges and organizes understandings of our lived realities” (Nakata 2007, 215). The theory explores the actualities of the lived experiences of Indigenous peoples, instead of using a predetermined idea or category for explaining experience.

Therefore, it provides a way of “theorizing from a particular and interested position” (Nakata 2007, 215). Like insider-outsider theory, Indigenous standpoint theory asserts that it can only be articulated by an Indigenous person, as it is based on the lived experience of being Indigenous. However, non-Indigenous scholars can have respectful engagements with the theory, as long as they are willing to be critical of their own standpoint, allowing attention to focus on, and thus critique, research privilege, leading to a more ethical and sustainable relationship with Indigenous communities. Indigenous standpoint theory is a process that moves

in both external and internal directions. Indigenous peoples engage externally to “speak critically from the ‘margins’ to the ‘centres’ of institutional power” and internally to “speak across the margins reflexively to each other” (Bunda, Zipin, Brennan 2012, 941-951). It is therefore a theory that provides a means of questioning and problematizing knowledge-power relationships, creating space for new research to be conducted.

Critical Indigenous theory “has its roots in the civil rights, feminist, and Indigenous rights movements of the 1960s” (Fobear 2016, 66) and was heavily influenced by Paolo Freire’s *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1968). From Freire, critical Indigenous scholars took the need for knowledge production to be rooted in the lived experiences and realities of Indigenous peoples by emphasizing how imperialism and globalization have stolen Indigenous knowledge from Indigenous communities, replacing it with Western knowledge that is used to damage and oppress Indigenous peoples. Thus, by basing knowledge on Indigenous realities, Indigenous activists and scholars are able to reclaim their knowledge and sovereignty, while challenging and deconstruction Western education and research pedagogical norms. Katherine Fobear argues that this is only possible if established Western pedagogies and research practices are systematically questioned, deconstructed, and challenged (Fobear 2016, 66). Researchers must, therefore, go beyond just recognizing that personal beliefs and assumptions can influence their interactions. They must also understand the “underlying assumptions, motivations, and values, as well as the psychological, discursive, and material effects that their research will have” (Tuhiwai-Smith 1999, 173, in Fobear 2016, 66). Thus, researchers must acknowledge that grounding themselves in a research location does not simply mean gaining knowledge and an understanding of the historical and current social, economic, and political environments of the communities involved,

but also recognizing the assumptions, experiences, and storytelling practices of the communities, as these inform the research process and its results (Tuhiwai Smith 1999, 186).

Indigenous theory is a theory of human behavior that is specific to a context or culture, not imported from other contexts or culture and specifically designed for the people who live in that context or culture (Davidson and Andrade 2018, 760). An Indigenous theoretical framework is important because while some innate aspects of human behavior--the need for shelter, food, and safety--apply universally, many other aspects involve culture, to varying degrees. As culture varies across different geographical and social contexts, it makes sense to assume that theoretical explanations of specific behaviors will also vary if they are going to be accurate at a local level (Davidson and Andrade 2018, 760). Along with offering a better explanation at a local or Indigenous level, Indigenous theorizing can offer new explanations of behavior globally and address the need to engage with research that can inform practitioners (Davidson and Andrade 2018, 761). Therefore, critical Indigenous theory can provide a useful understanding of participants' agency and the role they have in influencing research.

Critical Indigenous scholars assert that empowering collaborative work between settler and Indigenous scholars can be achieved, but only if the field in which researchers decenter the "Western academy as the exclusive locus of authorizing power that defines the research agenda" (Swadener and Mutua 2008, 38), is reframed. As a result, the legitimacy of the research is "defined, reconstituted, and re-authored by the power of the margins" (Fobear 2016, 73) and the researcher and researched are called upon to rework the "hyphen" between colonizer-colonized, oppressor-oppressed, settler-aboriginal, non-Indigenous-Indigenous, and majority-minority (Jones and Jenkins 2008). Alison Jones and Kuni Jenkins (2008) argue that this hyphen is softened when researchers try to obtain mutual understanding via cross-cultural engagement, but

this softening of the hyphen results in empathetic collaboration ceasing to exist. By trying to get a shared perspective, structural power differences and differences in history and perspective are given less weight. Thus, instead of being softened, the hyphen should remain non-negotiable as a site for producing and empowering methodological work; the hyphen represents both a relationship between collaborating people and their relationships to difference. When working the hyphen, scholars must question what is referred to as “shared speaking” an “us”, in order to create space for marginalized voices and learn from them the inherent privilege those who ask for a dialogue possess (Jones and Jenkins 2008, 478). As Jones and Jenkins assert, “Indigenous access into realms of meaning of the dominant Other is hardly required; members of marginalized /colonized groups are immersed in it daily. It is the colonizer, wishing to hear, who calls for dialogue” (Jones and Jenkins 2008, 478). Collaborative research across the hyphen can be successful only if on some points of research, the Indigenous, colonized, minority, or oppressed maintain a political and social identity distinct from that of the settler, colonizer, majority, or oppressor (Jones and Jenkins 2008, 475).

There is a need within Indigenous theorizing to avoid romanticizing the possibilities opened up by Indigenous theorists, as the forms of social critique they provide may be consistent or heterogeneous to those that already exist (Pillai 1996, 213). There is no “Indigenous theory”. Nor is there a monolithic politics or perspective that manages recent efforts to reconstruct Indigenous knowledge; they come from different social and historical experiences and use many, often contradictory, social interests and struggles. Thus, “when using the term ‘Indigenous theory’ one must contextualize it historically, discursively, and geopolitically and articulate the specific ways in which the term Indigenous is claimed or contested” (Pillai 1996, 213).

Thoughts on Research

In their introduction to *Research as Resistance: Revisiting Critical, Indigenous, and Anti-Oppressive Approaches* (2015), Susan Strega and Linda Brown emphasize the historically normative belief within white Western research, that “researchers and their expertise, regardless of the methods they employ, have been portrayed as objective and disembodied and thus privileged over those they study” (Tuiwai Smith 1999). This research relies heavily upon the power imbalance between the oppressor and the oppressed, where “the oppressor seeks to ‘reap where he did not sow’” (Jagire 2013). Borrowing from the ideas of Frantz Fanon (1967) and Steve Biko (1981), the authors contend that hegemonic power structures within western society colonize both the minds of the colonizers and those who they colonize, via dominant ideologies and narratives. Strega and Brown argue that critical reflexivity is essential in socially-just, inclusive research; with critical reflexivity requiring that researchers intentionally, consciously, and repeatedly bring our awareness to the question of what influences our perceptions, conceptions, and response (internal and external) throughout the research process...to uncover and challenge the power relations embedded in research, and to uncover and challenge hegemonic assumptions about the nature of the world, the self, and research. Critical reflexivity can help disrupt these culturally embedded ideologies and provide new insights into perceived “knowledge”, research, and research methodologies (Fraser and Jarldorn 2015).

In order to unsettle and resist oppressive, colonial discourses within research, researchers must avoid reinforcing western scholarship which “is particularly oppressive to formerly colonized people who are trying to shake loose from the very systems that oppressed them through racism” (Jagire 2013). Instead, it is essential to center and document Indigenous knowledges that challenge the socially and ideologically colonial nature of hegemonic knowledges that becomes institutionalized in academia. Indigenous knowledge is a body of

knowledge that has collected and evolved as a result of the creation and distribution of knowledges and has been essential in the long-term survival of communities. While all knowledge systems impact each other, a body of Indigenous knowledge is unique because of its focus on context and history. As a result, Indigenous knowledge is counter-hegemonic and legitimate, allowing the marginalized to reclaim their legitimate space and subjectivity” (Mayuzumi 2009, 510).

Within a western framework, research is defined as an investigation or experiment that aims to discover and interpret facts. This research involves collecting information about subjects, editing accepted theories or laws with the new facts in mind (Merriam-Webster 2004). This definition “implies discovery, observation, collection, investigation description, systematization, analysis, synthesis, theorizing, and codifying by means of the language of theory, comparison, verification, checking hypotheses, etc.” (Porsanger 2004, 106). Research projects, framed in this western understanding, start with the setting of a research problem or research question. In relation to Indigenous communities, their existence becomes a problem or a question for researchers, often written as “The ...(insert name of Indigenous group) problem” or “The...(insert name of Indigenous group) question” (Tuhiwai Smith 1999, 90).

I will keep anti-colonial, decolonizing and Indigenous theories in mind when framing my research in a decolonial context. I base most of my analysis on anti-colonial theory but will incorporate aspects of Indigenous and decolonizing theories as well. When doing any academic work with an Indigenous community, I believe it is essential to use a disruptive, radical theoretical framework to base my research off of. I do this with the firm intention to prevent any further marginalization of the group I am working because of or related to my research project; I

do not want to cause any harm to communities that have already been the victims of violence and exploitation from many different academic fields.

I openly acknowledge my identity as a non-Indigenous person, doing research on Indigenous communities. It is possible for non-Indigenous people to do decolonizing, anti-colonial work if they remain focused on emancipatory methodologies and use critical reflexivity throughout their work. Just as theory is not intrinsically oppressive, non-Indigenous work is not intrinsically colonial in nature; it depends on context, motivations, and the prioritization of the voices of Indigenous peoples. The reality of anti-colonial work is that it is more complicated than work “with and by” Indigenous peoples, although this is also important. A large part of what makes academia and research oppressive towards marginalized groups is its ingrained structural biases and tendency to paint BIPOCs (black, Is a Western obsession” (Tuhiwai Smith 1999, 91). Western academic research, aimed at solving “Indigenous problems” or answering miscellaneous questions about Indigenous peoples, has always given power to the non-Indigenous; research has been tied to the interests of groups, who have almost always been non-Indigenous (Cook-Lynn 1997). Non-Indigenous peoples have benefitted in numerous ways as a result of research on Indigenous issues: “academic and political careers, economic and professional gain, the profitable use of Indigenous territories, natural resources and Indigenous knowledge” (Porsanger 2004, 108). This research has disempowered Indigenous communities who have been used as passive objects of Western research (Tuhiwai Smith 1999, 61).

Research has historically been a tool of colonization of Indigenous peoples and their territories. Any research is “indissolubly related to power and control” (Porsanger 2004, 108). From an Indigenous perspective, the term “research” is closely tied with colonialism and cultural violence. Thus, for many of the world’s Indigenous peoples, scientific research is implicated in

the excesses of imperialism and remains a part of a powerful Indigenous remembered history (Porsanger 2004, 107). Indigenous peoples have historically expressed that they are tired of research because of their past experiences of objectification, as well as the fact that research has used Indigenous peoples as sources of information, while giving little back (Porsanger 2004, 108). While Western research and the collection of information about Indigenous peoples has long been seen as a contribution to the body of knowledge, from an Indigenous perspective, this collection of information can be seen as stealing, because the stolen knowledge has been used to benefit the people who stole it (Tuhiwai Smith 1999, 56).

Thus, the decolonization process needs new, critical methodologies that evaluate radical, ethically and culturally acceptable approaches to Indigenous issues. These approaches differ in several ways for Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars. For Indigenous scholars, the decolonization process of research methods is about centering Indigenous concepts and worldviews and learning where theory and research from Indigenous perspectives and purposes (Tuhiwai Smith 1999, 39). This process allows Indigenous research to shake off the chains of the western epistemological frameworks and make visible what is meaningful in respect of Indigenous understandings of the world. Rigney agrees with this sentiment, stating, “Indigenous peoples’ interests, knowledge and experiences must be at the centre of research methodologies and construction of knowledge about Indigenous peoples” (Rigney 1999).

Methodology is the body of approaches, methods and rules employed in research. Indigenous methodology is a “body of Indigenous and theoretical approaches and methods, rules and postulates employed by Indigenous research in the study of Indigenous peoples” (Porsanger 2004, 107), aimed at ensuring that research on Indigenous issues is conducted in a respectful, ethical, and beneficial manner. One of the most basic elements of Indigenous methodologies,

epistemology, deals with ways of knowing, in reference to the constraints and validity of knowledge. With Indigenous research, Indigenous ontologies are used to deal with assumptions about the “nature and relations of being, and of reality, may open new perspectives” (Porsanger 2004, 111) that often differ from those scientifically accepted in Western research. Moreover, Indigenous axiologies, “which deal with the nature, types and criteria of values and value judgements” (Porsanger 2004, 111) are essential to Indigenous methodologies, particularly with research ethics. While Indigenous methodologies do not reject research by non-Indigenous researchers nor reject all Western canons of academic work (Champagne 1998), they do require scholars to critically think about their research processes and results; Indigenous interests, experiences, and knowledge must be at the center of Indigenous research methods and the subsequent construction of knowledge about Indigenous peoples (Rigney 1999, 119). Further, “while it is important that scholars become theoretically informed, Indians should define their own perspectives on Indian history and culture instead of relying solely on the thoughts and dictates of anthropology and history theorists” (Mihesuah 1998, 13). Porsanger outlines the most important issues for Indigenous methodologies: defining the Indigenous agenda for research projects; examining research and theory from an Indigenous perspective; consulting Indigenous peoples to predict negative outcomes, to share and protect knowledge, to use appropriate language and form in order to communicate research results back to the communities (Porsanger 2004, 112). Indigenous research methods are based on principles of respect and reciprocity. According to Linda Tuhiwai Smith, any scholar conducting research on, with, or about Indigenous peoples should ask and answer the following questions (Tuhiwai Smith 1999, 10):

Whose research is it?
Who owns it?
Whose interests does it serve?
Who will benefit from it?

Who has designed its questions and framed its scope?
Who will carry it out?
Who will write it up?
How will the results be disseminated?

These questions should be answered looking through the lens of the Indigenous research agenda, which includes healing, mobilization, transformation, and decolonization on many levels (Tuhiwai Smith 1999, 115-118) and take into consideration “survival, recovery and development, which are conditions and states of being, through which Indigenous communities are moving” (Porsanger 2004, 113). This research agenda is multidimensional and requires a commitment on the part of the researcher to put this agenda into practice in relation to the particular research project (Tuhiwai Smith 1999)

Chapter 2: A Brief History of Kalaallit Nunaat

Nunarput, utoqqarsuanngoravit
Henning Jakob Henrik Lund aali Jonathan Petersen

Nunarput, utoqqarsuanngoravit
Niaqqut ulissimavoq qiinik.
Qitornatit kissumiaannarpatit
Tunillugit sineriyavut piinik.

Akullequtaasut merlertutut
Ilinni perortugut tamaani
Kalaallinik imminik taajumavugut
Niaqqut ataqinartup saani.

Taqilluni naami atunngiveqaaq
Kalaallit siumut makigitsi.
Inuttut inuuneq pigiuminaqaaq
Saperasi isumaqaleritsi.

(English translation)

You Our Ancient Land
Henning Jakob Henrik Lund and Jonathan Petersen

Our country, which has become so old
your head is all covered with white hair.
Always held us, your children, in your bosom
and gave us the riches of your coasts.

As middle children in the family
we blossomed here
Kalaallit, we want to call ourselves
before your proud and honourable head.

Humbleness is not the course,
Kalaallit wake up and be proud!
A dignified life is our goal;
courageously take a stand

Kalaallit Nunaat Creation Story

The Kalaallit creation story is a tale about a brother, Anningat, and a sister, Ajut, who lived at the icefjord. They became the moon and the sun because Anningat lusted after his sister and hunted Ajut until they were sucked up into the air where he, the moon, still hunts her, the sun. This story is a part of Inuit identity. While the sun is the driving force in the world, the moon is more dominant in the stories and is also more changeable than any other heavenly body as he grows, becomes round, shrinks, and then disappears for a while.

It is believed in western Kalaallit Nunaat that when Anningat disappears, he is down on the ice hunting seals. It is also common knowledge across the island that the moon brings changes in the tide and impacts women's menstruation. The Kalaallit believe that the world is split into two: a visible world that everyone can see and an invisible world, which only those who have an inner eye can see. The shamans, the angakkoqs, use their inner eye to replace normal vision so that they can see what is hidden, but cannot see both worlds clearly at the same time. However, when the angakkoq is in a trance like state induced by traditional drum ceremonies, they can direct their inner eye at a person and see that person's hidden world and inner circumstances. The angakkoqs can travel in the invisible world, as the two worlds are mutually connected. It is life in the other world that limits the visible world, which they can see through the movements of heavenly bodies and the changing seasons.

The Coming of Men, A Long, Long While Ago

An oral Kalaallit history, recorded by Knud Rasmussen

Our forefathers have told us much of the coming of earth, and of men, and it was a long, long while ago. Those who lived long before our day, they did not know how to store their words in little black marks, as you do; they could only tell stories. And they told of many things, and therefore we are not without knowledge of these things, which we have heard told many and many a time, since we were little children. Old women do not waste their words idly, and we believe what they say. Old age does not lie. A long, long time ago, when the earth was to be made, it fell down from the sky. Earth, hills and stones, all fell down from the sky, and thus the earth was made.

And then, when the earth was made, came men. It is said that they came forth out of the earth. Little children came out of the earth. They came forth from among the willow bushes, all covered with willow leaves. And there they lay among the little bushes: lay and kicked, for they could not even crawl. And they got their food from the earth. Then there is something about a man and a woman, but what of them? It is not clearly known. When did they find each other, and when had they grown up? I do not know. But the woman sewed, and made children's clothes, and wandered forth. And she found little children, and dressed them in the clothes, and brought them home. And in this way men grew to be many. And being now so many, they desired to have dogs. So, a man went out with a dog leash in his hand, and began to stamp on the ground, crying "Hok—hok—hok!" Then the dogs came hurrying out from the hummocks, and shook themselves violently, for their coats were full of sand. Thus, men found dogs. But then children began to be born, and men grew to be very many on the earth. They knew nothing of death in those days, a long, long time ago, and grew to be very old. At last they could not walk, but went

blind, and could not lie down. Neither did they know the sun but lived in the dark. No day ever dawned. Only inside their houses was there ever light, and they burned water in their lamps, for in those days water would burn.

But these men who did not know how to die, they grew to be too many, and crowded the earth. And then there came a mighty flood from the sea. Many were drowned, and men grew fewer. We can still see marks of that great flood, on the high hill-tops, where mussel shells may often be found. And now that men had begun to be fewer, two old women began to speak thus: “Better to be without day, if thus we may be without death,” said the one. “No; let us have both light and death,” said the other. And when the old woman had spoken these words, it was as she had wished. Light came, and death. It is said that when the first man died, others covered up the body with stones. But the body came back again, not knowing rightly how to die. It stuck out its head from the bench and tried to get up. But an old woman thrust it back, and said: “We have much to carry, and our sledges are small.” For they were about to set out on a hunting journey. And so, the dead one was forced to go back to the mound of stones. And now, after men had got light on their earth, they were able to go on journeys, and to hunt, and no longer needed to eat of the earth. And with death came also the sun, moon and stars. For when men die, they go up become brightly shining things there.

A Western Perspective of the History of Kalaallit Nunaat

Kalaallit Nunaat is the world's largest island and consists of three parts: Avannaa (north Kalaallit Nunaat), Kitaa (west Kalaallit Nunaat), and Tunu (east Kalaallit Nunaat). The Indigenous people of the island call themselves the Kalaallit.

Indigenous people have inhabited Kalaallit Nunaat, land of the people, for innumerable generations. It is believed that the island's first settlers arrived approximately 4500-5000 years ago, likely from Ellesmere Island, while hunting across the Smith Sound and towards the north-east of Kalaallit Nunaat. These first settlers are thought to have descended from inhabitants of Siberia, who later migrated into Canada. The first people lived in northern Kalaallit Nunaat as the Independence I culture and south Kalaallit Nunaat as the Saqqaq culture. Around 800 BC, the Saqqaq culture disappeared and the Dorset (western Kalaallit Nunaat) and Independence II cultures (northern Kalaallit Nunaat) emerged. The Dorset culture was the first group to spread throughout the coastal areas of both the eastern and western coasts of the island, surviving until the Thule Inuit arrived.

The Thule Inuit came to Greenland in 900 and are the ancestors of the current Indigenous population. Thule is the name of both a region in Kalaallit Nunaat, as well as a culture. The region Thule is located in the northern part of the island, north of Avanersuaq. The name Thule was given to the region by Knud Rasmussen, an Inuit-Danish explorer, who tried to convince the Danish government to colonize the northernmost part of Kalaallit Nunaat with mission and trade. Rasmussen obtained funding and in 1910 named his trading post the Thule station. The Thule culture first developed on the Arctic coast in northern Alaska and northwest Canada. It spread eastward around 1000 AD and reached northern Kalaallit Nunaat by 1200. While the region was unofficially named because the first artifacts were excavated at Comer's

Midden during Rasmussen's Second Thule Expedition (1916-1918), it was formally named and described by Therkel Mattiassen during the Fifth Thule Expedition.

Denmark knew of Kalaallit Nunaat hundreds of years before the kingdom officially colonized the island. It was settled and named Greenland by the Viking explorer Eiríkur Rauðe Porvaldsson, or Erik the Red, in the 10th century. In 1473, King Christian I of Denmark sent an expedition to Kalaallit Nunaat, hoping to create contact between the country and Denmark. Between 1500 and 1581, there were several expeditions searching for the North Passage, organized by Danes, Portuguese, Germans, English and Fae. When King Christian IV of Denmark felt that the British and Dutch were taking the lead on the expeditions, he sent several ships to explore the island to establish Denmark's place in the expeditions.

The island nation was formally colonized in 1721 by the Danish-Norwegian priest Hans Egede, the "Apostle of Greenland", for two main reasons: to evangelize the people living there and to trade with them by taking advantage of the opportunities for fishing and sealing around the island. Egede wanted to travel to Kalaallit Nunaat because he believed that there were "lost Vikings" living on the island who had not been converted to Danish Protestantism. In reality, the last Vikings had died out sometime in the fifteenth century, leaving the Thule people as the lone population of the island. Finding no Catholic Vikings to convert, Egede focused his conversion efforts on this Indigenous population. The priest's missionary work was funded by Danish and Norwegian merchants, as well as by the Danish state, and led to the establishment of numerous colonial sites from Nanortalik to Upernavik throughout the eighteenth century (Beukel, Jensen, and Rytter 2010, 13). While Hans Egede tried to convert the Indigenous population to Protestantism, his trading company, the Bergen Greenland Company, exploited the island's natural resources. Until 1774, private merchants traded European goods for Kalaallit

commodities including sealskins, whale blubber, and narwhal teeth at trading posts along the coasts.

After this period, the Danish government took control of trading and granted its Royal Greenland Trading Department a monopoly on trade to and from Kalaallit Nunaat in 1776. In order to maintain their hold on the island's economy and natural resources and keep its Indigenous populations to remain in their traditional professions of fishing and hunting, Denmark claimed to be protecting traditional Kalaallit culture from outside threats. The Danish state also participated in a "civilizing" mission, forcing the Kalaallit to convert to Christianity, suppressed their language and culture, and worked to destroy traditional communal structures. They did this because they believed the Kalaallit to be naïve, in need of protection, and incapable of governing themselves.

Denmark continued these policies until World War II, when the Nazis invaded Denmark, and civil servants living in Kalaallit Nunaat declared the island a self-ruling territory. Later, when Denmark believed there was a threat from Norway, it accepted aid from the United States. In 1946, after the war ended, the United States offered to buy Kalaallit Nunaat for \$100 million in gold for its natural riches and its geopolitical advantages. When Denmark rejected the offer, the kingdom elevated Kalaallit Nunaat to an official county, with representation in Danish parliament. This sparked a "modernization" or "Danization" (Birkhold 2019) of the island in the 1950s and 1960s, worsening the colonial damage to the surviving Kalaallit culture.

Denmark worked to industrialize cod fishing in the waters of Kalaallit Nunaat, requiring concentrated populations on the island, rather than dispersed hunters. This resulted in a great deal of forced relocations of the Kalaallit people, rapid urbanization, and a restructure of the labor market. This shift in economy also resulted in more Danes moving to the island to run

businesses, growing from approximately 5 percent of the population in 1950, to nearly twenty percent by 1975. The Danish government created new laws that made it so civil servants born in Kalaallit Nunaat would be paid fifteen percent less than their Danish born counterparts. Danish colonialism continued to have harmful effects on the Indigenous populations: splitting up families, children were sent to Denmark for schooling, suicide rates increased, alcohol abuse, and violence.

In the last four decades, the Kalaallit have worked to regain their autonomy and protect their traditional languages and culture. In 1979, the island won the right to home-rule and in 2008, its citizens voted for self-government in a public referendum. Kalaallit Nunaat now controls its legal system, internal affairs, and natural resources (Birkhold 2019), has replaced Danish with their traditional language, and the Kalaallit are recognized as separate people from the Danish. While Denmark still controls foreign affairs and defense, the kingdom would not be able to sell Kalaallit Nunaat even if it wanted to. In 2014, the Kalaallit government, Naalakkersuisut, created a reconciliation commission that investigates the ongoing consequences of colonialism and concluded three years later that a majority of the 60,000 people living on the island (eighty-eight percent are Indigenous Kalaallit), are still negatively affected by Danish colonialism. However, the Kalaallit do not see themselves merely as victims, they are a people who are thriving.

In 2019, President Donald Trump voiced his desire for the United States to buy Greenland for its strategic value and the Thule Air Base. The Danish Prime Minister Mette Frederiksen called the idea “absurd” and emphasized that “Greenland is not for sale”. Frederiksen said, "Greenland is not Danish. Greenland belongs to Greenland...I strongly hope that this is not meant seriously” (Neuman 2019). The United States has tried to buy Kalaallit

Nunaat multiple times, the first time in 1946, the second in 2019. The island is a prime location for various geo-political reasons, as well as its well-known Thule Air Base, owned by the United States. As a result, many countries have expressed interest in taking possession of Kalaallit Nunaat. However, as the Danish Prime Minister made clear, Kalaallit Nunaat is not for sale, it belongs to the Kalaallit.

Colonialism and imperialism are widespread throughout the world and affect areas from India to Canada, South America to South Africa. Many Indigenous peoples across the globe have been impacted by colonialism and settler-colonialism. While the island was introduced to white settlers earlier than many other colonized areas, it fared far less deadly consequences as a result. While Denmark enacted harmful policies and disrupted Inuit cultures, the kingdom was not as physically violent as colonizers in the Americas and did not aim to kill the Indigenous people living in Kalaallit Nunaat. Instead, they saw themselves as a sort of paternal figure who could “help” the Indigenous people who they saw as childlike and incapable of self-rule. There is no excuse for the cultural violence that Denmark’s presence caused, but it must be acknowledged that their role was far less bloody and ill-intentioned than other colonizer groups; i.e. the Portuguese, Spanish, English, etc.

Denmark’s paternalistic view of the Kalaallit is based heavily on nationalism and exceptionalism. While most countries are at least somewhat nationalistic, Denmark’s nationalism was greatly influenced by the same ideologies that helped shape their comprehensive social welfare state.

Nationalism and Exceptionalism

Der er et yndigt land
ved Adam Oehlenschläger

Der er et yndigt land,
det står med brede bøge
nær saltens østerstrand
Det bugter sig i bakke, dal,
det hedder gamle Danmark
og det er Frejas sal

Der sad i fordums tid
de harniskklædte kæmper,
udhvilede fra strid
Så drog de frem til fjenders mén,
nu hvile deres bene
bag højens bautasten

Det land endnu er skønt,
thi blå sig søen bælter,
og løvet står så grønt
Og ædle kvinder, skønne møer
og mænd og raske svende
bebo de danskes øer

Hil drot og fædreland!
Hil hver en danneborger,
som virker, hvad han kan!
Vort gamle Danmark skal bestå,
så længe bøgen spejler
sin top i bølgen blå

(English Translation)

There is a lovely land
By Adam Oehlenschläger

There is a lovely land
with spreading, shady beech-trees,
Near salty eastern shore
Its hills and valleys gently fall,
its name is ancient Denmark,
And it is Freya's hall.

There in the ancient days
sat armoured giants rested
Between their bloody frays
Then they went forth the foe to face,
now found in stone-set barrows,
Their final resting place.

This land is still as fair,
the sea is blue around it,
And peace is cherished there
Strong men and noble women still
uphold their country's honour
With faithfulness and skill.

Hail king and fatherland!
Hail citizens of honour,
who do the best they can
Our ancient Denmark shall remain,
as long as beech tops mirror
in waves of blue their chain!

Nation and State: Understanding Nationalism

Nationalism has been highly influential in world history, redrawing world maps and conceiving of the boundaries of nations based off of those of the state. In its most well-known form, nationalism is the principle that the nation is the basis of political sovereignty and that political sovereignty is intrinsic and a right of the nation. This is only possible when a nation and state come together to become a nation-state. A key part of nationalism, nation, is “an imagined political community--and imagined as inherently limited and sovereign” (Anderson 1991, 5). Anderson, in suggesting that the nation is an entity of the creative imagination, a cultural product comparable to a work of music or art, it pushed for a more careful look into the kind of imagination involved in the nation. His term “imagined community” allowed theorists to recognize the idea that the nation might simply be a creative response to changes in politics or the economy, rather than a rationalization or a perplexity. It lessened the allure to simply make the nation an epiphenomenon of more foundational economic and political determinants.

However, the enthusiasm behind the term has concealed the fact it also has limitations and problems. Anderson’s own confused account of the term reads, “A nation...is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion” (Anderson 1991, 6). Anderson is implying that the idea of an “imagined community” goes into effect when a group is too large for its members to know each other personally (Poole 1999, 10). This notion is further implied when Anderson later writes that “all communities larger than primordial villages of face-to-face contact (and perhaps even these) are imagined” (Anderson 1991, 6). However, Ross Poole argues that the idea that this face-to-face contact might exist without imagination is misleading; it is a “hermeneutic truism that all social relations--even those between primordial villagers--work through the shared understanding (and misunderstanding) of

those involved” (Poole 1999, 11). If the principle of an “imagined community” will make a distinction among social relations, it is not because of the presence of imagination in some and not others.

Benedict Anderson also writes about how the idea of an “imagined community” goes into effect when the members of a community “live the image of their communion” (Anderson 1991, 6). By this, he implies that people conceive of themselves as belonging to the community and the conception of the community influences the way in which the people live and relate to others. This means that there is a different way that imagined communities and other types of social relations can be separated. He argues that all social relations should work through mutual understandings of those involved. However, it is important to keep in mind that some social relations need a shared understanding of the social whole to make the relationship possible. In these cases, a representation of the community is a fundamental presence in the relations; these are the relationships that concern the idea of an imagined community.

Anderson makes clear that this distinction is not based on the size of the community. He argues that there are large networks of social relations that do not rest upon an understanding of the network as a whole. Poole provides an example of this, writing “people may conceive of themselves as related to others through an extensive web of exchange relations without forming the concept of the ‘market’ as the social whole which makes these relationships possible” (Poole 1999, 11). The concepts, society and the market, are created by theorists and do not need to be part of conceptual tools of those participating in social or market relations. However, the relations between members of a nation are conciliated by their mutual recognition that they belong to the same state.

Another problem with Anderson's explanation of "imagined communities" involves the concept of imagination. While the concept of nation as an imagined object gives a place for the creativity involved in creating the nation, it does not help with understanding the level to which one is subject to an object that one has created. One of Anderson's strengths is that he recognizes the strength of the connection between the nationalist imagination and us. He writes, "No more arresting emblems of the modern culture of nationalism exist than cenotaphs and tombs of Unknown Soldiers...[V]oid as these tombs are of identifiable mortal remains or immortal souls, they are nonetheless saturated with ghostly national imaginings" (Anderson 1991, 8). These symbols of war: cenotaphs, tombs of unknown soldiers, etc., play a key role in the iconography of the nation because they represent the sacrifices that people have been willing to make on its behalf. In order to understand the moral presence of the nation in people's lives, they must come to terms with its ability to demand and be given these sacrifices. Still, this is why the idea of imagination fails, as it does not explain why the imagined object can make claims on us. When the nation is imagined, it is not just an object of consciousness that is constructed, but also a conception of ourselves as existing in relation to the object. The nation is not simply a form of consciousness, but also a form of self-consciousness. When the members of the nation recognize each other through the nation, they also recognize themselves. Therefore, if the nation is an imagined community, it is also a type of identity and exists as an object of consciousness. It is both the embodiment of the nation's conception of itself and a mode of an individual's self and other awareness. To understand this dual existence, one must understand the concept of culture.

Culture, as a concept, is complicated. It is, however, also essential in a discussion about nationalism. Poole describes a culture as "a gallery of meaningful or representative objects which those with the appropriate cultural knowledge and identity can interpret and evaluate" (Poole

1991, 13). Culture is a process, rather than a product; it is continually being reimagined and remade. In this sense, cultural objects can change meaning and importance and new objects can be introduced. Further, culture can also refer to the process in which people get the knowledge that can allow them to understand cultural artifacts and recognize them as belonging to them. It is therefore a process that allows members of a culture to understand the meaning of objects that form the culture and find identity in the objects themselves. Culture is also education or formation; it is the process in which a person is shaped within a particular type of life. It is not a passive acquisition of older patterns of behavior, instead it is a process that an individual forms and finds them self within the available forms. Thus, it is a process of self-formation and by which humans can form various social identities

For the purpose of this research, I define the nation is a cultural object that exists in and through language, public symbols, history, literature, music, currency, news, sports, etc. These cultural artifacts allow us to see that our way of life has an external existence and constitute the social environment that we recognize as our own. National cultures are always subject to change and aspects are often debated or criticized. In fact, the nation is produced and reproduced as a result of this process of transformation and contestation. Still, the nation also exists in the process in which individuals become aware of themselves as having a national identity. This notion is a part of self-formation and it is because of its success that we find ourselves at home in some social environments, rather than others. Thus, one's national culture allows for self-recognition through which one can confirm individual existence and become conscious of collective existence.

An important part of this is the acquisition of language and other forms of communication. Native languages are important because they provide the primary mode of

access to the objective world and a way to recognize other people who share that mode of access. While socially acquired, language also takes a quasi-natural state (Poole 1991, 14) that constitutes the framework through which we experience the world and provides for a form of subjectivity; the people who speak the same language are often those who we can share emotions, experiences, thoughts, jokes, etc. Further, it also marks the space of objectivity in that speakers of the same language live in the same external world. Therefore, language provides a link between an individual and wider spheres of work and relationships, culture and politics, tradition and the media. Indeed, a great deal of the strength that nationalism brings comes from the appropriation of linguistic identity by the nation.

When successful, this adoption of a common language makes it hard to say who we are without identifying ourselves as members of a certain nation. Equally important, a shared culture provides other forms of communication and recognition. For instance, ways of dressing, music, religious symbols, and ways of eating and drinking can provide ways in which we can communicate parts of our lives to others and recognize those within this realm. As a result, cultural differences can be enough to form distinct identities, even with the existence of a common language.

The development of culture as a concept was important in the emergence of nationalist consciousness and allowed nations to claim values for themselves that were not available to others. Culture is a relatively new concept, dating back to the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This time period was significant, as it also saw the birth of nationalism as a “self-conscious political project” (Poole 1991, 15). The concept of culture was the Romantic reaction to Enlightenment values and was contrasted with the idea of civilization, sometimes seen as a superior value. In western society, civilization was seen as the universal goal of historical

development and was available to countries who followed the same historical path. Meanwhile, culture was based in particular ways of life, specifically traditions and histories, and provided for levels of “feeling, poetry, mythology and oral tradition which were marginalized by the rationalistic, sterile, and superficial values of civilization” (Poole 1991, 15). Further, the culture of one nation has its own version of another. The nation is far from being the only form of culture, nor is cultural identity the only form of identity. However, the nation has taken the priority over other cultural forms because it cannot sustain a claim to priority unless its national identity is seen as more fundamental than others.

Nationalism is one of the most powerful forces in terms of international politics in the twentieth century. While sometimes seen as a multifaceted concept, nationalism can be defined to allow for multiple events under its heading but not in such a broad way that it is meaningless. According to Lowell Barrington, nationalism is “about two things: the nation and control over territory, particularly the perceived national homeland” (Barrington 2006, 3). Since there is an emphasis on territorial control, nationalism has the power to make and destroy states, as well as mobilize ideas. Nationalism is also a populist doctrine, invoking a nation in which all are equal. Despite being compatible with large inequalities of political power, property, income, status, and prestige, nationalism supposes an underlying equality among its members. As Benedict Anderson argues, the nation is “always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship” (Anderson 1999, 7). In spite of the differences between the understanding of and contributions to a nation’s culture, it is still seen as the common background of all. While nationalism has a plethora of meanings, it focuses on two phenomena: the attitude that members of a nation have as a result of caring about their identity as members of that nation and the actions that the members of a nation take in their attempt to achieve and sustain political sovereignty.

There are at least six types of nationalism: humanitarian, Jacobin, traditional, liberal, integral, and economic nationalism (Hayes 1968). Humanitarian nationalism comes from Enlightenment philosophy, stressing local self-rule through democratic types of government, based on specific aspects of each nation. Jacobin nationalism is a state ideology embraced by the revolutionary French government to build its power. It's four characteristics are intolerance of internal dissent, reliance on force to achieve government goals, and a fanatic support for the state to spread. Traditional nationalism is a response to Jacobin nationalists and is the most conservative of all types of nationalism. This form of nationalism was short lived, as the cultural changes started by the Industrial Revolution undermined its principles. Liberal nationalism emphasizes the absolute sovereignty of the national state but also aims to limit the power of the government to interfere with individual liberty; the goal of the state was to protect individual liberty and provide goods to the public. Integral nationalism centers the nation and state in the lives of its citizens. It pushes for individual sacrifices for the benefit of the nation, embracing blood worship and seeking to expand the state to include all people of the same ethnicity living in other areas. Economic nationalism is the ideology that supports state intervention in the economy, emphasizing domestic control of the economy and labor, even if it calls for the imposition of restrictions to trade movements.

Nationalism and patriotism are not the same. While patriotism is a vague way to describe one's love and devotion to a nation and its ideals and values, nationalism is focused on a nation's culture, language, and its supremacy over others. In this way, nationalism can be race or ethnicity centered, which can have dangerous implications and results. Patriotism is far less ideologically harmful than nationalism and is not based on the same devotions. George Orwell argues:

Nationalism is not to be confused with patriotism. Both words are normally used in so vague a way that any definition is liable to be challenged, but one must draw a distinction between them, since two different and even opposing ideas are involved. By 'patriotism' I mean devotion to a particular place and a particular way of life, which one believes to be the best in the world but has no wish to force on other people. Patriotism is of its nature defensive, both militarily and culturally. Nationalism, on the other hand, is inseparable from the desire for power. The abiding purpose of every nationalist is to secure more power and more prestige, not for himself but for the nation or other unit in which he has chosen to sink his own individuality (Orwell 1945).

Therefore, the key difference is that patriotism is a love of country, while nationalism is love of country **and** the dislike of other countries, their peoples, or their cultures, as well as even a dislike of fellow citizens of the same country who are different. This is why supporters of nationalism often support nation building campaigns that aim to assimilate citizens to state determined norms in terms of language, religion, ethnicity, etc.

Danish Exceptionalism

In this section I aim to deconstruct the Nordic, emphasizing the role played by the construction of the “other” within Nordic countries as supply points of counter-identification and contestations of what are acceptable identities within a nation. It is essential in this discussion to place these Nordic countries in relation to the process of othering and formation of “modernity”, within imperialist, colonial discourses.

Like many other European countries, Denmark’s national identity is greatly impacted by imperialism and colonialism. Usually culturally different from the colonizer country, the colonized countries provide sources of “counter-identifications to the customary versions” (Loftsdóttir and Jensen 2012, 1) of colonizer identities, coming from domestic, territorially defined processes. In his work, Edward Said emphasized that the concept of colonization was not just something happening in the colonized spaces, but at the “heart of European culture” (Said 1995). Thus, while colonialism’s impact reached the whole world, it does not mean it is a universal narrative, but one with universal ramifications. In terms of colonial history, Nordic countries represent all varieties of experiences: colonizing countries to colonies themselves. Nordic countries encompass independent states: Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Iceland, and Finland and self-governing regions: Kalaallit Nunaat, the Faroe Islands, and the Aland Islands. Throughout the years, the relationships between these countries have evolved, been contested, and led to shifting borders. As they continue to change, they still concern people of different ethnicities, languages, and regions that hold unique regional identities.

Race, and hence racism, has played a large role in shaping our world, present and past, serving as an essential source for the colonial archive. While it is often assumed that Nordic countries have merely been bystanders in the formation of racial theories and understandings of

cultural differences, Nordic scholars (primarily Swedish) have been preoccupied with racial theories and their assumed scientific contribution. For instance, Swedish naturalist Carl von Linné was instrumental in shaping Europe's ideas of the planet through his botanical classification system in *Systema Naturae*. In 1735, von Linné created a human classification system, which shared traits with the racist typologies developed in the nineteenth century. This sort of racist categorization of human differences achieved great hegemonic power to make sense of the world and was seen as a superior way of knowing the world by the West. Racism helped create an illusion of unity, through creating the "other".

In a Nordic context, racist classification systems were used against various groups, including anti-Semitism against Jewish people in the 1930s. However, these racist attitudes worked in many ways, depending on location. Denmark's involvement is primarily focused on the Danish administration of Inuit peoples in Kalaallit Nunaat as a racially based system. While a common practice in the colonial world, the "history of trying to suppress this fact, through the invention of the benevolent colonial master, was a Danish characteristic" (Loftsdóttir and Jensen 2012, 6). This self-image has lived past the initial stage of colonialism, with the Danish colonial apparatus being replaced by a modern program that led to a transformation of Kalaallit society, with Danes at the top as decision makers and the Kalaallit remaining as second-class citizens.

In his 2003 article *Dansk raceanthropologi i Grønland*, Danish historian Poul Duehahl writes that Danish anthropology does not legitimate Danish colonialism in Kalaallit Nunaat because of its apolitical and divergent nature. Duehahl's argument is an example of the complex discourse concerning Danish colonial exceptionalism that works within a narrow idea of colonial violence. Denmark has a long history of self-promotion as a benevolent colonial power. Poul

Egede, son of Denmark's first missionary to Kalaallit Nunaat, Hans Egede highlights this view in his statement:

There are countries under the sun, where neither ice nor snow has ever been seen, the inhabitants do not even know names for them, and yet, I would rather live in your [country] than theirs, even though so many precious things come from there. The heat from the sun is insufferable; the days and nights are of equal length all year. But the continuous uniformity is not as pleasant as the difference here in our North. The people, who are black and need no clothes, hunt each other there like you hunt caribou, and those who are captured they save until ships come from other countries, and sell them to the foreigners for spirits and tobacco. Are you not much happier in your country? The foreigners usually let you keep your own people and the property of the people (Egede 1925, 114).

Egede compares the Kalaallit and other Indigenous peoples, arguing that the Kalaallit are fortunate to be colonized by Danes, as they do not usually sell off their people and allow them to keep their property. His condemnation of those involved in the slave trade, albeit is ironic, as the Danish slave trade was the seventh largest in the world at the time. Egede argues that because Danes do not sell their own people into slavery, they are seemingly exonerated from moral judgement of involvement with the slave trade. Christina Petterson argues that the slave trade itself acts as the economic context for this practice (Petterson 2012, 30). The systematic violence of slavery securing an apparently humane practice needs a theoretical approach that recognizes the levels of violence, which construct a peaceful state.

Slavoj Žižek's 2008 study on violence, *Violence: Six Sideways Reflections* outlines such an approach (Žižek 2008, 2). According to Žižek, there are three main types of violence: subjective violence and two forms of objective violence. Subjective violence is visible violence, such as crime and conflict, while objective violence is separated into symbolic and systematic violence. Symbolic violence is embodied in "language and its forms", while systematic violence is state sanctioned. Žižek argues that objective and subjective violence cannot be lumped together, nor perceived from the same standpoint. This is because subjective violence is always

connected to a “non-violent zero level” as a deviation from peace, while objective violence is innate to maintaining a status quo, peace.

Thus, perceiving Danish colonialism as humane results in the colonialism being seen as non-violent, but if one delves further into the matter, the face of violence becomes more complex than just a question of visible force. This is best seen in the social and racial stratifications in Kalaallit society and the symbolic violence of characterizing the Kalaallit as childlike and savages. Hence, when the image of Denmark as a humane and benevolent colonizer--as it is often reiterated in media, popular culture, and scholarly discourses-- is further explored, the kingdom loses its perceived innocence (Thisted 2008, 32-35). This alleged humanity of Danish colonizers in Kalaallit Nunaat is not based on a benevolent cultural trait, but on economic motives (Thomsen 1998). For instance, in its colonial involvement in the West Indies, Denmark was just as violent as other colonial regimes. What made Kalaallit Nunaat different was that Denmark was reliant on the Indigenous population on the island for profit.

In order to understand the objective violence of the Danish colonizers in Kalaallit Nunaat, one must consider race's privileged position in Denmark. Just as they are reluctant to admit to their colonial violence, the Danish government is hesitant to address race as a structural factor in the social politics of the Danish state. In 1986, Danish anthropologist Ole Høiris published a report of how anthropologists in Denmark, at the turn of the twentieth century, embodied a typical Western anthropological, racist view of non-Europeans. Høiris also published an account in 1983 that focused on the view of the Kalaallit before the second World War. Both Høiris and Duedahl's work depict Denmark as an active participant in racial studies from the late nineteenth century, until World War II and indicate that Kalaallit Nunaat played a large role in this research by supplying empirical data for analysis.

In addition to participation in racial studies, Denmark also had racial policies that greatly affected the Indigenous population in Kalaallit Nunaat. The *Instruction of the 19th April 1782* is an important document in the colonial history of Denmark and Kalaallit Nunaat because of “its jurisdiction and its implications for the understanding of the Greenlanders as civil subjects” (Petterson 2012, 32). While it was not a “Law of Greenland”, it still dealt with the rules and regulations for all employees of the Trade--Danes and Kalaallit with mixed heritage--those who employed on a regular wage basis and not those who sold products to the Trade. The document’s non-law status was partially determined by its jurisdiction, placing “Greenlanders outside any notion of rights” (Petterson 2012, 32) and leaving them in a “state of nature” in which they were assumed to thrive in.

Additionally, while the “ordinary Greenlanders” were not included in the jurisdiction of the law (Gad 1976), it still had a large impact on their lives and trading. The fourth post in the *Instruction of the 19th April 1782* is important to note because of how it advised people to treat the Kalaallit; it encouraged the Indigenous population to hunt and store food for the winter and distinguished the Kalaallit based on racial “mixture”. The former shows the inclusion of Indigenous practice within the Danish colonial apparatus, as the Kalaallit had been hunters for innumerable generations and developed several storage methods. The document, however, articulates that the Kalaallit needed to be encouraged to hunt and store their food; that they were incapable of taking care of themselves. The latter racial split between members of the Indigenous population, focused on the Kalaallit who had a Danish father and worked for the Trade, created and enforced a belief that the non-mixed population belonged to nature, were subservient to the laws of nature, and that they should be allowed to live as before” (Petterson 2012, 32). Thus, they were allowed to live their own lives, as long as those fit the desires of the mission and the

Royal Greenland Trading Department (KGH). Meanwhile, the Kalaallit who the Danes perceived as mixed were thought to fall under the jurisdiction of the *Instruction of the 19th April 1782* and included within a sphere of “civilization”. The *Instruction*’s main purpose was to maintain this split and “keep the sphere of nature away from the sphere of civilization” (Petterson 2012, 33). This was sustained through the regulation of reproduction and marriage.

In the early twentieth century, there were a series of Danish reforms that shaped separate legal spheres for the Kalaallit and Danes. These reforms, all covered under the *Law regarding the government of the colonies in Greenland*, meant that employees of the Trade and mission were under Danish law, while all other Kalaallit were under the jurisdiction of Kalaallit law. Danish law and its segregationist policies served as race and class markers, with the *Instruction* of 1782 building the framework for later inequality between Danes and the Inuit of Kalaallit Nunaat. This, along with the poverty that occurred when the Kalaallit had to fight for the same jobs, same fish, and the same money to survive, shaped the social fabric of the island community, or “the Danish racial state in Greenland” (Petterson 2012, 34). As a result, many Kalaallit felt that they were treated like slaves by the Danes (Gundel and Tølbøll 2004, 10). These differences in jurisdiction can be categorized as systematic violence, as they produce, uphold, and naturalize inequalities between the different social groups. Petterson argues that this systematic violence was “undergirded by the symbolic violence enacted in portraying Greenlanders as mentally inferior and savage, blissfully unaware of the state of their own depravity and misery” (Petterson 2012, 35). This depiction of the Kalaallit is always in reference to whiteness as an ideal and was described in an excerpt in Paul Egede’s diary in 1740:

After I had led evening worship with the colonists and our followers, I was compelled to tell them about our own as well as other countries, and when they heard that black people existed, they asked: ‘Are they blacker than us?’ I answered that the Greenlanders were white in comparison, nothing light could be

seen except teeth and eyes. The boys that heard this began laughing at this, and said, ‘It must be fun to see these people laugh and stare’ (Egede 1988, 127)

In Kalaallit Nunaat, Danes pushed narratives where whiteness was the pinnacle of aesthetic pleasure and beauty. As a result of the established Danish racial state, skin color was often discussed and it is hardly surprising that the Kalaallit compared themselves with black people, internalizing rhetoric and hierarchies of beauty, where black people were placed lower than the Kalaallit.

Generally, it is constructed ideas of modernization and development aid that drive the attitude that Denmark, and the West as a whole, must deliver Kalaallit Nunaat the “development” they were considered to be unable to create for themselves. Jensen argues that “this conceptualization of the situation of undeveloped nations was completely de-historicized, because it left out the equation the fact of colonialism as a hugely destructive force and presence” (Jensen 2012, 106). Instead of being ahistorical, it was de-historicized because colonialism needed to be written out of the contact zone of the “West and the Rest”, to create a path for a new engagement that would otherwise be considered neo-colonialism. However, development aid was based on a historical notion that pushed for the evolution of successful Western societies, like the Danish welfare state, as internal developments which were separate from the realities of western wealth, created through the exploitation of the Rest. Thus, there is an assumption that the Rest’s failure to evolve was the result of internal processes that were separate from its colonial ties to the West and was a continuation of colonialism’s “civilizing” mission.

This new global narrative was constructed at a similar time to when colonial states were being replaced with “independent” historically colonized states in the “Third World”, after 1945. The violence of the European presence in the colonized world was erased from the narratives of

these new “independent” states and substituted with notions of domestic entrepreneurship creating a path for industrialization with the help of the West. Surprisingly, while there has been a great deal of attention given to ideas of nation-building after the development of “formerly colonized” states, there was far less of a focus on nation rebuilding in Europe at the end of World War II. The “reconstructed national narratives could no longer continue as tales of national grandeur produced through the possession of colonies” (Jensen 2012, 107). Instead, the post-war narratives became focused on the “post-imperial” nation’s territorial and cultural integrity, as they lost their colonies. Interestingly, these narratives ignored the shame associated with the oppressive nature of colonialism and the process of decolonization, while also neglecting to recognize troubling racialized rhetoric in Europe such as scientific eugenics, Nazism, and fascism. In Denmark’s case, this includes the expulsion of Jewish people and communists from the kingdom before the Nazis even requested their extradition and before the 1940 German occupation.

Denmark’s “modernization” of Kalaallit Nunaat and participation in the development aid project were chances to show the reconstruction of the kingdom’s image as “a benevolent colonialist, and as an internationally conscientious nation state” (Jensen 2012, 108). Despite this, the literature written at the time highlights a knowledge of the similarities between Denmark’s addition to development aid and Kalaallit “modernization”, scholars have not focused attention on connecting the two. Yet, when they are placed next to each other, their overlaps are obvious with their mutual staging of Danish identity formation. Denmark’s participation in development aid and Kalaallit “modernization” are not only connected, but also form a type of thinking that reflects an understanding of the self that has a far longer history than the form it took in the welfare thought paradigm in the 1950s and 1960s. Although Denmark’s welfare state is a part of

a larger narrative of post-World War II western affluenza, it still follows a specific path, in terms of development aid, in Denmark and other Nordic countries. Thus, it uses the hegemonic “Nordic narrative of a seemingly innate desire for equality regardless of race, gender or class, despite a reality of continued demonstrable inequality on all three fronts” (Jensen 2012, 108). In this case, hegemonic refers to the ways in which a state acts and regulates as a result of this narrative, as well as how the majority societies in Nordic countries buy into this perception, label it as ideal and worthy of becoming universalized, even though the perception often fails to work consistently when implemented.

While the welfare state and its promise as an international model is often idealized in Danish society, this notion is not always mirrored in the overall push for internationalism. However, there was a contradiction in the relationship between the Danish welfare society as an export role model and the rise of welfare as a solely domestic process, based on a national racialized impeccability. Therefore, the Danes found themselves in an interesting position when speaking of Danish ties to the “Third World”, with their historical possession of tropical colonies written out of the national cultures archive--excluding a few works in the 1940s and 1950s and Thorkild Hansen’s 1960s critique of the Danish slave trade--while also drawing on a history of Danish intervention and international entrepreneurship that has been claimed as an inherently Danish trait.

After the end of World War II, Denmark and other European colonial states began to realize that their relationships with their colonies were quickly and permanently changing. Those who failed to notice this change experienced humiliating defeats at the hands of those they colonized, their supposed colonial inferiors; “the Netherlands in Indonesia, Britain in East Africa and South Asia, France in Indochina and North Africa and Portugal in Africa” (Jensen 2012,

109). Comparatively, Denmark's empire fell peacefully, but not because the kingdom was any more insightful or humane than other colonial powers. Rather, it was because Denmark's remaining colonies: Kalaallit Nunaat and the Faroe Islands had limited populations that were not able to mount effective anti-colonial resistance campaigns and the kingdom needed Indigenous peoples for labor to make economic profits from the colonies. However, this does not mean that the Danish desire to rebuild its control in both territories was any less steadfast than other colonial powers or that the Kalaallit and the Indigenous people of the Faroe Islands did not have a desire to change their relationship with Denmark during the second World War.

Denmark's weakened position during the war created international barriers for its ambitions to reinvent itself as a dependable member in the post-war global order. The kingdom's international aid and control over Kalaallit Nunaat, particularly Thule, initially allowed it the ability to rehab its international image, solidifying its importance to Denmark. However, in order to maintain its sovereignty over Kalaallit Nunaat, it needed to increase the Danish presence on the island after decades of neglect. This and "the growing demands in the UN for decolonization raised by recently independent countries, paved the way for a Danish policy of modernization on a massive scale, solving both the problem of UN accusations of neglect, and of avoiding future embarrassing American offers to buy Greenland" (Jensen 2012, 111). This cemented Denmark's membership in NATO and allowed it to develop a new interventionist, but still humanitarian image on the global stage.

The modernization programs in Denmark's colonies were arranged by its politicians and civil servants, providing the opportunity to depict itself more positively than its characterization for the previous 150 years. It simultaneously served as a chance to set up a new, global identification that got its breakthrough with the campaign to modernize Kalaallit Nunaat and the

expansion of “Third World” development aid. Despite Danish enthusiasm, the projects started relatively slowly because the kingdom had put Kalaallit Nunaat under severe travel restrictions and to protect the colonial administration from critical international or media scrutiny. While it had been designed to be orchestrated by Danes, the “modernization” of Kalaallit Nunaat forced the opening of the island, which led to Danish media writing of horrible living conditions for the Indigenous peoples and critiques of some Danish strategies in Kalaallit Nunaat, but not of Danish colonialism as a whole. The latter only occurred when Kalaallit intelligentsia constituents went to Denmark for educational purposes and found alliance partners in Copenhagen among various anti-establishment groups in the 1960s and 1970s and became aware of anti-imperialist critiques. They used these critiques to politically mobilize and protest their classification as second-class citizens in their own country, Kalaallit Nunaat.

The “modernization” of Kalaallit Nunaat, while destructive to many aspects of Kalaallit society, also led to the path for increased demands for recognition, influence, home rule, and eventually in 2009, self-sovereignty. However, this should not be considered an achievement of improving Danish policy, as the Kalaallit had to fight the Danish government for every achievement and increase in self-determination. Clearly, “modernization” involves a large investment, not a slow, colonial administration. Despite this, the Danish government focused on preserving its power during the decades in which “modernization” was pushed, through a restricted delegation of influence to the Indigenous peoples of the island. This is clearly seen from the “secrecy and lies that surrounded the Thule Air Base and the enforced removal of the local community, as well as, from the actions of the Danish government’s representatives at the UN, who positioned themselves centrally in the committee overseeing the successful decolonization of the remaining colonies” (Jensen 2012, 112). For instance, Denmark violated

the principle in article 73 of the UN covenant, that guarantees colonial powers must work towards achieving independence for its colonies, when it decided to add Kalaallit Nunaat and the Faroe Islands to the Danish Commonwealth, Rigsfællesskabet, in order to label them as shires in Denmark, and thus with no specific rights, despite the fact that they were entirely different entities.

The growth of development aid evolved quite differently, with some common ingredients. Denmark began to provide development aid after the second World War with food aid to the Netherlands, who had been hit hard by the German occupation. Despite this start, Danish development aid was soon seen as closely tied to the achievement of local national interests. Thus, the second recipient of Danish aid was northern Germany, where food was given to the Danish speaking communities. Denmark tried to justify the prioritization of Danish minorities in Germany with the Danish citizen's reluctance to help the enemy. However, underneath this official rhetorical facade, there was a nationalistic agenda that was based off of the notion that Germany might renegotiate the border settlement between the two nation states after the first World War. This misguided policy quickly changed when Britain called attention to the fact that if they were willing to help their enemy as participants in the war, the Danish "neutral" state should be able to do the same. Thus, Danish development aid changed from its neighboring countries to a more global participation in medical campaigns in the "decolonizing" world. Partially as a response to American pressure to do so, Danish aid grew dramatically in the 1960s and in the 1970s Denmark even joined the UN call for "developed" countries to give 0.7 percent of their BNP to development aid (Jensen 2012, 112)

The connection between development aid and "modernization is clear to see in the idea of material improvement, often assumed to be caused by the allotment of technology and technical

assistance. Still, the concept of modernization existed in the belief that “Third World” citizens would be transformed from traditional farmers and hunters to “modern” workers. Thus, industrialization which was seen as an internal process of the West, not connected from the exploitation of the colonies, could now also be characterized as an internal process for the “Rest”. So, discourses surrounding exploitative colonial history and the impoverishment of Indigenous peoples as a direct result of colonialism were absent from dominant conversations. The pre-conditions of “modernization” and development made it so that history was not considered and when a modernization program failed, it was always the “Rest” who was at fault. This argument was justified with “endemic corruption and other forms of irrational blockings that could be reduced to two words, ‘cultural difference’ understood as cultural inadequacies, or the inability to shift from being too cultural to being modern and culture less” (Jensen 2012, 113). Therefore, the West worked as a cultureless norm, the epitome of a “fully developed” modernity.

Language and Schools

Search for My Tongue

Sujata Bhatt

You ask me what I mean
by saying I have lost my tongue.
I ask you, what would you do
if you had two tongues in your mouth,
and lost the first one, the mother tongue,
and could not really know the other,
the foreign tongue.
You could not use them both together
even if you thought that way.
And if you lived in a place you had to
speak a foreign tongue,
your mother tongue would rot,
rot and die in your mouth
until you had to spit it out.
I thought I spit it out
but overnight while I dream,

munay hutoo kay aakhee jeebh aakhee bhasha
may thoonky nakhi chay
parantoo rattray svupnama mari bhasha pachi aavay chay
foolnee jaim mari bhasha nmari jeebh
modhama kheelay chay
fullnee jaim mari bhasha mari jeebh
modhama pakay chay

it grows back, a stump of a shoot
grows longer, grows moist, grows strong veins,
it ties the other tongue in knots,
the bud opens, the bud opens in my mouth,
it pushes the other tongue aside.
Everytime I think I've forgotten,
I think I've lost the mother tongue,
it blossoms out of my mouth.

Language and Schools in Kalaallit Nunaat

At the end of 1975, Greenland's population was around 50,000; 40,000 native born residents and more than 9,000 residents coming from other countries, primarily from Denmark. While Kalaallit Nunaat is a geographical entity, those living in the country are not a homogenous population. As a result of the extremely long coastline, the population is scattered throughout the land mass, with large differences in occupational opportunities. As of 1979, about three quarters of the total population lived in towns, with the remainder living in smaller settlements, principally in "hamlets" (Gynther 1980). Further, there are differences between the populations of western Kalaallit Nunaat, those living in the Thule area, and in eastern Kalaallit Nunaat. As a result, there are considerable differences between these three groups in terms of language. Despite local differences in dialects, the contemporary Indigenous language spoken in Kalaallit Nunaat is considered to be a separate branch of the Inuit language, which is spoken from Kalaallit Nunaat (east) to Siberia (west). While linguists have attempted to link the Inuit language and other languages, they have been unsuccessful thus far. The Inuit language includes two main groups of dialects; the eastern Inuit dialects, which are closely tied to one another but significantly different from the dialects spoken in Alaska and Siberia (Gynther 1980).

The public school system in Kalaallit Nunaat is significant because it is over 100 years old, with the Nuuk (Godthåb) Teachers' College celebrating its centennial in 1945. The relationship between Kalaallit and Danish as the language of education is thus a matter of concern. The development of Kalaallit Nunaat's school system made it possible to educate the entire population, including those living in remote, isolated areas. In fact, even before 1950, there was a seven-year compulsory education. Students in Kalaallit Nunaat were given the option to go to boarding schools, which offered two years of junior high school and two years of either a commercial or academic program. The commercial program was designed for students who

planned to take positions in public service (ex. bookkeepers, office personnel, and in the government trading company). The academic program was a preparatory school for the two-year Teachers' College. Prior to this, elementary education was focused on three subjects: religion, Kalaallit language, and arithmetic. These subjects were taught by native teachers, the "catechists" whose responsibilities extended to church activities in smaller settlements (Gynther 1980).

Prior to the second World War, the school system in Kalaallit Nunaat met the needs of the relatively isolated society. This was because the majority of the population were traditional hunters, which had little need for book learning. For those who did want further education, they could attend one of the secondary schools located in Julianhåb, Godthåb, and Egedesminde. After exhausting these academic avenues, those wanting additional academic education had to go to Denmark. However, while very few students opted for academic careers, a diploma from one of the secondary schools was a useful basis for other types of training. After completing school, many Kalaallit students entered service-oriented occupations; for instance, becoming trainees of the government's Royal Greenlandic Trading Company, which was the only source of formal employment for several occupations (Gynther 1980).

The Second World War interrupted the relations between Kalaallit Nunaat and Denmark for five years, bringing about the first break in Kalaallit Nunaat's relative isolation. Kalaallit Nunaat, a strategic location in relation to North Atlantic shipping and convoys to Murmansk, was a prime site for air bases and was thus exposed to other societies for the first time. This exposure inspired demands from both Kalaallit Nunaat and Denmark for political equality and "the technical and economic development needed to modernize the country" (Gynther 1980, 3). In 1948, the Danish government established the Greenland Commission, composed of both

Kalaallit and Danish members. Following the publication of a series of 1950 reports, plans were created to bring Western “development” to Kalaallit Nunaat.

This push for “development” was justified because of the country’s rapidly growing birth-rate, with the traditional social organization based on hunting no longer being able to support the population. Thus, fishing and sheep farming were further developed as viable occupations and new industries for processing these resources were established in some of the towns. The increased Danish presence in Kalaallit Nunaat’s economy eventually reached its school system and education programs. Soon, the teaching of the Danish language became increasingly common, taught in the lowest grades and requiring more Danish instructors (Gynther 1980).

Kalaallit Nunaat received its first comprehensive education legislation pertaining to the Kalaallit school system, with Act No. 274 on May 27, 1950. This legislation marked the beginning of an independent school system in Kalaallit Nunaat; previously education had worked jointly with the state church. As a result, the direction of education was now put in a School Board that included the Governor of Greenland as the Chairman, the Church Dean for Greenland and the Director of Education for Greenland. While prior to the 1950 Education Act Danish had been--to a limited extent--taught in Kalaallit Nunaat’s schools, it was given far greater attention under the new system (Gynther 1980). There were several reasons for this development; outlined in the February 1950 Report of the Special Greenland Commission:

“For a number of years, the people of Greenland and their representatives have voiced a keen desire for improved and more effective instruction in Danish.

Without attempting to evaluate the work already done in the field of Danish instruction, it is the opinion of the Commission that there is now need for further development of the teaching of Danish in response to the repeatedly expressed desire of Greenlanders as well as the demands imposed on the Greenland community under contemporary conditions.

Special attention must be paid to the fact modern literature, both of the usual, culturally-informative type and of the technical kind, cannot be satisfactorily translated and published in Greenlandic owing to the limited demand. Therefore, if the population of Greenland is to acquire contemporary culture, it must have access through reading, both to ordinary informative literature and to the vast store of knowledge contained in technical and professional material.

Furthermore, note must be taken of the following:

1. This is the general desire of the Greenlandic population; so that any future expansion of Danish instruction must make it available to as wide a circle as possible.
2. The main emphasis must therefore be put on a considerable increase in Danish instruction in the primary schools. This would, at the same time, make possible a more thorough knowledge of the Danish language amongst high school pupils and, finally produce more and better teachers of Danish from among the native Greenlanders.
3. There must be considerable extension of Danish education, both because of experience in the schools, and in response to the wishes of the population. It must go beyond the teaching of the Danish language to include instruction in a number of subjects in Danish.
4. The Commission does, however, consider it necessary that the transition to the use of Danish as a language of instruction in the schools of Greenland take place on a voluntary basis. Similarly, the inherent rights of the Greenlandic native language in the public school system of Greenland must be maintained.
5. With the introduction of Danish as a language of instruction, experience has shown the need to take into account the capacity of students to cope with the major differences between Greenlandic and Danish languages.
6. Furthermore, there is also the question of providing suitable native and Danish teachers within a reasonable time, the former perfectly fluent in Danish and the latter reasonably familiar with Greenlandic conditions.
7. It must be recognized that the change to Danish as the language of instruction in primary schools throughout most of the country would be very costly and require a major building program.
8. The Commission recommends that as a beginning and in order to gain experience, instruction in Danish be re-organized and expanded at a number of schools in the larger settlements, where the students seem well suited to such a

change and where the Danish and Greenlandic teaching staff have already, over a period of years, become familiar with the pedagogical problems involved.

The enhanced Danish training must therefore be gradually extended to other parts of the country, both through increasing Danish instruction at additional schools and other academic and cultural means.

The Commission considers a useful step in improving the teaching of Danish might be to employ a Danish teacher, or a Greenlandic teacher who has completed teachers' college training in Denmark, at all places where there are a reasonable number of school children (forty, for example), to direct the teaching, particularly in Danish" (Grøndlandskommissionens Betænkning bind 3 Skolevæsenet 1950, 14).

This report makes clear that the Commission proposed that Danish language instruction be intensified and eventually be used as the language of schooling. The Commission's change from teaching in the native language and in Danish was primarily based upon economic and practical reasons. The report states that the reason for increasing Danish teaching was because writing, in terms of cultural, information, technical, and professional purposes could not be adequately translated and published in Kalaallit Nunaat's native language.

Importantly, the Commission emphasized that the change from the use of Danish as a language of schooling in Kalaallit Nunaat had to be voluntary. Therefore, a distinction would be made between those interested in learning Danish and those who were not interested/ unable to do so. As a result, the former group would have access to Western knowledge and the other group would have to "manage, as before, with the existing modest amount of Greenlandic written material. In the view of the Commission, it would be unrealistic to try to increase this" (Gynther 1980, 9). Bent Gynther states that he believes that the Commission did not base its decisions on purely pedagogical matters and the organization of the newly intensified Danish teaching was not based on pedagogical analysis. He claims that this is backed up by the fact that it was not pointed out that Danish is a foreign language in Kalaallit Nunaat and there was little

experience in teaching Danish as a foreign language (Gynther 1980, 9). The Commission additionally advocated for three bilingual schools, the “A.B. schools” to be established experimentally in Kalaallit Nunaat. The Commission’s Report states:

“The seven-year program of instruction, makes possible the achievement of bilingualism by dividing the children into two groups, designated A.& B.

For the first two years the children are taught Greenlandic along with a few weekly Danish classes.

At the discretion of the Greenlandic School authorities, but with the greatest possible concern for the wishes of the parents, the children are, from the beginning of the third year divided so as to establish a purely Greenlandic stream (A) and a more Danish oriented stream (B). Thus, the A stream would be taught Danish only as a subject, while the B stream--over and above these Danish language classes--would gradually learn more and more subjects in Danish. All children, both A and B streams, must receive instruction throughout their schooling in their native language and also be given religious instruction in Greenlandic.

These bilingual schools must gradually reach an educational level equivalent to the ordinary public schools in Denmark.

It is suggested that the educational authorities in Greenland should prepare student curricula for use by the new experimental schools”
(Grøndlandskommissionens Betænkning bind 3 Skolevæsenet 1950, 16).

As a result of the 1950 legislation, the new school boards in Kalaallit Nunaat were required to create an educational plan that both outlined the methods and scope of instruction and described the objectives of each subject. This educational plan, “Educational Plan for Greenland Primary Schools” became effective on June 22, 1950 and gave the following description of school goals:

“The purpose of Greenland primary schools is to provide students with general knowledge and to develop their abilities and talents while, at the same time, taking into account the individual characteristics of each child.

The teaching and the daily life of the school are intended to make the children good citizens.

The school is also to make the children orderly and well behaved.

Greenlandic is in general, the language of instruction in primary schools.

The children must also be given some knowledge of the old E*kimo culture as well as the recent history and social conditions of Greenland. They should also be taught about the Greenland economy.

The children must be introduced to the Danish language, as far as possible.

Religious instruction in the primary school must be in conformity with Evangelical Lutheran teachings” (Skole-og undervisningsplan for den grønlandske børneskole 1951).

Gynther contends that the function of the school was to turn the students into good citizens in the Kalaallit Nunaat community and that their native language was to be the language of instruction for the school. However, all school children had to be made familiar with the Danish language (Gynther 1980, 11). The study plan was flawed in terms of methodology, as this was the first plan for education in Kalaallit schools and was put together in a haste. The native language program was based upon readers and writing that was available in Kalaallit Nunaat and thus was designed for Kalaallit students living in Kalaallit Nunaat. Similarly, the Danish language program was designed for Danish children living in Denmark. As a result, the contents of the language programs were quite different in terms of linguistic, cultural, and emotional conditions. Further, while there was a great deal of energy put into the preparation of Danish teaching materials and methodologies, there was a comparatively slow development in terms of its the Kalaallit language counterpart. This was principally due to the limited amounts of older teaching materials in the Kalaallit language, making them less attractive to students than illustrated and colorful Danish books shipped from Denmark. As a result, the Danish language instruction was made to seem more appealing to students than that in the Kalaallit language, leading to subject matter in Kalaallit Nunaat to become more Danish oriented. By the 1960s, it

became abundantly clear that there were problems in the school systems in Kalaallit Nunaat; it is nearly impossible to teach two languages that are so different as the Kalaallit language and Danish, side by side, from the beginning of schooling. In reaction to this fact, schools chose to focus on teaching in Danish, rather than the students' native language. Soon an arrangement was introduced that pushed for the instruction of the Kalaallit language to be postponed until the third year of school; teaching in Danish began right from the beginning. A research report, "Problems of co-operation between Greenlanders and Danes in West Greenland" was published by the Committee for Community Research in Greenland in 1963, stating:

"On the basis of direct observation there is no doubt whatsoever that by far the majority of Greenlanders in Greenland do not know much Danish and that an even larger proportion of Danes posted to Greenland lack any knowledge of Greenlandic...there is much that suggests that the difference between the two languages acts as a barrier between Greenlanders and Danes...almost all Greenlandic-speaking people and four-fifths of the Danish-speaking people say that all Greenlanders need to speak Danish and Greenlandic equally well. The majority of Greenlanders have Greenlandic as their primary tongue, while Danish is clearly a foreign language used by only a small proportion of the population as a second language. Even if one overlooks the problems of understanding entirely unfamiliar words, the differences in the concepts underlying words and the way they are used in two languages, effectively translation is considerably complicated by the radically different manner in which expressions themselves are put together in Greenlandic and in Danish. It is less critically important, in this connection, that the languages' vocabularies have nothing in common apart from borrowed words,...This makes it immediately apparent that what appears in Greenlandic as one, undivided word, which must be treated as such in terms of syntax, can often only be translated into Danish by means of a short or a long sentence. Conversely, it requires a major alteration in one's normal thought processes when faced with the need to compress a Danish expression into a single Greenlandic word, and the ending of a sentence in Greenlandic is its beginning in Danish, and vice versa" (Samarbejdsproblemer mellem grønlændere og danskere i Vestgrønland 1963, 19-84).

The report makes it clear that there are clear linguistic and conceptual differences between the two languages and in manners of expression that make them difficult to learn simultaneously. Eventually, a new Greenland Education Act was passed by the Danish Parliament in 1967 that

made it legal to postpone the teaching of the Kalaallit native language to students until the third grade, while not including a corresponding regulation to make it possible to postpone teaching Danish. While this new provision led to concern that the native language would be neglected, the law was simply a confirmation of practices already occurring in Kalaallit schools. It has been noted that even before the new education act was passed, teachers had already begun teaching Danish from the start of schooling (Gynther 1980).

The school system has continued to encounter many problems, and likely will continue to. The two most pressing of these issues are that first, the schools must not be seen by children and their parents as something unfamiliar in image and content and second, it is necessary to work hard to give students a solid command of one language. By achieving this, it would ensure that students are not left semi-lingual: having neither a command of their native language nor their foreign language. It is also necessary for the Kalaallit school system to bring about comprehensive pedagogical development that will make the subject matter taught in Kalaallit Nunaat's schools conform to the everyday lived reality of Kalaallit Nunaat. Students must find schools that help maintain their Kalaallit identity.

Clearly, there is a close tie between a person's language and their cultural background. As English sociologist Basil Bernstein states, "if the culture of the teacher is to become part of a child's consciousness, the culture of the child must first be present in the mind of the teacher" (Bernstein 1973, 225). These words emphasize an important conclusion that can be drawn from Kalaallit Nunaat's educational journey: Kalaallit students' cultural identities as Indigenous people of Greenland must be prioritized in order to create productive, non-oppressive environments in which they can succeed.

Language/Schools' Influence on Colonialism

Language imposition is closely linked to settler colonialism, a type of colonization in which colonizers come and stay, making themselves the powerful, and thus, the arbiters of civility and knowledge. Tuck and Gaztambide-Fernández (2013) assert, settler colonialism relies on the construction of the “other” as less civilized and lesser than, painting whiteness and white subjectivity as superior and normal. As a result, whiteness and settler systems are made invisible and only reappear when they are threatened. Settler colonialism “destroys to replace” (Wolfe 2006, 338) and runs on the logic of elimination, a notion highly motivated by access and acquisition of territory. Wolfe argues, the logic of elimination is “embedded into every aspect of the settler colonial structures and its disciplines...invasion is a structure, not an event” (Wolfe 2006, 402). Thus, colonial violence and displacement is not a one and done situation, it is reproduced every day of occupation.

Historically, hegemonic forms of education have been used as examples of cultural and intellectual advancement, reifying discourses of democracy and development, especially in the shadows of capitalist markets. Education is seen simply as a tool of global redistributive justice (Mundy 2008), an instrument of efforts for social justice and personal agency. However, discourses surrounding education often forget to ask critical questions about the content, nature, and implications of this “education” (Dei and Lordan 2016). Dei and Lordan outline a series of these questions, asking: what form should education take and how, how could Indigenous languages be implemented as important parts of educational directive, whose voices are heard within a Western educational curriculum, whose voices are not heard, what are the implications of this silence (Dei and Lordan 2016, xii). These questions highlight the problematic perceptions of education as always beneficial and necessary for “development” that can actually lead to

cultural violence and Indigenous language suppression. The idea of “development” is itself part of the problem. Conventionally, perceptions of “development” are defined by what people do not have or what they are expected to become; a “catching up” (Dei and Lordan 2016) to Western quantifications of development and economic prosperity. For instance, the colonial process rewards knowledge that places learners within existing colonial, hegemonic structures and practices. Therefore, coloniality can exude a false notion to the colonized subject through the authority and acceptance of Western canons, while local knowledge and languages are devalued and erased.

White, colonial education serves to promote imperialist views of the world that justify colonialism based on concepts of European epistemological and white supremacies. In this way, schools are “instruments of settlement” (Tuck and Gaztambide-Fernández 2013, 75) and have long been used to justify the theft and occupation of Indigenous land and knowledge. For instance, Indian Boarding Schools were violent projects aiming at assimilation to “kill the Indian, save the man” (Toland 1992) through abuse and captivity, and later served as models for Nazi genocide. These boarding schools played a key role in the erasure of Indigenous languages, and thus Indigenous culture. This is because language is integral to a people’s culture; when one loses one’s language, one loses one’s culture.

When colonized people speak the language of their oppressors, it is important to acknowledge the values, ideas, and cultures that are being reproduced and represented as ideal. Indeed, which languages “have currency, and which are gobbled up, disciplined, and marginalized as a direct result of privileging particular languages” (Jaimungal 2016, 69). In a Kalaallit context, Danish is not simply a lingua franca nor a language of globalization, the discourse of language is based upon ideas that the Indigenous peoples need Danish as a

communicative form of social cohesion that erases ideas of difference. Language is many things. Language is “intimately connected to place” (Lewis 2012, 233) and forms the core foundation of Indigenous ways of knowing and culture. Language is identity. Language is a way of knowing. Language is resistance. Language is assimilation. Language is lived experience. Language is political. First and foremost, language is essential to identity formation, in learning processes, for the development of self, and has been used as a weapon of colonizers to erase Indigenous bodies and values. Language is important for who we are, “how we come to know, understand, and act within our world” (Jaimungal 2016, 69). Further, it can situate people within a historical lineage and validate their lives by articulating the existence of multiple truths, in regard to history and events, where all members of a community can be a part of larger construction of history and collective memory (Smith 1999).

Language “legitimacy” and education work together to delegitimize knowledge, solidify colonial power, and build hegemonic divisions and hierarchies within language. wa Thiang’o emphasizes how colonial alienation “starts with a deliberate dissociation of the language of conceptualization, of thinking, of formal education, of mental development, from the language of daily interaction in the home and in the community” (wa Thiang’o 1994, 28). By this, he is saying that colonial alienation works to uphold racial hierarchies within language, as well as reproducing ideological preferences to a colonial language. This factor enables colonial languages to be both forms of communication and indicators of “progress” or “development” in a colonized area. It can therefore be claimed that this delegitimization of language through education is an example of symbolic power, as “power is seldom exercised as overt physical force: instead it is transmuted into a symbolic form, and thereby endowed with a kind of legitimacy” (Bourdieu 1991, 23). The symbolic power given to colonial languages has also been

emphasized by other Indigenous scholars, including Achebe, who states, “There is certainly a great advantage in writing in a world language” (Achebe 1997, 28). While Achebe remains relatively optimistic about the use of a “world language”, he is aware of its colonial ties to violence and Indigenous cultural erasure.

Further, there is a connection between language and perceptions of humanity and race; the ability to speak a colonial language can give Indigenous peoples power within a colonial context. For instance, Fanon states, in French Martinique, “the mastery of language affords remarkable power...The Negro of the Antilles will be proportionately whiter--that is, he will come closer being a real human being--in direct relation to his mastery of the French language” (Fanon 1967, 18). Fanon’s interpretation of the links between racial hierarchy and language reveal that one’s linguistic competency in a colonial language can determine one’s proximity to whiteness. It is therefore the colonial language that labels one’s intelligence and proximity to being a human being, highlighting how language can also be used as a tool to “mask the bodies of racialized speakers” (Jaimungal 2016, 72).

Anti-colonial theory can be used to expose the institutional and ideological systems that reproduce racialization-- an external and strategic process-- and emphasize the “distinction between white identity and whiteness as a system of domination and structure of privilege” (Dei and Kempf 2006, 12); a “world outside the subject” (Dirlik, 1997). This theoretical framework also argues against the existence of a post-colonial era. As Dei and Kempf (2006) articulate:

Colonialism, read as imposition and domination, did not end with the return of political sovereignty to colonized peoples or nation states. Colonialism is not dead. Indeed, colonialism and re-colonizing projects today manifest themselves in variegated ways (e.g., the different ways knowledges get produced and receive validation within schools, the particular experiences of students that get counted as [in]valid and the identities that receive recognition and response from school authorities) (2).

Césaire agrees with this notion, stressing that the “official apparatus [of colonialism] might have been removed, but the political, economic, and cultural links established by colonial domination still remain with some alterations” (Césaire 1972, 27). This domination has destructive implications, as bell hooks articulates about the use of English as a colonial language, “It is not the English language that hurts me, but what the oppressors do with it, how they shape it to become a territory that limits and defines, how they make it a weapon that can shame, humiliate, [and] colonize” (hooks 1994, 168). Thus, anti-colonial theory names the oppressor as whiteness, making the system of domination visible.

However, many linguists and scholars choose to downplay or deny the existence of colonial language politics. These attempts to neutralize language politics can be seen as “settler moves to innocence” (Tuck and Yang 2012) or “politics of distraction” (Coulthard 2007). Depoliticizing methods such as these try to make language issues seem innocent and work to negate the lived consequences of dominant, colonial language imposition. In fact, language neo-imperialism is classified based on the maintenance and perpetration of language inequality, exploitative dominance, and supremacist ideologies that construct the global imaginary (Phillipson 2008). In the deployment of language imposition, there are discourses of apoliticism and benevolence, supported by Richards’ writing, “We of the West have somehow, out of a strangely unselfish regard, indeed a regardless impulse of benevolence, committed ourselves to universal education as well as to universal participation in government (Richards 1968, 240). This unquestioned benevolence, in regard to colonial language learning, shows the way white supremacist ideologies can be set up to “help” or “civilize” the “other”, without acknowledging histories of colonial presence. As a result, learners of colonial languages or the “other” may be moved to become members of the imagined global community; the acquisition of colonial

language proficiency is integral to the push of global corporatization, indicating how ideas of modernity and development are advertised through Western notions of capitalism, freedom, and democracy. In fact, “Globalization...goes hand in hand with coloniality, with the foundation of the colonial matrix of power” (Mignolo and Tlostanova 2007, 110). Modernity is thus inextricably tied to impressions that people would not be able to manage without European theoretical, cultural, and technological achievements. This colonial tenet is based on notions of the disenfranchised, uncivilized “underdeveloped” and “developing” countries and communities and act to further hegemonic divisions.

There has been a relatively recent language imposition development, a shift to “working with” those the colonizers are teaching. However, one must remember Césaire’s words that no form of colonization is innocent (1972) and the trend to “work with” the colonized and use mother-tongue language instruction is deceptive in its motivations. As Mignolo argues, “you would recognize what you do not want to ‘impose’ your knowledge and experience, but to ‘work with locals.’ The problem is, what agenda will be implemented, yours or theirs?” (Mignolo 2009, 178).

Language is a tool used by colonizers to aid the race to “progress” and therefore, whiteness. The language teaching agendas of colonizers, particularly of the English language, has become a means of inclusion into or a barrier between further education, employment, and social rank. As bell hooks writes, “Standard English is not the speech of exile. It is the language of conquest and domination; in the United States, it is the mask which hides the loss of so many tongues, all those sounds of diverse native communities we will never hear, the speech of the Gullah, Yiddish, and so many other unremembered tongues” (hooks 1994, 168).

Generally, theories of coloniality discuss two forms of colonialism: external colonialism and internal colonialism. Tuck and Yang describe external colonialism (also called exogenous or exploitation colonialism) as “the expropriation of fragments of Indigenous worlds, animals, plants and human beings, extracting them in order to transport them to--and build the wealth, the privilege, or feed the appetites of--the colonizers” (Tuck and Yang 2012, 4). Examples of this form of colonialism include: slavery, tobacco, tea, sugar, etc., and often require military colonialism, or the creation of wars in order to defeat and conquer enemies for their resources. Tuck and Yang assert that “in external colonialism, all things Native become recast as ‘natural resources’-bodies and earth for war, bodies and earth for chattel” (Tuck and Yang 2012, 4). Internal colonialism, however, is the political and social control over people and land within the borders of a given territory. This is achieved through many modes of control: “prisons, ghettos, minoritizing, schooling, policing” (Tuck and Yang 2012, 4) in order to guarantee and reproduce white supremacy and hegemonic divides. As forms of internal colonialism, school systems and language impositions work to solidify colonial domination and erase the cultures and humanity of Indigenous peoples.

The United States government systematically attempts to eliminate Indigenous languages and cultures, as well as their ability to be passed down to future generations. They do this with the goal of a complete substitution of the English language, Christianity, capitalism, and European/American cultural aesthetics in their place; these attacks on Indigenous communities have never truly ended. Geiger contends that “the destruction of a language is a pure case of domination, a theft without a stolen object” (Geiger 2017, 222) and is done to push Indigenous communities “towards what Fanon called a ‘zone of nonbeing,’ which he describes as ‘an extraordinary sterile and arid region, an incline essentially stripped bare” (Fanon 1961, 2; Geiger

2017, 223). This campaign to isolate Indigenous languages and cultures is meant to make the resurgence of the former and latter impossible. One of the ways this is achieved, an example of internal colonialism, is through schooling, the educational system, books, academia, etc. Maldonado-Torres explains, “Coloniality survives colonialism. It is maintained alive in books, in the criteria for academic performance, in cultural patterns...In a way, as modern subjects we breathe coloniality all the time and everyday” (Maldonado-Torres 2007, 243).

Assimilationist education, seen in many colonies including Kalaallit Nunaat, is simply a continuation of physical genocide, reorganized into the regime of assimilation. While superficially a different entity, this form of genocide still has the same goals as before, the elimination of Indigenous peoples. As Geiger writes, “Assimilation ‘still has in itself’ the murderous core of brute elimination, or ‘frontier homicide,’ which is precisely ‘the determinateness from which [colonial education] derives’” (Geiger 2017, 228). Similarly, Michael Krauss contends that colonial language assimilationist and bilingual programs, designed to transition Indigenous language speaking students to English language education, was the “modern ‘final solution’ to the ‘Indian problem’” (Krauss 1980, 80). These language programs worked to eliminate the cultures, languages, social connections, and connections to places that were fundamental to indigeneity, while pushing the living human beings into a colonial, capitalist system. Later, the programs would be used with the aim to transform Indigenous communities into homogenous series of people; anti-tribal individualism that was often produced through boarding schools that served “to penetrate through the tribal surface to the individual Indian below, who was co-opted out of the tribe, which would be depleted accordingly, and into White society” (Wolfe 2006, 399). The description of the language programs as “penetrative” suggests that these campaigns represent the symbolic figure of the phallus. Geiger writes:

Education in colonial society would combine the death-drive logic of elimination with the phallic-libidinal logic of penetration. The form of desire at work in the organization of settler education appears to be homologous to rape: the non-consensual penetration of the racialized feminine body-a violent 'driving of a wedge' through the tribal surface (Geiger 2017, 228).

The Anglo-Saxon Protestant culture works as a penis in that it penetrates cultures, with colonial languages acting in the role of a piercing instrument of Western assimilation. Just as territorial conquest brings murder and rape together through a logic of race, the imposition of colonial language has violent, racist implications. While Danish, English, or any other colonial language, is not the origin nor cause of these egregious acts, one cannot forget their colonial and imperialist history of violence.

Methods

Abecedarian Requiring Further Examination of Anglikan Seraphym Subjugation of a Wild Indian Rezervation By Natalie Diaz

Angels don't come to the reservation.
Bats, maybe, or owls, boxy mottled things.
Coyotes, too. They all mean the same thing—
death. And death
eats angels, I guess, because I haven't seen an angel
fly through this valley ever.
Gabriel? Never heard of him. Know a guy named Gabe though—
he came through here one powwow and stayed, typical
Indian. Sure he had wings,
jailbird that he was. He flies around in stolen cars. Wherever he stops,
kids grow like gourds from women's bellies.
Like I said, no Indian I've ever heard of has ever been or seen an angel.
Maybe in a Christmas pageant or something—
Nazarene church holds one every December,
organized by Pastor John's wife. It's no wonder
Pastor John's son is the angel—everyone knows angels are white.
Quit bothering with angels, I say. They're no good for Indians.
Remember what happened last time
some white god came floating across the ocean?
Truth is, there may be angels, but if there are angels
up there, living on clouds or sitting on thrones across the sea wearing
velvet robes and golden rings, drinking whiskey from silver cups,
we're better off if they stay rich and fat and ugly and
'xactly where they are—in their own distant heavens.
You better hope you never see angels on the rez. If you do, they'll be marching you off to
Zion or Oklahoma, or some other hell they've mapped out for us.

In order to clearly outline the methodology of this project, it is first important to differentiate between methods and methodology. While methods are relatively straight forward, methodology has a far more complicated, fuzzy history and definition. According to Maggie Walter and Chris Andersen, methods are “a technique for gathering and analyzing information, such as a survey or content analysis” (Walter and Andersen 2013, 41).

Methodology, on the other hand, is often not defined or simply given limited definitions, with no articulation of perspectives or worldviews. Walter and Andersen highlight what they believe are the three components of methodology: **standpoint, theoretical frame, and methods** (Walter and Andersen 2013, p.44). While the components all work together, they insist that it is necessary to describe each separately in order to provide an all-encompassing definition of what a methodology is.

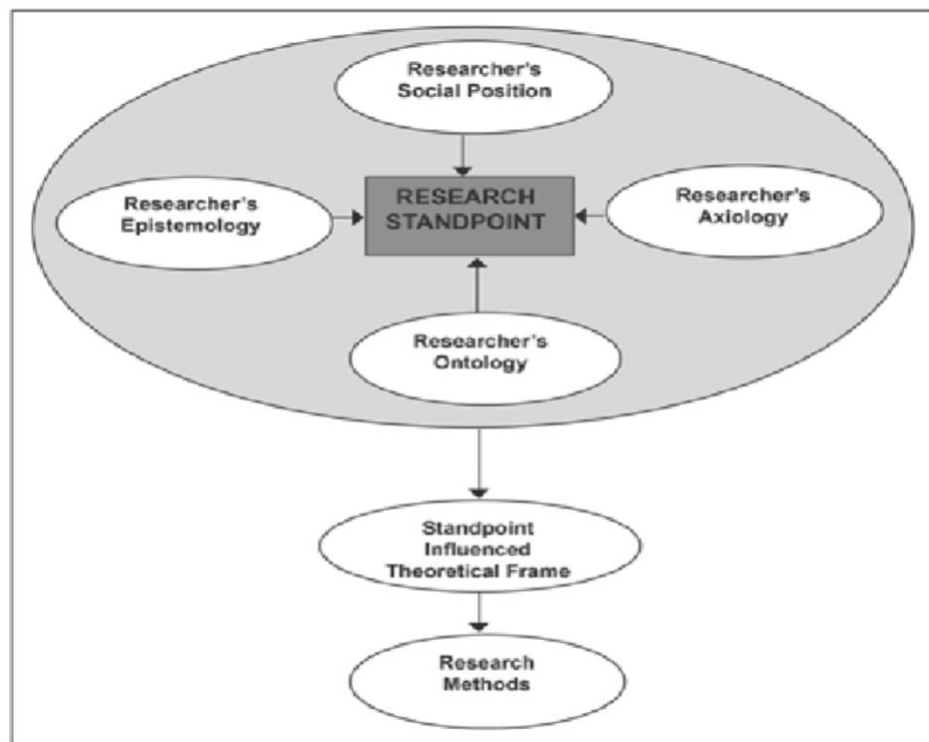


Figure 2.1: Conceptualization of a Research Methodology

Figure 1: Walter and Andersen's "Conceptualizing of a Research Methodology" (Walter and Andersen 2013, 45)

Walter and Andersen outline research standpoint as an understanding and denaturalization of what is often taken for granted, such as “who we are, the values that underpin our concepts of self, our perspectives on the world and our own position within it, our realities, and our understandings of how knowledge is construed and constructed” (Walter and Andersen 2013, 45). This vital part of research methodology influences all choices of theoretical frame and method, and refusal to recognize one’s standpoint can amplify its impact on research. Finally, research methodology includes the “philosophical tenets of epistemology, axiology, and ontology” (Walter and Andersen 2013, 46) that are central to all methodologies.

In Western research, theoretical frameworks are often painted as a lens through which one can look through when conducting and interpreting research and data. Walter and Andersen argue that theoretical framework selection is an ontologically, axiologically, and epistemologically pushed force in which a researcher’s standpoint plays a large role in how one interprets theoretical frames and chooses which to apply to the research.

Walter and Andersen delve further into the definition of methods, describing it as “statistical, mathematical, or computer techniques. The who, how, and what of how we use our method is...shaped by the researcher’s standpoint. Who is asked what, in what manner, by whom, for what purpose, and how those responses are then analyzed, interpreted, and presented are... more a product of that standpoint than they are the topic of the research” (Walter and Andersen 2013, 56).

This chapter will describe the research design, methods, and methodology used to understand narratives of Indigenous Inuit lived experience in Kalaallit Nunaat and Denmark. My research data is produced using qualitative methods, as they are more holistic and are built upon constructivist paradigms that portray the world as socially constructed. Qualitative research

involves complex realities and ideas, with the goal to interpret how people construct the world around them. As a group that is often marginalized and erased, Indigenous peoples all over the world have their experiences and lives minimized in favor of allowing colonizers to “forget” their transgressions, often with various settler moves to innocence (Tuck and Yang 2012). Qualitative research provides space for decolonizing research and Indigenous narratives. While quantitative research has its benefits, it does not fit this project, as it is too systematic, standardized, and focused on explaining and predicting. Since the aim of this project is to understand the lived experiences of Indigenous peoples in Kalaallit Nunaat, in the context of Danish colonialism, it would not do the project justice to produce and analyze data while not providing space for the Kalaallit to share their narratives.

Interview Methods:

Participant Recruitment:

For the purpose of this project, all participants had to meet criteria to participate:

1. Self identified as an Indigenous peoples of Kalaallit Nunaat or as “Greenlandic”. Giving participants the opportunity to identify themselves was a way for me to acknowledge their right to self identification.
2. Be over the age of eighteen.
3. Speak English. All participants had to be able to speak English, as I am not fluent in the Indigenous languages of Kalaallit Nunaat or Danish. Since we had to be able to communicate clearly, only those who could speak conversational English were able to participate.
4. Live in Kalaallit Nunaat or Denmark.

Participants were recruited by posting a description of the project in Facebook groups and contacting some members of my cousin’s family in Kalaallit Nunaat and in Denmark. When respondents messaged me about their interest in the project, I confirmed that they met the above criteria. I interviewed nine Inuit adults, between the ages of 18 and 80.

General Overview:

The majority of this project's interviews were conducted in Nuuk, the capital city of Kalaallit Nunaat, with several interviews occurring near Odense, a city in Funen, Denmark and the capital city of Copenhagen. I conducted semi structured interviews because they allowed me to create broad, open-ended questions and gave me the freedom to ask follow-up questions when needed.

Participants signed up for individual one-hour blocks of time, from August 21, 2019 to September 3, 2019. Prior to the start of the study, consent was taken from all participants and they were told that they are taking part in a study focused on learning about the past and current entanglements of Danish theoretical and applied imperialism in Greenland. Participants also gave consent for the interviews to be audio recorded and transcribed, in order to provide responses that were as accurate and detail oriented as possible. I began each interview by introducing myself, giving participants applicable background information on who I am, why I chose these topics for my research, and what I hope will be achieved as a result of this work. I hoped that this would give participants context that could give them a better idea of my motivations, as well as begin building the relationships that are essential for decolonizing work. I asked a series of open-ended questions, which varied depending on who I am interviewing (age, gender, etc.). These questions focused on pre and current colonial Greenland, national identity, personal narratives and stories in relation to Denmark's presence in their lives, etc. and are provided for readers as an appendix. Upon completion of this measure, their participation in the study was over. Participants were reimbursed with honorariums, provided copies of transcripts, and given access to any additional documentation, such as my paper, requested.

Data Collection and Transcription:

I audio recorded in-person interviews with the iPhone Voice Memos app, using IOS 13.3.1, and received typed answers to my questions from the interviewees. For those who I recorded, I transcribed their responses myself, as there were references to Denmark, Danish language, historical figures, and culture that needed context from someone who has knowledge of all four. All italicized passages in the interview analysis section are direct quotes from my transcripts and are labeled with the interviewee's name or pseudonym. The transcribed interviews are provided in this paper as nine separate appendices. I used pseudonyms for those whom I interviewed, so that their identities remain confidential, unless they explicitly state that they want their identities shared.

Interview Analysis Methods:

Clarifications:

In my interview analysis section, I offer a narrative, thematic interpretation of the findings of my interviews, within a Kalaallit Nunaat-Denmark historical context. I did not approach this discussion with the intention of trying to prove anything about the Indigenous peoples of the island, the kingdom of Denmark, or generalize their colonial entanglements. Additionally, I discarded the notion of the Indigenous peoples of Kalaallit Nunaat as being “subjects” of my research. These sorts of labels are reductive and negate life experiences that give them valuable perspectives into the multiplicity of different colonial interactions with the Danish state. Instead, I worked with those who I interviewed, we are both contributors to a decolonizing project, aimed at changing perspectives on Danish colonialism, in regard to Kalaallit Nunaat. I conceive the participants in my research as members of a larger community, but by no means representative of its entirety.

I provide a narrative account of my nine qualitative interviews with members of the Kalaallit diasporic community, both in Kalaallit Nunaat and throughout Denmark. To examine the diverse meanings, questions, and futures of Kalaallit-Danish colonial entanglement covered within my interviewees' responses, I used critical reflexivity, along with anti-colonial and anti-racist theoretical frameworks. I did not limit my interpretations of interview responses, instead allowing space for alternative understandings and implementations of Kalaallit-Danish colonial interactions to emerge from the words of the Indigenous peoples who I interviewed.

NVivo and Data Analysis:

After transcribing the interviews, I carried out an initial analysis of the transcripts in order to distinguish and reflect upon the most important themes. I used Catherine Kohler Reissman's narrative analysis model for this initial analysis, as it focuses on the idea that all narratives are ambiguous and do not represent the full scope of people's experiences (Reissman 1993). I chose her model because she looks at how researchers are involved in framing narratives when conducting interviews and performing the analysis, while also focusing on how the events are narrated, structured, and how their meanings are attributed by the narrator. The model includes: attending, telling, transcribing, analyzing, and reading, but interpretation occurs at all points of the model. This model helped me choose the preliminary nodes (themes) in NVivo and allowed me to add additional nodes as I see fit. The eleven nodes I chose that are shown below:

- Cultural Identity
 - ◆ Kalaallit identity and national pride
 - ◆ Cultural comparison
- History
 - ◆ Pre-colonial history
 - ◆ Colonial history
 - ◆ School and teaching
- General feelings and experiences:
 - ◆ Positive Danish sentiments

- ◆ Negative Danish sentiments
 - ◆ Generational differences
 - ◆ Hegemonic differences
 - ◆ Xenophobia and stereotyping
- Trump and the USA

After this initial stage, the textual data, the interview transcripts, were entered into the NVivo 12 Mac, a qualitative data analysis software, to organize and analyze anticipated and emergent themes using constant comparison. The formulaic steps of NVivo are outlined at: <https://www.qsrinternational.com/MediaLibraries/QSR/QSR-Media/General/Research-Ready-How-to-Approach-Thematic-Analysis.pdf>.

Below, the steps of using NVivo are quoted verbatim from the NVivo website. If further clarification is needed, the pdf link is above.

Step 1: Review your research questions and/or research approach

- Ensure you have a clear research question.
- You may want to import them into NVivo for easy reference.

Step 2: Read a few transcripts and write summary memos

When you open a transcript, click on Memo Link in the Ribbon (or tool bar) to create a linked memo to that transcript. As you read your transcript you can switch to the memo to write up key points.

Step 3: Create a research journal and develop a coding strategy

- Review the summarized memos you wrote for the transcripts.
- Create a research journal as a memo and write up the key issues coming out from the interviews. (See *How to create a research journal* for more information)
- Reflect on how they relate to your research questions and develop an initial broad coding strategy.

Step 4: Code for the broad topic areas (themes)

To code for broad topic areas / themes: open a transcript, click on ‘coding stripes’ and select ‘Recent coding’ to see what you have coded as you code.

There are several ways that you can code in NVivo. Find out which way works best for you:

1. Select the text and then drag it onto the code.

OR

2. Select the text and right click and select ‘Code’. You can also click ‘Code’ in the Ribbon. And the short-cut key is CTRL-F2.

Step 5: Start coding using the Mind Map

- In thematic analysis, you may already have a coding framework. Alternatively, you may be working in an emergent way. Or you may know some initial codes and will develop the rest in an emergent way. Whichever way, you can start coding at a broad level.
- You can create your initial Nodes (containers that hold all the content about a theme) in the Mind Map and convert them into Nodes from there.
- Later, you can go into each Node, review the range of things that were covered in that topic and then code more finely within the node (that is called ‘coding-on’).

Step 6: Code for the broad topic areas (themes)

To code for broad topic areas / themes: open a transcript, click on ‘coding stripes’ and select ‘Recent coding’ to see what you have coded as you code. Make sure you have selected ‘Nodes’ in the Navigation View so you can see the Nodes that you have created.

There are several ways that you can code in NVivo. Find out which way works best for you:

1. Select the text and then drag it onto the code.

OR

2. Select the text and right click and select 'Code'. You can also click 'Code' in the Ribbon. And the short-cut key is CTRL-F2.

Step 7: Review your coding

- After you have finished coding for a broad topic area, review the coding by double-clicking and opening it.
- Get a quick feel for the kinds of things covered in that Node by creating a Word Cloud. The Word Cloud can give you some quick ideas about how you could code the broad Node more finely.

Step 8: Re-organize your Nodes

- Remember that in re-organizing your Nodes, you are creating a catalogue of your codes, so you can access them quickly. The rules of a catalogue system are to keep like with like; and you should only have one Node for a code. Never duplicate Nodes.
- It is easy to move Nodes around: right click and 'cut' and then right click over where you want to put them and select 'paste'.
- You can also merge Nodes that are the same: right click and select 'cut' and then right click over the Node you want to merge and select 'merge into selected Node.'

Step 9: Explore your data using Coding Queries

You may have been taking notes in your Research Journal as you were coding your reflections on patterns in the data. You will be shifting from an analysis of the text, to an analysis of the codes and relationships between them. In this case, there seemed to be a relationship between water quality and the decline of the fishing industry.

In the Ribbon, select the Explore tab and click 'Coding'.

Step 10: Identifying themes

Write up any patterns you have found in your Research Journal. However, if it is a key issue, you may want to create a new memo on it.

- Use ‘See-Also Links’ in your memo to link to the evidence of any pattern in your data.
- Copy the text that supports your analysis.

Switch to view your memo in the Detail View (or create a new memo)

- Type a summary of your point, then select a few words from that text, right click and select paste as ‘See-Also Links’

The text you have highlighted will turn pink and at the bottom of the memo there will be a hyper-link to the extract you selected in the original file.

- In addition, if you export the memo with the ‘See-Also Links’ to Word, the ‘See-Also Links’ come out as endnotes, with the file name they came from – making it easy for you to start writing up in Word with evidence from the data. (Braun and Clarke 2006, 7-101)

I interpreted the nodes and themes from NVivo and wrote narrative explanations for all those noted by NVivo and from my initial analysis.

General Ethics

This research project was conducted in accordance with Bates College’s policies regarding the ethical and legal conduct of research involving human subjects and received approval from the college’s Institutional Review Board (Appendix C) before beginning data collection. All participants signed an informed consent form (Appendix A) before participating in this study, were told that their participation was voluntary, and that they could quit at any time.

Interview Analysis

Songs Are Thoughts

By Orpingalik

Songs are thoughts, sung out with the breath when people are moved by great forces and ordinary speech no longer suffices. Man is moved just like the ice floe sailing here and there out in the current. His thoughts are driven by a flowing force when he feels joy, when he feels fear, when he feels sorrow. Thoughts can wash over him like a flood, making his breath come in gasps and his heart throb. Something, like an abatement in the weather, will keep him thawed up. And then it will happen that we, who always think we are small, will feel still smaller. And we will fear to use words. But it will happen that the words we need will come of themselves. When the words we want to use shoot up of themselves—we get a new song.

“The great sea ...”

By Uvavnuk, translated by Jane Hirschfield

The great sea
frees me, moves me,
as a strong river carries a weed.
Earth and her strong winds
move me, take me away,
and my soul is swept up in joy.

Cultural Identity

Kalaallit Identity and National Pride

When reading through the interviews, a clear theme among all participants and even between questions, is a deep pride in being Kalaallit. While how each interviewee defines being Kalaallit is different, they all express a similar sentiment of national pride.

Interview 1:

I'm proud of my Greenlandic heritage, why it's always a part of me.

Interview 3:

It means a lot to me that I am from Greenland...I have always been proud of being from Greenland. When I was eight years old and come to Greenland I was very pleased and say "ohhh" I remember when we came to the town Paamiut and I think "ohhh wow". It's a very nice land and I was very pleased that I was from Greenland.

Interview 6:

Yes, yes, very much. I was proud of being Greenlandic because I used to say, I used to joke with my friends in the U.S., there's like several million of you there's only 50,000 of us, we are rare. So I have always felt that I am Greenlandic.

For several interviewees, this pride is partially based off of a feeling of safety they feel when in Kalaallit Nunaat. They describe this feeling as unique to Kalaallit Nunaat, when compared to other countries and communities.

Interview 3:

Safe. You had a feeling about to be safe in the little town in Greenland. And the different...I remember I have this feeling about to be in Greenland it was to be very safe and as you there was those people and not more else...and you can play and all that. And there was a big freedom in Greenland... yes... it was this feeling about ...there was not so many rules... you cannot take to another town or like that but...there was...those rules in the family eat and sleep and come home before dark and all that.

Interview 4:

The most significant part I remember of growing up here in Nuuk, is that I always felt safe. I could be outside and play for hours without worrying about... wrong do'ers... It's not that we did not have criminals, I just feel like, comparing today to my childhood, Nuuk is becoming more and more tainted with criminals, most of them came from our own little cities in Greenland, and a little part comes from outside the island.

The Kalaallit national identity is also influenced by a connection to the cultural landscape.

Several interviewees express that part of what they love about Kalaallit Nunaat, as well as their

Kalaallit identity, is closely tied to their ties to the outdoors and related cultural customs.

Interview 4:

Greenlandic people love nature. Summertime means going out to fjord with boat all the time and hunt. Or gather berries or herbs. Nature, nature, nature.

Interview 5:

I love, I love the winter, I love... I love going hunting, I used to do that a lot with my grandfather. My dad is a wuss, he hates going into like, he is, even though he is significantly more biologically Greenlandic than I am, he hates going into the fjords, there's way too many mosquitoes, he doesn't like it, he thinks it's hard work and he doesn't like going hunting. He doesn't like carving up reindeer and stuff like that and it does smell quite a bit, and he's a little bit too dainty for that. Whereas I love it, I love it, I love it, I love it. And then just... playing out in the snow in...like... the wintertime where it was like pitch dark out and where all you can see is the stars and the northern lights. I mean it sounds a bit like cheesy, but that's like... but that's what I wanted my daughter to grow up in when I grew up.

Interview 8:

Hunting, fishing and travelling in the nature was amazing.

Juaaka Lyberth:

Ice at sea in winter and dog sleds, sled dogs, seal hunters and kayakers, whalers, etc. Midnight sun in summer. Fantastic beautiful scenery, with high mountains, lots of large icebergs...Get up early in January in the cold house and take with dad on longline fishing before he leaves for work at 08:00am in the morning.

An additional aspect of Kalaallit identity formation is linked to ties to their ancestors and the elders in the Kalaallit community. This applies to belief systems, ways of living, and general community norms.

Interview 3:

I remember that this from Greenland that you always have to be kind and respect the older people because they are they have the history they have the experience and you have to ask them about how to do what to do.

Interview 4:

For me, the meaning of being Greenlandic is having the same perspective on society as our ancestors did. Remembering how our ancestors treated nature with respect. Being able to help anybody in need, that everyone has "a job", a place in "the tribe", everyone has something to do in the society. If there is a woman or a man who is handicapped, the community would help the

person to find the suitable job, where the "sick person" actually contribute something back to the society, basically everyone can help each other in different ways, and help each other to sustain...A very spiritual culture, without RELIGION and God. Deep respect for nature our ancestors had, nature people, going from place to place every season. Huntsmen. Bright people.

As mentioned before, there is some debate as for how being Kalaallit is defined within the diasporic community. There are some interviewees who argue that in order to be Kalaallit, you only have to be culturally and socially immersed in the Indigenous community in Kalaallit Nunaat, whereas others believe one must be ethnically Kalaallit. The former group, thus, argue that Danish people, and foreigners in general, can be considered Kalaallit if they live in Kalaallit Nunaat and integrate themselves into Kalaallit communities.

Interview 5:

It's definitely a, like obviously there is a lot of being born here and being raised here, but more so being raised here than being born Greenlandic. I have like a ton of friends and also family...like my mom, she lived here for her entire adult life. She is Greenlandic. She speaks Greenlandic, though she is born and raised in Denmark. I have two other friends, the same way, they have Danish parents, one of them was born here and the other one was born in Denmark, but moved here directly after being born. And they're like, their entire soul is Greenlandic. So, yeah, it's a thing where you're like a little bit isolated from the rest of the world, but very connected within the country.

Interview 6:

For me, it's about having a... some kind of relationship here. I was born here, but I know many people living here that are not born here, maybe with Danish parents, who live here and they have a relationship here, and they feel like they are Greenlandic. And I know that there is a lot of political discussion, you are not real Greenlandic if you are not born here or you are too what do you call it, light, your skin is not the right color, then you cannot be truly Greenlandic. My wife is half Danish, and if you look at her you will think she is Danish, but she is raised here so she feels just as Greenlandic as I do. I think it depends on your relations here. I have a Danish boss, what do you call it, manager and she has lived in Greenland many years now and in many ways she is more Greenlandic than I am. Because she has a little hut, she has..they have boat, they go fishing and I don't have a boat. So she feels very Greenlandic, even though she is from Denmark and can't speak the word Greenlandic. So for me, it's about having a relation here.

Interview 7:

To be a Greenlandic means that either grew up in Greenland, or has a strong connection to Greenland. There has been an ongoing discussion since I was a child, that to be a Greenlandic, you must speak the language, or have Greenlandic origin. But, I grew up where there are Danes, or half Danes who doesn't speak any Greenlandic in my school, for me they are no less Greenlandic citizens if they say they are from here...For me Greenlandic means that we all grew

up here, and call this place as home that you belong to this community and to the surroundings regardless of your ethnic background, or language abilities.

Juaaka Lyberth:

It is to feel like a Greenlander when one of your parents comes from Greenland. Being born in the country - not necessarily living in the country - necessarily not being able to speak the language. To be a Greenlander today is to define himself as a Greenlander. Greenlanders today are a mix between Danish-Norwegian / Europeans and Eskimos / Inuit - over the last 4-300 years - at least us living in West Greenland from Upernavik in the north to Nanortalik in the south"...I am a Greenlander in bone, marrow and soul, wherever I am. But when someone starts asking questions about whether "bright Greenlanders" are real Greenlanders, or "Greenlanders who can't Greenlanders" are true Greenlanders, then I always take them in defense - of course, they are all Greenlanders. Sometimes I say that I am a mixture of 8 or 16 different ethnic groups - but I am therefore very much 100% Greenlander.

Cultural Comparison

The Kalaallit and Danes contrast greatly in terms of culture. Several of the people who I interviewed express that their Kalaallit identity came into conflict with Danish norms and institutions, in Kalaallit Nunaat and in Denmark. For instance, one participant states:

Interview 1:

It has meant that when I was younger I felt different, wrong, and weird. Because I had different points of view and because I have always been emotional, people have taken advantage of that. Luckily, I have found my way as an adult and don't let people take advantage of me and I don't care if people think that I am weird because I don't do what they do.

One of these key differences is their senses of humor and "openness" to humor. Two interviewees mention humor as a difference between Danes and the Kalaallit, though they differ in opinion as to which group takes themselves more seriously.

Interview 2:

We are more open. A lot of people laugh all the time with everything. Jokes. Everything. We have a different jokes than Danish people. So when we talk about it and we're laughing they don't think its funny. So we laugh everything.

Interview 5:

But I also feel like, that the force, and like the positive and the negative side of that part of the Danish culture is definitely because .. It's rooted in that they are an old kingdom and the culture is so so old, after all this time. It has the positive fact that they can make fun of themselves, they're really good at making... cracking jokes about themselves, as well as everybody else. Where as we here in Greenland, we are definitely a little more frail when it comes to, you know,

making fun of ourselves. We often get mixed up with... you know... "Oh no, but we also have to honor our culture". And then whenever...even if... if it is one of our own making fun of you know, I don't know, our national costume or our songs or something like that, half of the people will laugh because it is hilarious and the other half will be like frozen...and "No we don't want to have that kind of fun!". Where as, I feel like Danish people are much better at, you know, making asses of themselves and that perspective.

Additionally, there is some conflict as to whether Denmark changed gender roles for the better or for worse. While they all emphasize that gender roles changed dramatically after Denmark colonized the island, it is unclear if there is a consensus as to how. One interviewee, a historian, expresses that women in pre-colonial Kalaallit Nunaat were often mistreated. From what I have gathered, Denmark's influence encouraged women to work alongside men in similar jobs, but they are still not considered equal. This gendered hierarchy has stayed the same both within Danish society and Kalaallit society.

Interview 3:

It changed like that.. that the woman also get out and work...Before Denmark came, there was roles in the family and for to live there was very... fishing and hunting for to live and the woman sew and make the clothes and all that at home and all that. But when the Danes and all that came, it was changed different and very fast after the second war there was very very fast changing fast...things changing fast in Greenland after second World War... and in 1950 there was this policy where they said all have to change if we have to get Greenland good and self making, self living.

Interview 5:

That's also why there were some tattooed, it was predominantly women that were tattooed that had all sorts of stuff to do with like the spirit world and if something went wrong it was just naturally assumed that it had to be the woman's fault. And she had to undergo gruelling, not like physical torture, but like psychological torture. If a woman lost a child, she was not allowed to speak to anyone for a full fucking year. She couldn't touch the dead body, she couldn't participate in the burial, she had to, you know, stay in this hut and face the wall for a year. It was...like...I cannot imagine how horrible it was. And that's also why, when the church came here, when the Christian church arrived to Greenland, so many of the missionaries were quite surprised by the very quick attendance by women. Like they practically ran into the church and just sat there and were like "We're staying here. This sounds good". Like going from a million different spirits that you had to, you know, abide by and, you know, deal with through rights and taboos, to one big spirit and you just had to say sorry and then everything was alright, I think that was like a given, like "Oh yeah, I'm doing that".

Interview 6:

Maybe in some sense they created the opposite of equality. If you look at the work, if women work, usually they have less salary... in many sense they maybe created the opposite of equality.

The Kalaallit and Danes, as seen in above, vary in terms of religion and religious norms. This is supported by two other interviewees, who both outline key differences.

Interview 4:

A very spiritual culture, without RELIGION and God. Deep respect for nature our ancestors had, nature people, going from place to place every season. Huntsmen. Bright people. One thing Hans Egede quickly picked up on when he was colonizing our ancestors was, that Greenlandic people had a game called "Qamittaarneq" (roughly translated "In The Dark"), basically, whenever there's visitors from other tribes, every adult would gather in one tent and turn the lights out, and sleep with whoever they touch. They would never know who they slept with. After that, they would return to their own partner and live normally again. For Hans Egede this was an abomination. It was disgusting, unholy and Godless. Little did he know, they did that because they knew how incest worked. Our ancestors lived in tribes and travelled. And those tribes was typically family, related in somehow, almost always connected with the family tree. To mix up the DNA and genes they would sleep with other people in order to have "normal" children instead of handicapped or deformed.

Juaaka Lyberth:

The difference between the Inuit original faith and the Christian faith is widely different. Scientist Knud Rasmussen has described 500 taboos and rules of living that MUST be observed, so as to avoid spirits and souls being offended and taking revenge on people. In Christianity there are the 10 commandments! It will take too long to describe the difference between Inuit's original faith and Christianity. Inuit faith is not humanistic but is harsh and ruthless - as we understand humanism in our generation.

According to my interviews, the Kalaallit differ from Danes in terms of how they perceive themselves as a part of a collective community. The interviewees argue that the Kalaallit think about their community before themselves and they are more connected to other community members than Danes in their respective communities.

Interview 5:

We didn't have cliques. I know it sounds ridiculous. But we didn't have like the whole group, where you had, you know in kindergarten and in pre-k and stuff like that, you didn't have the cliques where you had the popular girls and the cheerleaders and stuff like that. You didn't have that, at all. And I think part of it is due to the fact that, like we are such a small society, everybody is related one way or another. So even the kids in my class growing up that didn't, that didn't do well, like and they didn't dress in the appropriate clothing and they didn't have the newest fashion and stuff like that... you knew them, you knew that you are related so, you know, picking on them was just weird and wrong. And that was something I've only got to appreciate

after I moved to Denmark and you know meeting people who have been bullied relentlessly growing up because they didn't fit into you know the mold, whatever.

Interview 8:

Inuit are tribal people, thinking about the community as a whole before one self. Qallunaat (whites) are much about the individual, about competition, about enriching yourself, very materialistic and narcissistic.

Both groups, the Kalaallit and Danes, are different in terms of their spontaneity and prioritizations. There are several references to how Danes are far more bureaucratic and focused on work, whereas the Kalaallit like to live more day to day and enjoy themselves. This is attributed to how both communities were built upon different ways of living and producing sustenance.

Interview 5:

But we talk about, you know, the chance of us ever moving to Denmark and he was just like "No, I don't think I ever could" because he just, he loves the way that the society works here, that everybody can talk to each other here. Talking like... when you were in Denmark, you might have experienced like trying to talk to the government for any reason at all, you know, taxes, or subpoenas, or anything like that...it's a nightmare...fucking nightmare. Whereas here, you always talk to people, you don't talk to machines, you don't communicate via email, like you can...but they're not going to answer. You have to end up talking to a person and talking to a person while it's sometimes a little more complicated because you have to make time for it, it's just so much more convenient because you can always explain yourself, like if you, for some reason missed a payment for something or something like that, it's so much easier.

Interview 6:

I think the Greenlandic... my experience, my belief is we are more spontaneous, you live today, if you catch a fish today, you might not catch one tomorrow, so you better eat that thing you have now. Where the Danes are historically like, they are farmers. They know they have to stock up for the winter, they know, and you see it happening. If I get my paycheck, it's gone too soon, where Danes are better to, we need to save for rainy day. And you see it in my work, there's then if I go to the social problems, they get money, they drink until they don't have any more. Many, you see that very often. Unfortunately, common. So, I think the different ways people live more today, we live today. I am happy today. Let's party. Let's go out. Where the Danes are...you need to make an appointment, if I have to see you maybe you have time Saturday. Where it's more common for me to come knock at your door... hey, you want coffee? So, there's come cultural differences there. I think they both have value. If you look, I don't know if it's part of the subject, but if you look at the examples, many of them...they are...I'm sad now... my girlfriend left. Then I... you know... because don't have the same way of looking at things, yes I am sad now but it is temporary because you have to look a month, two month ahead. But many they think today. I think that is the main difference...You know if... I have a colleague that is also a Danish,

and me and my Greenlandic colleague we have another common sense... not a common sense... a feeling of togetherness in another way and sometimes we say...

I am very happy with my manager, I can learn a lot from her, she is the best manager I've had but sometimes, we talk about ah it would be nice to have a Greenlandic manager because there's a different approach of things. My view is, my personal view is, like some of the colleagues I have had work is life. If you want to be anybody you should work long hours and you should, it is what matters. For me, it is family. Work is a means for me so I can spend time with family and I can afford stuff. So sometimes, it is okay for me to, today I want to get out, I don't have to always be in front of a PC and look like I'm working. So, we say, those Danish people, they should ease down, and maybe some of the Danes they look at us and think he is lazy, he needs to put his act together. And I see that in the police.

The two groups do share one cultural similarity, however, according to the interviews. Both the Kalaallit and Danes share an appreciation for food and tie many cultural customs to traditional dishes. From my background, I can attest that Denmark loves their traditional foods, which are often the focus of many holidays and traditions.

Interview 5:

I think we appreciate food. Both cultures appreciate food a lot. And very like, national dishes. Equally. I think that's...people whenever we're in mourning or whenever we are celebrating or whenever something great is happening, food is prepared. I think that's a constant in both societies. I don't think...

History

Pre-Colonial History

When asked about the pre-colonial history of Kalaallit Nunaat, the majority of the interviewees emphasize the Indigenous community's deep ties to the cultural landscape and their view of nature as sacred.

Interview 1:

My belief is that before Denmark arrived, Greenland was a country of nature people who lived and believed in nature as the most sacred. It was a country where they, because of the small population, trusted in each other and needed to...If Denmark hadn't been colonizing Greenland, I still think most would live as before. Closer to nature and without the education there is today.

Interview 2:

Yeah I think it was like they living in igloos, hunting, kayaks.

Interview 4:

Greenlandic people love nature. Summertime means going out to fjord with boat all the time and hunt. Or gather berries or herbs. Nature, nature, nature. Before Danes colonized Greenland, our ancestors way of living was way different than the life we have today. We have cities today. Our ancestors moved and followed the source of food. Without any Danish involvement, I think we would still be living in stone-age as our ancestors did back in the days. Living from food to food, from day to day, from season to season.

Interview 6:

Well, it's probably like every place before the white man came, they are nature people, they had their own beliefs, they had their own sense of justice, and the way of living, no money, if you have catch some animal, then you get...give everybody...especially those in needs.

Interview 8:

Well-functioning communities who had survived the harsh Arctic climate for thousands of years

As mentioned before, traditional Kalaallit concepts of religions are starkly different from Danish Christianity. The following interview response summarizes these conceptualizations.

Juaaka Lyberth:

Before Christianity, the Greenlandic religion is the same as other Inuitters in North America, Canada and Siberia. Christianity was introduced in West Greenland 300 years ago. In the polar region and in East Greenland it is only a little over 100 years ago. The belief that all living and non-living beings and animals have a soul. In spirit manners, witches and more - blood revenge: eye for eye, tooth for tooth. Many living and taboo rules, especially for women, made life difficult and cumbersome.

One interviewee emphasizes that pre-colonial Kalaallit life has been idealized within both Danish and Kalaallit communities. While they express that they were impressed by their ancestors' grit and ability to create beautiful art and traditional clothing, they believe that the fact that the Kalaallit struggled to survive in the harsh Arctic climate and participated in some less than savory customs have not been fully addressed.

Interview 5:

Most people have a very, very romanticized idea of what it was like. Being a historian and working down in the museum, it is quite clear to me that even though the Thule Inuit, which are our like closest ancestors, they did remarkably well compared to their predecessors, the earlier Inuit cultures that had wandered into Greenland and died out. They still struggled, every single day it was nitty gritty and it was, especially for women, oh god. The whole society was tied into this belief that everything had a soul or a spirit and all the souls and spirits were sort of, you know, they balanced everything around you. So food sources, light sources, everything were tied into these and women were somehow more responsible for keeping the balance with the spirits.

That's also why there were some tattooed, it was predominantly women that were tattooed that had all sorts of stuff to do with like the spirit world and if something went wrong it was just naturally assumed that it had to be the woman's fault. And she had to undergo grueling, not like physical torture, but like psychological torture. If a woman lost a child, she was not allowed to speak to anyone for a full fucking year. She couldn't touch the dead body, she couldn't participate in the burial, she had to, you know, stay in this hut and face the wall for a year. It was...like...I cannot imagine how horrible it was...

And I was quite surprised to realize how like, how hard it must have been, because other than that the society before Danish people was quite efficient. Obviously it was hard, you traveled in small groups of families and then you met in, during the summer and you know, it can't always have been easy. But you know the way they hunted and stuff like that, I'm like thoroughly impressed by the efficiency of the hunters and the efficiency and the skills of the women to be able to prepare the skins and you know when we see the clothing that they used to wear, gee, lord, oh my god, nobody can sew like that anymore. It's just beautiful and to have that sort of time to prepare, you know, clothing like that, you would have had to have some sort of system that enabled you to have that time so they must have been like, you know, very, very, very adept at living here. So I'm...at one point I am like really impressed with our ancestors and on the other side I'm also like I can understand why they went away from that so quickly, why they were so quick to abandon that sort of way of life, especially for women.

Colonial History

During my interviews, the fact that groups of Kalaallit children were sent to Denmark in the twentieth century to learn the Danish language and customs was brought up several times.

This unfortunate chapter in the colonial history of Kalaallit Nunaat resulted in the children, when returned to their families, being culturally disconnected from their former lives, relationships, and language. As a result, many stayed in Denmark and did not feel like they belonged in Kalaallit Nunaat. The decision to send the children to Denmark was made by both the Kalaallit government and the Danish government, neither of whom knew how devastating the consequences would be. There have been attempts by the Danish government to apologize for the program, but as the person who I interviewed in Interview 5 states, the apology is not entirely historically correct without the recognition of Kalaallit involvement in the decision. Of course, one must also take into consideration that the push for the Kalaallit children to be sent to

Denmark to become more “civilized” was a clear symptom of Danish colonial rule and the establishment of Danish “modernity” as the goal of Kalaallit society.

Interview 1:

Denmark has removed whole villages because they needed the extra area they lived in or that they forced little children from their families, to live in Denmark and return to Greenland to be role models for how to behave and speak Danish. I didn't learn that the Danes rebuilt Greenland, but with Danish workers who misused Greenlandic women.

Interview 2:

I heard some people from Greenland, Greenlandic people... Danish people took some of the children from Greenland and took them, used them for experience but they could not go back home, then they're gonna be Denmark forever, And now in the news they talk about it all the time because they never get sorry from Denmark and they want something, someone to say something to them.

Interview 4:

In the 50's to 70's, Greenlandic children at the age of 6 was forced to go to school in Denmark. And a lot of those I have talked with, who was one of those who was forced to live with a Danish family for many years, because of school and education, was saddened upon arrival home, because they were so young when they left home, and lived with Danish people who could not a word in Greenlandic, they forgot our language, therefore had difficulty communicating with his or hers own parents, grandparents, siblings and friends. Most of those children who were forced to live in Denmark to go to school, had moved to Denmark. They don't feel like they belong here, or in Denmark. A person without one nationality, but split in between two very different cultures, Danish and Greenlandic.

Interview 5:

I think our current prime minister is trying to reverse that in a lot of ways, she's just started so it's difficult to say like whether... what she is going to do. And is also, she is a little bit, she sort of apologized for something that the Danish government actually didn't do. Which is a little bit problematic, you know, from a historical point of view. So, yeah. And she promised, like upfront, when she was being elected, “I'm gonna apologize for that” and I was like “You can't, well you can, but it's only going to be half an apology, and it's not going to be historically correct”. If you need to apologize, we like...the prime minister of Greenland and the prime minister of Denmark, both of them have to apologize. Otherwise, they're going to be...it's going to be wrong!

Interview 6:

There's some other way of living and I know historically, in the 50s, 60s, they tried to experiment with sending Greenlandic kids to Denmark, so they can be more Danish, they could be more civilized and it had great cost for those people because they had their answers of what's the right way of living

Denmark's colonial rule led to the establishment of western definitions of modernity in Kalaallit Nunaat. As a result, the Indigenous population of the island were indoctrinated with the idea that Danish ways of living were ideal and something they should try to achieve. While it is clear that Denmark did bring beneficial things like vaccines and western technology to Kalaallit Nunaat, it also suppressed Kalaallit culture and produced a hierarchy of modernity and ways of living.

Interview 3:

When we were went to Greenland its begin to be more modern. There was more structure with stores and sick houses and police and all that citizen things. And they had a ship from Denmark all the sickness houses had sent a ship with people who vaccinate and tuberculosis, polio all that sickness vaccine. It was set in systems after that when child was born they get vaccine and all that.

Interview 6:

I look back, if we hadn't been colonized, we wouldn't have the knowledge and the infrastructure as we have now, so the outcome has been good. So, I'm not, I'm not mad. Maybe because it was before my time, but historically I think if something good comes out of it, now the Danish government supports that Greenland wants to be independent, we are just not ready yet.

This hierarchy pushed the Kalaallit to conform to Danish norms and encouraged them to abandon their own cultural customs and traditions in favor of the "superior" Danish ways of living.

Interview 3:

But there was not allowed at that time, and it was just Danish living, Danish way, Danish Christian, and if you have to get into a good life in Greenland it was Danish Christian, Danish living, Danish.. All was.. you have to live in the Danish way for to have a good life in Greenland and be accepted and not being thrown out of the elite...all the culture about the Greenlandish way to live was thrown out and when I was grown up, we don't have national clothes and don't have those fine pearl necklace and all that. And many forgotten to make all that... it is first again 80s that people are going back to do all that again.

Interview 5:

And I've always... like as a historian...when I started studying Greenlandic history it was quite eye opening to me to see how...how much of the stuff that went wrong, which was predominantly what happened in the fifties and the sixties were based on Greenlandic, a wish for Greenland to move away from the traditional way of Greenlands...Greenlanders...to a more European way of living.

During the interview process, it was expressed multiple times that while Danish colonialism has caused pain for the community, many of the interviewees think that it is better than another country like the United States, Canada, Russia, or China colonizing the island. There was a consensus from those who discussed the latter that it was inevitable that some colonial power would eventually have come to Kalaallit Nunaat. It was stated that some believe that the effects of American colonialism would have been far more devastating to the Kalaallit community than that of Denmark because of the United States' violent, malicious history with Indigenous peoples

Interview 3:

I think that if Danish people wasn't come to Greenland then U.S. or United States or Russia has come and then we will have theres will be very American style in Greenland or if it was Russia it will be Russian style but now I think it is very important to hold the Danish and Greenlandic...and be strong in that because if we don't... Chinese is coming to Greenland because they are just ready to take all the Greenlandish...if there is nothing to stop them.

Interview 5:

Like obviously right now, you might know, there's a few people interested in Greenland and that's a very recent thing. For years and years and years, we've been this little, you know, ice cube on top of the globe that nobody really...like the States have always been interested in us, ever since the second World War, due to the fact that it's, you know, at first it was a landing spot, simply because, you know, planes couldn't go that far. But then of course, came the Thule base and now Donald. But the Russians have always also expressed a very certain interest in us and they have a more sneaky approach. So we actually have like military base stationed up in the northeast of Greenland to patrol at all given times simply because they do tend to try to, you know, just, you know, set a toe in and see what's going to happen if we stand here. "Okay, you don't want that, okay, backing off... how about here?". You know, so yeah, China as well...

If Denmark hadn't come here, America would have. Definitely. And I think that would have been a lot harder. I think we would be a lot more like the Natives in America, where we would belong far less to our own country than we do now. So, in that sense, again it's a bias thing because I do see the positives of the Danish influence here. Though, in a utopian dream, where we could have evolved on our own time, I think we would have been eons behind everyone else. But I do think, I always believed that that would have been a more positive way for us to evolve because the thing that happened during the colonial period is that we had to evolve hella quick. What took Danish... the Danish people hundreds and hundreds of years to go through with, you know, the medieval times, and the Enlightenment, and all these different periods, we had to figure out within a generation. Which is, it's quite overwhelming and it's also like, missing steps like that leaves...leaves some black holes that we have to fill with something. We're trying to figure out our own ways of doing stuff. So, in a utopian dream where we could evolve in our own time, that

would have always been a more positive way of doing it, though we would have been far behind everybody else. But, in the end, I think that the Danish government was the lesser of many evils.

One person whom I interviewed in Interview 5 expressed that they do not think that Denmark acted with malice in terms of its colonial relationship with Kalaallit Nunaat. They emphasize that they do not believe that the relationship was positive, but that they think that Denmark did not act as other western colonial powers because the land on which the Kalaallit lived was not profitable economically. I cannot speak to what Danish motives were in terms of their dealings with the Indigenous peoples of Kalaallit Nunaat, only that colonialism at its core is wrong and it is difficult, perhaps impossible to compare the harms caused by it.

Interview 5:

And that was quite eye opening to me, it was quite, it was also quite amazing to see how much, like when you compare, you can never compare pain, like pain is not something that's measurable in any way or sort. But if you take something like the Inuits of Canada...they were screwed over...they were...like almost all of them. They just... I mean the way the English and the French and pretty much everybody who went through there, they just screwed over all the Natives and treated them horribly. It is so different to how the entire colonization of Greenland happened. The colonization of Greenland...was a...I'm not saying positive, but it was, the idea of it was vastly different and the idea of how to treat the Natives was so different to how they were treated like in Canada and in Alaska, they were treated like cattle, they were barely humanized, whereas here it...they were seen as the noble savage, which is like, you know, the Rousseauan idea of, you know, them being the children of God pretty much. And for that reason, they were actually, the way of the Greenlandic people were actually preserved for quite a while, save for the fact they were introduced to the Church, which of course meant that there were certain ways of living that wasn't, that weren't possible anymore. You know having multiple wives or multiple husbands and you know... and all that sort. That had to be banned. But other than that, it was...they were really...they were preserved for a long long time. "For their own good".. which of course also became a straight-tjacket. After a couple of generations, people wanted to evolve, people wanted to be able to do the same things as the white people, or the Europeans and they weren't allowed because people kept saying to them, "No, no no, you have to stick to your ways of living. So, I forgot where I was going with this. But yeah, as a historian it was quite eye opening to see the main motive of the Danish government was never malice. It was never, like, originally, originally originally, like all the way back in the 1400s, they had, or 1500s, they had thought about, you know, being able to use the land, but when they finally came up here in the 1700s and managed to settle down a settlement and realized, okay, there is nothing profitable up here because, you know, ivory has just been invented, so that there. And oil lamps are going out of fashion, so hmmm there. So, like, very quickly they realized there was nothing profitable about the place here and they still kept going at it. So instead of having a motive that went like economics, they had a motive like govern, in the more caring sense. Which was, yeah which was

interesting because you are so used to having, you know, the narrative of the colonizers being you know, fucking evil.

The introduction of the Danish Christian church to Kalaallit Nunaat led to large cultural changes in terms of sex, marriage, relationships, etc. The impact of Christianity was widespread and had innumerable effects on the traditional ways of living on the island.

Juaaka Lyberth:

But I have no hatred in my mind. Like many others, in my basic position I am certainly greatly influenced by the Christian Lutheran attitude, Danish generosity and openness - the democratic values and human rights, sustainability, etc.

Interview 6:

So, I think, then the Danish people came and they taught us Christianity is the way, if you are not Christian, then you are a heathen, and you must be whipped.

The colonial relationship between Denmark and Kalaallit Nunaat has evolved dramatically in the past century. While internally originally ruled by Denmark and Danish officials, Kalaallit Nunaat has been transitioning towards complete independence. The country is currently still considered a part of Denmark and has strong ties to the Nordic nation but is self-ruled. The following excerpts outline some historical context of the path towards self-rule. Juaaka Lyberth expresses that while independence is the goal, it is currently not economically feasible.

Interview 5:

There used to be a governors like today we are self-governed. There still is a few departments that we can't home take, for financial reasons but also because we are so intertwined with one another. There are different like, ahh family law has still not been taken home by the self-government or the government simply because it is...like we're all related... so having to divorce people, having to arrange adoptions from one family to another and stuff like that, would be hellish nightmare if it had to be done within like ourselves. So, they're still trying to figure out how to do that, while still you know being able to maintain a certain, like distance, so yeah, that and then of course, our security, not so much the police, that's ours, but the national security issue.

Juaaka Lyberth:

Up to 1940, Greenland was a kind of closed reserve - a protected colony where Greenland's traditional way of life, culture and language as a prisoner community with many winter, spring and summer settlements were preserved as far as possible. Although, of course, slow development happened. Population also participated in limited democratic co-determination,

already in the 1850s a council was established in every colony, district - called the Constituency - which took care of social and criminal matters. In 1911, two Greenlandic Councils were established - one in the north and one in the south. Members of the National Council became elections in municipal subdivided regions. The National Council took care of political matters and was a kind of consultation partner to the Danish Parliament, which was the final legislative assembly. But in the National Councils, the top Danish state official was always Landsfoged, who was chairman. World War II was history for itself in Greenland. It was an eye-opener for many Greenlanders about what modern technology can accomplish. Remember that up until that time many Greenlanders lived with soapstone lamps with blubber oil as fuel. It was not until the 1940s that the Aladdin lamps (kerosene lamps) were allowed for all Greenlandic homes. After World War II. When the world war ended and Greenland reconnected with Denmark and the Danish Prime Minister went on a tour of Greenland, journalists followed. The journalists could tell of misery, poverty, poor housing (earth huts). Diseases, high mortality and poor educational system, etc. The Danish Newspapers accused the Danish state of neglecting and failing the Greenlandic people and society to develop into modern societies. At the same time, the United States wanted to buy Greenland from Denmark (The United States did so in the late 1800s and most recently in 1917 when Denmark sold its colonies - the West Indies to the United States). Remember, Greenland is geographically part of the American continent and part of the US defense sphere of interest in the Monroe Doctrine. The High Arctic region - the polar region of the Thule district, would most likely become the American colony if Knud Rasmussen had not approached Robert Perry and planted a Danish flag on the spot. The area was Knud Rasmussen's own colony until the 1930s, when the Danish state was not interested in establishing a colony up there. On the other hand, in the 1930s-40s, the Greenlandic population wanted modernization and development, not least equality with Danish and learning the Danish language, etc. But they did not want to get rid of Denmark. The population wanted to be part of Denmark, but as equal citizens with equal rights and opportunities. During the WW II was Greenland an independent country - With special agreements with the United States and Canada. Trade agreements - defense agreements etc. It was because Denmark was occupied by the Germans. When Denmark was liberated after WWII there was great joy in Greenland. Money was raised to help those in need in Denmark. Not least, the youth associations in Nuuk gathered for a flagpole and the purchase of the Danish flag - Dannebrog - and raised it at a large ceremonial solemnity in the summer of 1945 with the words: "This flagpole and this flag must be the symbol that Greenland and Greenlanders will always be a part of the Danish kingdom ". That flag is raised every Sunday and at festivities - to this day in Nuuk's city center, though many have forgotten its history. So, Greenland did not want to be bought by the US and declared its allegiance to Denmark. That was in 1945. In 1953, the Danish constitution was changed in Denmark and Greenland became an equal part of the kingdom. Greenland got 2 representatives in the Danish legislative assembly - the Folketing. There have even been Ministers for Greenland in the Danish government, elected in Greenland. It was in the 1950s-60s that Greenland was modernized. Over 2 decades, Greenland achieved what other countries had achieved over 2 hundred years. Material and physics, it went super well. Many Danish season workers came and built the country, many other professionals came to Greenland, doctors and health professionals, illnesses were reduced, the infrastructure was improved, teachers built the education system so that it was equal to the Danish, administrative and technical staff came, etc. It was all paid for by the Danish state. Greenlanders didn't even pay income tax back then. It was a great success materially. The number of the Greenlandic population doubled and income more than doubled.

Where it went wrong was in spirit, soul and culture. It should all be like in Denmark. And it was against this policy of Danification that large sections of the population reacted against it. One wants to have the right of self-determination over one's own country, to preserve one's culture, language, identity and way of life. This meant that Greenland's Home Rule was introduced in 1979 and was expanded to Self-Government in 2009.

I have briefly described what political desires the generation that lived in the 1930s, 1940s, 1950s-60s had. They wanted equality with Danish and with Denmark. Away from colonial status to equality. They wanted to fulfill this wish with the constitutional change in 1953. But it was equality on Danish terms and it cut the Greenlandic soul into the soul of the Greenland. The younger generation who were young in the 1960s and 1970s wanted equality on Greenlandic terms and Greenlandic values. This wish was fulfilled with the introduction of the Home Rule in 1972, expanded with Self-Government in 2009. I do not mean that you can generally say how the different generations feel for Denmark today. Like so many other countries, the population of Greenland is moving from small towns / villages to large cities - especially to Nuuk. But there are just as many people moving from Greenland to Denmark. It has been happening over the last 2-3 decades. There lives approx. 17-18,000 with Greenlandic descent in Denmark. It is both young, growing and especially old. It is difficult to measure the emotions of some endeavors. The picture is not just black and white, there are many shades in between. One thing is a political dream and desire - another thing is what is realistic to get accomplished. As mentioned, Greenland is a model of the Danish / Nordic welfare society and it really costs a lot of money. I think the vast majority of Greenland residents have recognized that if we are to be an independent state, then we must first free ourselves from the Danish state's financial subsidies, which are approx. 40-50% of the entire Greenland financial budget. To achieve this, it requires our gross national production to increase by 150%. This is not possible in the foreseeable future. Most political parties are working towards Greenland's independence, but economic self-sufficiency is the first priority and it will be a sword. There are many things to do about being structurally things, and we lack labor to the extent that financial independence can seem like an impossible dream. I believe that this recognition has come to the attention of many younger well-educated Greenlanders, in contrast to some older Greenlanders who hope and believe that everything will work out for the best, only Greenland becomes independent. Political moods can change very quickly here in Greenland. Up until the parliament election in 2013, it sounded like all political parties wanted independent Greenland within a decade. Someone even said in 2021. After the election, a Constitutional Commission was set up to work with the Greenlandic constitution when the country became independent. In the later elections after 2013, all talk of independence is almost muted. The desire for closer cooperation and connection with Denmark has become the big agenda theme from Greenland's politicians. And the Constitutional Commission has become a farce and almost stalled. Maybe independence will come to Greenland - but it will probably only happen in one or two generations.

School and Teaching

The school systems in Denmark and Kalaallit Nunaat were designed to focus on Denmark and Danish versions of colonial histories that framed Danes in a positive light. Several

of the people who I interviewed express that they had not learned about Kalaallit Nunaat in school, while in Denmark, but those who received an education in Kalaallit Nunaat learned a great deal about their colonizer country. However, this education about Denmark sugar-coated the relationship between the two countries, painting Denmark as seemingly innocent and virtuous.

Interview 1:

I'm formally educated in Denmark. I did learn that Greenland had been part of Denmark, and that Danish see Greenlanders as equal, but didn't learn how Denmark has removed whole villages because they needed the extra area they lived in or that they forced little children from their families, to live in Denmark and return to Greenland to be role models for how to behave and speak Danish. I didn't learn that the Danes rebuilt Greenland, but with Danish workers who misused Greenlandic women.

Interview 2:

When I was in Denmark, I did not learn about Greenland.

Interview 3:

In Greenland, we sung Danish songs and we learned about Danish things but we are not learn about Greenland and Greenland history. We didn't learn about it we learned about H.C. Anderson and all that stuff. It was only Danish, and when we come to Greenland and start school both my parents is from Greenland.

Interview 4:

Like the one teacher I mentioned, that he was not aware of different methods Hans Egede used to make believers out of Greenlandic people to God. I only had Danish teachers in history, and they always present the topic in a manner where the Danish people would stand tall and look heroic, whereas our ancestors were the disgusting ones and the poor ones who had to be helped.

Interview 5:

I went to high school here. We learned a lot, which is also one of the things that makes the relationship between Denmark and Greenland a little uneven. We learn a lot about Denmark, just comes natural because you know we're in a commonwealth. So, we learned about the kings, and we learned about, you know, the history of Denmark and the the infrastructure of Denmark and we learned about the geography of Denmark. Social economics of Denmark. All sorts of things. I was somewhat nept in Danish history when I moved to Denmark. Whereas it was, it was very obvious to me that when I talk about Greenland, people again had that Knud Rasmussen image of me, that was...that was weird

Interview 8:

All education in Greenland is more or less Danish, and we learned that every good thing comes from Denmark, so logically we must have been the other ones, right?

The interviewees told me about how the Kalaallit people were portrayed in schools, both in Denmark and in Kalaallit Nunaat. The Kalaallit were described as less civilized than Danes and as people of the past; people who had not evolved in the hundreds of years since the introduction of Danish colonialism to the island. As a result, Kalaallit students were explicitly given the impression that Danes were superior to the Kalaallit and therefore not as important or interesting.

Interview 1:

Some teachings represent my beliefs, but the difference is that the meaning of many teachings is to make the Greenlandic people seem to be uncivilized and less intelligent because of their pre-colonial living.

Interview 3:

When I was in efterskole, there is one week you have to learn about Greenland where they speak about there was fishermen and sailing kayak and doing drums. But I said there no it is not like that anymore and they look at me and say "Hmm? Why? What is it like now then?". So the teachers was even not educated well enough to know what Greenland is about then and also now. There is many people in Denmark who isn't interested in Greenland, they didn't know anything about Greenland. It's very strange.

Interview 4:

Well, the first thing I remember about High School, is that I felt the Danish children were more worth than Greenlandic children, so I remember that at very young age I learnt that I should be submissive, basically... to be invisible whenever there's Danish children around. Going to college, that's where I finally stopped being afraid of outshining the Danish people, so I started to talk more in classes, started to answer back to Danes whenever I felt there is something unfair about the situation. And boy, I was unpopular amongst Danes.

Interview 5:

While I was in, at the university, I attended a few courses at the Arctic Study unit, which is just located in the most beautiful old compartment, warehouse in Copenhagen at Christianshavn. It's just ahh. And there is, it really comes down to the person teaching. There was one guy, Søren Thuesen, who was like almost Greenlandic himself man, he's been studying Greenland for so long but he speaks the language and he is like, he understands the pros and cons and everything. And I mean, I learned so much from him. But I also experienced at least one professor who was very reluctant to accept my, because whenever we had to sort of choose what sort of road we were taking within the course we were taking, I had at least one professor who was like very much against me going in the Greenlandic direction. Simply because he didn't understand why that was important. Like, and that was, it was within Enlightenment theory I think and I kept telling him, like this is important to me personally and it should also like, because his whole field of study was within the Enlightenment period. So, like, I don't understand like, why does it bother you that this is what I want to go with. And he was just like... "Well, it just doesn't seem

very interesting to me". And I was just like... "You realize I'm frickin Native, right?" and he was just like... "Yeah, but still there's so many other great things, I just don't know if there's any source material for what you're wanting to do". And I was like " I assure you there is, I have figured it out". It was...it really came down to the lecturer and the professor. He was very ancient. He was very very ancient.

From my interviews, it is clear that in Kalaallit Nunaat, the Danish language was prioritized over the Indigenous languages of the island. While the government is no longer sending Kalaallit children overseas to Denmark to learn Danish, the schools in Kalaallit Nunaat are still placing more of an emphasis on learning the colonizer language in order to provide students an easier transition or connection to the western world.

Interview 3:

The school said we couldn't come into the Greenlandish class where they speak Greenlandic because we speak Danish because we have lived in Denmark when we are small and my father was taken his education and then we have to go in to the Danish classes because we have to take care of our Danish language.

Interview 4:

We speak fluently and better Danish than we do our own language - Greenlandic.

General Feelings and Experiences

Positive Danish Sentiments

Many of those who I interviewed have familial connections to Denmark, as well as friendships with Danes. As a result, the majority of the purely positive sentiments towards Danes and Denmark, as a nation, were related to these personal relationships.

Interview 1:

I feel connected to Denmark in the sense that I grew up there and because I'm fifty percent Danish. I mostly feel connected to the life I live in Denmark and not Denmark itself.

Interview 2:

Because I have a family who lives there.

Interview 4:

But don't get me wrong, I know a lot of Danish people as well, close family friends, who love Greenland and Greenlandic people and doesn't want to leave again because they fell in love with Greenland.

Interview 5:

But for me and myself, it's almost always been a positive thing, like my mom is a brilliant woman and my Danish family are amazing, they're all awesome, and...well save for a few...but, you know, they're married into the family, they don't count.

Further, interviewees express that Denmark's impact on Kalaallit Nunaat and the Kalaallit was positive, to some extent, because the colonizer nation brought western technology, medicine, food, and wider access to the rest of the world. The notion that a people are better off with western influence was pushed by Danes, indoctrinating Indigenous peoples with a hierarchy of ways of living.

Interview 2:

I don't think there's something wrong with that, like us, if we don't speak Danish, then we couldn't get any good education or a good job or something like that. Also, because our language doesn't, we cannot use it any country so that's a good thing too that we have Danish with us...Maybe we will be hunting I mean eating food from here, not from Denmark. I think that life would be really different if we don't have Danish with us. Like we getting fruits from Denmark and everywhere, maybe we wouldn't get them if we just never yeah...We are more like other countries. If we don't have Danish people on here, we don't...be like late?...Maybe if Danish people didn't went here, we couldn't eat here [restaurant interviewing in]. And maybe we never have any computers or cellphones either.

Since it first colonized the island nation, Denmark has been pouring money into Kalaallit Nunaat's economy. Several interviews state that this financial support was a positive of having a relationship with Denmark.

Interview 5:

I do see some very positive things about us being in a commonwealth together. Definitely, like from an economic standpoint of view, we have to acknowledge the fact that we could not deal like with the world without them, we could not. There is just not enough of us, there is only like 55,000 of us. So having the economical and the financial and the military support from them is something we have to acknowledge whether we want it or not and a lot of people don't. I also do see some like cultural positives within, due to the fact that we are so isolated from the rest of the world. It can get...like people without meaning to can get quite narrow minded and sometimes it is a positive force that we have to deal with somebody, another force that is so vastly different to us...To be quite honest, like in my personal experience, it's always, almost always been positive. Like I see the negatives, I do.

Negative Danish Sentiments

Many of those who I interviewed stated that many Danes are prejudiced against the Kalaallit and see themselves as superior. This, along with Denmark's colonial relationship with Kalaallit Nunaat has some labeling Danes, in general, as oppressors to the Indigenous peoples of the island.

Interview 1:

My general thoughts are that many Danes are very prejudiced, have difficulties being connected to their feelings, and in general, think they know what's best...I think that in Denmark, the government has made it okay to speak badly and feel better and smarter and has a hard time believing that people from other countries or other ethnicities can contribute with positive, smart, and helpful points of view...The only thing that has changed is that the prejudice has gotten worse and more outspoken.

Interview 8:

Oppressors. Self-righteous self-appointed Masters. "The only reasonable beings on this planet" (Sarcasm). White saviors...Loss of identity, degradation, finding way back to feeling like a dignified human.

There are established hierarchies of power between Danes and the Kalaallit, where Danes are those in power and often seen as more important than the Kalaallit. This hegemonic difference between the two and the push for the Kalaallit to conform to Danish cultural norms and customs was expressed by several of the people who I interviewed

Interview 2:

Danish people have been... what do you call it...higher up. So it's always been higher up and Greenlandic people will be down.

Interview 3:

But there was not allowed at that time, and it was just Danish living, Danish way, Danish Christian, and if you have to get into a good life in Greenland it was Danish Christian, Danish living, Danish.. All was.. you have to live in the Danish way for to have a good life in Greenland and be accepted and not being thrown out of the elite.

Interview 5:

We do have like a lot of guest workers that come in here who are so oblivious to what they are coming in to and they are so like arrogant and difficult to work with.... there is also a lot of politics that just like... there is one politician called Søren Espersen. He is with... he's a Danish politician from the Danish...Dansk Folkeparti...those very right-wing gentlemen and one lady I

think. And they're just...I mean...he's one of the biggest problems, he's so condescending. And he represents a way of thinking about Greenland where they are very, you know, where they are the governors of us and we should just sort of abide their thoughts and rules and whatever. And that's, I mean that's what I really want from the commonwealth, are what we whatever we call the Rigsfællesskabet, would be like a common....like working together on the same level and as long as there are people like him, we're never gonna be on the same level, there is always gonna be askew from one another...People find themselves...like some of the people that come up here...some of the guest workers... they often find themselves... like they think of themselves more advanced and they can get quite aggressive when you know, you try to tell them like, you're not.

Interview 6:

So it has always been a part of me, but I think the big impact came when I start to work in the police because there is still.. some... we have the same education, we have the same uniform, we have the same employer, but we are paid differently, there's still.. For instance, they get some new gear down in Denmark, like a new vest or something, and we will get it many years after. "Do you need it up there? Do you need it?" There is a difference there and right now it's a big,

Generational Differences

Older generations of the Kalaallit are more opposed to a Danish presence on the island and in their lives, when compared to younger generations. The interviewees say that this is because the older generations have experiences of a time when Danish colonialism was more obvious and pronounced, versus the milder version that younger generations now see. Now that the Kalaallit are given more rights and feel treated increasingly equally, the result is the younger generations feeling less anger towards their colonizers, the Danes. Several interviewees also mention that the older generations, some of whom were young in the seventies and eighties, a time of political organizing for independence in Kalaallit Nunaat, still hold the same sentiments as they did then. The younger generations, not alive at the time, are more focused on acceptance and blending in with Danes, according to my interviews.

Interview 1:

I think the older generation who has experienced the colonialism first-hand is more opposed of Danish and Denmark. But I can also see that the younger generation now is more aware to put Greenland first and not only obeying Denmark. I think that the minds of the Greenlandic people are getting less and less colonized.

Interview 2:

I think younger people like more Danish people and the olders is more like against Danish people than the youngsters. Maybe it's because they have the experience of the time, it's hard for them. It had been like a long time where Greenlandic people didn't like Danish people a lot, but now the youngsters its more equals with Danish people and speak more. I mean here in Nuuk we speak more Danish and other cities its more Greenlandic so maybe it's more people against Danish people.

Interview 6:

Yes, as I mentioned, my grandmother who passed away, she's like... for her, the Danish people were, you know, if you say A and B people, she was a B and they were A. They were the one with the lawns with the good jobs and you need to respect them. You know I think the elders in the last century they have been very respectful, for the Danish, then the seventies, eighties came and there was a lot of young people back then and they want to, they were aware of they want to be independent, that there was a movement who came, so people like me, the young, I think we fight more for rights and for independence, than others did. Because we become more self-aware, many of the young they have access to the internet they have access to every information they want now. You cannot hide anything now. So, I think, you know, the more information you get, the more access you have to the outer world, I think it will grow. And back then, when the elders, fifty years back, there were no outside information at the same way. So, the young ones, they want, they have, another approach, another more equal way of thinking about the Danes, than the elders did.

Interview 7:

Yes, I am more like open for the belonging, interdependence, and acceptant of the existing relationship, also due to the national, regional and international relations. Where my father is more Greenlandic patriot, and pro – independence, because he was young in the 70'es, where the political movement flourished in many places in the world.

Interview 8:

There is a kind of decolonization among the older generation, where the younger generation is still colonized and follows the Danish colonizers way of thinking much tighter, which is quite natural. I was the same when I was young, doing everything I could to satisfy my oppressors.

The younger generations speak Danish better than older generations in the Kalaallit communities, but do not speak the Kalaallit Indigenous languages as well. I hypothesize this is because of the increase of western modernity and technologies on the island, giving its population more access to the outside world. As their Indigenous languages are not as common as Danish or English, younger generations are drawn towards these colonizer languages because of media, jobs, etc. that require knowledge of these languages. Further, schools in Kalaallit seem

to still be teaching Danish and prioritizing it over mastery of the Kalaallit Indigenous languages. Unfortunately, this has led to generations of Kalaallit who do not know their Indigenous languages as well as Danish.

Interview 4:

the older generation have more squared, preserved vision for our Greenlandic language. The Capital City of Greenland - Nuuk, Nuummiuter -especially the younger generation, speaks more fluently and more grammatically correct Danish than our "origin language" including myself. I speak more Danish during the day than I do Greenlandic. And we hear "You're born Greenlandic, so Speak Greenlandic!" quite often from the older generation. And today's generation is too careless to give a damn about old stories from our elders.

Hegemonic Differences

Similar to other colonizer-colonized relationships, Denmark and Kalaallit Nunaat have a skewed power imbalance that favors Danes. As a result, in Kalaallit Nunaat, Danes and the Danish kingdom are often those with power in terms of government and thus determine access to resources on the island. This has led to Danes getting superior resources in Denmark than the Kalaallit in Kalaallit Nunaat, Danish ways of life being prioritized over others, and made it essential for Kalaallit to speak Danish to have access to educational and job opportunities.

Interview 2:

I don't think there's something wrong with that, like us, if we don't speak Danish, then we couldn't get any good education or a good job or something like that. Also, because our language doesn't, we cannot use it any country so that's a good thing too that we have Danish with us.

Interview 3:

But there was not allowed at that time, and it was just Danish living, Danish way, Danish Christian, and if you have to get into a good life in Greenland it was Danish Christian, Danish living, Danish.. All was.. you have to live in the Danish way for to have a good life in Greenland and be accepted and not being thrown out of the elite.

Interview 4:

They're basically the ones who runs the country. I must say, in those 13 years I've been in the work marked, I've tried maybe about 8-10 different work environments, I've only had two Greenlandic bosses. Rest of them are Danish. In college (GU) the only time the teacher speaks

Greenlandic is when we are having Greenlandic lessons. Rest are on Danish, because there are more Danish teachers than Greenlandic teachers.

Interview 6:

Well, I learned the language ...in ugh.. when I was in Denmark I was 9 year, until I was 10. It was at my own, and we were not allowed to speak Greenlandic, me and my big brother, so we learned Danish. So it has always been a part of me, but I think the big impact came when I start to work in the police because there is still.. some... we have the same education, we have the same uniform, we have the same employer, but we are paid differently, there's still.. For instance, they get some new gear down in Denmark, like a new vest or something, and we will get it many years after. "Do you need it up there? Do you need it?"

A consequence of hegemonic differences between Danes and the Kalaallit are Kalaallit

experiences of feeling looked down upon, or lesser than their Danish counterparts. Many of those who I interviewed express that they have felt like Danish people are seen as better than them and that Danes sometimes treat them as inferiors.

Interview 1:

My general thoughts are that many Danes are very prejudiced, have difficulties being connected to their feelings, and in general, think they know what's best. I feel like it can be hard to be Greenlandic in Denmark because so many Danes look down on Greenlandic people. Many Danes expect Greenlandic people to drink too much, not to have a job, and be homeless. I have often overheard Danish people talk down about Greenlandic people and don't care if any are passing their way while they speak their mind... so many Danes look down on Greenlandic people...I think that in Denmark, the government has made it okay to speak badly and feel better and smarter and has a hard time believing that people from other countries or other ethnicities can contribute with positive, smart, and helpful points of view.

Interview 2:

Danish people have been... what do you call it...higher up. So it's always been higher up and Greenlandic people will be down.

Interview 4:

Well, the first thing I remember about High School, is that I felt the Danish children were more worth than Greenlandic children, so I remember that at very young age I learnt that I should be submissive, basically... to be invisible whenever there's Danish children around.

Interview 5:

there is one politician called Søren Espersen. He is with... he's a Danish politician from the Danish...Dansk Folkeparti...those very right-wing gentlemen and one lady I think. And they're just...I mean...he's one of the biggest problems, he's so condescending. And he represents a way of thinking about Greenland where they are very, you know, where they are the governors of us and we should just sort of abide their thoughts and rules and whatever...as long as there are

people like him, we're never gonna be on the same level, there is always gonna be askew from one another...People find themselves...like some of the people that come up here...some of the guest workers... they often find themselves... like they think of themselves more advanced and they can get quite aggressive when you know, you try to tell them like, you're not.

Interview 6:

Well I think it's...it feels more now...especially in my work, it was also what made me go out of the police because in many ways I needed to look myself in the mirror and feel I'm just as good as everybody. I do not need to feel that we have to fight for the same rights for the same salary. So I think it has changed in my adult life that I am more aware that we are not sub-humans, you know, in many ways if you look fifty, sixty years ago my grandmother who has passed away. There were like Danish people they were...you almost needed to bow when you have a Danish people come visiting and if you look at the houses they have two, you know, there are two doors. The one, you rarely use, that nice guests like Danish people they had to use the other door. So, it has changed in my adult life too. I don't want to say I am more or less nationalistic, but I am more aware of we are just as equal and so I needed to get out and take a new working course where I need to feel what I do is good and it doesn't matter if I am Greenlandic or Danish.

Xenophobia and Stereotyping

Many of those who I interviewed have experienced racism or stereotyping by Danes in Kalaallit Nunaat and in Denmark. These assumptions ranged from interviewees being alcoholics, thieves, unintelligent, and still living in the same ways as they were pre-Danish colonization.

Interview 1:

Many Danes expect Greenlandic people to drink too much, not to have a job, and be homeless.

Interview 3:

there was many, plenty of people who have this look at people from Greenland that as [name redacted] told, there was more clever...nej..less clever than Danes and some people said to me sometimes one said "Ayy you are not Greenlandic" and I was shocked and said "Why? What are you saying?" and then she said "Oh you can speak Danish, then you are not a Greenlandic". And I said, "I am Greenlandic"...I thought that more people would learn about people like me and when they are talk maybe they can tell other stories about Greenland people in Denmark and Greenland people generally instead of all this tiredness..hearing..." oh they sit and drunk at town and they couldn't find out to live and they couldn't didn't and they couldn't thatn't, but it's always the same story also now, but with now some different colors...

When I was in efterskole, there is one week you have to learn about Greenland where they speak about there was fishermen and sailing kayak and doing drums. But I said there no it is not like that anymore and they look at me and say "Hmm? Why? What is it like now then?". So, the teachers was even not educated well enough to know what Greenland is about then and also now. There is many people in Denmark who isn't interested in Greenland, they didn't know anything about Greenland. It's very strange...

I have very much education and I have gone at many course and meet many different people and some has ask me, can you tell the story about you, Minka? And then one day when we are sitting eating I could see that this person maybe want that I have to tell a very sad story about my Greenlandish background and all that and then I thought that maybe I have to turn it around and I can tell her that I am an efterkomme, I am a child of Dorset people who walk... comes from Siberia and down to Greenland and then I start over there from... You should have seen her eyes. And then she suddenly turn around and speak other things. She didn't want to hear the story instead. If I had told her I am so sad about that Greenland is not function and there is many incest and violence and alcohol and all that she has listen and discussed and talk and all that.

Interview 4:

Today, whenever I go out shopping, there are a lot of Danish women workers who has an eye on me. I have never stolen anything, (only when I was 4 years old and tried to take 20kr (approx. 2,9USD) from my mother's purse and my ass got whopped. Today, just by thinking about stealing things makes me curl up to one big anxiety ball, still, because of my appearance, because I look Greenlandic, they are paranoid of letting me in to stores, because they are sure that I am going to steal.

Interview 5:

And I got into a conversation with this guy and it was just because I wanted to clear some historical facts up for him and we ended up having quite the argument and he was so condescending... he was like "Did you even know about Netflix before a few years ago?". And I was like, "No, did you?". Like, Netflix only been around for like a few years, so like calm down bitch. Like we have Tinder if you're really interested. He was just like, cause he kept going on and on about how they were more technologically advanced and I was like... in what way? Like tell me what way? This is a true fact, our internet is not the best, you might have experienced this already. And that was like his main point, like you don't have proper internet and I was like but here in Nuuk we kinda do. And that was his main point, he kept going on and on and on about the internet and I was like...okay but other than the fact... we do have internet...so it's not like.... We're not in the Stone Age here, what is your point? And he kept going on about these different apps he thought we might not have and I was like... is that your measurement.... Do they have Netflix? Are they civilized? You know? It was...it was just like...you're so off man. And that was, yeah that was, that was.. That's like...he represents a certain way of thinking where they really... it's only...they have this mental image of a Greenlandic person dressed in seal fur with a ulu or a harpoon in their hand you know out in the middle of the snow clad land and sometimes trying to insist on that not being our everyday image anymore can be quite off putting to them I think. And it does makes some people quite aggressive, like disappointed in a way. And also disappointed that their ideas of what a Greenlandic person is, didn't hold up and disappointed in the fact that maybe they are not as advanced as they wanted to be.

Whereas, it was, it was very obvious to me that when I talk about Greenland, people again had that Knud Rasmussen image of me, that was...that was weird.

One person who I interviewed also discusses having Danish people make assumptions about their kids and friends based on their appearances. According to these Danes, Kalaallit people are not Indigenous unless they look like how those Danes expect them to. The interviewee had multiple experiences where their relationship to their children was questioned because the Danes assumed they did not look related.

Interview 3:

I have some friends from when we are going to Nyborg Gymnasium who also come from Greenland the other was just... she was not brown hair she has light brown and white hair... We are speak sometimes about how to be from Greenland and all that and she said that, and she is educated, she said... that instead she was not looking as Greenlandish, when people hear she was from Greenland they “ohhh, it is therefore you are like that” and she is very tired about all that. And my children, [name redacted] and [name redacted], is white haired. [Name redacted] was a little just with white hair when she was little. I was out buying things with her and then a man stopped me and said “ why are you going with this girl?” And then I look at him and said “why are you asking”... who is... where is she’s parents... it is me who is she’s mom. “Oh no you cannot be her mom” And then I thought what in the world? I can tell many stories about experiences like that.

Trump and the USA

Trump’s Offer to Buy Kalaallit Nunaat

When asked about President Donald Trump’s offer to buy Kalaallit Nunaat from Denmark, many of the people who I interviewed express that they feel like it was ridiculous for him to make such a proposition, that it was not Denmark who he should have asked. His offer reinforced the colonial relationship between Denmark and Kalaallit Nunaat, emphasizing the assumption that Denmark still owns Kalaallit Nunaat and has the power to sell it as a colonial possession.

Interview 1:

In general, I think Trump’s comments about Greenland mostly says something about how he thinks he can buy people and that the U.S. government thinks that they control the world in a way, that makes these comments okay. I think the comments are disgraceful and disrespectful to both Greenland and mostly the Greenlandic people. When Trump comments to buy a country, it shows that he has no respect for the Greenlandic people and thinks it’s still colonized people he can trade.

Interview 2:

But Trump cannot buy it like that. No thanks for him because we already have a Danish word and also English, but I think when he bought Greenland people would be like... they’re not gonna know... I mean Greenlandic will maybe disappear. I didn’t know.

Interview 4:

When I first read the article on Facebook, my immediate thought was "This has to be a joke." it was ridiculous to read that our country, the biggest island on earth, wanted to be bought by U.S. president. After the mild chok, I felt afraid... "what if US really buys Greenland?". I know that colonization would probably be different for us Greenlanders than Inuits colonization, but it's still a scary thought. We (Greenlanders) has already gone through colonization from Norse back in 10th century and recently the Danish colonization which started in the late 18th century. What kind of colonization would we be facing if we went through third colonization? Complete destruction of our Greenlandic identity?

Interview 7:

That it has a strategic agenda of military, and that he must have seen potentials of natural resources in Greenland, and North Pole. I think it was a very diplomatic answer and response given by Denmark and an "of course" because we are a Realm, protected under the same constitution.

Interview 8:

Donald Trump trying to buy Greenland was absurd

Interview 9:

It's very American. The United States has bought many countries - several states bordering Mexico and Alaska have been bought by Russia, besides the United States has bought various colonies. So the idea of buying land is no stranger to Americans. For the Greenlandic population, the idea is foreign. One cannot buy land in Inuit native lands. You can do that in the US and Canada now, but you can't in Greenland. The whole country belongs to the entire population and is available to everyone. In a modern society, of course, there must be some legislation on rights of use and concessions. But in principle, Greenland is jointly owned by its population. Of course, you can't buy Greenland. Another thing is that you can negotiate, for example, Self-government within the state - or freer association system between states. After all, the United States is made up of many independent states, just as the EU is made up of independent states. There are many political ways to be partners. I think Trump's attempt was clumsy and not very diplomatic, absurd as the Danish Prime Minister replied.

The interviewees have mixed reactions to Denmark's response to President Donald Trump's offer to buy Kalaallit Nunaat. While some disliked Danish Prime Minister Mette Frederiksen's response to the president, the majority are excited that she pointed out that Kalaallit Nunaat did not belong to Denmark, but to the Kalaallit people. Frederiksen, when asked for a response to Trump, stated, "Greenland is not for sale. Greenland is not Danish. Greenland belongs to Greenland. I strongly hope that this is not meant seriously" (CNBC, n.d.).

Interview 4:

My feelings about Denmark's response was excitement, why break a bond that's finally taking shape, but we also have autonomy. The status of international law as one's own people is a condition of international law for possible detachment and new state formation. So, if Denmark wanted to sell Greenland to US, Naalakkersuisut (Government of Greenland) have to say 100% YES first, so Trump wanted to ask the wrong country (Denmark) to purchase Greenland. It's Greenland he needs to ask.

Interview 5:

I was very pleased actually. I think, Mette, our, the prime minister, she handled it well by responding that we don't like, she responded twice. The first time she was like, "These are people on their own, we couldn't solve them even if we wanted to. Like this is not a negotiation point, we cannot, these are people, they are self-governed, talk to them". And the second time she called the whole thing ludicrous or something like that. Which of course ticked the great president off in a really wonderful fashion. I love whenever he gets really pissed off. And then he didn't want to visit them anymore. Like so I was actually pleasantly surprised by her response because she acknowledge the fact that we are self-governed people.

Interview 8:

Donald Trump trying to buy Greenland was absurd, so was the Danish reactions that was more about keeping the colony as it is (Status Quo) than about the people of Kalaallit Nunaat.

Interview 9:

I agree with the Danish Prime Minister's response and the Greenlandic President's response.

Possibilities

Native Too
By Billy-Ray Belcourt

he was native too
so i slept with him.
i wanted to taste
a history of violence
caught in the roof of his mouth.
i wanted our saliva to mix
and create new bacterial ecologies:
contagions that could infect
the trauma away.
i wanted to smell his ancestors
in his armpits:
the aroma of their decaying flesh,
how they refuse to wilt into nothingness.
i wanted to touch his brown skin
to create a new kind of friction
capacious enough
for other worlds to emerge
in our colliding.
i wanted our tongues
to sketch a different tomorrow:
one in which we might know how to love better,
again.
i wanted him to fuck me,
so i could finally begin
to heal.

As I conclude this project, I am left asking the questions: *Was this research beneficial to the communities I worked with? Will it have any effect on Danish acknowledgement of its colonial relationship with Kalaallit Nunaat?*

When I first started interviewing people in Kalaallit Nunaat and writing my chapters, my goal was to bring light to the lived experiences of the Kalaallit people, raising their voices in order to uncover and create dialogue around Denmark's colonial past and break down its exceptionalist façade. I did this with the hope that my project would create space for the voices of Indigenous peoples, rather than those of white, ethnic Danes, stressing the importance of not forgetting about their colonial entanglements, past and present. There is power in remembering, power in reclaiming history. I am grateful I was guided by the words of the Kalaallit people, who this project would not have been possible without.

I first give readers an outline and history of all theoretical perspectives I considered in my research and analysis process, giving my reasoning for not using postcolonial theory and my perceptions of theory as a whole, while describing anti-colonial theory, decolonizing theory, and Indigenous theory. Aspects of all three theories were used in making sense of my interviews and analyzing the meanings behind them.

With this in mind, I outline several versions of Kalaallit Nunaat's pre-colonial and colonial histories, giving readers the western perspective of Kalaallit history, as well as the Kalaallit creation story in order to show how community knowledge and concepts of history can contradict each other. I acknowledge that the majority of what I include is a western version of Kalaallit Nunaat's history. I wanted to give more weight to a history that the Kalaallit told, but struggled to find resources, both in English and in general. Often, western knowledge is privileged above those of others, especially people of color, in academia.

I go on to focus on concepts of Danish nationalism and exceptionalism, with the purpose of deciphering Denmark's relationship with Kalaallit Nunaat and its lack of acknowledgement of its colonial wrongdoings. I have experienced Danish exceptionalism first-hand, like many Danes I was raised to practically bleed red and white. When applied to its colonial ties, Denmark's intense nationalism and exceptionalism gives context to its interactions with Kalaallit Nunaat.

Nationalistic sentiments often involve the use of language and schooling as a tool of colonialism by many western powers. In colonial relationships, Indigenous languages are often pushed aside in favor of colonizer languages, with the former intentionally discouraged and erased. This process allows colonizers to disrupt Indigenous relationships and cultural traditions; a step in trying to bend them to fit colonial molds and destroy Indigenous life. Schools are a key part of putting this violence in motion, with colonial indoctrination and forced prioritization of colonizer languages.

I then discuss the methods and methodological frameworks used when conducting my interviews and analyzing the interviewee responses. I started by describing Walter and Andersen's work on the differences between methods and methodology, followed by a clear outline of the steps I took while recruiting and interviewing participants in Kalaallit Nunaat. I then described my methods for analyzing my nine interviews using NVivo, a qualitative data analysis software, and producing narratives from that data.

Finally, I analyzed my interviews based on eleven key themes: Kalaallit identity, cultural comparisons between Kalaallit Nunaat and Denmark, pre-colonial history, colonial history, school and teaching, positive Danish sentiments, negative Danish sentiments, generational differences, hegemonic differences, xenophobia and stereotyping, and Trump and the USA.

Along with historical context, this analysis provided me a better understanding of Kalaallit lived experiences with Danish imperialism and colonialism.

Growing up Danish, I never questioned Denmark's ties to its colonies, particularly Kalaallit Nunaat. When I reflect on why, I can think of a few reasons. I did not grow up in Denmark and did not learn a great deal about Danish history until I embarked on this research journey. I was always taught and validated in my opinion that Denmark was the ideal for western countries and that it did not have the same sort of colonial history as England, the United States, the Netherlands, etc. But most importantly, a key part of all western forms of colonialism is forgetting. Forgetting about whose land you live on. Forgetting violence. Forgetting people. The Danish kingdom's lack of acknowledgement of its colonial entanglements is no mistake, nor is it innocent. It is a colonial tool of erasure that aims to shed blame for its actions, an extreme version of Tuck and Yang's settler move to innocence (Tuck and Yang 2012). It was not until I spent a significant time in Denmark, during my junior year of college, that I fully realized how warped my understanding of the Danish government was and started questioning the structures behind it. While this thesis is absolutely not an answer to the distorted colonial history that the Danish government preaches, I hope it will give some clarity. We must never forget.

Bibliography

- Achebe, Chinua. 1997. "English and the African writer." *Transition* 75/76: 75-349. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Alcoff, Linda Martín. 1991-92. "The problem of speaking for others." *Cultural Critique* 20 (Winter): 5-32.
- Anderson, Benedict R. O'G. 1999. *Imagined Communities: Reflections On the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Rev. and extended ed. London; New York: Verso.
- Ashcroft, Bill, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin. 1989. *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and practice in post-colonial literatures*. London: Routledge.
- Bahri, Deepika. 1996. "Coming to Terms with the 'Postcolonial'." In *Between the Lines: South Asians and Postcoloniality*, edited by Deepika Bahri and Mary Vasudeva, 137-164. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Barrington, Lowell W. 2006. *After Independence: Making and Protecting the Nation in Post-colonial and Post-Communist States*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.
- Belcourt, Billy-Ray. 2017. *This Wound is a World*. Calgary: Frontenac House.
- Bernstein, Basil. 1973. *Class, Codes, and Control*. Boulder: Paladin Press.
- Beukel, Erik, Frede P. Jensen, and Jens Elo Rytter. 2010. *Phasing Out the Colonial Status of Greenland, 1945-54: A Historical Study*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press.
- Bhabha, Homi K. 1985. "Signs Taken for Wonders." In *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*, edited by Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, 29-35. London: Routledge.
- Bhabha, Homi K. 1994. *The location of culture*. London: Routledge.
- Bhatt, Sujata. 1986. "Search For My Tongue." In *Brunizem*, edited by Sujata Bhatt. Manchester: Carcanet Press.
- Biko, Steve. 1981. "Black Consciousness and the quest for a true humanity." *Ufahamu: A Journal of African Studies* 11(1): 133-142.
- Birkhold, Matthew H. 2019. "A Brief History of the Indignities Heaped Upon Greenland." *New York Times*, August 23, 2019. <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/08/22/opinion/trump-greenland-denmark.html>
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1991. *Language and symbolic power*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Cambridge.

Braun, Victoria and Victoria Clarke. 2006. "Using thematic analysis in psychology". In *Qualitative Research in Psychology* 3(2), edited by Victoria Braun and Victoria Clarke, 77-101. ISS.

Bunda, Tracey, Lew Zipin, and Marie Brennan. 2012. "Negotiating university 'equity' from Indigenous standpoints: a shaky bridge." *International Journal of Inclusive Education* 16(9): 941-951.

Butler, Judith. 2004. *Precarious Life: The Powers of Mourning and Violence*. London; New York: Verso.

Calderon, Dolores. 2014. "Anticolonial Methodologies in Education: Embodying Land and Indigeneity in Chicana Feminisms." *Journal of Latino-Latin American Studies* 6(2): 81-96.

Carlson, Elizabeth. 2016. "Anti-colonial methodologies and practices for settler colonial studies." *Settler Colonial Studies*: 1-22.

Césaire, Aimé. 2000. *Discourse on Colonialism*. Translated by Joan Pinkham. New York: Monthly Review Press.

Chambers, Donna and Christine Buzinde. 2015. "Tourism and decolonisation: Locating research and self." *Annals of Tourism Research* 51: 1-16.

Champagne, Duane. 1998. "American Indian Studies is for Everyone." In *Natives and Academics: Researching and Writing about American Indians*, edited by Devon A. Mihesuah, 181-189. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Champagne, Duane. 2010. "The Indigenous Peoples' Movement: Theory, Policy, and Practice." *Kalfou: A Journal of Comparative & Relational Ethnic Studies* 1:1(Spring): 77-93.

Coburn, Elaine, Aileen Moreton-Robinson, George Sefa Dei, and Makere Stewart-Harawira. 2013. "'Unspeakable Things': Indigenous Research and Social Science." *Socio* 2: 331-347.

Cook-Lynn, Elizabeth. 1996. "Intellectualism and the new Indian story." In *Nation and academics: Research and writing about American Indians*, edited by Devon A. Mihesuah, 111-138. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Cook-Lynn, Elisabeth. 1997. "Who Stole Native American Studies." *Wicazo Sa Review* 12 (1): 9-28.

Cooper, Frederick. 2014. *Citizenship between Empire and Nation: Remaking France and French Africa, 1945-1960*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Coulthard, Glen. 2007. "Subjects of empire: Indigenous peoples and the 'politics of recognition' in Canada." *Contemporary Political Theory* 6:437-460.

Coulthard, Glen. 2016. *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

CNBC. 2019. ““Greenland belongs to Greenland’: Denmark says selling world’s largest island to US is absurd,”. Accessed March 27, 2020. <https://www.cnbc.com/2019/08/18/greenland-belongs-to-greenland-denmark-says-selling-worlds-largest-island-to-us-is-absurd.html>.

Davidson, Robert M. and Antonio Díaz Andrade. 2018. “Promoting Indigenous theory”. In *Information Systems Journal* 28(5): 759-764.

Dei, George J.S. 2000. “Rethinking the Role of Indigenous Knowledges in the Academy.” *International Journal of Inclusive Education* 4(2): 5-24.

Dei, George J.S. and Alireza Asgharzadeh. 2001. “The Power of Social Theory: The Anticolonial Discursive Framework.” *Journal of Educational Thought* 35(3): 297-323.

Dei, George J.S. and Arlo Kempf. 2006. *Anti-colonialism and education: The politics of resistance*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishing.

Dei, George J.S. 2006. “Mapping the Terrain--Towards a New Politics of Resistance.” In *Anti-colonialism and Education: The Politics of Resistance*, edited by Arlo Kempf and George J.S. Dei, 1-23. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

Dei, George J.S. and Meredith Lordan. 2016. “Introduction: Envisioning New Meanings, Memories, and Actions for Anti-Colonial Theory and Decolonial Praxis.” In *Anti-Colonial Theory and Decolonial Praxis*, edited by George J.S. Dei and Meredith Lordan, vii-xxi. New York: Peter Lang Inc., International Academic Publishers.

Dei, George J.S. and Meredith Lordan. 2016. *Anti-Colonial Theory and Decolonial Praxis*. New York: Peter Lang Inc., International Academic Publishers.

Dei, George J.S. 2016. *Reframing blackness, antiblackness, and black solidarity through anti-colonial and decolonial prisms*. New York: Springer

Denzin, Norman K., Yvonna S. Lincoln, and Linda Tuhiwai Smith. 2008. *Handbook of critical and Indigenous methodologies*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc.

Diaz, Natalie. 2012. “Abecedarian Requiring Further Examination of Anglikan Seraphym Subjugation.” In *When My Brother Was an Aztec*, edited by Natalie Diaz. Port Townsend: Copper Canyon Press.

Dirlik, Arif. 1994. “The postcolonial aura. Third World criticism in the age of global capitalism.” *Critical Inquiry* 20(2): 328-356.

Driskill, Qwo-Li. 2010. "Doubleweaving Two-Spirit Critiques: Building Alliances between Native and Queer Studies." *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 16(1-2):69-92.

Ebert, Teresa. 1995. "Political Resistance (post)modernism." *Legal Studies Forum* 15(4): 291-303.

Ebert, Teresa. 1992. "Ludic Feminism, the Body, Performance, and Labor: Bringing Materialism Back into Feminist Cultural Studies." *Cultural Critique* 23: 12-17.

Egede, Hans. 1925. "Relationer fra Grønland 1721-36." In *Meddelser om Grønland*, edited by L. Bobé, 114-115. Copenhagen: Bianco Lunos bogtrykkeri.

Egede, Paul. 1988. "Efterretninger om Grønland uddragne af en journal holden fra 1721 til 1788." In *Det Grønlandske Selskabs skrifter*, edited by M. Lidegaard. Copenhagen: Det Grønlandske Selskabs.

Fanon, Frantz. 1967. *Black skin white masks*. New York: Grove Press.

Fanon, Frantz. 1961. *The Wretched of the Earth*. New York: Grove Press.

Fobear, Katherine. 2016. "Do You Understand? Unsettling Interpretative Authority in Feminist Oral History." *Journal of Feminist Scholarship* 10(10):61-77.

Foley, Dennis. 2003. "Indigenous Epistemology and Indigenous Standpoint Theory." *Social Alternatives* 22(1): 44-52.

Fraser, Heather and Michele Jarldorn. 2015. "Narrative Research and Resistance: A Cautionary Tale." In *Research as Resistance: Revisiting Critical, Indigenous, and Anti-Oppressive Approaches*, edited by Susan Strega and Leslie Brown, 153-175. Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press.

Freire, Paolo. 2000. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. New York: Continuum.

Gad, Finn. 1971. *The History of Greenland*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

García, Alesia. 1995. "Politics and Indigenous Theory in Leslie Marmon Silko's 'Yellow Woman' and Sandra Cisneros' 'Woman Hollering Creek'". In *Folklore, Literature, and Cultural Theory*, edited by Cathy Lynn Preston. New York: Routledge.

Gegeo, David Welchman and Karen Ann Watson-Gegeo. 2001. "'How We Know': Kwara'ae Rural Villagers Doing Indigenous Epistemology." *The Contemporary Pacific* 13(1): 55-88.

Geiger, William A. 2017. "From the Logic of Elimination to the Logic of the Gift: Towards a Decolonial Theory of Tlingit Language Revitalization." *Open Linguistics*: 219-235.

Geological Survey of Denmark and Greenland. "The land of the 'icefjord people.'" Accessed May 7, 2020. <https://eng.geus.dk/explore-geology/learning-about-geology/explore-ilulissat-icefjord/the-land-of-the-icefjord-people/>

Grande, Sandy. 2004. *Red Pedagogy: Native American Social and Political Thought*. Ithaca: Rowman and Littlefield.

Green, Rayna. 1990. "American Indian Women: Diverse Leadership for Social Change." In *Bridges of Power: Women's Multicultural Alliances*, edited by Lisa Albrecht and Rose M. Brewer. Gabriola: New Society Pub.

Grøndlandskommissionens Betænkning bind 3 Skolevæsenet. 1950. Copenhagen: Kirken og andre kulturelle forhold.

Grosfoguel, Ramon. 2007. "The epistemic decolonial turn." *Cultural Studies* 21(2-3): 211-223.

Gynther, Bent, Aase Segal and Trevor Lloyd. 1980. *The Use of Greenlandic and Danish in Greenland Schools 1950-1978*. Copenhagen: ACUNS: Department of Indian and Northern Affairs.

Hart, Michael. 2009. "Anti-Colonial Indigenous Social Work: Reflections on an Aboriginal Approach." In *Wicihitowin: Aboriginal social work in Canada*, edited by Gord Bruyere, 25-41. Toronto: Brunswick Books.

Hayes, Carlton J. H. 1968. *The historical evolution of modern nationalism*. New York: Russell & Russell.

hooks, bell. 1994. *Teaching to Transgress: Education as the Practice of Freedom*. New York: Routledge Press.

hooks, bell. 2000. *Feminism is for Everybody: Passionate Politics*. Boston: South End Press.

Hunt, Sara. 2013. "Ontologies of Indigeneity: the politics of embodying a concept." *Cultural Geographies* 21(2):1-6.

Jagire, Jennifer. 2013. "Indigenous African Knowledges and African Feminism: Resisting Eurocentric Ways of Knowing." In *Ruptures: Anti-colonial and Anti-racist Feminist Theorizing*, edited by Zahra Murad and Jennifer Jagire, 77-89. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

Jaimungal, Cristina. "A Race to Whiteness: Revealing the Colonial Structure of English Language Education--What Kind of Education for All?" In *Anti-Colonial Theory and Decolonial Praxis*, edited by George J.S. Dei and Meredith Lordan, 69-83. New York: Peter Lang Inc., International Academic Publishers.

James, C.L.R. 1938. *The Black Jacobins*. New York: Vintage Books

Jones, Alison, Kuni Jenkins, Norman K. Denzin, Yvonna S. Lincoln, and Linda Tuhiwai Smith. 2008. "Rethinking Collaboration: Working the Indigenous-Colonizer Hyphen." In *Handbook of Critical and Indigenous Methodologies*, edited by Norman K. Denzin, Yvonna S. Lincoln, 473-480. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc.

JanMohamed, Abdul R, and David Lloyd. 1987. "Introduction: Toward a Theory of Minority Discourses." *Cultural Critique* 6: 5-12.

Jary, David and Julia Jary. 1996. *Collins dictionary sociology*. New York: Harper Collins.

Jensen, Lars. 2012. "Danishness as Whiteness in Crisis: Emerging Post-Imperial and Development Aid Anxieties." In *Whiteness and Postcolonialism in the Nordic Region: Exceptionalism, Migrant Others and National Identity*, edited by Kristín Loftsdóttir and Lars Jensen, 105-117. Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company.

Kempf, Arlo. 2009. "Contemporary Anticolonialism: A Transhistorical Perspective." In *Breaching the Colonial Contract: Anticolonialism in the U.S. and Canada*, edited by Arlo Kempf, 15-20. New York: Springer Publishing.

Killsback, Leo. 2013. "Indigenous Perceptions of Time: Decolonizing theory, World History, and the Fates of Human Societies." *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 37(1):125-156.

Kovach, Margaret. 2009. *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Krauss, Michael E. 1980. *Alaska Native Languages: Past, Present, and Future*. Fairbanks: Native Language Center Research Papers.

Kwaymullina, Ambelin. 2017. "Indigenous standpoints, Indigenous stories, Indigenous futures: narrative from an Indigenous standpoint in the twenty-first century and beyond." PhD diss., University of Western Australia.

Lawrence, Bonita. 1999. *'Real' Indians and others: Mixed-blood urban Native peoples, the Indian Act, and the rebuilding of Indigenous Nations*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Lawrence, Bonita and Enakshi Dua. 2005. "Decolonizing antiracism." *Social Justice* 32(4): 120-143.

Lee, Christopher J. 2018. "Chapter 23: Anti-Colonialism: Origins, Practices, and Historical Legacies." *The Oxford Handbook of the Ends of Empire*, edited by, Martin Thomas and Andrew Thompson, 436-452. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lewis, Adam Gary. 2012. "Ethics, Activism, and the Anti-Colonial: Social Movement Research as Resistance." *Social Movement Studies* 11(2): 227-240.

- Loftsdóttir, Kristín and Lars Jensen. 2012. "Nordic Exceptionalism and the Nordic 'Others'." In *Whiteness and Postcolonialism in the Nordic Region: Exceptionalism, Migrant Others and National Identity*, edited by Kristín Loftsdóttir and Lars Jensen, 1-11. Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company.
- Loomba, Ania. 1998. "Challenging colonialism." In *Colonialism/post-colonialism: The New Critical Idiom*, edited by Ania Loomba, 184-258. New York: Routledge.
- Lorde, Audre. 1983. "The Master's tools will never dismantle the Master's house." In *This bridge called my back: Writings by radical women of color*, edited by Gloria Anzaldúa and Cherrie Moraga, 98-10. London: Persephone Books.
- Lund, Hennings Jakob Henrik Lund and Jonathan Petersen. 1916. "You Our Ancient Land." Accessed March 7, 2020. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nunarput_utoqqarsuanngoravit
- Lyons, Scott. 2010. *X-marks: Native Signatures of Assent*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Majid, Anouar. 1996. "Can the postcolonial critic speak? Orientalism and the Rushdie affair." *Cultural Critique* 32: 5-42.
- Maldonado-Torres, Nelson. 2007. "On Coloniality of Being, Contributions to the Development of a Concept." *Cultural Studies* 21(2): 240-270.
- Maldonado-Torres, Nelson. 2007. "On Coloniality of Being, Contributions to the Development of a Concept." *Cultural Studies* 21(2): 240-270.
- Maldonado-Torres, Nelson. 2011. "Thinking through a decolonial turn: Post-continual interventions in theory, philosophy and critique-an introduction." *Transmodernity* 1(2).
- Mayuzumi, Kimine. 2009. "Unfolding Possibilities through a decolonizing project: Indigenous knowledges and rural Japanese women." *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*: 507-526.
- McClintock, Anne. 1992. "The Angel of Progress: Pitfalls of the term post-colonialism." *Social Text*: 84-98.
- Memmi, Albert. 1969. *The Colonizer and the Colonized*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary. 2013. "Decolonization." Accessed March 7, 2020. <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/decolonization>.
- Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary. 2004. "Research." Accessed March 7, 2020. <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/research>.
- Merton, Robert. 1996. *On social structure and science*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Mignolo, Walter and Madina Tlostanova. 2007. "The logic of coloniality and the limits of postcoloniality." In *Post colonial and the global*, edited by Revathi Krishnaswamy and John C. Hawley, 109-123. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota.
- Mignolo, Walter. 2009. "Epistemic disobedience, independent thought and decolonial freedom." *Theory, Culture, & Society* 26(7-8): 159-181.
- Mihesuah, Devon A. 1998. *Natives and Academics: Researching and Writing about American Indians*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Mignolo, Walter. 2010. "Cosmopolitanism and the decolonial option." *Studies in Philosophy and Education* 29: 111-127.
- Mohanty, Chandra Talpade. 2003. *Feminism Without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Moorhouse, Emily. 2016. "Who Needs Hybridity?: An Anti-Colonial, Feminist Theorization of Mixed Race." In *Anti-Colonial Theory and Decolonial Praxis*, edited by George J.S. Dei and Meredith Lordan, 1-17. New York: Peter Lang Inc., International Academic Publishers.
- Moreton-Robinson, Aileen. 2000. *Talkin' up to the white women*. Queensland:University of Queensland Press.
- Mundy, Karen. 2008. "Global politics and local realities in the realization of the universal right to education." In *Power, pedagogy and praxis: Social Justice in the globalized classroom*, edited by Shannon A. Moor and Richard C. Mitchell. London: Routledge.
- Nakata, Martin. 2007. *Disciplining the Savages, Savaging the Disciplines*. Acton:Aboriginal Studies Press.
- Neuman, Scott. 2019. "No Joke: Trump Really Does Want to Buy Greenland." *NPR*, August 19, 2019. <https://www.npr.org/2019/08/19/752274659/no-joke-trump-really-does-want-to-buy-greenland>
- Nietzsche, Friedrich. 1892. *Thus spoke Zarathustra*. London:Penguin.
- Noxolo, Patricia. 2017. "Decolonial theory in a time of the re-colonisation of UK research." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 42(3):342-344.
- Oehlenschläger, Adam. 1819. "There is a lovely land." Accessed March 7, 2020. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Der_er_et_yndigt_land
- Ogbor, John. 2000. "Mythicizing and reification in entrepreneurial discourse: Ideology-critique of entrepreneurial studies." *Journal of Management Studies* 37(5): 605-635.
- Orpingalik. 1995. "Songs Are Thoughts." In *Songs Are Thoughts: Poems of the Inuit*, edited by Philip Neil and Maryclare Foa. London: Orchard Books.

Orwell, George. 1945. *Notes on Nationalism*. London: Magazine of Philosophy, Psychology, and Aesthetics.

Patel, Lisa (Leigh). 2014. "Countering Coloniality in Educational Research: From Ownership to Answerability." *Educational Studies* 50: 357-377.

Petterson, Christina. 2012. "Colonialism, Racism and Exceptionalism." In *Whiteness and Postcolonialism in the Nordic Region: Exceptionalism, Migrant Others and National Identity*, edited by Kristín Loftsdóttir and Lars Jensen, 29-41. Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company.

Phillipson, Robert. 2008. "The linguistic imperialism of the neoliberal empire." *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies* 51(1): 1-43.

Pihama, Leonie. 2005. "Asserting Indigenous Theories of Change." In *Sovereignty Matters: Locations of Contestation and Possibility in Indigenous Struggles for Self-Determination*, edited by Joanne Barker, 191-209. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Pillai, Poonam. 1996. "Feminism and the Problem of Epistemic Displacement: Reconstructing Indigenous Theories." *Genders* 24: *On Your Left: The New Historical Materialism*, edited by Ann Kibbey, Thomas Foster, Carol Siegel, and Ellen Barry, 206-247. New York: New York University Press.

Poole, Ross. 1999. *Nation and Identity*. London: Routledge.

Porsanger, Jelena. 2004. "An Essay About Indigenous Methodology." *Nordlit* 8(1):105-120.

Powell, Malea. 2012. "2012 CCCC Chair's Address, Stories Take Place: A Performance in One Act." *CCC* 64(2): 383-406.

Rasmussen, Knud. 1921. "The Coming of Men, A Long, Long While Ago." In *Esk*mo Folk Tales*, edited by Knud Rasmussen and W. J. Alexander Worster. London; Copenhagen; Christiana: Gyldendal.

Riessman, Catherine Kohler. 1993. *Narrative analysis*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Rhoads, Roland E. 2009. "Learning from students as agents of social change: toward an emancipatory vision of the university." *Journal of Change Management* 9(3): 309-322.

Richards, Ivor Armstrong. 1968. *So Much Nearer: Essays Towards a World English*. San Diego: Harcourt, Brace & World.

Rigney, Lester-Irabinna. 1997. "Internalisation of an Indigenous anti-colonial cultural critique of research methodologies. A guide to Indigenous research methodologies and its principles." *Journal of American Studies* 14(2):109-122.

- Rigney, Lester-Irabinna. 1999. "Internationalization of an Indigenous anticolonial cultural critique of research methodologies." *Wicazo Sa Review* 14(2).
- Rivera Cusicanqui, Silvia. 2012. "Ch'ixinakax utxiwa: a reflection on the practices and discourses of decolonization." *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 111: 95-109.
- Rogers, Linda J. and Beth Blue Swadener. 1999. "Reflections on the future work on anthropology and education: Reframing the field." *Anthropology and Education Quarterly* 30: 432-440.
- Rud, Søren and ProQuest (Firm). 2017. *Colonialism in Greenland: Tradition, Governance and Legacy*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Said, Edward. 1978. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Samarbejdsproblemer mellem grønlændere og danskere i Vestgrønland. 1963. Copenhagen: Udvalget for samfundsforskning i Grønland.
- Sargent, Margaret, Pam Nilan, and Gabriele Winter. 1997. *The new sociology for Australians*. London: Longman Publishing.
- Scott, David. 2004. *Conscripts of Modernity: The Tragedy of Colonial Enlightenment*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Sexton, Jared. 2010. "People-of-colour-blindness: Notes on the afterlife of slavery." *Social Text*: 31-56.
- Shohat, Ella. 1992. "Notes on postcolonial." *Social Text*: 99-113.
- Simpson, Leanne. 2004. "Anticolonial strategies for the Recovery and Maintenance of Indigenous Knowledge." *American Indian Quarterly* 28(3-4): 381.
- Skole-og undervisningsplan for den grønlandske børneskole. 1951. Copenhagen: Skoledirektionen i Grønland.
- Smith, Dorothy. 1974. "Women's experience as a radical critique of sociology." In *The conceptual practices of power: A feminist sociology of knowledge*, edited by Dorothy E. Smith. Boston: Northeastern University Press.
- Sonne, Birgitte. 2017. *Worldviews of the Greenlanders: An Inuit Arctic Perspective*. Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press.
- Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. 1988. *Can the subaltern speak? Reflections on the history of an idea*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Stanfield, John H. 1994. "Ethnic modeling in qualitative research. In *Handbook of qualitative inquiry*, edited by Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln, 175-188. Champaign: University of Illinois, Champaign.

Strega, Susan and Linda Brown. 2015. *Research as Resistance: Revisiting Critical, Indigenous, and Anti-Oppressive Approaches*. Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press.

Swadener, Beth Blue and Kagenda Matua. 2008. "Decolonizing performances: Deconstructing the global postcolonial." In *Handbook of critical and Indigenous methodologies*, edited by Norman K. Denzin, Yvonna S. Lincoln, and Linda Tuhiwai Smith, 31-44. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.

Powell, Malea, Daisy Levy, Andrea Riley Mukavetz, Marilee Brooks-Gillies, Maria Novotny, and Jennifer Fisch-Ferguson. 2014. "Our Story Begins here: Constellating Cultural Rhetorics." *enculturation: a journal of rhetoric, writing, and culture* 25.

Thisted, Kirsten. 2008. "Hvor Dannebrog engang har vajat i mer end 200 Aar": Banal nationalisme, narrative skabeloner og postkolonial melankoli i skildringen af de danske tropekolonier." *Tranquebar Initiativets Skriftserie* 2: 1-51. Copenhagen: Nationalmuseet.

Thomsen, Hanne. 1998. "Ægte grønlændere og nye grønlændere--om forskellige opfattelser af grønlandskhed." Copenhagen: *Den jyske historiker*.

Tlostanova, Madina and Walter Mignolo. 2009. "Global coloniality and the decolonial option." *Kult* 6:130-147.

Todd, Zoe. 2016. "An Indigenous feminist's take on the ontological turn: 'ontology is just another word for colonialism.'" *Journal of Historical Sociology* 29: 4-22.

Tokawa, Kenji Haakon. 2013. "December 6th". In *Ruptures: Anti-colonial and Anti-racist Feminist Theorizing*, edited by Zahra Murad and Jennifer Jagire, 127-128. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

Toland, John. 1992. *Adolf Hitler*. New York: Anchor Books.

Tuhiwai Smith, Linda. 1999. *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and Indigenous people*. London: Zed Books.

Tuck, Eve and K. Wayne Yang. 2012. "Decolonization is not a metaphor." *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education and Society*: 1-40.

Tuck, Eve and Rubén A. Gaztambide-Fernández. 2013. "Curriculum, Replacement, and Settler Futurity." *Journal of Curriculum Theorizing* 29(1): 72-89.

Uvavnuuk. "The great sea has set me in motion". 2011. In *The Enlightened Heart: An Anthology of Sacred Poetry*, edited by Stephen Mitchell. New York: Harper Collins.

Walter, Maggie and Chris Andersen. 2013. "Chapter 2: Conceptualizing Quantitative Methodologies." In *Indigenous Statistics: A Quantitative Research Methodology*, edited by Maggie Walter and Chris Andersen, 41-57. Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, Inc.

Walter, Maggie and Chris Andersen. 2013. "Chapter 3: The Paradigm of Indigenous Methodologies." In *Indigenous Statistics: A Quantitative Research Methodology*, edited by Maggie Walter and Chris Andersen, 41-57. Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, Inc.

wa Thiang'o, Ngugi. 1994. *Decolonising the mind: The politics of language in African literature*. Nairobi: East African Publishers.

Westerman, Gwen Nell. 2019. "Theory Doesn't Live Here." Accessed March 7, 2020. <https://www.peabody.harvard.edu/native-american-poets-playlist>

Wilder, Gary. 2015. *Freedom Time: Negritude, Decolonization, and the Future of the World*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Wolfe, Patrick. 2006. "Settler colonialism and the elimination of the native." *Journal of Genocide Research* 8(4): 387-409.

Wynter, Sylvia. 2003. "Unsettling the Coloniality of Being/Power/Truth/Freedom: Towards the Human, After Man, Its Overrepresentation--An Argument." *Centennial Review* 3: 257-337.

Zimmerman, Andrew. 2018. "Guinea Sam Nightingale and Magic Marx in Civil War Missouri: Provincializing Global History and Decolonizing Theory." *History of the Present: A Journal of Critical History*: 114-145.

Žižek, Slavoj. 2008. *Violence: Six Sideways Reflections*. New York: Picador.

Appendices

Appendix A: Informed Consent Forms Interviews

Title of the Study: The Construction of Idealistic Nationalism: A Critique of Danish Imperialist Shame and Ongoing Colonialism in Greenland

Researcher Name(s): Sofie Sogaard (ssogaard@bates.edu); faculty advisor Prof. Kristen Barnett (kbarnett@bates.edu)

The general purpose of this research is look into Denmark's ongoing colonization and inequitable treatment of Inuit peoples in Greenland, exploring the foundational reasons behind the nation's lack of transparency when discussing its imperialist past and present, focusing on the construction of idealistic nationalism. Participants in this study will be asked series of general questions pertaining to colonial history, national identity, and the lived experienced, as well as be asked to share personal narratives and stories in relation to Denmark's presence in their lives. Findings from this study will be reported in a senior thesis. Findings may also be published in a scholarly journal or used in national conference presentations. I hereby give my consent to participate in this research study. I acknowledge that the researcher has provided me with:

- An explanation of the study's general purpose and procedure.
- Answers to any questions I have asked about the study procedure.

I understand that:

- My participation in this study will take approximately 1 hour.
- Participation in this research may result in discomfort.
- The potential benefits of this study include raising indigenous voices, bringing national imperialism to the forefront of the Danish conscience, and adding to the field of decolonizing anthropology.
- I will be compensated for participating in this study with \$60 if I am an elder (older than 50) and \$40 if I am not an elder (younger than 50).
- My participation is voluntary, and I may withdraw my consent and discontinue participation in the study at any time. My refusal to participate will not result in any penalty or disadvantage.
- My responses in this study will be kept confidential, to the extent permitted by law. The data will be stored in a secure location: a password protected computer, will be available to my advisor Dr. Kristen Barnett and myself, and research reports will present findings on a group basis, as well as individual participants.

Name (printed): _____

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Appendix B: Debriefing Form

Title of the Studies: The Construction of Idealistic Nationalism: A Critique of Danish Imperialist Shame and Ongoing Colonialism in Greenland

Researcher Name(s): Sofie Sogaard; ssogaard@bates.edu

Thank you for participating in this research study. We are conducting this study to raise indigenous voices and bring national imperialism to the forefront of the Danish conscience. We are researching Denmark's ongoing colonization and inequitable treatment of Inuit peoples in Greenland, exploring the foundational reasons behind the nation's lack of transparency when discussing its imperialist past and present, focusing on the construction of idealistic nationalism. Our main research questions are how has Danish colonialism impacted the lives of Inuit peoples in Greenland, what is Denmark's current and past presence in Greenland, and what are the general feelings toward the Danish state.

While participating in this study, you will be asked a series of general questions pertaining to colonial history, national identity, and lived experience, as well as be asked to share personal narratives and stories in relation to Denmark's presence in their lives. We expect to find that Denmark has an ongoing presence in Greenland and has impacted the lives of Indigenous peoples in Greenland.

If you are interested in learning more about this study, please feel free to ask us questions in person, or contact us using the email address(es) above. If you would like to learn more about the construction of idealistic nationalism or Danish colonization in Greenland, we recommend the following:

Petersen, Robert. "Colonialism as Seen From a Former Colonized Area by Robert Petersen." *Arctic Anthropology* 32, no. 2 (1995): 118-26.

If you have any concerns about your rights as a participant in this study, please contact the Bates College Institutional Review Board (irb@bates.edu).

Thank you again for participating!

Appendix C: Internal Review Board Approval

Bates

Institutional Review Board Approval Form

IRB#: 19-31

Name of Researcher: Sofie Sogaard

Faculty Supervisor (if appropriate): Kristen Barnett, Rebecca Herzig

Title of Research Project:

The Construction of Idealistic Nationalism/The Coloniality of Gender

Type of Institutional Review Board Action:

Chair ☒ Chair-plus ☐ Committee by mail ☐
☐ Committee Meeting (Date: _____)
☐ Consultation with co-chair (Date: _____)

Institutional Review Board Action:

☒ Approval
☐ Approval with the modification indicated below

☐ Disapproval (reasons presented in attached letter)
☐ Exempt (Exemption Category: _____)

Expiration Date: 8/14/20



Todd Kahan

Co-Chair, Institutional Review Board

cc. Loring Danforth co-chair; Helen Boucher, Amy Douglass; Michael Murray, Candace Walworth, MD;
Adilah Muhammad

Appendix D: Interview Questions

1. What does it mean to be Greenlandic?
2. What are your general thoughts/feelings about Denmark, Danes, and “Danishness”?
3. What are the ways that you identify yourself in various settings?
4. How has the presence of Denmark impacted your own life/identity?
5. Did you grow up in Denmark/Kalaallit Nunaat? What do you remember as the most significant part of growing up there/here?
6. Were you formally educated in Denmark/Kalaallit Nunaat? If so, what did you learn in school about Denmark/Greenland?
7. What are your beliefs about Kalaallit Nunaat before the Danish arrived?
8. Do Danish teachings about pre-colonial Kalaallit Nunaat represent your beliefs? How are they similar/different?
9. Has Danish presence in your life changed over time?
10. What are the ways in which Denmark acknowledges the colonial past in Kalaallit Nunaat?
11. Do you feel connected to Denmark, if yes—how so?
12. Are there differences between Greenlandic and Danish ways of being? What are the ways that Inuit life/identity may look different if there was not Danish rule?
13. What are your thoughts about Donald Trump’s comments about buying Kalaallit Nunaat? How do you feel about Denmark’s response?
14. Is there a difference between how older generations feel about Denmark/ Danish colonialism compared with younger generations?

Appendix E: Participant 1 Interview Transcript

What does it mean to be Greenlandic?

In my opinion, it's to be more emotional and connected to your feelings. It's to be more reserved to people you don't know, but more open to the people you do know. To be Greenlandic is to be more humanitarian, caring, and helpful, without expecting anything in return.

What are your general thoughts/feelings about Denmark, Danes, and "Danishness"?

My general thoughts are that many Danes are very prejudiced, have difficulties being connected to their feelings, and in general, think they know what's best. I feel like it can be hard to be Greenlandic in Denmark because so many Danes look down on Greenlandic people. Many Danes expect Greenlandic people to drink too much, not to have a job, and be homeless. I have often overheard Danish people talk down about Greenlandic people and don't care if any are passing their way while they speak their mind. I think that in Denmark, the government has made it okay to speak badly and feel better and smarter and has a hard time believing that people from other countries or other ethnicities can contribute with positive, smart, and helpful points of view. Danishness for many Danes is primarily connected to food and the right to show their body to whoever they want. In the public debate, it's often up for discussion that Danishness is threatened because foreigners who move to Denmark eat less pork, bacon, and drink less, etc. For many Danes, it's equally important to be able to wear as little clothes as they want and have sex with as many as they want without anybody commenting on it negatively.

What are the ways that you identify yourself in various settings?

In most settings I identify myself as Greenlandic, because that's where I see most of my personal qualities being from. I'm proud of my Greenlandic heritage, why it's always a part of me.

How has the presence of Denmark impacted your own life/identity?

It has meant that when I was younger I felt different, wrong, and weird. Because I had different points of view and because I have always been emotional, people have taken advantage of that. Luckily, I have found my way as an adult and don't let people take advantage of me and I don't care if people think that I am weird because I don't do what they do.

Did you grow up in Denmark/Kalaallit Nunaat? What do you remember as the most significant part of growing up there/here?

I grew up in Denmark. One of the most significant things I remember is that if you act like the Danes, they don't refer to you as one with another ethnicity. But if they see you as too different then they often refer to you as a foreigner, and blame the cultural difference.

Were you formally educated in Denmark/Kalaallit Nunaat? If so, what did you learn in school about Denmark/Greenland?

I'm formally educated in Denmark. I did learn that Greenland had been part of Denmark, and that Danish see Greenlanders as equal, but didn't learn how Denmark has removed whole villages because they needed the extra area they lived in or that they forced little children from their families, to live in Denmark and return to Greenland to be role models for how to behave and speak Danish. I didn't learn that the Danes rebuilt Greenland, but with Danish workers who misused Greenlandic women.

What are your beliefs about Kalaallit Nunaat before the Danish arrived?

My belief is that before Denmark arrived, Greenland was a country of nature people who lived and believed in nature as the most sacred. It was a country where they, because of the small population, trusted in each other and needed to.

Do Danish teachings about pre-colonial Kalaallit Nunaat represent your beliefs? How are they similar/different?

Some teachings represent my beliefs, but the difference is that the meaning of many teachings is to make the Greenlandic people seem to be uncivilized and less intelligent because of their pre-colonial living.

Has Danish presence in your life changed over time?

The only thing that has changed is that the prejudice has gotten worse and more outspoken.

What are the ways in which Denmark acknowledges the colonial past in Kalaallit Nunaat?

I don't think that Denmark acknowledges their colonial past on a government level. It's mostly individual people who acknowledge the colonial past.

Do you feel connected to Denmark, if yes—how so?

I feel connected to Denmark in the sense that I grew up there and because I'm fifty percent Danish. I mostly feel connected to the life I live in Denmark and not Denmark itself.

Are there differences between Greenlandic and Danish ways of being? What are the ways that Inuit life/identity may look different if there was not Danish rule?

There are great differences in the Inuit/Danish ways of being. If Denmark hadn't been colonizing Greenland, I still think most would live as before. Closer to nature and without the education there is today. I don't think there would be the same kind of civilization with internet, buildings, etc.

What are your thoughts about Donald Trump's comments about buying Kalaallit Nunaat? How do you feel about Denmark's response?

In general, I think Trump's comments about Greenland mostly says something about how he thinks he can buy people and that the U.S. government thinks that they control the world in a

way, that makes these comments okay. I think the comments are disgraceful and disrespectful to both Greenland and mostly the Greenlandic people. When Trump comments to buy a country, it shows that he has no respect for the Greenlandic people and thinks it's still colonized people he can trade.

Is there a difference between how older generations feel about Denmark/ Danish colonialism compared with younger generations?

I think the older generation who has experienced the colonialism first hand is more opposed of Danish and Denmark. But I can also see that the younger generation now is more aware to put Greenland first and not only obeying Denmark. I think that the minds of the Greenlandic people are getting less and less colonized.

Appendix F: Participant 2 Interview Transcript

What does it mean to be Greenlandic?

I'm proud of that because we have a different language, everybody doesn't really know about it and couldn't learn it that fast. And we speak three languages, like Danish is the second one and the first one is Greenlandic and the third is English.

What are your general thoughts/feelings about Denmark, Danes, and "Danishness"?

I don't think there's something wrong with that, like us, if we don't speak Danish, then we couldn't get any good education or a good job or something like that. Also because our language doesn't, we cannot use it any country so that's a good thing too that we have Danish with us.

What are the ways that you identify yourself in various settings? Do you identify as Greenlandic?

Yeah, yeah I do.

How has the presence of Denmark impacted your own life/identity? How would it be different if Denmark never came?

I'm not against that some people from Denmark is here. But a lot of people here is against that because they want to use the language but I don't have anything against...I don't feel bad. Maybe we will be hunting I mean eating food from here, not from Denmark. I think that life would be really different if we don't have Danish with us. Like we getting fruits from Denmark and everywhere, maybe we wouldn't get them if we just never yeah..

Did you grow up in Denmark/Kalaallit Nunaat? What do you remember as the most significant part of growing up there/here?

I grow up here, but I have been in Denmark many times. I like it there, but not too long. The nature, because we can...also because. It's also because I have friends here. Friendly.

Were you formally educated in Denmark/Kalaallit Nunaat? If so, what did you learn in school about Denmark/Greenland?

Danish people have been... what do you call it...higher up. So it's always been higher up and Greenlandic people will be down. But now, I think it's more like equal. When I was in Denmark, I did not learn about Greenland.

What are your beliefs about Kalaallit Nunaat before the Danish arrived?

Yeah I think it was like they living in igloos, hunting, kayaks.

Do Danish teachings about pre-colonial Kalaallit Nunaat represent your beliefs? How are they similar/different?

I think some of it's true. We are more like other countries. If we don't have Danish people on here, we don't...be like late?

Has Danish presence in your life changed over time?

When I was young there's a lot of Greenlandic people who's against Danish people and they're arguing and fighting but now it's like normal for everything.

What are the ways in which Denmark acknowledges the colonial past in Kalaallit Nunaat?

I heard some people from Greenland, Greenlandic people... Danish people took some of the children from Greenland and took them, used them for experience but they could not go back home, then they're gonna be Denmark forever, And now in the news they talk about it all the time because they never get sorry from Denmark and they want something, someone to say something to them.

Do you feel connected to Denmark, if yes—how so?

Sometimes. Because it's part of Greenland. Like if you're going there, we have a passport. Because I have a family who lives there.

Are there differences between Greenlandic and Danish ways of being? What are the ways that Inuit life/identity may look different if there was not Danish rule?

We are more open. A lot of people laugh all the time with everything. Jokes. Everything. We have a different jokes than Danish people. So when we talk about it and we're laughing they don't think it's funny. So we laugh everything. Maybe if Danish people didn't went here, we couldn't eat here [restaurant interviewing in]. And maybe we never have any computers or cellphones either.

What are your thoughts about Donald Trump's comments about buying Kalaallit Nunaat? How do you feel about Denmark's response?

But Trump cannot buy it like that. No thanks for him because we already have a Danish word and also English, but I think when he bought Greenland people would be like... they're not gonna know... I mean Greenlandic will maybe disappear. I didn't know.

Is there a difference between how older generations feel about Denmark/ Danish colonialism compared with younger generations?

I think younger people like more Danish people and the olders is more like against Danish people than the youngsters. Maybe it's because they have the experience of the time, it's hard for them. It had been like a long time where Greenlandic people didn't like Danish people a lot but now the youngsters it's more equals with Danish people and speak more. I mean here in Nuuk we

Speak more Danish and other cities its more Greenlandic so maybe its more people against Danish people.

Appendix G: Participant 3 Interview Answer

What does it mean to be Greenlandic?

It means a lot to me that I am from Greenland and I have been in live in Denmark for many years now because I choose that I will live in Denmark with my children because I have taken this social worker education and I thought that if I come to Greenland and work as a social worker it will be very hard also for my children because there is small towns and you cannot live in another town and work at this town because the land is so big that it will... you have to fly or sail... you cannot go or cycle or drive in car. And if I thought if I have to work as social worker I have to think about my children also because you can make a decision who make people angry, especially if you work with children, and especially if you criticize parents to not take care of the children well or something like that. And then I thought that...then I choose that I will live in Denmark with so long my children is living at home but after that I also choose to be living in Denmark, but sometimes I think that ohh, maybe it is now i have to go to Greenland and try to work some years as social worker but now I have grandchildren and I will be near by my children to help them or speak to them if there is something or all that. I cannot leave them. Safe. You had a feeling about to be safe in the little town in Greenland. And the different...I remember I have this feeling about to be in Greenland it was to be very safe and as you there was those people and not more else...and you can play and all that. And there was a big freedom in Greenland... yes... it was this feeling about ...there was not so many rules... you cannot take to another town or like that but...there was...those rules in the family eat and sleep and come home before dark and all that.

What are the ways that you identify yourself in various settings?

I have always been proud of being from Greenland. When I was eight years old and come to Greenland I was very pleased and say “ohhh” I remember when we came to the town Paamiut and I think “ohhh wow”. It’s a very nice land and I was very pleased that I was from Greenland. When I come to Denmark, my experience about that was that there was some who didn’t make it when they come to Denmark and sit at the town and drink and haven’t any home and all that and there was many, plenty of people who have this look at people from Greenland that as Flemming told, there was more clever...nej..less clever than Danes and some people said to me sometimes one said “ayy you are not Greenlandic” and I was shocked and said “why? what are you saying?” and then she said “oh you can speak danish, then you are not a Greenlandic”. And I said, “I am Greenlandic”. I think that some feelings and experience in the years especially when I was young was very hard because I have to find my identity and I found out that I will never be a Dane and I will never be a Greenlandish... I’m both. But when people ask me what are you mostly... then I always say I’m Greenlandish... I will never be anything like anything else like a Greenlandish. But I have chose to live in Denmark and sometimes it is very hard to hear all that speak about Greenlandish and Greenland and Greenlandish people because I think that I have lived here so many years and have meet so many people and speak with very much people and have lived in Odense in Fyn in 52 years... no... 25 years in Odense and knowing people who know me very well as mom as friend as employed and as different roles and I have functioned like any else and then I thought that more people would learn about people like me and when they are talk maybe they can tell other stories about Greenland people in Denmark and

Greenland people generally instead of all this tiredness..hearing..." oh they sit and drunk at town and they couldn't find out to live and they couldn't didn't and they couldn't thatn't, but its always the same story also now, but with now some different colors. I have some friends from when we are going to Nyborg Gymnasium who also come from Greenland the other was just... she was not brown hair she has light brown and white hair... We are speak sometimes about how to be from Greenland and all that and she said that, and she is educated, she said... that instead she was not looking as Greenlandish, when people hear she was from Greenland they "ohhh, it is therefore you are like that" and she is very tired about all that. And my children, Sara and Nikoline, is white haired. Sara was a little just with white hair when she was little. I was out buying things with her and then a man stopped me and said " why are you going with this girl?" And then I look at him and said "why are you asking"... who is... where is she's parents... it is me who is she's mom. "Oh no you cannot be her mom" And then I thought what in the world? I can tell many stories about experiences like that.

How has the presence of Denmark impacted your own life/identity?

I have had a dream when I was a teenager and I was 11 or 12, I said to my mom that I thought that we have a spirit in here she looked at me and said "NO, no way, there is not such a things, out with that". But I know that she know that there is some spirits somewhere. I have feel it, she has feel it and all the old Greenlandish have a life where they was living with spirits and drum dancing and spirits "bruh bruh bruh"... But there was not allowed at that time, and it was just Danish living, Danish way, Danish Christian, and if you have to get into a good life in Greenland it was Danish Christian, Danish living, Danish.. All was.. you have to live in the Daanish way for to have a good life in Greenland and be accepted and not being thrown out of the elite.

Were you formally educated in Denmark/Kalaallit Nunaat? If so, what did you learn in school about Denmark/Greenland?

In Greenland, we sung Danish songs and we learned about Danish things but we are not learn about Greenland and Greenland history. We didn't learn about it we learned about H.C. Anderson and all that stuff. It was only Danish, and when we come to Greenland and start school both my parents is from Greenland. The school said we coudn't come into the Greenlandish class where they speak Greenlandic because we speak Danish because we have lived in Denmark when we are small and my father was taken his education and then we have to go in to the Danish classes because we gave to take care of our Danish language and i didnt i will speak Greenlandic and I said to my mom that she have to speak with the master of the school and said to him that I will go to Greenlandish and then I come to go to Greenlandish and they laugh at me and we have very fun at this because we have Greenlandish. I couldn't speak Greenlandish and all the others was laughing and we have very much fun. When I was in efterskole, there is one week you have to learn about Greenland where they speak about there was fishermen and sailing kayak and doing drums. But I said there no it is not like that anymore and they look at me and say "Hmm? Why? What is it like now then?". So the teachers was even not educated well enough to know what Greenland is about then and also now. There is many people in Denmark who isn't interested in Greenland, they didn't know anything about Greenland. It's very strange.

What are your beliefs about Kalaallit Nunaat before the Danish arrived?

My parents has told something but else I didn't know so much. When we were went to Greenland its begin to be more modern. There was more structure with stores and sick houses and police and all that citizen things. And they had a ship from Denmark all the sickness houses had sent a ship with people who vaccinate and tuberculosis, polio all that sickness vaccine. It was set in systems after that when child was born they get vaccine and all that. I have very much education and I have gone at many course and meet many different people and some has ask me, can you tell the story about you, Minka? And then one day when we are sitting eating I could see that this person maybe want that I have to tell a very sad story about my Greenlandish background and all that and then I thought that maybe I have to turn it around and I can tell her that I am a efterkomme, I am a child of Dorset people who walk... comes from Siberia and down to Greenland and then I start over there from... You should have seen her eyes. And then she suddenly turn around and speak other things. She didn't want to hear the story instead. If i had told her i am so sad about that Greenland is not function and there is many incest and violence and alcohol and all that she has listen and discussed and talk and all that. But I think that we don't want all that negative thoughts we have to change the story and do other things to be...to get mind of greenland changed because there is so many people who live ordinary days and they function ordinary just like in Denmark or U.S. or all other country. Well functioned and live good lives and have good education and raise their childs in a good way and all that and are structured just like all other countries, we are all different and we are all different people. I'm from Greenland but I am there is many other from Greenland who is just like me and who is also just different as me. Before Denmark came, there was roles in the family and for to live there was very... fishing and hunting for to live and the woman sew and make the clothes and all that at home and all that. But when the Danes and all that came, it was changed different and very fast after the second war there was very very fast changing fast...things changing fast in Greenland after second war World War... and in 1950 there was this policy where they said all have to change if we have to get Greenland good and self making, self living.

Do Danish teachings about pre-colonial Kalaallit Nunaat represent your beliefs? How are they similar/different?

I have afterwards by myself and when I was grown young buy some books about all that. I have buyed many books about Greenland in thousand years and all that and the culture and the language and the Inuits how Inuits living and all that.

Do you feel connected to Denmark, if yes—how so?

Very. I feel very connected to Denmark. There's a lot I love with Denmark, there is so many places in Denmark who are beautiful. At that way, I love to live in Denmark, but I also feel that much connected to Greenland and sometimes I think ohhh... why didn't I buy a summer house in Greenland? ... I want a summer house in Greenland, then I can get to Greenland and be there for the summer and be in Denmark for the winter or like that.

Are there differences between Greenlandic and Danish ways of being? What are the ways that Inuit life/identity may look different if there was not Danish rule?

*I remember that this from Greenland that you always have to be kind and respect the older people because they are they have the history they have the experience and you have to ask them about how to do what to do. Do you know plejehjem? Plejehjem is a home for older people..it has never been in Greenland before... but in 1980s, they built plejehjem...as in Denmark to the elder and they build houses then you don't have to live with the older people. It changed like that.. that the woman also get out and work and all the culture about the Greenlandish way to live was thrown out and when I was grown up, we don't have national clothes and don't have those fine pearl necklace and all that. And many forgotten to make all that... it is first again 80s that people are going back to do all that again. I think that if Danish people wasn't come to Greenland then U.S. or United States or Russia has come and then we will have theres will be very American style in Greenland or if it was Russia it will be Russian style but now I think it is very important to hold the Danish and Greenlandic...and be strong in that because if we don't... Chinese is coming to Greenland because they are just ready to take all the Greenlandish...if there is nothing to stop them. **About Thule Base:** I think it is not so good. They have dumped bombs, do you know this radioactive bombs. Nuclear bombs, two of them, at the 1995 i think. I have been at a film...who tells about this story where the Danish government and US. has not tell the true about what's happened at Thule airbase at that time. They have thrown out a nuclear bomb without tell it to anybody..they have totally secret about it and they don't tell people who clean up and then they are being sick. Just many years after it come out and likeness and many tumor... they have thrown up many oil and just lay it at the ground not clean up and you do not know if it is oil or anything radioactive or like that. It's out of nowhere where they have dumped it. And it's in the papers. But I think it's for the best because there is not so many people in Greenland and if Chinese or Russia or U.S. is coming to Greenland there was come there will be many people and the Greenlandish people will be nothing because with this trouble there is still the other will overrule just like in New Zealand. Or I think that if it will be like that there was there will happens the same as in New Zealand with the Maoris.*

Appendix H: Participant 4 Interview Transcript

What does it mean to be Greenlandic?

For me, the meaning of being Greenlandic is having the same perspective on society as our ancestors did. Remembering how our ancestors treated nature with respect. Being able to help anybody in need, that everyone has "a job", a place in "the tribe", everyone has something to do in the society. If there is a woman or a man who is handicapped, the community would help the person to find the suitable job, where the "sick person" actually contribute something back to the society, basically everyone can help each other in different ways, and help each other to sustain.

What are the ways that you identify yourself in various settings?

My identity is the typical Nuummioq-identity. The reason why I describe it like that is that those who are born and raised in Nuuk is going to have a difficult time adapting to smaller towns, because of language barrier and culture barrier. People from smaller towns, as my Big Sister and my Grandparents, speak fluently Greenlandic. They're not that great at speaking Danish, and they speak it with a thick greenlandic accent. People from smaller towns are more used to hunting and being in nature. Most people from Nuuk, like me, has never hunted before. Does not spend that much time being out in the fjord and nature. We speak fluently and better Danish than we do our own language - Greenlandic. So I try to keep my identity intact in various settings, so that I don't get confused or change my personality.

How has the presence of Denmark impacted your own life/identity?

Well, the first thing I remember about High School, is that I felt the danish children were more worth than Greenlandic children, so I remember that at very young age I learnt that I should be submissive, basically... to be invisible whenever there's danish children around. Going to college, that's where I finally stopped being afraid of outshining the danish people, so I started to talk more in classes, started to answer back to danes whenever I felt there is something unfair about the situation. And boy, I was unpopular amongst danes. I found my voice. Alot of my fellow Greenlandic classmates had very low grades when they graduated, because they/we are too shy to speak up. Their voices are too low for the teachers to hear. (Thankfully, I was top 4 with best grades when I graduated, thank goodness I stopped being afraid of hearing my own voice.) Today, whenever I go out shopping, there are a lot of danish women workers who has an eye on me. I have never stolen anything, (only when I was 4 years old and tried to take 20kr (approx. 2,9USD) from my mother's purse and my ass got whopped. Today, just by thinking about stealing things makes me curl up to one big anxiety ball, still, because of my appearance, because I look Greenlandic, they are paranoid of letting me in to stores, because they are sure that I am going to steal. But don't get me wrong, I know a lot of danish people as well, close family friends, who love Greenland and Greenlandic People and doesn't want to leave again because they falled in love with Greenland. There's good and bad in having Denmark's presence here.

Did you grow up in Denmark/Kalaallit Nunaat? What do you remember as the most significant part of growing up there/here?

I was born and raised in Nuuk. Nuuk is the most "mixed" population in Greenland, danes, phillipinos, thais, americans and so forth. The most significant part I remember of growing up here in Nuuk, is that I always felt safe. I could be outside and play for hours without worrying about... wrong do'ers. It's not that we did not have criminals, I just feel like, comparing today to my childhood, Nuuk is becoming more and more tainted with criminals, most of them came from our own little cities in Greenland, and a little part comes from outside the island. I stucked to greenlandic children as friends, I stayed away from danish children, never have had a "full breed danish" friend.

Were you formally educated in Denmark/Kalaallit Nunaat? If so, what did you learn in school about Denmark/Greenland?

Yes, High school and college graduated with very good grades. I loved having History lessons, so those are the ones I remember the most. I once had a history danish teacher, who did not know about Hans Egede's ways of "making danish out of us.", he had a very bad temper. For our history teacher, Hans Egede was a saint, he never read about the bad temper, the beatings and written letters to Denmark about the poor Greenlandic people, who needs to be saved from their way of living. Hans Egede was a danish priest who came and colonized our ancestors. In those small 290 years, Greenlandic population went from living from Stoneage to Modern age. A lot of small towns were forced to shut down, and the people living on those small towns moved to bigger cities. We had over 60 towns spread throughout Greenland, after the 50's we had 13. The most popular one was city that was closed down was named "Qullissat" with 1400 people, if I remember correctly, at the time, was the most populated area in Greenland. Today we have Nuuk with almost 15.000 citizens. In the 50's to 70's, greenlandic children at the age of 6 was forced to go to school in Denmark. And a lot of those I have talked with, who was one of those who was forced to live with a Danish family for many years, because of School and Education, was saddened upon arrival home, because they were so young when they left home, and lived with danish people who could not a word in Greenlandic, they forgot our language, therefore had difficulty communicating with his or hers own parents, grandparents, siblings and friends. Most of those children who were forced to live in Denmark to go to School, had moved to Denmark. They don't feel like they belong here, or in Denmark. A person without one nationality, but split in between two very different cultures, danish and greenlandic.

What are your beliefs about Kalaallit Nunaat before the Danish arrived?

A very spiritual culture, without RELIGION and God. Deep respect for nature our ancestors had, nature people, going from place to place every season. Huntsmen. Bright people. One thing Hans Egede quickly picked up on when he was colonizing our ancestors was, that Greenlandic people had a game called "Qamittaarnek" (roughly translated "In The Dark"), basically, whenever there's visitors from other tribes, every adult would gather in one tent and turn the lights out, and sleep with whoever they touch. They would never know who they slept with. After that, they would return to their own partner and live normally again. For Hans Egede this was an abomination. It was disgusting, unholy and Godless. Little did he know, they did that because they knew how incest worked. Our ancestors lived in tribes and travelled. And those tribes was typically family, related in somehow, almost always connected with the family tree. To mix up the

DNA and genes they would sleep with other people in order to have "normal" children instead of handicapped or deformed.

Do Danish teachings about pre-colonial Kalaallit Nunaat represent your beliefs? How are they similar/different?

Like the one teacher I mentioned, that he was not aware of different methods Hans Egede used to make believers out of Greenlandic people to God. I only had Danish teachers in history, and they always present the topic in a manner where the Danish people would stand tall and look heroic, whereas our ancestors were the disgusting ones and the poor ones who had to be helped.

Has Danish presence in your life changed over time?

I feel that I've been blind in my childhood, how much Danish presence there is in Greenland. They're basically the ones who runs the country. I must say, in those 13 years I've been in the work marked, I've tried maybe about 8-10 different work environments, I've only had two Greenlandic bosses. Rest of them are Danish. In college (GU) the only time the teacher speaks Greenlandic is when we are having Greenlandic lessons. Rest, are on Danish, because there are more Danish teachers than Greenlandic teachers. I don't think the Danish presence has changed over time, I think my perception of Danish presence has changed over time.

What are the ways in which Denmark acknowledges the colonial past in Kalaallit Nunaat?

"We saved you poor Greenlandic population... you poor, poor people of Greenland." is the line I felt like I heard the most. But I also remember when Denmark apologized to Greenland, the way that they had treated our ancestors during the colonization few years back.

Do you feel connected to Denmark, if yes—how so?

Well, the only area I really feel connected to Denmark, is the Danish Language, especially when they can not see which skin color I have, I speak it so fluently that I don't have the typical Greenlandic accent, so they treat me as one of their own.

Are there differences between Greenlandic and Danish ways of being? What are the ways that Inuit life/identity may look different if there was not Danish rule?

Greenlandic people love nature. Summertime means going out to fjord with boat all the time and hunt. Or gather berries or herbs. Nature, nature, nature. Before Danes colonized Greenland. Our ancestors way of living was way different than the life we have today. We have cities today. Our ancestors moved and followed the source of food. Without any Danish involvement, I think we would still be living in stone-age as our ancestors did back in the days. Living from food to food, from day to day, from season to season.

What are your thoughts about Donald Trump's comments about buying Kalaallit Nunaat? How do you feel about Denmark's response?

When I first read the article on Facebook, my immediate thought was "This has to be a joke." it was ridiculous to read that our country, the biggest island on earth, wanted to be bought by U.S. president. After the mild chok, I felt afraid... "what if US really buys Greenland?". I know that colonization would probably be different for us Greenlanders than Inuits colonization, but it's still a scary thought. We (Greenlanders) has already gone through colonization from Norse back in 10th century and recently the Danish colonization which started in the late 18th century. What kind of colonization would we be facing if we went through third colonization? Complete destruction of our Greenlandic identity? My feelings about Denmark's response was excitement, why break a bond that's finally taking shape, but we also have autonomy. The status of international law as one's own people is a condition of international law for possible detachment and new state formation. So if Denmark wanted to sell Greenland to US, Naalakkersuisut (Government of Greenland) have to say 100% YES first, so Trump wanted to ask the wrong country (Denmark) to purchase Greenland. It's Greenland he needs to ask.

Is there a difference between how older generations feel about Denmark/ Danish colonialism compared with younger generations?

Well, yes... the older generation have more squared, preserved vision for our Greenlandic language. The Capital City of Greenland - Nuuk, Nuummiuter -especially the younger generation, speaks more fluently and more grammatically correct Danish than our "origin language" including myself. I speak more danish during the day than I do greenlandic. And we hear "You're born Greenlandic, so Speak Greenlandic!" quite often from the older generation. And today's generation is too careless to give a damn about old stories from our elders.

Appendix I: Participant 5 Interview Transcript

What does it mean to be Greenlandic?

It's definitely a, like obviously there is a lot of being born here and being raised here, but more so being raised here than being born Greenlandic. I have like a ton of friends and also family...like my mom, she lived here for her entire adult life. She is Greenlandic. She speaks Greenlandic, though she is born and raised in Denmark. I have two other friends, the same way, they have Danish parents, one of them was born here and the other one was born in Denmark, but moved here directly after being born. And they're like, their entire soul is Greenlandic. So, yeah, it's a thing where you're like a little bit isolated from the rest of the world, but very connected within the country.

What are your general thoughts/feelings about Denmark, Danes, and "Danishness"?

I am, in some ways, I am biased. There is a fact that my mom is Danish. I do see some very positive things about us being in a commonwealth together. Definitely, like from an economic standpoint of view, we have to acknowledge the fact that we could not deal like with the world without them, we could not. There is just not enough of us, there is only like 55,000 of us. So having the economical and the financial and the military support from them is something we have to acknowledge whether we want it or not and a lot of people don't. I also do see some like cultural positives within, due to the fact that we are so isolated from the rest of the world. It can get...like people without meaning to can get quite narrow minded and sometimes it is a positive force that we have to deal with somebody, another force that is so vastly different to us. But there's also of course a bunch of negative stuff. We do have like a lot of guest workers that come in here who are so oblivious to what they are coming in to and they are so like arrogant and difficult to work with.... there is also a lot of politics that just like... there is one politician called Søren Espersen. He is with... he's a Danish politician from the Danish...Dansk Folkeparti...those very right wing gentlemen and one lady I think. And they're just...I mean..he's one of the biggest problems, he's so condescending. And he represents a way of thinking about Greenland where they are very, you know, where they are the governors of us and we should just sort of abide their thoughts and rules and whatever. And that's, I mean that's what I really want from the commonwealth, are what we whatever we call the Rigsfællesskabet, would be like a common....like working together on the same level and as long as there are people like him, we're never gonna be on the same level, there is always gonna be askew from one another. There is like... there is positives and there is definitely negatives. People find themselves...like some of the people that come up here...some of the guest workers... they often find themselves... like they think of themselves more advanced and they can get quite aggressive when you know, you try to tell them like, you're not. I had a conversation, it was so ridiculous, I was at a kaffemik, which is a common thing here, we celebrate you know birthdays and stuff like that. We have open house events that we call kaffemiks, where you come and you have coffee and you walk around. And I got into a conversation with this guy and it was just because I wanted to clear some historical facts up for him and we ended up having quite the argument and he was so condescending... he was like "Did you even know about Netflix before a few years ago?". And I was like, "No, did you?". Like, Netflix only been around for like a few years, so like calm down bitch. Like we have Tinder if you're really interested. He was just like, cause he kept going on

and on about how they were more technologically advanced and I was like... in what way? Like tell me what way? This is a true fact, our internet is not the best, you might have experienced this already. And that was like his main point, like you don't have proper internet and I was like but here in Nuuk we kinda do. And that was his main point, he kept going on and on and on about the internet and I was like...okay but other than the fact... we do have internet....so it's not like.... We're not in the Stone Age here, what is your point? And he kept going on about these different apps he thought we might not have and I was like... is that your measurement.... Do they have Netflix? Are they civilized? You know? It was...it was just like...you're so off man. And that was, yeah that was, that was.. That's like...he represents a certain way of thinking where they really... it's only...they have this mental image of a Greenlandic person dressed in seal fur with a ulu or a harpoon in their hand you know out in the middle of the snow clad land and sometimes trying to insist on that not being our everyday image anymore can be quite off putting to them I think. And it does makes some people quite aggressive, like disappointed in a way. And also disappointed that their ideas of what a Greenlandic person is, didn't hold up and disappointed in the fact that maybe they are not as advanced as they wanted to be. But I also feel like, that the force, and like the positive and the negative side of that part of the Danish culture is definitely because .. It's rooted in that they are an old kingdom and the culture is so so old, after all this time. It has the positive fact that they can make fun of themselves, they're really good at making... cracking jokes about themselves, as well as everybody else. Where as we here in Greenland, we are definitely a little more frail when it comes to, you know, making fun of ourselves. We often get mixed up with... you know... "Oh no, but we also have to honor our culture". And then whenever...even if... if it is one of our own making fun of you know, I don't know, our national costume or our songs or something like that, half of the people will laugh because it is hilarious and the other half will be like frozen...and "No we don't want to have that kind of fun!". Where as, I feel like Danish people are much better at, you know, making asses of themselves and that perspective.

What are the ways that you identify yourself in various settings?

I've always felt like I was Greenlandic. My father is from further north, he is from Ilulissat, or actually he's from the Disko Island, there used to be a little miner's village called Qullissat that my father was raised, grew up in, and that was shut down and then they moved to Ilulissat. And I often visit my grandfather up there and though I am more light skinned than a lot of my peers, they are, I've never questioned my identity as a Greenlandic person, ever. Like, at all. And I've never really tied it to like a, I remember not too long ago we had a discussion about food because that has become one of our like main identifiers, like in a lot of other countries, we tie a lot of our like our identity into our fish and our soups and our like stuff like that, never really done that. I don't know whether that's just my upbringing. But yeah I don't know, I've always identified as a Greenlandic person.

How has the presence of Denmark impacted your own life/identity?

My mom! My mom, my mom! To be quite honest, like in my personal experience, it's always, almost always been positive. Like I see the negatives, I do. But for me and myself, it's almost always been a positive thing, like my mom is a brilliant woman and my Danish family are amazing, they're all awesome, and...well save for a few...but, you know, they're married into the family, they don't count. And I've always... like as a historian...when I started studying

Greenlandic history it was quite eye opening to me to see how...how much of the stuff that went wrong, which was predominantly what happened in the fifties and the sixties were based on Greenlandic, a wish for Greenland to move away from the traditional way of Greenlands...Greenlanders...to a more European way of living. And that was quite eye opening to me, it was quite, it was also quite amazing to see how much, like when you compare, you can never compare pain, like pain is not something that's measurable in any way or sort. But if you take something like the Inuits of Canada...they were screwed over...they were...like almost all of them. They just... I mean the way the English and the French and pretty much everybody who went through there, they just screwed over all the Natives and treated them horribly. It is so different to how the entire colonization of Greenland happened. The colonization of Greenland...was a....I'm not saying positive, but it was, the idea of it was vastly different and the idea of how to treat the Natives was so different to how they were treated like in Canada and in Alaska, they were treated like cattle, they were barely humanized, where as here it...they were seen as the noble savage, which is like, you know, the Rousseauan idea of, you know, them being the children of God pretty much. And for that reason they were actually, the way of the Greenlandic people were actually preserved for quite a while, save for the fact they were introduced to the Church, which of course meant that there were certain ways of living that wasn't, that weren't possible anymore. You know having multiple wives or multiple husbands and you know... and all that sort. That had to be banned. But other than that, it was ...they were really...they were preserved for a long long time. "For their own good".. which of course also became a straightjacket. After a couple of generations, people wanted to evolve, people wanted to be able to do the same things as the white people, or the Europeans and they weren't allowed because people kept saying to them, "No, no no you have to stick to your ways of living. So, I forgot where I was going with this. But yeah, as a historian it was quite eye opening to see the main motive of the Danish government was never malice. It was never, like, originally, originally, like all the way back in the 1400s, they had, or 1500s, they had thought about, you know, being able to use the land, but when they finally came up here in the 1700s and managed to settle down a settlement and realized, okay, there is nothing profitable up here because, you know, ivory has just been invented, so that there. And oil lamps are going out of fashion, so hmm there. So like, very quickly they realized there was nothing profitable about the place here and they still kept going at it. So instead of having a motive that went like economics, they had a motive like govern, in the more caring sense. Which was, yeah which was interesting because you are so used to having, you know, the narrative of the colonizers being you know, fucking evil.

Did you grow up in Denmark/Kalaallit Nunaat? What do you remember as the most significant part of growing up there/here?

Christmas. I am, I love snow. Which is fortunate for me because I live here. I love, I love the winter, I love... I love going hunting, I used to do that a lot with my grandfather. My dad is a wuss, he hates going into like, he is, even though he is significantly more biologically Greenlandic than I am, he hates going into the fjords, there's way too many mosquitoes, he doesn't like it, he thinks it's hard work and he doesn't like going hunting. He doesn't like carving up reindeer and stuff like that and it does smell quite a bit, and he's a little bit too dainty for that. Where as I love it, I love it, I love it, I love it. And then just... playing out in the snow in...like... the wintertime where it was like pitch dark out and where all you can see is the stars and the

northern lights. I mean it sounds a bit like cheesy, but that's like... but that's what I wanted my daughter to grow up in when I grew up. And then the fact, then the fact, that's something I only got to appreciate after I moved to Denmark. We didn't have cliques. I know it sounds ridiculous. But we didn't have like the whole group, where you had, you know in kindergarten and in pre-k and stuff like that, you didn't have the cliques where you had the popular girls and the cheerleaders and stuff like that. You didn't have that, at all. And I think part of it is due to the fact that, like we are such a small society, everybody is related one way or another. So even the kids in my class growing up that didn't, that didn't do well, like and they didn't dress in the appropriate clothing and they didn't have the newest fashion and stuff like that... you knew them, you knew that you are related so, you know, picking on them was just weird and wrong. And that was something I've only got to appreciate after I moved to Denmark and you know meeting people who have been bullied relentlessly growing up because they didn't fit into you know the mold, whatever.

Were you formally educated in Denmark/Kalaallit Nunaat? If so, what did you learn in school about Denmark/Greenland?

I went to high school here. We learned a lot, which is also one of the things that makes the relationship between Denmark and Greenland a little uneven. We learn a lot about Denmark, just comes natural because you know we're in a commonwealth. So we learned about the kings, and we learned about, you know, the history of Denmark and the the infrastructure of Denmark and we learned about the geography of Denmark. Social economics of Denmark. All sorts of things. I was somewhat nept in Danish history when I moved to Denmark. Where as, it was, it was very obvious to me that when I talk about Greenland, people again had that Knud Rasmussen image of me, that was...that was weird.

*When asked if they learned about Greenland in university, in Denmark.

Yeah! Yes, I did. That's actually, and that was, that's the beauty of the historical study at the Copenhagen University, is that you can sort of structure it the way that you want. There is certain slots you have to fill in, you have to have something before fourteen something and then something between fourteen something and 1910 and then from 1910 forward. And then you have to have something that has something to do with Denmark and then something that has nothing to do with Denmark. And that's sort of like the different categories that you have to fill in within your studying to your bachelor's degree. And I could sort of form every single thing within a Greenlandic tag because something had to do with Danish stuff and something had to not do with Danish stuff and, you know, I could form everything, so pretty much all, almost, most of my studies ended up being related to Greenland. And they also have actually...my boyfriend who is Danish, his first course was about Greenlandic colonial history, very specifically, like, so they do cater to that sense of fashion.

What are your beliefs about Kalaallit Nunaat before the Danish arrived?

Most people have a very, very romanticized idea of what it was like. Being a historian and working down in the museum, it is quite clear to me that even though the Thule Inuit, which are our like closest ancestors, they did remarkably well compared to their predecessors, the earlier

Inuit cultures that had wandered into Greenland and died out. They still struggled, every single day it was nitty gritty and it was, especially for women, oh god. The whole society was tied into this belief that everything had a soul or a spirit and all the souls and spirits were sort of, you know, they balanced everything around you. So food sources, light sources, everything were tied into these and women were somehow more responsible for keeping the balance with the spirits. That's also why there were some tattooed, it was predominantly women that were tattooed that had all sorts of stuff to do with like the spirit world and if something went wrong it was just naturally assumed that it had to be the woman's fault. And she had to undergo gruelling, not like physical torture, but like psychological torture. If a woman lost a child, she was not allowed to speak to anyone for a full fucking year. She couldn't touch the dead body, she couldn't participate in the burial, she had to, you know, stay in this hut and face the wall for a year. It was...like...I cannot imagine how horrible it was. And that's also why, when the church came here, when the Christian church arrived to Greenland, so many of the missionaries were quite surprised by the very quick attendance by women. Like they practically ran into the church and just sat there and were like "We're staying here. This sounds good". Like going from a million different spirits that you had to, you know, abide by and, you know, deal with through rights and taboos, to one big spirit and you just had to say sorry and then everything was alright, I think that was like a given, like "Oh yeah, I'm doing that". And I was quite surprised to realize how like, how hard it must have been, because other than that the society before Danish people was quite efficient. Obviously it was hard, you traveled in small groups of families and then you met in, during the summer and you know, it can't always have been easy. But you know the way they hunted and stuff like that, I'm like thoroughly impressed by the efficiency of the hunters and the efficiency and the skills of the women to be able to prepare the skins and you know when we see the clothing that they used to wear, gee, lord, oh my god, nobody can sew like that anymore. It's just beautiful and to have that sort of time to prepare, you know, clothing like that, you would have had to have some sort of system that enabled you to have that time so they must have been like, you know, very, very, very adept at living here. So I'm...at one point I am like really impressed with our ancestors and on the other side I'm also like I can understand why they went away from that so quickly, why they were so quick to abandon that sort of way of life, especially for women.

Do Danish teachings about pre-colonial Kalaallit Nunaat represent your beliefs? How are they similar/different?

This is a tricky question. It's actually... it really comes down to the lecturer. While I was in, at the university, I attended a few courses at the Arctic Study unit, which is just located in the most beautiful old compartment, warehouse in Copenhagen at Christianshavn. It's just ahh. And there is, it really comes down to the person teaching. There was one guy, Søren Thuesen, who was like almost Greenlandic himself man, he's been studying Greenland for so long but he speaks the language and he is like, he understands the pros and cons and everything. And I mean, I learned so much from him. But I also experienced at least one professor who was very reluctant to accept my, because whenever we had to sort of choose what sort of road we were taking within the course we were taking, I had at least one professor who was like very much against me going in the Greenlandic direction. Simply because he didn't understand why that was important. Like, and that was, it was within Enlightenment theory I think and I kept telling him, like this is important to me personally and it should also like, because his whole field of study was within

the Enlightenment period. So like, I don't understand like, why does it bother you that this is what I want to go with. And he was just like... "Well, it just doesn't seem very interesting to me". And I was just like... "You realize I'm frickin Native, right?" and he was just like... "Yeah, but still there's so many other great things, I just don't know if there's any source material for what you're wanting to do". And I was like "I assure you there is, I have figured it out". It was...it really came down to the lecturer and the professor. He was very ancient. He was very very ancient.

Has Danish presence in your life changed over time?

Oh yeah, definitely. Definitely, definitely. There used to be a governors, like today we are self governed. There still is a few departments that we can't home take, for financial reasons but also because we are so intertwined with one another. There are different like, ahh family law has still not been taken home by the self government or the government simply because it is...like we're all related... so having to divorce people, having to arrange adoptions from one family to another and stuff like that, would be hellish nightmare if it had to be done within like ourselves. So they're still trying to figure out how to do that, while still you know being able to maintain a certain, like distance, so yeah, that and then of course, our security, not so much the police, that's ours, but the national security issue. Like obviously right now, you might know, there's a few people interested in Greenland and that's a very recent thing. For years and years and years, we've been this little, you know, ice cube on top of the globe that nobody really...like the States have always been interested in us, ever since the second World War, due to the fact that it's, you know, at first it was a landing spot, simply because, you know, planes couldn't go that far. But then of course, came the Thule base and now Donald. But the Russians have always also expressed a very certain interest in us and they have a more sneaky approach. So we actually have like military base stationed up in the northeast of Greenland to patrol at all given times simply because they do tend to try to, you know, just, you know, set a toe in and see what's going to happen if we stand here. "Okay, you don't want that, okay, backing off... how about here?". You know, so yeah, China as well.

What are the ways in which Denmark acknowledges the colonial past in Kalaallit Nunaat?

They're very bad at it. They're extremely bad at it. And it actually started with a, it started very specifically with a prime minister a few years back, that just refused to address it at all. That was her way of, you know, acknowledging...she refused to talk about, you know, colonial past and that has just been a thing ever since. I think our current prime minister is trying to reverse that in a lot of ways, she's just started so it's difficult to say like whether... what she is going to do. And is also, she is a little bit, she sort of apologized for something that the Danish government actually didn't do. Which is a little bit problematic, you know, from a historical point of view. She promised that she was going to apologize for, there was this thing in the sixties... fifties where Greenlandic children were being moved from Greenland to Denmark to go to school and then being sent back. And that was actually a Greenlandic decision, made by the Greenlandic government at the time. And that was the idea, it is the fifties man, the fifties were crazy, children weren't viewed as children, children were just miniature adults that you could, you know, mold into proper adults at some point. And it is very important to understand like the context of this idea. The idea was to, ugh, create a generation of well educated Greenlandic people, but it was

done in such a horrible way. But obviously the Danish government helped, they aided the Greenlandic government in, you know, fulfilling this dream of having an educated mass. They just hadn't understood the consequences of removing children from their families and keeping them away for a full year. Like children at the age of five, six, and seven, you know, they are not...interestingly they had...the experience that the children could barely remember their families by the end of the year. So they could not speak Greenlandic anymore, like at all, because children are survivors, children adapt to everything. So, yeah. And she promised, like upfront, when she was being elected, "I'm gonna apologize for that" and I was like "You can't, well you can, but it's only going to be half an apology, and it's not going to be historically correct". If you need to apologize, we like...the prime minister of Greenland and the prime minister of Denmark, both of them have to apologize. Otherwise, they're going to be...it's going to be wrong!

Do you feel connected to Denmark, if yes—how so?

I used to a lot more than I do now. It's weird. My boyfriend is Danish, I'm Greenlandic. And before being to Denmark I think I felt like a child of both worlds. Moving to Denmark was very eye opening because it made me realize that I am only biologically Danish. There are parts of the Danish...like culture, that I appreciate. There is parts of just Denmark that I appreciate. I love the history. I love the Vikings! Which is also very evident if you meet my boyfriend. And meeting my boyfriend of course, it would have been a natural way for me to be more connected to Denmark, but when we moved here, he instantly like fell in love with the entire society, the entire culture and both of his parents are dead so he doesn't have a whole lot of family there. I have far more family than he does, in Denmark. And I think not too long ago, we talked about, you know, us...we've always talked about moving here. I would be like willing to, if he couldn't make it work here, I'd be willing to talk about moving back to Denmark or maybe moving to Norway or somewhere. I think Norway would actually be a good half-way place for both of us. But we talk about, you know, the chance of us ever moving to Denmark and he was just like "No, I don't think I ever could" because he just, he loves the way that the society works here, that everybody can talk to each other here. Talking like... when you were in Denmark, you might have experienced like trying to talk to the government for any reason at all, you know, taxes, or subpoenas, or anything like that...it's a nightmare...fucking nightmare. Where as here, you always talk to people, you don't talk to machines, you don't communicate via email, like you can...but they're not going to answer. You have to end up talking to a person and talking to a person while it's sometimes a little more complicated because you have to make time for it, it's just so much more convenient because you can always explain yourself, like if you, for some reason missed a payment for something or something like that, it's so much easier. So to answer, every shortly, which is far too late, I feel less connected to Denmark now than I ever did before but obviously I feel some sort of connection because my mom is Danish.

Are there differences between Greenlandic and Danish ways of being? What are the ways that Inuit life/identity may look different if there was not Danish rule?

I think we appreciate food. Both cultures appreciate food a lot. And very like, national dishes. Equally. I think that's...people whenever we're in mourning or whenever we are celebrating or whenever something great is happening, food is prepared. I think that's a constant in both

societies. I don't think...If Denmark hadn't come here, America would have. Definitely. And I think that would have been a lot harder. I think we would be a lot more like the Natives in America, where we would belong far less to our own country than we do now. So in that sense, again it's a bias thing because I do see the positives of the Danish influence here. Though, in a utopian dream, where we could have evolved on our own time, I think we would have been eons behind everyone else. But I do think, I always believed that that would have been a more positive way for us to evolve because the thing that happened during the colonial period is that we had to evolve hella quick. What took Danish... the Danish people hundreds and hundreds of years to go through with, you know, the medieval times, and the Enlightenment, and all these different periods, we had to figure out within a generation. Which is, it's quite overwhelming and it's also like, missing steps like that leaves...leaves some black holes that we have to fill with something. We're trying to figure out our own ways of doing stuff. So, in a utopian dream where we could evolve in our own time, that would have always been a more positive way of doing it, though we would have been far behind everybody else. But, in the end, I think that the Danish government was the the lesser of many evils.

What are your thoughts about Donald Trump's comments about buying Kalaallit Nunaat? How do you feel about Denmark's response?

I was very pleased actually. I think, Mette, our, the prime minister, she handled it well by responding that we don't like, she responded twice. The first time she was like, "These are people on their own, we couldn't solve them even if we wanted to. Like this is not a negotiation point, we cannot, these are people, they are self governed, talk to them". And the second time she called the whole thing ludicrous or something like that. Which of course ticked the great president off in a really wonderful fashion. I love whenever he gets really pissed off. And then he didn't want to visit them anymore. Like so I was actually pleasantly surprised by her response because she acknowledge the fact that we are self governed people.

Appendix J: Participant 6 Interview Transcript

What does it mean to be Greenlandic?

For me, it's about having a... some kind of relationship here. I was born here, but I know many people living here that are not born here, maybe with Danish parents, who live here and they have a relationship here, and they feel like they are Greenlandic. And I know that there is a lot of political discussion, you are not real Greenlandic if you are not born here or you are too what do you call it, light, your skin is not the right color, then you cannot be truly Greenlandic. My wife is half Danish, and if you look at her you will think she is Danish, but she is raised here so she feels just as Greenlandic as I do. I think it depends on your relations here. I have a Danish boss, what do you call it, manager and she has lived in Greenland many years now and in many ways she is more Greenlandic than I am. Because she has a little hut, she has...they have boat, they go fishing and I don't have a boat. So she feels very Greenlandic, even though she is from Denmark and can't speak the word Greenlandic. So for me, it's about having a relation here.

What are your general thoughts/feelings about Denmark, Danes, and "Danishness"?

Well, historically we have a very close relationship with Denmark and maybe Greenland and Denmark tries to have a, what do you call it, respectful relationship and there are many things that the government hasn't, what do you call it, take home. Like the police, it is the Danish government who governs the police, so my salary is from Denmark. There are many things where it's maybe like a big brother, little brother relationship between Denmark and Greenland. It's a good relationship, but it has chips. There's some chips who hasn't been fixed. There's many... of... many of the historical things are kind of recent. If you look at the settlement Qullissat, who was a coal mining city in the north Greenland, it was at one point the most populated city in Greenland because it brought many...coal was a big business. But then...they shut it down. So in 1972, I think, the Danish government decided to this... this city is not it does not generate money... we close. Everybody had to move. So many of the people who lived, they still alive and it's hurt feeling. So that's in the recent history. Where the Danish government has made some decisions from the desk on Copenhagen, so there is still those feelings. I know the government now they try to be more equal, but many says it isn't. I try to...as a person, I am very optimistic, I am very... always look at the bright side of life. Yeah, colonialism everywhere. It was not good for the local people. It's in many ways very harmful and people get whipped and people got to... you live like this, but you have to live this way. And religion plays a big part back then because it was huge, from my standpoint if I look back, if we hadn't been colonized, we wouldn't have the knowledge and the infrastructure as we have now, so the outcome has been good. So I'm not, I'm not mad. Maybe because it was before my time, but historically I think if something good comes out of it, now the Danish government supports that Greenland wants to be independent, we are just not ready yet. If half the population is not have any education and we are so few, there are many things we cannot govern. Like if we got independence now than any country could take over because we don't have an army, we don't have anything, so I think it is good we have been a colony. Because... then I am here today as I am... with with my education.

What are the ways that you identify yourself in various settings?

Yes, yes, very much. I was proud of being Greenlandic because I used to say, I used to joke with my friends in the U.S., there's like several million of you there's only 50,000 of us, we are rare. So I have always felt that I am Greenlandic.

How has the presence of Denmark impacted your own life/identity?

Well, I learned the language ...in ugh.. when I was in Denmark I was 9 year, until I was 10. It was at my own, and we were not allowed to speak Greenlandic, me and my big brother, so we learned Danish. So it has always been a part of me, but I think the big impact came when I start to work in the police because there is still.. some... we have the same education, we have the same uniform, we have the same employer, but we are paid differently, there's still.. For instance, they get some new gear down in Denmark, like a new vest or something, and we will get it many years after. "Do you need it up there? Do you need it?" There is a difference there and right now it's a big, what do you call it, there are political they work political so we are equal.

Did you grow up in Denmark/Kalaallit Nunaat? What do you remember as the most significant part of growing up there/here?

I think the ocean because most of the settlements and towns are near the coast, so for me it's the nature, the ocean.

Were you formally educated in Denmark/Kalaallit Nunaat? If so, what did you learn in school about Denmark/Greenland?

Yes, there is a police... I was in a, you can say, high school and I studied as a police officer here and after that I studied, you know, to become a manager and a leader in the police. And now in the human resource office, I take some single classes to get more academic, so I can be better at my job, so I take some online education now, because many of the required education here it's... then I have to go to the university, but now I have my own apartment, I have a car. So I take it, you know, with the job, the educate. There's always the religion and you get to know about Hans Egede, the man who was responsible of getting the Christianity here. There is some history. The Danish language of course. That it's a...it used to be a colony, and now we have... in my time a home rule government and there's still many subjects, like foreign subjects, foreign policy is still Denmark's. Back then, it was basically everything, it was, you had a home rule government, I don't know, we learned about the history, not so much about politics.

What are your beliefs about Kalaallit Nunaat before the Danish arrived?

Well, it's probably like every place before the white man came, they are nature people, they had their own beliefs, they had their own sense of justice, and the way of living, no money, if you have catch some animal, then you get...give everybody...especially those in needs. So I think, then the Danish people came and they taught us Christianity is the way, if you are not Christian, then you are a heathen, and you must be whipped. There's some other way of living and I know historically, in the 50s, 60s, they tried to experiment with sending Greenlandic kids to Denmark, so they can be more Danish, they could be more civilized and it had great cost for those people

because they had their answers of what's the right way of living, it's still the same now in the police, there was a terror, an act of terror in 2016 or 2017 in Copenhagen and it had a snowball effect. There was many things you had to be aware of, so here in Nuuk and all the towns we have the same level of terror readiness as they have in Copenhagen. It is a national terror threat, so like in many places in here it doesn't really make sense because we are so far away. It was populated with nature people.

Do Danish teachings about pre-colonial Kalaallit Nunaat represent your beliefs? How are they similar/different?

I think it's very factual of how we lived before. So I think it...that part is okay, it is very factual of what different settlement there were in the east, and the west, and in the north; the customs. I think the teaching there has been factual.

Has Danish presence in your life changed over time?

I think there has always been a lot of Danes here and maybe when the towns were built when the infrastructures been...they did not have local...what do you call it...skills. There was a lot of skills from Denmark who came and built. Well I think it's...it feels more now...especially in my work, it was also what made me go out of the police because in many ways I needed to look myself in the mirror and feel I'm just as good as everybody. I do not need to feel that we have to fight for the same rights for the same salary. So I think it has changed in my adult life that I am more aware that we are not sub-humans, you know, in many ways if you look fifty, sixty years ago my grandmother who has passed away. There were like Danish people they were...you almost needed to bow when you have a Danish people come visiting and if you look at the houses they have two, you know, there are two doors. The one, you rarely use, that nice guests like Danish people they had to use the other door. So, it has changed in my adult life too. I don't want to say I am more or less nationalistic, but I am more aware of we are just as equal and so I needed to get out and take a new working course where I need to feel what I do is good and it doesn't matter if I am Greenlandic or Danish. So I feel that now, I did not really feel that in the police.

Do you feel connected to Denmark, if yes—how so?

Yeah. I have a lot of family down in Denmark and we just had a vacation down in Denmark, in Denmark, we were in Denmark three weeks. Ebeltoft, down in the nose area, if you look at the map it is in the nose. Maybe because I have lived there a year as a kid and there's a sense of, if you look at my passport, I am Danish, so, and the language, it just feels like home further down south. We are all Danish citizens, you can choose to have a passport with the Greenlandic flag, but you are still a Danish citizen.

Are there differences between Greenlandic and Danish ways of being? What are the ways that Inuit life/identity may look different if there was not Danish rule?

Maybe in some sense they created the opposite of equality. If you look at the work, if women work, usually they have less salary... in many sense they mabe created the opposite of equality. I think the Greenlandic... my experience, my belief is we are more spontaneous, you live today, if

you catch a fish today, you might not catch one tomorrow, so you better eat that thing you have now. Where the Danes are historically like, they are farmers. They know they have to stock up for the winter, they know, and you see it happening. If I get my paycheck, it's gone too soon, where Danes are better to, we need to save for rainy day. And you see it in my work, there's then if I go to the social problems, they get money, they drink until they don't have any more. Many, you see that very often. Unfortunately common. So I think the different ways people live more today, we live today. I am happy today. Let's party. Let's go out. Where the Danes are...you need to make an appointment, if I have to see you maybe you have time Saturday. Where it's more common for me to come knock at your door... hey, you want coffee? So there's come cultural differences there. I think they both have value. If you look, I don't know if it's part of the subject, but if you look at the examples, many of them...they are...I'm sad now... my girlfriend left. Then I... you know... because don't have the same way of looking at things, yes I am sad now but it is temporary because you have to look a month, two month ahead. But many they think today. I think that is the main difference. Well, then we wouldn't be, I don't know, if you look at the systems, like capitalism, you know, I don't think you would still... we wouldn't have the infrastructure we have now, we wouldn't.. I think we would still live in huts, be hunters because we were not... if you look at progress the last one hundred years, it's been so fast, it is because the Danish people has brought that to us. So, I don't think we would have roads, telephones, anything. We would maybe be like some of the tribes in South America.

Is there a difference between how older generations feel about Denmark/ Danish colonialism compared with younger generations?

Yes, as I mentioned, my grandmother who passed away, she's like... for her, the Danish people were, you know, if you say A and B people, she was a B and they were A. They were the one with the lawns with the good jobs and you need to respect them. You know I think the elders in the last century they have been very respectful, for the Danish, then the seventies, eighties came and there was a lot of young people back then and they want to, they were aware of they want to be independent, that there was a movement who came, so people like me, the young, I think we fight more for rights and for independence, than others did. Because we become more self aware, many of the young they have access to the internet they have access to every information they want now. You cannot hide anything now. So I think, you know, the more information you get, the more access you have to the outer world, I think it will grow. And back then, when the elders, fifty years back, there were no outside information at the same way. So the young ones, they want, they have, another approach, another more equal way of thinking about the Danes, than the elders did. I think, back in, you were in kayaks and canoes and then the big ships came and things, you know, it must be terrifying. It made me, it would be like if you sat here and then a UFO came. This technology. There are still a lot of anger. Me and my wife, we sometimes... oh those Danes... it's common. Because there are two... if you go to a classroom, anywhere where there is a gathering of people there will always be some point of opinions and views of other people. We always measure ourselves like... As two different cultures, which we are, there will always be some kind of resentment from both. You know if... I have a colleague that is also a Danish, and me and my Greenlandic colleague we have another common sense... not a common sense... a feeling of togetherness in another way and sometimes we say... I am very happy with my manager, I can learn a lot from her, she is the best manager I've had but sometimes, we talk about ah it would be nice to have a Greenlandic manager because there's a different approach

of things. My view is, my personal view is, like some of the colleagues I have had work is life. If you want to be anybody you should work long hours and you should, it is what matters. For me, it is family. Work is a means for me so I can spend time with family and I can afford stuff. So sometimes, it is okay for me to, today I want to get out, I don't have to always be in front of a PC and look like I'm working. So we say, those Danish people, they should ease down, and maybe some of the Danes they look at us and think he is lazy, he needs to put his act together. And I see that in the police.

Appendix K: Participant 7 Interview Transcript

What does it mean to be Greenlandic?

To be a Greenlandic means that either grew up in Greenland, or has a strong connection to Greenland. There has been an ongoing discussion since I was a child, that to be a Greenlandic, you must speak the language, or have Greenlandic origin. But, I grew up where there are Danes, or half Danes who doesn't speak any Greenlandic in my school, for me they are no less Greenlandic citizens if they say they are from here. They never got to learn it because we were divided in those who speaks Greenlandic and those who speaks Danish. I don't know why they made the regulations like that, but it made Dane speaking Greenlanders feel and judged that they weren't Greenlanders, even though they say that they are from here. For me Greenlandic means that we all grew up here, and call this place as home that you belong to this community and to the surroundings regardless of your ethnic background, or language abilities.

What are your general thoughts/feelings about Denmark, Danes, and "Danishness"?

Denmark is a country that we are connected to, as in a Realm and as a Kingdom. Also, there are strong family ties between Greenlanders and Danes, mixed marriages are something that we grew up with, and have a long history together since the 1700's. I know that Danes are as much as humans as I am, I studied there for a year on a boarding school, and I have very good friends who are Danes, as well as those living, visiting or studying in Greenland, they are very kind and curious people. Whenever I visit Denmark even just for very few days, it feels like reaching home, maybe because we speak the same language, you know the behaviorism, and everything is just so familiar. I study and live in Norway, and been traveling quite often to South Asia, in those countries I feel like a foreigner, but in Denmark I don't, and it feels like it's a second home to me. Danishness, I'm not sure what you mean about it, but there are Danish ways of being, or that there is a presence of Danish culture in Greenland, such as religion, food, languages, and societal structure, my thoughts about it, is that there has a cultural development in Greenland for many many years, because of the Danish colonialism, and after that interdependence within the Realm, that has a strong influence on the contemporary Greenlandic society. I would say that it has been necessary to happen, because like other "third world" societies, there has been an occurrence of the need of cultural and epistemological globalization, in Greenlandic case Danish'zation, and Danishness, is a part of that occurrence, because Greenlandic culture and traditions alone, could never have adapted so well alone, because it is a hunter a gather livelihood, and would have had clashes to this modern world.

What are the ways that you identify yourself in various settings?

I am a Danish citizen, bilingual, raised Christian, celebrating Christmas and all.

How has the presence of Denmark impacted your own life/identity?

I think in the way I live, is very influenced by it, religiously, educational, family and city structures are very similar, and I am bilingual because of it.

Did you grow up in Denmark/Kalaallit Nunaat? What do you remember as the most significant part of growing up there/here?

Grew up in Greenland only, born in Uummannaq, then moved to Nuuk when I was 6 years old. Significant memories, are that different livelihoods and environments in Greenland. Uummannaq is far north, belonging to the circumpolar north, where ocean freezes to ice, and there are dog-sledge, icebergs, and has polar nights and midnight summers, where in Nuuk, there isn't any of those.

Were you formally educated in Denmark/Kalaallit Nunaat? If so, what did you learn in school about Denmark/Greenland?

Formally educated in Greenland, Denmark, Norway, and Sri Lanka. Basically, education in Greenland and in Denmark are very similar, I would say I learned more about Greenlandic culture, history, and traditions in Greenland, and inclusively same education about Denmark both in Denmark and Greenland, which means that we learn Danish History, literature, and languages same ways, yeah, at least in Nuuk, because that's where my schooling happened, and not everyone in the coastal areas of Greenland don't get the same education as me.

What are your beliefs about Kalaallit Nunaat before the Danish arrived?

Danish arrived long before I was born, so I don't know how to answer your question.

Do Danish teachings about pre-colonial Kalaallit Nunaat represent your beliefs? How are they similar/different?

My education from Denmark was about Economic Management from Copenhagen Business academy, and a boarding school education in creative, musical school, with not so much relevance of learning about history, or so about pre-colonial beliefs. So, this question is a bit hard to answer.

Has Danish presence in your life changed over time?

No, has always been the same.

What are the ways in which Denmark acknowledges the colonial past in Kalaallit Nunaat?

Annual Economic support of 3.4 Billion DKK, interdependent governance such as of Security and Foreign affairs, citizenship rights, special educational rights and regulations for Greenlandic students in Denmark, two mandates at the Danish Parliament elected by Greenlanders themselves. Only thing needed now is to finish the Reconciliation statement and request from Greenlandic government, to the Danish Parliament.

Do you feel connected to Denmark, if yes—how so?

Yes, as mentioned before, Denmark feels like a second home to me.

Are there differences between Greenlandic and Danish ways of being? What are the ways that Inuit life/identity may look different if there was not Danish rule?

I have no idea, probably like other Inuit peoples of Canada, Alaska, and Russia, they were occupied by other nations, American / Canadian, they've lost their language, and have a very low educational and living standards, very rural existence in North American continent, maybe with less autonomous power, or sovereignty. I think we would have lost more of our identity, because here the majority of the People are Inuit, public language is Kalaallisut (Greenlandic), and so on.

What are your thoughts about Donald Trump's comments about buying Kalaallit Nunaat? How do you feel about Denmark's response?

That it has a strategic agenda of military, and that he must have seen potentials of natural resources in Greenland, and North Pole. I think it was a very diplomatic answer and response given by Denmark and an "of course" because we are a Realm, protected under the same constitution.

Is there a difference between how older generations feel about Denmark/ Danish colonialism compared with younger generations?

Yes, I am more like open for the belonging, interdependence, and acceptant of the existing relationship, also due to the national, regional and international relations. Where my father is more Greenlandic patriot, and pro – independence, because he was young in the 70'es, where the political movement flourished in many places in the world. Honestly speaking it's so hard to answer some of the questions, because the Danish / whale hunters, and other European settlers came to Greenland many, many, many years ago, even before my grandparents were born. Also, Greenland, like other Nordic Countries, is a developed country, with high standards of social wealth and health, compare to other Inuit for example. I would say that we have a functioning social system, free education for all citizens, and legislatively recognized Self- Governance. Also, the people of Greenland has achieved a lot as native people, ofc. with the help from the Realm. The Greenlandic political movement and recognition was very peaceful, democratic, and diplomatic. I can compare to the Indian achievement of independence, with the morals of non-violence / (Gandhi), democratic movement. Especially because there was a referendum in Greenland as an answer to Denmark, if the people wanted a Home – Rule, and that's how the government was created. I think most of the Greenlandic people will say that they are grateful for the relationship with Denmark, instead of other colonizers, because our way and the political movement has been very diplomatically easy to achieve and well supported from Danish Monarch and Parliament. I think some of the questions are not relevant for me either, such as the connection to Denmark, the traditional beliefs, or the presence of Danish people in my country, because we are in a peaceful co-existence in our societies, we have become families. We are aware of that we are the majority, we hold most of the political power, and we are capable as a nation, and native peoples to achieve democratically declared political regime. The "struggles" and post-colonial traits can be found in the system, structuration of education, parliament, and all other institutional arenas of the society, the in-direct correlation of

institutions, not within the relationship between the people. One thing to be reminded as well, the legislative and the executive power holders, are Greenlandic politicians themselves, so the institutional post-colonial impact is not only constructed by the Danes, but by Greenlanders themselves.

Appendix L: Participant 8 Interview Transcript

What does it mean to be Greenlandic?

I no longer accept the term 'Greenlandic'. I find it being a colonial and derogatory term that was put upon us by the Danish colonizers. I am a kalaaleq Inuk, a part of the big Inuit family. We have survived the harsh Arctic climate for thousands of years by being inventive, clever, dynamic, adapted to multiple changes in our environment. I am proud of being a part of that awesome family.

What are your general thoughts/feelings about Denmark, Danes, and “Danishness”?

Oppressors. Self-righteous self-appointed Masters. "The only reasonable beings on this planet" (Sarcasm). White saviors

How has the presence of Denmark impacted your own life/identity?

Loss of identity, degradation, finding way back to feeling like a dignified human.

Did you grow up in Denmark/Kalaallit Nunaat? What do you remember as the most significant part of growing up there/here?

I grew up in Sisimiut. Hunting, fishing and travelling in the nature was amazing

Were you formally educated in Denmark/Kalaallit Nunaat? If so, what did you learn in school about Denmark/Greenland?

All education in Greenland is more or less Danish, and we learned that every good thing comes from Denmark, so logically we must have been the other ones, right?

What are your beliefs about Kalaallit Nunaat before the Danish arrived?

Well functioning communities who had survived the harsh Arctic climate for thousands of years

Do Danish teachings about pre-colonial Kalaallit Nunaat represent your beliefs? How are they similar/different?

Danish teaching is that they saved us from being poor savages. I believe we were well functioning independent communities

Do you feel connected to Denmark, if yes—how so?

I live and work in Copenhagen, the Danish capital. I have children with a Danish woman.

Are there differences between Greenlandic and Danish ways of being? What are the ways that Inuit life/identity may look different if there was not Danish rule?

1) Inuit are tribal people, thinking about the community as a whole before one self. Qallunaat (whites) are much about the individual, about competition, about enriching yourself, very materialistic and narcissistic. 2) Technologically no difference, we adapt well to new stuff. The big difference would be that the Inuit would be much richer economically

What are your thoughts about Donald Trump's comments about buying Kalaallit Nunaat? How do you feel about Denmark's response?

Donald Trump trying to buy Greenland was absurd, so was the Danish reactions that was more about keeping the colony as it is (Status Quo) than about the people of Kalaallit Nunaat.

Is there a difference between how older generations feel about Denmark/ Danish colonialism compared with younger generations?

There is a kind of decolonization among the older generation, where the younger generation is still colonized and follows the Danish colonizers way of thinking much tighter, which is quite natural. I was the same when I was young, doing everything I could to satisfy my oppressors.

Appendix M: Participant 9 Interview Transcript

*Wanted to be identified: Juaaka Lyberth

What does it mean to be Greenlandic?

It is to feel like a Greenlander when one of your parents comes from Greenland. Being born in the country - not necessarily living in the country - necessarily not being able to speak the language. To be a Greenlander today is to define himself as a Greenlander. Greenlanders today are a mix between Danish-Norwegian / Europeans and Eskimos / Inuit - over the last 4-300 years - at least us living in West Greenland from Upernavik in the north to Nanortalik in the south”.

What are your general thoughts/feelings about Denmark, Danes, and “Danishness”?

From my childhood to my adult life, Denmark and Danes have been in my consciousness - not as evil or particularly negative.

It was not dominant in my consciousness, but it was there. In my home, of course, we are Greenlanders, we spoke, ate and lived like other Greenlanders, even though our siblings were brighter in hair and face than others (both my parents have Danish-Norwegian ancestry - like most are in West Greenland.

But our mother said that we should not be submissive to the Danes - that we are equal and equal with them, but we have always been a little embarrassed by strangers. Greenland

In my childhood village there were maybe 15-20 max Danish. The residents of the city: business manager, and office assistants, administration, doctors, nurse - teachers - technical staff - and their children. The craftsmen came in the summer and built houses, school, etc. 2-3 months - then they traveled again. The Danes kept a little to themselves, the children had their own school classes. Uummannaq, my childhood town was a small town with a few hundred inhabitants and 8 settlements around the district. We learned a lot about Denmark and Danish conditions in primary school, so in a way we were 4 children who were sent to school breaks in Denmark well equipped, even though we could hardly speak Danish. Danes in Greenland and Danes in Denmark are very different. My generation grew up during the modernization period - during the two decades, 1950-60. The reaction. Towards turning Greenland and Greenlanders into Danish came in 1970, especially from the generation I grew up with. We got home rule in 1979.

What are the ways that you identify yourself in various settings?

I don't quite understand the question - I am a Greenlander in bone, marrow and soul, wherever I am. But when someone starts asking questions about whether "bright Greenlanders" are real Greenlanders, or "Greenlanders who can't Greenlanders" are true Greenlanders, then I always take them in defense - of course, they are all Greenlanders. Sometimes I say that I am a mixture of 8 or 16 different ethnic groups - but I am therefore very much 100% Greenlander.

How has the presence of Denmark impacted your own life/identity?

Of course, it has confirmed in my identity as a Greenlander that I am a Greenlander and a Greenlandic and not a Danish. It's that simple. I don't mind Danes - but I have my attitude, my political understanding, and as a songwriter and writer, I can write about things that have happened in society that I don't agree in the Greenland-Danish relationship over 300 years, Oppressive conditions, wrong political decisions vis-à-vis Greenlanders, etc. To be socially critical, which was politically controlled by Danes and Denmark. But I have no hatred in my mind. Like many others, in my basic position I am certainly greatly influenced by the Christian Lutheran attitude, Danish generosity and openness - the democratic values and human rights, sustainability, etc. Such basic positions are (when it comes to this) influences from Denmark, but therefore you have to be 100% Greenlandic and everything that belongs to it.

Did you grow up in Denmark/Kalaallit Nunaat? What do you remember as the most significant part of growing up there/here?

As I said, I was born in Uummannaq in northern Greenland and grew up there until I was 13 years old. I do not think that I can point to a certain significant part. My basic knowledge of Greenland stems from that. Part of my research of Greenland's time before, and around, the introduction of Christianity is about and from the Uummannaq area. Uummannaq is a city in the Arctic (not highly arctic, not subarctic, but just arctic). This means that Uummannaq (like my childhood town in the 1950s-60s) holds all the images a true Greenlandic city should hold in the minds of Europeans and many Americans. Ice at sea in winter and dog sleds, sled dogs, seal hunters and kayakers, whalers, etc. Midnight sun in summer. Fantastic beautiful scenery, with high mountains, lots of large icebergs. Yes, the cinema had its entrance then, so we've seen a lot of John Wayne movies and played cowboy and Native Americans (and have captured Danish and Greenlandic "enemy boys" and have tied them up in pagan tombs). Get up early in January in the cold house and take with dad on longline fishing before he leaves for work at 08:00am in the morning.

My father was the leader for Greenlandic port workers in the Royal Greenland Trade (KGH). He appreciated meeting exactly for work. That's probably what has stuck with me, besides the fact that in my adult life, after forming a family, it became my tradition to get up at 530am and go for a walk in January.

Were you formally educated in Denmark/Kalaallit Nunaat? If so, what did you learn in school about Denmark/Greenland?

I went to elementary school in Uummannaq. Then 1 year of schooling in Denmark. Then the real school in Nuuk 4 years. At one point I started or as a radio studio techniques student in KNR, but quit because I want to continue with education at Danish high school (At that time there were no colleges in Greenland). After that, I worked as a school teacher in Uummannaq school for a year. Then I started at the University of Copenhagen at the Institute of Eskimology and the Department of Ethnography / Anthropology, from 1977 to 1984. However, I did not finish it, I composed music, toured with the band in Denmark and the Nordic countries, was politically active and much more. In 2014, I resumed my studies and became a Cand. Mag. in Eskimology (studies on Inuit culture and society. During the period 1984- 2014 I was editor of Greenland Radio Culture and Entertainment department for 10 years. Director of Greenland Cultural House Katuaq and director of Sisimiut Kulturhus Taseralik. From time to time I have been a

"political spin doctor" "And worked with communication and information, freelance culture journalist, etc.

What are your beliefs about Kalaallit Nunaat before the Danish arrived?

Before Christianity, the Greenlandic religion is the same as other Inuitters in North America, Canada and Siberia. Christianity was introduced in West Greenland 300 years ago. In the polar region and in East Greenland it is only a little over 100 years ago.

The belief that all living and non-living beings and animals have a soul. In spirit manners, witches and more - blood revenge: eye for eye, tooth for tooth. Many living and taboo rules, especially for women, made life difficult and cumbersome. Inuit culture, religion and language have been studied well and thoroughly. Therefore, the University of Copenhagen had a special institute where you study Inuit exclusively traditional culture, way of life, religion and more. It is a great place to immerse yourself in the culture and history of its people.

Do Danish teachings about pre-colonial Kalaallit Nunaat represent your beliefs? How are they similar/different?

Pre-colonial times in Greenland are part of the syllabus in primary and secondary education and high school (now we have both colleges and universities at home). In the University you can choose to study Inuit culture and society, including faith and religion. My university's thesis is called: Greenlandic pre-Christian beliefs in the present. The difference between the Inuit original faith and the Christian faith is widely different. Scientist Knud Rasmussen has described 500 taboos and rules of living that MUST be observed, so as to avoid spirits and souls being offended and taking revenge on people. In Christianity there are the 10 commandments! It will take too long to describe the difference between Inuit's original faith and Christianity. Inuit faith is not humanistic but is harsh and ruthless - as we understand humanism in our generation. I give many lectures on Inuit original beliefs and customs on my tours, also on Inuit philosophy of life.

Has Danish presence in your life changed over time?

Danish presence in Greenland must be seen over time, over the last 300 years. That is changing. Up to 1940, Greenland was a kind of closed reserve - a protected colony where Greenland's traditional way of life, culture and language as a prisoner community with many winter, spring and summer settlements were preserved as far as possible. Although, of course, slow development happened. Population also participated in limited democratic co-determination, already in the 1850s a council was established in every colony, district - called the Constituency - which took care of social and criminal matters. In 1911, two Greenlandic Councils were established - one in the north and one in the south. Members of the National Council became elections in municipal subdivided regions. The National Council took care of political matters and was a kind of consultation partner to the Danish Parliament, which was the final legislative assembly. But in the National Councils, the top Danish state official was always Landsfoged, who was chairman. World War II was history for itself in Greenland. It was an eye-opener for many Greenlanders about what modern technology can accomplish. Remember that up until that time many Greenlanders lived with soapstone lamps with blubber oil as fuel. It was not until the 1940s that the Aladdin lamps (kerosene lamps) were allowed for all Greenlandic homes. After

World War II. When the world war ended and Greenland reconnected with Denmark and the Danish Prime Minister went on a tour of Greenland, journalists followed. The journalists could tell of misery, poverty, poor housing (earth huts). Diseases, high mortality and poor educational system, etc. The Danish Newspapers accused the Danish state of neglecting and failing the Greenlandic people and society to develop into modern societies. At the same time, the United States wanted to buy Greenland from Denmark (The United States did so in the late 1800s and most recently in 1917 when Denmark sold its colonies - the West Indies to the United States). Remember, Greenland is geographically part of the American continent and part of the US defense sphere of interest in the Monroe Doctrine. The High Arctic region - the polar region of the Thule district, would most likely become the American colony if Knud Rasmussen had not approached Robert Perry and planted a Danish flag on the spot. The area was Knud Rasmussen's own colony until the 1930s, when the Danish state was not interested in establishing a colony up there. On the other hand, in the 1930s-40s, the Greenlandic population wanted modernization and development, not least equality with Danish and learning the Danish language, etc. But they did not want to get rid of Denmark. The population wanted to be part of Denmark, but as equal citizens with equal rights and opportunities. During the WW II was Greenland an independent country - With special agreements with the United States and Canada. Trade agreements - defense agreements etc. It was because Denmark was occupied by the Germans.

When Denmark was liberated after WWII there was great joy in Greenland. Money was raised to help those in need in Denmark. Not least, the youth associations in Nuuk gathered for a flagpole and the purchase of the Danish flag - Dannebrog - and raised it at a large ceremonial solemnity in the summer of 1945 with the words: "This flagpole and this flag must be the symbol that Greenland and Greenlanders will always be a part of the Danish kingdom ". That flag is raised every Sunday and at festivities - to this day in Nuuk's city center, though many have forgotten its history. So Greenland did not want to be bought by the US and declared its allegiance to Denmark. That was in 1945. In 1953, the Danish constitution was changed in Denmark and Greenland became an equal part of the kingdom. Greenland got 2 representatives in the Danish legislative assembly - the Folketing. There have even been Ministers for Greenland in the Danish government, elected in Greenland. It was in the 1950s-60s that Greenland was modernized. Over 2 decades, Greenland achieved what other countries had achieved over 2 hundred years. Material and physics, it went super well. Many Danish season workers came and built the country, many other professionals came to Greenland, doctors and health professionals, illnesses were reduced, the infrastructure was improved, teachers built the education system so that it was equal to the Danish, administrative and technical staff came, etc. It was all paid for by the Danish state. Greenlanders didn't even pay income tax back then. It was a great success materially. The number of the Greenlandic population doubled and income more than doubled. Where it went wrong was in spirit, soul and culture. It should all be like in Denmark. And it was against this policy of Danification that large sections of the population reacted against it. One wants to have the right of self-determination over one's own country, to preserve one's culture, language, identity and way of life. This meant that Greenland's Home Rule was introduced in 1979, and was expanded to Self-Government in 2009.

What are the ways in which Denmark acknowledges the colonial past in Kalaallit Nunaat?

If you read the report and the law on the introduction of Home Rule for Greenland, you will see that Denmark recognizes Greenland's colonial past, while at the same time recognizing that Greenlanders have their own culture, language and way of life (and values).

For me to see is the negotiations on the introduction of Greenland's Home Rule and the introduction of it - also a reconciliation and forgiveness between Greenland and Denmark about the past. When the Self-Government is introduced, the law states that Greenland and its population can decide for themselves whether they will become an independent state. Legally, the road is otherwise open for Greenland to become independent. But I think there are still a long way to go for economic reasons and for many other reasons.

Do you feel connected to Denmark, if yes—how so?

I do. Both my children have received their education in Denmark (one has just become a pilot, the other is a trained architect. I myself went to a Danish university; my wife is educated in Denmark). I have a large network and partners of colleagues both in Denmark and in the rest of the Nordic countries. But in every respect, I represent Greenland. I get ideas and inspiration from Denmark and the Nordic countries.

Are there differences between Greenlandic and Danish ways of being? What are the ways that Inuit life/identity may look different if there was not Danish rule?

Look at how the situation is among Inuit in Siberia. Look at how Inuit was treated in Alaska. Look at how the situation is among Inuit in Canada. And try to compare the different Inuit countries / communities or other countries with indigenous population, in Australia, New Zealand, Hawaii, and how they are treated by "the white man"? I think no Greenlander wants to be treated the way they were in Canada, the US and Siberia / Russia or other countries. Of course, Denmark has affected our lives on good and evil, but we cannot be stuck in the past. In 2014, the Greenland Government set up a Reconciliation Commission - to reconcile with its Greenland-Danish past. The Reconciliation Commission has completed its work and more did not come of it. Greenlanders are now part of the global world with 4G internet connection to 92% of the country's population, the remaining 8% have satellite connections. We have SMART TV, LED lighting etc and 5G internet is on the way. Greenlandic companies, municipalities and government are working hard to meet the UN's 17 Sustainable Development Goals. We have free health system for everyone, free education system, we take care of the old. Unemployed get unemployment support. We have rich association life and many sports clubs, where the public sponsors in large style, so that all children have the opportunity to participate in the sports activities. We pay 42-44% tax, in addition to all working people having to save 10% of their salary for their pension. We are a modern society with its own legislative assembly and government - and we are our Greenlandic government. We are a miniature model of the Danish welfare state, and we are proud of it! I'm not saying we don't have problems - there are many problems and challenges in our community. But we can handle them and try to solve them all the time.

What are your thoughts about Donald Trump's comments about buying Kalaallit Nunaat? How do you feel about Denmark's response?

It's very American. The United States has bought many countries - several states bordering Mexico and Alaska have been bought by Russia, besides the United States has bought various colonies. So the idea of buying land is no stranger to Americans. For the Greenlandic population, the idea is foreign. One cannot buy land in Inuit native lands. You can do that in the US and Canada now, but you can't in Greenland. The whole country belongs to the entire population and is available to everyone. In a modern society, of course, there must be some legislation on rights of use and concessions. But in principle, Greenland is jointly owned by its population. Of course, you can't buy Greenland. Another thing is that you can negotiate, for example, Self-government within the state - or freer association system between states. After all, the United States is made up of many independent states, just as the EU is made up of independent states. There are many political ways to be partners. I think Trump's attempt was clumsy and not very diplomatic, absurd as the Danish Prime Minister replied. I agree with the Danish Prime Minister's response and the Greenlandic President's response.

Is there a difference between how older generations feel about Denmark/ Danish colonialism compared with younger generations?

In the 1970s I was a young man, now I am 67 years old. And what is the older generation compared to me. I have briefly described what political desires the generation that lived in the 1930s, 1940s, 1950s-60s had. They wanted equality with Danish and with Denmark. Away from colonial status to equality. They wanted to fulfill this wish with the constitutional change in 1953. But it was equality on Danish terms and it cut the Greenlandic soul into the soul of the Greenland. The younger generation who were young in the 1960s and 1970s wanted equality on Greenlandic terms and Greenlandic values. This wish was fulfilled with the introduction of the Home Rule in 1972, expanded with Self-Government in 2009. I do not mean that you can generally say how the different generations feel for Denmark today. Like so many other countries, the population of Greenland is moving from small towns / villages to large cities - especially to Nuuk. But there are just as many people moving from Greenland to Denmark. It has been happening over the last 2-3 decades. There lives approx. 17-18,000 with Greenlandic descent in Denmark. It is both young, growing and especially old. It is difficult to measure the emotions of some endeavors. The picture is not just black and white, there are many shades in between. One thing is a political dream and desire - another thing is what is realistic to get accomplished. As mentioned, Greenland is a model of the Danish / Nordic welfare society and it really costs a lot of money. I think the vast majority of Greenland residents have recognized that if we are to be an independent state, then we must first free ourselves from the Danish state's financial subsidies, which are approx. 40-50% of the entire Greenland financial budget. To achieve this, it requires our gross national production to increase by 150%. This is not possible in the foreseeable future. Most political parties are working towards Greenland's independence, but economic self-sufficiency is the first priority and it will be a sword. There are many things to do about being structurally things, and we lack labor to the extent that financial independence can seem like an impossible dream. I believe that this recognition has come to the attention of many younger well-educated Greenlanders, in contrast to some older Greenlanders who hope and believe that everything will work out for the best, only Greenland becomes independent. Political moods can change very quickly here in Greenland. Up until the parliament election in 2013, it sounded like all political parties wanted independent Greenland within a decade. Someone even said in 2021. After the election, a Constitutional Commission was set up to work

with the Greenlandic constitution when the country became independent. In the later elections after 2013, all talk of independence is almost muted. The desire for closer cooperation and connection with Denmark has become the big agenda theme from Greenland's politicians. And the Constitutional Commission has become a farce and almost stalled. Maybe independence will come to Greenland - but it will probably only happen in one or two generations.

Appendix N: Juaaka Lybert Interview Feedback

Regarding the discussion about who is a Greenlander and how individual individuals / persons feel treated in Greenland, it has become purely Greenland's concern after the introduction of the Home Rule in 1979. Thus, it is a discussion of residents in Greenland between and not a facility between Greenlanders / Greenland. and Danes / Denmark. That discussion - who is the real Greenlander - has been going on for over a hundred years in Greenland.

In the late 1800s and early 1900s, there was discussion in the two Greenlandic national newspapers (which appeared once a month) about who the real Greenlanders were. Someone believed that only those who live by being hunters are the real Greenlanders - not the few who have become workers or officials. 100% pure ethnic Greenlanders (despite all Vet Greenlandic Christian surnames all have a Danish or Norwegian "ancestor") and mixtures, descendants of Greenlandic - Danish / Norwegian marriages were registered separately.

A few years later they stopped registering mixtures and "clean", because over 50% in many colonies had become descendants of mixtures (the colonies are today the Greenlandic cities). The discussion about who is a true Greenlander got another twist: What does the definition have to be, to be perceived as real Greenlander?

Is it possible to speak Greenlandic in order to be perceived as Greenlander? I believe that the vast majority of Greenlandic people today accept that we Greenland's people are mixed people - that Greenlanders are of mixed origin. Some of us speak perfect Greenlandic others speak only Danish. But we are all Greenlanders. Then we have ethnic minorities in Greenland, and they are Danes, Faroese, Icelanders, people from Thailand and the Philippines. There are other small groups as well.

I acknowledge that the debate about identity continues to happen and that it can hurt when individual people who define themselves as Greenlanders are not accepted by other Greenlanders in Greenland. So the relationship between Greenlanders and Danes in Greenland, and the relationship between Greenlanders, has changed - and is much more nuanced than one can really imagine.

The same applies to the relationship between Greenlanders and Danes in Denmark. But if you see the Greenlandic people with UN international law - The right of the people to independence, in the United Nations definition - then in the Greenlandic Autonomy Act accept that "the Greenlandic people" (in Greenland) have the right to self-determination, and if the Greenlandic people themselves want 100% independence - then it is up to the Greenlandic people themselves determining.

The question then becomes how a future Greenlandic State will define its citizens and make no difference to its citizens. Residents of a state all have equal rights and obligations and are entitled to the protection of the state. Greenland has accepted the UN and Europe's Human Rights, just as Greenland must comply with other rights - for example children's rights.

It must - for me to see - necessarily mean that the definition of "the Greenlandic people" must include all the people who have chosen to settle in the Greenlandic state, not just those of Inuit ethnic origin, but all groups. The same is true in the United States, where the American people are made up of many different ethnic groups. I am not saying that this is unproblematic, but in principle all citizens have equal rights and obligations.

Juaaka

February 21, 20

