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## Towards meaningful youth engagement

*Breaking the frame of the current public participation practices in Greenland*

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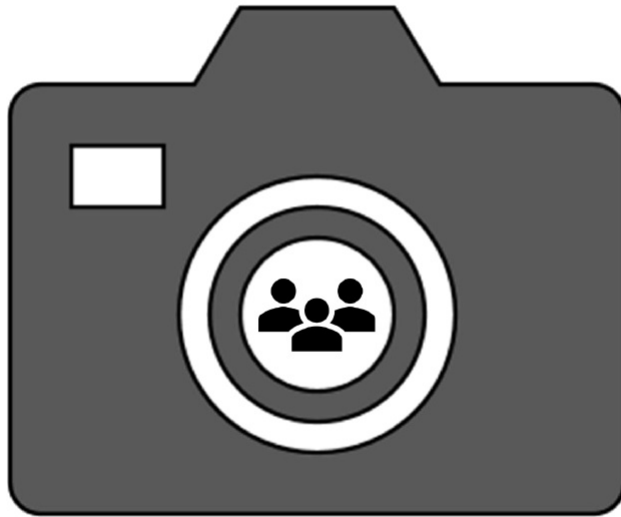
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# TOWARDS MEANINGFUL YOUTH ENGAGEMENT

BREAKING THE FRAME OF THE CURRENT PUBLIC  
PARTICIPATION PRACTICE IN GREENLAND

BY  
**ANNA-SOFIE HURUP SKJERVEDAL**

DISSERTATION SUBMITTED 2018



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**Anna-Sofie Hurup Skjervedal**



**AALBORG UNIVERSITY**  
DENMARK

Dissertation submitted

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# AUTHOR'S PREFACE

One of the things that I have come to experience and learn during my three years of conducting research for this PhD dissertation – which I consider as much a source of motivation and excitement as frustration – is to be prepared and open for the unexpected, and that the unexpected might take your research in directions never anticipated.

Taking point of departure in an initial field study of public consultation (PC) meetings in Northwest (NW) Greenland, relating to the offshore oil exploration activities in the Baffin Bay, the initial aim was to, at close hand, observe and engage with the various stakeholders both directly and indirectly involved in the public participation (PP) process. The objective was to explore how these different actors perceived and approached the concept and practice of PP. However, the field study also led to other discoveries, which added new perspectives and disclosed further challenges and questions to pursue, as I accumulated and built new knowledge of what took place in the field. It was not until I began exploring participatory visual approaches that I became consciously aware of the potential that visual representations have in eliciting unique sets of meanings and understandings. As such, retrospectively, the frame set for this dissertation stems from a coincidental encounter with two local women in Qaanaaq during the initial PC round-trip.

As is often the case when travelling in Greenland, bad weather and challenges of logistics meant that the planned activities were momentarily put on hold. While waiting, I had what I considered an informal conversation with a mother and her adult daughter. The conversation took place in the common living room at Hotel Qaanaaq, which was decorated with traditional hunting equipment, handicrafts made of beads, wood and bone, and photographs. I was not aware of it at the time, but these visual representations guided our conversation and opened a window to a knowledge and understanding that I would otherwise never have acquired.





*Fig. 1 “Pearl handicraft under see-through tablecloth.”  
Qaanaaq, April 2012. Photo: A. Skjervedal.*



*Fig. 2 “Traditional hunting equipment, beads, photos, and a killer  
whale mandible”. Qaanaaq, April 2012. Photo: A. Skjervedal.*

For instance, I would probably not have come to know that people in Qaanaaq – although only occasionally – practice the dangerous hunt of killer whales, and that it is said that the killer whales have the ability to remember who killed a member of their pack, which will induce the animals to attack that specific hunter. Also, had it not been for the picture of the elder of the two women in friendly embrace with the crown prince of the Danish royal family, I would probably not have found out that

they were old friends, and that she had attended the royal wedding – or that, way back, she was related to the famous ‘Greenland explorer’ Knud Rasmussen.

As the talk fell on dogsledding, the woman’s daughter told me that her husband had just gone off on his dogsled on a guided tour for tourists. Off-season, though, her husband is a traditional hunter, and he provides the main income for their family, which also comprises their two teenage sons.

Knowing of the yet much-prevalent hunting traditions in this northern part of Greenland, I asked her whether she wanted her sons to become hunters like their father. Even though she had spoken very proudly of the strong hunting traditions in Qaanaaq, she said with determination: “No, I don’t want my sons to become hunters. The future as a hunter is too uncertain. My boys are to be educated.” The eldest son aspired to become a police officer, and the younger son had just spent two years at an independent boarding school for lower secondary students in Denmark. To save money to pay for their son’s stay, they had been living at their summer cottage in a very small settlement for three whole years.

Their staunch efforts to provide a different future for their children made a deep impression on me, partly because of their living conditions being so different from my own upbringing in Greenland, partly because their story speaks of a time of change in Greenland and the very different preconditions people may have for adapting to these changes. The story also made me much aware of my own assumptions of life in NW Greenland. I realised that, although being a Greenlander and having spent most of my childhood and young adulthood in Greenland, I barely knew anything about this northern part of my own home country.

While listening to the stories of the two women’s lives, as they shared their perceptions of and aspirations for the future of the young boys, new knowledge and understanding grew, and their stories steered me in the direction of what was to become the overarching focus of my PhD dissertation.



*Fig. 3 “A hunter returns home at 11 PM.” Qaanaaq, April 2012.*

*Photo: A. Skjervedal.*

It sparked an awareness of how a visual approach could contribute to breaking the frame of the current PP practices, and elicit unique, in-depth, contextual knowledge of the values, interests, needs, and aspirations within local communities, and give voice to the marginalized youth through a more collaborative process, enabling the young participants themselves to set the frame.

*Anna-Sofie Hurup Skjervedal,*

Nuuk, July 2018.

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Professor Mark Nuttall, my co-supervisor, for your guidance, and for sharing your extensive and valuable experiences and in-depth knowledge of living and doing research in NW Greenland.

The Department of Social Sciences, Economics and Business at the Institute of Social Science, Economics and Journalism at Ilisimatusarfik (the University of Greenland), the Department of Planning at the Faculty of IT and Design at Aalborg University, as well as Maersk Oil Kalaallit Nunaat A/S for funding this joint PhD project, enabling me to contribute to the, at present, scarce research within the field of public participation and youth engagement in Greenland.

Maersk Oil Kalaallit Nunaat A/S for sponsoring the initial field trip and letting me have a seat at the public consultation tour in NW Greenland, April 2012, which laid the foundation for this PhD dissertation.

Cairn Energy PLC for kindly sponsoring my second field trip and having me onboard throughout your public consultation round-trip in NW Greenland, September 2013.

My fellow PhD colleagues for their inspiration, solidarity, and for sharing the ups and downs of everyday PhD life.

All who invested time and efforts to participate and engage in the research and teaching activities throughout the PhD project, including research participants and guest speakers. I am much grateful for your contributions which provided me with great motivation to do this piece of research and made the work all worthwhile. Your contributions are the very reason why this research is relevant, and they gave this PhD project substance and depth.

The researchers and associates of the Arctic Challenge project – for ‘translating’ my research and creating awareness of the youth engagement project in forums outside academia, as well as for providing the opportunity to go on a final inspirational field trip to Upernavik, from which I brought home valuable local contextual knowledge that may serve as building blocks for future research in the area of youth engagement in NW Greenland and beyond.

Emil, my husband and best friend, for your eternal love and support, your knowledge, drive, and adventurous spirit; for living your dreams; and for your courage to pull up your roots and go on this Arctic journey with me and our two ‘gold nuggets’. May our adventure never end.

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My parents, in-laws, and extended family for your loving support across distances, and for lending a helping hand looking after both kids (and ‘adopting’ our dog) when we were struggling to make ends meet while settling in our new Arctic home and while finishing this PhD dissertation. I am so grateful.

My loving friends for our talk’n’walks in the forest and innumerable cups of tea; for your exquisite ways of just knowing and ability to truly understand; for always

being there, and for your great inspiration to me as a woman and as a mother. You are in my heart and mind, always.



# ENGLISH SUMMARY

With the aim to explore what may characterise meaningful participation and how meaningful youth engagement may be facilitated, this PhD dissertation explores contemporary processes and practices of Public Participation (PP) as an inherent component of social impact assessment (SIA) processes.

The four component fieldworks and papers of the dissertation takes point of departure in a case study concerning the PP process and practice in relation to hydrocarbon exploration activities in Baffin Bay, Northwest Greenland.

Drawing parallels between the Greenland case and PP research beyond Greenland as well as the extractive sector, the component studies reveal strong convergence between PP challenges as experienced in Greenland and within PP research in general, accentuating that there is plenty of room for improvements and a need for further knowledge to shape – and continuously reshape – the path towards facilitating a PP process and practice that is both efficient and meaningful to all parties involved.

A major challenge shared is arguably the gap between the high standards and aims set for PP and realising meaningful PP in practice. Stressing meaningful participation as a vital foundation towards securing a sustainable development at both local, regional, and national levels, the preliminary studies of the dissertation investigate stakeholder perceptions of the concept and current practice of PP in Greenland. The findings indicate that the key barrier towards meaningful PP entails discrepancies in stakeholder perceptions of what PP is, what it should do, and how to do it. The differing perceptions and approaches to PP arguably constitute the primary underlying barrier towards providing an opportunity for people in the potentially affected local communities to influence and shape decisions that may significantly impact their way of life. Further, especially youth is lacking in the PP process and practice.



On the basis of lessons learned from the component studies of this dissertation and PP research in Greenland and beyond, it is concluded that features characteristic of ‘meaningful’ participation entail:

I: a clear definition of the purpose of participation as well as early knowledge and experience exchange through mutual dialogue between project proponents, government authorities, and the potentially affected communities, so as to manage expectations, guarantee learning, establish trust, and promote sustainable development through resilience and capacity building, and involvement in the project planning, assessment, and decision process;

II: the use of a broader range of PP forms providing opportunities for including a broader representative voice among the local communities, through tailoring the PP form(s) to the specific project, local context, and target group, with focus on creating a ‘safe’ forum for active and collaborative engagement.

With the underlying premise that new and more innovative PP approaches, taking point of departure in the everyday ways of communication of youth, may facilitate opportunities for empowerment of these future stakeholders of development, inspired by international youth participation research, the final studies seek to break the frame of the current PP practice by exploring online and visual participation forms to uncover yet hidden voices among the marginalised youth

Drawing lines to what may be characterised as meaningful participation, the thesis concludes that online and visual participation forms may pose significant potential as opportunities for young people to meaningfully engage and rise from non-participants to resources in decision-making regarding matters that may affect their lives and hold consequences for their future.

# DANSK RESUMÉ

Med det formål at undersøge, hvad der udgør meningsfuld inddragelse, samt at fremme meningsfuld inddragelse af unge, undersøges i nærværende ph.d.-afhandling den aktuelle praksis indenfor borgerinddragelse i relation til 'Vurdering af Samfundsmæssig Bæredygtighed' (VSB).

Afhandlingen bygger på fire feltarbejder og videnskabelige artikler og bidrager med ny understøttende viden om den nuværende borgerinddragelsespraksis i Grønland og forskning indenfor inddragelse af unge. Afhandlingens kappe fører læseren gennem det indledende casestudie om borgerinddragelsesprocessen og -praksissen i forbindelse med olieeftersøgningsaktiviteter i Baffin Bugten i Nordvestgrønland, hvor det specifikke fokus på meningsfuld inddragelse af unge tager sit afsæt.

Med udgangspunkt i den grønlandske case drages løbende paralleller til forskning indenfor borgerinddragelse hinsides den grønlandske kontekst såvel som til råstofsektoren, som viser, at udfordringerne, som de opleves indenfor borgerinddragelse i Grønland, også er velkendte fænomener indenfor borgerinddragelse generelt. Lighederne understreger omsætteligheden af afhandlingens studier til gavn for forskning indenfor borgerinddragelse og inddragelse af unge, og viser, at der er plads til betydelige forbedringer samt brug for yderligere studier mod at fremme en borgerinddragelsesproces og -praksis, der er både effektiv og meningsfuld for alle involverede parter.

En af de største fælles udfordringer er den tilsyneladende kløft mellem høje standarder og målsætninger for borgerinddragelse og det at sikre meningsfuld borgerinddragelse i praksis. Med afsæt i meningsfuld borgerinddragelse som forudsætning for bæredygtig udvikling på såvel nationalt som regionalt og lokalt niveau undersøges i afhandlingens indledende studier udfordringer ved borgerinddragelsespraksissen, som de opleves af en bred vifte af interessenter i Grønland. De indledende studier afslører manglende overensstemmelse mellem de

forskellige interessenters opfattelse af, hvad borgerinddragelsesbegrebet indbefatter, hvilket formål inddragelse tjener, samt hvordan disse målsætninger opnås. Disse uoverensstemmelser påstås at være den væsentligste hindring for meningsfuld inddragelse af de potentielt berørte lokalsamfund i beslutninger, der kan have stor indflydelse på deres livsførelse fremadrettet. Særligt unge savnes både i guidelines for borgerinddragelse og borgerinddragelsen i praksis.

På baggrund af de indeværende studier samt øvrige borgerinddragelsesstudier i og udenfor den grønlandske kontekst konkluderes det, at meningsfuld inddragelse indebærer:

I: et klart defineret formål for inddragelsen, såvel som tidlig udveksling af viden og erfaring gennem gensidig dialog mellem beslutningstagere og de potentielt berørte lokalsamfund, med henblik på at afstemme forventninger, at sikre læring og tillid, at fremme bæredygtig udvikling gennem robusthed og mulighed for tilpasning til potentielt ændrede forhold afledt af det respektive projekt, samt involvering i planlægnings-, vurderings- og beslutningsprocessen;

II: brug af en bredere vifte af borgerinddragelses-former med henblik på etablering af en bredere repræsentativitet af lokalsamfundene gennem en nærmere skræddersyet borgerinddragelsespraksis tilpasset det pågældende projekt, den lokale kontekst og den specifikke målgruppe, med fokus på at skabe et trygt forum til fremme af aktiv deltagelse gennem samarbejde.

Med inspiration fra internationale studier indenfor unge inddragelse søges det med de endelige studier, som afhandlingen indbefatter, at bryde de gængse rammer for den nuværende borgerinddragelsespraksis og give lyd til tavse stemmer blandt de marginaliserede unge. På baggrund af tesen om, at nyere og mere innovative metoder øger muligheden for reel inddragelse af unge med aktiv deltagelse og

samarbejde i højsædet, søges det gennem online og visuelle inddragelsesmetoder at tilpasse en inddragelsesform særligt målrettet unge.

I afhandlingens sidste del sammenfattes resultaterne opnået gennem de empiriske studier i Grønland. Herefter reflekteres der over muligheder og barrierer mod meningsfuld inddragelse af unge, samt potentialet for bredere anvendelighed af de erfaringer og den viden, som studierne har tilvejebragt.



## 1. INTRODUCTION

This first introductory section serves to present the key problems and concepts which constitute the rationale behind this dissertation. Subsequently the research questions and underpinning objectives of the dissertation will be outlined, followed by a guiding overview of the structure of the dissertation and summaries of the four component papers.

Over the last decade, the extractive sector in Greenland has undergone a rapid development. The extractive industry development opportunities have brought along new prospects and challenges for the Greenlanders and sparked a considerable transformation of the Greenlandic society (Aaen 2011; Nuttall 2012b; Hansen and Larsen 2014; The Committee for Greenlandic Mineral Resources to the Benefit of Society 2014; Olsen and Hansen 2014; Hansen et al. 2016).

Being aware of the both negative and positive social impacts that the extractive activities may have, Greenland has implemented Social Impact Assessment (SIA) as a legal requirement when developing mineral projects in Greenland (Government of Greenland 2009; Government 2016a; Langhoff 2013). As emphasised in the SIA guidelines, this is to ensure collaboration and dialogue with the Greenlandic population towards building “sustainable relations between mineral resource companies, municipalities, affected individuals, other stakeholders as well as Greenlandic society in general” (Government of Greenland 2016a).

Public participation (henceforth ‘PP’) is integrated as an essential part of SIA to ensure interaction between these actors. The current most prevalent PP form in Greenland is public consultation meetings (henceforth ‘PC meetings’) and this PP form thus provides the main forum within which potentially affected communities may voice their concerns, fears, hopes, and aspirations in connection to project planning and decision-making of a proposed project (Olsen and Hansen 2014 – PAPER II; Government of Greenland 2016a).

The expected benefits of PP correspond with international impact assessment (IA) literature, stressing PP as a means to facilitate conflict mitigation, information exchange, mutual learning, as well as effective to avoid costly delays, to provide access to local knowledge, concerns, and preferences, and to enable the potentially affected community to gain a better understanding of the proposed project and plans, and hence improving their ability to make an informed opinion (Weston 1997; Bisset 2000; George 2000; Kapoor 2001; Glasson et al. 2005; Kjørnø 2007; O’Faircheallaigh 2010). Ideally, PP contributes to ensure a more democratic process, where transfer of power from government to the citizens enables the public to influence the decision-making process (Kjørnø 2007; Cashmore et al. 2008; Chavéz & Bernal 2008; Lockie et al. 2008; Ottinger 2013). However, to realise these potentials in practice is often proved difficult (Shepherd and Bowler 1997; Hibbard and Lurie 2000; Innes and Booher 2004; Head 2007; Udofia et al. 2016), as exemplified through the Greenland case (Nuttall 2012b; Olsen and Hansen 2014 – PAPER II; The Committee for Greenlandic Mineral Resources to the Benefit of Society, 2014; Wilson 2016; Hansen et al. 2016 – PAPER I, Skjervedal - PAPER III and IV).

Although PP in Greenland is stated to be on par with best international practice, the current form, content, and practice of PP has been subject to much criticism from various parties both within and outside Greenland. In a recent report on future scenarios for the development of Greenland, including contributions from a wide range of research experts, PP in the decision phase of the natural resource projects is described as being ‘insufficient’, ‘late’, and ‘overly narrow’ (The Committee for Greenlandic Mineral Resources to the Benefit of Society 2014). Further criticism includes lack of transparency in the decision -making processes regarding approval of activities, lack of proper available information (as well as difficulties in accessing this information), lack of adequate information, too much one-way communication, and a missing consensus on how the concept and purpose of PP are to be defined and how PP is best carried out in a Greenlandic context. Further criticism stresses the need for a higher level of inclusiveness to ensure that the interest of the general

public is taken into account and that a sustainable development is pursued (Aaen 2011; Titussen 2011; Myrup 2012; Nuttall 2012b; Hansen 2013; Hansen 2014; Olsen and Hansen 2014 – PAPER II; Hansen et al. 2016 – PAPER I; Johnstone and Hansen 2017).

The current PP process is not only costly and requires a lot of resources; it is arguably filled with barriers for facilitating opportunities for people in the local communities to participate in the PP process in an active and meaningful manner, which causes dissatisfaction and frustration among stakeholders both directly and indirectly involved in the process, including industry proponents, civil society, and the potentially affected communities in Greenland. Project proponents call for a more efficient PP process, while voices of the Greenlandic public demand a PP process that is more meaningful (HS Analyse 2014; Olsen and Hansen 2014 – PAPER II).

## **1.1. THE RESEARCH QUESTION AND OBJECTIVES**

Experience with extractive industry development in Greenland is yet scarce, and PP at current constitutes a largely unexplored research field in Greenland. Recognising PP as a vital means to ensure proper management of both positive and negative social impacts caused by development, and having great influence on how communities are affected as well as their resilience and capability to adapt to change, the legislative PP guidelines within SIA are consistent with high international standards (Weston 1997; Bisset 2000; George 2000; Kapoor 2001; Glasson et al. 2005; Kørnøv 2007; O’Faircheallaigh 2010; Olsen and Hansen 2014 – PAPER II; Hansen et al. 2016 – PAPER I; Government of Greenland 2016a). However, building on initial studies and preliminary reports of the contemporary PP process and practice in Greenland, drawing parallels to lessons learned within PP research and youth participation across nations and a variety of fields, this dissertation makes the case that the current primary PP process and practice applied



in Greenland and beyond often fails to induce meaningful opportunities for engagement and capture perspectives of youth in particular.

With the aim to break the frame of the current PP practice and contribute to fill the apparent gap between the claimed high standards and aims for PP and PP as experienced in practice, this dissertation aims to provide suggestive measures towards what lessons learned from the Greenland case as well as state-of-the-art research on PP may tell us about what ‘meaningful’ participation entails, and how to reach and engage, in particular, the marginalised youth. This is explored by investigating the research question:

*How may meaningful youth engagement be facilitated?*

In order to pursue answers to this main question, it is arguably necessary to specify what makes participation ‘meaningful’ by exploring the sub-question:

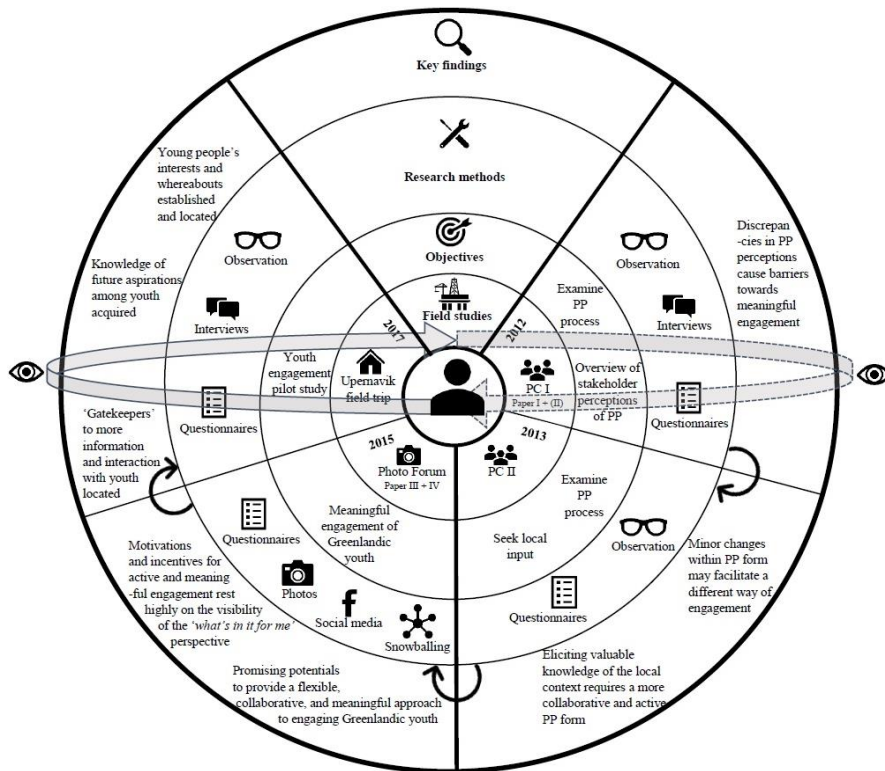
*What characterises meaningful participation?*

Founded on the component fieldworks and papers of this dissertation, the main research question and sub-question are addressed through the following objectives:

- I. investigating stakeholder perceptions of the concept and current practice of PP, and the potential implications these perceptions pose towards effective and meaningful involvement.
- II. testing alternative PP forms combining online participation tools with a visual anthropological approach to heighten the level and break the frame of the current, seemingly insufficient, PP process and practice, by promoting active engagement and eliciting valuable, otherwise unrealised, knowledge among the future stakeholders of development, namely youth.

## 1.2. A GUIDING OVERVIEW

This PhD dissertation comprises a covering essay embracing four fieldworks and four papers (see List of Publications: PAPER I, II, III and IV), which all contributes to the research objectives set forth (section 1.1.). The essay serves to synthesise the fieldworks and papers through the appliance of a visual anthropological framework, and to elicit suggestive measures from each of the respective studies in an attempt to answer what may characterise meaningful participation and how meaningful youth engagement may be facilitated.



*Figure 4: A visual representation of the PhD dissertation.*

A visual representation of the PhD dissertation is presented in Figure 4. Stressing the voice of the people in the potentially affected local communities, ‘the human’ is

placed in the center. Moving outwards from the core, the four field studies conducted during the dissertation are displayed, also informing of which the studies of the four respective component papers rests. Further outwards follows an outline of the objectives of each field study along with the respective applied research methods and key findings. The arrows indicate that the findings of the preliminary field studies lead to the succeeding fieldwork.

The contoured grey arrow, moving from the center to the left, indicates where in the research process the visual dimension began to take shape, and the stippled grey arrow that the visual perspective retrospectively ended up constituting the primary framework of the covering essay. By the use photos drawn from the respective studies, combined with figures and illustrations incorporated to underline key points and ease understanding throughout the dissertation, the visual dimension of the dissertation is sought to function as a red thread throughout the dissertation.

When reading the covering essay of this dissertation, some overlap and repetition between the covering essay and component papers must be expected due to the necessity for the papers to be able to stand alone.

Objective 'I', investigating stakeholder perceptions of the concept and current practice of PP, and the potential implications these perceptions pose towards effective and meaningful involvement, is explored in the fieldworks PC I (Section 5.1.) and PC II (Section 5.2.) as outlined in PAPER II, and, in part, PAPER I.

Objective 'II', testing alternative PP forms combining on-line participation tools with a visual anthropological approach to heighten the level and break the frame of current, seemingly insufficient, PP process and practice, by promoting active engagement and eliciting valuable, otherwise unrealised, knowledge among the future stakeholders of development - youth, is displayed in the 'Photo Forum' study (Section 5.3.) as outlined in PAPER III and IV. The final field study, the 'Upernavik field trip' (Section 5.4.), proposes preliminary components to consider in future research on meaningful engagement of youth.

PAPER I and II have been peer-reviewed and published in internationally acknowledged journals. These are co-authored papers with distinguished researchers of different nationalities and institutions, who all work within the fields of IA and PP; the former being an expert in the field in a Greenlandic context (please see ‘Co-author statements’ for further details of contributions). PAPER III and IV are solo contributions, which at the time this dissertation was printed are under peer-review.

### **1.3. LIST AND SUMMARIES OF COMPONENT PAPERS**

**Paper I:** Managing the social impacts of the rapidly expanding extractive industries in Greenland (Published 2016). *The Extractive Industries and Society*. Vol 3 (1): 25-33.

**Paper II:** Perceptions of public participation in impact assessment: a study of offshore oil exploration in Greenland (Published 2014). *Impact Assessment and Project Appraisal*. Vol 32 (1).

**Paper III:** Promoting youth engagement by coupling on-line and visual participation forms: An explorative case study using Facebook and photo-elicitation to target and actively engage youth in Greenland (In peer-review).

**Paper IV:** Youth as a resource in decision-making: Exploring young voices of imagined futures by the use of photos in interviews (In review).

PAPER I, II, III and IV can be viewed in full in ‘PART III: The component papers’.

***1.3.1. PAPER I: MANAGING THE SOCIAL IMPACTS OF THE RAPIDLY EXPANDING EXTRACTIVE INDUSTRIES IN GREENLAND (PUBLISHED).***

My contribution to PAPER I comprises a section on the challenges and opportunities of PP detected in PC I, more thoroughly outlined in PAPER II. By addressing a broader range of issues within management of social impacts related to the rapid expansion of the extractive sector in Greenland, PAPER I serves as a more in-depth supplement to the overall introduction of the case of the extractive industry development in Greenland (section 2), and contributes to provide a broader picture of the specific context through which PP is explored in this PhD dissertation. PAPER I reviews the legal regulatory framework, which sets the basis for both management of social issues and guidelines for PP in Greenland, and points at ways to strengthen the management of social change to improve the benefits of the extractive industry development for Greenlandic society. The effective identification and management of social impacts arguably rest considerably on a thorough and meaningful PP process and practice, as presented in Section 2 and PAPER II, where PP is emphasized as a vital tool to promote resilience and adaption to change in the local communities. By semi-structured interviews exploring and categorising the social issues and challenges associated with ongoing development as perceived by people in Greenland, personal insights by Greenlandic researchers, a comprehensive review of limited literature on Greenland and the regulatory tools, PAPER I underpins several of the challenges towards facilitating meaningful PP also detected in PAPER II and PAPER IV, including governance issues in terms of lack of transparency in the decision-making process and lack of trust towards the government authorities, the vast geographical distances between the widespread communities, and not least the striking discrepancy between the attempt to secure local content in the extractive sector through training and employment and the apparent conflicting aspirations and preferred ways of life among the Greenlanders themselves.

***1.3.2. PAPER II: PERCEPTIONS OF PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN IMPACT ASSESSMENT: A STUDY OF OFFSHORE OIL EXPLORATION IN GREENLAND (PUBLISHED).***

PAPER II is founded on a field study of PC meetings in NW Greenland in relation to oil exploration activities in Baffin Bay in 2012. The study comprises participant observation, semi-structured interviews with a wide range of stakeholders involved both directly and indirectly in the PP process and practice (including oil exploration company representatives, government authorities, representatives of the Qeqqatta municipality, NGOs, and other related organisations), as well as local input through self-completion questionnaires. The paper provides an overview of purposes, tasks, challenges, as well as the desired level of PP, as perceived by the stakeholders and locals. The findings indicate wider discrepancies within PP perceptions causing difficulties towards facilitating a meaningful PP process, suggesting to strive for a more common consensus – reached through mutual dialogue, two-way information exchange, and trust-building – on how PP is to be defined, approached, and implemented in a Greenlandic context. Further, observations showed a very narrow representation of the local communities at the public consultation meetings, particularly in regards to youth.

***1.3.3. PAPER III: PROMOTING YOUTH ENGAGEMENT BY COUPLING ON-LINE AND VISUAL PARTICIPATION FORMS: AN EXPLORATIVE CASE STUDY USING FACEBOOK AND PHOTO-ELICITATION TO TARGET AND ACTIVELY ENGAGE YOUTH IN GREENLAND. (IN REVIEW).***

Although youth represents the population group most likely to experience the greatest impacts of development, youth remains largely marginalised in PP (public participation) processes. Novel youth engagement research highlights the potential to aid youth participation by way of the more innovative approaches made available by today's digital technologies. With point of departure in findings of PAPER II and

novel studies applying online and visual participation forms, this paper presents an explorative qualitative case study seeking to break the frame of the more traditional PP forms by combining the social media network Facebook and the visual anthropological method photo-elicitation to specifically reach and actively engage youth in Greenland. Mixed findings indicate that although the combined methods may provide a better opportunity for youth to actively engage on their own terms, these tools are not guarantees for active participation alone. Conclusively, the paper highlights young people themselves as the driving force in active participation, as well as the need for further research exploring how to actively engage youth in the PP process and practice.

***1.3.4. PAPER IV: YOUTH AS A RESOURCE IN DECISION-MAKING: EXPLORING YOUNG VOICES OF IMAGINED FUTURES BY THE USE OF PHOTOS IN INTERVIEWS. (IN REVIEW).***

Inspired by various studies incorporating visual methods to elicit in-depth understandings of the views and experiences on various phenomena specifically among youth, PAPER IV explores how the use of visual representations in an interview poses a distinctive way to prompt more in-depth, and otherwise unrealised knowledge, among young individuals. With point of departure in participant-produced photos collected through the Photo Forum study, the findings indicate how visual images may serve as a ‘common language’ among the young participants, through which they are empowered to engage actively and bring forth their hopes, fears, concerns, and aspirations for the future. The responses drawn from this preliminary and novel study display just a mere glimpse into the perspectives of a smaller group of the young generation in Greenland. However, the findings reflect a striking connection between the hopes, fears, and aspirations for the future among the young participants and contemporary issues in Greenland of both political, social, economic, and cultural character, which arguably emphasises the importance of increasing the focus on youth as a resource to ensure future sustainable development.

# **PART I: SETTING THE SCENE**

To set the scene and ensure a basic understanding of the Greenland case with regards to the current opportunities and challenges Greenland faces in managing development of the extractive sector in a sustainable manner, this chapter provides background information of the context and key concepts important for understanding the scope and rationale behind the research of dissertation.

The following will entail first an introduction of the extractive industry development in Greenland through time (Chapter 2). Underpinned by state-of-the-art literature I will then account for the founding principles and meaning of PP, along with its potential and growing importance in the international Social Impact Assessment (SIA) community. Further, the implementation of PP within the context of extractive industry development and social management in Greenland will be presented. Stressing the transferability potential of the PP challenges drawn from the Greenland case, I will draw further parallels to international PP studies external to Greenland and the extractive sector while outlining the potentials and shortcomings of PP for facilitating a substantial PP process and practice. Narrowing the focus to the striking non-participation of youth, the final section will argue for youth as significant resources for social impact management and making sustainable decisions.

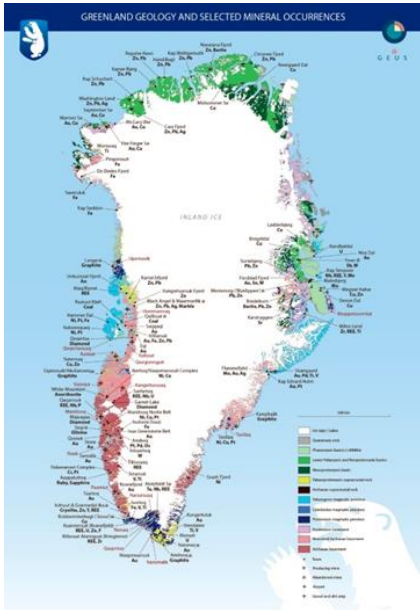




## **2. AN INTRODUCTION TO THE CASE OF THE EXTRACTIVE INDUSTRY DEVELOPMENT IN GREENLAND**

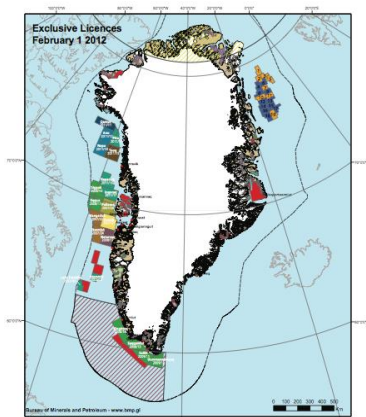
The geological mapping of Greenland is thorough and extensive, as exemplified by Figure 5, which provides an overview of the various mineral potentials in Greenland, and Greenland holds a long history of natural resources exploration and extraction. The first attempts at mineral exploration took place even before the colonisation of Greenland by Denmark at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and extraction was initiated in the 1840s with the opening of the highly profitable cryolite mine in Southern Greenland. The first petroleum exploration activities in Greenland were commenced in 1939 in the search for expected oil deposits in the Nuussuaq area. The interest in exploration for oil and gas grew during the late 1960s, which led to the first few offshore drillings in the 1970s, which took place offshore the coast of the Upernavik district in NW Greenland in the 1970s. The results were poor and left the oil companies with the impression that there were no commercially viable oil deposits in Western Greenland (The Committee for Greenlandic Mineral Resources to the Benefit of Society 2014; Sejersen 2014; Wilson et al. 2017).

On the lookout for new deposits of various natural resources, Greenland has once again gained the world's attention during the last decade. A report by the USGS in 2008, estimating that a vast amount of the last unexploited oil and gas reserves are hidden offshore Greenland, sparked renewed interest for oil and gas exploration (Bird et al. 2008).



**Figure 5: “Map of geological potentials in Greenland.” Source: geus.dk.**

Due to the changing climate exposing new land and opening up waters until recently covered in ice, its strategic position in the heart of the Arctic between the US and Russia, its rich potentials for resource extraction and exploitation of rare earth metals, iron, gold and potentially petroleum, and its contrasting pristine and vulnerable Arctic environment, Greenland has become a hot and widely discussed topic internationally (Degeorges 2012; Wilson 2016; Hansen et al. 2016 – PAPER I). However, the promising ‘oil adventure’ has been put on hold with the oil price crash in 2009 and 2015 (UNCTAD 2016; Wilson et al. 2017), and to date there has been no commercially viable oil find, and only a few minor mineral projects have been implemented (Wilson 2016). Figure 6 and 7 display the drastic decrease in hydrocarbon licenses from 2012 to present time. The figures presented are not to be scrutinised in detail, but merely illustrate the vast natural resource potentials and the range of activities on- and offshore Greenland in recent years.



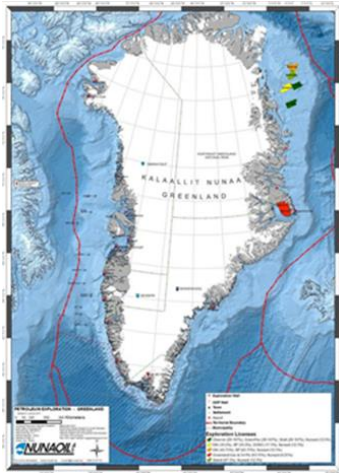
**Figure 6: “Petroleum Exploration License Map 2012.” Source: Nunaoil A/S (Olsen, 2012).**

Although the recent downturn in market prices has put the high hopes for what is often termed the “Råstofeventyr” – (in English ‘mineral adventure’) (Bjørst 2016) on hold, the interest to develop exploitation of the extractive industries within Greenland remains (Hoffmann 2014; Hansen et al. 2016 – PAPER I). Greenland has strived for economic independence through exploitation of its natural resources for several decades (Hendriksen and Hoffmann 2016), but since Greenland gained Self-Government in 2009, the desire for independence from Denmark and the Danish block grant seem stronger than ever.

Due to Greenland’s strong political quest for greater economic independence from Denmark, new sources of income are welcomed and actively promoted by the Government of Greenland (Nuttall 2012a; Hoffmann 2014; Wilson 2016).

In the Coalition Agreement of 2016 by the Government of Greenland, the Coalition Parties emphasise that, “all work must focus on ensuring Greenland's economic self-sufficiency” (Government of Greenland 2016a). The extractive sector is stressed as one of the four cornerstones to reach this goal, along with ‘fisheries and industry’, ‘tourism’ and ‘land-based industry and education’ (Government of Greenland 2016b), and with incentives to sustain societal prosperity and welfare through new sources of income and employment opportunities, the Government strives to increase the mining activities and further the chances of a commercially viable oil

find (BMP 2011; Økonomisk Råd 2013; The Committee for Greenlandic Mineral Resources to the Benefit of Society 2014; Hansen et al. 2016 - PAPER I; Ackrén 2016).



**Figure 7: “Petroleum Exploration License Map 2017.” Source: [nunaoil.gl](http://nunaoil.gl).**

The recent expansion of the extractive sector and exploration activities has already brought along drastic changes in Greenland at both local and national levels (Olsen and Hansen 2014 – PAPER II; Hoffmann 2014; Hansen et al. 2016 – PAPER I). While Greenlanders generally welcome this industrial development with high hopes for the future, experience with extractive industry development is yet limited in Greenland, and concerns about government capacities to manage large-scale projects stir both within and outside Greenland (Wilson 2016) along with uncertainty among the Greenlanders about life in the future (Østhagen, 2012; Hansen and Tejsner, 2016)

The concern is arguably well-justified. While proponents of oil-led development emphasise the potential benefits of the ‘black gold’ – such as improved economic growth and infrastructure, new opportunities for local jobs, and potential suppliers and increase governance revenues – glancing over oil-exporting nations, oil-led

development tends to have major negative effects on these countries, whereas the positive benefits are seldom realised. As explained by, among others, Hansen and Tejsner (2016: 84):

“oil and gas industries in particular generate significant revenues for the national economy, but while the oil industry provides opportunities for developing economies, it is not always ensured that the revenue and related benefits go to the locals living in the impacted communities and contributes to the development of the human social capital needed for sustainable development”.

(See also: O’Rourke and Connolly 2003; Bacon and Kojima 2011; Nuttall 2010; Uhlmann et al. 2014). Economists commonly term this ‘the resource curse’, which in general refers to the inverse relationship between growth and natural resource abundance, especially concerning minerals and oil, and highlights the importance of proper management of extractive industry development to avoid or diminish the negative social impacts of the development (Karl 2004).

With respect to the vulnerable Arctic nature and the small and dispersed communities in Greenland, it is arguably vital that the extractive development takes place in an environmentally, economically, and societally sustainable way (Gad et al. 2017). Sustainability in the Arctic context embraces a wide range of issues, such as health and wellbeing, identity and sustaining cultural values, protecting the ecosystems and the vulnerable Arctic environment, as well as the right to access, use, and manage the natural resources (Gad et al. 2017). In Greenland especially, there are strong interrelations between the human and natural environments, as the traditional way of life in Greenland is closely tied to the use of the country’s natural resources (KNAPK in Olsen 2012; Olsen and Hansen 2014 - PAPER II). Whether you make a living as a hunter or fisherman or use the land for recreational purposes, a sustainable management of the natural resources is fundamental to sustain and improve living standards and for people to continue their traditional way of life. Particularly, for the geographical location of the initial studies of this PhD

dissertation, NW Greenland, the traditional way of life is still much prevalent and cherished (Hansen and Tejsner 2016).

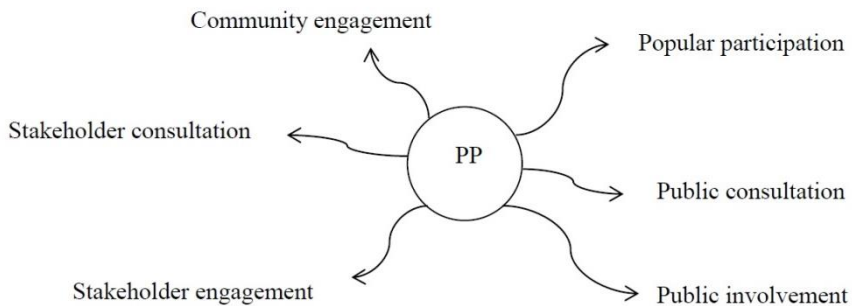
A sustainable extractive industry development is thus arguably much dependent on a meaningful and effective PP process ensuring that a broad representation of the views, needs, and concerns of people in the potentially affected local communities are heard and included in the decision-making process.

The contemporary IA system in Greenland is relatively new in that it has been implemented and developed throughout the past ten years. However, as some extractive projects have already been implemented, and more proposed, ‘the management regime’ has had to mature fast (Hansen and Johnstone 2017). Subsequent to the studies of PAPER I, II, III, and IV, the SIA guideline in Greenland has been subject to revision, with emphasis on supporting “a transparent process about openness and participation from relevant stakeholders to ensure the best possible sustainable development in Greenlandic society” (Government of Greenland 2016a). As a consequence, the PP regulation in Greenland now includes a ‘pre-consultation’ period of 35 days and a ‘White Paper’, which lists and addresses questions and comments posed during both the pre-consultation and the PC meetings, with references to how and where these will influence the SIA report. Further, a consultation fund has been established with the intention to support potentially affected individuals and relevant organisations so as to obtain knowledge and information enabling them to contribute to the development of a specific project in a constructive manner. Finally, it is stated that “it will be possible to supplement these meetings with other types of meetings and methods, including social media”, and that the license should “create, and actively use, a website in Greenlandic and Danish in a timely manner before the public consultations”, which “can be used to communicate relevant knowledge about the project and serve as a platform for stakeholder involvement and discussion” (Government of Greenland 2016a). Such measures are indeed commendable, and – to some degree – invite to ‘think out of the box’. However, the frame basically remains the same.

### 3. PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN GREENLAND AND BEYOND THROUGH THE LENS OF STATE-OF-THE-ART LITERATURE

#### 3.1. PP DEFINED

PP is a political principle and practice increasingly recognised by governments and practitioners, as well as a vital and integral component of an effective IA, endorsed by contemporary leading scholars (Burdge and Robertson 2004). The concept of PP is subject to a range of definitions within IA literature (Bisset 2000; Bishop and Davis 2002; André et al. 2006; O’Faircheallaigh 2009), and the term is often used interchangeably with concepts such as ‘public involvement’, ‘stakeholder (or community) engagement’, ‘stakeholder (or public) consultation’, or ‘popular participation’. However, these varying terms signify varying notions of levels of PP. The terms of PP are displayed in Figure 8.



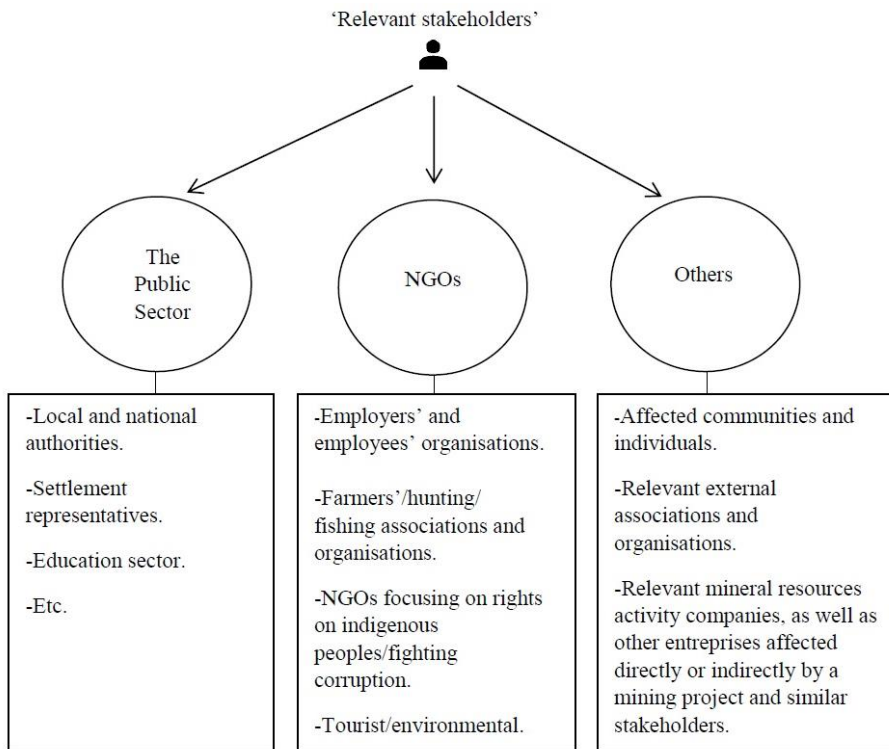
*Figure 8: PP terminology.*

To avoid confusion, I will elaborate on the general meanings behind the terms used throughout this covering essay: ‘PP’, ‘(community) engagement’ and ‘stakeholder consultation’. The term ‘youth engagement’ is also included in this dissertation, but will be presented separately in section 3.7.



Overall, ‘PP’ may be viewed as a systematic tool to inform and/or involve communities potentially affected by a project, as well as a tool to enhance influence of the communities in the decision-making process. As defined by O’Faircheallaigh (2010: 20), PP within IA processes constitutes a broader and more neutral term, which includes “any form of interaction between government, corporate actors, environmental interest groups and the public”, whereas ‘community engagement’, as argued by Udofia et al. (2015: 99), “refers specifically to the voluntary interaction between industry proponents, government agencies, and communities, typically indigenous communities whose rights and interests may be affected by any given projects (see also: Huttunen 1999; Usher 2000; Whitelaw et al. 2009). ‘Stakeholder consultation’ is the PP form required by the legal authorities in Greenland and involves “to inform and involve relevant and affected individuals and stakeholders early on in the process via ongoing dialogue and specific procedures, for example through information and consultation meetings as well as through relevant media” (Government of Greenland 2016a). In the SIA Guideline, the ‘relevant’ stakeholders are suggestively categorised into three areas, as illustrated by the overview in Figure 9.

There are various guiding principles on PP in use (see, e.g., Hart 1992; Driskell 2002; Burdge 2004; O’Faircheallaigh 2010; Udofia et al. 2015; Vanclay and Esteves 2011). According to the IFC Performance Standard 1 (IFC 2012), PP is described as “an ongoing process that includes stakeholder analysis and planning, disclosure and dissemination of information, consultation and participation, a grievance mechanism, and ongoing reporting to affected communities”, and the UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights (2011) states that the process of an impact assessment ought to include “meaningful consultation with potentially affected groups and other relevant stakeholders, as appropriate to the size of the business enterprise and the nature and context of the operation”.



**Figure 9: Relevant stakeholders (Government of Greenland 2016a: 24).**

The concept of PP is founded on a central right of citizenship, and resembles a means to build, sustain, and measure democracies through active engagement of local communities in decisions that have an impact on these communities (Hart 1992; Driskell 2002).

Essentially:

- “(a) development must, first and foremost, be in the interest of local residents, including young people;
- (b) people who live in the area being planned have the most intimate knowledge of the area and its issues (and young people have knowledge and perspectives that are different from those of adults);
- (c) the people who will be most affected by decisions have most at stake

and therefore have the right to participate in making those decisions” (Driskell 2002).

In essence, the key assumption is that locals know their community better than outsiders, and that the path to an effective PP process arguably rests on an open exchange between proponents, organisations, agencies, as well as the affected public and other interested parties (Burdge and Robertson 2004). What may further be drawn from these PP principles is the importance of engaging youth in the decision-making process in particular. Perspectives on youth engagement will be elaborated further in section 3.7.

### **3.2. THE GROWING IMPORTANCE OF PP**

As prices rise due to the shrinking mineral resource reserves, and the demand for minerals resources grows, extractive industry companies are forced to seek new potentials for resource extraction and exploitation. Meanwhile, public demands to become part of the planning and decision-making process of extractive industry projects increase, as advances in technology enable people to access and attain information on such projects and on their related rights, as well as it enables them to effectively organise and respond to such projects. Also, civil society keeps a close watch on the operations of the extractive industries (Buxton and Wilson 2013).

Due to challenges caused by the Arctic climate, the limited infrastructure, unequal access to information, as well as the distinct culture and traditions, Greenland stands arguably as a unique case. However, as is evident from international PP research and the component studies outlined in PART I, II, and III, various studies, both within and external to Greenland as well as the extractive sector, speak of commonly experienced challenges in balancing the many diverse interests and demands, reaching the full potential of PP, and to provide meaningful opportunities to influence decision-making. Placed in a comparative perspective, the major

shortcomings and challenges stands as pervasive challenges across nations such as government decision-making in the US (Innes and Booher 2004), Australia (Lockie et al. 2008; O’Faircheallaigh 2009; Head 2011), and Canada’s Arctic (Noble et al. 2013; Udofia et al. 2015 and 2017).

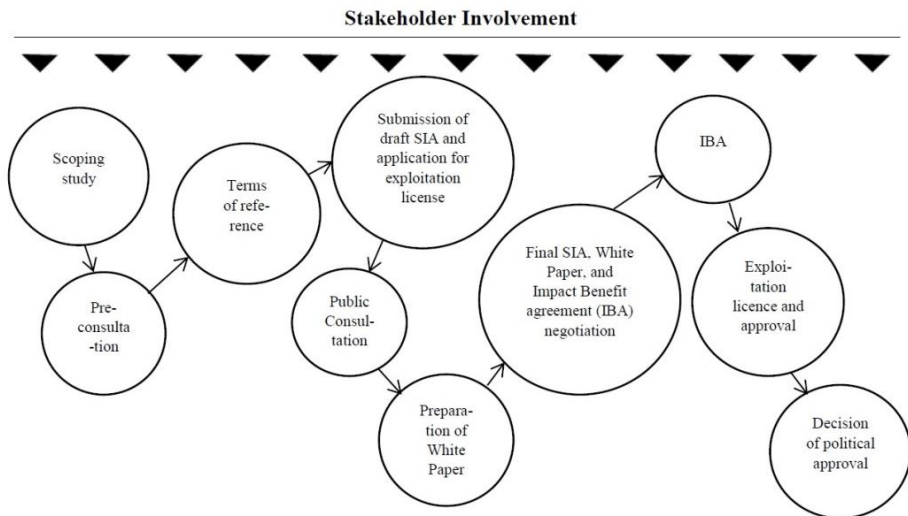
At a time of rapid extractive development in the Arctic, IA is becoming increasingly more complex due to pressures of the diverse stakeholders (Fischer 1993; Epstein et al. 2014; Drazkiewicz et al. 2015; Udofia et al. 2015; Hadjimichael and Delaney 2017). While potentially affected communities and other stakeholders continually raise the requirements for IA to be what Udofia et al. (2015: 99) term effective – “that is, a participatory, comprehensive, and transparent process resulting in development that delivers benefits to local communities” – higher demands are simultaneously set for IA to also be process- and cost-efficient “and responsive to the needs of industry and decision makers to generate results and ensure project approvals in a timely manner”. This description seems generally consistent with the current development in Greenland. The Greenlandic public, NGOs and other organisations call for improvements of the PP process in relation to the extractive industries, while many companies have at present put exploration and exploitation activities on hold, or altogether left the scene, likely mainly due to the fluctuating world market prices and the unstable political arena in Greenland (UNCTAD 2016).

### **3.3 THE LEGAL FRAMEWORK OF PP IN GREENLAND**

The initial studies (PAPER II) take point of departure in the process and practice of PP in relation to oil exploration activities in the offshore area of Baffin Bay, NW Greenland (see chapter 6). The Mineral Resources Act 2009, alongside the amended Greenland Parliament Act no. 7, regulates all potential extractive activities in Greenland. According to the act, extractive companies in Greenland are legally required to conduct a Social Impact Assessment (SIA) during the planning process (Government of Greenland 2009; Government of Greenland 2016a). In Greenland, SIA stands as an independent tool, compared to SIA functioning as a component of,

for instance, Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) (Hansen et al. 2016 – PAPER I). The companies must follow the Greenlandic SIA Guideline, which levels with the international SIA community.

Within the international SIA community, “Social Impact Assessment includes the processes of analysing, monitoring and managing the intended and unintended social consequences, both positive and negative, of planned interventions (policies, programs, plans, projects) and any social change processes invoked by those interventions” (Vanclay 2003). In line with the international SIA community, SIA is defined in Greenland as the process of identifying and managing the social impacts of policies, plans, programs, and industrial projects (Esteves et al 2012; Hansen and Mortensen 2013, Vanclay et al. 2015; Hansen et al. 2016; Wilson 2016).



**Figure 11: Stakeholder involvement throughout the SIA process (Government of Greenland 2016a).**

As emphasised in the current SIA guideline established by the Government of Greenland (2016) “the Government of Greenland considers it important to involve stakeholders early in the planning of the project, i.e. so the stakeholders have a real

opportunity to influence the process and make their voice heard before the draft SIA is made available for the eight-week consultation period” as well as it is a stated goal to “engage all relevant stakeholders in consultation and public hearings”.

As in Greenland, PP is required in most impact assessment (IA) programs around the world (Shepherd and Bowler 1997), recognised as a way to ensure that projects meet citizens’ needs and are suitable to the affected public (Pearce et al. 1979; Forester 1989; Tauxe 1995). The democratic ideal and ethic of citizen representation in decision-making, where the public is involved to strengthen decisions and to guard the public interest, compose the founding principles for PP (Efram and Lucchesi, 1979). Arguably, early and substantive involvement provides an opportunity for citizens to influence not only the planning process, but also the final outcome through the incorporation of local knowledge and values of potentially affected parties, which may heighten the quality of decisions and promote the legitimacy, and less hostility towards, a project (Parenteau 1988; Webler et al. 1995).

Close collaboration and dialogue with the Greenlandic population are highlighted as necessary to ensure sustainable relations between the companies, municipalities, the affected individuals, other stakeholders, as well as the general society. According to the SIA guideline, PP is thus supposed to comprise a highly integrated part of SIA, vital for securing a sustainable development of the extractive sector, as well as ensuring sustainable development at both a local and a national level.

As illustrated in Figure 11, stakeholder involvement is to take place continuously from the initial scoping phase to project approval. Involvement takes place both at the initial phase of the process (pre-consultation), during the process (public consultation/hearing), and at the final stage of the SIA process in Greenland (White Paper and IBA, and project approval). The pre-consultation and White Paper are initiatives added in 2016, subsequent to carrying out the field studies and component papers for this dissertation. The White Paper serves to gather all statements, comments, and questions provided during the public consultations, which will then

be made available to the public. Finally, the IBA entails a three-part collaboration agreement between the respective company, one or more municipalities, and the Government of Greenland, and is to ensure “the greatest possible involvement in a mineral project”, often with emphasis on use of local suppliers and workforce. The specific content may vary in accordance with the project (Government of Greenland 2016).

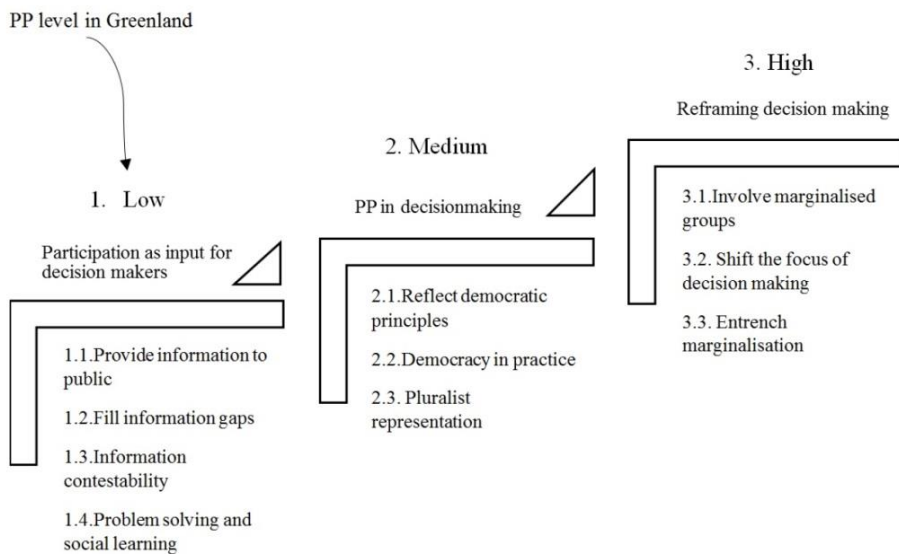
PP is highlighted as a precondition for a good SIA process. It is stressed that the process is “characterized by having a high degree of PP before, during and after the launch of a project” (Government of Greenland 2016a: 23), with the aim to enable all relevant stakeholders to be informed about the project and for these to provide local knowledge about, for instance, local conditions, and “be active in the work and the decision-making process in proposals for location of installations, etc.”. Additionally, it is stated that “knowledge and experience from people familiar with Greenlandic conditions must be included as far as possible. It is therefore recommended that local individuals, local consultants and enterprises be involved in this process as far as possible” (Government of Greenland 2016a: 23). Further emphasis is on participation to be conducted in a timely manner, as part of a proactive approach to address potential negative and positive impacts of a project, and that individuals and stakeholders must “be given a real opportunity to be heard and thereby influence the process before important decisions are made” (Government of Greenland 2016a: 23). Finally, the importance of conveying information and material in a non-technical language that non-experts can understand and assess, in both Greenlandic and Danish, is mentioned.

### **3.4. LEVELS OF PP**

Levels of PP in IA may vary according to relevance in the different phases of the process, extending from initial community analysis and announcement of the proposed project to approval of decision-making, monitoring, and follow-up (André

et al. 2006; Hansen 2013; Hansen 2014). The PP levels range from passive participation, such as information meetings; to participation by consultation, such as public hearings and open houses; to more deliberate and interactive participation by means of, for instance, workshops, negotiation, mediation, and sometimes even co-management. As presented in PAPER I, the level of the PP process and practice conducted in relation to the oil exploration activities in NW Greenland is arguably ‘low’, as displayed in Figure 10.

The estimated level of PP in Greenland rests on the analysis of purposes of PP as perceived by the wide range of stakeholders interviewed in connection to PC I (see PAPER II), an analysis which is based on a framework developed by O’Faircheallaigh (2010).



**Figure 10: Levels of PP and PP level in Greenland (O’Faircheallaigh 2010; Olsen and Hansen 2014).**



The framework divides PP purposes into three categories, where the level of participation increases continuously: from the provision of information to democracy in practice to actual influence on the PP process. These categories highly simplify the levels for involvement, but are meant to aid understanding of both current patterns of PP and future possibilities (Head 2011). Further, the PP levels listed in Figure 10 are not to be read as strictly separate and distinct entities, as they may potentially interact in dynamic ways.

Whereas PP is perceived by the project proponents – that is extractive companies and government authorities – as well as respondents in the local communities, as a means which primarily serves the purpose to provide information to the local communities about planned activities and decisions already made, as well as to reduce uncertainty and listen to and address community concerns, Greenlandic NGOs and other organisations call for an increased level of PP which to a higher degree reflects democratic principles and a broader representative voice of the Greenlandic public. This is not to say that the lower levels of PP should be dismissed, as the “provision of information to decision makers can provide a basis for achieving a share of decision-making power” (O’Faircheallaigh 2010: 24). However, a higher level is argued as necessary to ensure that the interest of the general public is taken into account (Aaen 2011; Titussen 2012; Myrup 2012; Nuttall 2012b; Hansen 2013).

### **3.5. POTENTIALS OF PP**

According to international literature on PP, there is a wide range of potentials of PP, and cases displaying such potentials range wide from, for instance, fisheries management (McCay and Jentoft 1996; Hadjimichael and Delayne 2017), land use (Hibbard and Lurie 2000); health (Orme et al. 2007; Minkler and Wallerstein 2008), to energy infrastructure (Aaen et al. 2016). Some of these potentials will be outlined in the following. Youth participation will be addressed separately in Section 3.7.

From a community perspective, PP may constitute a “systematic provision for affected publics to be informed about and participate in the planning and decision processes” (Burdge and Robertson 2004: 217). As such, PP may advance fairness and justice and lead towards a more democratic process on the basis of more influence in decision-making. Through the PP process, potentially affected communities may, among others, acquire knowledge and gain a better understanding of the potential positive benefits of a proposed action, or potential alternative actions and their respective consequences. This may improve the ability of these communities to make an informed opinion, provide input, or suggest alternative courses of action for the proposed project prior to a final decision being made. Further, PP may promote resilience and ability to adapt to change, in addition to serving as a tool for information exchange and mutual learning.

The importance of having the potentially affected communities onboard is increasingly acknowledged by planners and decision makers. From a their perspective, PP may, prior to and during the project period, serve to legitimise decisions and obtain social license to operate; foster the support and trust of communities; serve as a tool for information exchange and mutual learning; gain access to local knowledge, including needs, values, and preferences of the communities, which may lead to better decisions; serve as a tool for gathering social impact variables; prevent conflicts, costly delays, the risk of lawsuits, and even closure of projects, violence, and loss of life; increase welfare and self-esteem of the potentially impacted; and enhance sustainable development of the communities (Weston 1997; Bisset 2000; George 2000; Kapoor 2001; Burdge and Robertson 2004; Innes and Booher 2004; Glasson et al. 2005; Kørnøv 2007; O’Faircheallaigh 2010; Cashmore et al. 2008; Chavéz and Bernal 2008; Lockie et al. 2008; Ottinger 2013; Hansen et al. 2016; Buxton and Wilson, 2013).

### **3.6. THE SHORTCOMINGS OF PP AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR A MEANINGFUL PP PROCESS AND PRACTICE IN GREENLAND AND BEYOND**

In line with the widely recognised PP potentials, the guidelines embedded in the legislative regulatory framework in relation to mineral and petroleum exploration activities in Greenland proclaim high standards and a high level of PP. The stated objectives of PP in Greenland include ensuring that decision-making is founded on an informed basis in cooperation with the potentially affected local communities. Further, PP is to promote resilience within the local communities, enabling the locals to adapt to and manage change, as well as overcome challenges and make the most of the new opportunities (Hansen et al. 2016 - PAPER I; Olsen and Hansen 2014 – PAPER II).

To realise the benefits of PP, however, is an entirely different matter, and this has in recent years been a central theme among scholars and practitioners within the international SIA community, as well as within the general public in Greenland.

As argued by Wilson (2015), “public engagement is the issue that provokes the greatest comments and emotion among Greenlanders and observers of Greenland’s mineral and oil developments” and the PP process and practice in Greenland have been heavily criticised for not living up to the stated objectives in the legal guidelines. Criticism is levelled at, for instance, lack of transparency, difficulties in finding and assessing information, difficulties with translation and understanding technical terms, lack of two-way communication and dialogue, doubts regarding the actual influence of the public on the decision-making process, and not least a very narrow representation of the local communities, including the Greenlandic youth (Nuttall 2012b; Olsen and Hansen 2014 – PAPER II; Hansen et al. 2016 – PAPER I; Skjervedal - PAPER III and IV).

In a recent report collecting papers on future scenarios for the development of Greenland written by various research experts in different fields, it is stated that “insufficient, late and overly narrow PP are major themes in the decision phase of the natural resource projects” (The Committee for Greenlandic Mineral Resources to the Benefit of Society, 2014).

As such, the current PP practice is argued to not be supporting a democratic process, nor does it produce useful knowledge for making sustainable decisions, and it fails to facilitate active and meaningful engagement (Olsen and Hansen 2014 – PAPER II; Hansen et al. 2016 - PAPER I). The failure to facilitate meaningful engagement is highly problematic, as the social, economic, and environmental sustainability highly depends on the level at which the local communities are engaged in extractive projects. This is also the case on the broader societal scale, where all levels involve a mix of multiple and complex issues, such as cultures, livelihood, jobs, education, environment, intercultural encounters, and settlement patterns (Hoffmann 2014). As experienced in numerous other places around the world, extractive industry development far from always benefits locally affected communities, even if government and operating companies may have the best intentions of achieving exactly this. Such development has given rise to terms such as ‘the Dutch disease’ and ‘the resource curse’, connected to a high level of corruption, poverty, poor health, a significant lessening of the living standards, and more (Karl 2004). Whereas companies can move on to a new project if mistakes are made or conditions change, a community may have only one chance for development, for what reason it is vital to get it right the first time (Hansen 2014).

The Government of Greenland seems confident that it is possible “to get it right” (Bjørst 2016). However, the call for a strengthened PP practice has so far prompted only minor changes in the SIA guidelines, specifically in “an increased focus on the consultation process”, but the current primary PP form (i.e., public consultation meetings) does not seem to facilitate meaningful engagement.

As is evident from the case study of NW Greenland (PAPER II), and several other case studies conducted outside Greenland - both within and outside the extractive sector, a big gap seems to exist between the high aims set for PP and PP in practice, which seldom is sufficient to ensure meaningful participation (Shepherd and Bowler 1997; Innes and Booher 2004; Udofia et al. 2015; Wilson 2016;).

As argued by Shepherd and Bowler (1997: 725-727), rather than unfolding PP potentials, the rationale behind PP is limited to a procedural 'because we're required to' exercise, or perhaps a matter of public relations, where decisions already made are defended. Common deficiencies include involvement too late in the decision-making process, that PP is limited in the scope of time and scale as discrete events or series of events (Shepherd and Bowler 1997; Innes and Booher 2004; Hibbard and Lurie 2000; Head 2007; Hansen et al. 2016 – PAPER I; Udofia et al. 2015; Udofia et al. 2017), just as the public consultation roundtrips in NW Greenland may be characterized (Olsen and Hansen 2014 - PAPER II).

The initial studies of this dissertation (Olsen and Hansen 2014 – PAPER II) have determined an existence of various – and often conflicting – stakeholder perceptions of the concept of PP, which causes discrepancies in how to define, approach, and carry out PP in a Greenlandic context. The widely different stakeholder perceptions of what PP in Greenland is, what it should do, and how to do it, arguably poses one of the basic reasons why the PP process and practice do not work in Greenland (Olsen and Hansen 2014 – PAPER II).

As argued by O'Faircheallaigh (2010) and Head (2007), the rationale for seeking greater PP is not always clearly articulated, perhaps because the benefits of participation are often taken for granted. First and foremost, PP objectives, as listed above, may involve quite different concepts, activities and consequences. For example, information sharing is quite different from allowing communities to influence government decisions.

Without a clear PP purpose it may thus be difficult to obtain 'meaningful' and 'effective' participation. For instance, Innes and Booher (2004) argue that the

legally requires PP forms in government decision-making in the US – in particular public hearings, review and comment procedures - not only fail to meet the basic goals for PP leaving many voices unheard, but are also counterproductive, and causes anger and mistrust. The role of the public is to react rather than co-evolve better decisions. Innes and Booher call for a PP framework joining communication, learning and action by ‘effective’ participatory methods that can “move us beyond the current dilemmas of practice and scholarship” (2004: 422); that is PP forms that are inclusive, promote co-evolution and build shared knowledge and societal capacity through collaboration, dialogue and interaction.

A thought-provoking observation is that, although the public meetings are open to all members of the local communities, most of the meeting attendees are older male adults, which leaves out many voices in the consultation process (HS Analyse 2014; Olsen and Hansen 2014 – PAPER II; Hansen et al. 2016 – PAPER I). In line with Bjørst (2016), different stakeholders have different agendas, which stresses the importance of being aware of which voices are heard in the debate. If the input provided at the public meetings comes primarily from older male adults, it is mainly their stories that are heard – stories that often revolve around the environmental changes, and around whether or not and how animals and hunting activities will be affected by the exploration activities. As stated by Innes and Booher (2004: 424), the “public comments are likely to be sound bites, extreme statements or the same refrain over and over again”. This is what the government authorities as well as the exploration companies or NGOs in charge of the public meetings will take home. Likewise, the locals at the public meetings will be presented with the stories that the government authorities and the exploration companies offer at the meetings.

The absence of the Greenlandic youth calls for attention, as this is arguably the population group most likely to experience and having to cope with both the negative and positive impacts of societal changes (Kurt-Shai 1988; Marot and Mali 2012). In line with contemporary literature on the potentials of youth engagement, this dissertation emphasises the Greenlandic youth as a vital resource for community

transformation (Nygreen et al. 2006), due to their position as the primary future stakeholders of the current extractive industry development in Greenland.

Drawing on youth engagement studies within and external to Greenland and the extractive sector, the following section will present and discuss the concept of youth engagement to aid the understanding of the relevance and potential value of youth in as resources for social impact management and sustainable decision-making. Further, leading towards the theoretical framework of this PhD dissertation, means to promote youth engagement will be introduced.

### **3.7. YOUTH AS A RESOURCE IN DECISION-MAKING**

“The one who believes in youth believes in the future”  
(Larsen 2015).

These were the opening words at a seminar held at the National Parliament of Denmark in Copenhagen in 2015. The seminar was arranged in cooperation between ‘AVALAK’<sup>1</sup>, ‘ILI ILI’<sup>2</sup>, and ‘Inuit Ataqatigiit Folketingimi’<sup>3</sup>, and aimed to engage young Greenlandic students to compete within a wide range of disciplines and present their best ideas, visions, and concrete proposals for the future industry development in Greenland. Representatives of the Greenlandic business community were also present as inspirational mentors at the workshops. 45 students participated in the visions seminar, and when interviewed by the Greenlandic news agency Kalaallit Nunaatta Radio (KNR), which covered the seminar, some of the students expressed that it was “an instructive experience working on these matters together with other students from different fields of study” and that “it was incredible to be

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<sup>1</sup> The Greenlandic student organisation in Denmark.

<sup>2</sup> The student organisation at Ilisimatusarfik (the University of Greenland).

<sup>3</sup> One of the largest Greenlandic political parties, Inuit Ataqatigiit (IA), which also has a seated member of the Danish Parliament.

part of figuring out what we can do for Greenland. We are all here because we wish to contribute on these matters” (Thostrup 2015).

Another, more recent, event took place at Ilisimatusarfik (the University of Greenland) on September 16, 2017, in Nuuk, Greenland. The event was the third “Model Arctic Council”<sup>4</sup> ever conducted, and was directed at students at the higher educational institutions, referred to as “the future leaders of the Arctic” (Larsen 2017), invited to act as foreign ministers and decision makers addressing the topic of sustainable economic development in the Arctic.

The everyday lives and futures of the young generation of Greenlanders are often the subject of discussion in matters of Greenlandic policy, politics, and education, as well as at various conferences and in the Greenlandic media (see, for instance, Hansen and Hussain 2013; Larsen 2015; Kielsen 2017).

For the purpose of the component studies, youth was defined as individuals in Greenland (including Greenlandic students in Denmark) between 15 and 30 years of age. This classification was inspired by the UN youth definitions (United Nations Youth), and this age range was established as an adjustment to the Greenlandic context, taking point of departure in the age division employed by Statistics Greenland (2013) and the comprehensive ‘SLiCA’ survey of Arctic Living Conditions (Poppel 2015).

Reviewing the social background of youth in Greenland, this population group counts approximately 13,500 individuals, and thus makes up 24% of the Greenlandic population, with a fairly equal division between males (6,627

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<sup>4</sup> The Model Arctic Council program is “an academic program in which students from universities throughout the circumpolar north and beyond actively participate in a collaborative, experiential learning exercise to expand their knowledge of salient challenges and concerns in the Arctic” (UAF.edu, n.d.). Among the stated goals are to: maximise educational benefits, enhance collaboration and student mobility, and develop student skills in public speaking, diplomacy, negotiation, and deliberation (Uartic.org).



individuals) and females (6,631 individuals). The far majority, more specifically 86%, live in the bigger cities, with the remaining youth living in the smaller settlements (Statistics Greenland 2017). A strikingly low educational level counts as one of the primary challenges in Greenland compared to other countries and in terms of the otherwise high political ambitions for – and the resources spent in – this area. Statistical analysis of the municipal primary and lower secondary school in Greenland, for instance, shows that half of the 25-34-year-olds have not gone further in the education system and that too many leave with poor qualifications and bleak prospects for continuing further up the system. These prospects constitute a major problem both for the young people, as education constitutes one of the founding prerequisites for a satisfying work life and being self-supporting, and for society, as high employment and income constitute vital features for societal prosperity and financing of the welfare state – and there has not been much progress throughout the last ten years (Økonomisk Råd 2017).

Yet, great responsibility is placed on the shoulders of the young Greenlanders, as they are expected to contribute to sustaining and increasing societal prosperity and welfare through new sources of income and employment opportunities in Greenland (see Chapter 1 and BMP 2011; Økonomisk Råd 2013; The Committee for Greenlandic Mineral Resources to the Benefit of Society 2014; Hansen et al. 2016; Government of Greenland 2016b; Ackrén 2016).

On the one hand, the young Greenlanders are pointed out as the bearers of hope for a prospecting future, through, especially, an improvement of their level of education, establishing a qualified workforce, and enhancing their opportunities to take on jobs in the growing extractive sector in Greenland, thereby securing benefits to the Greenlandic society. On the other hand, youth representation and engagement are strikingly scarce in the PP process in Greenland (HS Analyse 2014; Olsen and Hansen 2014 – PAPER II; HS Analyse 2014; KNR 2015; Skjervedal - PAPER III and IV) leaving out important voices of the younger generation (Olsen 2012; Olsen and Hansen 2014 – PAPER II; Skjervedal - PAPER III and IV). Although events focusing on youth, such as those presented at the outset of this section, may enable

youth to practise skills within participation and decision-making, these arguably merely allow for short-term, one-time ‘token’ representations of the youth (Checkoway et al. 1995).

As described earlier, similar challenges in facilitating a meaningful PP process and practice exist across nations and a great variety of fields. Likewise, the lack of youth participation is not unique to Greenland. Although youth engagement – parallel to a growing recognition of the importance of participatory planning for community development in project development – has been endorsed by various international agencies, governments, and NGOs in the last 50 years, youth participation is seldom applied in practice (Checkoway et al. 1995; Driskell 2002; Marot and Mali 2012).

Youth as stakeholders, along with the benefits of youth participation, was explicitly recognised in the political arena in the 1970s (Driskell 2002). This recognition was supported by The World Commission on Environment and Development: Our Common Future (UN 1987), on which occasion youth was acknowledged as the population group most likely to be affected by decisions of both environmental and societal character. Then followed the Convention on the Rights of the Child by the UN (1989), which emphasised the right of youth to engage in decision-making processes according to the competences and abilities they hold. Later, the 21st principle of the Rio Declaration of 1992 (UN1992a) and Agenda 21 (UN1992b) stated that youth ought to actively participate on all levels of decision-making that may affect their current lives and hold consequences for their future (Marot and Mali 2012).

Checkoway et al. (1995) argue that “young people are community resources, that planners have a role in promoting their participation, and that new knowledge of the benefits of youth participation can help increase young people’s involvement in the planning process”. According to Checkoway and Gutiérrez (2011: 1-2), youth participation is:

- “A process of involving young people in the institutions and decisions that affect their lives.”
- “About real influence of young people [...] not about their passive presence as human subjects or service recipients.”
- “Is consistent with the view of ‘youth as resources’, and contrasts with the image of ‘youth as problems’ that permeates the popular media, social science, and professional practice when referring to young people.”

Participatory research may serve to engage young people in community change. By reversing the more common roles – where ‘experts’ do the research, while the participants play more passive roles as either recipients or providers of information – participatory research arguably holds the potential to facilitate a more collaborative relationship between the researcher and the researched, by which people work together in defining, analysing, and figuring out solutions to problems (Head 2011; Checkoway and Gutiérrez 2011). According to Checkoway and Gutiérrez, “many adults think of young people as problems, and young people accept adult images of their deficiencies rather than viewing themselves as agents of change” (2011: 2).

The non-participation of youth arguably lessens their capacity to adapt to and plan for the future, which calls for a need to change how young people are perceived in society in general, but also how the youth themselves perceive their own role in society towards youth becoming more actively engaged in decision-making processes.

New communications media, government agencies, as well as the community and business sectors, have created new opportunities for young people’s participation and are gaining recognition as additional tools for planners and decision makers. (Checkoway et al. 1995; Driskell 2002; Head 2011; Marot and Mali 2012; Skjervedal - PAPER III and IV). While PP studies across nations (see for instance:

Innes and Booher 2004; Evans-Cowley and Hollander 2010; Marot and Mali 2012; Olsen and Hansen 2014; Hansen et al. 2016; Udofia et al. 2017) reveal similar common shortcomings of the current impediments of the traditional PP practices characterised as formalised, one-way forms of communication, lacking depth and leading to ‘token participation’ that merely educate citizens to accept decision that have already been made. Cutting across vast distances, more innovative practices of PP provided through, for instance, social media networks, such as Facebook, hold the potential to supplement traditional public participation (PP) practices to aid meaningful engagement, PP experience, as well as more democratic planning and decision-making (Evans-Cowley and Hollander 2010; Wilson et al. 2012; Kosinki et al. 2015; Skjervedal - PAPER III and IV).

Also visual-anthropological methods, such as the photo-elicitation approach (also termed photo-interviewing) applied within the Photo Forum study of this dissertation, have proved particularly useful in research on sustainability, by drawing out community views, as well as constituting a means to capture, through active and meaningful engagement, specifically children and youth perspectives on various aspects of their lives (see, for instance, Cavin 1994; Clark 1999; Cappello 2005; Greene and Hogan 2005; Kirova and Emme 2006; Purchell 2007; Kolb 2008; Azzarito and Sterling 2010; Didkowsky et al. 2010; Jorgenson and Sullivan 2010; Meo 2010; van Auken et al. 2010). Yet, the use of photos in interviews, both formal and informal, is perhaps the most overlooked application of images within anthropological research (Collier 2008). Although the elicitation method was highly advocated, only a fairly limited number of published elicitation studies exist (Harper 2002).

Inspired by such research, visual anthropology came to constitute the overall theoretical framework of the PhD dissertation. The theoretical framework as well as the potentials of visual anthropology for participatory research in particular will be elaborated and discussed in the following chapter.



## **PART II: THEORY, RESEARCH STRATEGY AND DESIGN**

PART II serves to unfold the theoretical framework, research strategy, and design. At the outset, visual anthropology was not part of my PhD project. However, in my search to establish how meaningful engagement of youth may be facilitated, my own fieldworks and findings, along with international literature and case studies on youth engagement, guided me in the direction of implementing a visual approach for my PP studies focusing on youth. Visual anthropology thus came to constitute the theoretical framework of this dissertation, and it is through this visual 'lens' that I, with point of departure in the Greenland case, attempt to break the frame of the currently more conventional PP process and practice by testing a combination of online and visual participation forms to specifically target and engage youth in a meaningful manner. An account of the potential value of applying the specific visual anthropological method photo-elicitation, applied for the Photo Forum study (Skjervedal - PAPER III and IV), is presented in section 7.2.3.

Subsequent to the theoretical framework, the fieldworks will be outlined, presenting how each of the field studies has fed into the overall objectives. Also key findings of the respective component papers will be highlighted. Then I will reflect on how my own role as a researcher has played out and impacted the research, and how it thus comprises a significant, contributing part of coming to terms with and understanding the approach, analysis, and conclusions drawn within the dissertation. Finally, the choice of the mixed methods approach applied for data collection of the field studies will be accounted for. Further, there will be a discussion of the impact these complications may have on the validity and reliability of the findings and conclusions drawn from the studies.



## **4. THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

In the following, the theoretical aspects and origin of visual anthropology are unfolded. Then follows a section coupling visual anthropology and PP, shedding light on the value of applying a visual approach to facilitate meaningful participation through heightening the level of PP and the empowerment of youth by providing opportunities to engage in a more active and collaborative manner and for eliciting unique – and otherwise unrealised – knowledge of value for decision-making.

### **4.1. THE ORIGIN OF VISUAL ANTHROPOLOGY**

Visual anthropology emerged as a distinct, academic subdiscipline of anthropology during the twentieth century (Collier and Collier 1986; Hall in Collier and Collier 1986; Pink 2006), and is concerned with “the use of visual records for the description of the present and past ways of life of specific communities” (van Leeuwen and Jewitt 2008:2). Through visual forms and materials, such as art, video, drawing, and photographs, visual anthropology offers a framework within which to explore cultural products and processes as well as to document and understand culture (Grimshaw 2001; Pink 2004; Pink 2006; McGee and Warms 2013).

The establishment of visual anthropology as a distinct discipline has been uneven throughout the world (Heider 1988). Within the early visual anthropological studies, visual materials served merely to illustrate and document anthropological ethnographic studies (McGee and Warms 2013). Social anthropologists have applied photographs for decades in their research on tribes and villages. Early works include, for instance, that of Boas, dated 1883-1930, His research covers photos and films of the Kwakiutl Indians’ culture, including ceremonies and portraits (Ruby 1980; Jacknis 1984; Griffiths 2002). However, Boas merely viewed the visual material at a surface level, which limited an “anthropological appreciation of the scientific values of photography” rather than promoted the potential of the visual representations (Pink 2006: 7). One of Boas’ students, Margaret Mead, is also a renowned researcher within applied anthropology. Among others, she was one of the



founders of the Institute for Intercultural studies with the aim “to mobilize the behavioural sciences for public service” (Pink 2006: 10). Further, Mead established the research manual ‘The Study of Culture at a Distance’, which comprised pioneering research in the sense that, rather than the common ‘long-term face-to-face fieldwork’, the works engaged anthropology in solving actual problems and in addition aimed to inform policy or decision-making while promoting visual materials as means to understand culture (Pink 2006).

With ethnographic filmmaking as the most applied practice, anthropologists began working as ‘agents of change’ in society during the latter part of the twentieth century (van Willigen, 2002: 31). One of the most distinguished works is the book ‘Visual Anthropology: Photography as a Research Method’ by the professional photographer John Collier Jr. (1967), which covers suggestive uses for still photography in research. Arguably, one of Collier’s greatest contributions to the field of visual anthropology “has been to teach us how to use photographs in new ways: scientifically for the information that could be gained from them, and as a means of reinforcing, documenting, and checking ethnographic statements” (Hall in Collier and Collier 1986: xiv). Through time, the role of photographs has continuously shifted from positivist sources of evidence to an understanding of photographs as subjective representations that “set the stage for more investigative use of the medium as a product of culture” (McGee and Warms 2013).

Through the years, visual anthropology has gained increased recognition and evolved as an innovative and creative practice (Pink 2006). With the continuous advances in technology, visual anthropologists have developed new practices, and visual representations and research methods are increasingly applied within qualitative research (Banks 2001; Pink 2001; Rose 2001; Bryman 2008, McGee and Warms 2013).

## 4.2. THE THEORY OF VISUAL ANTHROPOLOGY

*“Images are ‘everywhere’. They permeate our academic work, everyday lives, conversations ... our imagination and our dreams ... They are inextricably interwoven with our personal identities, narratives, lifestyles, cultures and societies, as well as with definitions of history, space and truth”* (Pink 2006).

The above quote by Sarah Pink describes how we on an everyday basis move through a landscape of visual representations, which we, although most often unconsciously, interpret. Visual objects and representations play a central role for our understanding of the contemporary world (Grimshaw 2001). Visual representations that we meet in our everyday lives are, for instance, traffic signs, advertising posters, pie charts, or line graphs, films, drawings, cultural artefacts, and not least photos, which are in focus in this dissertation. With the ever new advances of digital technology, to some extent reducing the significance of physical distance, people’s way of engaging with media and ways of communicating are continuously being reshaped (McGee and Warms 2013). Put simply by Stanczak (2007), “images convey”.

But how is it that visual images convey? And how might we appropriate this in ways that construct active engagement as well as knowledge of value for the PP process and practice?

While theory in general is considered an empirical or rational well-argued statement about the world, there are still different perceptions of what ‘a’ theory entails and how it is developed. For instance, the sociologist Talcott Parsons described that “theory in the intellectual disciplines consists of coherent generalised concepts and propositions that can analyse abstractly defined aspects of the phenomenon with which each discipline is concerned” (in Hockings et al. 2014). The anthropologist Tim Ingold, on the other hand, finds that anthropological theory specifically “consists, in the first place, not in an inventory of ready-made structures or representations, to be picked up and used as it suits your analytic purposes, but in an

ongoing process of argumentation” (Ingold in Hockings et al. 2014). In this sense, theory within anthropology is an activity, something we do and something we create. In line with Ingold’s description, probing visual anthropology literature, one will find that there is no distinct theory of visual anthropology. Rather, the field composes a range of methods – the ‘how to’ of doing visual research. More specifically, visual anthropology is concerned with how to enable the production of visual representations as a means to communicate anthropological knowledge (Hockings et al. 2014).

In a discussion paper in the journal of Visual Anthropology (Hockings et al. 2014), it is described how scientific visual anthropology articles are found to most often cite theorists such as Arjun Appadurai, Pierre Bourdieu, James Clifford, Sarah Pink, and Victor Turner. This list of theorists includes visual anthropologists but also sociologists, linguistics, and others. It is therefore recognised that theories are often imported from other disciplines to address issues related to visual anthropology. Social theory of communication and ethnographic semiotics, it is argued by some visual anthropologists, forms the foundation of visual anthropology, and they find that culture could be understood by studying visual events and that the visual manifestations of culture should become researchable problems (Jay Ruby 1989: 9-10). As such, theory within visual anthropology operates at a more general level, linking what is learned to broader bodies of knowledge.

One of the aforementioned leading professors within the discipline, Sarah Pink (2006: 10), combining theoretical and methodological scholarship with applied practice, describes visual anthropology as:

“(1) the study of human nonlinguistic forms of communication which typically involves some visual technology for data collecting and analysis, (2) the study of visual products, such as films, as communicative activity and as a datum of culture amenable to ethnographic analysis, and (3) the use of visual media for the

presentation of data and research findings – data and findings that otherwise remain verbally unrealised”.

Visual anthropology applied is thus concerned with ‘how to’ use and interpret the visual manifestations gathered for the research. Similarly, the visual approach photo-elicitation drawn from the discipline of visual anthropology, has contributed to data in the form of visual information serving as a ‘common language’ (Evans-Cowley 2010) among the young participants involved in the Photo Forum study (Skjervedal - PAPER III and IV). In this dissertation, photographic images are in focus as a means of communication, ice-breakers for conversation, and windows to learning about our social worlds and draw on youth as a resource (Checkoway and Gutiérrez 2011), as emphasised in section 3.7.

Visual-anthropological methods, such as photo-elicitation, have proved particularly useful in research on sustainability, by drawing out community views, as well as constituting a means to capture, through active and meaningful engagement, specifically children and youth perspectives on various aspects of their lives (see, for instance, Cavin 1994; Clark 1999; Cappello 2005; Greene and Hogan 2005; Kirova and Emme 2006; Purchell 2007; Kolb 2008; Azzarito and Sterling 2010; Didkowsky et al. 2010; Jorgenson and Sullivan 2010; Meo 2010; van Auken et al. 2010).

What makes a ‘good’ photograph for research is not that a picture is created by a technically skilled photographer; it is whether that picture has something to tell. Further, using photographs in research may elicit stories of the subjects in focus, which may comprise important sources of information (Collier 2008). Participant-produced photographs are arguably more likely to reflect the world of the subjects as they perceive it. In particular, as is the case of the explorative study disclosed in PAPER III and IV, using the participants’ own photographs in the interview process gives primacy to their world and provides a greater opportunity to create their own sense of meaning and disclose it to the researcher (Samuels 2007; Cavin 1994; Clark 1999; Heisley and Levy 1991).

As explained by Hall (in Collier and Collier 1986:1), it is through perception, largely visual and auditory, that we respond to the humanness that surrounds us. Our recognition of cultural phenomena is controlled by our ability to respond and understand, and “every culture must be seen in its own terms” as “every culture creates its own perceptual worlds”. Collier further (2008:59) argues that images, despite their limitations, are even to prefer over the ‘deceptive world of words’, however acknowledging that when analysing images, the visual cannot stand alone, but must be combined with textual annotations to ensure reliability and validity, and avoid misinterpretation of the images (van Leeuwen and Jewitt 2008). The divergent ways an image may be interpreted means that an image will mean different things to different people, and exploring these different interpretations can contribute to knowledge about the ways in which images generate meanings in our society. How people make sense of an image largely depends on their individual identity and life experiences. Thus, who knows better how to properly interpret the images than the image producers themselves?

As argued by Stanczak (2007:12-13):

“Visual research reveals new insights that our conventional methodologies can miss. Such insights occur frequently in reflexive approaches when images open up internal worlds and interpretations of our participants regarding issues that we might not otherwise think to probe. More generally, the methodological contributions of deepening rapport can unlock what otherwise might be closed off”.

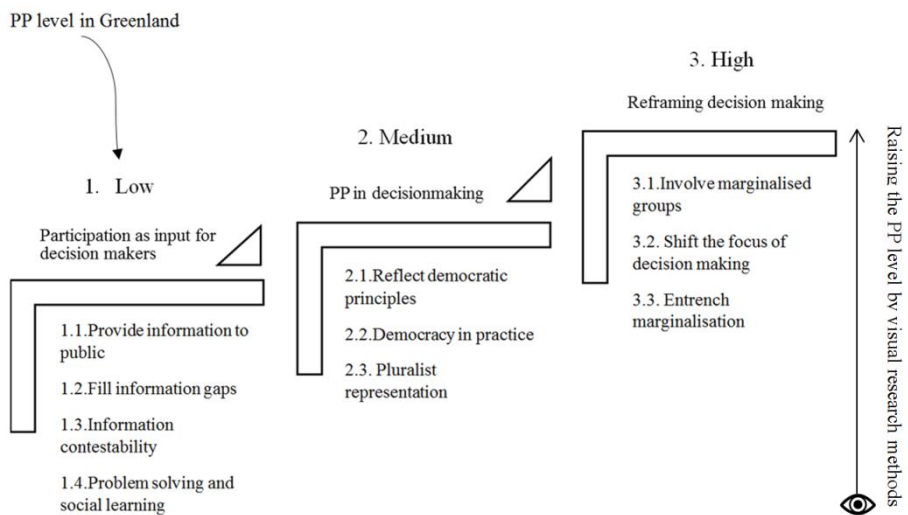
Pink (2006) further states that visual anthropology may provide tools to solve actual problems, and in addition inform policy or decision-making while promoting visual materials as means to understand culture (Pink 2006). A specific value of using photographs lies in their potential to ‘give birth’ to stories, which may serve as valuable and in-depth sources of information (Collier 2008). As described by van Leeuwen and Jewitt (2008: 4), images may serve as valuable ‘records of reality’ as participant-produced photographs can document representations of peoples, events,

places, and actions, thus providing valuable input by and about the participants, such as relations, views, perceptions, and experiences.

### 4.3. THE VALUE OF COUPLING PP AND VISUAL RESEARCH METHODS

Through this common language of photos and text combined, the young participants became actively engaged in the production of visual manifestations of information, which was analysed thematically and conveyed valuable and otherwise unrealised knowledge about what is on their hearts and minds – valuable knowledge which may be utilised with regards to improve decision-making.

The implementation of a visual approach arguably further increased the potential of raising the level of PP, at least with regards to youth (section 3.2: Levels of PP), as displayed in Figure 12.



**Figure 12: The potential of visual research methods to enhance the level of PP.**

As described in Section 3.2. ‘Levels of PP’, this illustration is based on a framework developed by O’Faircheallaigh (2010), dividing PP purposes into three levels characterised by subcategories from the provision of information at the lowest PP

level, to democracy in practice at the intermediate PP level, to actual influence on the PP process at the highest PP level.

By adding the visual dimension, steps towards realising the potentials of PP (Section 3.3.Potentials of PP) were obtained. Among others, a more pluralist representation (Level 2: Medium) of the population was reached by giving the otherwise highly marginalised population group ‘youth’ a voice (Level – 3: Medium). Arguably, through a shared language of communication by visual forms of expressions, the young participants were empowered to engage in a more interactive manner, changing from passive recipients of information, unaware of their own abilities to contribute with valuable input, to active players as the future stakeholders of development, capable of expressing their values, concerns, hopes, and aspirations for the future, thus proving their ability to contribute to ‘reframe’ decision-making (Level 3: Medium) by providing input with regards to alternative courses of action for the future direction of Greenland, and how – or whether – they see their own role in this development.

Overall, through the facilitation of the active and collaborative engagement process a visual anthropological approach may provide, community issues, needs, and priorities for change can be explored, and experiences, priorities, and opinions about a project can be highlighted, overall promoting the local voices in informing the project’s development. This more reliable and arguably more useful knowledge attained may feed into a resource to be considered and used by planners and decision makers to make better decisions and work towards a sustainable future development that is directly informed by the experiences and perspectives of peoples themselves. Implementing a visual approach to engagement may thus have the potential to facilitate an interactive dynamic between the companies, government and local communities, providing a greater sense of empowerment and responsibility among the participants, increasing the ability and opportunity to gain higher and more meaningful influence in the decision-making process and outcomes of the extractive industry projects.

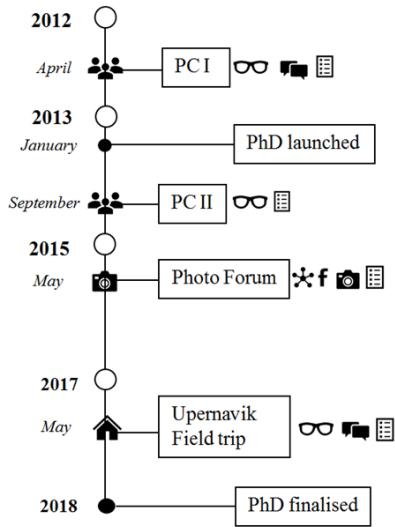
## **5. FIELDWORKS, OBJECTIVES, AND KEY FINDINGS**

In the following, the field studies will be outlined, describing how each of these has fed into the findings of the respective component papers. Further, the choice of methods applied for data collection within each field study will be accounted for, including a discussion of advantages and complications regarding the collection of valid and reliable data for answering the research questions and objectives concerned with as to what characterises meaningful participation and how meaningful PP may be facilitated in a Greenlandic context. An overview of the fieldworks and papers, objectives, methods, and key findings is displayed in Table 1. For a general overview of what this covering essay builds on, please see Fig. 4. For specific details on each of the respective fieldworks, please see PAPER II, III, and IV.

The covering essay of this dissertation draws on four field studies, respectively: PC I, PC II, the Photo Forum study, and the Upernavik field trip. The field studies take point of departure in offshore oil exploration in the Baffin Bay in NW Greenland. Through the initial field studies, it has been investigated how stakeholder perceptions influence the current PP practice. The findings of these initial studies led to the Photo Forum study, which focused on the visual participatory approach of photo-elicitation as a means to promote meaningful engagement of the Greenlandic youth.




Returning to Upernavik, NW Greenland, five years after the initial study was launched, this field trip provided an opportunity for a pilot study on youth in this particular city, and for getting a sense of how the oil exploration activities have impacted (or not impacted) this particular local community. The respective field studies are listed in the timeline of research conducted through the period of the PhD dissertation in Figure 12. PC I and the Photo Forum study have contributed directly to the papers comprised by this PhD dissertation.





**Figure 12: Timeline of PhD Dissertation**

The initial case study, PC I, conducted in NW Greenland in 2012, has in part contributed to PAPER I which focused on the broader management of social issues and challenges associated with ongoing development as perceived by people in Greenland. Further, PC I has created the foundation for PAPER II, concerned with mapping stakeholder perceptions of PP, while the Photo Forum study laid the grounds for PAPER III and IV; PAPER III challenging traditional public participation forms using photo-elicitation combined with Facebook as on-line participation tools, and PAPER IV presenting an analysis of the values, concerns and visions for the future as expressed by visual representations produced by the young research participants during the Photo Forum study.

 <b>Field studies</b>	<b>PC I</b> (PAPER II (and I))	<b>PC II</b>	<b>PHOTO FORUM</b> (PAPER III and IV)	<b>UPERNAVIK</b> <b>FIELD TRIP</b>
 <b>Objectives</b>	‘Learning’:  - To determine stakeholder perceptions to PP and their influence on the PP process.	‘Learning’:  - To reach people in the local community and gather further knowledge of local perceptions of PP to underpin findings of PC I.	‘Scientific testing’:  - To specifically target, actively engage, and further gain knowledge of, youth by using Facebook as an on-line participation tool combined with the visual participatory approach, photo-elicitation.	‘Pilot study’:  - Locate ‘gatekeepers’ for access to information on youth.  - Acquire knowledge of the local context and on how to establish the ‘ <i>what’s in it for me?</i> ’ perspective among local youth.
 <b>Key findings</b>	-Discrepancies in PP perceptions detected, causing barriers towards meaningful PP.	- Slight changes in PP form may change interaction between stakeholders and create a ‘safe’ environment for more active engagement.  - Eliciting valuable knowledge of the local context requires a more collaborative and active PP form.  - Speaking the native language is a vital feature in gaining access to knowledge of community needs, concerns, and aspirations.	<u>Hypothesis confirmed:</u>  -Facebook and photo-elicitation showed potentials to provide a flexible, collaborative, and meaningful approach to engage youth.  - Motivations and incentives for active and meaningful engagement highly rest on the visibility of the ‘ <i>what’s in it for me?</i> ’ perspective.  <u>Hypothesis challenged:</u>  - Most remained passive participants.  - The majority of active participants were young women.	- Preliminary overview of potential opportunities and challenges for a future youth engagement study in NW Greenland acquired, including:  - Locating young people’s whereabouts.  - Insights on youth perspectives on the future.  - And identification of potential ‘gatekeepers’.  - Experienced (non) impacts of oil exploration activities detected

*Table 1: Overview of fieldworks, objectives, and key findings.*

## **5.1. PC I: THE PUBLIC CONSULTATION ROUND-TRIP, NW GREENLAND, APRIL 2012 (PAPER II (AND I))**

In 2012, while preparing my master's dissertation on PP within IA in relation to the hydrocarbon exploration activities in Baffin Bay, NW Greenland, I was granted a unique field trip opportunity by Maersk Oil Kalaallit Nunaat A/S. The field trip enabled me to participate in a public consultation round-trip in cities and settlements in NW Greenland between the 17<sup>th</sup> and 23<sup>rd</sup> April (henceforth referred to as 'PC I'). The cities and settlements visited were considered to be the local communities potentially affected by the exploration activities carried out within the offshore licensing areas in the Baffin Bay, respectively: Qaanaaq, Upernavik, Innaarsuit, Tasiusaq, Kullorsuaq, and Savissivik.<sup>5</sup> Qaanaaq and Upernavik were used as basis for accommodation, from which the delegation and I visited the smaller settlements by helicopter.

The round-trip was quite atypically arranged, namely as a joint collaboration between the five oil exploration companies operating in the Baffin Bay area at the time: Maersk Oil Kalaallit Nunaat A/S, Cairn Energy PLC, Shell, Conocophillips, and Nunaoil A/S. Following the same legislative standards, the companies had come together to arrange the public consultation tour in preparations for a SIA.

As argued by Flyvbjerg (2004), it is the acquisition of real practical experience that makes expert. Accordingly, one may only truly learn by actually doing, and I was on the aforementioned field trip to observe and learn.

The field trip allowed for unique access to empirical data of PP in practice. The primary objective of my master's dissertation study (see Olsen 2012) was to investigate barriers against effective PP.

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<sup>5</sup> Nuussuaq was also included in the program, but, due to bad weather and logistical implications causing delays, I did not have the opportunity to attend the PC meeting at this settlement.



*Figure 13: “Midnight sun in Qaanaaq.” NW Greenland, April 2012. Photo: A Skjervedal.*

My findings revealed a complex mix of barriers in terms of, among others, issues with timing and logistics, difficulties for the locals in accessing and understanding available information, issues of language and translations, mistrust towards companies and government. These findings later came to serve as point of departure for the PhD dissertation, only with the different objective to map perceptions of PP among a wide range of stakeholders, including company representatives, government and municipal officials, NGOs and other interest organisations, and the local public.

The findings from PC I revealed both minor and greater discrepancies in the perceptions of PP among the stakeholders, which arguably poses the main barrier against meaningful engagement of the local communities.

These diverse, and at times conflicting, approaches as to how PP is to be defined and approached – with respect to the desired level and purpose – seemed to influence how PP was carried out in practice. The most striking discovery, however, was that the locals seemed to accept being passive recipients of information. Further, hardly any representatives of the young generation of Greenlanders were present at the PC meetings. As illustrated in Figure 14, the young people in the city had other occupations to attend to.



*Figure 14: “Young man returning home after shooting training in the nearby fells.” Photo: A. Skjervedal.*

## **5.2. PC II: THE PUBLIC CONSULTATION ROUND-TRIP, NW GREENLAND, SEPTEMBER 2013**

In 2013, I was given the opportunity to supplement the initial observation and findings with additional knowledge of local perceptions towards PP during a second field trip (henceforth termed ‘PC II’), sponsored by Cairn Energy PLC.

Compared to PC I, where a large delegation had carried out the round-trip together, travelling with only one company, Cairn Energy PLC, patently made a difference in terms of interaction with the local public. Arguably, the smaller group of representatives created a ‘safer’ and more informal sphere at the PC meetings, which seemed to facilitate a higher degree of dialogue between the representatives and the locals. However, the responses gained from the questionnaires, similar to those distributed throughout PC I, once again indicated an overall perception of PP among the locals as being merely a source of one-way distribution of information.



*Figure 15: “Helicopter landing site at Kullorsuaq.” NW Greenland, September 2013. Photo: A. Skjervedal.*

Further, as in PC I, the meeting attendees hardly included any representatives of the young generation. The PC tour further carried resembling similarities to the scarce amount of time available at the various settlements and cities visited. During PC II, Upernavik was used as a basis for accommodation, wherefrom the small delegation travelled to the smaller settlements by helicopter as illustrated in Figure 15.

This second field trip made me reflect on the contemporary PP process and practice, but also about the way I approached the field and the subjects of my study. The local voice was still missing – a frustrating fact, which stood in stark contrast to the overall objective of my research, namely to give voice to the seemingly passive local communities and facilitate a more meaningful PP process.

As argued by Flyvbjerg (2004:422), “great distance to the object of study and lack of feedback easily lead to a stultified learning process, which in research can lead to ritual academic blind alleys, where the effect and usefulness of research becomes unclear and untested”. In an attempt to make up for my inability to speak fluent Greenlandic – and, even more so, understand the NW Greenlandic dialect – combined with the strict travel schedule (meaning that we stayed at most of the locations for only a few hours), I had chosen the method of self-completion

questionnaires to gain input from the locals. However, I found myself unsuccessful in reaching the subjects which were supposed to be at the center of my research. Stuck in this ‘blind alley’, I had yet to successfully give voice to people in the local communities, which also meant that vital in-depth context-dependent knowledge of how the locals perceived the concept and process of PP was yet lacking.

### **5.3. THE PHOTO FORUM STUDY: EXPLORING MEANS FOR YOUTH ENGAGEMENT, MAY 2015 (PAPER III AND IV)**

The outcome of and experience gained from PC I and II called for a revision and reassessment of the current PP form of PC meetings. In search for a new perspective on and approach to PP, along with a new way of investigating local knowledge about issues relating to the extractive industry development in Greenland, I set out to do a qualitative, explorative visual participatory study in spring 2015, henceforth referred to as the ‘Photo Forum’ study.

With point of departure in findings of PAPER II and novel studies applying on-line - and visual participation forms, I combined the use of Facebook with a visual participatory approach for this study with the aim to break the frame of the more traditional PP forms by combining the social media network, Facebook, and the visual anthropological method, photo-elicitation, to specifically reach and actively engage youth in Greenland, by enhancing more active and collaborative engagement.

A flyer created and distributed on Facebook, as well as relevant websites of education institutions and more, with the purpose to recruit young Greenlanders for the study, is presented in Figure 16. Through visual means, I attempted to capture the attention towards the study among the Greenlandic youth. The photo guide for the participants and the photo-interview guide are available in Appendix C and D.

The choice of applying the visual anthropological method of photo-elicitation was primarily due to its collaborative nature, which would enable the opportunity for the young research participants to actively engage in the production and interpretation of data. Additionally, I was interested in disclosing what was at the hearts and minds of the young Greenlanders in terms of their interests and values, concerns, hopes and future aspirations. As the rapid development in the extractive sector has already caused major impact throughout Greenland, both at local, regional as well as national level (PART I, Hansen et al. 2016 – PAPER I; Olsen and Hansen 2014 – PAPER II), I was further interested in disclosing what and how much information the young Greenlanders have of the oil exploration activities and their impact on Greenland, and not least how the young Greenlanders perceive their own role in Greenland towards becoming a potential oil nation.



**Figure 16: “Flyer for the Photo Forum study.” April 2015. By: A. Skjervedal.**

Based on results of state-of-the-art research in community and – in particular – youth engagement, I believed that the method of photo-elicitation could prove to be an advantageous method to elicit the information and more in-depth knowledge sought for. Drawing lines to what is defined as meaningful PP in this dissertation, the benefits of applying the method of photo-elicitation will be accounted for in the methods section (see Chapter 7.).

The Photo Forum study is addressed through the final two component papers with each a different focus and aim; to explore Facebook as an online participatory tool reach combined with a visual anthropological approach, photo-elicitation, to actively



engage the young Greenlanders in a meaningful way through mutual dialogue and collaborative interaction (Skjervedal - PAPER III), and to test the use of photos as means to gain access to other-wise hidden and more in-depth knowledge of the young participants (Skjervedal - PAPER IV).

The findings of the Photo Forum study, as outlined in PAPER III, revealed both valuable potentials as well as weaknesses towards establishing meaningful youth engagement. From a methodological perspective, the project attracted a lot of interest from young people all over Greenland as well as among Greenlandic students in Denmark. Further, the research participants expressed an overall positive attitude towards the project, and Facebook proved to be a suitable recruitment tool, as well as a manageable, simple platform for providing input. Combined with the visual dimension of the project participants were enabled to express themselves in a different way, which they considered motivating and fun, and thus encouraged active engagement. The themes framing the input of the participants (values and interests, hopes and dreams, fears and concerns, and future aspirations) established the 'what's in it for me' perspective, as these themes were considered highly relevant for the research participants in relation to their particular stage in life. The follow-up online photo interviews allowed for closer interaction and dialogue, and provided substantial additional material for analysis.

However, the study also comprised certain impediments. Most of the young people who joined the group ended up as 'lurkers', passive participants who followed the activity in the group and did not contribute in providing input for the study. Potential explanations are that the participants found the themes too abstract, had not thought of these future-related questions, or considered themselves unable to answer them, as some of the non-participants stated in the follow-up questionnaire. Further, the average age of the active participants was 26 years of age, and most of the active research participants were young women. Conclusively, although the combined methods may provide a better opportunity for youth to actively engage on their own terms, the paper stresses that these participatory tools are not guarantees for active

participation alone and places emphasis on youth themselves as the driving force behind active and collaborative participation.

The findings of PAPER IV rest on an analysis of the digital images collected through the Photo Forum study as a collected whole rather than on an analysis of the specific single images. Alongside obtaining contextual information through the annotations and photo interviews, I carried out a thematic analysis of the collected photos with the purpose to unveil patterns of reoccurring themes (Bryman 2008; van Leeuwen and Jewitt 2008).

The following displays a range of the participant-produced photos and annotations created by the young research participants during the Photo Forum study within the four respective themes: values and interests, hopes and dreams, fears and concerns, and future aspirations (Skjervedal - PAPER III and IV). The photos serve to illustrate the specific insights and in-depth knowledge that visual images may prompt (see Chapter 4.) In agreement with the research participants, the photos and annotation are presented as anonymous. However, the sex and age of the participant are included.



*Figure 17: “My family, my friends and the experiences I gather are most important in my life. This picture also shows my passion for physical activities, both indoors and outdoors.” The Photo Forum study, May 2015. Photo and annotation: Young Greenlandic man, 22 years old.*



*Figure 18: “The most important things in my life are my son (him with the branches in the stroller) and my freedom. The freedom to do what I want: study, draw, or go make discoveries with my son.” The Photo Forum study, May, 2015. Photo and annotation: Young Greenlandic woman, 26 years old.*



*Figure 19: “The most important thing for me is my work, travelling, new challenges, new experiences, proving to myself that I can do even better, nature and my family.” The Photo Forum study, May 2017. Photo and annotation: Young Greenlandic woman, 27 years old.*



*Figure 20: “One of my hopes for the future is that more young people become aware of the importance of gaining an education, and that they may create their own road to long-term success through knowledge. A road that winds through schools, local organisations, workplaces, and other institutions that satisfy their interests and meet their needs. Another wish of mine is that all young people have access to a caring and competent adult, which may guide well through the many challenging decisions young people have to make.” The Photo Forum study, May 2015. Photo and annotation: Young Greenlandic man, 30 years old.*



*Fig. 21: “In my home I have two shelves with things that remind me of my origin, ‘my home’ <3. Greenland has changed through the years I have lived abroad, so I am not sure what to expect when I return. I hope I will be able to feel at home. I am consistently fighting against these objects becoming ‘tourist artifacts’ in my own home, trying to keep the traditions they represent alive through me.” The Photo Forum study, May 2015. Photo and annotation: Young Greenlandic woman, 29 years old.*



*Fig. 22: “I have a wish and expectation that, one day, I will return to my home town with my boyfriend and our daughter. In the meantime, my daughter learns about Greenland through Greenlandic books.” The Photo Forum study, May 2015. Photo and annotation: Young Greenlandic woman, 29 years old.*



*Fig. 23: “This is a picture of a block of flats, ‘Blok P’, which was torn down in 2012. The flag on the building symbolises change and expectations attached to the implementation of self-rule in Greenland. One of my fears for the future is that the economic situation, and the problem with housing, does not improve, and that the social inequalities become even bigger so that even more people decide to emigrate. Many, especially young people, lack a proper home, which can make it hard for them to focus on studies and their future. Having a roof over their head is a vital prerequisite for young people to grow as humans, learn and prepare for their future.” The Photo Forum study, May 2015. Photo and annotation: Young Greenlandic man, 30 years old.*



*Figure 24: “In 10 years I will be a nurse, live in Nuuk, and have a family of my own. Up till then, I will have had an internship in Tanzania and Vietnam, worked as a nurse at Doctors Without Borders, and in a war zone. The picture symbolises the road forward at the only ‘highway’ in Greenland: the ice by Uummanaq.” The Photo Forum study, May 2015. Young Greenlandic woman, 24 years old.*

Inspired by various studies incorporating visual methods to elicit in-depth understandings of the views and experiences on various phenomena specifically among youth, PAPER IV explores how the use of visual representations in an interview poses a distinctive way to prompt more in depth, and otherwise unrealised knowledge, among young individuals. With point of departure in participant-

produced photos collected through the Photo Forum study, the findings indicate how visual images may serve as a 'common language' among the young participants (Al-Kodmany 1999), through which they are empowered to engage actively and bring forth their hopes, fears, concerns and aspirations for the future.

The responses drawn from this preliminary and novel study display just a mere glimpse into the perspectives of a smaller group of the young generation in Greenland. However, the findings reflect a strong connection between the hopes, fears and aspirations for the future among the young participants and contemporary issues in Greenland of both political, social, economic and cultural character, which arguably emphasises the importance of increasing the focus on youth as a resource to ensuring future sustainable development. Further, a noteworthy result was the vague knowledge and faltering perspectives among the youth on the extractive industry development in Greenland, which is in stark contrast to their frequent nomination as 'bearers of hope' for a prosperous future development of Greenland in political discourses in Greenland. The young Greenlanders did not consider themselves properly informed to be able to take a strong standpoint on the extractive industry development in Greenland, and seemingly held little knowledge of how this development might impact their own lives. Rather, the young participants focused on wellbeing and quality of life, and did not consider themselves to play an active role in the extractive industry.

Conclusively, the findings of PAPER IV indicate that compared to conventional interviews, using photos in interviews may empower youth to engage in a more collaborative manner, levelling the often more uneven power relationship between the researcher and the young interviewees, as the visual representations took point of departure in their interpretations and worldviews, while functioning as a common language and platform providing a unique way to enhance dialogue and access otherwise inaccessible knowledge.

#### **5.4. THE UPERNAVIK FIELD TRIP: A YOUTH PILOT STUDY, MAY 2017**

A final fieldwork opportunity was provided in connection with the Arctic Challenge project ([nordlandsforskning.no](http://nordlandsforskning.no)), financed by the Norwegian Research Council for 2014-2017, seeking to establish to what extent planning processes for offshore hydrocarbon development influence, and are influenced, by local and regional concerns and debates. For the project, I was assigned the task of interviewing local businesses in town, seeking their experience from the recent entrance and disappearance of the oil industry. The project covered my travels, board, and lodging from the 16<sup>th</sup> to the 28<sup>th</sup> of May, 2017.

The trip enabled me to conduct a small-scale ethnographic study, with the objective to acquire first-hand knowledge of the local context while seeking answers as to what might be the most advantageous approach to engage with youth in this area for a potential future research design. Moving into uncharted grounds, I set out to gain insight into the lives and positions of the young people in town. I spent most of my time trying to determine the young people's interests and whereabouts – that is, main gathering spots and events of interest. As visually illustrated by the vast numbers of pairs of shoes in the hallway of the local sports center (see Figure 26), the young people in Upernavik were much occupied with sports, in particular football.





*Fig. 25: “Shoes in the entry of the sports centre during a game of football.” Upernavik, May 2017. Photo: A. Skjervedal*

Further, I searched for and talked to key persons who might serve as potential ‘gatekeepers’ (O’Reilly 2009) providing access to valuable information about the youth, such as a teacher or a student counsellor at the local school, a youth football coach, as well as representatives of the young people living in Upernavik. This was done through informal conversations at football matches, at a Friday evening football club meeting, at a game night at the local hall, at the house the student workers and I were staying in, and at the local school.

Compared to the former field trips undertaken for this dissertation, this final field trip was of a quite different character. Although this field trip was still relatively short, it was long compared to the few hours or days spent in the cities and settlements during PC I and II in NW Greenland in 2012 and 2013. The excerpt from my field diary below displays a glimpse of ‘being’ in and experiencing Upernavik at a different level:

“It is funny how you can sense that the pace in this city is an entirely different one than in Nuuk. People wander the quiet streets in a slow manner. They are obviously not in a hurry to get somewhere. I found myself rushing through the city, getting quickly from A to B the first couple of days, but as I became aware that this felt a bit ‘off’ in this

place, I tried to slow down and really take in the city and the spectacular view they have here in Upernavik, and look more closely at the houses and the activities in the city. I further started greeting most people when I pass by them, and they ‘haluu’ or nod back.”

(Excerpt from my field diary of the Upernavik field trip, May, 2017).

As described, I got to observe and experience life in the city of Upernavik at a whole different pace. Further, by not travelling with a large delegation, I got to carry out informal and spontaneous conversation and interviews with key informants, as they were located step by step.



*Figure 26: “Quiet city atmosphere.” Upernavik, May 2017. Photo: A. Skjervedal.*

However, one of my arguably greatest disadvantages doing research in NW Greenland, namely my inability to speak ‘Kalaallisut’ (‘Greenlandic’ in English), was also remarkably – frustratingly – visible in this setting.

“I thought of the first time I conducted fieldwork in the Baffin Bay area. I was part of the oil company delegation, and people were kind of sceptic until I got to talk to them. Some people knew who I was related to (that who mostly being my grandmother) – and then I was

not a ‘stranger’ anymore. I was the granddaughter of my grandmother ... Coming to Upernavik again, five years later, as part of a research team, is different. But I am still concerned about whether people would be unwilling to talk to me when I approach them, knowing that I am a researcher from the university. [...] However, I think my lacking language skills are still my biggest disadvantage, and that it excludes me from truly getting in contact with, from establishing a good relationship and interaction, and from getting ‘under the skin’ of the locals.” (Excerpt from my field diary of the Upernavik field trip, May, 2017).

Another interesting outcome of the field trip was experiencing the atmosphere at this place and talking to people five years after my first visit that had taken place at a time where the oil exploration activities were at their highest. Judging from informal conversations with representatives of the local businesses, they seemed greatly disappointed with the disappearance of the oil companies, which left them with unfulfilled expectations for development of their businesses and the city of Upernavik in general. The youth in Upernavik, however, expressed that they hardly knew of or had felt any impacts of the oil exploration activities that had taken place in the city.



**Figure 27: “The ‘Shell House’.” Upernavik, May 2017. Photo: A. Skjervedal.**

Nonetheless, there is still visual concrete evidence of the oil companies’ former presence in Upernavik, such as the ‘Shell House’ in Figure 27, which presents a stark contrast to the unfulfilled high hopes and indifference expressed by the

different stakeholders in the city. Further, a cement foundation of an unfinished helicopter landing site speaks of the past presence and sudden disappearance of the oil exploration company activities in this area.

Overall, this final trip provided valuable insights into potential opportunities and challenges in establishing a fruitful future youth engagement study, through first-hand experience of a local context while gaining important experience with regards to youth interests and how to approach youth and navigate through gatekeepers and, in a sense, explore ‘the life of youth’ in this specific part of Greenland, very much different from my own up-bringing as will be addressed in the following reflecting chapter on my own role as a researcher.



## **6. REFLECTIONS ON THE ROLE OF THE RESEARCHER**

“There is a need to account for the inevitability of the ethnographer’s influence on the research process and to manage the tension between objectivity and subjectivity in order to produce better portraits of the human condition. Dealing rigorously with reflexivity is an important aspect of contemporary ethnography. In this vein it is appropriate to say something about the person who brings you this encounter with ethnography” (Madden 2010).

The studies on which this dissertation rests are not ethnographic per se. However, all of the field studies arguably comprise elements of ethnographic character due to the included method of participant observation and due to my explorative research of engagement of the Greenlandic youth, which will be addressed later in this section. As argued by Madden, an important part of coming to terms with and understanding the approach, analysis, and conclusions drawn within this dissertation is to address how my role as a researcher, as well as my personal story, has played out and impacted the research, and this balancing act is what I set out to reflect on in this section.

I cannot rule out my own role both as a researcher and as a fairly young Greenlander. There is no doubt that my own background, experiences, and ways of perceiving the world have had an influence on this study and the methodological paths chosen, through which I have explored and sought to make sense of the PP process in Greenland. Below, I will reflect on some of the various roles undertaken in my work on this PhD dissertation: as an observant in a travelling delegation, as a researcher, as a granddaughter, and as a young (Danish) Greenlander from Nuuk.

Travelling NW Greenland together with the authorities and the representatives of the oil companies operating in Baffin Bay, as well as being present at the PC meetings, has without a doubt provided unique access to observe both on and behind the scene, and gain access to otherwise inaccessible information about the planning,

arrangement, and struggles that these actors encountered in carrying out the PC meetings. But it has arguably also affected the perceptions that people in the cities and settlements had of me. Such evidence can be found in statements about me made by the questionnaire respondents, such as “We have high expectations of *you*” or “I think it is a shame that *you* hold the meetings while everybody is at work” (own emphasis – source: PC II Questionnaire responses). Although my role at the PC meetings was purely to observe from the back of the room – take notes on the meeting set-up, number of attendees, gender, the information presented, and how it was presented, and listen to the questions posed and comments made by the attendees – many of the meeting attendees may have perceived me as ‘one of them’ (the companies or authorities). However, it is to my experience common in Greenland, where people are highly interconnected, that those who encounter a new face often try to place that person within a family ‘clan’. I would introduce myself as a Greenlandic student from Nuuk, people would ask for my last name, and it was often recognised by people acquainted with my grandmother. Suddenly, I was no longer a stranger but the granddaughter of my grandmother. These two different ‘labels’ may have enabled me to engage in more informal conversation, as well as affected the responses that I received in the questionnaires.

With regards to data, what was drawn from the semi-structured interviews does not merely represent pure information. Rather, this data was created as part of the communicative interaction between the researcher and the research participant (Foddy 1994; Kvale 1997). Also, when analysing the data material of the fieldworks, my own subjective interpretations have affected the analytical process. As Bryman states, “when the social scientist adopts an interpretative stance [...] there is a double interpretation going on: the researcher is providing an interpretation of others’ interpretations” (2008:17). In that way, my interpretivist stance to research has inevitably affected my interpretations of the findings in the respective studies. When investigating the stakeholder perceptions to PP (PAPER II and, partly, I), and how the young Greenlanders respond to a visual-participatory approach to engagement, as well as how they perceive their present lives and futures

(Skjervedal - PAPER III and IV), I am thus not simply laying bare how the research participants interpret the world around them; I am placing these ‘produced’ interpretations within my social-scientific frame. Findings never speak for themselves but are inevitably coloured by our own assumptions: “Even scientists only observe ‘facts’ through the use of lenses made up of concepts and theories” (Silverman 2007: 12). Likewise, Collier explains that the “analysis of visual records of perception is much a search for pattern and meaning complicated and enriched by our inescapable role as participants in that experience” (Collier 2008: 35).

As categorised by Agar (1986), my role as a researcher has been both one of ‘learning’ and one of ‘scientific testing’. In the search for answers to objective ‘I’: how stakeholder perceptions may influence the current PP practice (PAPER II), I have taken on the ‘learning’ role, seeking to gain an understanding of the current PP process through up-close, first-hand encounters. In line with the anthropologist belief, it is not possible to explore the social world without being a part of it, and, as such, you must ‘enter the world’ that you wish to study in order to truly experience, learn, and understand first-hand (Atkinson and Hammersley 1994; Hastrup 2003; Flyvbjerg 2004; Silverman 2007).

The aspect ‘enter the world’ has made me reflect on the setting – living first in Denmark and then moving with my family to Greenland, where the remainder of my PhD dissertation was conducted. The following is drawn from my notes of ongoing reflections on the roles and how these roles have impacted my research.

“Through the years living in Denmark, the everyday life I knew in Nuuk had become distant memories. Although travelling to Greenland has always felt like travelling ‘home’, it became more and more difficult to have a true sense of life there. Development was mostly visible to me through news stories, or the new construction of roads, houses, and buildings that had emerged from time to time between my fairly frequent visits.



However, living in Denmark for the past ten years has also enabled me to view Greenland in a different light, from an outside perspective. Furthermore, in a sense, it has in many ways also strengthened my Greenlandic identity. It is much different being there, breathing the same cold, dry, crisp air – being there when the weather and seasons shift through the sunlit summer and the dark, snowy winter. You get a different understanding of the living conditions when you struggle through two metres of snow in minus 15 degrees in the mornings together with two small kids that you have to drop off at daycare, and then go to your workplace. When you experience the thrill and satisfaction of eating a fish that you have caught yourself, storing the sailing trip into the fiord in your box of memories. When you go to the store, and they are completely out of bananas, eggs, or olives, and you have to change your meal plan. Through these everyday experiences, you slowly learn to adjust your expectations, accepting the prerequisites of living on a remote island in the Arctic; you adapt and learn to shrug your shoulders and say ‘ajunngilaq’ [everything is going to be all right]”.

(Excerpt from my diary about being a researcher, Nuuk, 2017).

“By being in Greenland, and through the different approaches applied when I attempted to engage with my target group – posing the questions I had, receiving their responses – I came to an understanding myself. It can be compared to when you have been reading on and on about it, and you cannot truly, really, grasp it. And then, all of a sudden, placed in the right context, it makes sense. I am not sure I would have had this revelation had I not come to Greenland. Been there, seen it, experienced it – it has enabled me, at least somewhat, to reach an understanding of how the Greenlandic youth perceive their world, their future. Knowing their prerequisites, knowing their thoughts, their different preconditions, their struggles at home and in

the education system, their joys of being part of these beautiful but harsh living conditions, their world views – how they make meaning of the world ... Talking to and engaging with the subject of study, being in the context of the subject of study – feeling it on my own body and in my mind – the preconditions of living here in this country. Getting to know a part of myself too, being a Greenlander”.

(Excerpt from my field diary of the Upernavik field trip, May, 2017).

Moving to Greenland in order to become part of my research setting while undertaking my PhD has without a doubt enhanced my understanding of the local context and the ways in which people may think and act. As argued by Madden, “ethnographers value the idea of ‘walking a mile in the shoes’ of others and attempt to gain insight by being in the same social space as the subjects of their research” (Madden 2010). Thus, while others might have had different perceptions of me placed in different contexts and settings as a researcher, a young Greenlander, and more, experiencing the contrasts of Nuuk and the cities and settlements in NW Greenland have also challenged my own expectations and presumptions broadening my horizons to include a much more nuanced picture of the vast diversity within the Greenlandic context alone. The fieldwork experiences and moving here have also highlighted what I have come to consider one of the greatest barriers in conducting my research in Greenland: my insufficiencies in speaking the native language, Kalaallisut (Greenlandic, in English). As argued by Hastrup (2003), it is vital that the anthropologist learn ‘the linguistic way of speaking’ within the explored world, since cultural parts of knowledge, communicative practices, and perceptual practices – that is, the ways we make sense of and acquire knowledge of the world – are closely interconnected. Not speaking Greenlandic has arguably at times limited my ability as a researcher to gain even more nuanced, in-depth empirical data, and to truly grasp the local context of my research. Finally, it has been especially

challenging to balance between that of being a young Greenlander myself and the role as a researcher during the youth study and subsequent analyses.

I often experienced a blending of my own background and personal experiences with the field of study, as I was able to mirror myself in many of the statements put forward by the young research participants during the Photo Forum study. This included, for instance, the struggles and dilemmas emerging from a ‘split’ identity, due to having both Danish and Greenlandic heritage, the great appreciation of the both magnificent and tough Arctic environment, the limitations of living in an – to a great extent – isolated area, as well as the common understanding of humour, norms, and traditions. However, with regards to the youth study, being close to or even a part of the field that the subjects of investigation exist in, as well as the shared ‘cultural lenses’ between the young research participants and myself as a young Greenlander, has arguably strengthened my ability to ‘recognise and respond to cultural patterns’ in the interpretation of the research-participant visual images. This is explained by Collier (2008: 58):

”[A]nalysis should involve a return to the visual whole so that details may be seen as larger patterns, the discovery of which are crucial to understanding the significance of our research. But patterns alone do not produce meaning and our search for it is complicated by our dual role as investigators and cultural beings. The cultural lenses through which we operate inevitably shape our analysis, especially as we seek conclusions. While this reality may limit our comprehension of unfamiliar cultural phenomena, it is equally true that our existence as cultural beings provides us with the ability to recognize and respond to cultural patterns”.

Further, being able to relate well to my research participants and being familiar with their ways of perceiving the world have likewise been assets, as I, myself, have been able to act as a ‘gatekeeper’ (Hornsby-Smith 1993; Walsh 2004).

## **7. A MIXED METHODS APPROACH**

In this section, I will account for the research methods employed in the field studies, and for why the methods applied were considered advantageous specifically in terms of prompting valid, credible, and useful data to reach the objectives of this dissertation, and as a proper foundation for providing well-reasoned suggestive measures as to what characterizes meaningful participation and how meaningful engagement of youth may be facilitated. Included will be a description of the initial presumptions of advantages as well as the experienced complications of using the selected methods. Further, there will be a discussion of the impact these complications may have on the validity and reliability of the findings and conclusions drawn from the studies. For a more detailed outline of the respective studies on which this dissertation rests, please see PAPER I, II, III, and IV).

In general, there are no ‘right’ or ‘wrong’ research methods. However, some methods are arguably more advantageous than others; it all depends on the objective (Silverman 2007). Throughout conducting the research for this PhD dissertation, I have continuously worked on developing a mixed methods research design in order to obtain the most holistic and high-quality sources of evidence for analysis (Yin 2003), in line with how these became available within the given circumstances of the field study opportunities that arose throughout my research.

According to Johnson et al. (2007: 123):

“Mixed methods research is the type of research in which a researcher or team of researchers combines elements of qualitative and quantitative research approaches (e. g., use of qualitative and quantitative viewpoints, data collection, analysis, inference techniques) for the broad purposes of breadth and depth of understanding and corroboration.”

A mixed methods design is commonly characterised by the combination of, at a minimum, one qualitative research component along with one quantitative (Bryman 2008; Schoonenboom and Johnson 2017). While some view quantitative and qualitative research as grounded in incompatible epistemological and ontological principles, respectively, and therefore reject the possibility of conducting mixed methods research, I have taken on this approach on the basis of the argument taken by most researchers that quantitative and qualitative methods are flexible and capable of being fused. From this more ‘technical’ perspective, quantitative and qualitative research is connected with distinctive epistemological assumptions, but the methods are capable of being combined, even with advantageous results (Bryman 2008).

The basis for undertaking a mixed methods approach is founded in different rationales put forward by Bryman (2008). These rationales will be presented and explained in the following:

- ‘*Offset*’ – meaning that the qualitative approach and the quantitative approach each has its strengths and limitations. Combining the two approaches may, arguably, allow the researcher to ‘offset’ their respective weaknesses and draw on the strengths of both.
- ‘*Completeness*’ – referring to how the combination of quantitative and qualitative research enables the researcher to establish a more comprehensive and holistic account of the field of study.
- ‘*Explanation*’ – meaning that one approach is employed to aid in explaining findings generated by the other approach.

- *‘Triangulation’* – referring to how the respective findings obtained through the mixed methods approach, by mutual corroboration, may support and thus enhance the validity.
  
- *‘Credibility’* – which suggests that using both approaches may enhance the integrity of the findings.

## **7.1. STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES OF THE MIXED METHODS RESEARCH DESIGN**

There are no commonly agreed upon criteria – or an actual ‘checklist’ – for measuring the quality of qualitative research, and several scholars have suggested various measures to ensure such quality (see, for instance: Hammersley 1991; Yardley 2000; Spencer et al. 2003).

In line with the nature of qualitative research (Bryman 2008), this dissertation comprises a single case study – the PP process and practice within SIA in relation to oil exploration activities in Baffin bay, NW Greenland, along with a couple of more intensive studies that focus on eliciting knowledge ‘from within’ among individuals and smaller groups of people.

The quality of the research conducted for this dissertation has been evaluated on the basis of ‘trustworthiness’ and ‘authenticity’, as suggested by Lincoln and Guba (1985) and Guba and Lincoln (1994) as alternatives to ‘reliability’ and ‘validity’, known from quantitative research. Influenced by the interpretivist stance, the rationale behind these alternative measures is the assumption that it is not possible to establish a single absolute account of social reality. In other words, there are no absolute truths, but rather multiple accounts of social reality. For instance, a common criterion in quantitative research, ‘external validity’ – that is, the degree to which it is possible to replicate a study – is not feasible in qualitative research as this would imply that it is possible to ‘freeze’ a social setting and obtain the exact same

results over and over (LeCompte and Goetz 1982). This is not the case for the research of this dissertation as each individual may attribute different meanings to events and their environments, with further emphasis on the uniqueness of the specific context (Bryman 2008).

As described by Lincoln and Guba, trustworthiness is about ensuring the ‘credibility’ of findings, and that the fieldwork has been carried out in accordance with the principles of good research practice. Moreover, the researcher is required to follow up on the findings of the respective works. Triangulation, where findings are cross-checked, is suggested as one way to obtain such credibility (Bryman 2008).

A feature that heightens the trustworthiness, authenticity, and credibility of using the photo-elicitation approach is that the photos and annotations provided during the initial phase of data collection are created by the research participants themselves, after which these data are used as point of departure for more in-depth interviews, securing that potential misinterpretations are minimised (see Skjervedal - PAPER III and IV). Further, although PC I and PC II are not quite compatible for comparison, the observations and findings (PAPER II) have to some degree been cross-checked. However, the credibility could arguably have been heightened further by presenting and discussing the findings with the respective interviewees and perhaps most importantly the people in the local communities – a method referred to as ‘respondent validation’ (Bryman 2008: 377).

Another measure that may enhance the trustworthiness of research is ‘transferability’, which is concerned with whether the findings may be applicable in other contexts. The findings of the studies conducted for this dissertation are arguably unique to its specific context: the case of NW Greenland. Thus, results might have been different if they had been conducted in other regions in Greenland – or outside Greenland, for that matter.



To establish the authenticity of the research conducted for this dissertation, stakeholders of different backgrounds and from various geographical locations both

within and outside Greenland, holding differing interests, views, and ways of perceiving the field of study, have been included to the widest extent possible under the given circumstances.





To sum up on the arguments above, the primacy of a qualitative approach to the research conducted has prompted a more holistic and in-depth understanding of the field of study. However, it is not possible to generalise these findings. Rather, the findings represent glimpses into the local context and the local knowledge held by a wide range of stakeholders both directly and indirectly involved in the PP process and practice in Greenland at specific points of time and place.

## 7.2. PRESUMED ADVANTAGES AND EXPERIENCED COMPLICATIONS OF THE APPLIED RESEARCH METHODS

The mixed methods research comprises a combination of participant observation, semi-structured interviews, and photo-interviews, as well as self-completion questionnaires. The presumed advantages and experienced implications will be presented and discussed in the following. An overview is displayed in Table 2.

 <b>Research methods</b>	<b>Presumed advantages</b>	<b>Experienced complications</b>
 <b>Participant observation</b> (PC I, II, and the Upernavik field trip)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- To gain first-hand experience without disturbing the PP process in practice.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- To balance the various roles of the researcher.</li> <li>- Language barrier.</li> </ul>



 <p><b>Semi-structured interviews</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- To acquire in-depth knowledge of PP perceptions.</li> <li>- To lessen risk of misinterpretation.</li> <li>- To allow for unexpected valuable knowledge contributions.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- No greater implications, but more in-depth knowledge of the field of PP and the extractive industry development in Greenland could arguably have been useful to elicit even more specific and in-depth knowledge from the stakeholders.</li> </ul>
 <p><b>Self-completion questionnaires</b></p> <p>(PC I, II)</p> <hr/> <p>(the Photo Forum study)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- To overcome barriers with limited time as well as inability to speak fluent ‘Kalaallisut’.</li> <li>- To acquire in-depth understanding of the local context, PP, and perceptions</li> </ul> <hr/> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- To gain an overview of experiences from the Photo Forum study among both active and passive participants.</li> <li>- To reach across the vast geographical distances between the respondents from all over Greenland.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- No opportunity to elaborate answers and thus gain the in-depth info sought for, which further leaves room for potential misinterpretations.</li> <li>- Language barrier.</li> <li>- Many did not seem strong in writing.</li> <li>- Limited time.</li> </ul> <hr/> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- No greater implications experienced, besides the inability to gain more thorough information and follow up on responses.</li> </ul>
 <p><b>Facebook</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- To reach and gather youth across distances.</li> <li>- To recruit participants from vast networks of social relations (through ‘snowballing’).</li> <li>- To use a tool familiar to the Greenlandic youth.</li> <li>- To use a low-cost, simple tool prompting a fast exchange of information and dialogue.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Physical distance between researcher and research participants.</li> <li>- Time-consuming to recruit participants and administer data collection, acknowledge the uploaded ‘posts’, and keep participants informed and motivated.</li> <li>- Internet accessibility varies in Greenland.</li> <li>- To foster active participation and interactive dialogue.</li> </ul>
 <p><b>Photo-elicitation</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- To test a more collaborative approach of engagement.</li> <li>- To gain insight to more in-depth and otherwise hidden knowledge by the use of visual means of expression.</li> <li>- To prompt thorough reflections and creativity.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Most research participants remained ‘passive’ participants.</li> <li>- No anonymity among the research participants within the group.</li> </ul>

*Table 2: Research methods overview – advantages and complications.*

### **7.2.1. SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS, PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION, AND SELF-COMPLETION QUESTIONNAIRES**

During the initial field studies (PC I and II), I sought to gain an overview of the PP process and found myself in new territory. I had a preliminary strategy tailored to the specific research settings, but I did not know how these would turn out in practice. Combining multiple methods for this purpose (semi-structured interviews, participant observation, and self-completion questionnaires) seemed appropriate for various reasons.

First of all, semi-structured interviews were applied to cover a specific list of themes in order to determine, respectively, perceptions of the PP process in general, and perceptions of the PP concept, purpose, barriers, and the different roles of the stakeholders (see Appendix A). The semi-structured interview provided an overall structure and point of departure for the interviews conducted, while making it possible to bring up additional themes and issues not considered by both the researcher and the research participants, allowing for more in-depth information as well as for new paths to emerge (Bryman 2008).

Participant observation was deemed an advantageous strategy, as I, to gain an overview of the procedures and course of the PC meetings, wanted to disturb the PP process as little as possible, and thus allow for many different aspects of the PC meetings in practice to surface during the observations. Being part of the PC meetings and able to observe at close hand the subjects of my study (the various stakeholders involved in the PP process) would arguably enable me to better ‘see as others see’, as well as weighing the atmosphere, the (lack of) inter-action facilitated by the specific set-up, through my own eyes, rather than relying on others’ descriptions and perceptions of the meetings (Bryman 2008: 465). As explained by Bryman (2008: 466), “the participant observer’s extensive contact with a social

setting allows the context of people's behavior to be mapped out fully". Moreover, it was my hope that issues not realised consciously by the stakeholders themselves would be revealed at the meetings.

Moreover, I knew I would be struggling with very limited time at the cities and settlements visited, further complicated by the fact that I do not speak fluent Kalaallisut (Greenlandic, in English). Given these challenging circumstances, self-completion questionnaires initially seemed worth using in an attempt to obtain local views, considering the expected obstacles in gaining access to people in the local communities. These were distributed in paper form in both Greenlandic and Danish, subsequent to each PC meeting attended during PC I and II – in 2012 and 2013, respectively – along with a short description of myself and the objective of the study. The questionnaires contained a mix of closed and open questions to stimulate thorough responses and provide opportunities to elaborate answers (see Appendix B).

Self-completion questionnaires were also applied subsequent to the Photo Forum study in May, 2015. The objective of this survey was to gain an overview of the participants' use of social media and their experience of the visual dimension of the study, particularly to supplement the data of visual images and annotations, along with the more detailed, in-depth interviews. To cut across the vast geographical distances between the research participants situated all over Greenland, as well as the Greenlandic students in Denmark, this questionnaire was set up as an online form. The questionnaire was available in both Danish and Greenlandic in order to adequately meet the preference of language among the young research participants. Similar to the questionnaire of PC I and II, the Photo Forum questionnaire contained both closed questions and open questions so as to allow respondents to elaborate their answers.

The semi-structured interviews provided valuable and rich data for the preliminary investigation of PP perceptions, though I would arguably have received even richer and more specific answers if I had had more in-depth knowledge of the field of PP

and the extractive industry at the time when the interviews took place. The greatest challenges experienced during the observations at the PC meetings had to do with following the information, questions, and input provided at the meetings in Greenlandic, as well as balancing the various roles played as a researcher in the field as elaborated in Chapter 6.

The self-completion questionnaires distributed during PC I and II did provide valuable knowledge of PP perceptions and approaches among the people in the local communities who attended the PC meetings. Another interesting discovery was that the meeting attendees seemed to take on a passive role in the PP process, despite that almost all of them considered their role in the PP process as ‘very important’. However, the ‘hows’ and ‘whys’ behind these findings were missing from the data obtained from the questionnaires. Contrary to what may be expected (Bryman 2008: 217-19), the open questions did not prompt the more thorough answers sought for, and there was no opportunity to follow up on these missing pieces. The lack of responses may be due to insufficient knowledge of what PP entails. There is also the possibility of the questions being too complex or simply difficult to understand – either owing to the themes addressed, because the meaning of the questions had been altered during the translation from Danish to Greenlandic prior to distribution, due to lack of interest among the respondents, or perhaps the respondents had difficulties with expressing themselves in writing.

The online survey used in the Photo Forum study likewise provided useful data of the social media habits of the young Greenlandic research participants and their overall experience of participating in the study. By combining these data with the qualitative follow-up photo interviews, it was possible to supplement the structural overview of the survey with more personal and thorough information from the participants of the study.

With the aim of shaking the frame of the ‘public meeting’ approach and meaningfully engaging young participants in Greenland in a more performative and collaborative way, Facebook and the visual-anthropological method of photo-

elicitation were used as a combined means for the Photo Forum study. These tools will be accounted for in the following.

### **7.2.2. FACEBOOK AS A RESEARCH TOOL**

The use of the social media networking site Facebook as a research tool is still novel. However, as this medium has become a significant part of the daily life of no less than two billion people around the world (Facebook Inc. 2017), it is gaining still greater recognition as a valuable research tool within social science research (Wilson et al. 2012; Kosinski et al. 2016).

Looking into the use of social media in Greenland, statistics show that 61% of the Greenlandic population – approximately 34,000 (EPINION 2017) out of a total of 55,860 people (Statistics Greenland 2017) – is registered on Facebook and uses this social media on a daily basis. For the Photo Forum study, Facebook was employed to target and recruit young Greenlanders. The recruitment strategy entailed the use of ‘snowballing’ (Bryman 2008), with point of departure in a relatively small group of individuals. Through the Facebook ‘friendship’ networks of this first small cluster, contact was made with further individuals, which yet again became point of departure for targeting even more individuals, and so forth. When the study was launched, Facebook moreover served as a platform for data collection of photos and annotations provided by the research participants. The choice of applying Facebook stemmed from its potential as a low-cost means of communication between the researcher and the young participants, as well as it being a commonly applied, user-friendly forum among the research participants. Bearing in mind how fairly isolated and widely scattered the Greenlandic communities are, Facebook further offered an opportunity to link the researcher and research participants across vast geographical distances. Lastly, being a social networking site, Facebook seemed specifically suitable to combine with the initial steps of the photo-elicitation approach, which is described in the following.

### **7.2.3. MAKING THE CASE FOR PHOTO-ELICITATION**

Visual and art-based methods are widely applied within the field of social sciences. Incorporating visual methods is particularly common in youth studies, where drawings, photos, collages, timelines, and other respondent-generated visual data are applied with the purpose of eliciting in-depth understandings of views and experiences on various phenomena. Combined with narrative data, visual representations may stimulate engagement and empowerment of this frequently marginalised group in society by conveying valuable information to planners and decision makers, who may use this knowledge to improve the lives of these young people, for instance in terms of education, family life, health, and leisure (Didkowsky et al. 2010; Symon and Cassell 2012; Lyon and Carabelli 2015; Carabelli and Lyon 2016).

The photo-elicitation approach is borrowed from the field of visual anthropology and consists of an interview method involving the use of visual representations. The visual images used as point of departure is not restricted to photos, but may also comprise, for instance, drawings, paintings, cartoons, videos, advertisements, and graffiti, ranging from fine art to simple makings (Harper 2002; Bryman 2008). However, photos were used in this particular study.

Typically, one or more photos are used as point of departure for the interview. The images may be provided by the researcher, or, as in this study, produced by the research participants. The participants are requested to comment on the photos they provide, and then discuss the meaning of the photos in dialogue with the researcher (Bignante 2010; Harper 2002; Bryman 2008). Due to its more collaborative nature, this approach encourages research participants to be more active than in a more conventional interview. The photos may convey a great amount of information in a unique way, providing more than what is possible to convey through text. For instance, the use of photos may sharpen the memory of the interviewees and evoke specific feelings. Requesting the participants to provide descriptions for each photo, which otherwise could be subject to multiple interpretations, reduces the degree of

misinterpretations of the intended meaning (Harper 2002; Pink 2004; Tucker and Dempsey 1991; Mertens and Wilson 2012). The initial steps of photo-elicitation arguably further resemble the everyday use of Facebook, where so-called ‘posts’ made by users often consist of a picture and an appertaining descriptive text.

Photo-elicitation represents one of the earliest attempts to apply photographs in anthropology. For example, ‘Balinese Character’ (Bateson and Mead 1942), mentioned in the former section, explored the implementation of photographs as the main method to convey anthropological information.

As argued by van Leeuwen and Jewitt (2008: 5), “the choice of an appropriate method of analysis is dependent on the nature of the project in which it is to be used, on the visual material that is being investigated, and on the goals of the research project”. The choice of applying a visual anthropological perspective to youth engagement through the use of photo-elicitation was based on the potential of photos to work as ‘vehicles to knowledge and understanding’ as argued by leading visual anthropologists (see, for instance, Banks 2001; Pink 2001; Rose 2001; Collier 2008). Further, photo-elicitation is a collaborative approach. The method entails the use of either extant or auto-driven images, the former being photos collected or produced by the researcher, the latter being photos produced by the research participants themselves. During a photo-elicitation interview, the interviewee’s perception of the photos is used as point of departure for a dialogue on the meaning of the images. Apart from the research-generated frame, in terms of photo guidelines and themes, authority lies much with the research participant and not solely with the researcher. The research participants themselves choose the data deemed relevant for the study, in the form of photos and appertaining notes, which enables the participants to be involved in decisions about what photographs to produce and how the meaning of these are to be interpreted (Bryman 2008; Mertens and Wilson 2012).

Arguably, photo-elicitation is particularly useful in providing information about the context that is required for proper analysis. As stated by Pink (2004: 399): “[B]y working with informants to produce images that are meaningful for them we can

gain insights into their visual cultures and into what is important for them as individuals living in particular localities”. Dempsey and Tucker (1991, 652) further argues that informants tend to:

“[...] examine images and react to cues present in those images more carefully than would have been expected using written or spoken clues alone. Photographs trigger recall and focus the interviewing process, enabling an in-depth look at intended as well as unintended aspects [...] can serve as stimuli for interviews which in turn generate more data [...]. Photographs appear to act both as stimuli and verifiers of perception [and] photographic images solicit both differences and similarities in individual perception [and] prompt reflection.” (Tucker and Dempsey 1991).

Samuels (2007) explains that one of the greatest challenges – and one’s first job as an ethnographer – is to ‘bridge’ the world of the subjects in focus and the researcher, and that this requires an ongoing reflection on the validity and relevance of questions in order to arrive at issues that are considered meaningful by the research participants. Likewise, Harper (2002) talks about the gap in communication between the researcher and the research participant, which is due to the ‘rarely shared taken-for-granted cultural background’ between the two parties. Photo-elicitation may assist in overcoming these gaps in the interview phase as it takes point of departure in a visual image that is – at a minimum – roughly understood by both individuals, thus facilitating a common understanding during the interview process.

As such, photographs may “enrich and extend existing interview methodologies” (Collier and Collier 1986: 99; Tucker and Dempsey 1991). What distinguishes interviews using visual images *and* text from text-only interviews is the responses that these different symbolic representations may prompt. Visual methods are arguably more versatile than anything based on, for instance, memory, a notebook, or a pencil, as they convey a great amount of information in a unique way, providing richer data than what is possible to convey through verbal interview procedures



alone (Banks and Morphy 1997; Tucker and Dempsey 1991). According to Harper (2002), “visual images evoke deeper elements of human consciousness than do words” by involving “information, feelings, and memories that are due to the photograph’s particular form of representation”.

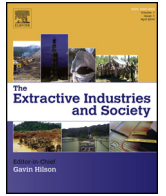
Early photo-elicitation studies by Collier (1967), which founded the standard introduction to visual anthropology, similarly concluded that such ‘photo interviews’ sharpened the memory of the respondents and lessened the degree of potential misunderstandings and misinterpretations. Thus, the photo-elicitation method itself arguably provides a means to ensure that the right meaning and the right message are conveyed to the researcher through being a bottom-up approach, where in-depth – often new and unexpected – knowledge may be elicited, arguably less influenced by the exact frame of reference and meanings otherwise put forward by the researcher (van Leeuwen and Jewitt 2008).

Based on these arguments, as they are presented by leading scholars within the discipline of visual anthropology, photo-elicitation proved potential as a novel, alternative approach to facilitate and more meaningful involvement and as a means to elicit valuable otherwise unrealised knowledge, at least with youth as a target group.

## **PART III: THE COMPONENT PAPERS**

Having accounted for the relevance of the dissertation, presented the research questions and the underpinning objectives, provided a guiding overview of the structure of the dissertation, as well as having unfolded the theoretical framework, the chosen methods, as well as a having described and reflected upon how the research approach evolved by the findings of the initial studies to the final field studies, the four component papers on which the covering essay of this PhD dissertation rests are presented in the following.





## Original article

# Managing the social impacts of the rapidly-expanding extractive industries in Greenland



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## ABSTRACT

The recent rapid expansion of extractive industries in Greenland is both causing high hopes for the future and anxieties among the local population. In the Arctic context, even small projects carry risks of major social impacts at local and national scales, and have the potential to severely affect the way of life of local indigenous peoples. The effective identification and management of social impacts is therefore essential. We explore the challenges associated with on-going development as perceived by people in Greenland. We also review and synthesize the regulatory tools used to ensure social issues are adequately managed and taken into consideration when regulatory approval of new projects is considered. We found that there are many issues of concern. Of particular interest is the lack of trust by the public in the capacity of the Government of Greenland to protect local values. We suggest that, in the context of Greenland, social impact assessment is needed, not only at the project level, but also at the policy level carried out by or on behalf of the government and prior to project planning. We also advocate for the use of free, prior and informed consent.

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## 1. Introduction

Greenland has been undergoing rapid transformation as a result of the recent expansion of the extractives sector, which is being actively encouraged by the Government of Greenland in order to achieve a solid economic base for its future social development (Government of Greenland, 2014; Aningaasaqarnermut Siunner-suisoqatigiit, 2014) and to overcome problems associated with dependence on Danish assistance (see Paldam, 1997). While Greenlanders generally welcome this industrial development and there are high hopes for the future, there is nevertheless a degree of concern amongst the general public and some uncertainty about life in the future (Østhagen, 2012; Hansen and Tejsner, 2016). There have also been some protests expressed in newspapers and at public meetings (Nuttall 2012a, 2015; Wilson, 2015). The extensive geological mapping of Greenland's territorial lands and waters, and the international promotion of known mineral deposits by the government, together with increasing market prices for many

commodities, at least from 2009 to 2014, have created much interest in the exploitation of Greenland's mineral, oil and gas reserves (Government of Greenland, 2014; Geological Survey of Denmark and Greenland, 2015). Although the recent downturn in commodity prices has slowed this development, interest within Greenland in developing extractive industries remains high (Boersma and Foley, 2014; MLSA, 2015).

The activities associated with this exploration and subsequent exploitation of resources will cause, and have already caused, dramatic changes to life and culture, not only at the local community level, but also to Greenland in general (Sinding, 1992; Nuttall, 2013; Lynge, 2014; Olsen and Hansen, 2014; Taylor, 2014). A key issue is that, while companies can move on to other projects when reserves are exhausted or if mistakes are made, a community generally only has one chance at development, and therefore it is of utmost importance to get it right first time. Social impact assessment (SIA), impacts and benefits agreements (IBA), and environmental impact assessment (EIA) are tools that are implemented in the legislation of Greenland to ensure sustainable development and to manage social change (Bureau of Minerals and Petroleum, 2011; Government of Greenland, 2015). The objective of these tools is to ensure informed decision-making and to get companies to consider how to mitigate potential negative impacts

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and enhance positive benefits in cooperation with local communities (Bond and Pope, 2012; João et al., 2011). Public participation is a legislated requirement in impact assessment processes which includes accessing local knowledge, to make it possible for locals to adapt to changes, and to encourage connections between companies and locals (Olsen and Hansen, 2014). However, the EIAs that have been conducted so far, typically do not include community engagement activities and do not adequately address social issues. These EIAs have a project-specific focus with a very limited scope that does not cover cumulative impacts or higher-level, strategic considerations.

Expansion of the resource industries in Greenland will have significant impacts on the way of life of local people, just as it has in other places around the world (Franks et al., 2013; Hanna et al., 2014). The way projects are managed can enhance and/or retard social development options and trends (Esteves and Vanclay, 2009). The social impacts of extractive projects can be both controversial and complex. Projects can create wealth, but can also cause considerable disruption to people's livelihoods (Vanclay et al., 2015). New jobs, roads, schools, and other infrastructure may be provided, but the benefits and costs are likely to be unevenly shared. If communities feel they are being unfairly treated or inadequately compensated, the projects can lead to increased social tensions and violent conflicts (IIED, 2002; Prenzel and Vanclay, 2014). Therefore the nature of the extractive activities and the socio-economic context in which companies operate has a direct bearing on human rights issues (Kemp and Vanclay, 2013). For example, mining requires access to land and water, often the basis of livelihoods for communities. The land acquisition activities needed for these developments and their associated displacement and resettlement of people also have considerable potential for human rights infringements and social and environmental impacts (Adam et al., 2015; Owen and Kemp, 2015; Smyth et al., 2015). Similarly, particularly in areas of political instability and conflict, the manner in which the security of mining assets and employees is managed can pose risks to local people, especially in terms of their human rights (ICMM, 2012).

Settlements located in close proximity to new extractive projects will likely experience dramatic changes in their everyday life, both directly and indirectly (Mortensen, 2013). In Greenland especially, there are strong interrelations between the human and natural environments (Olsen and Hansen, 2014). Thus impacts on the biophysical environment have consequent major impacts on people through their use of ecosystem services (Sejersen, 2004; Slootweg et al., 2001; Wells and Rollings, 2012). The social impacts that ultimately result from individual projects depend on the nature of the activities planned, the effectiveness of any mitigation, and the characteristics of the community especially in terms of their vulnerability and resilience (Vanclay, 2002). Impacts may be remediable or irremediable, they can be short term, long term and even permanent, they are often cumulative and interact with other environmental and social impacts, they can vary in many other ways, and they are often site specific (Vanclay, 2002).

Although there are different types of extractive projects, in general they tend to go through similar project development phases: exploration, conceptual, pre-feasibility, feasibility and planning, construction; operations; and closure (Vanclay et al., 2015). Each phase is associated with different impacts. The social impacts also tend to vary according to the size and scope of the project, and the context in which it is implemented. For example, onshore mining and offshore hydrocarbon projects are different—and so their impacts will vary. In general, people in nearby settlements experience impacts differently to people at a greater distance from the project site, although the patterns of adaptive ability, tolerance and resilience over time may vary between communities during the different project phases (Bjørst,

2016). In the early phases, some locals may more willingly tolerate negative impacts in order to gain access to jobs and development, while others who don't directly benefit from the projects tend to be more critical in relation to potential negative impacts. As the locals become stressed and increasingly critical towards the project during production, those at a distance seem to forget about the project and consider the national revenue to be of greater importance than the local impacts (Bjørst, 2016). To date, however, only a few projects have been implemented in Greenland and thus experience is limited.

This paper discusses the challenges of managing social change in Greenland in relation to the current development of the extractive industries. It points at ways to strengthen the management of social change to improve the benefits of the extractive industries for Greenlandic society (see *Committee for Greenlandic Mineral Resources to the Benefit of Society, 2014*). We first present a short overview of points of concern raised by Greenlanders in relation to the on-going developments. Then the legal framework and impact assessment tools used in Greenland to manage social impacts are presented. Finally, the paper discusses the challenges related to the management of social change in Greenland and considers the potential for increasing the benefits to locals. The conclusion provides a series of recommendations for addressing the current gaps in the application of policies concerning social change and development.

## 2. Methodology

The research underlying this paper had two components. The first was a categorisation and description of the social issues related to on-going development as identified by Greenlanders themselves. The second was a document review of applicable legislation and procedures related to the management of the extractive industries and their impacts in Greenland. In addition to our primary data collection, a comprehensive literature review of the limited literature on Greenland was undertaken. The research also drew on the personal insights of the authors, two of whom have spent the larger part of their lives in Greenland and speak the local languages, Kalaallisut and Danish.

The concerns of local people were collated via analysis of a series of in-depth, qualitative, in-person interviews conducted with key informants in Greenland in 2013 as a part of a bigger research program *To the benefit of Greenland, 2014*, with some follow-up interviews undertaken in 2014. The results of the latter are presented in this paper for the first time. Interviews were conducted on the basis of the principles of informed consent and respect (see Vanclay et al., 2013). They were conducted in Kalaallisut (the local language) or Danish depending on the preference of the person being interviewed. Interviews ranged in length typically taking over an hour each. A total of 15 interviews were undertaken with key informants, including the key actors in the debate about the future of Greenland. They included politicians, key government officials, people active in NGOs, as well as with key staff of mining and oil companies. Since the aim of the research was to consider how Greenland was preparing itself for the future, three young artists who were generally known as youth ambassadors were also interviewed, speaking on behalf of themselves as individuals, but also reflecting on general youth issues. All interviews addressed a list of key themes, and were undertaken as conversations about the current situation in Greenland and the potential opportunities and challenges relating to the management of new extractive industry projects.

The second component of the research was a document review of applicable legislation and procedures in Greenland related to the management of extractive industries and their impacts. The intention was to identify and assess when and where social

impacts are taken into consideration or not, and how they are managed.

### 3. Key issues facing Greenland

Here we provide an overview of six key issues of concern that were raised during our interviews and/or that derive from our literature review related to the positioning of Greenland and its ability to manage the expansion of the extractive industries. Interspersed with these issues, we also provide some background information to enable the reader to understand the situation in Greenland.

#### 3.1. Sparse population and limited infrastructure

Demographic issues and limited infrastructure were identified by the interviewees as potentially restricting the occupational mobility of Greenlanders, and their ability to be workers for resource projects. Greenland is the world's largest island at 2.17 million square kilometres (Statistics Greenland, 2013). Located in the Arctic, approximately 80% of the land surface is covered by an ice sheet. With only 56,000 inhabitants in 2012, it has a very low population density of only 0.026 people per square kilometre. The population is predominantly settled in 17 towns and some 60 smaller settlements primarily along the west coast (see Fig. 1), which are administratively organised into four municipal regions. There is a current and anticipated continued trend for people to move from the smaller settlements to the bigger towns (Statistics Greenland, 2012). Transport between settlements is primarily by helicopter, small airplane or boat, as there is no



Fig. 1. Towns in Greenland.

national road system and very few roads. For shorter distances, people travel primarily by private boats, dogsleds and snowmobiles. Dogsleds are also used for hunting, although this too is being replaced by snowmobiles (Sejerssen, 2004). Transportation is hence expensive and the mobility of individuals is limited, which potentially will influence the ability of local people in gaining access to employment in resource projects.

#### 3.2. Governance issues

There seems to be a lack of faith by local people that the government is actually protecting their interests, and there are worries that the government doesn't have the necessary resources to be a strong counterpart to the power and influence of the private companies. Greenland is a former Danish colony. A Home Rule Government governed Greenland for 30 years until 2009 when the Greenland Self-Government Act replaced the former Greenland Home Rule Act. Under the Self-Government Act, legislative power lays with Inatsisartut (Greenlandic Parliament), executive power with Naalakkersuisut (Government of Greenland), with judicial power and the courts of law remaining the responsibility of the Kingdom of Denmark, which also manages foreign affairs and some other functions. The Government of Greenland holds the right to control and use all mineral resources within its territory, including oil and gas exploitation, and it is entitled to all revenue collected from these activities (Government of Greenland 2014; A. M. Hansen, 2014; K.G. Hansen, 2014). Development of the extractive industries is actively promoted by most politicians as a way to gain increased independence and autonomy from Denmark (Bureau of Minerals and Petroleum, 2004). In Greenland, in general, there are expectations of a positive future with extractive industries, but there are also fears about the unknown and uncertain aspects, partly due to the perceived lack of experience of the government with these types of projects. Even though in the past the public sector had been strong and dominant compared to the private sector, there now seems to be a fear that the private sector will set the agenda, will not protect local values, and will not bring about positive development (Hansen and Larsen, 2014; Hubbard, 2013). The Director of the Greenland Employers Association, Brian Buus, expressed his concern during our interview: "How do we make sure that we understand the way the international companies are acting, their strategies, in order to regulate and administer them in the best manner? We need to increase the quality and competence in the management of natural resources". The Director of Sermeeersoq Municipality, Stine Johansen, had been working with the Bureau of Minerals and Petroleum in relation to mineral exploration in the Nuuk area. She similarly noted that: "The Self Rule Government does not recognise its lack of competence".

#### 3.3. Culture and national identity

Another issue that was highlighted during the interviews was that Greenland is still in a phase of developing a new identity as a postcolonial nation. The ethnic composition comprises a mixture of Inuit (approximately 90%) and Scandinavians, who are mostly Danes (Greenland Statistics, 2012). Culture, understood as shared customs, values and beliefs, has developed from a traditional Inuit culture to a modern Greenlandic culture which is influenced by hundreds of years of exchanges with Danish, European and other influences (Niclasen and Mulvad, 2010). The preservation of traditional language and diet are important markers of Greenland culture today (Young and Bjerregaard, 2008). A large proportion of Greenlanders are still able to understand their local Greenlandic dialect, with Kalaallisut being the most common dialect spoken. Most Greenlanders also understand and speak Danish, which is taught in all public schools. However, there are significant

differences between the levels of proficiency in Danish between the smaller villages and the larger towns. English is the third language taught, however most Greenlanders speak only a low level of English (Rasmussen, 2011). In general, Greenlanders are creative and artistic, and there are many strong interest communities around music, food and the arts. There is a current trend in the arts of exploring traditional Inuit roots, perhaps as a counter-response to Greenland's rapid development, with many artists using the increased contact with the rest of the world as inspiration to explore their personal identity and the national identity of Greenland (Rygaard, 2003; Otte, 2015). It seems that young Greenlanders are more likely to engage with cultural activities that are associated with change, development and transition, although retaining a sense of Greenlandic identity. In comparison, older adults and elders often prefer activities that focus on preserving historic traditions and transmitting these to the younger generation. The young author, Niviaq Korneliusen, underlined during our interview how she experiences the approach to culture by youth: *"I have written a short story about being young in Greenland. I tried to capture and address the desire by young Greenlanders to be part of the modern global society, while still upholding a Greenlandic identity"* The young actor, Klaus Geisler, expressed his thoughts this way: *"I am not afraid about the potential development of new industries and foreigners moving in. I see the newcomers as a potential audience. We need to tell them our history too. As long as we have our hearts in what we do, it is true and Greenlandic"*.

### 3.4. Health and diet

Within a few generations, traditional Inuit culture has changed into a modern, western-inspired community. Health conditions are usually much influenced when living conditions in communities change rapidly (Jeppesen, 2012). Health in Greenland has already been highly impacted by the western way of living and this makes health and diet key issues for consideration when new industries are implemented. The national government and the four municipalities share responsibility for societal needs regarding services and funding (Government of Greenland, 2011). The healthcare system is a publicly-financed government responsibility. A recent reform adjusted the healthcare system to cater for the population shift from smaller settlements to larger towns and to improve the effectiveness of service delivery (Niclasen and Mulvad, 2010). Meat from marine mammals, deer, birds and fish have been the main ingredients in the Greenlandic diet for generations, traditionally hunted and fished locally by men. This is still the case today in many smaller settlements. However, on average, the diet in Greenland is now made up of only 20% local and 80% imported food (in terms of percent energy) (Jeppesen, 2012). This ratio of local versus imported food varies according to age, community, and ethnic group. Societal changes over the last 50 or so years have been accompanied by an epidemiological transition. In the past, morbidity and mortality rates were dominated by perinatal complications, chronic infectious diseases and injuries (Young and Bjerregaard, 2008). Today, chronic and lifestyle-induced diseases and disabilities are more frequent, with the 'old diseases' having dropped to lower levels than typically found in most Western countries (Niclasen and Mulvad, 2010). Still, health and diet are issues highlighted by the locals as being important to have in mind when extractive industries are implemented. A nurse from Nuuk (who prefers to be anonymous) explained during our interview that: *"most of our fresh food in Greenland comes from wild animals . . . I am afraid about the potential contamination of animals when extractive industries are implemented . . . if we can't eat domestic foods we will eat even more imported foods of poor quality which again will perhaps lead to bad nutrition"*.

### 3.5. Traditional livelihoods and motivation to work in industry

An issue stressed by several locals during the interviews was the challenge to secure local benefits from the implementation of new projects. Consistent with international best practice (Esteves and Barclay, 2011), the emphasis by the government and companies on providing local benefits typically takes the form of initiatives to train and educate local people, thereby to prepare them to take part in the on-going development. However, in a study in the Upernavik district, Hansen and Tejsner (2016) found that people have a clear intention to continue traditional ways of living rather than take jobs in the extractives industry. The locals considered that fishing and hunting were not undertaken as a livelihood necessity because they had no other choice, but rather because it was a highly desirable and preferred way of life. If the local people choose not to accept new job opportunities, this will significantly reduce the potential benefits the developments intend to bring, and worse will increase the influx of foreign workers which may bring increased pressure on local services and social tensions. The opportunities for and barriers to enhancing local content, as well as the consequences of large-scale change in people's occupations, are important issues to address as they will ultimately influence the benefits that might flow from the implementation of new industries.

### 3.6. Previous experiences with extractive industries

Large-scale resettlement has previously occurred in Greenland primarily in the 1970s and 1980s with the forced relocation by the Danish government of people to settlements so that social services could be easily provided. Although arguably for a justifiable social welfare reason, this had the effect of alienating people from their culture and livelihoods, creating artificial living conditions that people were not used to and not culturally prepared for, and this has led to an increasing prevalence of several mental health issues and social behavioural problems including substance abuse, domestic violence and suicide (Deth-Petersen, 1986). Further controversial resettlement has occurred in relation to the development of mining projects (Sejersen, 2014). This legacy experience has created a deep concern about the potential impacts on inhabitants of settlements in close proximity to potential mine sites. For example, in relation to the potential rare earth metal and uranium mine in Narsaq, South Greenland, the company considered moving people if environmental problems were to occur, raising much protest from local people. The young politician, Avaaraq Olsen, who lives in Narsaq stressed in our interview that: *"It would be an awful paradox if the government ended up moving people away from Narsaq to be able to have the mine, while arguing that it is implemented to secure jobs and benefits to the locals"*. She further noted that: *"We are extremely attached to the place we grow up and moving people could cause devastating trauma"*.

The lack of potential for further industrial development unrelated to the extractive sector, uncertainty related to the expected distribution of benefits, and concerns about the economic feasibility of individual projects, collectively have put Greenland in a situation where the future is extremely uncertain and the possible negative consequences of developments are very significant and likely (Government of Greenland, 2011). At the same time, projections foresee that if business development is not achieved, Greenland faces, among other things, a declining economy, increasing urbanisation, increasing outmigration, and increasing inequality (Government of Greenland, 2011). These development trends challenge political decision-making and planning at national and community levels (Aaen, 2011; Hansen and Larsen, 2014).

#### 4. Tools used to manage social impacts in Greenland

Awareness of the social impacts arising from the extractive activities has led to the development of a range of tools to improve projects and inform decision-making (Franks and Vanclay, 2013). In Greenland, it is a legal requirement for companies to conduct a Social Impact Assessment (SIA) during their planning process (BMP, 2009). SIA is the only formal tool to inform decision-makers about potential social issues (Hansen and Mortensen, 2013). SIA is now generally acknowledged as being a tool for managing the social issues associated with development (Esteves et al., 2012). Although sometimes a component of regulatory EIAs and/or corporate ESHIAs, it can also be undertaken as an independent, stand-alone activity, as it is in Greenland.

The *Mineral Resources Act 2009* (as amended) (Greenland Parliament Act no. 7 of December 7, 2009) is the formal mechanism for regulating extractive activities in Greenland. This Act lays down the main principles for the administration of extraction projects. It outlines the roles and responsibilities of the government, including providing authorization to establish provisions in executive orders and standards and to set specific licence conditions. According to §1(2), the purpose of the Act is “to ensure that activities under the Act are securely performed as regards to safety, health, the environment, resource exploitation and social sustainability as well as properly performed according to acknowledged best international practices under similar conditions”.

A 2013 amendment to the Mineral Resources Act changed the structure of the various ministries and re-allocated responsibilities for mineral resource activities between two distinct agencies: the Environmental Protection Agency, which is in charge of all matters relating to the environment; and the Mineral License and Safety Authority (MLSA), which is in charge of licenses and the monitoring of licensed activities. The new Ministry of Industry, Labour and Trade is responsible for the management of socioeconomic issues, such as Social Impact Assessments, Impact Benefit Agreements, and royalty schemes. The *Guidelines for Social Impact Assessments for Mining Projects in Greenland*, developed by the Bureau of Minerals and Petroleum (2009) and used to guide SIAs for both mining and hydrocarbon projects, is currently being revised and expected for release in 2016. The 2009 guideline provided details on how the SIA process should be conducted, what content should be included, and various other general requirements. Impact Benefit Agreements (IBA) are also expected, and legislation relating to IBAs was being considered in 2015.

##### 4.1. Social impact assessment

The SIA Guidelines document produced by the Bureau of Minerals and Petroleum (2009) (hereinafter BMP SIA Guidelines) does not define SIA, except perhaps in the appended glossary where it describes it as being “the process of planning to integrate a mineral project in local community/Greenland resulting in a report describing the process and assessments of future impacts and how to manage these in a successful way”. On page 5, it states that: “Social Impact Assessments for mining projects in Greenland have to be conducted in accordance with good international practice” and it specifically identifies the *International Principles for Social Impact Assessment* published by the International Association for Impact Assessment. The International Principles (Vanclay, 2013, p.6) defined SIA as including “the processes of analysing, monitoring and managing the intended and unintended social consequences, both positive and negative, of planned interventions (policies, programs, plans, projects) and any social change processes invoked by those interventions”.

The BMP SIA Guidelines (2009, p.4) outlines the main objectives of the SIA process for an extractive industries project in Greenland as being:

- to engage all relevant stakeholders in consultations and public hearings;
- to provide a detailed description and analysis of the social pre-project baseline situation as a basis for development planning, mitigation and future monitoring;
- to provide an assessment based on collected baseline data to identify both positive and negative social impacts at both the local and national level;
- to optimize positive impacts and mitigate negative impacts from the mining activities throughout the project lifetime;
- to develop a benefit and impact plan for implementation of the impact benefit agreement.

The BMP SIA Guidelines (2009) instructs developers that the following issues must be addressed: recruiting Greenlandic labour; engaging Greenlandic enterprises; focusing on knowledge transfer (e.g. education programmes) in order to ensure long term capacity building of local competence within the mining industry and mining support industries; and preserving socio-cultural values and traditions. The BMP SIA Guidelines are thus very consistent with the current focus in the international SIA community of SIA being the process of managing the social issues of development (Esteves et al., 2012; Vanclay et al., 2015). The BMP SIA Guidelines also provides general information to developers about the Greenland context; it lists key stakeholders who should be consulted; and it outlines the expected contents of a typical SIA report. It also provides a list of some of the key social variables that must be included in the social baseline.

While, in general, the BMP SIA Guidelines might be considered to have considerable merit, there are some limitations. For example, even though social impacts can arise from initial exploration activities (Hanna and Vanclay, 2013; Hanna et al., 2014), in Greenland SIAs are conducted only at the project planning phase, that is, for hydrocarbon projects just prior to the exploration drilling phase, and for mining projects only prior to the construction and production phase. Companies submit completed SIAs and EIAs as a part of their application documents when they apply for production permits and/or for exploration drilling. At the time of writing (2015), the restructuring of the governance arrangements, the requirements and procedures relating to SIA were under review.

##### 4.2. Impact benefit agreements

An Impacts and Benefits Agreement, or Impact Benefit Agreement (both abbreviated IBA), is generally understood as a formal contract between an affected community and the developer that outlines the impacts of the project, and the related commitments and responsibilities of all relevant parties. It focuses on how the local community will share in the benefits of the operation through employment, local procurement, economic development and social investment expenditure (Gibson and O’Faircheallaigh, 2010; O’Faircheallaigh, 2011). The BMP SIA Guidelines (2009, p.13) describe an IBA as a document that defines “the cooperation between the licensee, national authorities and local authorities, in form of the respective municipal council, in relation to maximizing development opportunities and mitigating impacts from mining projects”—in other words, a three way arrangement including government. For oil and gas projects, an SIA and an IBA have to be prepared to accompany an application for exploration drilling, and again when an application for production is submitted. For a mine, an SIA and IBA have to be carried out in relation to the application



for a production license. The BMP SIA Guidelines specify the expected content of an IBA. In general, the expectations reinforce the stated goals of ensuring benefits to Greenland from the extractive industries. The IBAs are negotiated and content decided on a case-by-case basis. The strategic goals related to the establishment of educational funds and community development funds have been debated by politicians and in the media, however, no formal objectives, policy or strategy for the strategic use of IBAs have been presented to the public.

An example of an IBA is that of [Cairn Energy \(2011\)](#). It was negotiated to accompany an exploration drilling licence and was signed in September 2011. It was the first of its kind in Greenland and although IBAs are often confidential in other countries, in this case the original signed IBA and annual reports on progress against the targets are published on the internet. For this IBA, the promised expenditure associated with the IBA was DKK 505 million (about €65 million, or USD\$75 million) in 2010 and a further DKK 800 million (about €100 million, or USD\$120 million) for expenditure in 2011. These large figures, however, are somewhat misleading, and close examination of the components of this expenditure is required. A substantial amount (about 30%) is the normal production spend within Greenland, i.e. local procurement. A further 8% relates to the expected expenditure of contractors' spend in Greenland. Less than 1% relates to costs of training of staff. Normal tax payments to the Government of Greenland amount to DKK 53 million (or about 7% of the total figure), and payments to the government shareholding entity, Nunaoil, amount to DKK 430 million (about 54%). Finally, the IBA promises to contribute DKK 380,000 (about €50,000, or USD\$57,000), not a very significant amount, to a community development fund.

#### 4.3. Public participation

The SIA process is expected to have a high level of public participation, and specifically that all relevant stakeholders should be heard and involved in a timely manner, and information should be made available through workshops and public meetings held in both Greenlandic and Danish ([Bureau of Minerals and Petroleum, 2009](#)). However, much criticism has been levelled at the participation processes. The lack of specification about actual requirements and expectations, and the poor understanding of developers leaves room for various interpretations among the different stakeholders creating diverse expectations of what participation can and should do and how to do it ([Nuttall, 2012a, 2015](#)).

In an earlier study ([Olsen and Hansen, 2014](#)), several stakeholders involved in oil exploration activities in Baffin Bay were interviewed in 2012 about their perceptions of the purpose of participation and the desired level of engagement. This research established that the key actors – e.g. the Mineral License and Safety Authority (MLSA) and petroleum company representatives – considered the appropriate level of participation to be minimal. They saw the primary purpose of participation being to provide information and prepare the local communities for future potential development and social change.

In general, the public debate in Greenland emphasises greater transparency in decision-making processes. A higher level of participation is seen as being essential to guarantee that the interests of the general public are taken into account ([Aaen, 2011](#); [Titussen, 2011](#); [Myrup, 2012](#); [Nuttall, 2012b](#); [Hansen, 2013](#)). NGOs especially express concern over the form and content of participation and argue that adequate information is lacking. In 2012, the Greenlandic Employers Association issued a report that questioned the democratic legitimacy of the consultation processes associated with large-scale projects in Greenland ([Aaen, 2011](#)). The criticism was mainly targeted at the MLSA and focused on

shortcomings in the existing consultation processes. Piitannguaq Titussen, chair of the NGO, Nuuk Fjords Friends, expressed the opinion that: *“The public meetings are conducted in a terrible manner, the quality of the meetings is low. It destroys any interest in being there”*. While Aqaluk Lyngge, the then director of Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC) stressed that: *“First we need to learn and understand when and how to influence decisions, then we need to be engaged in debates prior to decision-making”*. The shortcomings include, among others: the need for more time (to read through material and produce responses); better timing of the process; and an impartial consultation entity to lead the process rather than resource companies themselves ([Aaen, 2011](#)). As a result of the report, the Greenlandic Government extended the public hearing period from 6 to 8 weeks and decided to make the contingency plans for oil and gas exploration activities publicly available ([Government of Greenland, 2015](#)). However, there remains an inadequate approach to effective engagement and participation. The anticipated revision of the guidelines may include initiatives to improve this, as it seems to be an area of increased attention and priority.

#### 5. Potential for higher level assessment and more effective public participation

At present, the management of social change from extractive projects in Greenland is primarily left to the companies themselves to implement in each of the project phases. There is little formal scrutiny of their activities or any ongoing compliance assessment. This is problematic because previous projects in Greenland and elsewhere have shown that people and the environment are harmed by exposure to rapid development ([Nuttall, 2010, 2012b, 2013](#); [O’Faircheallaigh, 2014](#)). Involving the potentially-impacted communities in the decisions regarding their future can have a major influence on their welfare and self-esteem, and of the legitimacy of decisions and the social licence to operate of the projects ([Dare et al., 2014](#)). Increased benefits can be achieved for all stakeholders when there is trust between the various actors, and a willingness to involve the public early in the process, and to make an effort to understand and manage the social impacts of the planned development ([Vanclay et al., 2015](#)). However, this requires that the developer and the relevant government agencies consider and address the interests of the public. Below, we present two approaches we consider could be useful in ensuring better outcomes for Greenland: strategic social assessment (i.e. a social form of strategic environmental assessment); and the continued use of free, prior and informed consent.

##### 5.1. Strategic social assessment

There are different ways of facilitating public debate about the values over and appropriate use of the land and sea ([Wilsdon and Willis, 2004](#)). Internationally, public participation within strategic environmental assessment (SEA) processes is sometimes used as a platform for this purpose ([Therivel, 2010](#)). SEA is used in Greenland in relation to the planning of extractive industries. Experts have undertaken SEAs on behalf of the Government, however, public participation is not always an integral part of the SEA processes, and social issues are seldom addressed ([A.M. Hansen, 2014](#); [K.G. Hansen, 2014](#)). Integrating the social and environmental assessments into SEAs and using SEA as a tool for public debate could turn SEA into a platform for the mapping of both social and environmental vulnerabilities and risks, and to inform decisions regarding if, who, when, where and how extractive developments should be pursued.

Where authorities do undertake SEAs, an important part should be identifying relevant social investments to prioritise in the IBAs

(Esteves and Vanclay, 2009). Currently, the IBAs are negotiated between the local authorities, the MLSA and the companies, themselves, however they do not necessarily focus on the needs of local communities or the wider society. A more strategic approach could lead to greater awareness about what strategic investments could be built into the IBAs, including, for example, greater funding for education, healthcare, training to enable a higher proportion of Greenlanders to be involved in senior roles, and other useful social investments.

### 5.2. Free prior and informed consent

The principle of Indigenous Peoples' right to free, prior and informed consent (FPIC) has been recognized by a number of intergovernmental organizations, international bodies, conventions and international human rights law to varying degrees and increasingly in the laws of various states (Hanna and Vanclay, 2013). Over the last few decades, the concept of FPIC has increasingly been used by Indigenous rights advocates to guide negotiations between Indigenous communities and outside interests. The principle of FPIC was first formally established in the 1989 International Labour Organisation's Convention on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries (ILO 169). Articles 6, 7, and 9 of ILO 169 establish that consent is required before Indigenous communities are relocated or before development is undertaken on their land. FPIC was reinforced in the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP, 2007), which outlined a host of scenarios in which FPIC should become the standard "best practice" for negotiations between Indigenous peoples and any other entity. UNDRIP articles argue for the inclusion of FPIC in negotiations regarding land, culture, property, resources, and conservation.

With Denmark ratifying ILO 169 in 1996 (Thomsen, 2013), all decisions of the Danish Government pertaining to Greenland would have arguably required FPIC up until self-rule in 2009 (Hubbard, 2013). Since then, with Indigenous majority rule, the requirement to apply FPIC is contestable. Nevertheless, the local ICC affiliate, is advocating for continued use of FPIC in Greenland. However, during our study, several governmental officials expressed that they considered this 'strange' since FPIC was considered only relevant in decision making contexts where minorities or Indigenous groups were under represented, and since the Inuit in Greenland are now in government, having achieved independence from Denmark, the people interviewed explained that they expect that Inuit values are inherently included when decisions regarding development in Greenland are made. Nevertheless, the ICC argues that Inuit in Greenland are represented on the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues and therefore are subject to the rights and entitlements of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. The ICC is of the view that Inuit values are not adequately taken into consideration, especially in relation to the industrial development. Therefore, in Nordlandet, before the oil blocks were put up for bidding by the companies, the ICC initiated a public debate and facilitated meetings to ensure that values and concerns were addressed. Ababsi Lyberth from ICC explained to us in an interview: "*We are arranging a debate in Nordlandet about areas not yet open for bidding. About if we want it to be used for extraction. We need this type of discussions prior to the political decision-making*". He further stressed that: "*It is important to improve the civil society's possibilities and capacity to enter a dialogue regarding extractive industries before decisions are made.*" This paradox around whether the designation of Indigenous still applies following political independence from Denmark has created several other lingering issues which cannot however be adequately addressed here (see Strandsbjerg, 2014).

## 6. Conclusion

The expansion of extractive industries will inevitably influence Greenlandic society dramatically in the future, and thus decisions made now regarding this development will contribute to forming the foundations upon which the future society will be built. The social, cultural and political context in Greenland creates a vulnerable situation, especially for those Greenlanders who live in the many small rural villages. The government struggles to manage the social issues in such a huge country with a very small number of inhabitants. It is therefore important to continuously debate how these developments can be best managed to benefit Greenland society and to secure the sustainable development emphasised as the overall goal by the government.

Even though the extractive industries in Greenland are regulated and even if government requirements regarding the management of social change are fully implemented, careful consideration is still needed and good decisions made to ensure that, if the development of the mineral industries in Greenland proceeds, it creates the maximum benefit for society. This is essential because decisions about where, when and under what conditions industrial activities should be permitted are generally made at the project level on a case-by-case basis, and not prior to license agreements, thus there is no over-arching comprehensive plan or regulatory strategy that identifies the scope, intensity, direction or consequences of activities judged to be appropriate and desirable. A comprehensive framework and plan should be developed so that decisions about the extractive industries can be evaluated with respect to: their compatibility with overall social goals; the likely effects of individual project activities on all groups and individuals likely to be affected; and the likelihood that the activities will result in undesirable effects that are long lasting or difficult to reverse. Social impact assessment is predicated on the notion that decision makers should understand the consequences of their decisions before they act and that the people affected will not only be made aware of potential effects, but also have the opportunity to participate in designing their future. The social environment is different to the biophysical environment in that it reacts in anticipation of change, but can adapt in reasoned ways to changing circumstances when people are involved in the planning process. In addition, people in different social settings interpret social change in different ways and react in different ways. We suggest that as a way of ensuring sustainable social development, Greenland should implement a form of strategic social impact assessment and the use of FPIC in its future planning for the extractive industries to ensure equitable and effective decision-making.

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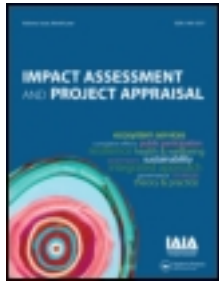


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## Perceptions of public participation in impact assessment: a study of offshore oil exploration in Greenland

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Oil exploration presently takes place offshore NW of Greenland. The recent entry of the oil industry in this sparsely populated area carries the potential for radical and unpredictable societal change. To ensure local adaptation, Public participation (PP) is implemented as a legal requirement in environmental impact assessment of offshore oil exploration. However, NGOs and associations, industry and individuals in Greenland express general frustration of how PP is conducted. This paper presents an analysis of stakeholders' PP perceptions and their implications in Greenland. It is found that differences in PP purpose perceptions among stakeholders cause disagreement on what is considered good performance. Furthermore, the stakeholders disagree on the desired level of engagement. While NGOs emphasise a need for PP to influence decision-making, the public seems to accept a role as passive recipients of information about decisions already made. This leads to a discussion about the need for a more specific PP guideline based on dialogue among stakeholders, with emphasis on the cultural barriers related to power structures and communication.

**Keywords:** public participation; environmental impact assessment; oil; exploration; offshore; Greenland

### Introduction

In search of new oil and gas fields, international oil companies have turned their attention far north to the Arctic (Robertson & Pierce 2008; Nutall 2012). According to a 2008 report by the United States Geological Survey, the Greenland basin alone is estimated to contain 17 billion barrels of oil and 138,000 billion cubic feet of natural gas (Bird et al. 2008). This represents considerable amounts of what is expected to be the world's last unexploited reserves (Bird et al. 2008). Since 2011, a total number of 20 offshore exploration licenses have been granted west of Greenland, and seven international operators including Maersk Oil, Cairn Energy, Shell and ConocoPhillips currently undertake oil exploration activities in Greenland (Statistics Greenland 2013). At present, no commercial finds have been made (BMP 2011).

The establishment of an oil sector in Greenland will cause societal changes, challenges and opportunities for Greenlanders (Aaen 2011; Hansen & Larsen 2013). Already, public expectations for the potential benefits of oil exploration are high (Government of Greenland 2012). In general, Greenlanders are positive towards oil exploitation (Redder & Braemer 2013), but they worry about potential impacts on the natural environment and the livelihoods of the small and wide-scattered population (Hansen & Kørnøv 2010; Larsen 2011; Hansen & Hussain 2013).

Both the Government of Greenland and local NGOs seem to acknowledge that the inclusion of Greenlanders in decision-making during the early development processes is essential to secure local adaptation and achieve desired benefits (Aaen 2011; Olsen 2012). Public participation (PP) is integrated in environmental impact assessment (EIA) and social impact assessment (SIA) processes, as the

authorities may require execution of public consultations as part of EIA preparations (BMP 2009, 2011). However, no specific guideline for PP exists.

The expectations to PP benefits in Greenland are in line with international EIA literature. Supporting arguments for PP include that PP may contribute to conflict mitigation, serve as a tool for information exchange and mutual learning, and as a means to avoid costly delays. In addition, PP may provide proponents access to local knowledge, concerns and preferences, and the potentially affected communities arguably gain a better understanding of the proposed project or plans, facilitating their capability to make an informed opinion (Weston 1997; Bisset 2000; George 2000; Kapoor 2001; Glasson et al. 2005; Kørnøv 2007; O'Faircheallaigh 2010). Overall, PP may lead the way to a more democratic process, where transfer of power from government to the citizens enables the public to influence the decision-making process (Kørnøv 2007; Cashmore et al. 2008; Chavéz & Bernal 2008; Lockie et al. 2008; Ottinger 2013). However, to achieve these benefits, PP must be applied effectively in EIA, which has been a central theme among EIA scholars in recent years (Glasson et al. 2005; Stewart & Sinclair 2007; Chavez & Bernal 2008; O'Faircheallaigh 2010; Weitkamp & Longhurst 2012).

In a recent investigation on the degree of active involvement of stakeholders in PP processes in Greenland by Aaen (2011), it is concluded that there is a need to discuss the purpose of PP to achieve more effective and inclusive PP in Greenland. Aaen (2011) indicates that stakeholders have different perceptions of the PP objectives and thereby different perceptions of the criteria for effective PP. These diverse interpretations of PP may arguably be caused due to the varying interests of the stakeholders (Bisset 2000; Glasson et al. 2005; O'Fair-

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cheallaigh 2010). Similarly, the varying interests create different expectations towards PP among stakeholders within offshore oil exploration in Greenland. The diverse expectations of the stakeholders are not always fulfilled, which cause barriers towards meaningful PP of the local communities (Olsen 2012). Arguably a more well-defined PP guideline would improve the basis for the Greenlandic government and authorities on which demands to set for the exploration companies in order to achieve more effective PP (Aaen 2011).

NGOs and associations in Greenland express criticism and concern over the current form, content and practice of PP. Their criticism entails lack of proper available public information and lack of transparency in the decision-making processes regarding the approval of activities. Furthermore, they call for a higher level of inclusiveness to ensure that the interest of the general public is taken into account and a sustainable development is pursued (Aaen 2011; Titussen 2011; Myrup 2012; Nutall 2012; Hansen 2013).

Morgan (2012) argues that case studies of PP in EIA can guide discussions about potential improvement of PP practice. To contribute to the discussion on how to achieve successful PP in Greenland, this paper entails a study on perceptions of purpose, tasks and desired level of PP, as well as challenges in PP by involved stakeholders in Greenland. The aim was to create an overview of these features and to gain an overview of potential implications for successful PP execution.

The paper is divided into four sections. First, the methodology, including case study and data collection, is presented. Second, the analytical framework and findings are portrayed and implications discussed. In the third section, reflections are made on issues that were captured by the analytical framework but not fully unfolded, which calls for further research to better understand the

Greenland context. The final section summarises the findings and concluding remarks about potential improvement of PP in Greenland.

### Methods of data collection and analysis

Data collection was carried out by the first author of this paper, who participated as observant on a public consultation tour (the tour) in April 2012, arranged by four operating oil companies: Cairn Energy, Maersk Oil, Shell and ConocoPhillips. Furthermore, the national oil company of Greenland, NUNAOIL, a carried partner in all licences, participated. These are henceforth referred to as 'the companies'. A representative from the Bureau of Minerals and Petroleum (BMP), the formal governmental body responsible for administration of oil licenses in Greenland, and the research institution, the Danish Centre for Environment and Energy, also participated, based on recommendations from the BMP.

The tour was planned as a part of the legally required hearing process for a draft EIA (Maersk Oil 2012) as the companies planned for seismic exploration in NW Greenland during the fall of 2012.

As the investigation relies on a case study conducted in NW Greenland, the investigation does not reflect all oil exploration areas and potentially affected communities in Greenland. However, it is likely that similar practice is followed elsewhere in Greenland due to the common current legislative guidelines provided by the Greenlandic government and authorities.

As settlements in NW Greenland are small and isolated, the infrastructure is limited. A helicopter was used for transportation, and overnight stays were arranged in the larger settlements (Figure 1).

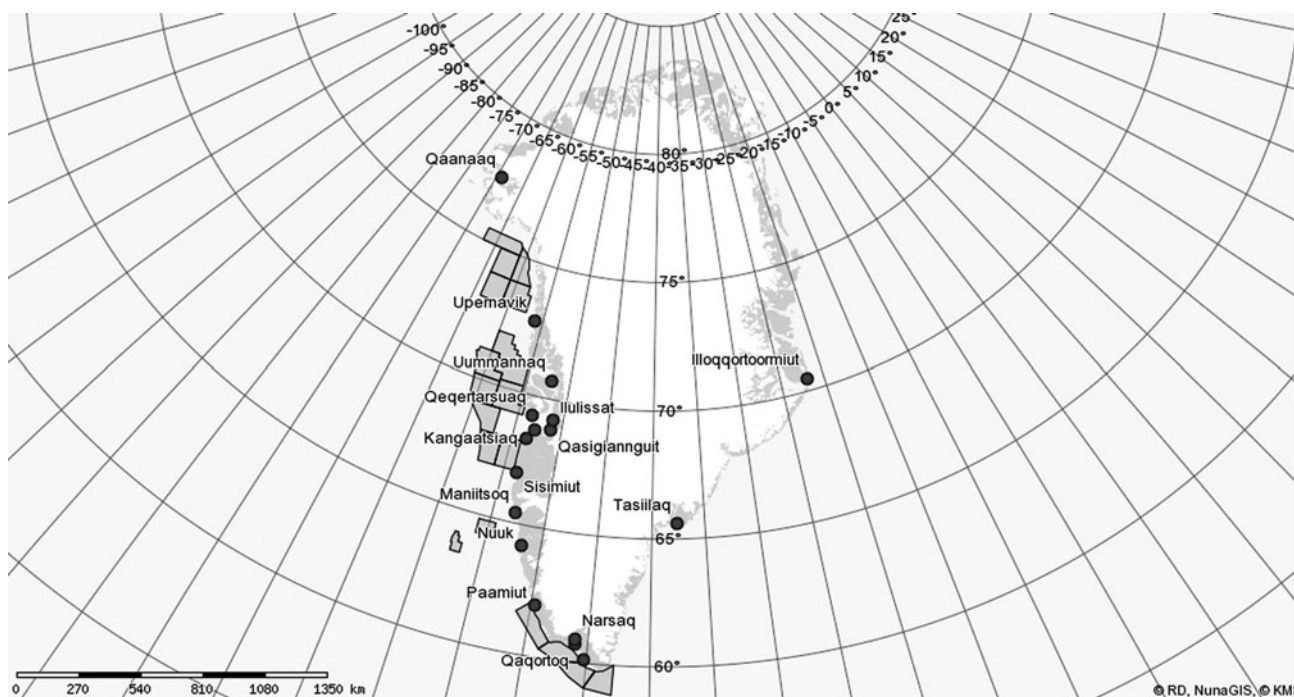


Figure 1. License Map of The Bureau of Minerals and Petroleum. Source: BMP (2013).



Table 1. Stakeholder groups.

Stakeholder categories	Stakeholder representatives (no.)	No. of interviewees
1: Government officials and advisors	The Bureau of Minerals and Petroleum <sup>a</sup> (1)	1
	Danish Centre for Environment and Energy <sup>a</sup> (1)	1
2: Company representatives	Nunaoil A/S <sup>a</sup> (2)	1
	Maersk Oil Kalaallit Nunaat A/S <sup>a</sup> (2)	2
	Cairn Energy PLC <sup>a</sup> (1)	4
	ConocoPhillips <sup>a</sup> (2)	2
	Shell Greenland <sup>a</sup> (two representatives)	0
3: NGOs and associations	KANUKOKA (The municipalities association)	1
	NUSUKA (Employers association)	1
	Inuit Circumpolar Council (Interest Organisation)	1
4: Local government officials and local public	Qaasuitsup Municipality <sup>a</sup>	1
	Local public	166 (Questionnaire responds)

<sup>a</sup>Participants on the PC tour in NW Greenland April 2012.

An overview of stakeholders included in the study is provided in Table 1. The stakeholders participating in the tour are marked with ‘\*’ and categorised into four groups: (1) government officials and their advisors, (2) company representatives, (3) NGO and associations and (4) local government officials and local public (individuals living in the potentially impacted area).

The NGOs and associations included in the study did not participate on the tour. However, in line with the EIA guideline, these were addressed in the PP process (BMP 2009), wherefore their perception of PP was equally important to include in this study.

Data collection during the tour included two parts.

A total number of 11 qualitative semi-structured interviews, comprising open questions, were conducted, capturing the opinions of the stakeholders, both individuals who took part on the tour and representatives of relevant NGOs. Each interview lasted between 1 and 1.5 h.

Furthermore, a questionnaire survey was conducted to capture the input from the locals attending the meetings. The questionnaires comprised both open and closed questions. However open questions, where the respondents could explain their choice of reply, were encouraged. The questionnaires were handed out at the end of each meeting, and collected typically within a range of 5–15 min. The choice of conducting a questionnaire survey instead of individual interviews among the local meeting attendees was based on an attempt to collect as many views as

possible during the very limited stay at each city and settlement.

Both the interviews and questionnaires were designed to bring forth the individuals’ own views and understandings, approaches and perceptions to PP. Perceptions of stakeholders are in this study to be understood as understandings defined by senses according to May (2007) and Mather (2008), where meanings are closely related to the individuals’ own experiences. The perceptions may thus vary among each interviewee and questionnaire respondent.

Table 2 provides an overview of the cities and settlements where the public consultations were undertaken and the number of inhabitants, meeting attendees and questionnaire responds.

Due to a strict time schedule with limited time available, merely observations were conducted in Savissivik. The consultations in Nuussuaq and Tasiusaq were held simultaneously wherefore the stakeholder participants were divided into two groups. The author of this paper attended the meeting in Tasiusaq. Accordingly, Savissivik and Nuussuaq have not been included in the survey.

## Findings

The output from the two surveys described in the former section are analysed based on a framework developed by O’Faircheallaigh (2010). The framework presents PP purposes divided into three categories where the level of

Table 2. Meeting attendees and questionnaire responds.

Cities and settlements	Total inhabitants	No. of meeting attendees	Questionnaire responds
Qaanaaq	642	18 (3%)	9 (50%)
Upernavik	1155	37 (3%)	22 (78%)
Kullorsuaq	444	16 (4%) <sup>a</sup>	9 (44%)
Innaarsuit	162	21 (13%)	15 (67%)
Tasiusaq	239	44 (71%) <sup>b</sup>	16 (34%)
Savissivik	67	30	–
Nuussuaq	206	–	–

Source: Statistics Greenland (2013).

<sup>a</sup>The public meeting in Kullorsuaq was cancelled as most of the locals were preparing for the yearly dog sledge race with a neighbouring settlement. Instead, a spontaneous meeting with the local council and a meeting with younger people in the settlement were arranged.

<sup>b</sup>Seventeen individuals, equal to 39% of the total meeting attendees, in Tasiusaq were younger school children.

Table 3. PP levels related to perceived purposes.

Level	Broad purpose	Specific purposes and activities
1: Low	Participation as input for decision makers	1.1 Provide information to public 1.2 Fill information gaps 1.3 Information contestability 1.4 Problem solving and social learning
2: Med	PP in decision making	2.1 Reflect democratic principles 2.2 Democracy in practice 2.3 Pluralist representation
3: High	Reframing decision making	3.1 Involve marginalised groups 3.2 Shift the focus of decision making 3.3 Entrench marginalisation

Note: An illustration of the analytical framework as presented by O’Faircheallaigh (2010).

participation increases continuously. The categorisation is not intended to encourage an understanding of the different forms of PP as entirely separate of each other. As argued by O’Faircheallaigh (2010), it is vital that the nature and extent of PP is maintained flexible to successfully implement PP into public policy-making, and the different PP forms may thus interrelate across the categories. The PP levels are presented in Table 3.

As aforementioned, the term of PP can comprise many features. Multiple objectives involve different concepts, activities and consequences and may be interpreted in various ways (O’Faircheallaigh 2010). For this study, the framework above is found useful to identify the diverse stakeholders’ perceptions of PP and explore their implications.

The stakeholders included in the study have been divided into two groups: those in charge of the meeting presenting to the local public (the consulters) and those invited as receivers of information and respondents in the PP process (the consulted). This division is also used in the presentation of the findings. An overview of main findings is presented in Table 4.

The perceived purposes are captured and supplemented with perceived tasks and challenges. Based on this, the desired levels of PP are identified.

### *Perceptions of purpose*

Regarding the perceptions of PP purpose, a general agreement was found among the consulters and similarly among the consulted. However, remarkable differences were found between the two groups. Details about the expectations related to the perceptions of purposes are presented in Figure 2.

During the interview survey, the company representatives expressed that they generally consider the PP process as a means to inform the potentially affected communities about the projects the companies plan to implement. PP is regarded as an opportunity to manage public expectations, and to illustrate to the Greenland authorities and public that the companies act in a responsible manner. The general aim of PP is not perceived by the companies as community engagement in itself, but rather as a means to fulfil legal requirements and achieve ‘social license to operate’, as one company representative expressed.

In contrast, the government officials viewed PP as a means for the Government of Greenland to ‘show the flag’, and send a signal that the governmental administration and the politicians care about the interests of the locals. In this way, the government officials perceive PP as an opportunity to create trust and understanding, and as a means to limit fear and opposition to the projects.

NGOs and associations expressed that they expect the PP process to be a communication forum through which common understanding of the current and potential projects can be developed. However, they also highlighted PP as an opportunity for the public to access and influence decision-making, and hence promote a more democratic process. As stated by the KANUKOKA representative: ‘The public meetings are for the public. The public is to be in focus no matter the interests of other stakeholders,’ while a local government official described the purpose of PP as ‘an opportunity for information exchange, securing transparency and bridge building through the process of planning.’

The locals similarly emphasised the importance of thorough information campaigns, arguing that proper information enables a better understanding of the projects and the potential impacts. Through a better understanding, the public expects to get a chance to prepare for the development and captures the opportunities for employment in – or related to the industry. The public, along with the NGO – and association representatives, emphasised the need for information during PP about what can be expected to happen, how it will influence the every day life of the locals, and job opportunities.

### *Gaps between desired levels of PP*

The stakeholders’ desired levels of PP were interpreted based on the analytical frame presented in Table 3. Opposite to the findings of perceived PP purposes, no consensus was expressed between the consulters or between the consulted regarding the desired levels of PP. However, consensus was found across the two.

The company representatives – the local government and the local communities – were placed on the first – and lowest – level on the scale of O’Faircheallaigh (2010). According to the company representatives, the public should be involved in a limited manner in accordance with their perception of PP as a means to first and foremost

Table 4. Summary of perceived experiences of PP by stakeholders.

Consulters and consulted	Perceived purposes	Perceived tasks of consultants	Desired level of PP	Perceived challenges
Companies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Act responsible</li> <li>- Create awareness</li> <li>- Manage expectations</li> <li>- Achieve social licence to operate</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Provide information</li> <li>- Enter dialogue</li> </ul>	Level 1 (low)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Create mutual trust between companies and public</li> <li>- Understand public context</li> </ul>
Government officials	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Show public meaning is important - we care</li> <li>- Diminish fears</li> <li>- Balance interests</li> <li>- Secure common understanding of planned activities</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Provide information</li> <li>- Enter dialogue</li> <li>- Listen and take public worries into consideration</li> <li>- Prepare for future local content in projects</li> </ul>	Level 1 to 2 (low-medium)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Target audience by choice of communication form (language, technical level and media)</li> </ul>
NGOs and associations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Exchange information</li> <li>- Create understanding</li> <li>- Ensure local training and employment</li> <li>- Enhance openness</li> <li>- Secure democratic processes</li> <li>- Work for public access to influence decision-making</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Provide information.</li> <li>- Enter dialogue</li> <li>- Adjust projects according to local wishes and values</li> </ul>	Level 2 to 3 (medium-high)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Present EIA results in an understandable way</li> <li>- Make people engage and speak up</li> </ul>
Local Government and local public	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Exchange information</li> <li>- Ensure transparency in decision-making</li> <li>- Build bridge between public and companies</li> <li>- Prepare for development</li> <li>- Create understanding of recruitment procedures and opportunities for jobs in/related to industry</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Provide information</li> <li>- Answer questions raised by public</li> <li>- Present procedures regarding future recruitment of locals</li> </ul>	Level 1 (low)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Gain access to information</li> <li>- To pose critical questions</li> <li>- Overcome language barriers (language, technical level)</li> <li>- Acquire training and jobs</li> </ul>

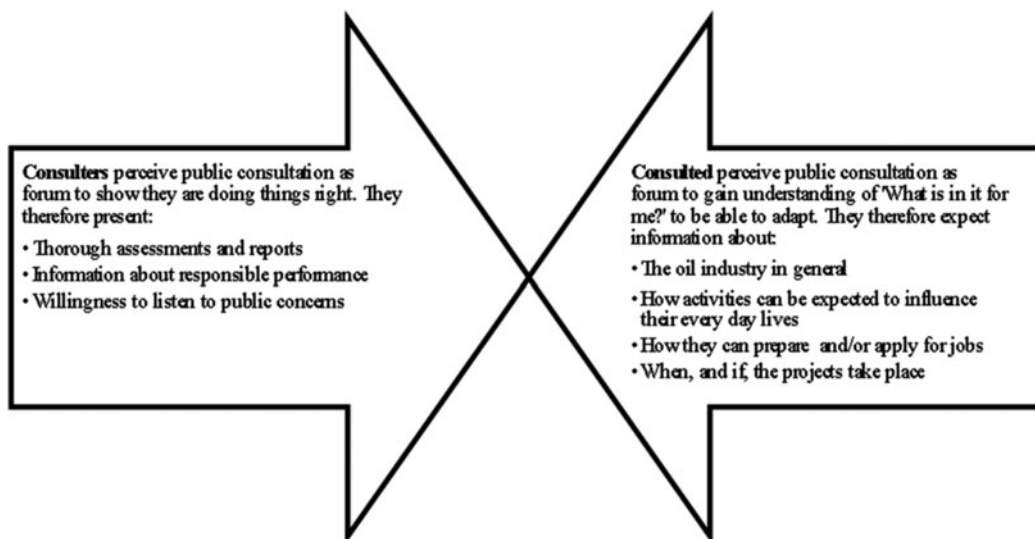


Figure 2. Expectations to PP related to perceptions of purposes by consulters and consulted.

deliver information and enter dialogue with the communities.

The local government and the locals did equally not express a desire for a higher level of participation beyond gaining access to information about employment in the industry. However, the government official and the advisor seemed slightly more ambitious as they regarded it beneficial to undertake PP somewhere between the first and second levels of the scale by 'listening to concerns of the public' and 'preparing the public for future employment opportunities'.

NGOs and associations landed a desired level of participation between the second and third levels through their aim to include local values and wishes, and through their view of PP as a pathway for a more democratic decision-making process. Through increased public influence, the NGOs and associations representatives argued that the public ought to have a say, which could potentially change the course of the planned projects.

The desired level of PP by each stakeholder group closely related to what the various groups perceive as PP purposes and tasks. The stakeholder groups thus ranged differently, covering different levels of the scale, a discrepancy that indicates a larger gap between information sharing and empowerment of the public.

### **Trust-building and cultural context challenges**

Even though the stakeholders held different perceptions of PP purpose, tasks and desired level of PP, there seemed to be general consent on the perceived challenges of PP in Greenland. All interviewed stakeholders addressed two common issues, both related to a feeling of not being able to meet and interact in a comfortable manner.

Due to lack of confidence among the Greenlandic public that their government protects the interest of the public through the existing structures, including the legislative framework, the NGO and association representatives raised trust building as a challenge. They argue

that the companies are not met with the proper requirements by the BMP and that the requirements lack specificity. The public expects the companies to protect own interests, and therefore view the Greenlandic authorities as responsible for good PP performance. If the public does not trust the company representatives nor the authorities, the incentive for the public to engage at the public meetings arranged by these parties arguably descends. Establishing trust may be gained through increased transparency and understanding, preconditions that the stakeholders appear to seek to reach through providing more thorough information. However, the NGOs and association representatives highly question whether information alone is adequate to secure trust building between the government, the companies and the public. First, they argue, difficulties in communication between these stakeholders must be addressed.

In relation to communication, the company representatives highlighted difficulties in understanding the Greenlandic cultural context and getting in dialogue with the local, whereas the government official expressed 'a need for identification of the right communication channels to reach the public'. The interviewed NGO and association representatives argued that a dialogue might be hard to attain as the public is not active and engaged enough in the general debate. Furthermore, they expressed concerns regarding the available information materials about the general content of the projects. In the view of most of the interviewed NGO, and association representatives, information materials are based on the assumption that the public in Greenland possesses a basic understanding of the oil sector. One representative argued that this assumption is wrong and that it causes a crucial information gap. In addition, it was problematic that some materials are available in English only as locals arguably miss the opportunity to collect information from other sources than the few project-specific translated documents provided by the companies, and presentations held by company representatives at the public meetings. To overcome these

issues of 'language barriers' and 'difficulties in accessing information', the representatives called for more available materials in Greenlandic (Kalaallisut).

The PP challenges mentioned by the different stakeholders all relate to issues of mistrust and difficulties in communication between the different stakeholders. Despite attempts to overcome these challenges of trust building, and mutual exchange and understanding through communication, there are strong indications that the current practice does not promote a more successful PP process.

## Discussion

As identified in the analysis in the former section, the varying perceptions of PP purposes among the different stakeholders lead to diverse and seemingly disparate expectations to PP execution. Consequently, a consensus regarding the PP success criteria is lacking, and as success criteria are not defined in the EIA guideline either, the point of departure for the PP process is arguably weak. Similarly, the PP process appears decoupled, as it does not provide an arena for mutual dialogue, information exchange and trust building – features seemingly desired by all stakeholders involved. This has led to reflections by the authors on how to strengthen the PP structures and execution as presented in the following.

### *Strengthening PP structures*

The findings in this paper illustrate that successful PP in Greenland does not appear by coincidence, it must be carefully planned to fit the context. The varying perceptions of PP purpose arguably indicate a need for more detailed PP regulation. To secure consensus on purpose and content of the processes, it is suggested that a PP guideline, based on dialogue between all stakeholders, is developed. This recommendation is not based on the assumption that the stakeholders necessarily will reach agreement on the content, but rather secure that all stakeholders are heard in the PP process. Furthermore, the responsible authorities may be more capable to capture and understand the stakeholders' perceptions prior to decision-making on the content of the guideline.

The development of a guideline will thus not only make it clearer, which requirements and objectives companies undertaking PP must fulfil, but also serve as information for the authorities and make their role as frame or structure-maker more visible. As the interviews conducted pointed at mistrust towards the government in relation to protection of interests of the locals, facilitation of a more specific PP guideline might improve their image.

Furthermore, it seems that more evaluation and research is needed to create more knowledge of PP and the cultural context in Greenland, not least to know when and how to approach the general public in an appropriate manner.

Even though the findings presented seem to indicate that the local communities view PP as highly desirable,

there are also indications that Greenlanders in general does not contribute to the general PP debate and PP discourse (Hansen et al. 2009; Olsen 2012). This lack of engagement may arguably be explained by Greenlanders being relatively inexperienced in attending public meetings. Arguably, the locals are unaware of what to expect and hence which demands may be made for the PP process. Furthermore, there appears to be a cultural tradition to 'mind one's own business' (Lyngge 2003). Hansen et al. (2009) explain the missing voice of the public as a characteristic cultural feature in Greenland stating that 'the direct form of debating itself is not a traditional way of addressing conflicts in Greenland.' In addition, Hansen et al. (2009) argue that a 'widespread clan consciousness' exists within the Greenlandic communities. Accordingly, it seems a more indirect debating culture and a certain hierarchical interrelationship among the locals exists in Greenland. Whereas debates may be lively among families in their own homes, public debates are often dominated by a smaller group of more dominant individuals.

Observations during the PP trip in NW Greenland support the claims of Hansen et al. (2009), as a certain hierarchy between the meeting attendees appeared to be present and influence the dialogue. For example, mainly elderly men uttered their opinion and posed questions; a matter that arguably affects the direction of dialogue and a barrier to a more inclusive dialogue. It could be relevant to find a way to capture the voice of the women and the youth in the communities as well, for instance, to identify their aspirations for the future regarding education and job opportunities. The disclosure of their aspirations might impact the PP process and arguably pave the way for more effective involvement of the generations to come, for example, through better understanding the needs for education and therefrom devise how these people could be included. Further studies of the communicative behaviour of the locals could arguably contribute to the understanding of how good dialogue is achieved in Greenland.

### *Improving PP execution*

Findings of this study, moreover, indicate that the public do not seem to hold high aims for PP in terms of influencing the activities that may impact the environment they live in and which many feed on. They take on a role as passive recipients perceiving PP purposes and tasks of PP as something provided from outside, not within, the community. This arguably indicates that PP execution at present neither encourages nor provides the locals with a suitable opportunity to speak their minds and pose more critical in-depth questions or comments.

As earlier mentioned, the lack of local engagement might stem from cultural issues. However, other issues were also mentioned during the stakeholder interviews, specific issues which point in the direction of potential improvement of PP performance.

To improve local engagement, several stakeholders emphasised the importance of creating a comfortable atmosphere during the meetings. Furthermore, the NGO

and association representatives both pointed at the need to secure that the public gain a basic understanding of the oil industry in order to feel comfortable to engage in debate during the meetings. Observations during this study support these suggestions, as the questions raised during the trip in NW Greenland indicated that the public understanding of the planned activities, and hence their potential impacts, was below the level that what was the target of the presentation. In order to create a dialogue on the basis of the existing level of knowledge, the public could be invited to contribute to the agenda prior to the meetings. Public input could also inform the companies about which topics the locals would prefer to include and address at the meetings. Hence, an inclusive setting of agenda would serve as a platform for a more mutual dialogue.

Finally, it is thought-provoking that, the BMP and their advisors were included on the PP trip, while other stakeholders were not. Travelling in Greenland is very expensive, but the companies and the BMP ought to consider inviting the NGOs and associations to attend the public meetings as this might contribute to a more nuanced debate at the meetings.

## Conclusion

Dialogue between stakeholders in relation to offshore oil exploration in Greenland, as probably everywhere else in the world, is a prerequisite for achieving a mutual understanding on which a potential sustainable development can be founded. PP is required in EIA and SIA processes providing an opportunity for stakeholders to meet and enter dialogue around the potential impacts of activities planned. However, this paper found that the expectations related to both the content and execution of PP varied significantly between consulters and consulted, but also between the NGOs and the public. The variation in perceptions of PP purpose arguably originates from different interests being pursued. Arguably these interests are not brought together, partly due to the absence of an overall definition and objective of PP in the EIA guideline, but also as information sharing, rather than dialogue, takes place during PP.

Differences in perceptions of PP purpose between consulters and consulted further cause disagreement on what is considered good PP performance. It is also found that the consulted stakeholder groups disagree on the desired level of engagement. NGOs emphasise a need for PP to influence decision-making, while the public seems to accept a role as passive recipients of information about decisions made. There is, however, a general agreement when it comes to identifying challenges.

The findings of this study led to a discussion about the potentials for strengthening PP structures and execution in Greenland. Arguably, there is a need for a more specific PP guideline in Greenland based on dialogue between stakeholders. Moreover, further research, with emphasis on the cultural barriers related to power structures and communication, is needed to guide PP in Greenland, and it is recommended that public consultations are planned with

point of departure in the existing level of knowledge about the industry and in topics of local preference. Adaptation, understanding and dialogue between the relevant stakeholders, which are the objectives by PP promoted by the Government of Greenland, does not appear to be secured by a requirement of the companies to provide the frames and setting up meetings. It is a first step and a prerequisite for PP, but careful planning is also a prerequisite to shape the PP programmes to the Greenland-specific context.

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**Title page****Title of paper**

Promoting youth engagement by coupling online and visual participation forms: An explorative case study using Facebook and photo-elicitation to target and actively engage youth in Greenland.

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## **Abstract**

Although youth represents the population group most likely to experience the greatest impacts of development, youth remains largely marginalised in PP (public participation) processes. Novel youth engagement research highlights the potential to aid youth participation through more innovative approaches made available by today's digital technologies. With point of departure in novel studies applying online and visual participation forms, this paper presents an explorative qualitative case study combining the social media network Facebook and the visual anthropological method photo-elicitation to specifically reach and actively engage youth in Greenland. Mixed findings indicate that, although the methods combined may empower youth to actively engage on their own terms, these tools alone do not guarantee active participation. Participation requires action, and the young people themselves are the driving force. Conclusively, the paper stresses the need for further research, exploring alternative methods to actively engage youth in the PP process and practice.

**Key Words:** Youth Participation, Social Media, Photo-Interviewing, Visual Research Methods, Natural Resources, Greenland.

## 1. Introduction

From laptops, smartphones, and other digital devices, people can follow comments on the latest news stories, accept an invitation to a birthday party, or share how many calories they have burned during their latest exercise. When Prince Harry married Meghan Markle on a beautiful summer's day, May 19, 2018, the event was, among others, broadcasted live on Facebook, with 'thumbs ups' and 'hearts' continuously popping up on the screen, together with instant messages from the viewers congratulating the newlywed or commenting on the outfits of the wedding guests. Organisations may use the media to create public awareness of a matter among several thousand rather than a mere handful, and instead of sitting passively in front of the TV, people may actively participate in real-time polls and political debates<sup>1</sup>.

The new digital technologies of the 21<sup>st</sup> century are gaining recognition as additional tools for planners and decision makers. PP studies across nations <sup>2</sup> reveal similar common impediments and shortcomings of the traditional PP practices, characterised as formalised, one-way forms of communication, lacking "depth" and leading to 'token participation' that merely educate citizens to accept decisions that have already been made<sup>3</sup>. This calls for more innovative practices of PP provided through, for instance, social media networks such as Facebook, which hold the potential to supplement traditional public participation (PP) practices to aid meaningful engagement, PP experience, as well as more democratic planning and decision making.<sup>4</sup>

Calling for more empirical evidence of the potential challenges and opportunities for meaningful engagement through new and online PP forms, this paper presents an explorative qualitative study combining Facebook and the visual anthropological method photo-elicitation to specifically reach and actively engage youth. The mixed findings emphasise the need for further research exploring alternative methods to supplement the currently most prominent PP form of public consultation meetings, which could potentially augment locals' opportunities to engage in the PP process and practice in an active and meaningful manner.

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<sup>1</sup> Evans-Cowley and Hollander, *The New Generation of Public Participation*.

<sup>2</sup> see for instance: Innes, 1996; Innes and Booher, 2004; Evans-Cowley and Hollander, 2010; Marot and Mali, 2012; Olsen and Hansen 2014; Hansen et al. 2016; Udofia et al. 2017

<sup>3</sup> Evans-Cowley and Hollander, *The New Generation of Public Participation*.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid; Wilson et al., *A Review of Facebook*; Kosinki et al., *Facebook as a Research Tool*.

## 1. The Case Study: Public Participation in Relation to Natural Resource Exploration Activities in Greenland.

The study takes point of departure in Greenland, where the extractive industry sector has expanded rapidly in recent years<sup>5</sup>, causing impact on the small, widely scattered coastal communities.<sup>6</sup> Aspiring to promote a sustainable development, including local adaptation and resilience in the communities, the Greenlandic authorities prescribe “a high degree of public participation”, prior to, during, and after the launch of a project, with the aim to ensure that “all relevant stakeholders”<sup>7</sup> are informed about the activities and have their say in the decision-making process. As required in the Mineral and Resources Act<sup>8</sup>, the current PP approach in Greenland typically includes a range of public information and consultation meetings in the potentially affected communities.<sup>9</sup>

While the Greenlandic authorities claim to have taken proper measures to meet the demands of the public and NGOs, the PP process and practice has been heavily criticised for lack of active and meaningful involvement, questioning whether the public has any influence on the decision-making process at all.<sup>10</sup>

Yet, the PP process and practice in Greenland has not improved much in recent years and remains flawed.<sup>11</sup> Especially the absence of the Greenlandic youth calls for attention, as it is the population group most likely to experience and having to cope with both the negative and the positive impacts of societal changes.<sup>12</sup> The young Greenlanders may miss out on information about how mineral and petroleum exploration activities can possibly affect their lives, for instance in regards to potential education and job opportunities as well as having a say in regards to project development. The missing voice of the young Greenlanders leaves many important questions unanswered: What are the hopes and fears for the future and the future extractive industry development in Greenland among the youth in Greenland? What knowledge do the young Greenlanders hold of the impacts that the extractive industry development may cause and how it may affect their lives? How do they imagine the future development in Greenland? And how do

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<sup>5</sup> Økonomisk Råd, *Grønlands Økonomi 2013*; Government of Greenland, *Guidelines of the SIA report*; Ackrén, *Public consultation processes*; Hansen and Tejsner, *Identifying challenges and opportunities*; Hansen et al., *Managing social impacts*.

<sup>6</sup> Olsen and Hansen, *Public Participation in Impact Assessment*; KNR, *Qulaarpaa*; Hansen et al., *Managing social impacts*.

<sup>7</sup> BMP, *BMP Guidelines*.

<sup>8</sup> Government of Greenland, *Greenland Parliament Act*.

<sup>9</sup> BMP, *BMP Guidelines*; Frost and Scott, *Råstofaktiviteter i Grønland*.

<sup>10</sup> Nuttall, *Imagining the resource frontier*; Olsen and Hansen, *Public Participation in Impact Assessment*; Sermitsiaq.ag, *Ensidigt borgermøde om Isukasia*; Aaen, *Demokratisk legitimitet i høringsprocesser*; Myrup, *Avataqs hørings svar*; Nuttall, *Imagining the resource frontier*; NGO Koalitionen, *Bedre Borgerinddragelse*; Olsen and Hansen, *Public Participation in Impact Assessment*; KNR, *Qulaarpaa*; Ackrén, *Public consultation processes*.

<sup>11</sup> HS Analyse, *Befolkningen om borgermøder*.

<sup>12</sup> Olsen, *Public Participation in impact assessment*; Olsen and Hansen, *Public Participation in Impact Assessment*; Olsen and Hansen, *Public Participation in Impact Assessment*; HS Analyse, *Befolkningen om borgermøder*; Kurt-Shai, *The roles of youth*; Marot and Mali, *Youth and Regional Development-Participation*.

they view their role in this development? Stressing youth as an integral part of PP to foster sustainable development, the study presented in this paper seeks to reach and give voice to young Greenlanders in the following manner.

## **2. The Frame of the Explorative Study: Methods, Recruitment and Data Collection**

### **2.1. Facebook as Method**

For the study presented in this paper, Facebook was applied as a means to target and recruit young Greenlanders, as a user-friendly, low-cost means of communication between the author of this paper and the young research participants, and as a data collection platform.

Looking into the use of social media in Greenland, statistics show that 61% of the Greenlandic population – approximately 34,000<sup>13</sup> out of a total of 55,860 people<sup>14</sup> – is registered on Facebook and uses this social media on a daily basis. Due to the vast distances between the fairly isolated and widely scattered Greenlandic communities, Facebook was deemed as a suitable tool to overcome barriers of access, for widening the geographical scope, and for ensuring a broader representativeness of research participants and data.

For recruitment purposes and for establishing a frame within which to engage and gather data from the young research participants, the author of this paper established and administered a Facebook group. The group was given the title ‘Photo Forum – Youth in Greenland’, henceforth referred to as the Photo Forum group, and was arranged as a ‘closed’ group, which ensured that only those accepted by the researcher as group members were able to see the content shared in the group. This setup was meant to prevent data – including personal photos, subjects, and views – from being distributed unintentionally elsewhere, thus enhancing a safe sphere and confidence between the research participants and the researcher.

The eligibility criteria for becoming research participants included young Greenlanders of both genders. Youth was defined as individuals being 15-30 years of age. Inspired by the UN youth definitions<sup>15</sup>, this age range was established as an adjustment to the Greenlandic context, taking point of departure in the age division employed by Statistics Greenland<sup>16</sup> and the comprehensive ‘SLiCA’ survey of Arctic Living Conditions<sup>17</sup>. The eligibility criteria

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<sup>13</sup> KNR, *Seer- og lytterundersøgelse 2016*.

<sup>14</sup> Statistics Greenland, *Greenland in Figures 2017*.

<sup>15</sup> United Nations Youth, *Definition of Youth*.

<sup>16</sup> *Befolkningens Uddannelsesprofil 2013*.

<sup>17</sup> Poppel, *Living conditions*.

also stipulated that the research participants be either residents in Greenland or Greenlandic residents studying in Denmark. Further, they were to have a Facebook account, and access to a camera was also a prerequisite.

The recruitment strategy entailed the use of ‘snowball’ sampling<sup>18</sup>, where the author of this paper took point of departure in a smaller group of individuals who met the requirements as research participants. Through these individuals’ ‘friendship’ networks on Facebook, the author made further contact with new individuals, which yet again became point of departure for targeting even more individuals, and so forth.

## **2.2. Photo-elicitation as method**

Aiming to capture and motivate young Greenlanders to actively engage in the study in a motivating and meaningful manner, initial steps of the photo-elicitation approach was added to the established Facebook platform for data collection purposes. Through the common practice of Facebook ‘posts’, which often consists of a picture and a descriptive text, the initial steps of photo-elicitation arguably resemble the everyday use of Facebook well.

Photo-elicitation is a method borrowed from visual anthropology. Visual and art-based methods are widely applied within the field of social sciences. Incorporating visual methods is in particular common in youth studies, where drawings, photos, collages, timelines, and other respondent-generated visual data are applied with the purpose of eliciting in-depth understandings of their views and experiences on various phenomena. Combined with narrative data, visual representations may stimulate engagement and empowerment of this frequently marginalised group in society by conveying valuable information to planners and decision makers, who may use this knowledge to improve the lives of these young people, for instance in terms of education, family life, health, and leisure.<sup>19</sup>

Data collection took place over a period of four consecutive weeks in May and June 2015, and involved a total number of 80 young Greenlanders, 30 (37.5%) males and 50 (62.5%) females. Each week, a new theme and sub-question was ‘posted’ and displayed on the Photo Forum group ‘wall’. The young participants were asked to express themselves with the themes as an inspirational framework.

Through the photo-elicitation approach, the young research participants were to express their ‘interest and values’, ‘hopes and dreams’, ‘fears and worries’, and ‘visions for the future’, through the use of photos produced by the themselves, and attached a short annotation explaining in writing the meaning of the photo.<sup>20</sup> To be labelled an *active* research participant, the group members were to contribute at least one photo with a text description during the data

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<sup>18</sup> Bryman, *Social Research Methods*.

<sup>19</sup> Didkowsky et al., *Using Visual Methods*; Symon and Cassell, *Qualitative Organizational Research*; Lyon and Carabelli, *Researching young people’s orientations*; Carabelli and Lyon, *Young people’s orientations*.

<sup>20</sup> Bignante, *The use of photo-elicitation*; Harper, *Talking about pictures*; Bryman, *Social Research Methods*.

collection period. Group members that did not contribute any photos with attached descriptions for data use in the Photo Forum group were labelled *passive* participants.

To be labelled an *active* research participant, the group members were to contribute at least one photo with a text description during the data collection period. Group members that did not contribute any photos with attached descriptions for data use in the Photo Forum group were labelled *passive* participants.

The initial steps in the 'Photo Forum' group were followed by an online survey, then in-depth semi-structured photo-interviews with volunteering active research participants. The findings of the subsequent interviews are not presented or discussed in this paper, as the specific focus in this paper is to elucidate potentials and challenges of Facebook and the photo-elicitation approach as methods within PP to reach the Greenlandic youth and elicit otherwise hidden knowledge in a manner encouraging active engagement. The online survey will be presented in the following section.

### ***2.3 The Online Follow-up Survey***

Subsequent to the four weeks of photo collection, an online questionnaire was conducted through Survey Exact. The purpose of the survey was to assess the potentials and challenges of the course of the explorative study combining the tools of Facebook and photo-elicitation as experienced by the research participants.

The questionnaire was set up in both Greenlandic and Danish and consisted of two parts, with a total of nine questions (see Table 1). The first part addressed the social media practices of the young participants, and the second part addressed the course of the photo collection period as experienced by both the active and passive participants. All members within the Photo Forum group were thus encouraged to answer the survey in order to find answers as to why some chose to contribute and participate actively in the study and, not least, why some group members ended as passive participants.

**Table 1: Questions of the Follow-up Survey**

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<b>Part I – Social media practices</b>
1. Which social media do you prefer?
2. Why do you prefer this particular social media?
3. How often to you use your preferred social media?
4. At which time of day do you most often use your preferred social media?
5. What are the primary purposes of using your preferred social media?

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<b>Part II – Experiences of participating in the Photo Forum study</b>
6. How did you become aware of the Photo Forum project?
7. Why did you become a member of the Photo Forum group?
8. Were you an active or passive member of the group?
9. What is your opinion on the Photo Forum project?

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Except for Question 2 and 7, which comprised a ‘why’ question, where the respondents were able to provide open replies, which were analysed and divided into major themes as illustrated in Table 1, most questions were ‘what’, ‘when’, ‘how’-questions, and entailed customised answers (Question 1, 3-6, and 8-9). Although most questions were closed, the respondents were provided with the opportunity to add their own comments to ensure a wider coverage if the customised options were inadequate. Further, with some questions, respondents had the option to choose more than one answer.

In the following, the findings of the monitored activity in the Photo Forum group as well as the online follow-up survey will be unfolded.

## **2. Findings and discussion**

### ***3.1. Who were the participants – and non-participants?***

As presented in the former section, a total of 80 young Greenlanders, 30 (37.5%) males and 50 (62.5%) females, were recruited as Photo Forum group members.



Owing to the endless pool of entangled ‘friendship’ networks, Facebook proved an efficient means of recruitment through ‘snowballing’, fostering a continuously growing sample size as new ‘friends’ became aware of and joined the Photo Forum group. Further, through the Facebook profiles of the research participants, it was often possible to extract other relevant information, such as gender, age, and location.<sup>21</sup> Their Facebook profiles revealed that they lived in cities all over Greenland, from Qaqortoq in Southwest Greenland to Uummannaq in Northwest Greenland, and Tasiilaq in East Greenland to Maniitsoq in West Greenland. Greenlandic students in Denmark constituted 15% of the group members, whereas information on 13% of the group members’ home towns was not publicly available.

Hence, Facebook arguably proved particularly useful in cutting across the vast distances between the widely scattered cities and settlements in Greenland. A respondent stated that, “*when people live this far from each other, as people do here in Greenland, a ‘place’ like Facebook is a useful tool to keep each other updated about what’s going on in our lives*”, and another added that, “*everyone in Greenland uses Facebook these days, so that’s where you go to get in contact with people.*” The fashion in which the young research participants make use of Facebook, as well as their purpose for using this social media site, is thus quite similar to the way Facebook is used by millions of people worldwide: to maintain social connections.<sup>22</sup>

Likewise, the participants were enabled to engage and provide data for the study in a prompt and straightforward manner, which to a high degree resembles ‘posting’ on Facebook. Statements included that using a familiar tool like Facebook as a research frame made it easy and less time-consuming to contribute to the study: “[B]asically, it’s just a few clicks. And you’re done. It’s simple and straightforward!” (Respondent of the follow-up survey). Using Facebook as a research tool further enabled the author of this paper to provide instant feedback, keep in contact with the participants, and also revisit the data of photo ‘posts’ and comments provided during the data collection period, even after the study had been finalised.<sup>23</sup>

Although (high-speed) web access is not equally available to the poorest members of society and the more remote settlements, it was – in line with other case studies – possible through the use of Facebook to raise awareness of the project and across wide distances reach people who might otherwise not have become aware of and joined the study, thereby establishing remote involvement.

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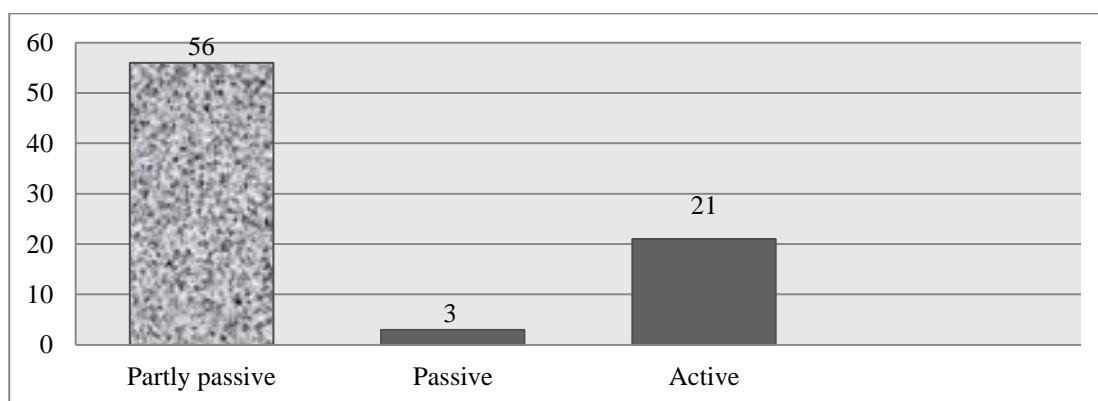
<sup>21</sup> Kosinski et al., *Facebook as a Research Tool*.

<sup>22</sup> Craig et al., *Personality and motivations*; Ellison et al., *The benefit of Facebook ‘friends’*. Evans-Cowley and Hollander,

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

As displayed in Figure 1, 26% qualified as *active* research participants: group members who had contributed with at least one photo and annotation during the four weeks. 59% of the respondents had been *partly passive*: having made no contributions to the study but followed the activity and input shared within the group. 3% had been *passive*: group members who had made no contributions to the study or followed the activity within the group.

**Figure 1: Division between Active and Passive Participants (%)**

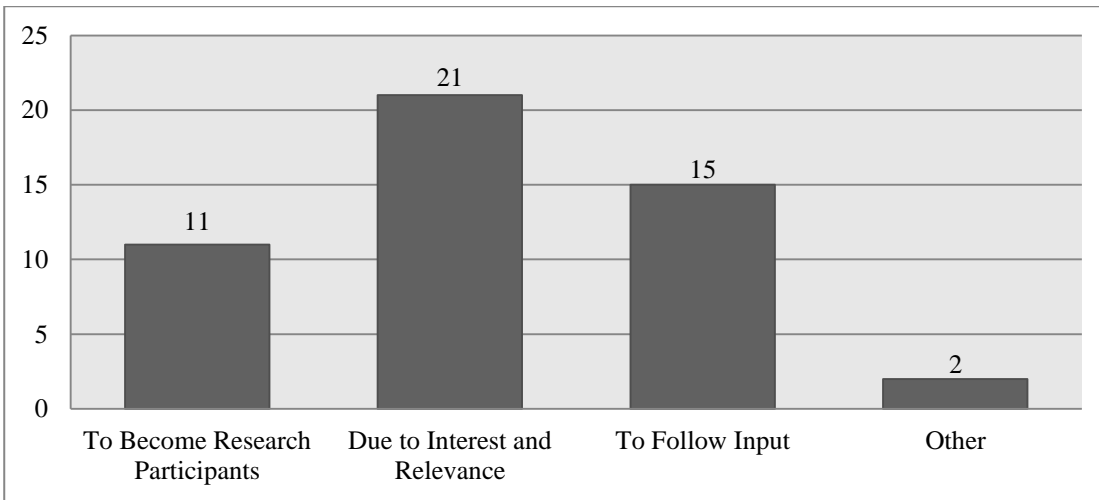


Young females accounted for the great majority of the active participants, with 71% compared to a mere 29% young males. With most of the active respondents being in their 20s, with the youngest active participant being 15 years of age and the eldest 34 years of age, the ‘average participant’ among the active participants was a 26-year-old young female. Earlier research suggests that females are in general more active than men in terms of information sharing and discussions within online communities.<sup>24</sup> The Photo Forum project may thus have been more appealing to young women than young men, which emphasises a need for revisions of the approach to similar studies in future if youth representation is to be more equal in terms of gender.

Corresponding to 31 of the total of 80 young group members, 39% filled out the follow-up questionnaire. With the ability to choose more than one option, the majority of the respondents (a total number of 21) joined the Photo Forum group *due to interest and relevance*, which thus counted for the number-one incentive for joining the Photo Forum group, as displayed in Figure 2. Other motives for joining the group included *to follow input* shared in the group by their young peers, a feature shared among 15 of the respondents. 11 noted a direct wish *to become research participants* for the study, whereas an individual, within the category *other*, mentioned ‘having misunderstood the purpose of the group upon request of membership’, and another ‘merely had joined to show support for the initiative’.

<sup>24</sup> Sussman and Tyson, *Sex and power*.

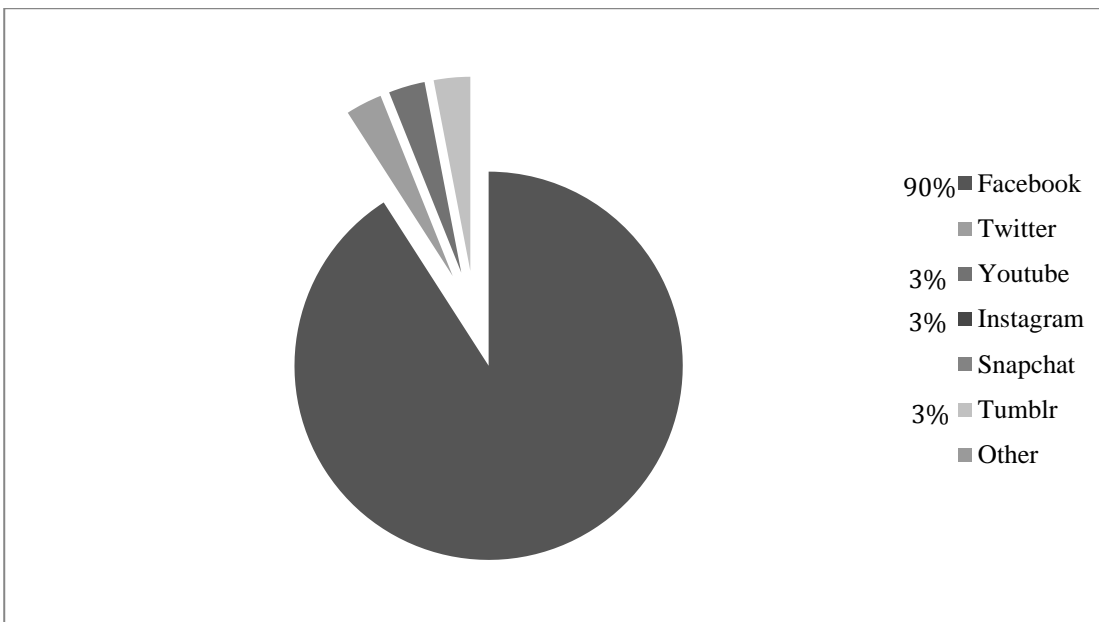
**Figure 2: Incentives for Participation (in numbers)**



**3.2. Facebook as Tool for Recruitment and Data Collection Platform**

With options to choose among social network medias, such as Twitter, Youtube, Instagram, Snapchat, Tumblr, or ‘other’, the online survey further revealed that Facebook by far comprised the most preferred social media (See Figure 3.)

**Figure 3: Preferred social media (%)**

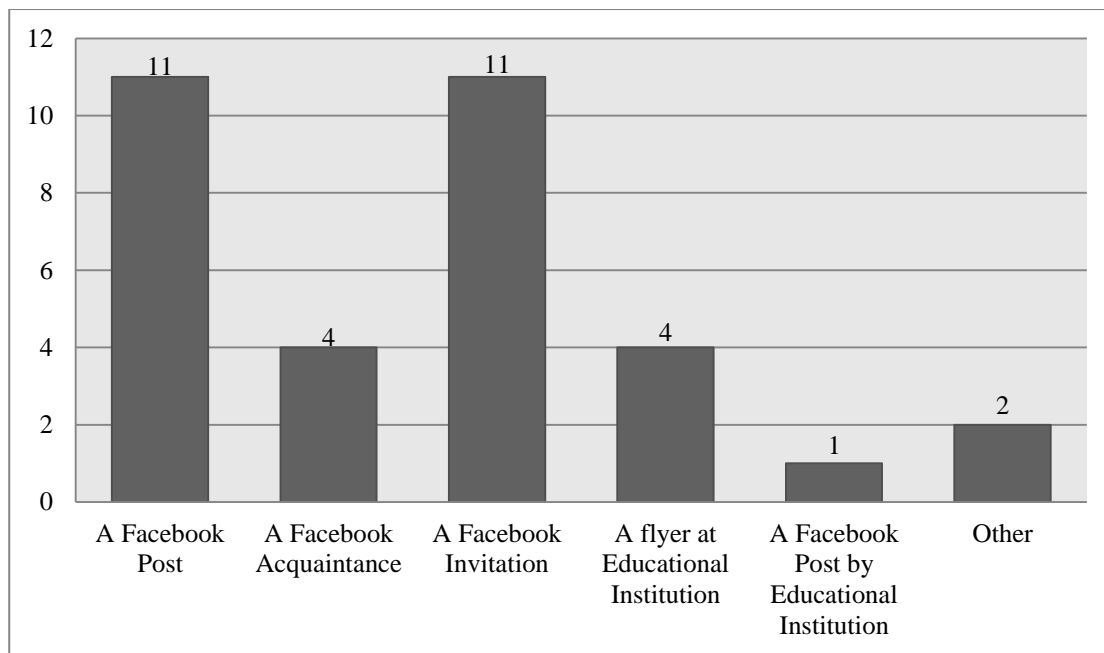


*To keep in contact with family and friends* has great influence on the choice of preferred social media. This is followed by a wish *to keep up-to-date with events*, the *easy access and user-friendliness* of the social media, as well as

the opportunity to share personal events and photos from their own lives with their social media network. 94% used their preferred social media on a daily basis, and a mere 6% on a weekly basis. Though the findings show that their preferred social media is used fairly equally throughout the day, a slight majority are online between 16 and 20 PM, which may slightly indicate that the users are best reached, thus most likely to engage actively and respond to outreach, late in the afternoon and early in the evening. The time frame of four weeks seemingly provided sufficient time for the research participants to reflect on the four themes and sub-questions. The time frame also made participation flexible, as the young participants were able to engage whenever they found it most convenient with respect to their everyday to-dos and schedules.

The majority of the young respondents became acquainted with the study through a Facebook post on their Facebook ‘wall’, and/or had received a direct, personal, written Facebook invitation by the author of this paper through Facebook, as illustrated in Figure 4.

**Figure 4: Respondents Became Aware of the Study Through...**

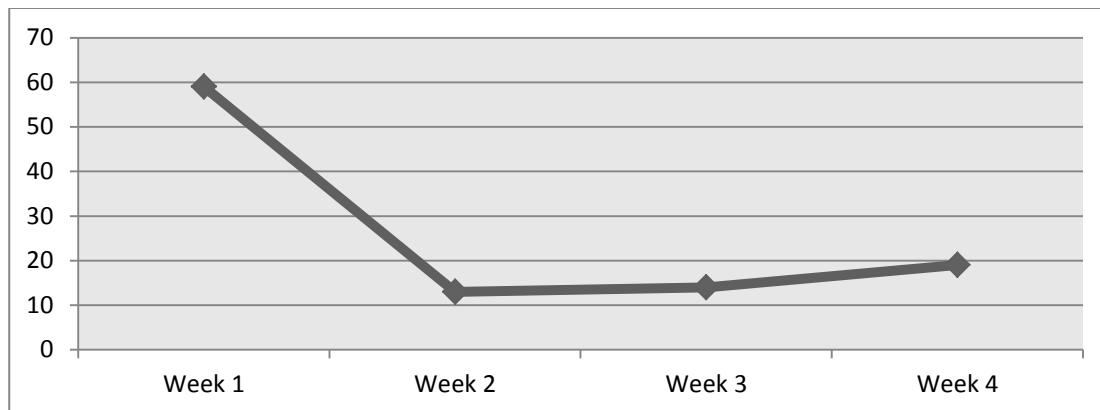


The respondents were able to choose more than one option. Some heard of the study through a flyer at or a Facebook post by their educational institution, or a Facebook acquaintance, whereas a few learned of the research project through others – ‘a colleague’ and ‘a girlfriend’.

Figure 5 tells of the activity rate and contributions made by the active participants through the data collection period. The active participants were most active with 59 ‘photo-posts’ during the first week of the study, whereas the

activity rate fell and levelled fairly equally in the remaining three weeks, with 13, 14, and 19 ‘photo-post’ contributions, respectively. However, the responses of the follow-up survey addressing the length of the study did not indicate that 4 weeks was an inappropriate length. Rather, several stated that it was suitable, and some noted that the study could have continued for even longer, providing more themes for the participants to consider and on which to provide their input.

**Figure 5: Number of ‘Photo-posts’ During the Data Collection Period**



Among the potentials for the use of online social networking is the quick distribution of information and awareness. With one ‘click’, people may join groups advocating a variety of different causes. However, it remains a challenge to establish actual, concrete support for these causes through online participation (Evans-Cowley and Hollander, 2010). Yet, the study presented in this paper did not only promote awareness, but also succeeded in facilitating active engagement among a fairly good rate of the young participants. Together with Facebook as a familiar and simple-to-use tool, the foundation for active engagement may primarily be ascribed the visual approach, as argued in the following.

### ***3.3. Photo-elicitation as method for active engagement***

Taking point of departure in themes relating to the everyday lives of the young individuals, thus of high relevance to the potential participants, ignited the interest and awareness of the Photo Forum project among the young Greenlanders and contributed to the recruitment of group members. Further, providing instant feedback and acknowledgement of the

contributions of the participants likely enhances participant engagement and encourages more honest and ‘natural’ input from the participants.<sup>25</sup>

The young research participants were overall highly positive towards engagement through the use of visual images. Following the ‘posts’ of their fellow group members was a source of inspiration and also served as a motivational factor for them to contribute with photos and descriptions themselves. As explained by a selected few of the respondents:

*“It’s been both good and bad, in my opinion. Good in the sense that the photo might be helpful in expressing what you want to say, bad in the sense that it could be difficult to find a photo that could enhance your message. But, on the other hand, I think the visual dimension was a great help for the participants; you get inspired. It would have been truly boring without them! It’s fun to follow and learn about how other young Greenlanders feel and think so similarly or differently about specific subjects.”*  
(Female respondent of follow-up survey).

*“When I look at my photos, I think they bring forth my thoughts. The photos symbolise and reveal the feelings I have. The photo dimension makes it even more personal.”* (Female respondent of follow-up survey).

The majority were of the opinion that the photos added a creative dimension for participating in the project, describing their participation in the study as a motivational challenge. The active participants were positive about the opportunity to express themselves through photos, arguing that the visual dimension encouraged a more thorough reflection of the themes and how they were to convey their message through photos. Further, both active and partly passive participants – those interested in following the group activity but who did not themselves contribute with input – further emphasised the possibility of following the other young participants’ contributions as motivational and inspiring.

Al-Kodmany<sup>26</sup> supports these stated advantages, describing visual representations as information enabling the participants to have a ‘common language’. As argued by Wang and Burris<sup>27</sup>, “cameras are an unusually motivating and

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Al-Kodmany, *Using visualization techniques*.

appealing tool for most people” and may serve as “a source of community pride and ownership”. Thus, the visual dimension arguably encouraged participants to be active by serving as a source of reflection and inspiration. The photos encouraged curiosity and simultaneously made engagement interesting and fun, and arguably functioned as an empowerment of the young participants as it allowed them to use a common ‘language’ to express how they perceive specific subjects in a manner that is meaningful to them. With a camera in their hands, the participants could document and share their knowledge and concerns through carefully selected photos. Visual images may thus serve as a basis for dialogue about issues which people consider important to their particular community, and thus also as a means to reach policy makers and engage in the decision-making processes. The method is flexible and may be tailored to fit a particular context, whether it be specific participatory aims or different communities and population groups.<sup>28</sup>

However, given the obvious advantages, one has to be aware that the photographs are most often carefully selected, through personal judgement, reflecting the specific interests of the person who produced the photograph. Thus, while the photos and descriptions produced may unveil certain perspectives among the young participants, self-censorship and personal judgement undoubtedly come into play in the photo-elicitation process, making it difficult to uncover what has been left out.<sup>29</sup>

## 5. Conclusion

Judging from initial studies conducted in Greenland, as well as the official guidelines from the Government of Greenland on PP in IAs in relation to mineral and petroleum exploration activities, it is concluded that the Greenlandic youth does not appear to have a voice in the decision-making processes, nor does their participation appear to be encouraged. As this young generation of Greenlanders is the one most likely to gain – or carry the weight – from the impacts of development within the extractive industry in Greenland, this paper stresses the importance of increasing the focus on youth in the PP process and exploring alternative means to facilitate active engagement of the young Greenlanders within PP in practice. As stated by one of the young research participants:

*“I think it is essential that people know about ‘us’ – the young generation in Greenland. Perhaps it can serve as an eye-opener ... I just think the project is important as it focuses on us. Through this project we could have a voice, be heard. I think the youth in Greenland is far from being satisfactorily involved.”*

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<sup>27</sup> Wang and Burris, *Photovoice*.

<sup>28</sup> Wang and Burris, *Photovoice*.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

This paper has outlined potential challenges and opportunities of using online participation forms combining the social media networking site Facebook and the visual-anthropological method of photo-elicitation for the PP-related incentive to facilitate active engagement youth using Greenland as a case.

The findings of the study indicate that social media and visual means may contribute to lessen the gap between the high PP standards and the scarce representation of youth in PP processes.

Combined, the methods proved potential for active engagement among the young participants by serving as familiar means of information sharing and communication.

The use of photos motivated engagement by capturing the interest among youth and allowing them to express themselves in a non-verbal way which bore much resemblance to the everyday use of Facebook. Arguably, the use of visual representations further prompted reflection on and critical thinking about issues central and relevant to the lives of the young individuals, placing an emphasis on the potential of the photo-elicitation method to reveal different perspectives and views than the often taken-for-granted assumptions about the ways the young participants perceive their futures.

Further, there is no doubt that the new digital technologies and media, such as social media networks, have revolutionised communication and information conveyance. Mobile technology has been a part of the everyday lives of today's youth, allowing easy and instant communication on a global scale, social interaction and participation 'on the go', diminishing the issue of location in many respects<sup>30</sup>. Facebook not only functions as a familiar and commonly applied medium among youth for receiving and providing information as well as of gaining and sustaining communication across vast distances between the cities and settlements, and not least national borders; it also functions as a site, space, or 'on-line community' for engagement.<sup>31</sup> However, the high percentage of the non-participant Photo Forum group members calls attention towards not exaggerating the influence of online participation tools for active engagement. Facebook is exactly that, a tool. Although the social media may provide an *opportunity* for providing input and having a say, it does not guarantee active participation. Participation requires action, and that power lies with the young people themselves.<sup>32</sup> Combined with the visual approach, however, the empowerment of youth is arguably enhanced.

Conclusively, the study indicates that online and visual participation forms arguably work best as part of a broader participatory process, which enables face-to-face interaction and 'real' commitment among participants. Rather

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.; Eliasoph, *The Politics of volunteering*.

<sup>32</sup> Briggs, *New media and Political Participation*.



than competitive forms of traditional PP the use of Facebook and visual images as a frame for youth engagement may thus serve as complementary forms of participatory means to supplement the more traditional PP approaches<sup>33</sup>

At any rate, the findings emphasise the importance of project proponents and planners being aware of reaching and engaging youth on their own terms by the appliance of tools that the young people are already using.<sup>34</sup> More studies collecting empirical knowledge of what works and what does not work, and who is involved and who is left out when using online participation forms and visual means would arguably prove useful to further develop valuable supplements to overcome the shortcomings of the traditional ways of PP with specific focus on reaching and actively engaging youth.

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Evans-Cowley and Hollander, *The new generation of public participation*; Briggs, *New media and political participation*.

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**Youth as Resources in Decision Making: Exploring Young Voices of Imagined Futures by the use of Photos in Interviews.**

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**Abstract (150 words)**

Despite their role as future stakeholders of development - and thus the most likely to experience the greatest impact - youth most often comprises a marginalised and 'hard-to-reach' population group in public participation.

This paper presents and reflects on a qualitative case study conducted in Greenland testing photo-elicitation as a means to give voice to the Greenlandic youth. The study comprises photos produced by 21 young Greenlanders between the age of 15 and 30, of which 9 participated in subsequent semi-structured photo-interviews.

Findings indicate that compared to conventional interviews, using photos in interviews may empower youth to engage in a more collaborative manner, levelling the often more uneven power relationship between the researcher and the young interviewees, as the visual representations took point of departure in their interpretations and worldviews, while functioning as a common language and platform providing a unique way to enhance dialogue and access otherwise inaccessible knowledge.

**Keywords:** Youth Engagement, Marginalisation, Participatory Visual Research Methods, Photo-Elicitation, Greenland.



## **Youth as Resources in Decision Making: Exploring Young Voices of Imagined Futures by the use of Photos in Interviews.**

### **1. Marginalised and ‘hard-to-reach’ - reviewing youth participation**

*‘The one who believes in youth believes in the future’*

(Larsen 2015).

These were the opening words of a seminar held at the National Parliament of Denmark in Copenhagen, which aimed to engage young Greenlandic students within a wide range of disciplines, competing to present the best ideas, visions, and concrete proposals for the future industry development in Greenland. 45 students participated in the visions seminar, and some of the students expressed to the Greenlandic news agency, Kalaallit Nunaata Radioa, covering the seminar, that it was “*an instructive and inspirational experience working together on these matters*” and that “*it was incredible to be part of figuring out what we can do for Greenland!*” (Larsen 2015).

In the long-desired quest for greater independence, combined with an urgent need to establish a balanced economy, Greenland is in search of new sources of income to sustain the current living standard and to create prosperity and wealth for the generations to come (Government of Greenland 2011; Langhoff 2013; The Committee for Greenlandic Mineral Resources to the Benefit of Society 2014). The Government of Greenland has great visions for Greenland as a mining nation and places great emphasis on developing the mineral resources area, including hydrocarbons, into becoming one of the country’s principal business sectors (Government of Greenland 2014; Government of Greenland 2016).

As development in the extractive sector has gained speed in recent years, the Greenlandic society is already undergoing a rapid transformation (The Committee for Greenlandic Mineral Resources to the Benefit of Society 2014; Olsen and Hansen 2014; Hansen et al. 2016; Nuttall 2012). Being aware of the both negative and positive potential social impacts that such extractive activities may induce, Greenland has implemented Social Impact Assessment (SIA) as a legal requirement when developing mineral projects in Greenland (Government of Greenland 2009; Langhoff 2013). SIA is to ensure collaboration and dialogue with the Greenlandic population, establishing “sustainable relations between mineral resource companies, municipalities, affected individuals, other stakeholders as well as Greenlandic society in general” (Government of Greenland 2016). An essential part of conducting a proper SIA is public participation (PP), and the most prevalent PP form in Greenland is public consultation meetings, which thus provides the main forum within which the potentially affected local public may utter their concerns and fears, hopes and aspirations in connection to project planning and decision making within the extractive sector.

Although PP in Greenland is purportedly at level with best international practice, the PP processes have been subject to much criticism from various actors. In a recent report with contributions from various research experts within a wide range of fields on future scenarios for the development of Greenland, it was stated that “insufficient, late and overly narrow public participation are major themes in the decision phase of the natural resource projects” (The Committee for Greenlandic Mineral Resources to the Benefit of Society 2014). The criticism points at, among other things, a lack of common understanding and recognition of what PP can do,

should do, and how to do it in a Greenlandic context. Moreover, the criticism directs attention to a lack of transparency in the decision-making processes, difficulties in accessing available information, lack of adequate information, too much one-way communication, and more (Olsen and Hansen 2014; Nuttall 2012; Hansen et al. 2016).

The current consulting process is not only costly and requires a lot of resources; it is arguably filled with barriers against meaningful opportunities for PP, which causes dissatisfaction and frustration among stakeholders both directly and indirectly involved in the process, including industry proponents, civil society, and the Greenlandic public in general (HS Analyse 2014; Olsen and Hansen 2014).

Although the public meetings are open to all members of the local communities, most of the meeting attendees consist of older male adults, leaving out a wide representation of voices in the current PP processes (HS Analyse 2014; Olsen and Hansen 2014). The absence of the Greenlandic youth calls for attention. According to researchers in youth engagement, such as Kurt-Shai (1988) and Marot and Mali (2012), youth arguably composes the population group most likely to experience and having to cope with both the negative and positive impacts of societal changes. The lack of focus on including youth in the PP process and practice in Greenland, thus arguably hold great consequences for the young Greenlanders, as they may miss out on both having a say with regards to project development and on getting a fair chance to adapt to and plan for the future, for instance, through gaining information about how the extractive industry development may affect their current and future lives, as well as opportunities in education and jobs.

The lack of focus on youth participation is not unique to Greenland. Although youth engagement – parallel to a growing recognition of the importance of participatory planning for community development in project development – has been endorsed by various international agencies, governments, and NGOs in the last 50 years, youth participation is seldom applied in practice (Driskell 2002; Checkoway et al. 1995; Marot and Mali 2012). As Checkoway et al. (1995) and Checkoway and Gutiérrez (2011) argue, young people do comprise a valuable resource for community and further knowledge of the benefits of youth participation may enhance real involvement and influence of young people in decisions that affect their lives.

Participatory research may serve to engage young people in community change. By reversing the more common roles – where ‘experts’ do the research, while the participants play more passive roles as either recipients or providers of information – participatory research arguably holds the potential to facilitate a more collaborative relationship between the researcher and the researched, by which people work together in defining, analysing, and figuring out solutions to problems (Checkoway and Gutiérrez 2011). Especially, visual research methods, such as the photo-elicitation approach (also termed photo-interviewing) applied for the study of this paper, have proved particularly useful in research on sustainability, by drawing out community views, as well as constituting a means to capture, through active and meaningful engagement, specifically children and youth perspectives on various aspects of their lives (see, for instance, Cavin 1994; Clark 1999; Cappello 2005; Greene and Hogan 2005; Kirova and Emme 2006; Purchell 2007; Kolb 2008; Azzarito and Sterling 2010; Didkowsky et al. 2010; Jorgenson and Sullivan 2010; Meo 2010; van Auken et al. 2010). Yet, the use of photos in interviews yet composes perhaps the most overlooked application of images within anthropological research (Collier 2008).

Calling for more empirical evidence of the potentials of applying visual research methods for youth engagement, and stressing youth as resources for making sustainable decisions, this paper outlines the study exploring visual means to empower young individuals and eliciting otherwise un-realised knowledge of their values and interests, hopes and dreams, and not least their fears and concerns, as well as how they imagine the futures.

## **2. Methods, data collection and analysis**

### ***2.1. Methods***

The paper builds on a qualitative explorative study combining Facebook and the visual anthropological method of 'photo-elicitation' as effective means to target, engage, and give voice to the Greenlandic youth.

Representing a widely used, low-cost, simple, and familiar tool among Greenlanders (Greenland Today 2016; KNR 2017), Facebook was considered an advantageous research platform to reach young Greenlanders across the vast geographical distances within Greenland. Further, the common use of Facebook 'posts' - pictures attached a short text - arguably goes well in line with the initial stages of the method of photo-elicitation.

The incentive to apply photo-elicitation for the qualitative study presented in this paper as a means to acquire knowledge of the views and thoughts of the Greenlandic youth, came from the various youth studies incorporating visual methods, where drawings, photos, collages, timelines, and other respondent-generated visual data are applied for the purpose of eliciting in-depth understandings of their views and experiences on various phenomena (see, for instance, Cavin 1994; Clark 1999; Cappello 2005; Greene and Hogan 2005; Kirova and Emme 2006; Purchell 2007; Kolb 2008; Azzarito and Sterling 2010; Didkowsky et al. 2010; Jorgenson and Sullivan 2010; Meo 2010; Van Auken et al. 2010). Combined with narrative data, visual representations may stimulate engagement and empowerment of this frequently marginalised group in society by conveying valuable information to planners and decision makers, who may use this knowledge to improve the lives of these young people, in terms of, for instance, education, family life, health, and leisure (Didkowsky et al. 2010; Symon and Cassell 2012; Lyon and Carabelli 2015; Carabelli and Lyon 2016).

Emphasised for its collaborative and more versatile qualities, photo-elicitation may prompt unique, in-depth knowledge compared to what is possible to convey through standard verbal interview procedures alone (Tucker and Dempsey 1991; Banks and Morphy 1997; Banks 2001; Pink 2001; Rose 2001; Harper 2002; Collier 2008).

### ***2.2. Data collection***

Data collection took place in May and June 2015 through a closed Facebook group established by the author of this paper. Over four consecutive weeks, four related themes were presented: 'values and interests', 'hopes and dreams', 'fears and concerns', and 'visions of the future'. An overview of the four themes and sub-questions is available in Table 1: 'Overview of Research Themes and Sub-Questions'.

21 young Greenlanders between the age of 15 and 30 participated actively in producing and sharing photos attached a short descriptive text explaining the message that the research participants aimed to express. 9 of the research participants further participated in subsequent in-depth semi-structured photo-interviews. The photo-interviews were conducted online and conversation took point of departure in the research participants' own produced and shared photos. Selected photos are displayed in Section 3 (Findings and Discussion).

**Table 1: Overview of Research Themes and Sub-questions**

<b>Week</b>	<b>Theme</b>	<b>Sub-question</b>
1	Interests and Values	What is most important in your life?
2	Hopes and Dreams	What are your hopes and dreams for your future in Greenland?
3	Fears and Worries	What are your fears and worries for your future in Greenland?
4	Visions for the Future	Where do you see yourself in 10 years?

The posted photos were collected and structurally organised according to who produced the photos and for which theme the photos were created. Finally, a thematic analysis (Bryman 2008) of all photos gathered for the study was undertaken in order to disclose recurring themes within the input of the young research participants provided across the four themes set by the researcher.

### **3. Findings and Discussion**

The findings of the Photo Forum study are based on an analysis of the images as a collected whole rather than on the specific content of the individual images. Combined with the contextual information picked up from the annotations attached to each photo, supplemented with more in-depth knowledge attained through the photo interviews that followed the data collection on Facebook, the collected photos have undergone a thematic analysis for the purpose of unveiling patterns of key themes (Bryman 2008; Van Leeuwen and Jewitt 2008). The key themes will be presented and discussed in the following. Copyright-released examples from the photo collection by the young participants along with annotations and quotes from the subsequent photo interviews have further been included in this section to illustrate and emphasise the findings of the study (see Fig. 1-8). As is evident in the following sections it is difficult to separate the various key themes as most of these are linked together and influence one another.

#### **3.2. Social relations, education and work**

The primary ‘values and interests’, as defined by the young research participants, were by far their social relations (family, spouses, and friends), along with education and work. Responses strongly indicated that family and friends not only have great influence on where the young participants choose to settle in the future, but also constitute a determining factor in how far they reach in the education system. For the majority of the participants, being close to family and friends was further considered a main parameter for whether the participants saw a future for themselves in Greenland or elsewhere.

The future aspirations of the young Greenlanders involved, in particular, pursuing their dream education and/or dream job, and support from ‘mentors’ and/or from home, especially from parents or grandparents, was highlighted as a great motivational factor for achieving these goals. From the perspective of the young participants, education means more freedom in the sense that, getting an education gives more freedom to do what you love. It constitutes a ‘window to the world’, which allows the young people to travel, explore, and gain new experiences, all of which were also highlighted as main sources to obtain quality of life and wellbeing (see section 3.2.).

The young participants further viewed education not only as a means to their own independence, but also as a means to an independent Greenland. As stated by one of the young participants: “The education level is slowly rising, whether it be electricians or academics. I think it is great. There is a need for all of them. It contributes to making Greenland more independent and free.”

Several of the young participants emphasised the low level of education, alongside issues of inadequate housing, inequality, and the vast social problems, as one of the greatest ongoing contemporary challenges faced in Greenland. The social challenges were seen as the main barrier among the Greenlandic youth for obtaining a higher education, which was simultaneously emphasised as a path to overcome many of these challenges.



*Fig. 1: "One of my hopes for the future is that more young people become aware of the importance of gaining an education, and that they may create their own road to long-term success through knowledge. A road that winds through schools, local organizations, workplaces and other institutions that satisfies their interests and meet their needs. Another wish of mine is that, all young people have access to a caring and competent adult, which may guide well through the many challenging decisions young people have to make." (Photo and annotation: Young Greenlandic male, 30 years old, May 2015).*



*Fig. 2: "The most important in my life is my son (him with the branches in the stroller), and my freedom. The freedom to do what I want: study, draw, or go make discoveries with my son". (Photo and annotation: Young Greenlandic woman, 26 years old, May 2015).*



*Fig. 3: "In 10 years I will be a nurse, live in Nuuk and have a family of my own. Up till then I will have had an internship in Tanzania and Vietnam, worked as a nurse at Doctors Without Borders and in a war zone. The picture symbolizes the road forward at the only 'highway' in Greenland: The ice by Uummannaq". (Photo and annotation: Young Greenlandic woman, 24 years old).*

### **3.3. Wellbeing and quality of life**

Along with the goals of pursuing their preferred education and jobs, the young Greenlanders who participated in the Photo Forum study expressed an overall aspiration to be happy. Above all else, the participants seemed concerned with quality of life and wellbeing for themselves and their family. One of the sources mentioned to achieve quality of life and wellbeing was the nature of Greenland, to which many of the participants considered themselves deeply rooted as part of their identity as Greenlanders. As stated by one of the participants:

"It is a kind of therapy. I like just sitting in the nature, watching it, taking it all in. Or walking. The nature is a part of me; I carry it with me. Like, when I go for a walk in the wintertime here in Denmark, in the slush, and come across a spot of snow that sounds just 'right', has the right kind of sound as you step on it. It takes me back to Greenland."

Going sailing, fishing, hiking, hunting, or picking berries with family and friends were highly cherished activities by the young Greenlanders.

Further, being with loved ones and having the opportunity to encounter new challenges and experiences were considered prerequisites for a ‘good’ life.



*Fig. 4: “My family, my friends and the experiences I gather are most important in my life. This picture also shows my passion for physical activities, both indoors and outdoors”. (Photo and annotation: Young Greenlandic male, 22 years old, May 2015).*





*Fig. 5. "The most important thing for me is my work, travelling, new challenges, new experiences, proving to myself that I can do even better, nature and my family". (Photo and annotation: Young Greenlandic woman, 27 years old, May 2017).*

### **3.4. Culture and Identity**

The responses elicited from the young participants also disclosed features of identity and belonging. Some stressed their deep-seated ties to Greenland as being due to a sense of strong connection with the Arctic nature, their family and upbringing, and Greenlandic foods, and several mentioned the importance of preserving the Greenlandic language and also expressed a wish to preserve Greenlandic culture and traditions. Along with

social relations, how strong they considered their ties to Greenlandic culture and Greenland as a place of ‘home’ was often linked to whether they planned to stay or return to Greenland after having become adults.

A challenge in pursuing a higher education, as emphasised by the participants being Greenlandic students living in Denmark at the time when the Photo Forum study was conducted, was the sense of having a ‘divided identity’, being ‘Danish’ and ‘Greenlandic’ concurrently. When asked about their ‘fears and concerns’, many responded that they were concerned about not wanting to return to Greenland as they feared they would feel welcome in their own home country. Several of the young participants expressed a frustration with the often prominent ‘them’ and ‘us’ discourse flourishing within the Greenlandic society. For instance, some of the young people felt discriminated due to their non-Greenlandic appearance or inability to speak ‘Kalaallisut’ (Greenlandic) fluently. It was also a concern among those with children, or those wanting to have children in the future, that their children might be discriminated or looked down upon for not being ‘true Greenlanders’. The young participants highlighted these reasons as obstacles for a future for themselves or their family in Greenland. Such concerns are displayed in the following quotes:

“I believe that all who wish to work for our country, and who feel at home here, should be thought of as Greenlanders. We all need that – it should not be ‘them’ and ‘us’ [...] Though I do understand and speak Greenlandic, I am constantly reminded that I am not ‘Greenlandic’ enough. It makes me feel ‘less’ Greenlandic than those who fully master the language.”

However, the participants also uttered a belief or hope that this would not be the case, and that people in general receive a warm welcome and a chance to be a part of the local community.

Language featured as a recurring theme among the young participants, with ‘Kalaallisut’ as both a value to be maintained and passed on to the future generations, and as an important – but often challenging - part of Greenlandic culture and of being a Greenlandic. Further a participant explained that:

“It is difficult to hold on to and keep up with the Greenlandic language. But I will at least try, for the sake of myself, but also for the sake of my daughter. It is important that she at least has knowledge of the Greenlandic language and is able to understand it. It has to do with having this sense of community, connectedness with your origin.”

Another respondent expressed that “[language] means a lot in Greenland. In Greenland, many view the language as a defining factor of who you are, whether you are Danish or Greenlandic. [...] It is like you have ‘betrayed’ the country, not learning it [Greenlandic] as a child, or maintained it”.

On the other hand, language was also mentioned as a source of power, in the sense that being able to master multiple languages provides more opportunities. In that connection, Danish and English were mentioned as key to succeeding in the education system, based on the claim that it is very difficult to get through the education system without being fluent in these two languages.



*Fig. 6: "In my home I have two shelves with things that reminds me of my origin, 'my home' <3. Greenland has changed through the years I have lived abroad, so I am not sure what to expect when I return. I hope I will be able to feel at home. I am consistently fighting against these objects becoming 'tourist artifacts' in my own home, trying to keep the traditions they represent alive through me". (Greenlandic woman, 29 years old).*



Fig. 7: "I have a wish and expectation that I one day will return to my home town with my boyfriend and our daughter. In the mean-time my daughter learns about Greenland through Greenlandic books". (Greenlandic women, 29 years old).

### 3.4. Perceptions of Greenlandic independence and the extractive industry development in Greenland

An independent Greenland, and the road towards becoming independent, was also a recurring theme in the collection of photos and the follow-up photo interviews.

As expressed by two of the participants below, an independent Greenland is a subject addressed with mixed feelings, being both something to aspire to in the future as well as a great source of concern:

”My biggest worry is the question of the autonomy of Greenland. I share the aspiration for Greenland to become independent. But the ‘here-and-now-at-whatever-cost’ way of thinking scares me. If we, and those who lead our country, do not think about this thoroughly, it can go horribly wrong.”

“I think any country would want independence. I think that it is possible for Greenland to gain independence, but it is a matter of when it is ready for it. In a divided country with a divided population, independence may bring people back together, but it could also destroy the country. So, I am not sure that is what Greenland needs right now. The financial situation must be improved, and the people have to be able to stand together more as a nation than what I see at the moment.”

The importance of stepping out of the passive role as ‘victims’, instead taking on a more active one, was emphasised by the young participants. They believe that everybody must take responsibility for their own lives and create a good life for themselves and their children, before Greenland can become truly ready for independence. However big or small their contribution is, everybody can play a part in improving the Greenlandic society. On the path towards independence, it is also important to be allowed to ‘think big’, to be creative and innovative, and to enable new businesses to grow. From the perspective of some of the participants, it is very difficult to gain both general as well as financial support to make this happen.

Uncertainty regarding the extractive industry development in Greenland was also revealed in the findings. A few of the young participants stated that they feared a poor management of the extractive sector, which could have severe consequences for Greenland at a local, a regional, and a national level. The majority, however, did not feel sufficiently informed about opportunities and risks pertaining to an expansion of the extractive industry in Greenland to have an ‘independent opinion’ on the matter. Most of the young participants vaguely stated that they welcomed more mineral and petroleum activities – “What choice does Greenland have besides that opportunity?” – but emphasised that the development had to take place in the most sustainable manner possible, fearing a potential oil spill would destroy the vulnerable and beautiful environment, which they consider an important part of Greenland’s culture as well as a brand in relation to the outside world.

Many stated that if Greenland is to go down the path towards becoming a mining nation, it is of vital importance that people are properly informed and know of the positive as well as negative impacts of expanding the extractive sector. The responsibility to ensure a proper and fair management of the extractive development is placed with the Greenlandic politicians, but, at the same time, the young Greenlanders doubt that the government will be able to properly handle the development and thus ensure the best possible benefits for Greenland. As expressed by one of the participants:

“I hope that people living in Greenland are more well-informed about the subject than I am, and that the politicians look thoroughly into the matter. When they do, they are also responsible for sharing this knowledge with the population. If something goes wrong, everyone will suffer from the consequences. I hope that they put their heads together to make reasonable decisions.”

Others believed that there should not be a mining industry in Greenland at all, and that Greenland should ‘stay clean’ and instead ought to broaden the scope and consider new sources of income, for instance through

developing the unrealised tourism potentials, or by giving greater priority to the living resources, such as new sources of foods, the fishing industry, and alternative energy sources like water power.



*Fig. 8: "This is a picture of a block of flats, 'Blok P', which was torn down in 2012. The flag on the building symbolizes change and expectations attached to the implementation of self-rule in Greenland. One of my fears for the future is that the economic situation, and the problem with housing, does not improve, and that the social inequalities become even bigger so that even more people decides to emigrate. Many, especially young people, lack a proper home, which can make it hard for them to focus on studies and their future. Having a roof over their head is a vital prerequisite for young people to grow as humans, learn and prepare for their future". (Photo and annotation: Young Greenlandic male, 30 years old).*

#### **4. Discussion and Conclusion**

This paper has shed light on the potential of using photos to prompt a more bottom-up participatory approach to active engagement among youth in Greenland. The photos have proved advantageous in eliciting more specific examples and personal stories from the lives of the research participants. By way of the photos the young participants were allowed to express themselves in a unique manner while sharing valuable explicit and in-depth knowledge about what matters to them in their current and future lives. This otherwise hidden knowledge reveals

features which, to a greater or lesser degree, have relevance for understanding what guides their actions, the choices they make for their lives, as well as how they imagine the future.

From the findings in the thematic analysis presented in the sections above, it is specifically interesting that none of the participants perceived the area of extractive industries as one where they themselves were to take part. When the subject of the extractive industry development was broached, it was talked about as something that takes place outside the sphere or involvement of the young Greenlanders. Further, when discussing the benefits and challenges that the future extractive industry development might bring, the young participants talked more of how Greenland could be impacted than how this development might have a direct impact on their own lives. Their responses moreover revealed lack of trust in the ability of the Greenlandic government to properly manage the social impacts of the future development, which also resembles a recurring theme within the general criticism of the SIA and PP practices in Greenland (Olsen and Hansen 2014; Hansen et al. 2016).

The responses of the young Greenlanders are particularly interesting as they stand in stark contrast to the great role that is commonly assigned to the Greenlandic youth as ‘future bearers of hope’ in securing local content in the extractive projects, deemed the main way of ensuring positive benefits to the Greenlandic society (Hansen et al. 2016; Government of Greenland 2016). Rather, many of the young Greenlanders who took part in the Photo Forum study seemingly feel disconnected to their home country, or have other plans for their future than working in the extractive industry. Judging from the themes brought up during the Photo Forum study and subsequent interviews, it seems that many of the young participants are marked by a fear that they are not welcome in their own home country, and similarly fear discrimination of their children if they stay or return to Greenland. Many of the participants expressed frustration about the fervent ongoing ‘nationalistic’ debates that focus on what makes a ‘true’ Greenlander, arguably causing a division in society at a time when a united Greenland is highly needed (Kleist and Knudsen 2016).

Thus, rather than actively engaging in this development, the research participants take on a role as spectators, stating that they have other ideas of what they want to do for a living rather than, for instance, work in the industry or in other ways take part in developing the extractive sector. From reviewing the responses, it seems that the young participants are more concerned with how to maintain and improve their quality of life and wellbeing. Being close to loved ones and being able to pursue their goals in education and jobs of their own choice were aspirations closer to the heart of the participants; to create ‘the good life’ for themselves and their (future) children, rather than to follow the objective for the young generation in Greenland set forth by the Greenlandic government.

The findings of the Photo Forum study arguably emphasise the necessity of not neglecting focus on the human factor in the extractive industry development. The initiative of engaging youth to shed light on their perspectives on future-related themes seemed to be valued by the young participants. Similarly, the young participants of the Photo Forum study valued the opportunity to engage and participate in a way that made sense to them, via the social media networking site Facebook, and the visual means of expression altogether. The participants treasured an opportunity to have their voices heard on matters which they consider important, while voicing their otherwise hidden stories – stories about identity and belonging, of values and strong ties to both family and nature, and how these features influence the way they think and act.

The research unveiled in this paper is far from exhaustive and the results of the photo-elicitation approach were not compelling. However, the use of photos did show potential as a means to provide access to the otherwise hidden voices of how the young Greenlanders imagine the future. The Photo Forum study is in many respects minor, but, nonetheless, it constitutes an important first step in shaking the current frame of how PP is perceived and approached in Greenland. In line with other cases on youth engagement beyond Greenland, visual participation approaches has proven potential to contribute to more active and collaborative approaches to engagement. As described by Evans-Cowley and Hollander (2010), the visual dimension may serve as a 'common language' between the researcher and the young participants, and as a means to elicit valuable knowledge of concerns, needs, and priorities for change by youth for decision making.

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# **CO-AUTHOR STATEMENTS**







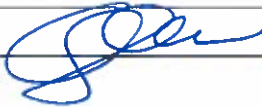
## Co-Author Statement

This Co-Author Statement has been developed in connection with submission of the Doctoral dissertation of Doctoral Candidate Anna-Sofie Hurup Skjervedal, Joint PhD Fellow at Ilisimatusarfik – the University of Greenland – and Aalborg University.

### Paper

Title of Paper	Managing the social impacts of the rapidly-expanding extractive industries in Greenland
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Name of Doctoral Candidate	Anna-Sofie Hurup Skjervedal		
Scientific contribution of the Doctoral Candidate to the paper	The Doctoral Candidate contributed to the paper by writing section 4.3 on 'Public participation'. The chapter primarily rests on local insights and fieldwork conducted in Greenland by the Doctoral Candidate in 2012. The data consists of observations of public meetings held during a public consultation tour in NW Greenland, self-completion questionnaires designed for the local meeting attendees as well as semi-structured interviews with both representatives of oil companies that operated in Greenland and various relevant Greenlandic NGOs.		
The contribution of the Doctoral Candidate to the paper in percentage (%)	Contribution to the work in the research phase: A. <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> minor B. <input type="checkbox"/> proportional C. <input type="checkbox"/> major  Contribution to the work in the writing phase: A. <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> minor B. <input type="checkbox"/> proportional C. <input type="checkbox"/> major		
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By signing the Statement of Authorship, each author certifies that:

- i. the candidate's stated contribution to the publication is accurate (as detailed above);
- ii. permission is granted for the candidate to include the publication in the thesis; and
- iii. the sum of all co-author contributions is equal to 100% less the candidate's stated contribution.

Name of Co-Author	Anne Merrild Hansen		
Contribution to the paper	First author, designed the paper and wrote mayor parts.		
Signature		Date	16/11-2017



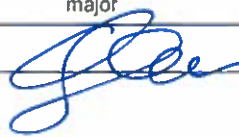
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Name of Doctoral Candidate	Anna-Sofie Hurup Skjervedal
Scientific contribution of the Doctoral Candidate to the paper	The Doctoral Candidate contributed to the paper by writing chapter 4.3 on 'Public participation'. The chapter primarily rests on local insights and fieldwork conducted in Greenland by the Doctoral Candidate in 2012. The data consists of observations of public meetings held during a public consultation tour in NW Greenland, self-completion questionnaires designed for the local meeting attendees as well as semi-structured interviews with both representatives of oil companies that operated in Greenland and various relevant Greenlandic NGOs.
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- ii. permission is granted for the candidate to include the publication in the thesis; and
- iii. the sum of all co-author contributions is equal to 100% less the candidate's stated contribution.

Name of Co-Author	Peter Croal		
Contribution to the paper			
Signature		Date	August 14, 2017


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This Co-Author Statement has been developed in connection with submission of the Doctoral dissertation of Doctoral Candidate Anna-Sofie Hurup Skjervedal, Joint PhD Fellow at Ilisimatusarfik – the University of Greenland – and Aalborg University.

### Paper

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List of authors	Anna-Sofie Hurup Skjervedal (Maiden name: Olsen), Anne Merriid Hansen

### Contribution of Doctoral Candidate to the paper

Name of Doctoral Candidate	Anna-Sofie Hurup Skjervedal		
Scientific contribution of the Doctoral Candidate to the paper	<p>The Doctoral Candidate conducted the data collection for the paper. The data was collected during a public consultation tour in NW Greenland arranged by four oil companies (Cairn Energy, Maersk Oil, Shell and ConocoPhillips). The data consisted of observations of public meetings and self-completion questionnaires designed for the local meeting attendees. In the wake of the tour also semi-structured interviews with both representatives of the oil companies and relevant NGOs in Greenland were carried out.</p> <p>The Doctoral Candidate contributed to the paper by defining the overall problem and writing the entire draft version of the paper. The methodology, framework for analysis and interpretation of findings were derived in cooperation with the co-author of this paper.</p>		
The contribution of the Doctoral Candidate to the paper	<p>Contribution to the work in the research phase:</p> <p>A. minor B. proportional C. X major</p> <p>Contribution to the work in the writing phase:</p> <p>A. minor B. proportional C. X major</p>		
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By signing the Statement of Authorship, each author certifies that:

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- iii. the sum of all co-author contributions is equal to 100% less the candidate's stated contribution.

Name of Co-Author			
Contribution to the paper	The co-author contributed to develop the methodology and framework for analysis, and derived and interpreted the findings of the paper in cooperation with the Doctoral Candidate. The co-author further assisted in careful reviewing of the draft proposal and proposed various refinements to improve the paper.		
Signature		Date	16/11-2017



## PART IV: SYNTHESIS

This concluding chapter serves to synthesise the covering essay of this PhD dissertation. With the aim to explore *what characterises meaningful participation* and *how meaningful youth engagement may be facilitated*, I have outlined the underlying basis for conducting this dissertation by providing insight into the Greenland case, within which the four fieldworks and the four component papers take their point of departure, and assessing PP in Greenland and beyond through the lense of state-of-the-art literature.

Drawing parallels to PP research outside of Greenland and the extractive sector on a continuous basis, I have steered the reader through the initial studies – emphasising the importance of PP for proper Social Impact Management (SIA) (Hansen et al. 2016 - PAPER I) and the implications of the seemingly differing perceptions of purpose, level, and the how-to of PP, which arguably contribute to widening the gap between the high standards set for PP and the facilitation of meaningful PP in practice (Olsen and Hansen 2014 - PAPER II) – to the final studies testing the use of an online and visual participation tool combined with the objective to reach and engage the Greenlandic youth in a meaningful manner (Skjervedal - PAPER III and IV).

Due to the significant parallels between the Greenland case and participation research across a wide range of nations and fields, the studies of this dissertation contribute to support international participation research, accentuating that there is plenty of room for improvements and a need for further knowledge to shape – and continuously reshape – the path towards facilitating a PP process and practice that is both effective and meaningful to all parties involved in order to decrease the gap between democratic ideals and managerial realities, in particular with regards to youth.

In the following, I will revisit the research questions and the underpinning objectives, as well as highlight and reflect upon lessons learned and contributions

provided through the component studies of this dissertation to PP research in Greenland and beyond, providing suggestive measures as to what characterises meaningful participation. Drawing lines to these characteristics of meaningful participation, I will expand on how implementing a visual anthropological approach into PP holds significant potential to contribute to facilitate meaningful engagement of youth in Greenland and beyond.

## **8. LESSONS LEARNED**

As stated in section 1.1, the research questions as to *what characterises meaningful participation* and *how meaningful youth engagement may be facilitated* were addressed by the underpinning objectives:

- I. investigating stakeholder perceptions of the concept and current practice of PP, and the potential implications these perceptions pose towards effective and meaningful involvement.
- II. testing alternative PP forms combining online participation tools with a visual anthropological approach to heighten the level and break the frame of the current, seemingly insufficient, PP process and practice, by promoting active engagement and eliciting valuable, otherwise unrealised, knowledge among the future stakeholders of development, namely youth.

### **8.1. LESSONS LEARNED THROUGH OBJECTIVE ‘I’**

While providing a broader picture of the specific context through which PP is explored in this PhD dissertation, the findings of Paper I stress the importance of PP towards strengthening the management of social change, improving the benefits of the extractive industry development for society. PP arguably constitutes a vital element for identifying both positive and negative potential social impacts, and a vital tool for promoting resilience and the ability to adapt to change in potentially affected local communities. However, although a high level of PP within SIA is stated, critics assert that the quality and level of the current PP process and practice are too low, merely facilitating a ‘token’ involvement of the public rather than providing an opportunity for the public to have real influence on decisions.

The potentially affected communities ought to be seen as a resource rather than as a ‘checkpoint’ to tick off the list towards project approval. Further, the communities engaged in a timely manner are provided with opportunities for early knowledge and

experience exchange through mutual dialogue between project proponents, government authorities, and the potentially affected communities, so as to guarantee learning, establish trust, and promote sustainable development through resilience and capacity building, and involvement in the project planning, assessment, and decision process.

The viability of Greenland as a future mining and oil nation remains uncertain, which makes it difficult to plan for the future. What is certain is that the expansion of the extractive industry already has caused and will continue to cause dramatic changes of the Greenlandic society, for what reason decisions made in relation to this development will inevitably contribute to shape the future society. How to best manage the social impacts to benefit society and to secure the sustainable development emphasised as the overall goal by the government is subject to continuous debate (Hansen et al. 2016; PAPER I).

Head (2011) argues that the common citizen most often does not have the capacity to assess the complexity of the project. As stated by the former director of the Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC), we need first “to learn and understand when and how to influence decisions; then we need to be engaged in debates prior to decision making” (Hansen et al. 2016, Paper I). The late involvement requires a higher level of expertise, arguably making participation insurmountable, as the public has no chance to critically assess the proposal. The late involvement of the public is further problematic, as initial exploration activities, and even the mere expectation of development, may cause an impact on the communities. The scarce input and lack of dialogue leaves all parties unsatisfied and may reinforce the stakeholders’ perception of the PP process as troublesome and not worth the effort.

Wilson (2016: 75) argues that “building local citizens’ capacities to understand industrial development, changes in global society, and their own rights in that context [...] will help citizens to formulate their expectations and demands, and to hold industry and the government to account”. Further, building capacity over long-term interaction is arguably preferable, as time plays an important role for the

substantial effort and commitment it takes to establish trust and confidence among participants. Arguably, “the government has a special obligation to respond more positively to these challenges because of its significant role in structuring and sponsoring the broader forms of participatory governance” (Head 2007: 452), but often fails to enable capacity and motivation of citizens to participate effectively, or to create alternative forums, which remains a weakness in strategies of community engagement.

Paper II displayed that differing perceptions of PP purpose and desired level among stakeholders pose implications towards a both efficient and meaningful participation process with the public in the centre. Involving the potentially impacted communities in the decisions regarding their future can have a major influence on their welfare and self-esteem, also on the legitimacy of decisions and the social licence to operate in the projects (Dare et al. 2014). Although people in the local communities consider their voice as being of great importance in relation to PP and decision-making, their role in the PP process is vague and lacks a clear purpose.

A vital component of meaningful engagement is further proper management of expectations. The initial studies (see PC I, PC II, and PAPER II) indicate that respondents in the local communities have no – or only minor – expectations of what they might gain from the PP process. The low expectations arguably dampen enthusiasm and incentives for active engagement among the local public. The ‘what’s in it for me’ perspective is missing since decisions have already been made. Resistance in the communities may grow due to unfulfilled expectations and increased uncertainty about their own future as well as the future development of their community. As exemplified by the profound disappointment expressed in conversations with representatives of local businesses in Upernavik (see section 5.4), the mere prospect of a project may, too, have a great impact on the way a local community perceives, and prepares for, the future (Johnstone and Hansen 2017; Hansen 2017; Wilson et al. 2017). Indeed, high expectations and deep concerns stirred both within the Greenlandic society and in the international arena when the initial studies of this dissertation were conducted. As displayed in Fig. 6 (Chapter

2.), the preliminary studies of this dissertation (PAPER II) were conducted at a time when exploration activities in Greenland were at their highest. During the work of this dissertation, the extensive activities have been put on hold, as the oil price collapse in 2014-15 made exploration companies withdraw from Greenland.

The contemporary IA system in Greenland is relatively new in that it has been implemented and developed throughout the past ten years. However, as some extractive projects have already been implemented, and more proposed, 'the management regime' has had to mature fast (Hansen and Johnstone 2017). Subsequent to the studies of PAPER I, II, III, and IV, the SIA guideline in Greenland has been subject to revision, with emphasis on supporting "a transparent process about openness and participation from relevant stakeholders to ensure the best possible sustainable development in Greenlandic society" (Government of Greenland 2016a). As a consequence, the PP regulation in Greenland now includes a 'pre-consultation' period of 35 days and a 'White Paper', which lists and addresses questions and comments posed during both the pre-consultation and the PC meetings, with references to how and where these will influence the SIA report. Further, a consultation fund has been established with the intention to support potentially affected individuals and relevant organisations so as to obtain knowledge and information enabling them to contribute to the development of a specific project in a constructive manner. Finally, it is stated that "it will be possible to supplement these meetings with other types of meetings and methods, including social media", and that the license should "create, and actively use, a website in Greenlandic and Danish in a timely manner before the public consultations", which "can be used to communicate relevant knowledge about the project and serve as a platform for stakeholder involvement and discussion" (Government of Greenland 2016a). Such measures are indeed commendable, and – to some degree – invite to 'think out of the box'. However, the frame basically remains the same.

Also likely adding to the current gap between the well-intentioned aims set forth in the legal guidelines and the current PP process and practice is that the guidelines

provided are directed at the companies and so with less focus on concrete guidance to communities on how to engage and have a say in the PP process.

At present, the management of social change from extractive projects in Greenland is primarily left to the companies themselves to implement in each of the project phases. There is little formal scrutiny of their activities or any ongoing compliance assessment. This is problematic given that previous projects in Greenland and elsewhere have shown that people and the environment are harmed by exposure to rapid development (Nuttall, 2010, 2012b, 2013; O’Faircheallaigh 2014).

Certainly, the PP guideline remains company-oriented, not moving beyond the low level of PP being used merely as a tool for the provision of information. Rather than promoting interactive dialogue, knowledge exchange, and mutual understanding, its main purpose is to reach approval of the project, as well as to provide visible outcomes of PP for the potentially affected communities, besides training and employment opportunities (Checkoway and Gutiérrez 2011).

Thus, while companies may benefit from these PP guidelines, many within the local communities seem to take on a passive role, unfamiliar with the concept of PP and how to understand it, uncertain of the vaguely transparent process, arguably leaving them inadequately prepared to deal with government authorities and company representatives within frames set by these very entities. Findings reveal that the generally passive role of most of the public meeting attendees is due partly to uncertainty caused by lack of information about and knowledge of the ways of the extractive industry, partly to the fact that decisions have already been made.

As argued by Vanclay et al. (2015), increased benefits can be achieved for all stakeholders when there is trust between the various actors and a willingness to involve the public early in the process and to make an effort to understand and manage the social impacts of the planned development. Arguably, the lack of trust in the government authorities and company representatives and late engagement in the decision-making process aggravate the aforementioned low expectations among the

public for the outcome and benefits of the PP process, leaving the public as passive spectators rather than co-owners of decisions and development. Rather than empowerment, the findings speak of failed attempts of project proponents to promote active and meaningful engagement of the public.

Conclusively, features characterising meaningful PP according to the lessons learned from objective 'I' include:

### **'I'**

*A clear definition of the purpose of participation as well as early knowledge and experience exchange through mutual dialogue between project proponents, government authorities, and the potentially affected communities, so as to manage expectations, guarantee learning, establish trust, and promote sustainable development through resilience and capacity building, and involvement in the project planning, assessment, and decision process.*

## **8.2. LESSONS LEARNED THROUGH OBJECTIVE 'II'**

The findings of PAPER II further emphasise that planners and decision makers need to be aware of the local context as well as the complex dynamics between different stakeholders and the individual citizens, as they will inevitably hold different – and often conflicting or directly mutually exclusive – interests. These are interests from which what is considered 'good' and 'meaningful' participation is founded, including purpose and desired level for participation, as well as future scenarios for development. But it is exactly due to these many varying interests and actors that it makes good sense to involve the public rather than leave it up to planners and decision makers alone to make the decisions. Society is in constant development, and opinions and views change over time. The vast research on PP potentials across nations and fields leaves no doubt that empowering the potentially affected public to take on the role as co-players rather than passive non-participants through timely,



more active, and collaborative forms of participation may contribute to informed decision-making and create a stronger sense of ownership within the communities.

A thorough and useful SIA promoting good decision-making and proper management of the extractive projects is highly dependent on a fair, actively engaging, and meaningful PP process. As such, to enable sustainable development, there is great need to adapt PP practices to Greenland's specific characteristics and challenges. The current challenges provide opportunities for learning and for implementing new approaches, making sure that all voices are heard in the process (Koivurova 2009). Exploring alternative means for active and meaningful engagement, the mixed findings of Paper III indicate the potential for online and visual participation forms as tools to specifically target and empower youth, thus heightening the PP level from low to containing elements from PP at both medium and high level. Facebook seemingly provides a familiar, simple, and flexible tool for active engagement, whereas visual representations serve as one of the primary motivation factors for engagement and as a 'common language' giving the young participant a voice. However, the study also revealed implications for online engagement as many remained passive 'lurkers'. The findings of PAPER IV indicate that online participation forms may perhaps best serve as supplements to the more traditional 'face-to-face' approaches if in-depth knowledge and more collaborative engagement are to be facilitated.

Based on the studies of this dissertation and PP research across nations and a broad variety of fields, there is a need for revising the current standards for PP. New PP forms made available by the latest digital technology development have the potential to supplement the current insufficient and more traditional PP forms, and can contribute to target specific population groups in a creative and innovative manner. There are no guarantees for getting the public to participate actively in the process, but PAPER IV illustrates that there are voices yet unheard. Youth in particular remains a scarcely represented population group in the current PP process and practice.

Highly relevant and valuable views such as those above were also elicited through the Photo Forum study (PAPER III and IV), disclosing voices yet unheard in the PP process by exploring the participatory visual approach of photo-elicitation in an attempt to target, reach, and engage the future stakeholders of the extractive industry development opportunities, the young Greenlanders. None of the young participants saw themselves as active players in the extractive industry development in Greenland. The example illustrates the importance of shedding light on the views, thoughts, and future aspirations of people living in the potentially affected communities, and doing so through PP forms tailored to the specific project, content, and target group. In that way it is possible to establish forums which enhance mutual dialogue and learning through active and collaborative engagement, thus securing a sustainable future development in Greenland.

As illustrated, the visual approach revealed potentials towards conveying unique and substantial knowledge about the values and interests, hopes and dreams, fears and concerns of the Greenlandic youth, including their perspectives on the future extractive industry development in Greenland, and whether they consider themselves as active players in this development – and if so, how. Through their participant-produced photos, the young participants disclosed stories about their lives and their priorities, narratives which do not necessarily follow the narrative of the young generation in Greenland as presented by the Greenlandic government. In line with the general criticism directed towards the contemporary PP process and practice, the findings show that the young participants held very little knowledge about the extractive industry development in Greenland, and even less about how this development might have an impact on their own futures.

Although the findings are not decisive, it does demonstrate the use of visual images as a means to provide inside access to the world as perceived by youth, eliciting substantial knowledge and a different way to understand their thoughts, ideas, and wishes for the future. Through active and collaborative engagement, community issues, needs, and priorities for change can be explored, and experiences, priorities, and opinions about a project can be highlighted, ensuring that local voices play a

key role in informing the project's development. The more reliable, thus likely more useful, knowledge attained may further feed into a resource that can be considered and used by planners and decision makers to make better decisions and work towards a sustainable future development that is directly informed by the experiences and perspectives of peoples themselves. Consequently, implementing a visual dimension may enable an interactive dynamic between the companies, government, and local communities, providing a greater sense of empowerment and responsibility among the participants, further increasing the ability and opportunity to gain higher and more meaningful influence in the decision-making process and outcomes of the extractive industry projects.

Conclusively, features characterising meaningful PP according to the lessons learned from objective 'II' include:

#### **'II'**

*The use of a broader range of PP forms providing opportunities for including a broader representative voice among the local communities, through tailoring the PP form(s) to the specific project, local context, and target group, with focus on creating a 'safe' forum for active and collaborative engagement.*



## **9. TOWARDS MEANINGFUL YOUTH ENGAGEMENT**

The diversity of contexts and experiences arguably requires breaking the frame and heightening the level of the current PP process and practice, pushing the boundaries for participation and with an increased focus on and effort concerning youth engagement, moving towards sequences of mere information and consultation to actual involvement, collaboration, and empowerment. In general, participatory research may serve to engage young people in community change. By reversing the more common roles – where ‘experts’ do the research, while the participants play more passive roles as either recipients or providers of information – participatory research arguably holds the potential to facilitate a more collaborative relationship between the researcher and the researched, by which people work together in defining, analysing, and figuring out solutions to problems (Head 2011; Checkoway and Gutiérrez 2011).

By contributing with valuable and significant information, knowledge, perspectives, and potentially alternative solutions, youth arguably constitutes a valuable, yet often unrealised, resource for ensuring sustainable development (PAPER III and IV).

Although youth is often pointed out as ‘the bearers of hope for a prospecting future’, as in Greenland (see Section 3.7; Paper III and IV), large gaps between the theory and practice of PP exist. The non-participation of youth is in particular noteworthy, as it arguably lessens their capacity to adapt to and plan for the future. The lack of focus and effort on youth participation calls for a need to change how young people are perceived in society in general, but also how the youth themselves perceive their own role in society, towards youth seeing themselves as ‘agents of change’ (Checkoway and Gutiérrez 2011) to become more actively engaged in decision-making processes. At least the rationales for increasing the focus and effort on youth engagement are numerous and substantial (Section 3.7).

First and foremost, youth is, at least at policy level, widely and increasingly being recognized as having the right to participate in matters and decisions that affect their

lives and hold consequences for their future (UN 1987 and 1989; UN 1992 a and 1992b; Driskell 2002; Head 2011; Marot and Mali 2012). Although events focusing on youth, such as ‘Model Arctic Council’, may enable youth to practice skills within participation and decision-making, these arguably merely allow for short-term, one-time ‘token’ representations of the youth (Checkoway et al. 1995). As argued by Head (2010: 544), “a possible concern about this focus on political forums for deliberation and advocacy is that only the more confident young people are likely to become involved and that the vulnerable or hard-to-reach groups are overlooked”. Thus, arguably only the few hold the capacity to meaningfully participate, whereas the rest are lost in the process as non-participants and passive spectators.

As argued by various scholars (see, for instance, Chawla 2001; Francis and Lorenzo, 2002; Ewen 1994; Sinclair 2004; Head 2011), there is a strong tendency to focus primarily on power and control over project management and decision-making, while undermining the potential value of everyday informal participation of youth in community life. Supported by Mellor et al. (2002), Vromen (2004), Fieldhouse et al. (2007), and Head (2011) further state that ‘adult-engendered’ youth participation initiatives seldom succeed in prompting active engagement among youth, compared to activities initiated by youth themselves.

Perhaps a more long-term strategic effort on youth engagement is needed to build capacity empowering youth to release their unused potential through active and meaningful engagement, and so contribute as valuable and significant resources in planning and decision-making in a meaningful way.

Empirical research on youth engagement is yet novel, and more empirical research that explores means for empowerment through active and more collaborative engagement is required.

Moving through a ‘landscape of visual representations’ in our everyday lives (Pink 2006), visual images – although most often unconsciously – permeate our ways of communicating. Whether it, for instance, be news stories, films, traffic signs,

drawings, advertisements, photos included in Facebook ‘posts’ (Skjervedal – PAPER III and IV), the visual plays an essential role in the ways we come to understand our contemporary world (Grimshaw 2001). With the continuous advances in technology, which to some extent reduce the significance of physical distance, people’s way of engaging with media and ways of communicating are continuously being reshaped, stressing the need to explore new practices. Concurrently, the use of visual representations, as well as visual research methods (Banks 2001; Pink 2001; Rose 2001; Harper 2002; Bryman 2008; McGee and Warms 2013) and online research methods (Evans-Cowley and Hollander 2010; Kosinski et al. 2015) is gaining currency in qualitative research.

Concerned with enabling the production as well as the interpretation of visual representations as communication of anthropological knowledge (Hockings et al. 2014), visual anthropology arguably provides the ‘how to’ of doing visual research (Ingold in Hockings et al. 2014). With the premise that a visual anthropological approach to PP may provide substantial scientific value towards meaningful youth engagement, I have sought to couple visual anthropology and PP to create a frame within which the appliance of a visual approach to empower youth to engage in a more active and collaborative manner was tested.

Underpinned by youth studies undertaken elsewhere in the world, the findings of the Photo Forum study (Skjervedal – PAPER III and IV) arguably show that implementing elements from the innovative and creative discipline of visual anthropology in PP holds unique potential to provide a framework within which cultural products and processes can be explored (Grimshaw 2001; Pink 2004; Pink 2006; Stanczak 2007; McGee and Warms 2013). More specifically, visual representations may be of value for decision-making by functioning as ways to express more in-depth local knowledge, which may contribute to improve how actual problems are solved and inform policy or decision-making (Pink 2006).

As argued by van Leeuwen and Jewitt (2008), visual representations such as photos can serve to document and understand culture by functioning as ‘visual records’ or

representations of past and present ways of life of communities as a means of underpinning and checking ethnographic statements (Hall in Collier and Collier 1986: xiv). Youth studies using the specific method of photo-elicitation to promote youth participation (see, for instance, Cavin 1994; Clark 1999; Cappello 2005; Greene and Hogan 2005; Kirova and Emme 2006; Purchell 2007; Kolb 2008; Azzarito and Sterling 2010; Didkowsky et al. 2010; Jorgenson and Sullivan 2010; Meo 2010; van Auken et al. 2010; Checkoway and Gutiérrez 2011), including the lessons learned from the Photo Forum study (Skjervedal – PAPER III and IV), show that photos may empower youth by serving as a ‘common language’ and ice-breakers for conversation, ‘give birth’ to stories, provide access to otherwise unrealised knowledge, and thus open a window to draw on youth as a resource in decision-making (Pink 2006; Collier 2008).

The knowledge gained by taking on a visual anthropological approach may further heighten the reliability and validity of the knowledge gained, as participant-produced photographs are arguably more likely to reflect the world of the subjects as they perceive it. In particular, using the participants’ own photographs in the interview process gives primacy to their world and provides a greater opportunity to create their own sense of meaning and disclose it to the researcher (Samuels 2007; Cavin 1994; Clark 1999; Heisley and Levy 1991).

However, based on the lessons learned it is emphasised that PP forms also have their limitations, in the sense that it is the young people themselves which constitute the driving force for engagement and seizing these opportunities. With this in mind, adding the visual dimension does hold potential to heighten the level of PP Giving the marginalised youth a voice. Through this common language of photos and text combined, the young participants became actively engaged in the production of visual manifestations of information, which was analysed thematically and conveyed valuable and otherwise unrealised knowledge about what is on their hearts and minds – valuable knowledge which may be utilised with regards to improve decision-making (Section 4.3., Figure 12).



Through the facilitation of the active and collaborative engagement process a visual anthropological approach may provide, community issues, needs, and priorities for change can be explored, and experiences, priorities, and opinions about a project can be highlighted, overall promoting the local voices in informing the project's development. Implementing a visual approach to engagement may thus have the potential to facilitate an interactive dynamic between the companies, government, and local communities, providing a greater sense of empowerment and responsibility among the participants, increasing the ability and opportunity to gain higher and more meaningful influence in the decision-making process and outcomes of the extractive industry projects.



## 10. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The democratic ideal and ethic of citizen representation in decision-making, where the public is involved to strengthen decisions and to guard the public interest, compose the founding principles of PP (Efram and Lucchesi, 1979). PP is required in most impact assessment (IA) programmes around the world (Shepherd and Bowler, 1997: 725), recognised as a way to ensure that projects meet citizens' needs and are suitable to the affected public (Pearce et al., 1979; Forester 1989; Tauxe, 1995). Arguably, the incorporation of local knowledge and values of potentially affected parties heightens the quality of decisions and promotes the legitimacy, with less hostility towards, the project (Parenteau, 1988; Webler et al., 1995). Early and substantive involvement provides an opportunity for citizens to influence not only the planning process, but also the final outcome. Further, project planning and implementation evolve over time, as may public values (Shepherd and Bowler, 1997).

Supported by the field studies of this dissertation and PP research beyond the Greenlandic context, a big gap seems to exist between the high aims set for PP and PP in practice. The current challenges of PP across nations and fields call for a more explicit discussion and reflection as to how PP is to be interpreted, understood, and carried out in practice if it is to become a more effective as well as more meaningful process to all stakeholders involved.

Meaningful PP is not prescribed by law, but suggestive measures towards facilitating meaningful PP have been made within both research and practice (Udofia et al. 2017; Wilson 2016). Shepherd and Bowler (1997: 727) suggest that PP entails a proactive approach that moves beyond the requirements, which includes open communication and establishing credibility and trust, and which can benefit the involved parties and the final outcome.

IA scholars and planners remain focused on exploring ways to both efficient and meaningful participation to unfold the potentials of PP while being responsive to the needs of industry and decision makers and enabling the potentially affected

communities to shape how impacts are addressed over the project lifecycle from initial phases to rehabilitation (Glasson et al. 2005; Stewart & Sinclair 2007; Chavéz & Bernal 2008; O’Faircheallaigh 2010; Weitkamp & Longhurst 2012; Udofia et al. 2015; Udofia et al. 2017).

To advance meaningful PP, the studies of this PhD thesis, along with experience internationally, suggest that it is not possible to facilitate meaningful engagement through an overarching and streamlined framework. Reflecting on what is meaningful to whom and whose voices count PP must be an ongoing and adaptive process, flexible and sensitive to changes in broader policy, and to changes in environmental, social, or economic conditions to ensure engagement and influence of the local communities on decisions about future development.

It is highly uncertain whether the ideal PP will ever be attained, as development will inevitably always involve both pro-developers and pro-conservators, holding different, often conflicting, interests (Bisset 2000; Glasson et al. 2005; O’Faircheallaigh 2010), causing different perceptions of, approaches to, and expectations of PP, which will stand as barriers for meaningful PP.

Above all, facilitating meaningful engagement and reaching the full potentials of PP require a willingness to include and engage the public in political debates about the values and priorities concerning our society: What do we want for our society in the future? Which direction are we to take? What role is the community to play in the development? And how do we get there in unison by making room for both consensus and conflict? (Delman 2011).

Since communities, culture, values, power relations, and socio-economic and political situations differ from project to project, what constitutes a meaningful PP process is one that is adjusted to and on par with the specific project and the specific local context (André et al. 2006; Kjørnø 2007; Hansen 2013). With emphasis on the importance of tailoring the PP process and practice to the specific project, local context, and specific target group, the dissertation recommends widening the scope

of PP forms applied in order to facilitate a broader representation of the potentially affected communities.

Reflecting upon the lessons learned and conclusions drawn from the research of this PhD dissertation, I cannot rule out my own role both as a researcher and as a Greenlander. My own background, experiences, and ways of perceiving the world have inevitably influenced the research and the methodological paths chosen, through which I have explored and sought to make sense of the PP process in Greenland. As such, it must be emphasised that my own aims and interests have contributed to shaping the frame of the research conducted and the conclusions reached through the past five years.

I have, as a researcher rooted in an interpretivist stance, been engaged in interpreting others' interpretations of the PP process and practice from the foundation of my own social-scientific frame. However, in my search for patterns and meanings, I have , through the methods of participant observation, semi-structured interviews, open questionnaires, and through – in particular – the visual anthropological approach applied, attempted to take on a learning role and make room for the research participants' own views and thoughts. Doing the work of this PhD has been a process of continuous learning, for what reason I look upon this research as merely a contribution on the path towards a more meaningful PP process and practice with specific focus on youth engagement in Greenland and beyond.

The research of this dissertation proposes that we can always do better. By striving towards the ideal, ensuring that the PP process is perceived as both efficient and meaningful among the various stakeholders involved, the current form, content, and, execution of PP practice hold great potentials for improvement. Further strengthening research, by exploring the currently unexplored path towards meaningful participation in a Greenlandic context, may contribute to the scope and quality of the process, practice, and outcomes of PP. As indicated by the findings from PC II (see section 5.2.), even smaller changes in terms of how to approach PP may alter and improve the PP process. As each project and community differs, there

is not necessarily any fixed set of solutions. Rather, different approaches to establishing the best PP practices in Greenland must be developed continuously over time, as new experience and knowledge are accumulated, and as people in the potentially affected communities become better acquainted with the concept of and potentials for influence on the decision-making process.

It is my hope that this dissertation may contribute to increase the focus on both making this process meaningful and generate new ideas concerning the research and the practice within PP and youth engagement.

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# APPENDICES

# APPENDIX A

## PC I INTERVIEWGUIDE (2012)

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### PUBLIC CONSULTATIONS

What do you believe is (are) the primary objective(s) of public consultations in relation to large-scale oil – and mineral projects in Greenland?

How do you expect the public consultations this April to proceed? What do you expect to obtain from these consultations?

In your view, how would the ideal public consultation proceed?

How have you prepared yourself for the public consultations this April? Which aspects have you taken into consideration?

Do you focus on a particular target group during the public consultations?

- Are NGO's in focus in particular?
- Do you differentiate between local – and international NGO's?

Do you cooperate with the other oil exploration companies in regards to preparations and planning of the public consultations? How?

In your opinion, what is the best way to achieve 'good will' among the local population?

### DISTRIBUTION OF ROLES

What do you consider as your role as oil exploration company in relation to public consultations?

What do you consider the role of the authorities in relation to public consultations?

What is the role of the local population in relation to your work?

- For instance, in relation to local knowledge, views, concerns etc.

### PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

In your opinion, has the dialogue during earlier public consultations on oil exploration in Greenland (that you know of) been adequate?

How do you make sure that the public participates actively in the public consultations this April?

- From where do you get you ideas and inspiration?
- How do you make sure that the public says what they actually mean?

How do you apply the input from the public in the planning of your future exploration activities?

### SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

How do you understand the concept of 'sustainable development'?

# APPENDIX B

## QUESTIONNAIRE, PC I (2012) AND PC II (2013)

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**Time and Place:** \_\_\_\_\_ **Male:**  **Female:**

**1. In your view, what is the primary purpose of public consultation (PC) meetings in relation to largescale projects?**

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**2. Have you prepared for the PC meeting in any way, or have you had any considerations prior to the meeting? (Answer X)**

To a high degree    To some degree    Not at all    I don't know

If yes, please elaborate:

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**3. Is your role as a citizen important at the PC meeting? (Answer X)**

To a high degree    To some degree    Not at all    I don't know

**4. What do you consider as your role at PC meetings?**

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**5. What is the role of the oil exploration companies in relation to PC meetings?**

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**6. What is the role of the Greenlandic authorities in relation to PC meetings?**

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**7. Is the dialogue between the citizens, companies, and authorities at the PC meetings sufficient? (Answer X)**

To a high degree    To some degree    Not at all    I don't know

Please elaborate:

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**8. Have you had your say the PC meeting? (Answer X)**

To a high degree    To some degree    Not at all    I don't know

Please elaborate:

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**9. Does the PC meeting live up to your expectations? (Answer X)**

To a high degree    To some degree    Not at all    I don't know

Please elaborate:

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**10. How would you like to participate in in the public participation process in the future?**

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# APPENDIX C

## PHOTO GUIDE – THE PHOTO FORUM STUDY, SPRING 2015

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Welcome as research participant in the Photo Forum project! It is great so many of you have shown interest for participating in the project.

The project will be initiated tomorrow – I hope you all have your cameras ready! 😊

Before we begin, I would like you to read the following instructions.

### **BACKGROUND FOR THE PHOTO FORUM STUDY:**

The research project target and involves the Greenlandic youth. The purpose is to investigate the hopes and dreams, expectations, concerns, and future aspirations among young Greenlanders, and how they perceive the future development of the extractive industry development in Greenland.

Your task as a research participant is simple. Over a course of four weeks, the themes above will be posted at the Facebook Photo Forum group wall, one theme each week. Your task is to post at least one photo with a short caption (descriptive text) within these themes.

### **FOTOS:**

#### How many photos should I post?

- At minimum one photo during the four weeks.  
(the picture must be relevant to the weekly themes)

#### What/who should I take pictures of?

- The content is entirely up to you, as long as it relates to the posted themes. For example, you might choose to take photos of:
  - Situations from your everyday life
  - Objects or people that symbolises something important to you.
  - – Be creative! 😊

REMEMBER to make a caption for each photo you post!! The caption should

include:

- Your name, age, time and place of the photo.
- Please describe your photo and explain the reason for choosing that photo:  
What is the story behind the photo? Or what do you wish to say through this photo?

If you have any questions, please contact PhD fellow:

Anna-Sofie Skjervedal. Mail: [ashs@plan.aau.dk](mailto:ashs@plan.aau.dk), or write me at Facebook!

# APPENDIX D

## PHOTO-INTERVIEW GUIDE: THE PHOTO FORUM STUDY, 2015

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Before we start I would like to concur with you that the interview is recorded for the sole use of this research project, and that you will remain anonymous.

The interview will take point of departure in the four themes provided through the Photo Forum study, including your photo contributions and respective captions.

The purpose of the interview is to ensure to clarify and have an in-depth conversation about the photo(s) and the subjects you have chosen to highlight through your photo(s).

### GUIDING QUESTIONS:

- Please describe the photo.
- Why have you chosen this particular photo?
- If more than one photo, which of the photo do you consider most important to put forward?
- What does ...X... mean to you? (family, culture, language, nature, education, work, independence etc.)
  - o Do you believe many share your point of views?
- What obstacles/opportunities do you see for obtaining the goals you set for your life?
- What is your view on Greenland as a potential oil nation?
  - o Opportunities/Concerns.
  - o Do you see yourself play a role in the future extractive industry development in Greenland? (if yes, how?/if no, why not?)
- How do you understand the concept of public participation?
- What is your view on the level of public participation in Greenland?
- What is your view on youth engagement in Greenland?
- What/who influences your views and standpoints?
- What motivates you?
- How do you make decisions?
- What is your experience in participating in the Photo Forum project?
- What was your experience of Facebook as a tool for participation?
- What was your experience of photos as an approach for participation?

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