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SUBJECTIVE WELL-BEING AND QUALITY OF LIFE IN GREENLAND

BY
NAJA CARINA STEENHOLDT

DISSERTATION SUBMITTED 2020

AALBORG UNIVERSITY
DENMARK

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To my mother, Larsine… and the apple of our eyes, Norah.

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Any omission among these acknowledgements does not mean lack of appreciation.

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PREFACE

This dissertation is a result of a three-year PhD fellowship financed by Aalborg University, Ilisimatusarfik/University of Greenland and the Department of Social Planning in the Ministry of Social Affairs, Family and Justice, in the Government of Greenland. The idea for the project developed from my time as a MA student at Ilisimatusarfik, where I first came across the paradox that most people in Greenland were reported to be satisfied with their lives, and at the same time most people perceived several living conditions unsatisfactory. At this point, I knew the discouraging statistics with, for example, too many young people committing suicide and the overwhelming number of cases with child abuse, to name a few. In all honesty, the paradox did not only arouse my curiosity, it also provoked me. In the narratives of research on well-being and development in Greenland much attention has been paid to the social problems in society. In my interactions with scholars and reviewers, I have noticed an evolving discourse, in that these narratives have become outdated and unbalanced. As much as I can agree that some of the narratives about the Greenlandic people verge on being stereotypical, it is undisputable that there are social circumstances in Greenland that are critical and unacceptable, which need to be addressed before they can be improved. Some of these circumstances are addressed in this dissertation. With this in mind however, I can say with certainty that the negative aspects of the Greenlandic society are in an intersection with other and more promising circumstances. During this project, I have experienced many aspects of society, through interactions with people I met, and not least with the 70 informants. The movement towards Greenland's political independence is clear to all, yet I was inspired to also witness a cultural expansion in the Greenlandic society. Besides having met so many wonderful, strong and resourceful people on this journey, I have witnessed an ongoing progressive strengthening of cultural expression in many ways. I have seen this in the recent proliferation of traditional Inuit tattoos among all age groups, vivid debates of decolonization, and even on a smaller scale, such as being able to buy gift-wrapping and packaging with the Greenlandic flag instead of the Danish. These are just a few indications of a people, upholding their culture and heritage, and if cultural integrity and attachment are indicators of positive human development, then I am able to look to the future with confidence. This is surely a remarkable time for us Greenlanders, standing on a threshold to many opportunities, and there is so much to be learned, and so many paths to still follow. This dissertation takes on the task to step on to one of these paths by exploring what it means to have a good life in Greenland, and as such, it is this author's humble hope that the findings and discussions will serve as inspiration and be useful to the reader.

Naja Carina Steenholdt

Haslev, December 2020

ENGLISH SUMMARY

This dissertation asks and seeks to answer the question of what it means to have a good life in Greenland. International studies, especially in Western societies, show that people's opportunities to live good lives are partly related to the quality of their living conditions. Thus, the general perception is that good living conditions are among the prerequisites for having a good life. In light of this, it is obvious to conclude that poor living conditions provide worse conditions for having a good life than good living conditions. In 2007, however, the study The Study of Living Conditions in the Arctic (SLiCA) concluded, that on the one hand, there were pronounced social problems and great dissatisfaction with many conditions in Greenland, and on the other hand a majority of Greenlanders were satisfied or very happy with their lives. This paradox has served as a driving force in this dissertation, and thus forms the basis of the problem in the research questions. Why and how one can be satisfied or even very satisfied with one's life in a society which, has a number of poor fundamental living conditions? (This is objectively speaking and also subjectively assessed by many citizens). In addition to a search for greater insight into this paradox, the dissertation also focuses on the essential question of what it means to have a good life. The dissertation's approach stems from a sociological research perspective, which is primarily inspired by hermeneutics; as the dissertation not only strives to describe the social reality, but also seeks to understand it through interpretation. As the vast majority of the leading research in quality of life and well-being has been carried out with quantitative methods (not least by researchers with a background in psychology), the dissertation is also occupied with, and to some extend inspired by, these research traditions. The format of the dissertation is article-based, and the primary data material comes from 70 qualitative, semi-structured interviews with Greenlandic men and women in the age group between 18 and 65, divided into 13 cities and settlements in South, East, North and West Greenland. The interviews were conducted in the period April 2018 and up to December 2019. The study contributes five articles that deal with various aspects of the dissertation's core concepts, in particular the subjective quality of life and well-being. Two of the articles, in Danish and English respectively, examine the connection between quality of life and life modes among Greenlanders, seen in the light of the discussion about independence. One of the articles is a case study in quality of life between sheep farmers in South Greenland, with a focus on how the growing tourism sector, specifically 'farm tourism', relates to the quality of life of sheep farmers. One of the articles examines how a good life and the concept of ‘quality of life’ is perceived in the Ammassalik district, East Greenland. The last article explores the importance of nature for people from all over the country, both the general meaning of nature and its importance to the informants' quality of life. The five articles thus contribute new aspects to the existing knowledge. The dissertation also concludes that the indicators found for quality of life and well-being are, in broad terms, in line with existing research. Here the importance of two overarching categories is particularly highlighted; close social relationships (family and close

friends) and contact with nature. The importance of close social relationships for the quality of life was partly expressed by the fact that most informants cited their close social relationships as something of significance in their perspectives on the good life. But it was also expressed through the interpretation that those who had difficulty maintaining social relationships, were also those who expressed the lowest satisfaction with life. Among those who had the most difficulty maintaining social relationships, were the long-term unemployed. As unemployment can be considered a living condition, it confirms that living conditions can be a determinant of subjective well-being. Most informants in the study, however, had good social relationships and regular contact with nature. If it is assumed that this reflects the reality for most Greenlanders, this can possibly contribute to an explanation of why most people are happy with their lives, despite the fact that there may be poor or unsatisfying living conditions for the individual and in society overall. Among the most surprising findings in the study was that relatively many informants personally valued nature higher than their family, their work, and the public welfare system when it came to their notion of 'a good life'. Nature was, however, not equally important to all informants. Various forms of contact with nature, such as boat trips and hunting, often require a good economy, and most often, they are carried out with family and friends. Therefore, it was not surprising the unemployed, who were among those with lack of income and with poor social relations, who had difficulty getting the most out of contact with nature. This suggests that there is a correlation between the overarching categories of 'nature' and 'social relations', which existing social research has not studied further. Based on these arguments and the discussions in the dissertation as well as in the articles, the dissertation identifies several research potentials. First, there is a basis for more cultural nuances, both in general and in relation to the importance of social relations and contact with nature for quality of life and welfare. In addition, there were issues that the informants brought into the interviews unsolicited, which shed light on where the research can also be expanded. Among the topics that appeared unsolicited several times, and seemed to have the greatest impact on the informants' quality of life, were for example issues related to mobility and migration as well as loneliness. In addition, there were many who seemed to place a high value on personal freedom, for example the freedom to choose where to live, what to work with, the freedom to go hunting or maintain your preferred way of life. Hence, there is much knowledge to be gained, and this dissertation can thus be seen as a stepping-stone in the process of knowing more about what constitutes a good life in Greenland.

DANSK RESUMÉ

Denne afhandling stiller og søger at besvare spørgsmålet, om hvad det betyder at have et godt liv i Grønland. Internationale studier, særligt i vestlige samfund, viser at menneskers muligheder for at leve gode liv, delvist hænger sammen med kvaliteten af deres levevilkår. Dermed er den generelle opfattelse, at gode levevilkår er blandt forudsætningerne for at have et godt liv. Set i lyset af dette, er det nærliggende at drage den slutning, at dårlige levevilkår giver dårligere forudsætninger for at have et godt liv end gode levevilkår.

I 2007 kom undersøgelsen The Survey of Living Conditions in the Arctic (SLiCA) imidlertid frem til, at der på den ene side var udtalte sociale problemer og stor utilfredshed med mange forhold i Grønland, og på den anden side var et flertal af grønlændere, tilfredse eller meget tilfredse med deres liv. Dette paradoks har tjent som drivkraft i denne afhandling, og ligger således til grund for problemstillingen i forskningsspørgsmålene. For hvorfor og hvordan kan man være tilfreds eller endda meget tilfreds med sit liv i et samfund som, objektivt set og også subjektivt vurderet af mange borgere, har en række dårlige fundamentale livsbetingelser? Foruden en søgen efter større indsigt i dette paradoks, stiller afhandlingen endvidere skarpt på det essentielle spørgsmål om, hvad det vil sige at have et godt liv.

Afhandlingens tilgang udspringer fra et sociologisk forskningsperspektiv, og er primært inspireret af hermeneutikken; idet afhandlingen ikke alene bestræber at beskrive den sociale virkelighed, men ligeledes søger at forstå den gennem fortolkning. Idet langt størstedelen af den førende forskning inden for livskvalitet og velfærd er udført med kvantitative metoder (ikke mindst af forskere med baggrund i psykologi), er afhandlingen til en vis grad også optaget og inspireret af disse forskningstraditioner.

Formatet på afhandlingen er artikelbaseret, og det primære datamateriale stammer fra 70 kvalitative semistrukturerede interviews med grønlandske mænd og kvinder i aldersgruppen mellem 18 og 65 år, fordelt på 13 byer og bygder i Syd-, Øst-, Nord og Vestgrønland. Interviewene blev gennemført i perioden april 2018 og frem til december 2019.

Studiet bidrager med fem artikler, som beskæftiger sig med forskellige aspekter af afhandlingens kernebegreber, navnlig den subjektive livskvalitet og velfærd. To af artiklerne, på henholdsvis dansk og engelsk, undersøger sammenhængen mellem livskvalitet og livsformer blandt grønlændere, set i lyset af diskussionen om selvstændighed. En af artiklerne er et casestudie i livskvalitet blandt fåreholdere i Sydgrønland, med et fokus på, hvordan den voksende turismesektor, herunder specifikt '*farm tourism',* relaterer til fåreholdernes livskvalitet. En af artiklerne undersøger, hvordan det gode liv og begrebet 'livskvalitet' bliver opfattet i Ammassalik-distriktet, Østgrønland. Den sidste artikel udforsker naturens betydning

for folk fra hele landet, både naturens generelle betydning og dens betydning for informanternes livskvalitet. De fem artikler bidrager således på hver deres måde med ny viden til den eksisterende forskning.

Afhandlingen konkluderer endvidere, at de fundne indikatorer for livskvalitet og velfærd, i store træk, er i tråd med eksisterende forskning. Her peges der især på vigtigheden af to overordnede kategorier; nære sociale relationer (familie og nære venner) og kontakt med naturen. Betydningen af nære sociale relationer for livskvaliteten kom dels til udtryk ved, at de fleste informanter anførte deres nære sociale relationer, som noget af det primære i deres perspektiver på det gode liv. Men det kom også til udtryk gennem fortolkning af, at de som havde svært ved at opretholde sociale relationer, var de der udtrykte lavest tilfredshed med livet. Blandt de der havde sværest ved at opretholde sociale relationer, var de længerevarende arbejdsløse. Da arbejdsløshed kan betragtes som et levevilkår, bekræfter det, at levevilkår kan være medbestemmende for livskvaliteten. De fleste informanter i studiet havde dog gode sociale relationer og regelmæssig kontakt med naturen. Hvis det antages, at dette afspejler virkeligheden for de fleste grønlændere, kan dette være et muligt bidrag til forklaringen på, hvorfor de fleste er tilfredse med deres liv, på trods af at der kan være relativt dårlige eller kritisable levevilkår for den enkelte og i samfundet som helhed.

Blandt de mest overraskende fund i studiet var, at forholdsvist mange informanter personligt vægtede naturen højere end deres familie, deres arbejde og det offentlige velfærdssystem, når det kom til betydningen af det gode liv. Men naturen var ikke lige vigtig for alle informanter. Forskellige former for kontakt med naturen, som f.eks. sejlture og jagt, kræver ofte overskud i økonomien og udføres i høj grad i fællesskab med familie og venner. Derfor var det ikke overraskende de arbejdsløse, som var blandt dem med manglende indkomst og social tilknytning, som havde svært ved at få det optimale ud af kontakt med naturen. Dette antyder, at der er en sammenhæng mellem de overordnede kategorier 'natur' og 'sociale relationer', som den eksisterende socialforskning ikke har studeret nærmere. På baggrund af disse argumenter samt diskussionerne i afhandlingen såvel som i artiklerne, ser afhandlingen flere forskningsmæssige potentialer. Dels er der grundlag for mere kulturel nuancering, både generelt og i forhold til betydningen af sociale relationer og kontakt med naturen for livskvalitet og velfærd. Derudover var der problemstillinger, som informanterne uopfordret bragte ind i interviewsamtalerne, som belyser, hvor forskningen ligeledes kan tage videre afsæt fra. Blandt de emner, som optrådte uopfordret flere gange, og virkede til at have størst betydning for informanternes livskvalitet, var bl.a. problematikker, der relaterede til mobilitet og migration samt ensomhed. Tillige var der mange, som lod til at vægte personlig frihed højt, f.eks. friheden til at vælge hvor man skal bo, hvad man skal arbejde med, friheden til at gå på jagt eller opretholde sin foretrukne livsform. Der er således meget endnu, der ikke er belyst, og afhandlingen sætter dermed et komma snarere end et punktum i forskningsområdet, på vejen mod at forstå, hvad det betyder at have et godt liv i Grønland.

EQIKKARNEQARNERA

Ilisimatusarluni misissuinermi matumani Kalaallit Nunaanni pitsaasumik inuuneqarneq qanoq ittuunersoq paasiniarneqarpoq.

Nunani tamalaani misissuinerit, pingaartumillu inuiaqatigiinni nunani killerniittuni, takutippaat inuuniarnermi atukkat ilaatigut pitsaasumik inuuneqarsinnaanermut sunniuteqartut. Taamaammat isumaqaqqajaanarpoq inuuniarnermi atukkat pitsaasumik inuuneqarnissamut tunngaviliisuusut. Taamatut eqqarsaraanni taava aamma inuuniarnermi atugarliorneq tassaasimassaaq pitsaanngitsumik inuuneqalersitsisartoq ilimagineqartariaqassaaq.

The Survey of Living Conditions in the Arctic (SLiCA) *(Issittumi Inuuniarnikkut Atukkat pillugit Misissuineq)* 2007-imi saqqummiunneqartumi erserpoq Kalaallit Nunaani innuttaasut, inooqatigiinnikkut annertuunik ajornartorsiuteqaraluarlutik aamma sorpassuartigut nunaminni pissutsit naammaginngikkaluarlugit, inuunerminnik naammagisimaarinnimmata allaat ilaat naaammagisimaarinnerujussuarmata. Matumani Ilisimatusaatigalugu Allaaserisami tamanna, imminut assortortutut pissusilik sutiginartutut kajumissaataavoq, ilisimatusaatigalugulu apersuisarnerni aallaaviusarluni. Qanormi sunalu pissutigalugu inuunermik naammagisimaarinnilluniluunniit naammagisimanerinnerujussuartoqarsinnaava, inuiaqatigiinni inuuniarnermi atugassarititaasut naammaginanngitsutut amerlasuunit isiginniffiusuni? Ilisimatusarluni misissuinermi matumani tamanna imminut assortuuttutut pissusilik itinerusumik paasiniarneqarpoq tamatumalu saniatigut apeqqut pingaaruteqarluinnartoq, tassaasorlu inuunerissaarneq sunaanersoq, akiniarneqarluni.

Ilisimatusarluni misissuinerup matuma inuiaqatigiit ilusilersugaanerannik tamatumalu inooqatigiinnitsinnut sunniutaanik misissuinrmik aallaaveqarpoq, annerusumillu pissutsit pisartullu isumalersorneqarnerannik (hermeneutik); tassa inooqatigiinnermi pissutsit piviusut kisiisa pinnagit aammali tamakku qanoq isumaqarnersut paasiniaanerulluni. Inuunerissaarnermut tunngasumik ilisimatusarnermi annertunerpaatigut annertussutsit aallaavigalugit misissuisoqartarmat (amerlanerpaatigut ilisimatuussutsikkut misissuisut tassaasarlutik tarnip pissusaanik ilisimasallit), tamakku misissueriaasiannit ilaatigut misissuineq manna aallaaveqarlunilu sunnigaavoq.

Allaaserinninneq allaaserisanik ataasiakkaartunik katitigaavoq, paasissutissallu pingaarnerit angutinik arnanillu 18-it 65-illu akornanni ukiulinnik, Kujataani, Tunumi, Avannaani Kitaanilu illoqarfinni nunaqarfinnilu 13-ini, apersuinernit 70-iusunit pisuupput. Apersuinerit aprilimi 2018-imiit decemberimi 2019-imut ingerlanneqarput.

Misissuinermi allaaserinninnerup pingaarnerusutut sammisai tallimaapput, pingaartumillu inuunerissaarnermik atugarissaarnermillu paasinninneq sammineqarlutik. Allaaserisani marlunni, danskisut tuluttullu oqaatsit atorlugit allaaserisani, kalaallit akornanni inuunerissaarnerup inooriaatsillu iminnut ataqatigiinnerat, namminersulerniarnermut naleqqiullugit sammineqarput. Allaaserisami ataatsimi Kujataani savaatillit inuunerissaarnerannut tunngavoq, takorniariartartut amerliartornerat, pingaartumillu uumasuuteqarfinnut takornariat (*farm tourism*); savaatillit inuunerissaarnerannut qanoq sunniuteqarnersoq. Allaaserisami ataatsimi Tunumi Tasiilap pigisaani inuuneq pitsaasoq ”inuunerissaarnerlu” paasineqartarnersoq, misissorneqarput. Allaaserisami kingullermi pinngortitap inunnut nunatsinni tamaneersunut qanoq isumaqarnersoq qulaajarneqarpoq, tassa pinngortitap naliginnaasumik aammalu apersorneqartut inuunerissaarnerannut qanoq sunniuteqartarnersoq paasiniarneqarluni. Taamaalillutik allaaserisat taakku tallimat ilisimatusaatigalugu misissuinernut pioreersunut ilapittuutaallutik.

Ilisimatusarluni misissuinermi inerniliunneqartut ilagaat, inuunerissarnermut inuunermilu atukkanut ersiutaasut, annertunerpaatigut ilisimatusarnikkut paaseriikkanut naapertuuttuusut. Matumani pissutsit marluusut pingaarnertut tikkuartorneqartut tassaapput; inunnik allanik qanigisaqarneq (ilaquttat ikinngutillu qanigisat) aammalu pinngortitamut attuumassuteqarneq. Inunnik allanik qanigisaqarnermut tunngatillugu apersorneqartut amerlanersaasa oqaatigaat, qanigisaqarneq tassaasoq inuunerissaarnermut pingaarnerpaajusoq. Illuatungaanillu tamanna aamma uppernarsarneqarpoq, inuit qanigisaqarpianngitsut tassaammata inuunerminnik naammagisimaarinnginninnerusut. Taamatut qanigisaqarpianngitsut tassaagajupput sivisuumik suliffissaaleqisimasut. Suliffissaaleqineq inuuniarnermi atukkanut sunniuteqarnerpaajummat, tamatuma inuunerissaarnissamut aalajangiisuusinnaanera uppernarsineqarpoq. Apersorneqartulli amerlanersaat qanigisaminnut attaveqarluartuupput pinngortitamiittarlutillu akuttunngitsumik. Tamanna kalaallinut amerlanerpaanut atuuttutut aallaavigigaanni, inuuniarnermi atukkat inunnut ataatsikkaanut inuiaqatigiillu ataatsimut isigalugit naammaginnanngikkaluartut isornartoqarsinnaagaluartulluunniit, paasinarsivoq amerlanerpaat sooq inuunerminnik naammagisimaarinnittuunersut.

Misissuinermi paasineqartut tupaallannarnerpaajusut ilagaat, apersorneqartut amerlasuut pinngortitaq ilaquttaminnit, suliffimminnit aammalu pisortat atugassarititaannut innunnerissaarnermut pingaarnerusutut isigimmassuk. Pinngortitalli pingaarutaa apersorneqartut akornanni assigiinngiiaarpoq. Pinngortitamiittarneq, soorlu umiatsiamik angalaarneq piniarnerlu, aningaasaqarnikkut amigaateqanngitsutut inuuneqarnissamik piumasaqaatitaqartarpoq, amerlanertigullu pinngortitaq ilaquttat ikinngutillu peqatigalugit najorneqartarluni. Taamaammat tupaallannanngilaq suliffissaaleqisut tassaammata isertitaqarnermikkut qanigisaqarnikkullu ajornartorsiuteqartut aammalu tamakkiinerusumik pinngortitamik atuisuunngitsut. Tamatuma ilimanarsisippaa pingaarnertut qulequtarineqartut ”pinngortitaq” aammalu ”qanigisaqarneq”, ilisimatusarluni misissuisarnerni annerusumik sammineqartarsimanngitsut. Tamakku

tunngavigalugit kiisalu ilisimatusaatigalugu allaaserisami allaaserisanilu ataasiakkaani eqqartukkat takutippaat, ilisimatusaatigalugu misissuiffigineqarsinnaasut arlaliusut. Ilaatigut kulturikkut assigiinngisitaartunik isiginnissinnaaneq, qinigisaqarneq pinngortitamillu atuineq inuunerissaarnermut atugarissaarnermullu sunniuteqartarmata. Tamakku saniatigut apersorneqartut namminneerlutik saqqummiussuisarput, ilisimatusarluni misissueqqinnissanut piukkunnaatilinnik.

Nammineerluni saqqummiussat akornanni arlaleriarluni eqqaaneqartartut, inuunerissaarnermullu annertuumik sunniuteqartutut isigineqartut, ilaatigut tassaapput angalasinnaanermut nutsersinnaanermullu periarfissat aammalu kiserliorneq. Aamma amerlasuut inuttut kiffaanngissuseqarneq pingaaruteqartutut eqqaasarpaat, soorlu sumi najugaqarnissamut tunngatillugu, suna suliarissanerlugu, piniarnissamut kiffaanngissuseqarnissamut kiisalu nammineq qanoq inuuneqarnissamut aalajangiissinnaaneq. Taamaammat qulajarneqarsimanngitsut suli amerlaqaat, taamaammallu ilisimatusaatigalugu misissuinermi allaaserisaq manna Kalaallit Nunaanni inunnerup pitsaasup suuneranik paasinninnerunissamut alloriarnerinnaavoq.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This chapter introduces the main scope, research questions as well as the format of the PhD project before it concludes with a reading guide.

What is considered to be a good life in Greenland? This is one of the central questions, which this dissertation asks and aims to uncover. In the Survey of Living Conditions in the Arctic (SLiCA) from 2007 most respondents reported severe social problems and some also poor living conditions in Greenland and, at the same time, the survey reported that the majority of Greenlanders were satisfied or very satisfied with their lives (Poppel et.al). This paradox has served as the driving force in this dissertation and has shaped the underlying issues in the research questions. Why and how can one be satisfied or even very satisfied with life in a society facing a number of poor fundamental living conditions? From the eudemonic perspective of Aristotle to contemporary literature, there seems to be consensus in that human needs and aspirations are universal (like the need for food, shelter, food, love etc.), yet how people perceive a good life, is different between individuals (Tay & Diener, 2011; Maslow 1943). This dissertation deals with this axiom by essentially asking how a good life is perceived among Greenlanders individually.

1.1 Well-Being and Living Conditions in Greenland

Greenland is amidst an extensive societal development, where issues of economic growth and national development potentials in the pursuit of a secession from the Realm of Denmark in particular, engage the public debate. In the current government's political program, the ambitions of economic growth and development are rooted in the goal of improving peoples' living conditions (Siumut, Demokraatit & Nunatta Qitornai 2020). In other words, improving people's conditions for having a good life. Living conditions can broadly be defined by the settings in which people live, for example in housing, educational, and working conditions to name a few, and such conditions are shaped by social, political and cultural histories as well as personal circumstances (Andersen & Poppel 2002). Existing research shows that living conditions influence individual well-being and people's ability to live decent, if not good, lives (Rao & Min 2018; Poppel 2015). However, major changes like a secession

from Denmark or the possible development within industries, such as the highly debated extraction of natural resources, will all likely have an influence on the overall well-being of the individual (Steenholdt 2019a; 2019b).

1.2 The Empirical Status and Shortcoming

Within social sciences, the notion of a good life is often explored through the concepts of subjective well-being and quality of life. Since 2007, there have been no national social scientific surveys on well-being and living conditions in Greenland, with the exception of public health surveys (Dahl-Petersen et.al 2014; Larsen et.al 2019). Most of the research about subjective well-being and quality of life in Greenland has been conducted with the intention of depicting how well society is doing, mainly through a lens of social indicators. The social indicators can, along with national statistics, form a basis for understanding different aspects and trends within societies, on international, national, regional and local levels, however, they cannot provide causal explanations to their findings. As Diener & Suh argue it is important to *"gain empirical evidence that is based on more than intuitions*" when the objective is to determine how society is developing (1997).

Qualitative data about subjective well-being can contribute to this effort, however, the existing available data lacks deep analysis and context to different societal circumstances and distinct ways of living in Greenland. As an example, Poppel (2007) found that there are regional differences when it comes to the preferred ways of living, satisfaction with life in communities and individual satisfaction with life, and as important as these findings are, the questions of why and how it is so remains unanswered. In a comparative study on the quality of life among the Inughuit, the Amish and the Maasai, Biswas-Diener et.al (2005) concludes that the perception of a good life is not just different between people or between nationalities; it is different from culture to culture. Along with the natural and physical conditions, culture shapes lives, and in Greenland, there are several cultures within the geographical borders, largely structured in regions. A variety of people with their own customs, traditions, norms and dialects.

The socio-economic and socio-cultural conditions in Greenland can explain why there are several diverse ways of living from place to place. Does this mean that how a good life is perceived is different from one culture to another in Greenland? And if yes, how are they different? Well-being and quality of life are not just scientific concepts, it is first and foremost experienced by the individual subjectively. Currently, there are no prior studies that directly questions individuals with what it means to have a good life in Greenland, and how such perceptions might differ. There is thus an opportunity

to gain an important deeper understanding of well-being and quality of life in Greenland, which this dissertation will seek to give original insights into.

Keywords: subjective well-being, quality of life, qualitative research, Greenland, Inuit

1.3 Research Questions

Objective data testifying to widespread poor living conditions and social problems in large parts of the Greenlandic society, contrasts with subjective data according to which a surprisingly large part of Greenlanders self-report a relatively high satisfaction with life. Based on this puzzling contrast, a central purpose of this dissertation is to better understand what is considered a good life in Greenland. However, given the lack of qualitative research in Greenland on subjective well-being, to fulfill this central empirical purpose, this dissertation needs to methodologically advance on the state of the art in the research on well-being and quality of life in Greenland. This means generating and processing qualitative data in new ways and provide, empirical findings on well-being, as well as a methodological insight into studying subjective well-being. Thus, the main research question guiding the trajectory of this dissertation is:

How may insights gained by applying qualitative methods add to the understanding of well-being and quality of life in Greenland provided by established quantitative studies?

The main research question is explored through two sub-questions that focuses on different aspects of subjective well-being and the notion of the good life. The first sub-question focuses directly on the empirical core aim of the dissertation:

a) **What is considered a good life among Greenlanders?**

There is, however, not one 'good life' in Greenland. Socio-economic and socio-cultural circumstances vary between places in Greenland. To be able to account for possible patterns in these differences, a second sub-question asks:

b) **Are there regional differences in what is considered a good life in Greenland, and if so, what are they?**

1.4 A Brief Historical Overview

To fully understand the findings of this dissertation, it is important to be acquainted with some of the major societal shifts and events that has happened in Greenland. The following paragraph will introduce the reader to an overview of the history of Greenland, and some of the major societal shifts and events that have happened in Greenland during the last three centuries.

Up until the 18th century, Greenland was traditionally a seminomadic hunting, fishing and gatherer society and the population was dispersed throughout the country in settlements. Families had a division of labor, where the hierarchy of command was led by the older and more experienced women and men. Males provided catch and the females and older children processed food and sewed clothes, all with equal value to the unit (Petersen 2000; Petersen 1993). In 1721, Greenland was colonized by Denmark led by the Danish-Norwegian missionary Hans Egede. This meant that all decisions about Greenland were made in Denmark. The colonization was financed through the trade of mainly catch of marine mammals (Skydsbjerg 1999). Due to changes in the world market, to the climate, as well as a growing ambition among Danish politicians to develop and modernize Greenland, there was a gradual shift in the business and trading structure at the end of the 19th century. Greenlanders started fishing for halibut, cod and later prawns on a larger scale, and fish factories were established. The cash economy had been under development in Greenland from the beginning of colonization yet, the development in how resources was harvested, opened up for an even greater change. The fish factories created spaces for employees, opening the labor industry to women as well. With the establishment of United Nations in 1945, and their focus on especially decolonization, another major societal change was in the pipeline. In 1953, Greenland changed status from colony to county in the Realm of Denmark. Greenlanders were to become equal with the Danish people and with the help of the Danish government, the goal was to transform Greenland yet again, this time from a hunting and fishing society into a modern industrial society (Skydsbjerg 1999). This has been referred to popularly as the political period of "Danification" (Langgård 2012). The majority of the systems introduced were more or less copied from the Danish welfare model with a massive focus on infrastructure and centralization. The intention was to attract private investors, and the Greenlandic population would take over the operation along the way. However, the 'Danification' did not result in the growth desired, private investments failed to appear and the political winds shifted. However, the process of modernization contributed to a movement among a group of Greenlanders, referred to as the 'Greenlandic political elite'. At first, the Greenlandic political elite concurred with the idea of Danification, yet with time the discussions about more political independence from Denmark grew. The new ambition was for Greenland to become self-governing. As a consequence of this development, Greenland changed political status to Home Rule under the Realm of Denmark in 1979. This movement continued to develop from 1979 and onwards, leading to a third shift in political status 30 years later. In a public referendum in 2009,

the people voted in favor of becoming a self-governing territory and in 2010, Greenland came a step closer to sovereignty. Today, Greenland is a country with many relatively small rural and urban communities, in around 80 dispersed isolated towns and settlements, none of which are connected by roads. In July 2020 there were 56,367 inhabitants in Greenland according to Greenland Statistics (Bank.stat.gl 2020). The biggest export resource is still connected with the fisheries, yet the number of people working with hunting and fishing continues to decrease. The governing bodies, that consist of an administrative sector (the government and municipalities) and a service sector (e.g. education, health, airports and social services) employs by far the most people, and are mainly located in the capital Nuuk, where approximately a third of the national population lives. The implementation of accessible internet in most (if not all) of the populated areas of the country, has probably been the most important effort of modernization within the past 20 years. The new technology has meant that Greenland, once isolated and secluded, is now part of a globalized world, and more so as a country of its own than ever.

1.5 Format

The outcome of this PhD project takes the form of a dissertation based on five articles with a cover that describes the chosen methodology, the conceptual framework as well as a discussion and conclusion. The articles address the research questions from different perspectives. Article 1 contribute to answer the first sub-question by addressing how a good life is perceived among Greenlanders. Article 2 and 3 contribute to answer to the first, second and last sub-question, by exploring the main causes of peoples' satisfaction with life, and how quality of life and well-being are related to peoples' different life modes. Article 4 and 5 contribute to answer the main research question by providing both empirical and methodological insights to the research field of subjective well-being. Chapters 5 and 6 argue more specifically how the articles answers the research questions. All articles have been double-blind peer-reviewed. The third article was published in The Arctic Institute, an independent nonprofit organization, publishing peer-reviewed articles on their homepage, https://www.thearcticinstitute.org/. The figures, references and appendices of this dissertation are listed appropriately in accordance with the guidelines of the Faculty of IT and Design at Aalborg University.

1.6 Reading Guide

This dissertation consists of six chapters including an introduction to the research questions, a methodological and theoretical approach, a presentation of findings through articles, a chapter with reflections and discussions, a chapter that explains the articles' synergy with the research questions and lastly a conclusion. The following briefly describes the main characteristics of each chapter from Chapter 2 to Chapter 6.

1.6.1 Chapter 2: Theoretical Approaches and Methodology

Chapter 2 is divided in three sections. The first section will allow the reader to gain an insight of the theoretical and methodological worldview of the dissertation. The second section describes the conceptual framework of the dissertation. This section will give the reader insight to the central concepts of the dissertation, namely related to subjective well-being and living conditions and their relevance to each other and the research questions. The third section will give the reader a review of the method of collecting data.

1.6.2 Chapter 3 Articles

The third chapter presents five articles. The manuscripts are copied from the original articles and slightly altered to fit the dissertation format[1]. The first three articles are published, the fourth article was accepted in November 2020 and is in press, and the last article was accepted for review in November 2020 and pending first round of review. The first article in Chapter 3.1 was co-authored with peer PhD student Daniela Chimirri and was published in the Arctic Yearbook 2018 (Steenholdt & Chimirri 2018). The second article in Chapter 3.2 was a contribution to the special issue of Politik - *Kalaallit Pilluaritsi: Perspektiver på 10 års selvstyre, 40-året for Hjemmestyrets indførelse og vejen til selvstændighed* [Congratulations Greenlanders: Perspectives on the 10 years of Self Rule, the 40th year for the inauguration of Home Rule and the Road to Independence], by invitation from the editor (Steenholdt 2019a). The third article in Chapter 3.3 is published in the online international think tank The Arctic Institute (Steenholdt 2019b), by invitation from the editor, and is a translated shortened version of the second article in Chapter 3.2. Four of the articles are solo contributions, while the first article is co-authored with a peer PhD student Daniela Chimirri.

The following presents a brief abstract of the papers.

1) *Tourism and Quality of Life in Greenland – Exploration through Farm Stays in South Greenlandic Settlements.*

[1] This is allowed for the Article 1 by permission of Editor Dr. Heather Exner-Pirot, according to a mail correspondence on December 17, 2020. The permission to include Article 2 in an altered format was granted by Dr. Christian F. Rostbøll, according to a mail correspondence on December 17, 2020. Article 3 is an open access online article listed on the Arctic Institute's webpage, https://www.thearcticinstitute.org/what-works-wellbeing-greenland/. Article 4 is included in the version "Accepted Manuscript", which is permitted with a reference to Taylor & Francis' publishing rights, see tandonline.com. The last article is copied from the original version submitted, which was permitted by editor Dr. Christyann Darwent from Arctic Anthropology, according to a mail correspondence on December 18, 2020.

Studies of how the development of industries impacts resident quality of life in Greenland have largely focused on fisheries and mining, neglecting the emerging tourism industry in the country. The paper aims to contribute to the reduction of this gap within academia and praxis by exploring how the developing tourism industry in South Greenland interrelates with resident quality of life in the area. Based on the lack of existing academic literature and public awareness within tourism and quality of life in South Greenland, the paper investigates the relevance of the tourism industry, specifically farm tourism, and its effect on resident quality of life. Through a small-scale exploratory case study of farm stays in South Greenlandic settlements, the paper offers an understanding of how resident quality of life and farm tourism interrelates. The bottom-up spillover theory was applied as part of the theoretical approach, in the understanding that the quality of different life domains influence overall quality of life. The article investigates whether generated income from farm tourism can contribute to people's state of wellbeing, but also if there is more to wellbeing than 'just' money. Based on generated data, the study concludes that there is a close relationship between farm tourism and resident quality of life in South Greenland. This paper was published on November 1, 2018 in the journal Arctic Yearbook 2018 (Steenholdt & Chimirri 2018).

2) *Livsformer og Livskvalitet i Grønland – Et indblik i sammenhængen og den potentielle udvikling [Life modes and Quality of Life – An Insight to the Context and the Potential Development]*

This article examines how life modes and quality of life are related in Greenland from a sociological perspective. The article also relates to how this is linked to the country's development towards independence. Quality of life and the notion of the good life belong to the cultural and value-laden aspects of ways of life. In other words, it is a notion of how things should, must or may be, in order for us to feel that life is good. But the physical locality of where a person lives is also important. It is a classical notion that people have substantially different ways of life in a city versus a settlement, and that values and attitudes to what quality of life can substantially vary between the two. Based on the results of a quality of life studies in South Greenland in 2018, and through an analysis and discussion of Thomas Højrups' life mode analysis, the article answers the following questions: How are life modes and quality of life in Greenland interrelated? And how are they linked to the current development towards independence? The article argues that life modes and quality of life are to a large extent associated with relations to family, nature and work, but that the ability of the Greenlandic people to adapt also plays a role in the relationship between life modes and quality of life. The article was published in the journal Politik (22) on June 21, 2019 (Steenholdt 2019a).

3) *What Works for Well-being in Greenland?*

This article discusses life modes and subjective wellbeing in Greenland from a social scientific perspective. Based on interviews conducted in South Greenland in Spring 2018, the article seeks to give insight into the relationship between subjective wellbeing and life modes. Furthermore, the article discusses this relationship in the light of Greenland's potential independence. This article is published in the online think tank, The Arctic Institute (Steenholdt 2019b). The article is a shortened and translated version of the second article in this dissertation, the peer-reviewed article "Livsformer og Livskvalitet i Grønland – Et indblik i sammenhængen og den potentielle udvikling" (Steenholdt 2019a).

4) Subjective Well-being in East Greenland

This paper analyses subjective well-being (SWB) among inhabitants in East Greenland. Recently, considerable public attention has been directed toward the conditions of East Greenland, particularly in the Ammassalik region. Shocking reports on severe social problems with substance abuse, domestic violence, and child abuse continue to emerge. Meanwhile, the latest studies of SWB show that satisfaction with life is relatively high despite the poor living conditions. This study aims to explore inhabitants' perceptions of what it means to have a good life, via personal interviews in four locations on the East Greenlandic coast. It discusses specific domains and indicators, such as social relations, emotional well-being, and employment status, and their impact on overall well-being. Finally, the paper discusses whether the findings support or dispute existing research practices, with a focus on the report Arctic Social Indicators (ASI) and the Survey of Living Conditions in the Arctic (SLiCA). This study highlights the gap in leading research practice, suggesting that additional research on SWB in Greenland and other areas in the Arctic be conducted to ensure that SWB, as a direct measure, is included in future social indicator research in the Arctic. The paper was accepted for publication in the journal Polar Geography on November 29, 2020 (Steenholdt *in press*).

5) Subjective Well-being and the Importance of Nature in Greenland

This paper assesses the importance of contact with nature to subjective well-being in Greenland, through a multiple case study approach. Based on a qualitative study with 70 face-to-face interviews in 13 towns and settlements in North, South, East and Central Greenland, the objective is on the one hand to explore and discuss perceptions of nature and its importance to SWB, and on the other hand expand the discussion to include a theoretical debate about how Greenlanders perceive and interact with nature. The results indicate, not surprisingly, a close connection between subjective well-being and contact with nature. More surprisingly, the results also indicate that the importance of nature to subjective well-being mostly involves recreational contact with nature, suggesting a possible paradigm shift in the common perceptions of nature among Greenlanders, where people to a larger degree use nature to improve quality of life and well-being through such recreational

contact with nature. The paper was accepted for review in the Journal Arctic Anthropology in November 2020 (Steenholdt *under review*).

1.6.3 Chapter 4 Discussion of Methodological and Empirical Insights

The fourth chapter discusses the lessons learned in the fieldwork and in working with the articles. The chapter mainly deals with experiences gained with the interaction with participants and the analysis of the data. It feeds into the state-of-the-art knowledge with new insights and several concrete suggestions for further research within the field of subjective well-being in Greenland.

1.6.4 Chapter 5 Dissertation Synergy and Synthesis

Chapter 5 opens with a description of the synergy between the articles how they contribute to current knowledge and, how the findings in the articles contribute to answer the dissertation's research questions. The chapter gives an explanation of the processual progression and lessons learned between the articles

1.6.5 Chapter 6 Conclusion

The final chapter closes this dissertation, which is arranged firstly with a conclusion to the research questions, before closing the chapter with suggestions to future research.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY AND THEORETICAL APPROACH

This chapter opens with a presentation of the theoretical approach followed by the conceptual framework, before concluding with a description of the applied method.

This chapter is organized in three sections. The first section gives insight of the philosophical and epistemological worldview and approach of the dissertation. Following this, the section argues how the concepts of subjective well-being and quality of life relates to these approaches. The second section presents a conceptual framework that defines, delimits and connects the core concepts of this dissertation: This includes a state-of-the-art review of the research practices of subjective well-being, starting with an overview of the international practices and then moving on to practices in Arctic and Greenlandic research. The last section presents the method applied with respect to the data collected. It is important to note, that there is a distinction between the theories and methods applied overall to the project, and the theories and methods applied in each article. The theories and methods applied in the articles are described within each article in Chapter 3.

2.1 Theoretical Approach

The theoretical approach of the overall study presented in this dissertation is two-fold: Firstly, the theoretical worldview depart from the hermeneutical philosophies, in the sense that the research not only seeks to describe social reality, but it seeks an understanding of such through interpretation. The basic assumption is that we are able to understand social and cultural phenomena through personal experiences expressed by others (Schultz 1954). Secondly, the theoretical approach is motivated by Giddens' and Schultz' epistemological views on the orders and bias of knowledge (Schultz 1954, pp.264; Giddens 1984). As Giddens states,

> *The concepts that sociological observers invent are 'secondary order' concepts in so far as they presume certain conceptual capabilities on the part of the actors to whose conduct they refer.* (Giddens 1984).

Knowledge is not simply knowledge, it has a natural order where the subject's knowledge is first order and the researcher's subjective interpretation of the subjects' shared knowledge is 'second order'. The following paragraph will seek to elaborate this worldview further.

2.1.1 Epistemological Approach

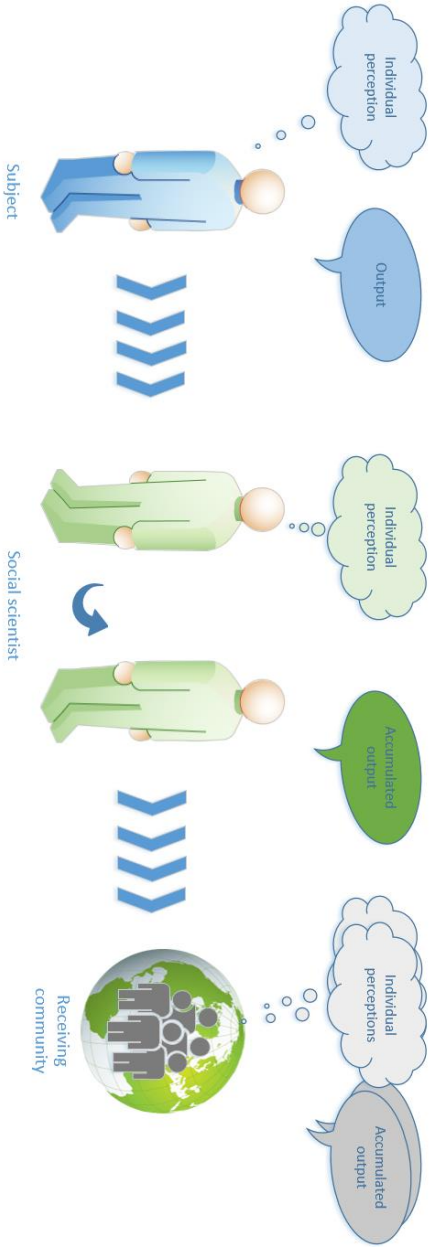
The aim of this dissertation is to convey how people in Greenland perceive a good life through conversations in face-to-face interviews. Being part Greenlandic, and having been part of the Greenlandic society for half of my life, gives me some advantages in terms of having an idea 'where to start'. In my experience, there have been many misconceptions of Greenlandic people and our ways of living through the years. As a reaction to this, this dissertation follows emic principles (Goodenough 1970), and thus primarily works towards an end goal where descriptions and findings of this project can be acknowledged and recognized by the people it analyses. However, following the postmodern logics of Giddens, the general assumption is that it is not possible for me as a researcher to explain perceptions exhaustively, since my analysis is subjective and interpretative by nature (Giddens 1984). This raises questions about the character of the scientific outcome. We cannot assume with certainty that the informant tells the absolute truth and we cannot assume that the researcher conveys the subject's knowledge and perceptions precisely, and as authentically as intended. These uncertainties creates a chain of interpretative dilemmas, which have been illustrated as the hermeneutic dilemmas of interpretation in Figure 1, inspired by Giddens' double hermeneutic theory (Giddens 1984). Perceptions, in the sense that they are created in the human mind, are internal at first. They become expressions secondary, and then at a tertiary level they become scientific interpretations through the interaction with the social researcher. A perception of its authenticity therefore only truly exist in the mind of the subject, because perceptions cannot possibly be limited to the words they are expressed with. Perceptions are appended to an entire *system of cognitive structures* that represents experience, knowledge, culture, tradition and history. This is why any interpretation of the perceptions as they are expressed is taken out of a context, so the social researcher cannot possibly comprehend them in their entirety. In a different, yet relevant, discussion regarding causal analysis, Weber & Shills (1904) argued:

> *Even with the widest imaginable knowledge of "laws", we are helpless in the face of the question: how is the causal explanation of an individual fact possible – since a description of even the smallest slice of reality can never be exhaustive? The number and type of causes which have influenced any given event are always infinite (...)".*

With this in mind and in the effort of constructively moving forward I, as the social researcher, must believe that what a person communicates to me is a representation of

the truth at the given time. The first principle of the chain, however, resides in the researcher's acceptance and recognition of the fact that the perceptions of an individual (the subject) can be ambiguous, and can differ from what the person expresses verbally. As Kahneman & Krueger (2006) pointed out, people might not express exactly what they think momentary nor what they think *in toto*. The second principle of the chain is that the communicated output from the subject, transforms in the researcher's mind through an interpretative process to an inevitable different perception, because it is shaped by the social researcher's own system of cognitive structures that is different to that of the subject. The third principle repeats the first principle, namely that the way the researcher perceives a matter can be ambiguous and differs from what the researcher afterwards expresses verbally, or through their publications. Therefore, the chain continuously and accumulatively expands through every interaction, from there on. In summary, there is a truth (the subject's internal truth) and then there is scientific truth (the truth as it is interpreted), much like Giddens principle of the double hermeneutics (Giddens, 1984). This is not a matter of one or any version of the truth being more or less than the others. It is about a natural order of knowledge, of which the researcher should be aware.

Figure 1 The hermeneutic dilemma of interpretation (own production)



The 'subject' in Figure 1 is in this project the informant. The output of the subject becomes the researchers' accumulated output, which is the sum of the subject's output, the individual perception and the added contextualization of the researcher. The accumulated output from the researcher is then shared with a third variable, which can be other researchers, laypersons, media and so forth. These also intrinsically have differing individual perceptions and systems of cognitive structures as well as different agendas that in re-analyses would accumulate yet different outputs. The reproductive complexity, that this chain of hermeneutic dilemmas represents, is inevitable in qualitative scientific praxis dealing with subjective data. Exploring subjective well-being does not make it any less complex. In Chapter 4, there is a reflection of the challenges with subjective well-being as a research subject, in line with the theme of this section.

The quest for a deeper understanding of subjective well-being involves the continuous interaction between empirical examples from the study, and general discussions about overall well-being, which can be viewed as an interaction between part and whole. This is a theoretical interaction that in scientific theoretic literature also is associated with the principles of the hermeneutic circle (Taylor 1971). In addition, the application of the hermeneutical philosophies cannot stand alone without reflecting upon the researcher' role and agency in the scientific process. Such reflections are presented in Chapter 4.

2.1.2 The Human Desire of "The Good Life"

This section conceptualizes and contextualizes the notion of 'a good life'. The well-being and quality of human life has intrigued and fascinated the science since philosophers such as Plato and Aristotle first started questioning the ethical notions of the good life (Bywater 1963). What it means to have a good life is subjective in its nature and affected by indefinite factors, where time, space and cultural affiliation might serve as some of the most significant circumstances. Psychologically, people are intrinsically driven by basic needs to fulfill a goal of what in literature has been correlated with satisfaction with life, happiness and subjective well-being[2]. When such needs are unfulfilled, the consequences are negative to the subjective well-being. This perspective on well-being has been documented as early as the time of Aristotle, who talked about the good life as a virtuous life, and claimed that the ultimate goal for people was happiness (Bywater 1963). In spite of these articulate ideas of what a good life is for people, Aristotle was very aware of the subjectivity of what makes life good and people happy. Withstanding this awareness, this dissertation positions itself regarding the notion of the good life, according to the Inuit ways of living. Before the written history of Greenland started with colonization in 1721, oral transmission of knowledge was the traditional custom of the Inuit people (Thisted 1994). Empirically,

[2] See e.g. Maslow's theory of human motivation (1943) or Tay & Dieners (2011) discussions of the relation between subjective well-being and needs fulfillment.

there is no evidence of direct discussion of the good life, however, such notions can be interpreted in the myths and tales shared. There are some moral elements in what is known about traditional Inuit customs and behavior, which relates to the opportunities for having a good life. The following paragraphs will review and conceptualize the notion of a good life in context with Inuit's ways of living.

The Inuit Moral Code: Pathways to a Good Life

The distinction between good and bad is probably the most common association with ethics and morality. Yet, unless there are compelling motivations, people are not necessarily inclined to act according to what they see as good or bad. Such inclinations can be attributed to many reasons, one of them is that people often do what is customary, that is, what others do or teach them. Others act from personal experiences, and so are different ideas about what is 'good 'and bad' among people fostered. The ideas, or rules, of what we should do to become good humans or to have good lives are in Inuit Greenlandic culture highly connected to the communities in which Greenlanders live. In addition, and as Petersen also argued, to belong in a community is and has been one of the most fundamental needs of Greenlanders (1993). While Western[3] conceptions of community relates more to collective identity and geographical contiguity; in Inuit traditional culture it relates to sharing food and living in a pact with nature (Petersen 1993). The importance of sharing food in the Arctic, in the past and now, is widely documented (see e.g. Petersen 1993; Colding-Jørgensen 2002; Rasmussen 2007; Gombay 2010a; Gombay 2010b; Poppel & Kruse 2009; Larsen et.al 2010). It originates from a traditional code of moral conduct that was motivated by a pair of social and earthly dimensions, the relationship between people and the relationship between people and nature. As such, Inuit exercised social behavior of moral character, between humans and between humans and the natural environment including animals that essentially was motivated by survival. This is exemplified in historical reports by Petersen (2000), where conducting oneself respectfully with animals was a matter of life and death: *"If humans disrespect the animal's soul, it will leave with disrespect for the humans. What, then, can humans live off?"* (ibid.). The threat of starvation and unpredictable weather conditions probably also motivated Inuit to create a moral doctrine where people shared their food with other community members, so that they in return could receive food from others, when they were not able to catch, hunt or trap food for themselves (Petersen 1993). *Quid pro quo*. The threat of unpredictable weather conditions, besides being a risk of sudden death, also affected the Inuit's ability and chance to catch, trap and hunt for food. These conditions have causal connections to Inuit beliefs and behavior, in the sense that Inuit behaved in a certain good manner in efforts of 'pleasing' nature. Unlike Western perspectives on nature, Inuit believed nature to be meta-physically connected with people, in that nature and natural beings or phenomena, such as

[3] 'Western' refers to this dissertation's understanding of the world, where the Western world includes countries, nations and states, such as North America, most of Europe and Australia.

animals or the wind, had a soul of its own, also known as *inua*[4] (Rosing 1998; Colding-Jørgensen 2002). This meant that animals, wind and other natural phenomena had a will of its own and could communicate with people, in the sense that animals could choose not to be caught, or the wind could decide when to be volatile. Therefore, Inuit believed that to please the animals, enough to be willingly caught, and the winds and weather enough to be calm, they had to behave in a good respectful manner to nature and animals (Rosing 1998; Petersen 2000; Colding-Jørgensen 2002). Consequently, understanding life with the concept of *inua* served as catalyst to a higher morality (Rosing 1998: 167).

To pursue the answer of this dissertation' research question on how a good life is perceived in Greenland today, this dissertation starts with exploring how research has studied subjective well-being and the notion of a good life, and how social researchers have measured subjective well-being. The following section will seek to answer these questions after an introduction and description to the main concepts.

2.2 Conceptual Framework

This section will raise the main concepts of the dissertation and argues their relevance, both to each other as well as to the contemporary research field in general. The second paragraph will present a detailed review of the research field of subjective well-being in Greenland. Quality of life and well-being are concepts that are discussed and applied in many different contexts, and in Greenland, it is most comprehensively addressed within medical sciences. To clarify, the context in which these concepts are being scrutinized in this dissertation are within social science research. Hence, the state-of-the-art review in Section 2.2.2 will not address quality of life and well-being literature within medical sciences, yet will include public health surveys, due to their interdisciplinary approaches.

2.2.1 Conceptual Overview

The following paragraphs give an overview of the concepts applied in this dissertation. The main focus of the dissertation is on subjective well-being, which is an aspect of overall well-being and quality of life. Thus the first paragraph begins with

[4] The publication "Subjective Well-being and the Importance of Nature in Greenland" in Chapter 3.5, analyzes more in depth the concept of *inua* and the importance of nature to subjective-wellbeing (Steenholdt *under review*).

the concept of subjective well-being and later unfolds the more overarching concepts, such as quality of life.

Subjective well-being

Within social sciences it is widely agreed that the definition of subjective well-being can be described as the self-reported cognitive evaluation and affective experience of life[5] (Diener 1984; Diener & Suh 2000; Édouard & Duhaime 2012; Proctor 2014). In this sense, subjective well-being is often applied in the same context as the concept of satisfaction with life (Édouard & Duhaime 2012). In their review of subjective well-being measurement, Diener, Oishi & Tay's (2018) argue, that the definition of subjective well-being can partly be explained with the resource theory of subjective well-being, and the theory of satisfaction with life goals. The combined understanding of these is that people are well, satisfied or happy as long as their needs are satisfied or fulfilled and that their well-being is dependent on their personal resources, material and non-material. Conversely, such an understanding means that when the fulfillment of needs remains unfulfilled or challenged it has negative effect on the subjective well-being, which further supports the definition of Dodge et.al (2012) where overall subjective well-being is a matter of balancing resources and challenges. In terms of determinants of subjective well-being, Proctor (2014) argues that the determinants that testify to most variation in subjective well-being are "*personality traits (e.g., positive and negative affect) and temperament factors (e.g., introversion and extroversion)"* in his review of subjective well-being. Proctor further refers to other determinants of subjective well-being, such as good social relations, employment and culture to name a few (Proctor 2014). In view of the above, the dissertation further supports the Arctic delineation of the concept by Andersen & Poppel (2002), where subjective well-being is:

> *"[A]n inclusive concept, which covers all aspects of living as experienced by individuals and includes a person's subjective evaluation of his/her objective resources and other living conditions. It therefore covers both material satisfaction of vital needs and aspects of life such as personal development, being in control of one's own life and destiny, and a balanced ecosystem."*

In other words, there are objective and subjective circumstances, which correlates with subjective well-being. The definition by Andersen & Poppel is embedded in a more nuanced causal framework (Figure 2), where subjective well-being is influenced by living conditions and different dimensional aspects of life. According to them,

[5] Subjective well-being is in some research fields also applied synonymously with the concept of happiness (Veenhoven 2014; Vittersø 2005; Édouard & Duhaime 2012). However, in psychology happiness can be described as a positive emotional state of mood (Conceição & Bandura 2008), and since this dissertation seeks more broadly to explore aspects of subjective well-being, the concept of happiness is not included in the conceptual framework.

living conditions can broadly be defined in terms of resources (individual and collective) and structural conditions. As Andersen & Poppel (2002) argued, individual well-being is influenced by the possibilities and abilities to apply different resources in different dimensions in life, also referred to as arenas. Living conditions are furthermore influenced by various causes for structural change. Andersen and Poppel's model for explaining and describing living conditions and subjective well-being is illustrated in Figure 2, and the six elements of the model are defined and in Figure 3, in accordance with Andersen & Poppel's (2002: p. 200-211) own definitions.

Figure 2 Causal relations of subjective well-being (modification of Andersen & Poppel' model from 2002)

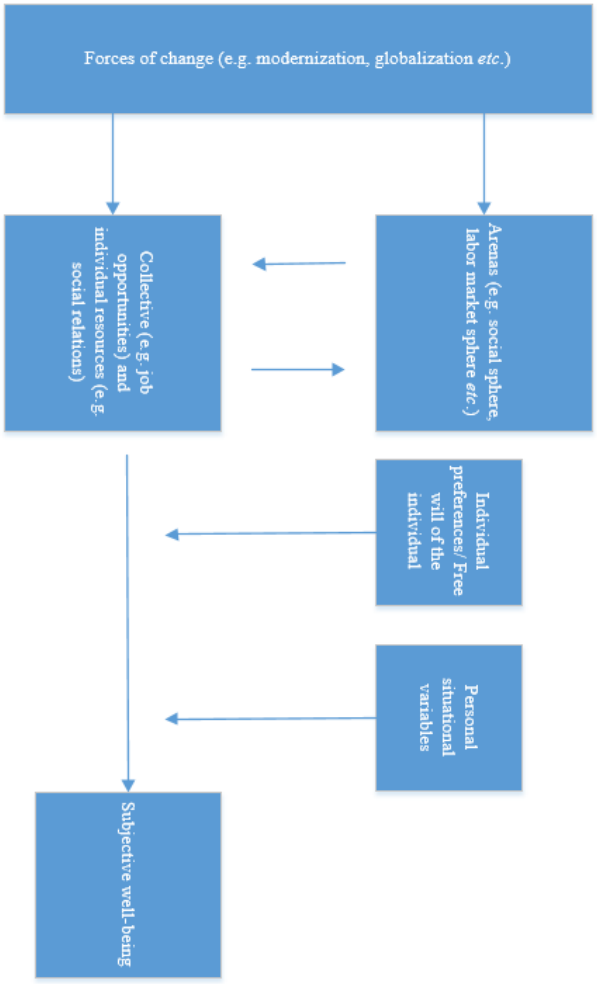


Figure 3 Summarized defintions of elements in Figure 2

Collective and individual resources
The resource approach is two-fold. First, there is the collective resources, which are affiliated with the structural conditions on community level and national level. Such collective resources are e.g. job opportunities, cultural identity, community structures and national/community income. These can be interpreted on an individual level as well, where individual resources are for example cultural integrity, personal income and social relations.

Arenas
The arenas in which individuals appear and can engage in, e.g. political sphere, social sphere, labor market sphere and education sphere

Forces for change
Outside changes where individuals have little or no agency, e.g. national policy changes, globalization, technology, modernization and climate change. World markets and contaminants are other examples of such forces of change.

Individual preferences
For instance, how people prefer to live their lives or what they prefer to work with.

Personal situational variables
Individual experiences and major life events, e.g. child birth and death. Long-term illnesses and disabilities are other examples of personal situational variables.

To sum it up, various circumstances such as societal arenas, resources, outside forces, as well as individual choices and preferences correlates with subjective well-being. The definition of subjective well-being is thus more than balancing resources and challenges. It includes all the individual factors that influence a persons' evaluation of external circumstances and subsequently influence subjective well-being.

Subjective well-being is closely connected with quality of life, there are however differences in how encompassing they are as terms and what they mean. The following paragraph will conceptualize the concept of quality of life.

Quality of life

In the Encyclopedia of Quality of Life and Well-being Research, Veenhoven (2014) defines quality of life as the "*degree to which a life meets various standards of the good life*". The concept can be categorized as different standards or qualities of life, which can be further distinguished, most commonly between the internal (individual) and external (environmental) dimension, and further between the opportunities for living a good life and the outcomes of life as such (*ibid*.). Language-wise, there are

certain aspects to be aware of regarding the concept of quality of life, which are described later in this chapter.

As stated in this paragraph 'quality of life' is a wide-ranging concept, covering many aspects and perspectives of life. Looking closer at Veenhoven's definition, the use of the words 'degree' and 'standards', which denotes something numerical or otherwise measurable, also indicate how research measures quality of life. To this end, there is a tradition of measuring quality of life with statistics, also called social indicators, which the following paragraph will conceptualize.

Social indicators

A social indicator is a quantitative measure that can serve as proxy for complex social phenomena, and is often used as a tool to measure and track changes and tendencies in the well-being and development of societies through time and space (Larsen et.al 2010). As Michalos argues, "[*s]ocial indicators are statistics that are supposed to have some significance for measuring the quality of life or overall well-being*" (2014). Social indicators can be categorized into four main disciplines; objective and subjective indicators, and descriptive and evaluative indicators (Michalos 2014). In broad terms, objective indicators are 'hard' statistics of any given subject or population such as fertility rates, and subjective indicators are statistics measured from the point of view of a given subject, such as overall satisfaction with life. The application of social indicators in Western quality-of-life research has become widely acknowledged, and is described as 'the social indicator movement' (Cobb & Rixford 1998; Veenhoven 2017; Land & Michalos 2017).

The following paragraph will go through the different meanings of subjective well-being, in general and as applied in the dissertation.

Different meanings of well-being

An overt perception issue with the word 'well-being' is that it connotes a positive phenomenon as opposed to word ill-being. Satisfaction with life also connotes a positive phenomenon, as opposed to dissatisfaction with life. In spite of these connotations, the terms are often applied as inclusive universal concepts, where ill-being and dissatisfaction lies within the scope of a person overall well-being or satisfaction with life. Some tackle these issues by categorizing satisfaction-with-life measures in affective and cognitive states, for example Diener et.al (2004), who defines subjective well-being with four dimensions; positive affect, negative affect, domain satisfaction and cognitive life satisfaction. The issues of connotation does not apply to the same extent for the term 'quality of life'. Quality of life is a somewhat neutral expression in the sense that the word 'quality' refers to the characteristics or properties of the state, which can be both positive and negative. To give an example the 'bottom-up spill over theory' (Sirgy 2002), commonly applied in quality of life research, presumes that the overall quality of life of an individual is the sum of quality of life in an individual's various life domains, and that these qualities can be both

positives and negative (Diener 1984; Diener et.al 1999; Sirgy 2011). In this dissertation, the concepts of quality of life and well-being are applied in a non-connotative manner, that is, both affective (positive/negative) and cognitive states lies intrinsically within the scope of the individual well-being.

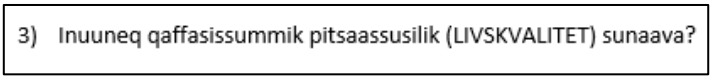
Greenlandic and Danish meanings of well-being

As in all colonized countries, there is an indigenous and colonial language in Greenland. Since the transition to self-rule in 2009, the official first language was changed from Danish to Greenlandic, as part of the secession process. Still, many Greenlanders, especially in towns, speaks both languages in everyday life. Most textbooks and teaching in the education system are in Danish or other Scandinavian languages, and for many years the language in the public, street signs, signs on shops *etc.* were in Danish. In the larger towns (especially Nuuk), Danish is still a common language to use both between people and in public administration, trade and industry. The higher public administration, the legal bureaus and the higher academic positions consist mainly of personnel recruited from Denmark, which consequently means a substantial use of interpreters and translators in all sectors of society. During the past couple of decades, there has been a political wish for a change, for example, many street signs around the country have been changed to Greenlandic and politically there has been on-going debates about phasing the Danish language out to strengthen the Greenlandic language. Even so, Danish is still widely used and with English as an increasingly common language, more and more people in the largest towns are trilingual. Navigating three languages in this study, however, is not simply a linguistic matter of concern. The cultural differences in how or whether people assess and evaluate life turned out to be of relevance. Others have likewise addressed the challenges with analysis of inter-cultural studies (see e.g. Fiske 1995; Jacobsen 2000; Andersen & Poppel 2002; Vittersø et.al 2005; Biswas-Diener et.al 2005). This paragraph will describe some of the methodological concerns of applying different terms of quality of life and well-being in different languages. Chapter 4 provides some additional reflections.

The concepts of subjective well-being, quality of life and satisfaction with life are translated and perceived differently between Greenlandic, Danish and English. In Danish, the concepts have more or less similar meaning as in English. To clarify, subjective well-being can be translated as ”*subjektiv trivsel*” or “*subjektiv velfærd*”. The concept of ‘quality of life’ is translated directly as “*livskvalitet”* and lastly the concept of satisfaction with life is directly translated as *“tilfredshed med livet”.* The term well-being translates to two aspects of well-being in Greenlandic; namely “*alliartorneq”* and “*atugarissaarneq”*. Alliartorneq translates to “that which grows” and atugarissaarneq translates to “welfare” in relation to the adapted prefix “*atuga*-“ from “*atukkat*” which means living conditions and the suffix *–rissaarneq,* which means “something that is good”. Both are normally used in various well-being contexts, in and outside of academia. However, there seems to be some semantic issues with the term ‘quality of life’. This first became apparent when the interview

questions were translated to Greenlandic. For the question "What is quality of life to you?", the translator supplemented the translation with a bracket containing the Danish word for quality of life, "*livskvalitet*" (see Figure 4).

Figure 4 First translation of the word 'quality of life'



Translated to English, the sentence can be understood as "A life with a high quality, what is that?", which does not represent the actual question. I thus decided to investigate it further. In the online Greenlandic dictionary DAKA, the term quality of life translates from the Danish word '*livskvalitet'* as "*inuunermi nalillit (tigussaasuunngitsut)*[6]*"*. In English, this would be equivalent to "an evaluation of your life", and the sentence in the bracket means that the context is non-material. Altogether, the words can be translated as "evaluation of the non-material aspects of your life". This did not resemble the first translation I received nor was it adequately descriptive of the question, since the question was not intended as exclusively non-material. I therefore reached out to Oqaasileriffik, the Directory of Language in Nuuk to learn how they would translate the question "What is quality of life to you?". According to Oqaasileriffik, the term quality-of-life translates to *"inuunerup pitsaassusia"* in a health-related terminology. This also resembles the way the quality-of-life questions were formulated in the SLiCA, where individual quality of life as a whole was formulated as "*Inuunerit ataatsimut isigalugu?",* meaning "And how do you view your life as a whole?*"*, which was the follow-up question to the community aspect of quality of life, formulated as *"Najugaqarfissinni*[7] *inuuniarnerup pitsaasussaa*?" (Poppel et.al 2015). Looking at the Greenlandic translations it seems that the only consistently reoccurring word is related to the word 'life', in Greenlandic '*inuuneq*', which leads me to think, that there could be an issue with the word 'quality'. In the context of this particular project Oqaasileriffik recommended that I formulated the quality-of-life question as *"Pitsaasumik inuuneqarneq ilinnut qanoq ittuua?"* [8] to ensure that the informants understood the question in its right context. The English translation of this sentence is: "How do you perceive a good life for you?". Assuming that this is the best possible way to translate the quality-of-life question, this arguably indicates that there is no explicit linguistic equivalent term for quality of life in the Greenlandic language and that the term quality of life is considered synonymous with either an evaluation of life or the notion of a good life.

[6] http://www.ilinniusiorfik.gl/oqaatsit/daka

[7] The SLiCA questions were arranged with the community aspect of quality of life as the first question, which shortly put translates to "How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the quality of life in your local community?"

[8] Correspondence with Oqaasileriffik is listed on Appendix G

The latter would be sufficient if the context of the question was to ask the subject to evaluate their overall life. The intention, however, is to learn what 'quality of life' means to the subject, in the sense of Veenhoven's arguments of there being different qualities of life, both overall quality of life and quality of life domains (2014). The many ways to formulate the question that does not entirely translates to the English term could be an indication of different ways of thinking between the languages, which was suggested by one of the translators. This is also addressed in other Greenlandic contexts by Jacobsen (2000). She concludes that in spite of the possibility of different ways of thinking, it is still possible to express worldviews using different languages. Thus, the quality-of-life question was included among the questions to explore whether these claims and dilemmas could be tested in reality[9]. The other questions in the study were translated without problems, yet several of the questions had to be explained to the informants, causing one to suspect that there could have been other perceptional or linguistic issues that were not anticipated in the situations. Reflections of the experiences with the interview questions are further described in Chapter 4.

2.2.2 Conceptualizing Inter-Regional and Inter-Cultural Diversities

The concept of knowledge – A Greenlandic approach

The previous section accounted for how knowledge is created in the dissertation and this paragraph accounts for what kind of knowledge was collected and from where it was rooted. To understand how people perceive well-being and what a good life means to them, we first need to understand the concept of knowledge they possess. As described in the next section, informants that identified as Greenlanders were recruited for the study. The knowledge of Greenlanders can be categorized in the Inuit concept of knowledge, which involves all social, cultural and environmental characteristics of Inuit living and culture (Dahl & Tejsner, 2020). The Inuit concept of knowledge has been affiliated with various definitions of indigenous and local knowledges (Dahl & Tejsner 2020) Indigenous knowledge (IK) and local knowledge (LK) is also referred to as traditional ecological knowledge (TEK), all of which are concepts related to the collective skills, experiences and beliefs cultivated and advanced by indigenous populations who from time immemorial have been living in close contact with nature (Nakashima & Roue 2002; Dahl & Tejsner 2020). This dissertation applies the concept of LK to characterize the knowledge the informants possessed and provided. Dahl & Tejsner (2020) defines LK as "*A knowledge concept with emphasis on the residents inhabiting a specific geographical locality, using natural resources in some way, and holding knowledge with local content and context adapted to the specific culture and environment in which they reside*". Following this concept, this dissertation sees the knowledge of the informants as connected with the locality in which they reside, their social and cultural practices within their

[9] This issue is also addressed in the fourth publication in Chapter 3.4 (Steenholdt *in press*)

communities, and their connections to their natural surroundings. As Dahl & Tejsner (2020) pinpoint, LK is somewhat a neutral concept, as it is missing a link to nationality and culture, yet it still refers to the system of knowledge developed in local indigenous communities, encompassing the cultural, practical and social characteristics along with its close and traditional ties to human contact with nature. The application of LK thus necessitates an understanding of the community from which the knowledge appear. The following will provide a conceptual field of the term community.

Community framework

From time immemorial, Greenlanders has been divided in small communities, scattered over the country with distinct ways of living (Petersen 1993; Sonne 1996). Hence, when 70 individuals were interviewed, not only was data from 70 individuals processed, but it was necessary to process data from 70 individuals that were part of certain communities with certain cultures, dialects, histories, norms, characteristics and structures. Each person belongs to a community that forms and shapes the life of each individual and thus forms and shapes the perceptions of what a good life is and what it means to be well. Normally, a community is considered to be a social entity with limited spatial dimension however, the way we choose to define a community can be scaled up and down. Hence, a local community can be seen as part of a bigger community (regionally) that is part of an even bigger community (nationally) and so the connections progresses to the global level. This system of entities is illustrated in

Figure 5 A conceptual field of the concept of community (a modified version of McLeroy et.al's original model from 1988)

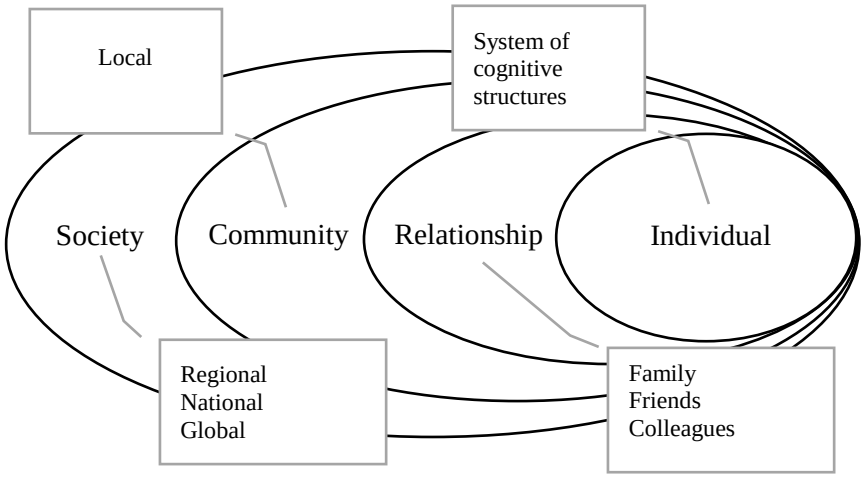


Figure 5 and defines a conceptual field of community, based on a modification of the ecological framework, originally developed by McLeroy et.al (1988). The framework

illustrates how different spaces are contextualized from the individuals' point of view. The figure shows that the entities can be described on four levels; individual, relationship, community and society. These levels can be seen as circular *spheres*, where the individual can navigate back and forth in circular movements. These spheres are all connected with each other dynamically and in various degrees. The first sphere from the right side represent the individual, and to put it into context with the hermeneutical dilemma of interpretation from Chapter 2.1.1, the individual carries a system of cognitive structures representing experience, culture, tradition and history, which influences their own as well as others lives in the relationships and interactions with community and society. The relationship sphere involves anyone between family, close friends and people, with which individuals have personal or professional relationships. The relationship sphere can be further divided in two dimensions; a social relations sphere, which the individual creates/maintains actively themselves (e.g. friends, acquaintances and social food sharing networks), and a social relations sphere that the individual do not create themselves (e.g. neighbors, people at the gym team etc.). The relationship sphere also involves the work/study sphere, which involves both colleagues and/or study mates as well as people that appears in the work/study sphere (customers, clients, patients, teachers etc.)[10]. The community sphere involves people, organizations and societal structures in the local town or settlement (it can also be a suburban area, e.g. Qinngorput in Nuuk). The society sphere represents the regional, national and global community, and involves the people, towns and settlements as well as businesses, organizations and in general all social entities on a regional, national and global level. This concludes the conceptualization of the knowledge and community frame of the dissertation, the following will proceed to describe how and why subjective well-being has been measured before and in recent years.

2.2.3 Measures of Subjective Well-Being

For centuries, philosophers and scientists have been debating what subjective well-being and quality of life is, and how human well-being and development is best and most accurately measured. Quantitative and qualitative research have different research traditions for measuring different aspects of well-being, including subjective well-being. Quantitative studies uses statistics, such as social indicators, as an indirect way of measuring wellbeing and quality of life, which can be applied in any given population and compared to other populations. Such methods enable research to conduct large international surveys, which can provide insights of human well-being and development with vast numbers of data on national and global levels. Qualitative interpretative studies of subjective well-being, on the other hand, makes it possible to understand the "why's" and "how's" and differences in the well-being and quality of life between different segments of people and cultures. In other words, from

[10] The examples mentioned in each layer are not exhaustive in reality, there are many more combinations of what a sphere involves.

quantitative research, we can gain numerical information about various aspects of well-being on local, regional and global levels and make comparative studies, and through qualitative interpretative research, we are able to understand and distinguish between cultures and societal structures through specific examples of human well-being. Ideally, the improvement of conditions that constitutes the good life will then require both quantitative and qualitative methods. Yet historically, there has been a gap between qualitative and quantitative well-being research. Measuring subjective well-being in relation to quality of life and well-being studies in general has historically been followed by critique, because of issues with time consumption, costs, validity and reproducibility among others (Andrews 1974; Veenhoven 2002). In an Arctic context, direct measures of subjective well-being is absent in the framework of large well-being studies, such as in the Arctic Social Indicators (ASI), which is one of the largest public reports on human development and well-being in the Arctic. Instead of direct measures of subjective well-being, proxy indicators such as suicide rates and teenage births is applied (Crate et.al 2010; Larsen et.al 2014). Several studies suggests, however, that substantial discrepancies arise when quantitative measures monopolize well-being studies, and argue that research on subjective well-being using different methods has evolved as a feasible concept that contributes to a more accurate and holistic coverage of well-being and human development (see e.g. Cummins 2018; Glatzer 2015; Land & Michalos 2017; Èdouard & Duhaime 2012; Conceição and Bandura 2008).

Objective

A significant question to address during the research design process has been what the motivation behind the research is. Commonly, research on subjective well-being has the purpose of improving the conditions for quality of life and well-being. The concern about the objective of the research is key in the argument of why it is important to measure subjective well-being, and what we can learn from exploring the individual's evaluation of life. There can be different objectives such as to measure subjective well-being in the aim of improving well-being and quality of life, or the aim of avoiding ill-being, low quality of life and 'the bad life'. It can also be about monitoring power relations or understanding cultural values. There are numerous relevant objectives to consider: Given the basic research approach of this dissertation: the objective is to expand fundamental knowledge about the unknown in the field of subjective well-being. As mentioned before, the dissertation is motivated by a curiosity for the puzzling contrast in what we know to be true about living conditions, and the relatively high satisfaction with life among Greenlanders documented by the SLiCA (Poppel 2015). Furthermore, the data about subjective well-being is analyzed in context with the current societal circumstances relative to the informant, and in relation to the cultural and regional diversities between places in Greenland. This does not mean that the dissertation will describe or take account for all societal circumstances or cultural and regional diversities in Greenland: The dissertation will address and discuss the circumstances and diversities to the extent that they appear in the analysis of the articles. As there is a predominance of quantitative studies of well-

being in Greenland, the dissertation also pursues to accomplish good qualitative research practice, and at the same time feed into the on-going quantitative research practice. There is thus a motivation to make the dissertation relevant to both methodological approaches. The findings of this dissertation further aims to provide knowledge for the practice of applied research on well-being and human development, as well as to the knowledge and practice in societal planning in Greenland.

Relevance

With the definition and purpose of measuring subjective well-being and quality of life established, this section will account for the relevance of conducting studies of subjective well-being. As mentioned before, human well-being has occupied science for centuries with many unanswered questions. The explanation for the latter, lies in the elusive nature of perceptions. Whether the perceptions are of a good life or individual well-being, they are not only subjective, they are dynamic too. They move and adapt to the ever-changing reality of the communities we live in, locally, regionally and globally. At least this is what earlier studies can teach us, for example when Diener et.al (1999) initiates their review of research on subjective well-being by overturning earlier scientific conclusions of the prerequisites of subjective well-being. We can easily assume that such changes, in what subjectively constitutes a good life or well-being, will continue to occupy science for all time to come, which means that it will always be relevant to discuss human well-being. In this context, the research field of subjective well-being has had its difficulties in becoming widely acknowledged, yet has proliferated over the last decades. As Poppel (2015) concludes: *Human development shall be measured in ways that reflect subjective well-being (…). [I]n SLiCA the indigenous peoples of the arctic – is key to study and understand living conditions and welfare priorities.* This stance not only substantiates the relevance of this dissertation, it promisingly indicates that subjective well-being will continue to be relevant in measures of human development in the future.

2.2.4 State-of-the-Art: Studies and Practices

The previous paragraph conceptualized subjective well-being and quality of life in relation to this dissertation. The following will provide a review of subjective well-being research and practice in Greenland and the Arctic, starting with a view to international practices.

Internationally, the published research field of subjective well-being and quality of life encompass nearly endless amounts of theoretical and methodological approaches, directions and interpretations and accounts for centuries of research experience (Cobb & Rixford 1998; Land & Michalos 2017). The majority of studies involves well-being and the quality of life in Western or Asian societies and particularly within the public health and medical sciences. Only a small number involves Greenlandic or Arctic societies and the majority of these studies are likewise within public health and medical sciences. The well-established international research community provides the

opportunity to build on the research of others who have developed best practice experiences and formulated theories of many aspects of subjective well-being and quality of life. Furthermore, the existing groundwork has contributed to conceptualize the many facets of well-being as a research discipline, be it the qualitative subjective or the quantitative objective. The discourse on subjective well-being has perhaps most dominantly been led by the American psychologist Ed Diener, who has more than 200 publications focusing on the psychological aspects of well-being[11] (see e.g. Diener 1984; Diener & Diener 1996; Diener & Suh 1997; Diener et.al 1999; Diener & Suh 2000; Diener, Scollon & Lucas 2004 and Diener, Oishi & Tay 2018). Australian psychologist Robert A. Cummins has extensively advocated for the application and feasibility of subjective measures of well-being (Cummins 1997; Cummins & Gullone 2000; Cummins 2005; Cummins 2016; Cummins 2018). With regard to quality-of-life studies within social sciences, other internationally acknowledged scholars such as Alex Michalos, Wolfgang Glatzer, Valerie Møller, Kenneth C. Land and Ruut Veenhoven have raised awareness about international quality of life issues and developed measures and indicators of human well-being, each in their way, for the past three decades (see e.g. Land 1983; Land & Michalos 2017; Michalos 2014; Møller & Schlemmer 1983; Møller & Huschka 2009; Glatzer et.al 2015). These are a few examples from the international society of researchers, who have shaped and are shaping the scientific discourse on well-being and quality of life and has helped the author of this dissertation to 'hit the ground running'. The same goes for the knowledge gained from the relatively sparse, yet crucially important coverage by Arctic and Greenlandic research on well-being and quality of life.

Well-being research in Greenland and the Arctic

Research focusing on subjective well-being is a somewhat new research discipline in Greenland. In general, there has not been a tradition of writing and documenting knowledge in the history of Greenland. As mentioned before, Greenlanders traditionally passed on knowledge and stories orally from one generation to another (Thisted 1994). This verbal practice slowly transformed with the colonization and especially with the industrialization in the beginning of the 20th century and not least the establishments of higher educational institutions. Within the last 50 years, there has been some studies of well-being and quality of life in Greenland and disciplinary they are a mix of quantitative, qualitative and mixed method studies. This review addresses the most relevant studies and literature somewhat chronologically, which in other populations can be quite impractical, in the context of Greenland, however, it is manageable. Reviewing literature chronologically gives the reader an opportunity to understand how the scope of well-being research has progressed.

The large-scale practice of measuring human development from a social scientific perspective in Greenland began in the 1970s, when the Danish Institute of Social Sciences (Socialforskningsinstituttet ~ *Institute of Social Research*) published the first

[11] See https://eddiener.com/

national survey on living conditions (From et.al 1975). In 1994, Greenland Statistics published their first national survey on living conditions (Levevilkår i Grønland – Den grønlandske levevilkårsundersøgelse ~ *Living Conditions in Greenland - The Greenlandic survey of living conditions*). The Danish research institute DIKE[12] started to investigate public health (focusing on e.g. self-rated health, substance intake, reported domestic violence as well as smoking, suicide attempts and the health of elderly) in Greenland at the end of the 1980s and published reports (Befolkningsundersøgelsen i Grønland ~ The Public Health Survey in Greenland*)* beginning from 1995 (Bjerregard et.al). It later became a longitudinal survey published initially by Bjerregard et.al (2003; 2008), then by Nielsen et.al (2011), followed by Dahl-Petersen et.al (2016.) The most recent publication in this area was in 2019 by Larsen et.al, with the inclusion of the measurements such as self-rated satisfaction with life and cultural changes in the most recent years. The surveys from the beginning of the 1990s revealed major gaps in knowledge, primarily due to the application of a Scandinavian research design, which primarily focused on living standard, and later on in the 1990s the first steps towards conducting research adapted to the Greenlandic culture and ways of living were made (Andersen & Poppel 2002). In 2004, the first major culture-specific effort to discuss human development and well-being across the Arctic was presented with the Arctic Human Development Report (AHDR), which was updated with a sequel in 2015 (Larsen & Fondahl). The initial report recommended a set of social indicators, where the ambition was to reflect the actual conditions in the Arctic more successfully than before, mostly by feeding in to the quantitative discourse on human development and well-being in the Arctic. AHDR suggested to include domains such as contact with nature, fate control and cultural integrity in well-being research, which marked as a clear step forward in understanding Arctic life. The recommendations from AHDR lead to the reports Arctic Social Indicators (ASI), published in 2010 and 2014 (Larsen, Schweitzer & Fondahl; Larsen, Schweitzer & Petrov) in efforts to develop the indicators for the domains further. Around the same time of AHDR, a team of Arctic social scientists worked on a similar quest, with the application of qualitative method. The Survey of Living Conditions in the Arctic (SLiCA), approached their research of well-being and living conditions with a qualitative research design analyzing quantitative data. SLiCA was the first large scale survey in Greenland[13] to include subjective well-being with direct measures (Poppel et.al 2007) and applied different nationalities as units of analysis. As mentioned in the introduction, the SLiCA found that most Greenlanders had high levels of subjective well-being and further found that circumstances such as "*'strong family, social support networks, and ability to continue traditional subsistence activities"* can explain levels of subjective well-being (Martin et.al 2007). Furthermore, the survey found that in spite of major societal issues most people are satisfied with their life in their communities and that factors such as mobility, supply

[12] Then called DIKE, today it is Socialforskningsinstituttet (SFI), based in University of Southern Denmark (SDU).

[13] And other Arctic regions including other Inuit, Sami and the indigenous peoples of Chukotka and the Kola Peninsula.

options and contact with nature affects subjective well-being in relation with the people's perception of life in communities. This somewhat concurs with some contemporary studies in the Arctic. In 2020, Wu found that traditional activities involving contact with nature in Alaska, had positive influence on individual well-being, and that such activities carried out with or through social relations in the household likewise had positive influence on individual well-being (Wu 2020). Notably, she further found that wage income and job opportunities had a negative effect on individual well-being, and that non-wage income makes people more satisfied with their lives.

In regards to the before mentioned unit of analysis, other surveys and reports conducted in Greenland have used a single nationality as unit of analysis, which means neither AHDR, ASI nor the public health surveys analyze inter-cultural differences within Greenland. A few smaller studies of subjective well-being have dealt with cultural distinctions. Biswas-Diener-et.al (2005) conducted a cultural well-being study analyzing differences between Inughuit, Amish and Maasai people. The study contested the claim from Diener & Diener (1996) that most people in industrialized societies are happy, through analysis of data from three rural areas. The study found that the people in their study where "*happy, but not overwhelmingly so*" and that there are cultural and individual variations. The same research team (Vittersø et.al 2005) conducted a study of how meanings of satisfaction with life culturally differed between Greenlandic and Norwegian respondents and found reasons to act with caution to cultural differences in well-being research. On this note, the dissertation concludes the conceptual framework and the following will lead the reader into the method of collecting data.

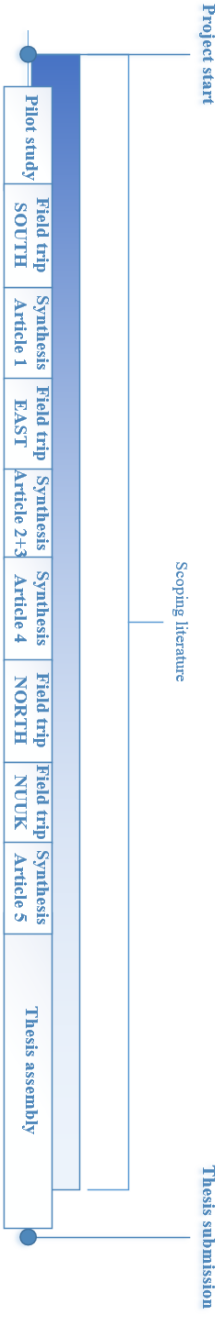
2.3 Method

The following section gives a presentation of main aspects of the methods applied. The section is divided into seven sub-sections, that each contributes to explain the practical choices made for solving the issues of this dissertation. The first two sub-sections describe the research process and design. The third and fourth sub-section goes on to present the qualitative approach applied in the project, including a review of the data collection and the choices made regarding interviews and interview questions. The fifth section presents the ethical approaches and the last two sections describe the pilot field study and the field studies in Greenland.

2.3.1 Research Process

The project started with scoping existing practice and literature on subjective well-being and quality of life in social scientific research in and outside Greenland. Scoping literature helped identifying the state-of-the-art within the fields of subjective well-being and qualitative research in Greenland. In addition, it revealed gaps that were relevant and interesting to pursue. This particular process was on-going though out the project. At the end of 2017, a pilot study was conducted with the aim of testing questions before starting the actual fieldwork in Greenland. After the pilot study, a plan for the fieldwork was set up and the synthesis of articles and dissertation. The process from start to dissertation submission is visualized below in Figure 6. The on-going process of scoping literature is illustrated as the rectangular box that gradually shifts color intensity. The dark color intensity at the beginning of the model symbolizes that literature scoping was more intense at the beginning of the project and gradually lightens along the process. The process model further illustrates the chronological process of field trips and synthesis of publications with the dissertation assembly before submission. Chapter 4 provides additional reflections of the process.

Figure 6 Process model (own production)



2.3.2 Research Design

The following provides a framework for the practical part of the research design. Following the approach of Poppel (2015), it is the fundamental perspective of this dissertation that people have the best capacity to evaluate their individual well-being. This bottom-up approach, thus, became the foundation of the projects' research design. This sub-section takes departure with a description of the target group, followed by considerations with establishing the interview method as well interview questions. Lastly, and before moving on to descriptions of the field trips, some considerations about processing the data after conducting the interviews will be presented.

Target group

Since the objective of this study is to explore perceptions of subjective well-being among Greenlanders, the persons of interest to this study are people who define themselves as Greenlanders. Hence, the criterion for being a Greenlander in this study is foremost that the individuals identify themselves as Greenlanders[14]. Furthermore, it is a criterion that they either were born or raised in Greenland, or have been living in Greenland for a minimum of 10 years altogether. Since there is a considerate number of persons with other nationalities than Greenlandic in Greenland (mostly Danish), these criteria were made to ensure a common frame of reference.

Greenlanders [in Greenlandic ~ *Kalaallit*, sing. *kalaaleq*] are descendants of Inuit [meaning *people*, plural form of *inuk*, meaning *person*], which is an overarching designation of several branches of indigenous peoples in the Arctic. It might seem questionable that an adult who has lived for 10 years in Greenland can be considered a Greenlander, however, because of the colonial history, there are many people who have lived small or large parts of their lives in Denmark and who identify as Greenlanders. This is in line with Petersen (1990), who defined the Greenlandic identity with binary components; a cultural identity, which ties to language, heritage and culture, and a structural identity that ties to the place of residence. Given the cultural distinctions and different meanings of well-being, as argued in Chapter 2.2, it is further assumed that a person native to Denmark or elsewhere is most likely to have a different perspective of what a good life is compared to a Greenlander.

Age group considerations

One of the initial ideas about the projects objective was to propose a future scenario. Based on that notion it did not initially make sense to include people above the age of

[14] Besides being a widespread fundamental human right, self-identification is also a criterion regarding identification of indigenous peoples (UN n.d.).

40. The idea was that it had to be young people or the people that would become the majority of the population in, for example, 2050. The age group was thus decided to be between 18 and 40 years of age. During the first field trip in South Greenland, participants were contacted and invited to come forward and be a part of the study. The requirements of the people eligible were explained carefully in flyers and on the press coverage (see Appendix F). In spite of this, people on two accounts were untruthful about their age on the phone, for them to be a part of the study. After several considerations and after deciding that the projects objective was not going to be scenario-based after all, the age group was changed to 18-65 years for the rest of the fieldwork.

2.3.3 Data Collection

In the research design process, there were considerations and choices regarding the data collection, for example the type of interview that would make most sense to conduct in context of the dissertation's research questions. To this end, different approaches are taken to answer the research questions. As mentioned in Chapter 1.3, the main research question is explored through two sub-questions. This means, that the outcome of the interviews, which is part of the qualitative method, will give answers to how such method can add to the current knowledge. The first sub-question is explored by directly asking people how they consider a good life. This question is followed up with questions that ask about the importance of different aspects. The second sub-question is answered by interpretation of regional differences appearing from the interview answers.

Interview technique

Depending on the purpose of the study, there are several interview techniques in the qualitative research discipline such as for example narrative interviews, focus groups, observations and personal interviews (Flick, 2006). Narrative interviews and observations is conducted in for example ethnographic studies (Bryman 2016). The intention was to ask people how they consider a good life, and what quality of life is to them, which arguably leaves the most appropriate methods to be focus groups and personal interviews. Focus group interviews were considered, however, to avoid answers being influenced by the group dynamic, and have the discussion turn into moral aspects of life in general, the personal interview was chosen as the sole interview form for the project. Experiences with the personal interview form is addressed in Chapter 4.

Number of interviews

Another consideration in the project was how many interviews would be appropriate to conduct to secure enough material for analysis. The plan was to travel to different regions in Greenland and get as many interviews as possible within the visit time. The

idea of conducting as many interviews as possible was to ensure two things: Firstly, it was important to get interviews from women and men from places with different structural contexts, whether it be labor, supply, industry etc. These criteria were important in order to avoid a too narrow data frame, that is, that the data would present perspectives limited to, for example employed persons or one gender. The most obvious difference to explore was between town and settlement, as well as the differences between regions. Secondly, it was important to get as many interviews as possible to ensure a nuanced description of well-being perceptions as well as to reach data saturation. Data saturation is an inconclusive concept, and in this project, the goal of reaching data saturation involved that no new data or codes emerged. The project applies an interpretation of the concept of the saturation grid from Brod, Tesler and Christensen (2009) as illustrated in Figure 7.

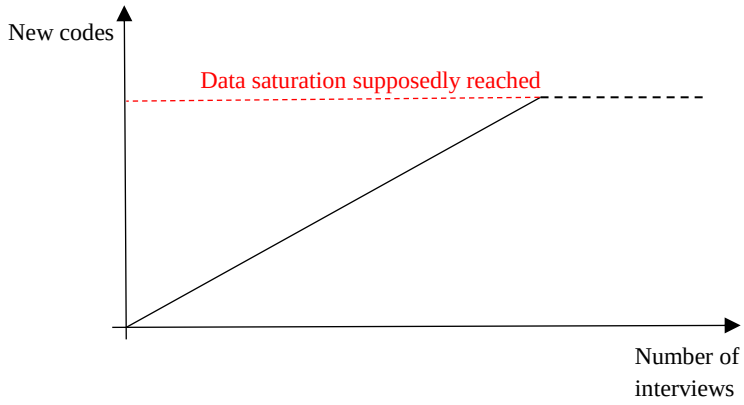


Figure 7 The point of supposed data saturation (own production)

The principle of Figure 7 is that the point of data saturation is supposedly reached at a given number of interviews at a point where no new information emerges. The number of interviews needed can vary for each project. The figure holds a disclaimer, which rests in the preconditions of subjective data, that there is always the possibility that new information is 'out there' in another interview. Hence, data saturation within research that deals with subjective data can only be assumed and this is illustrated with the line becoming dotted when supposed data saturation is reached.

2.3.4 Interviews

One project – three languages

As described, the project navigates in three languages (four if *Tunumiit oraasiat*, the East Greenlandic dialect is included). Interviews were conducted in Danish,

Greenlandic (including different dialects), or both. Some even used English terms when their Danish was insufficient. It was important to the integrity of the project that the people, participating in the study, could freely choose their preferred language for the interview. However, the Greenlandic language consists of three regional and very distinct dialects and numerous less distinct dialects throughout the country. Due to these circumstances, and to ensure that there was full understanding of the interview conversations and between informants and interviewer, a local translator was hired for the interviews, whenever it was needed and possible. If it was not possible to get a translator, the informants were still encouraged to speak their preferred language. On one occasion, there were linguistic issues with the transcription of interview conducted in Greenlandic. On this instance, a translator helped with the correct transcription. The following paragraph describes the methodology and process of recruiting informants.

Recruiting informants

The primary empirical material of the dissertation was collected through semi-structured personal interviews conducted in four regions in Greenland. Informants were found via 'snowball sampling' and 'convenience sampling' (Bryman 2016). In practice, some groundwork was carried out before the trips in order to attract and seek out informants. Specifically, posters were hung up on town bulletin boards before arrival with the help of locals, posts were shared on social media.[15] Interviews were also carried out for online articles and national radio broadcasts[16] were performed prior to, and after the trips. Details of actions taken and places visited are given in Section 2.3.7. On arrival at each location, potential informants were approached by walking around the streets and asking whether they were interested in participating, as well as asking if they knew of others in their social circles, who might also be interested. Furthermore, collaboration with the local unemployment offices, Majoriaq, was made in the towns of Qaqortoq, Tasiilaq, Aasiaat, Ilulissat and Uummannaq. This was integral in the process of finding unemployed informants and it was a relatively neutral space for the informants[17]. The visits of the four regions resulted in 70 interviews with 43 females and 27 males, the youngest being 18 and the oldest being 65. 17 of the interviews were conducted in South Greenland, 17 in East Greenland, 20 in North Greenland and 16 in Nuuk. The following describes the process of, and choices made in designing questions for the project.

[15] Namely on Facebook. Facebook is a significant social media in Greenland, being the most active country worldwide measured on comments (Greenland Today, 2018)

[16] Internet connections are not affordable to all so the radio is a significant source of news, information as well as entertainment in East Greenland amongst the population.

[17] In Chapter 4 further reflections upon the issues of finding a neutral space for interviews are included.

Question design

The geographic distance between Greenland and Denmark presented a few hurdles, especially in the process of designing questions for the interviews. Later in this chapter, it is addressed how a pilot project helped in the evaluation of the first draft of questions before conducting the study in Greenland. The following paragraph will introduce the reader to the process of designing the interview questions.

There have been different paths to consider when it comes to the design and construction of interview questions for the project. There was the opportunity to either lean on to the designs of existing state-of-the-art research or design an original set of questions. Working with applied interview questions from established research had the advantage of not having to test if the questions worked and if relevant, it would have provided an opportunity to compare the findings with other similar studies. As argued, however, most methods from state-of-the-art research projects in the Arctic have proved insufficient to map and create causal knowledge about subjective well-being in Greenland. Given the character of the research approach being qualitative and explorative, the interviews was designed with a combination of a set of original qualitative questions accompanied by a set of internationally acknowledged evaluative questions.

The process of designing the questions was partly based on the research questions. The main dilemma evolved around how to answer the research questions, through the answers provided from the informants. The individual quality of life and well-being is a mystery in itself and sensitive to many varying variables, like e.g. time, place and personal circumstances. The objective of the questions, besides making the informant express how they perceived a good life, was to have the informant reflect upon their whole life experience. Furthermore, the objective was to ensure that the questions generated comprehensive answers, and that the answers did not only display the informants' self-assessed quality of life on specific life domains, like e.g. evaluation of their job or social relations. Thus, the questions altogether had to generate answers that would express the informants' evaluation of their entire life experience, and at the same time an effort was made not to put words or ideas into the informant's mind. The ambition was to make the scope of the interview as wide as possible, but with a clear structure close to the aim and purpose of the interview. Based on Flicks' guide to key points in designing interview questions, each question was evaluated with four sets of criteria (2006):

1) *Why do you ask this specific question?*
   - *What is its theoretical relevance?*
   - *What is the link to the research questions?*
2) *For what reason do you ask this question?*

- *What is the substantial dimension of this question?*

3) *Why did you formulate this question in this way (and not differently)?*
   - *Is the question easy to understand?*
   - *Is the question unambiguous?*
   - *Is the question productive?*
4) *Why did you position this question (or block of questions) at this specific place in the interview guide?*
   - *How does it fit into the rough and detailed structure of the interview guide?*
   - *How is the distribution of types of question spread across the interview guide?*
   - *What is the relation between single questions?*

(Flick, 2006)

Based on these criteria, the interview questions were designed and formulated as exemplified on Table 1. It amounted to 24 questions, that address both affective (positive/negative emotions) and cognitive aspects of subjective well-being; 17 open-ended questions as well as 7 evaluative closed questions.

The following paragraph briefly presents some of the main considerations made with the questions.

The qualitative interview questions

The beginning of each interview commenced with questions to details on main characteristics of the persona and life of the informant, such as name, age, occupation, birthplace, family situation and leisure activities. Besides revealing key features of the informant's life, it served as an excellent icebreaker. Following that, the interview would proceed with a series of open-ended questions to widen the scope of the interview. The evaluative questions were deliberately placed in between two sections of open-ended questions. The details of the interview strategy is illustrated and further described in the fifth publication in Chapter 3.5 (Steenholdt *under review*). Rating life satisfaction and importance of life domains places the participant in a specific reflexive state that can set the tone well, and create a comfortable atmosphere for the rest of the interview, which may positively influence the quality of the answers. If the informant were asked to start by rating their overall satisfaction with life, that rating would be likely set the course of the interview. Since the qualitative questions were key in the study, it was assumed to be less 'intervening' for the overall outcome if the qualitative questions would influence the quantitative questions than *vice versa*.

The first three questions, 1) With yourself in mind, what do you think a good life is?, 2) What would a bad life be to you?, and 3) What is quality of life to you?, linked directly to the first research sub-question of the dissertation, which was: What is considered a good life among Greenlanders*?* These questions had further the potential to open up the discussion on the dissertation' main research question and second

research sub-question as well. The questions 3-7 in Appendix D were applied to move deeper into the informants' perceptions and feelings of "good" and "bad" in their lives and to broaden the scope for the interview even more. At first sight, the interview questions may look and sound like each other, however, the assumption was that each question would trigger a different association[18]. The next part of the question design process involved the closed questions, which will be described in the following paragraph.

The evaluative questions

The next part of the question series from question 8-14 are evaluative questions. There were some concerns with formulating the questions and selecting the appropriate scale for measuring the evaluative aspects of subjective well-being that is accounted for in this paragraph. The social science has developed many versions of questions for quantitative well-being research as well as hundreds of numerical scales to measure self-reported well-being (Cummins 1997), and the debates on which scales are most accurate are inconclusive. In this regard, Cummins & Gullone (2000), Conceição & Bandura (2008), Pavot & Diener (2009) and Pavot (2014) offer good reviews on the development of scales to measure subjective well-being. Somewhat agreeing with the concluding arguments of Cummins & Gullone (2000), in that rating with more values than in the highly utilized 5- or 7-point Likert Scale (Likert 1932) increases accuracy, the scale applied for this research design is the 11-point end-defined scale. Combining the Likert approach with the application of 11 points in the scale is based on the principles of bias. The Likert scale has a midpoint and two equal sides of 'good' and 'bad', thus avoiding analytical bias (Hansen & Andersen 2005). Furthermore, it is considered that the gap between zero and one has psychological potency. With '1' as the lowest value on the scale, the individual is somewhat forced to assign some value to the variable. Conversely, the individual is able to assign the variable with no value with the 11-point end-defined scale, where zero is the lowest value. This arguably increases sensitivity even further than the 10-point scale; therefore, the scale applied for this study is the 11-point end-defined scale.

Two types of evaluative questions were applied in the study; a question where the informant were asked to rank their satisfaction with life as a whole and the second type where the informant were asked to rank their satisfaction of different life domains. The first question is an internationally acknowledged question that goes as (Cummins 2018): On a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 is not satisfied at all and 10 is very satisfied. All things considered, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with your life as a whole? This question is also applied in the research design of SLiCA (Poppel 2015), although with a slightly different formulation (see Chapter 2.2.1). The second type

[18] Many of the informants stated that they felt they were asked the same questions, yet in reality the outcome of their answers confirmed the initial assumption and intend with the questions, as accounted for in the fourth publication in chapter 3.4 (Steenholdt *in press)*.

was formulated as: On a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 is not important at all and 10 is very important, how important is [insert variable] in relation to whether you feel that you have a good life? The variables were to encompass different life domains and was from the beginning; family, work/study situation, public welfare system, nature. In order to determine which variables to ask the informants about, I reached out to the media house Sermitsiaq.ag, and asked them if they would be interested in doing a public opinion poll about how Greenlanders perceive a good life (See Appendix H). To this end, the result of the street poll gave some useful direction as to where to start with the evaluative questions about life domains. Learning from the field trip in South Greenland, the variables "social relations" and "spirituality" were added to the remaining field trips and the variable "local community" was added for the concluding field trip in Nuuk (See Appendix D). The explorative nature of this study explains this on-going development of questions. The whole point of the study was to explore how Greenlanders perceive a good life mainly through the open-ended questions, and through the closed questions, the question frame was expanded from the experiences gained from one trip to another.

Mixing methods

What the questions on Appendix D do not show, is that once the informant answered the evaluative question about life satisfaction, a follow up question asking what they imagined should happen if it was different was asked. For instance, when an informant expressed a value on the life satisfaction scale, e.g. the value 8, they would be asked further: "What do you imagine were to happen for the value to be 10?", and "What were to happen if the value was as low as 0?" This way the informant would reveal certain best and worst scenarios that would influence subjective well-being. If the informant stated a satisfaction of 10, they would be asked if they could imagine what were to happen for their score to be '5' or '0' on the scale. Likewise, with the life domain questions, these were followed up with: "Why did you choose this value?" This procedure had the objective of making interpretative analysis of the evaluative questions possible, and is further described in the fifth publication in Chapter 3.5 (Steenholdt *in review*).

2.3.5 Research Ethics

Code of ethics

Asking the right questions were only part of the process. Consideration was also needed to ensure that the questions and the interview situation would be respectful to both the informant and the purpose of the interview. Due to the nature of the questions, I as the interviewer, had a responsibility to create a safe space for the informant and at the same time keep a high scientific standard. To ensure this, the Ethical Guidelines

of the Social Research Association is applied throughout the project. Specifically in relation to the informant (the subject), the application of the guidelines ensure that I as the researcher:

"(...) strive to protect subjects from undue harm arising as a consequence of their participation in research. This requires that subjects' participation should be voluntary and as fully informed as possible and no group should be disadvantaged by routinely being excluded from consideration." (SRA 2003).

This application of ethical guidelines is followed by a data management plan, see Appendix E.

Confidentiality and consent

In continuation of above paragraph, and due to the personal nature of the interview questions, the identity of the informants is anonymous in this project and informed consent is secured from all informants. Greenland is geographically a large country, yet in and across towns and settlements many know each other, sometimes just by revealing place and occupation. With this in mind, it was necessary to consider how anonymity could be secured. There are several levels of anonymity and ways to ensure anonymity in a research project. The first level of anonymity is secured by leaving out identifying details such as name and age. The second level of anonymity deals with masking some details that could otherwise reveal a persons' identity. For instance, if an informant would mention having three brothers, the quotation would be changed to three *siblings* or if an informant is the only person working at the municipality office or at the health house in a settlement, a quotation would be changed to leave out specific details about occupation. In some cases, it is difficult, if not impossible to leave out details that might reveal a persons' identity. In Chapter 3.1, the first article deals with how sheep farmers in South Greenland utilize farm stay tourism concept to maintain their lifestyles, which had a positive effect on their quality of life (Steenholdt & Chimirri 2018). Since there is only around 46 sheep farmers in South Greenland (Bank.stat.gl 2020) and even fewer that operates with tourism the principles of anonymity dissolves. In these instances, the level of anonymity is secured only by leaving out age and names.

For formalizing consent from each informant, consent forms were brought for the informant to read and sign (see Appendix A). Signatures were obtained from the majority of the informants, however, some of the interviews were spontaneously conducted and in a few of the cases, consent forms ran out during the visit, with no possibility of printing. In those few instances, the informants agreed to grant informed consent via mail or through Facebooks' online platform Messenger afterwards. The latter is admittedly not the optimal way of retrieving consent, however, in some cases the informants stated they did not have an e-mail nor a telephone, though they were happy to be contacted on Messenger. Before publication, the translated quotes used in the articles were presented to the participants, for them to further validate content

and context. In one case, where the participant had died after the interview, and therefore was unable view the quote, the quotation was used, since written consent was secured at the time of the interview.

2.3.6 Pilot Study

Since it would have been too expensive and time-costly to travel to Greenland and test the questions and back again, a pilot study was carried out with Greenlanders living in Denmark, namely in the area of Zealand. After investigating how other projects asked questions about well-being and quality of life, and after getting the results of the street poll as described in Chapter 2.3.4, a draft of interview questions were made. Informants were sought through posts written in Danish and Greenlandic on the social media, namely Facebook. The post was quickly shared and a dozen inquiries were received, both through Facebook and via e-mail. The post is illustrated in Appendix B. A few of the inquiries came from people who lived in Jutland, however due to financial and time-related reasons, the decision was made to only interview people living in Zealand. Three interviews were carried out with one male and two females between the ages of 18 and 40. The participants were all originally from Greenland but have been living in Denmark for several years. Occupation wise, the male was a student with intentions of returning to Greenland one day. One of the females were working as a freelancer and had no plans of returning to Greenland, and the second female was on maternity leave and had no plans of returning to Greenland in near future. The draft interview questions are included in Appendix C. The interviews with the females was conducted in their own homes and the interview with the male was conducted in the university campus. After the interviews, it became clear that the questions needed revision and once the questions had been modified, the next step was to commence the field trips in Greenland. The following paragraph will lead the reader through the trips with a description of each place visited.

2.3.7 Field Trips in Greenland

Due to the procedural and at times anecdotal nature of the remaining chapter, the following is mainly written in first-person singular.

Between April 2018 and December 2019, I conducted 71 interviews (where one was interrupted in the beginning of the interview and thus discarded) in 13 locations in South, East, North and Midwest Greenland. The locations were reached by plane, helicopter and boat. The following will provide a description of the field trips to Greenland. The description will, in summary, pin point the practical details such as the dates and place of stay. In addition circumstances that were important for the data collection, such as number of interviews, interview location issues, and whether or not the interviews were translated are included. Table 1 shows an overview of numbers of interviews in each place.

Table 1 Overview of interviews and places

Place	Aasiaat	Ilulissat	Kanger-lussuaq	Kulusuk	Kuummiut	Nanortalik	Narsar-suaq
Interviews	7	7	1	2	2	8	3
Place	**Nuuk**	**Qassiarsuk**	**Qaqortoq**	**Sermiligaaq**	**Tasiilaq**	**Uummannaq**	
Interviews	16	1	5	1	12	5	

In South Greenland, I visited the towns Qaqortoq and Nanortalik as well as the settlements Qassiarsuk and Narsarsuaq. In East Greenland, I visited the town Tasiilaq and the settlements Kulusuk, Sermiligaaq and Kuummiut. In the most Northern part of the field trips, I visited the towns Aasiaat, Ilulissat and Uummannaq as well as the settlement Kangerlussuaq. In Midwest Greenland, I visited the capital town, Nuuk. In the following, I will give an overview of each field trip. A more detailed demographic description of each place I visited is listed under Appendix I.

Media coverage

Before each field trip, I sent out press releases to the national media houses Kalaallit Nunaata Radio (KNR) and Sermitsiaq/Atuagagdliutit. An example of a press release is included in Appendix F. The media house KNR was very interested in the project throughout the years. They brought the story online and interviewed me for national TV and radio on several occasions. The exposure of the project helped me get informants that were out of my own circle of acquaintances, and reach people who did not have access to social media.

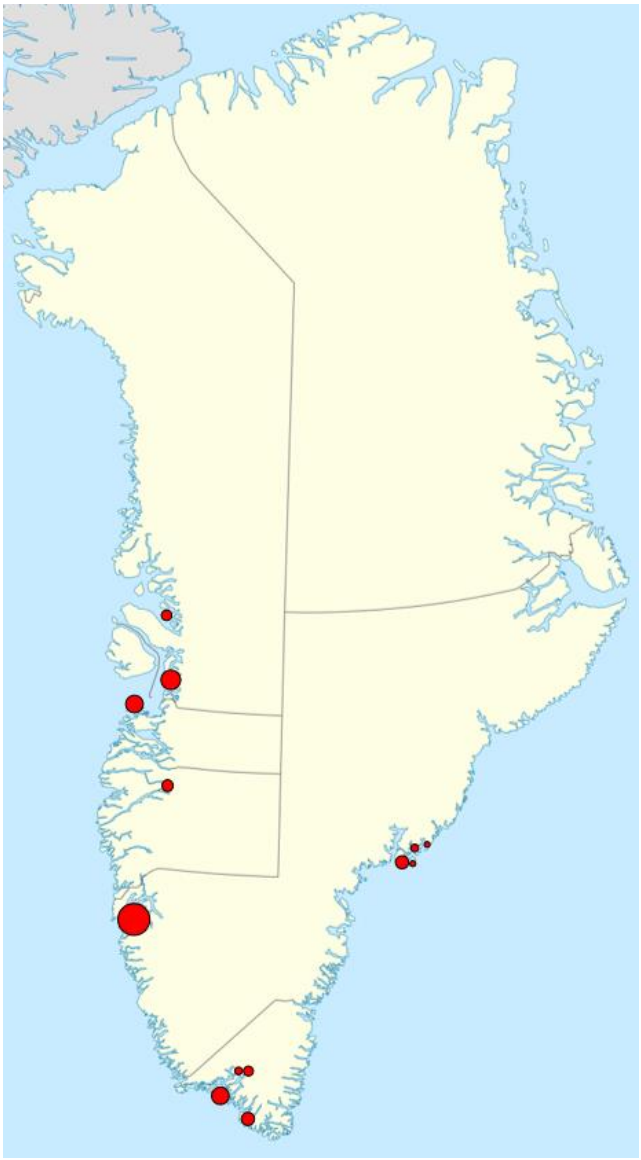


Figure 8 Map of the places visited in Greenland (graphics made with Visio Pro)

South Greenland

The first field trip was in South Greenland in April 2018. Due to the high prices on transportation and accommodation in Greenland in general, my colleague and peer

PhD student Daniela Chimirri[19] and I decided to travel together. The week before departure, we sent out a joint press release and shared a post online in groups on Facebook to attract possible participants. Between April 10 and 18, 2018 we visited the towns Qaqortoq and Nanortalik, as well as the settlements Narsarsuaq and Qassiarsuk either by plane, helicopter or boat. *In situ* I recruited people on streets, in shops and in public spaces. The search resulted in 17 interviews. Since Daniela's project was about tourism, we did not interfere with each other's research subjects of interest. At least, that was the initial assumption. Once we returned to Denmark, we quickly found that, because we visited the same settlements that had very few inhabitants, we had been talking with some of the same people and subsequently that we had data suitable for a joint article. Hence, the field trip resulted in this project's first article (Steenholdt & Chimirri 2018 in Chapter 3.1). The field trip also contributed to the second, third and fifth article (Steenholdt 2019a; Steenholdt 2019b; Steenholdt *under review*, in Chapter 3.2, 3.3 and 3.5)

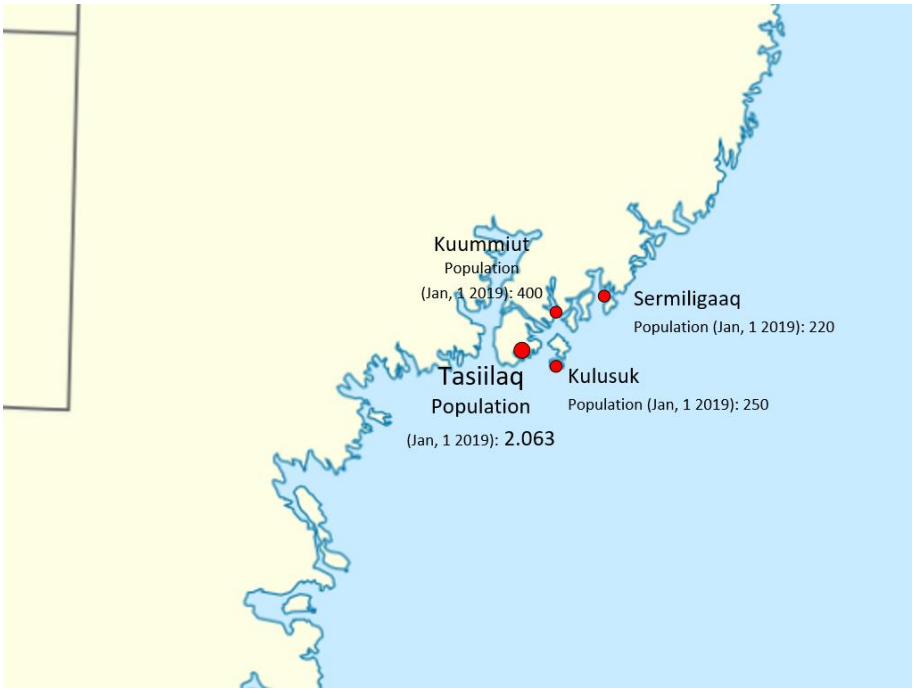
Figure 9 Map of field trip locations in South Greenland (graphics made with Visio Pro)

[19] Daniela was working on a PhD project on her own regarding tourism and collaboration.

East Greenland

In July 2019, I conducted the fieldwork in East Greenland. Since it was successful travelling together in South Greenland, and with considerable savings on accommodation, my colleague Daniela Chimirri and I decided to team up again for the trip to East Greenland. The field trip started in Kulusuk, where we were from July 11 to July 13. The week before arrival, the manager of Hotel Kulusuk helped put up posters on bulletins. Once I arrived, I recruited people on the streets and through people's networks (snowball sampling). I had interviews with two people (female/male), both from their workplaces. On July 12, we spent most of the day in two nearby settlements, Sermiligaaq and Kuummiut, which were reached with a hired boat. In these settlements, I recruited people randomly on walking paths between house and in the center of the settlement. The owner and skipper of the boat furthermore introduced me to some people in both settlements. I had no fixed office, so I was depending on interviews on location. The brief expedition resulted in two interviews in Kuummiut and one interview in Sermiligaaq, all conducted in the informants' workplaces. On July 13, we flew by helicopter to the only town in the area, Tasiilaq, where we were until July 16. In order for me to attract possible relevant informants and get a head start, I shared posts online on Facebook in different groups on both Danish and Greenlandic, similar to the post I shared with the pilot study (see

Figure 10 Map of field trip locations on East Greenland (graphics made with Visio Pro)



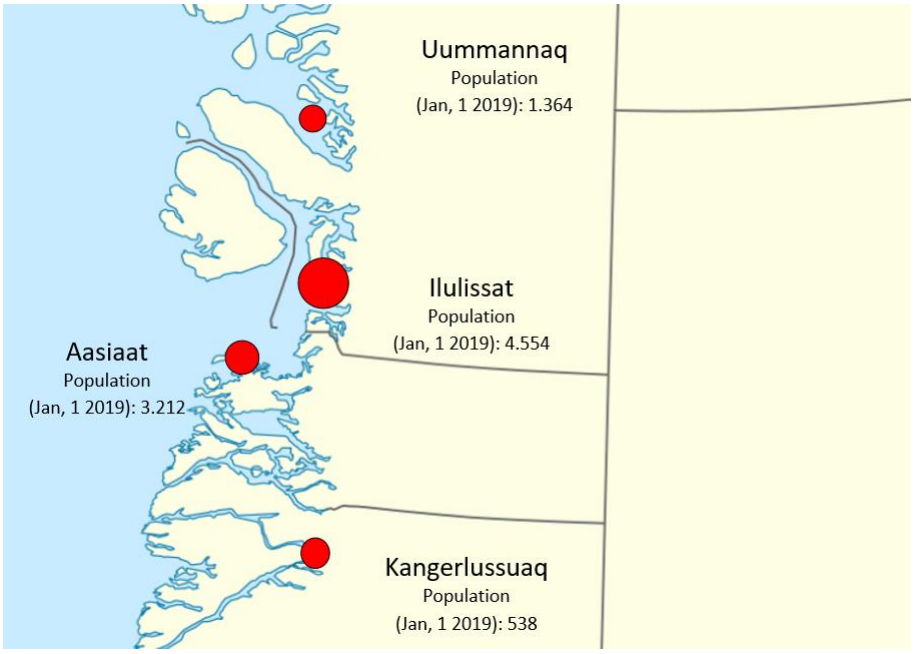
Appendix B). I also reached out to the media platforms Sermitsiaq.ag and KNR.gl, through a press release with information of our purpose in East Greenland as well as dates and our whereabouts (see Appendix F). Both Sermitsiaq.ag and KNR.gl published online articles (see Appendix F) and KNR Radio transmitted a brief live interview on national radio. In spite of the media coverage and my walks around the streets to recruit people, I had some difficulty with getting the interviews, on this occasion. I therefore reached out to the unemployment office in Tasiilaq who were willing to provide an office and furthermore asked their clients to see if they were interested in participating. This turned out to be important, as I on the one hand, had a place to conduct interviews, and on the other hand was given the opportunity to meet people I probably would not have meet on my own. In conclusion, I had twelve interviews in Tasiilaq (6 females/6 males). Seven of the interviews were conducted in Majoriaq, three took place in the hotel where I stayed, one was conducted at the informant's workplace, and the last interview was conducted in the private home of the informant. The people of East Greenland have their own Greenlandic dialect, *Tunumiit oraasiat*, and I therefore needed a translator to assist with the interviews. I had made an appointment with a local translator, to whom I could call when needed. Alas, the translator turned out to be indisposed at the time I needed the help and I was fortunate that the Head of Majoriaq offered to help with the translations. This turned out to be both helpful and convenient, since most of the interviews took place in Majoriaq (Further reflections on the translation issues in East Greenland in Chapter 4). By the end of the field trip, three of the 17 interviews had been simultaneously translated, the rest of the interviews were conducted in either Danish or West Greenlandic.

The field trip to East Greenland contributed to the fourth and fifth publication (Steenholdt *in press* and Steenholdt *under review* in Chapter 3.4 and 3.5).

North Greenland

In November 2019, I completed the fieldwork for North Greenland. This time I went on my own, and during the trip I visited the towns of Aasiaat, Ilulissat and Uummannaq through the airport settlement of Kangerlussuaq (where I had an ambition of recruiting informants during transit on the way back to Denmark). I sent out a press release a week before departure, and the media shared the news of my field trip on their online platforms as well as on television. I was also interviewed for national radio on the first day of the trip. The first stop was in Aasiaat, where I was from November 11 to November 13. Before arrival, I had reached out to the local unemployment office, Majoriaq that was willing to help me with an office to conduct interviews and further to share news about my project for their unemployed clients and students. Aasiaat is my hometown where I grew up the first 3 years of my life, and I still have family there. I therefore had arranged to stay with family, who also helped with putting up posters on town bulletin boards and passing flyers around. They also knew and suggested different translators in the town I could use for the interviews. This gave me a head start, so when I arrived I already had a couple of interviews planned and an appointment with a local translator. During my stay in Aasiaat, I had seven interviews (five females/two males), four of which was simultaneously translated. Four of the interviews were conducted in Majoriaq, two

Figure 11 Map of field trip locations North Greenland 2019
(graphics made with Visio Pro)



were conducted at the informant's workplace, and the last interview was conducted in the informant's private home.

On November 13, I travelled further North to Ilulissat. In Ilulissat I stayed with an Airbnb host and due to my media coverage, I had two interviews planned and an appointment with the local unemployment office, Majoriaq, who provided a room for interviews. I had prearranged an agreement with a translator who I found through social media. During my stay, I had eight interviews (four females/four males), where two were simultaneously translated. Due to bad weather, I was stuck in Ilulissat for two days. I had hoped that during this time I could find transportation for me to get to a nearby settlement, however, due to the weather conditions, it was not possible.

The extra nights of overlay subsequently meant I only had 24 hours in the next location, Uummannaq. While I was planning the trip from home, I could not find any vacant rooms in Uummannaq at the time for my stay. A fellow PhD student that had done fieldwork in the area before had some useful tips, and I ended up staying at the Free Church. The weather conditions are always difficult to count on in Greenland, which is why I made efforts to plan, by for example sharing posts on Facebook and contacting people by e-mail weeks before arrival. The local Majoriaq had also agreed to provide an office to conduct interviews. The planning turned out to be important and during the 24 hours I was in Uummannaq I had five interviews (three females/two males), most of which I would not have had without reaching out beforehand. Two of the interviews were conducted at Majoriaq, two in the informant's private home and the last interview was conducted in a public cafe.

On the way home, I spent a night in Kangerlussuaq at a hostel. I only had a few hours to find and conduct interviews, though given the small population size of Kangerlussuaq I did not think it would be a problem. During my first transit in Kangerlussuaq on the way up North, I went around in the settlement and put up recruiting posters of my project on the bulletins in the airport, as well as in the shops that allowed me to do so. I had therefore hoped that someone would approach me at some point amidst my days in the North. Unfortunately this did not happen, so I spend most of the time on the last day trying to recruit people. Kangerlussuaq is a small settlement where most people are there because of the airport. Hence, many of the people I talked with were working at the time of approach and they had a hard time finding time for an interview in the small window of time I was there. Fortunately, I found an individual who had the time to do so from her workplace, thus I left Kangerlussuaq with one interview (female). The field trip to North Greenland contributed to the fifth publication (Steenholdt *under review* in Chapter 3.5)

Nuuk

In December 2019, I concluded the fieldwork for the dissertation in Nuuk. I arrived on December 2 where I stayed at a friend's house until December 6. Planning the interviews in Nuuk was a little easier because I had the university facilities nearby. Twelve of the interviews were conducted at university campus, where I had borrowed an office from a fellow PhD student, two of the interviews were conducted in the informant's workplace and the last two interviews were conducted in the informants' private homes. I had a stand-by appointment with a translator; however, the informants all declined the offer of translation. During the five days, I had 14 interviews (nine females/four males). On my previous trips to Nuuk (In relation with a PhD course), I got two interviews (both female) which is added to the total interviews from Nuuk. The trip to Nuuk contributed to the fifth publication (Steenholdt *under review* in Chapter 3.5).

Figure 12 Map of Nuuk (Graphic made with Visio Pro)

CHAPTER 3

ARTICLES

Article 1

3.1 Tourism and Quality of Life in Greenland: Exploration through farm stays in South Greenlandic settlements

Naja Carina Steenholdt and Daniela Chimirri

[This version of the article is altered to fit the format of the dissertation. The article was published in Arctic Yearbook 2018[20]]

Abstract *Studies of how the development of industries impacts resident quality of life in Greenland have largely focused on fisheries and mining neglecting the emerging tourism industry in the country. In this article, we aim to contribute to the reduction of this gap within academia and praxis by exploring how the developing tourism industry in South Greenland interrelates with resident quality of life in this area. Based on the lack of existing academic literature and public awareness within tourism and quality of life in South Greenland, we investigate the relevance of the tourism industry, specifically farm tourism, effect on resident quality of life. Through a small-scale exploratory case study of farm stays in South Greenlandic settlements, we aim to create an understanding of how resident quality of life and farm tourism interrelates. By applying the bottom-up spillover theory as theoretical frame, we investigate whether generated income from farm tourism can contribute to people's state of wellbeing, but also that there is more to wellbeing than "just" money. Based on generated data, our study concludes that there is a close interrelation between farm tourism and resident QoL in South Greenland. Subsequently, we argue that there are relevant grounds in a larger perspective for further research within the field of tourism and QoL in Greenland.*

Keywords *Tourism, farm tourism, quality of life, social indicators, Greenland*

[20] This article has been changed to fit the format of the dissertation and pictures have been removed. This was by Editor Dr. Heather Exner-Pirot. To see and access the published article, go to https://arcticyearbook.com/arctic-yearbook/2018

1A1 Introduction

The increasing amount of debates in Greenland, centering on economic growth, reflects the widespread acknowledgement of its essentiality for the welfare state as such as well as on the way to independence from Denmark. Common grounds proclaiming economic development as inevitable step on the way towards this goal can certainly also be found across academic perspectives and related arguments. According to the current political administration: "*regardless of whether the aim is a strong welfare economy, independence, or trade and industry growth, the Number One resource is the nation's population. […] This makes it imperative to raise the general level of education and training, and creating good conditions for coming generations to grow up in*" (Naalakkersuisut, 2017). This illustrates the necessity to enlarge the perspective of and create grounds for development that embrace the economic as well as the socio-economic dimensions. Up until the present, quality of life studies in Greenland like the Survey of Living Conditions in the Arctic (SLiCA) have addressed how fishing, hunting and mining have affected resident quality of life (Poppel, 2015; Snyder & Poppel, 2017, Poppel et al. 2007). Within the tourism related debates in Greenland, public discussions above the point of economy and its monetary significance for the country as well as research on the role of tourism in socio-economic dimensions for the Greenlandic people are scarce. Undeniably and researched by numerous academics: tourism happens within communities and therefore influences local life in positive as well as negative ways (Adanan et al., 2010). Arguably, since the communities are affected by tourism, the social dimension needs to be granted the same attention as the economic dimensions of tourism development. Hence, policy makers, tourism actors and researchers need to consider the causal relation of resident quality of life and tourism development in Greenland. In order to raise the awareness and inspire a rethinking in this direction, we explore how tourism development in Greenland, in our specific case farm tourism in South Greenland, interrelates with quality of life. To do so, we proceed with a bottom-up hypothesis, which is the understanding that different life domains, such as material wellbeing, health emotional wellbeing etc. have an impact on overall quality of life, where the different life domains can spill over one another.

2A1 Let's Talk About South Greenland: The Status Quo

During the past century, development in South Greenland has, set aside the comprehensive development of the public sector, evolved mainly around natural resources, such as fisheries and mining of raw materials. There are, however, promise and expectations linked to the development of other sectors. The Prime Minister Kim

Kielsen, stated in his New Year's speech in 2018, that "*(w)ith the economic challenges we have in this country, it is of upmost importance to secure the framework for business development of the four business pillars – fisheries, raw materials, tourism and industry*" (Kielsen, 2018). They constitute the foundation of the Greenlandic economy, generating income and offering jobs. The fishing industry, a well-established sector is a bearing pillar of the country's fiscal policy since the early 1900s, and the prospects of its importance remains. "*Increased growth and employment in the private sector is decisive in safeguarding the foundation for the future welfare and prosperity. […], we need to boost the development in the fisheries, which continue to be our most important trade and industry sector*" said Karl-Kristian Kruse, then Minister of Fisheries of Naalakkersuisut[21] at a recent conference (2017). Tourism, which has existed in Greenland since the middle of the 20th century, lacks hitherto to serve as a stable pillar of society like the fisheries; however, the potentials are not unrecognized: "*We are now seeing an upturn in our tourism industry. Tourism could ultimately become one of Greenland's leading industries*" (Naalakkersuisut, 2017). Even though discussions around development of fishery, mining and tourism are significantly focusing on the monetary aspect of it, there are occurrences illustrating an extent towards a more socio-economic perspective. However, this largely occurs within the context of fishery and mining. Naalakkersuisut states by example: *"Earnings from the fisheries must not only generate revenue for Greenland. It is also important to maximize the socio-economic return from our resources, whether these are fish or minerals for example"* (2017) and in another example regarding mining, "*(t)here is promise and expectation among national policymakers and community members alike that development and nearby industrialization could further improve living conditions in Qeqertarsuatsiaat."* (Snyder & Poppel, 2017). The existence of diverse research[22] with a socio-economic perspective on fishery and mining reflects the awareness of how these sectors contribute in more than monetary senses. Based on the apparent awareness for the link between economic means and well-being in these two sectors, we decided to put our focus on tourism. As tourism is considered the third economic pillar of Greenland's economy and is flourishing within the last years, it feels crucial to also investigate how this sector interrelates with well-being and QoL in Greenland. By looking at the concept of farm stay as an example within the tourism industry, we explore how this specific type of tourism

[21] The Government of Greenland

[22] By example, Hertz (1995) addresses how fishing and mining affects living conditions in North Greenland, Poppel (2006; 2015) explore how subsistence economy deriving partly from hunting and fishing, affects the living conditions throughout Greenland. As a last example, Snyder & Poppel (2017) investigates living conditions in a settlement nearby a mine, and subsequently how mining affects the living conditions in the settlement.

contributes to resident quality of life. We aim to broaden the discussion and to create awareness that tourism, as research in the field of fishery and mining already showed, also inheres potential of contributing to the quality of life in Greenland. We are aware that this means that we are coming short in addressing the interrelation between tourism and quality of life in Greenland as a whole, however, the ambition here is primarily to launch an important debate rather than discussing the multifaceted development in Greenland in general.

3A1 Agriculture, Tourism & Farm Stays in Greenland

Before exploring how South Greenlandic farm stays contribute and interrelate with resident's quality of life, we provide a short introduction to agriculture, tourism in Greenland and farm stays in South Greenland in the following chapter. This will pave the way for our analysis chapter "Exploring the present – Interrelation between quality of life and farm tourism", in which we unfold how farm tourism in South Greenland and QoL are interrelated.

3.1A1 Agriculture

"Agriculture in Greenland!" – That might sound strange to some ears, but farming as such has a long tradition in South Greenland, tracing back to the Norsemen and Eric the Red in 982 (Bichet et al., 2013). It still represents an important occupation in the small settlements in the South, for example in Qassiarsuk (Visit Greenland, n. d., b). However, it is not surprising that the connection to agriculture is often not made outside of Greenland. Even though agriculture as department is represented within the governmental bodies, its allocated significance as part of the national economy is shown by its lack of appearance within the annual report of Greenland (Statistics Greenland, 2017). Here, it is merged together with fishery and hunting (when it comes to numbers) and only mentioned within this context (as illustrated by the only explicit mentioning as followed: "Agriculture – products: Sheep, cows, reindeer, fish", Statistic Greenland, 2017: 7). Due to the lack of accountable numbers regarding agriculture and more specifically farming, the assumption that the generated income to the nation's economy through agricultural activities is relatively low (in comparison to fishery and mining) seems substantial.

3.2A1 Tourism in Greenland

Tourism is a relatively new economic sector in Greenland as it has been carried out in an organized way since the 1960s (Christensen, 1992; Kaae, 2002; Kaae, 2006; Johnston & Viken, 1997). Even though tourism might not be considered a long-established industry in Greenland, it certainly affects the turnover and employment rate in many professions, such as e.g. transportation by air and sea, the hospitality and catering sector, as well as touristic services and offers, such as the trade with souvenirs (Naalakkersuisut, 2015; Statistics Greenland, 2010). Tourism plays an increasing role in the economy of these professions. Accordingly, the interest in and focus on tourism and its development in Greenland has increased over the past years (Bjørst & Ren, 2015; Ren & Chimirri, 2017; Ren & Chimirri, 2018). As shown in the figure below (fig. 1_{A1}), the tourism sector has been growing over the last years. Although, this development has not been smooth (due to multiple reasons such as SARS, terroristic attecks, which also affected tourism wordlwide) (Statistics Greenland, 2017), it nevertheless led to the further development of the tourism landscape.

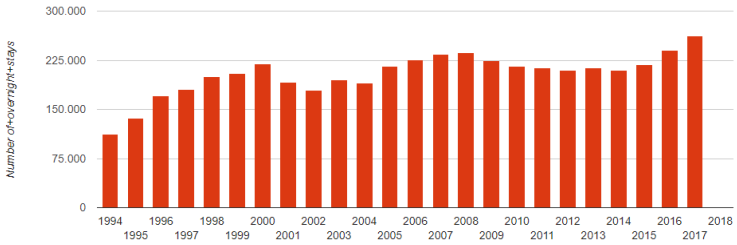


Figure 1_{A1}: Number of overnight stays in Greenland (Statistics Greenland, 2017)

However, there are no figures on the total economic impact of tourism on society as the statistical reports published by Statistics Greenland presents descriptions of bednights, number of passengers and so forth. Tourists arrive in Greenland by either cruise ship or international flights into Kangerlussuaq, Ilulissat, Nuuk, Narsarsuaq, Kulusuk or Nerlerit Inaat in Ittoqqortoormiit. Inside Greenland, tourists travel the country by using either flights and/or ships or a combination of both (Statistics Greenland, 2018). So far, tourism in Greenland has been known to be most successful in places like Ilulissat in the Disco Bay area as well as further south in Nuuk and Qaqortoq. Ilulissat, visited by individual travelers, package and cruise ship tourists. This main destination offers tourists to experience the "Big Arctic Five", where tourists get to go on dog sled trips, whale-watching, meeting local people through the

cultural tradition of "kaffemik[23]", experience the phenomena of Aurora Borealis and to see or stand on the ice cap. In addition, cruise ship tourism, coming with vessels from all over the world visiting settlements and major cities like the capital Nuuk is one of the largest tourism segment when it comes to arrivals (Visit Greenland, 2016). One example of development within the tourism sector are farm stays in South Greenland. Following we will introduce into the landscape of farm stays in South Greenland.

3.3$_{A1}$ Farms stays in South Greenland

As part of the agricultural landscape in South Greenland, tourists have had the opportunity to be acquainted with the concept of farm stays for some time. "*For years the visitors in South Greenland have had the option to stay at sheep farms*" (Visit Greenland, n. d., a) located around Qaqortoq, Narsaq, Igaliku and Qassiarsuk. Ten farm owners in South Greenland offer a variety of tourism products to visiting guests, from lodging and experiencing the life of farmers, hiking and trekking, hiring kayaks, fishing, horseback riding, participating in iceberg tours, and enjoying homemade Greenlandic food (Visit Greenland, n. d., c). Due to the recent developments in South Greenland leading to a growth in the number of farms diversifying their traditional farm life and complementing it with tourism related activities, announcements in the public (Visit Greenland, 2017; Jørgensen, 2017) illustrate an increased interest in this field - its growth and future development. "*South Greenland has a unique opportunity to develop this special product, and we know from Iceland that the demand is there."* (Visit Greenland, 2017) This growing interest is confirmed by the local tourist operator stating, *"[…] the farmers never thought that this could be interesting for tourists […], but now I think that these farms are developing something"* (Tourism operator in Narsarsuaq). In addition, the newly established association "Farm Holidays Greenland" (consisting of ten farms located in the South - see fig.3$_{A1}$) as well as the collaboration

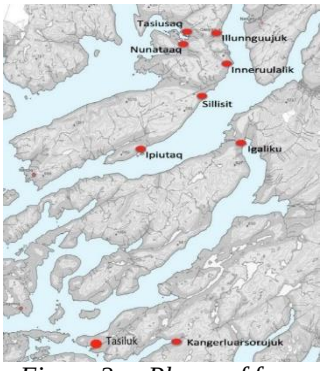


Figure 2$_{A1}$: Places of farm stays in South Greenland

[23] A unique Greenlandic tradition, where people serve coffee and homemade cakes and traditional food for family and friends and where everyone who are interested are invited. The custom politeness in a "kaffemik" is that you don't stay for too long, but rather eat and drink at a reasonable pace and then leave the space for the next in line.

between this association, the Kujalleq municipality[24], Icelandic operators and Visit Greenland (Visit Greenland, n. d., a) indicate the growing awareness of the significance and potential of this type of tourism for Greenland.

Figure 3A1: Overview of the location of the farm stays in Greenland (outlined with municipalities)

4A1 Theoretical approach

In the following, we introduce the reader to what we understand by using the notions of wellbeing and quality of life. For the purpose of interrelating quality of life with tourism, we apply the bottom-up spill over theory, which is further elaborated below. Finally, this theoretical "layout" is linked to farm tourism as concept, based on the notion of farm diversification. Due to the focus of this article, we are not discussing farm diversification as such. The farmers in our case study are mainly farmers becoming tourist hosts, but continuing their farming business as main source of income. Even though this complies with the characteristics of farm diversification (Ilbery, 1991; Mahoney, 2004, in Barbieri & Mahoney, 2009), we do not aim to investigate motivations or reasons for such a diversification. We aim to unfold the larger issue on the interrelation between QoL and tourism. Therefore, farm diversification as concept functions in this article as tool to generate an understanding of and unfold a connection between the economic and social dimension of tourism development.

4.1A1 Quality of Life and Wellbeing

There is no widely accepted single definition on the concept of quality of life (QoL) or wellbeing. The two terms are more than often mentioned in the same context (Glatzer, 2015). In this article, we apply both terms in the same meaning. In our application of the terms, we lean upon the definition of perceived QoL according to the Encyclopedia of Quality of Life and Wellbeing Research, which states: "*Perceived*

[24] The most Southern municipality out of the 5 municipalities in Greenland

quality of life refers to how people perceive and evaluate their life. It is a perception that reveals the subjective evaluation of the life experience. The components focus on overall life satisfaction and happiness, as well as satisfaction with specific domains of life, e.g., marriage, interpersonal relationship, work, leisure activities, and health." (Liao, 2014: 4702). In order to analyze and discuss QoL, we apply the theoretical concept of social indicators. A social indicator is a statistical measure that can track change over time on different aspects of social phenomena (Land et al., 2012). Data about social indicators can derive of both objective statistics, such as e.g. crime rates and more qualitative data, such as perceived satisfaction with life. As Larsen and Fondahl (2010) put it, social indicators are "s*imple measurements of key phenomena in complex human systems, (which) enable us to track the direction and rate of change, and thus performance in various domains, and progress toward specified goals"* (p. 22). Furthermore, they are "*valuable simply in building awareness of current conditions and trends over time*" (ibid.)". In this article we follow an exploratory approach, meaning that the introduced theory and data about social indicators function as base in the analysis and discussion of how the developing concept of farm stay in South Greenland affects resident QoL.

4.2$_{A1}$ Quality of life in Greenland

Interest within QoL studies in Greenland arose in the 1970ies, since then there has been few studies on wellbeing and QoL in Greenland and most of them focused on social indicators in quantitative measures, such as household income, education levels and crime rates (From, 1975; Bjerregaard et al., 1995; Bjerregaard & Dahl-Petersen, 2008). Furthermore, the majority of the studies were conducted in frameworks developed in the context of Western societies (Andersen et al., 2002).

The Arctic Human Development Report (AHDR 2004, AHDR 2014) depicts trends and the development state of the Arctic communities. The report recommended applying six distinct indicators in assessments of QoL in the Arctic. Three of the indicators applied were from the Human Development Index (HDI) from the United Nations Development Programme, namely GDP per capita, education and health. However, acknowledging that the HDI indicators failed to address Arctic human development comprehensively, a list of Arctic social indicators was suggested. This formed the basis for further studies with the aim of "filling the gaps" that conventional studies left. In 2010, the studies resulted in the report Arctic Social Indicators (ASI), presenting three social indicators essential for the Arctic communities. The three indicators were fate control, cultural vitality and contact with nature. Fate control can be described as the overall ability to carry life out on own terms. Cultural vitality

represents the aspects of cultural community belonging. Contact with nature concerns the close ties to the natural world.

These indicators were also applied in the methodological approach in the Survey of Living Conditions in the Arctic (SLiCA), which was one of the first to address wellbeing and QoL on a redefined level, taking an interest in the distinctive characteristics of the Greenlandic culture and background (Poppel et.al, 2007). The overall purpose of SLiCA is listed as to: (ibid.)

- *Measure living conditions in a way relevant to Arctic residents*
- *Document and compare the present state of living conditions among the indigenous*
- *peoples of the Arctic*
- *Improve the understanding of living conditions to the benefit of Arctic residents*

One of the major findings, which were based on nearly 8.000 interviews with indigenous populations of Canada, Alaska, Greenland, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Chukotka and the Kola Peninsula, indicated a strong connection between cultural way of life, cash employment and quality of life (Poppel, 2015).

4.3$_{A1}$ Theoretical link between tourism and quality of life

There seems to be academic consensus that tourism has an influence on resident QoL in tourist destination communities (Kim et.al., 2013; Adanan et al., 2010; Fang et.al., 2010; Jurowski et.al., 1997; Cecil et.al., 2010; Nawijn et.al., 2012; Meyer, 2011; Aref, 2011; Liu & Var, 1986). By example, Kim et al. (2013) found that there is a link between the impacts of tourism and perceived overall satisfaction with life. Fang et.al explored QoL with objective measures, their study implied a connection between increased tourist development and increased QoL. Adanan et al. (2010) discovered that tourism had both positive and negative impacts on residents perceived QoL. When tourism offered economic benefits to the community, the QoL increased. When tourism, on the other hand, resulted in e.g. an increase in cost of living, the QoL decreased. Related to the case of Greenland there is, however, little literature address the interrelation between tourism and QoL. Taking our point of departure in the existing literate investigating the link between tourism and QoL in Greenland, this article's general understanding of the interrelation between tourism (including farm tourism) and QoL rests on the bottom-up spillover theory. We chose this specific theoretical approach due to a lack of academic literature and missing statistical data specifically focusing on QoL in connection with tourism in Greenland. Even though an extensive body on literature regarding tourism and its economic, social, cultural

and environmental impacts exists, we deliberately chose to use an approach that has not been used to investigate the link between QoL and tourism in Greenland. The spillover theory offers us the possibility to investigate whether generated income from farm tourism in South Greenland can contribute to people's state of wellbeing and if there is more to wellbeing than "just" money. The bottom-up spillover theory suggests that overall satisfaction of life prerequisites the satisfaction of different life domains and sub-domains (Diener, 1984). In other words, wellbeing is the outcome of the levels of wellbeing in various domains. The life domains and sub-domains are as Kim et.al. (2013) characterizes: material wellbeing (e.g. income and cost of living), health and safety wellbeing (physical and mental health as well safety indicators such e.g. crime rates), community wellbeing (living conditions in the communities) and emotional wellbeing (e.g. cultural vitality, leisure time).The principle of the theory signifies that the set of life domains as well as each one of the sub-domains contribute to the overall satisfaction with life, meaning e.g., dissatisfaction with income or with the community can "spill over" to the other domains and eventually have an impact on overall QoL (Diener, 1984; Kim et al., 2013). In the light of this article, we apply the theory in connection to the concept of farm stay, as illustrated below:

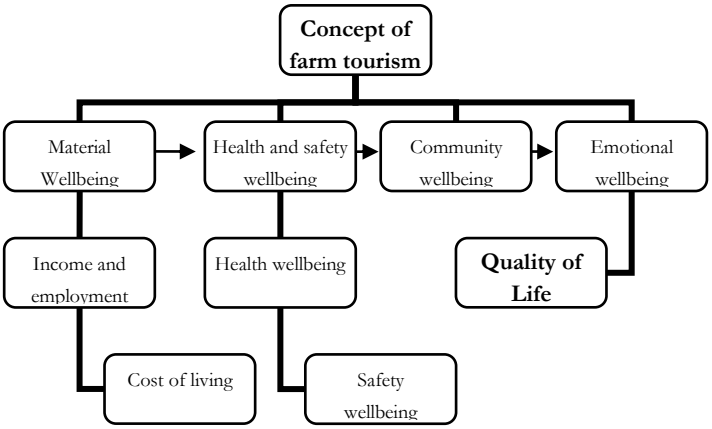
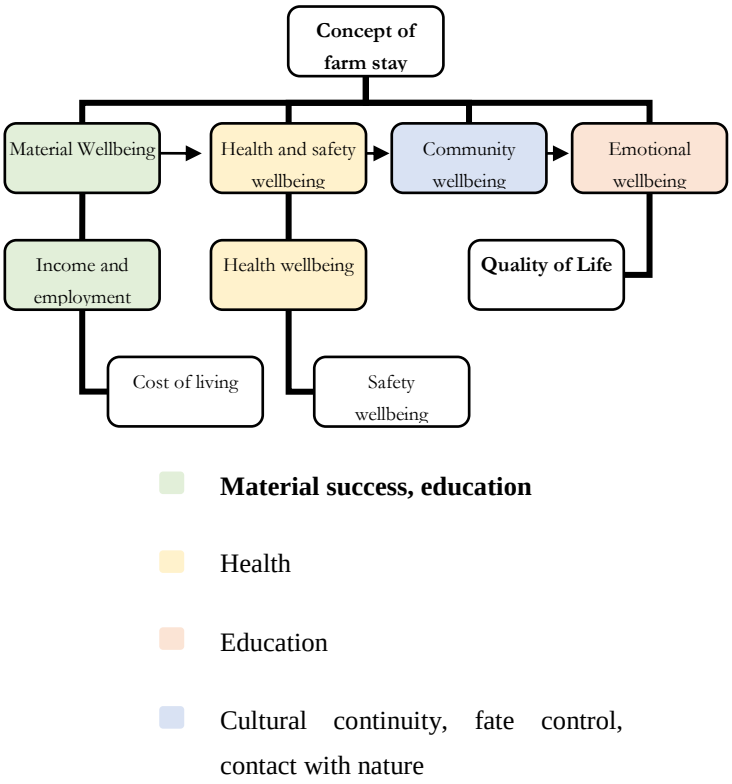


Figure 4$_{A1}$: Bottom-up spillover theory and QoL (own visualization based on Aref, 2011)

Additionally, we apply the bottom-up spillover theory to our thematic focus by interconnecting it with the Arctic social indicators (Larsen & Fondahl, 2010) forming

part of the theoretical frame of this article. The Arctic social indicators are marked in color, as illustrated beneath:

Figure 5$_{A1}$: Bottom-up spillover theory and the Arctic social indicators



By interconnecting the bottom-up spillover theory with the Arctic social indicators, it becomes clear that a significant share of the Arctic social indicators are contained in a single life domain (emotional wellbeing). This underlines its importance within the frame of QoL research in the Arctic. Moreover, it displays our hypothesis of QoL being "more than money". Finally, the theoretical approach to tourism is inspired by the concept of farm diversification forming the ground for farm stays as part of farm tourism. Farm diversification, the recombination of farm related resources with new and (for a traditional working farm) non-agricultural offers and services on the farm (Ilbery, 1991), leads to the establishment of farm stays (as part of farm tourism as such). Farm diversification is considered farm tourism when it is incorporated into a

working farm and with the purpose of (primarily or secondarily) generating additional income through tourism offers (Mahoney, 2004, in Barbieri & Mahoney, 2009).

5A1 Methodology

In this article, we explore how the developing tourism industry in South Greenland interrelates with resident quality of life. Based on the scarceness of existing academic literature and public awareness within tourism and quality of life in Greenland, we investigate the relevance of the tourism industry, specifically farm tourism, effect on resident quality of life. Through a case study focusing on the concept of farm stays in South Greenlandic settlements, we aim to create an understanding of how resident quality of life and farm tourism interrelates.

5.1A1 Phronesis – An exploratory research approach

Phronetic research by Flyvbjerg (2001) is a research approach which produces "experience in context as the most appropriate means of generating knowledge that matches social priorities and can contribute to public debate" (in Thomas, 2012: 2). Accordingly, this specific research approach is exploratory in nature focusing on activities and practical knowledge in everyday life situations and thereby aims to explore current practice as well as historic circumstances in order to find ways to understand praxis (Dredge, 2011) and inform the discussions in Greenland. The farmer's experiences and motivations to engage in farm tourism are presumable related to the awareness of the significance of tourism and its potential to contribute to their daily life.

In consequence, this exploratory single, small-scale case study aims to generate knowledge and create an understanding of the interrelation of QoL and tourism. Therefore, we believe, that this article can contribute to the ongoing public debate to enlarging the perspective of and to creating grounds for tourism development that embraces economic as well as socio-economic dimensions.

5.2A1 Case Study Approach

The case study approach used for this article is qualitative and was applied to get close to the 'object under study' as such an approach "*aims to develop understanding of the context in which phenomena and behaviors take place*" (Altinay et al., 2008). Following this article serves as exemplary for doing research in the field of QoL and

its relation to the economic sectors in Greenland. We try to contest the prevalent perception towards development in Greenland focusing on economic growth and monetary wealth and aim to inspire a different debate on the significance of tourism as contributor to the QoL of Greenlanders. This way, we aim to contribute with a case study that might also be transferable to the investigation of other similar cases in the Arctic (Swanborn, 2010). We are aware of critics posing the question on how far findings of a single case study are applicable and generalizable to similar cases (Ryan & Bernard, 2000, in Kohlbacher, 2006: 22). Here we follow Flyvbjerg (2006), who emphasizes, that "*one can often generalize on the basis of a single case, and the case study may be central to scientific development via generalization as supplement or alternative to other methods"* (ibid.: 12). Therefore, the force of our single case studies should not be underestimated, as similar groundings could be found in the Arctic and it potentially can generate knowledge essential in the debate on achieving economic growth on socio-economic terms in Greenland.

5.2.1$_{A1}$ Data collection

The case study application entails to conduct in-depth investigations (Stake, 1995; Creswell, 2013) of qualitative and quantitative data material. The primary data collection of this article derives from three qualitative interviews conducted during a joint field trip in South Greenland in April 2018 as well as the quantitative online survey "Tourism in South Greenland – Farm stays". A collection of secondary data material found within the thematic frame of quality of life, tourism and farming is analyzed. The secondary data material consists of relevant publications, articles, reports, press releases and statements from both academic and non-academic sources.

5.2.2$_{A1}$ Qualitative interviews

In the context of this article, three semi-structured interviews from Narsarsuaq, and the nearby settlements are analyzed. It is important to state, that the interviews were not conducted within the frame of this article, as they are each part of the author's individual PhD projects. Even though the questions were not intentionally posed with the aim to unfold the connection between tourism and QoL, the content and the following findings revealed such link leading to the initiative to write this article in the first place. The interviewees, one local tourist operator and two residents working with tourism were found via a convenience sampling. The residents are married to local farm keepers in settlements near Narsarsuaq and are the primary persons on the farms managing the farm stays. Both of them have more than one occupation and pursuing other occupation besides activities related to the farm stays. The tourist

operator interviewed is a local operator that has been active in more than 30 years and is involved with farm stays.

5.2.3A1 Online survey "Tourism in South Greenland – Farm stays"

To complement our qualitative interviews we created an online survey titled "Tourism in South Greenland – Farm stays"[25] to collect quantitative data about farm stay tourism and elements of quality of life. Complementing refers here to the fact, that the interviews were not specifically conducted with focus on QoL in connection with tourism. The survey has been created at a later stage (one month after the fieldwork) and served as tool to enrichen existing knowledge and gain new insights. To make it more concrete, one question of the survey specifically asked, if the respondent thinks that tourism enrichens his/her personal well-being. In the process of working on this article, the need to ask farmers such additional questions appeared and was met by creating the survey. We invited (by email as well as publication on social media platforms, e.g. the Facebook group "Greenland's Tourism Outback"[26]) farm keepers to answer the survey from beginning of April until end of May 2018. 60% (6 respondents) of the present (10) farm stay owners completed the survey. The questions were categorized in basic data, such as location and year of establishment and questions on personal opinions e.g. the development of their own business, motivation for starting farm stays, growth potential, challenges and barriers for the business and opinions on possible roles of tourism in their perspectives as farm owners.

5.3A1 Exploring the present – Interrelation between quality of life and farm tourism

Findings in the online survey "Tourism in South Greenland – Farm stays" indicate that farm owners in South Greenland are aware of the significance and potential of farm stays to their traditional farming activities. All of the respondents credit the motive of "developing their communities" as being one of the most crucial reasons for starting the farm stays. The results from the online survey "Tourism in South Greenland – Farm stays" show, that farmers commenced to offer farm stays in order to generate further income. Additionally, in the interview with the farm keepers' wife

[25] Original title: "Turisme i Syd Grønland - Bondegårdsferie"

[26] Original name: "Turismens Bagland I Grønland", public group, initiated by a tourism actor in Greenland

in Farm B, she expressed: *"Ten years ago, we had more rain. The fields had water and grass, which is what we feed the sheep with during wintertime. Now we are having trouble feeding them, all the sheep farmers here experience this, because of the drought. That is why we began to think about getting involved with tourism. That way we do not have to change the lifestyle, we have become accustomed to on the sheep farm".* The changing climate affects, in other words, both positively and negatively, which supports the notions of Barbieri and Mahoney (2009). Linking it with the bottom-up spillover theory, the changing climate challenges the sustainability of the sheep farm, with the reduction in household resources (Material wellbeing and Safety wellbeing). However, it also provides an opportunity to combine their livelihood with tourism, which generate more income (Material wellbeing) to help sustain the farm lifestyle. Following Getz and Carlsen (2000), farm tourism as only source of a supplementary non-agricultural income to the existing farm is "*not an end in themselves but a means to support a rural lifestyle"* (Barbieri & Mahoney, 2009: 60). The farm keeper's wife from Farm A supported this conception, when asked to describe what made her feel dissatisfied: *"I feel so frustrated sometimes at our place. (…) We could use our time better if it was not so expensive to feed the sheep. We could use that money to develop our farm. Almost all of our money goes to feed the sheep. It's like we're being strangled. If I did not have my job on the side, it would be very difficult to live the way we do now".* This supports the aforementioned theoretical link between material wellbeing and QoL, and it leaves this analysis with the notion of sustaining a specific lifestyle through the livelihood, feeding into the discussion on the good life in relation to QoL. So far, we have taken a glance into the concept of QoL, including social indicators significant for QoL in Greenland. Later we addressed how farm stays as an up-and-coming segment comes into play in the Greenlandic tourism development. We have constituted its relevance and its need for awareness. The remaining question of whether the concept of farm stays contribute to resident QoL in more than monetary aspects, however still remains.

5.4$_{A1}$ The Effect of Farm Tourism on Quality of Life

Literature on farm tourism refers to the potential of this type of tourism as motor for economic development in order to face socio-economic challenges (Lobo et al., 1999; Barbieri & Mahoney, 2009; Dernoi, 1983; Ilbery et al., 1998; Sharpley & Vass, 2006). Existing studies illustrate, that significant changes for farmers (e.g. globalization leading to an increase of competition, more efficient cultivation systems, etc.) lead to major difficulties (Barbieri & Mahoney, 2009). Farm diversification, relating to the combination of farming and tourism, became increasingly popular in the light of these significant challenges for farmers. As stated by Barbieri and Mahoney (2009),

"*studies have demonstrated the economic value of farm diversification as one alternative strategy that farmers can utilize to survive and even prosper in today's changing agriculture climate*" (ibid.: 58). However, even though tourism seems to be depicted in academia as this magic wand to nurture economic progress offering the door to economic and socio-economic benefits for the farm owners, questions arise on how it looks in South Greenland. As mentioned before, the three social indicators cultural continuity, contact with nature and fate control, as applied in SLiCA, are key to QoL studies in the Arctic, including the Greenlandic people. As part of the discussion, we assess if the data from our case study refer to these indicators. Albeit the potential, farming as well as tourism currently play a minor role in the bigger picture of the economy of Greenland. The minor role of tourism and farming might serve as explanation for their absence in existing QoL studies, like SLiCA, when putting a focus on Greenland. Analyzing the perspective in SLiCA, by examining the full questionnaire and connecting it to QoL aspects, it is clear that the focus on societal sectors effect on QoL mainly evolves around natural-resource industries like hunting, fishing and oil/mineral extraction as well as the public administration. Tourism is mentioned a few places connected with job opportunities in e.g. Alaska (Poppel, 2015); however, there are no apparent references to tourism in a QoL perspective in Greenland. The same applies for farming. The study addresses the importance of cultural activities, such as hunting, fishing and other nature-related activities like gathering and processing, however farming as such, is not included in simple terms. There are a few references to elements tracing into farming, such as the categories 'harvesting' and 'growing crops', however, it is unclear whether the findings represent leisure or business farmers. As it is now, farm tourism may play a minor role in the overall picture of both tourism and QoL in Greenland, nevertheless, tourism in general plays an important role in developing communities in Greenland, as seen in e.g. Ilulissat. Studies from the newest entry from SLiCA show, that in some cases, industrial growth can contribute to improve quality of life. A recently published article by Snyder and Poppel (2017) explores the living conditions in the settlement, Qeqertarsuatsiaat, near Nuuk. As part of their research, they uncover how a nearby mine is affecting the living conditions in the adjacent community. The study shows, that "*(…) living conditions in one settlement have improved regardless of the presence of a fully-operational mine."* (Snyder & Poppel, 2017). We are aware that occupation within mining and tourism cannot be directly compared, however, since Greenlandic people are not known to traditionally be a mining people, one could argue that the improved living conditions in Qeqertarsuatsiaat are a result of an increase of labor opportunities and income rather than the sole opportunity to work in a mine. With some reservation, it is thus not an unlikely thought that a similar increase in opportunities within the concept of farm stays and tourism in general will result in improved living conditions in South Greenland, as well as other places. Some

indications supporting this hypothesis can be found in our analysis. As stated earlier by the farm keepers' wife from Farm A, she could not sustain the lifestyle they have become accustomed to, without her job on the side. When asked about her overall satisfaction with life, she further elaborated the notion: *"I want a job where I am in control and make the decisions. A job, where I am not so dependent upon others. I mean, of course we are dependent on the tourists, but where I can make the decisions on my own. I am a bit frustrated with the fact that I have yet to reach that goal, but all it takes is the courage to go and do it.".* The opportunity of working fully self-employed with farming, would in other words, improve her sense of QoL, thus indicating that fate control as an indicator contributes to resident QoL. When asked to describe QoL in her own words, the farm keeper's wife from Farm A further answered: *"Quality of life for me is to be self-employed, that I can take care of myself that I can go out in nature and use the resources in nature".* This is on track with the answer from the farm keeper's wife from Farm B that stated: *"Quality of life is for me having the sheep. To be able to make our own roast lamb. I think money controls a lot. Of course, you need money, but I feel that quality of life is to be close to nature.*". These perspectives illustrates the importance of farm tourism as a means to a self-sustaining lifestyle and the interrelation between the farm lifestyle and contact with nature, fate control as well as cultural vitality, which furthermore supports the findings in SLiCA. They also support the bottom-up spillover theoretical approach in terms of overall QoL being influenced by the QoL levels on different domains. Based on these perspectives, we argue, without discarding the importance of material wellbeing, that being able to sustain the farm lifestyle is thus more than generating an income; it contributes to the improvement of the residents QoL.

6$_{A1}$Remarks & Reflections

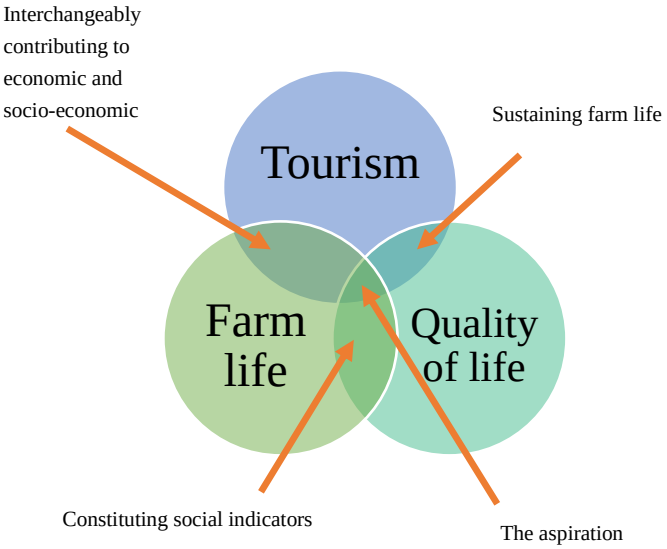
Our study suggests that there is a close interrelation between farm tourism and resident QoL in South Greenland. This is supported by our findings that showed, that

a) Farm tourism provides the opportunity for a self-sustaining lifestyle,

b) Farm tourism corresponds with resident's needs, analyzed in terms of social indicators, such as cultural continuity, fate control and contact with nature and finally, thus contributing to overall QoL.

These findings are illustrated in our model of the interrelation between farm tourism and resident quality of life, that serves to demonstrate how tourism, farming and QoL are connected in the case of the farm stays in South Greenland.

Figure 6$_{A1}$: Model of interrelation between farm tourism and QoL in South Greenland



We explain this model, by stating that when farming is connected with tourism there are an economic as well as socio-economic interrelation. The Arctic social indicators constitute the interrelation between farming and QoL. When we look at tourism in the optics of QoL we learned that it helps sustain the farm life. In the middle where all three segments meet, we find the aspiration, the point where interrelations contribute to positive results within tourism, farming as well as QoL. Furthermore, this exploratory case study situated within the tourism field as well as the studies of QoL offers a theoretical contribution by applying the bottom-up spillover theory. We ascertained that our study supports the bottom-up spillover theory in the sense that our qualitative interviews corresponded with the notion of overall QoL being influenced by the levels of well-being in different life-domains. Income and money were indeed important means to sustain the farm lifestyle and develop it further. However, we found that the emotional value of being close to nature and having some autonomy over own fate were significant indicators and contributed to a higher sense of quality of life in our case study. As a final reflection, we argue that there are relevant grounds in a larger perspective for further research within the field of tourism and QoL in Greenland. Based on our analysis, we think it is safe to assume that the thousands of tourists coming in all over Greenland every year with cruise ships or visiting households for "cultural experiences" etc., have positive as well as negative impacts on resident QoL.

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Article 2

3.2 Livsformer og livskvalitet i Grønland: Et indblik i sammenhængen og den potentielle udvikling

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[This version of the article is altered to fit the format of the dissertation. The article was published in Tidsskriftet Politik in June 2019[27]]

I denne artikel undersøges det nærmere, hvordan livsformer og livskvalitet hænger sammen i Grønland set i et samfundsvidenskabeligt perspektiv. Artiklen forholder sig endvidere til, hvordan dette hænger sammen med landets udvikling mod selvstændighed. Livskvalitet og forestillingen om det gode liv hører til det kulturelle og værdiladede i en livsform. Det er med andre ord en forestilling om, hvordan tingene bør, skal eller kan være, for at vi kan føle, at livet er godt. Men det betyder også noget, hvor man bor. Det er en klassisk opfattelse, at man har en væsentligt anderledes livsform i en by kontra en bygd, og har forskellige værdier og holdninger til, hvad livskvalitet kan være. Artiklen, som er et indledende studie på området, vil på baggrund af resultater fra et sociologisk feltarbejde i Sydgrønland i 2018, samt gennem en analyse og diskussion af livskvalitet og etnologen Thomas Højrups livsformsanalyse, stille spørgsmålene: Hvordan hænger livsformer og livskvalitet sammen i Grønland? Og er der en sammenhæng med den nuværende udvikling mod selvstændighed? Artiklen fremfører, at livsformer og livskvalitet i høj grad er forbundet med relationer til familie, natur og arbejde, men at det grønlandske folks evne til at tilpasse sig også spiller en rolle i forholdet mellem livsformer og livskvalitet.

1A2 Indledning

[27] The format of this article has been altered to fit the format of the dissertation. This was approved by Editor Dr. Christian F. Rostbøll. To see the published article, access DOI: https://doi.org/10.7146/politik.v22i1.114840

Hvordan livet leves, påvirker, sammen med livsbetingelserne, livets kvalitet. Det virker som en temmelig banal påstand, men når dette skal forstås gennem et helt samfunds optik, bliver det anderledes kompliceret. En livsform kan ifølge etnologen Thomas Højrup betegnes, som det der sammenfatter distinkte måder at leve på, på en måde så de kan identificeres og adskilles fra hinanden i klynger (Højrup 1983). Livskvalitet er den subjektive evaluering af den samlede livsoplevelse på et givent tidspunkt (Veenhoven 2014). Befolkningsstudier såsom Survey of Living Conditions in the Arctic (SLiCA) (Poppel et.al 2007) og Arctic Social Indicators (Larsen et. al 2010) viser, at der er forskellige livsformer i Grønland og at livskvalitet anskues forskelligt fra sted til sted. Dette er ikke unikt for landet; sådan er det alle steder i verden. Kontrasten - og i nogle henseender opgøret - mellem den rurale og urbane livsform er heller ikke enestående for Grønland. Der er dog grund til at tage et nærmere kig på forholdet mellem livsformer og livskvalitet. Den grønlandske befolkning står nemlig over for nogle potentielt afgørende ændringer i samfundet. Særligt debatten om selvstændighed har fyldt i medier og i politisk regi. Hvordan en eventuel selvstændighed vil påvirke livsformerne i Grønland og hvordan det vil påvirke livskvaliteten, kan ingen med sikkerhed vide. Men ved at forstå sammenhængen mellem livsformer og livskvalitet i det grønlandske samfund, er det måske lettere at forstå, hvad der er vigtigt for det grønlandske folk, og hvad der er på spil, når store forandringer står for døren.

1.1A2 Baggrund

Det grønlandske samfund har i løbet af det seneste århundrede undergået store samfundsmæssige forandringer. I 1979 fik landet officielt hjemmestyre. 30 år senere på samme dag blev dette ændret til selvstyre, og den grønlandske befolkning kom dermed et stort skridt nærmere selvstændighed (Skydsbjerg 1999). Landets økonomi er i dag stadig afhængig af det danske bloktilskud, som udgør lidt over halvdelen af Landskassens indtægter (se Nauja Biancos artikel om Grønlands økonomi og erhverv i dette temanummer). Hertil er der hele debatten om udvinding af råstoffer og åbningen af nordvestpassagen, som vil få økonomisk og strategisk betydning for mange lande, ud over Grønland. Selvom debatten om selvstændighed, miner og søfartsruter uden tvivl er de mest omdiskuterede udviklingspotentialer i Arktis, så er der et andet udviklingspotentiale, der i høj grad hænger sammen med selvstændighedsprocessen; nemlig udviklingen af menneskene i landet. Den grønlandske befolkning har en væsentlig rolle i selvstændighedsprocessen, fordi det er dem, der skal stemme om beslutningen om selvstændighed, og fordi det er dem, der skal leve med udfaldet af beslutningen. Parallelt med det stigende ønske om selvstændighed, rapporteres der om forværring af folkesundheden på visse områder,

heriblandt selvvurderet helbred, samt en øget social ulighed (Larsen et.al 2019). Samtidig bliver levevilkårene gradvist bedre i byerne, så flere flytter fra bygd til by; især til Nuuk.

2$_{A2}$ Livsformer og livskvalitet

2.1$_{A2}$ Livsformer

Livsformer er, ifølge Højrups livsformsanalyse, de grupperinger der skabes af samfundets struktur og produktionsmåde[28]:

> *"Man må forsøge at skyde sig ind på det samlede billede, der tegner sig af en gruppe menneskers liv, når man kender deres daglige gøremål, ugens gang og aktiviteterne året rundt. Man må vide, hvorledes folkenes livsforløb former sig, hvorledes familiernes daglige rutine ændrer sig med alderen, og man må kende til arbejdslivet, fritidsinteresserne, omgangskreds og samværsformer. Kan der tegnes et sammenhængende billede af livet, som det ud fra disse synsvinkler former sig fra opvækst til alderdom, så vil denne helhed betegnes som en livsform."* (Højrup 1989).

Hvis man bor i Qeqertarsuaq, vil livet derfor, strengt forenklet, være betinget af de livsbetingelser der er der. Betingelser, som man enten former livet efter, eller bryder op med og flytter væk. Sidstnævnte er dog ifølge Højrup ikke noget, man bare gør, for er man først bærer af én livsform, så ændres den ikke så nemt. Men at flytte sig og tilpasse sig, er ikke ubekendt for den grønlandske befolkning, der har flyttet sig fra sted til sted gennem årtusinder, og det er måske her forklaringspotentialet i Højrups teori bliver udfordret, når vi skal prøve at forstå den specifikke grønlandske virkelighed. Dette vil artiklen forsøge at udfolde i diskussionsafsnittet.

[28] Produktionsmåde-begrebet knytter sig til Højrups marxistisk inspirerede ide om samfundets økonomiske struktur, som indebærer to produktionssystemer, som er med til at definere livsformernes grundlag. Der er den enkle vareproduktion og den kapitalistiske produktionsmåde. Groft forenklet kan man sige, at den enkle vareproduktion er dem der ejer og forestår en (vare)produktion, med andre ord dem der er selvstændige og som producerer en vare/ydelse, og den kapitalistiske produktionsmåde er dem der ikke ejer en produktion, men som så at sige, sælger deres arbejdskraft til den enkle vareproduktion.

I livsformsanalysen deles livsformer op i en rural og urban livsform[29], hvilket her sammenlignes med livsformerne i en grønlandsk bygd kontra bylivsformen i Nuuk. Ifølge Højrup, er den rurale og den urbane livsform overvejende modsætninger, og et individ der er bærer af én livsform, kan ikke samtidigt være bærer af flere livsformer. Dette forklares med livsformens ideologiske karakter. En livsform udgør nemlig mere end blot, hvor man bor, eller hvad man laver på arbejde og i fritiden.

2.2$_{A2}$ By-bygd forholdet

Livsformsanalysen differentierer mellem land og by bl.a. i "*forskellen mellem enkel vareproduktion – familiebrug – og kapitalistisk produktion – industri*" (Højrup 1983, 50). Groft forenklet betyder det, at bæreren af en landlig livsform typisk er selvstændig og selv opretholder sin livsform, hvorimod bæreren af en livsform i byen typisk er lønmodtager og således afhængig af andre for at opretholde livsformen. Det betyder ikke, at alle der bor i byen er lønmodtagere, og at alle der bor på landet er selvstændige, men at der er tale om en rural og en urban identitet. I Grønland karakteriseres et sted som en by, når der er mere end 500 indbyggere (Poppel 2015; Hendriksen 2013). I denne sammenhæng er det dog - i lighed med livsformsanalysens syn på by-land-forholdet - ikke antallet af indbyggere, men den kulturelle karakter af stedet der bestemmer, om det er en by eller bygd.

2.3$_{A2}$ Den urbane livsform

I livsformsteorien har mennesker der bor i byen en væsentlig anderledes livsform end mennesker, der lever uden for byen. Tempoet er lidt hurtigere i byerne, og så er man som individ mere anonym i byen, end man er ude på landet. Man kender ikke nødvendigvis dem, man passerer på sin vej, om det er på gaden, i supermarkedet eller hvor man ellers opholder sig uden for hjemmet. Man bruger også mere tid på transport, cafeture, biograf-/teaterbesøg og arbejde, end man bruger i hjemmet. I byen er der nem adgang til det meste og til regelmæssig offentlig transport, så man kan komme fra A til B nemt og hurtigt. Adgang til naturen sker typisk igennem en konstrueret natur i parker og offentlige steder, eller i forbindelse med ferierejser- og ture.

[29] Ud over opdelingen mellem den rurale og urbane livsform, beskriver Højrup de tre arketypiske livsformer: den selvstændige livsform, lønmodtagerlivsformen og karrierelivsformen. Karakteristikken af disse livsformer er særligt centreret om arbejdets betydning for livsformen. Af pladsmæssige hensyn udelades det at komme nærmere ind på dette.

2.4$_{A2}$ Den rurale livsform

Den rurale livsform er på mange måder karakteriseret ved at være en modsætning til den urbane livsform. Her er tempoet langsommere, og man bruger mere tid i hjemmet end uden for hjemmet. Når man bevæger sig uden for hjemmet, er det meget sandsynligt, at man kender dem, man møder på sin vej; hos frisøren, hos den lokale købmand osv. Måltider laves i hjemmet, og øvrige aktiviteter er ofte også knyttet til enten hjemmet eller lokalområdet. Det belyses senere i artiklen, at rurale og urbane livsformer i grønlandske byer og bygder kommer til udtryk på en anderledes måde

2.5$_{A2}$ Livskvalitet

Livskvalitet er et komplekst begreb, som kan måles på mange måder. Videnskabeligt er der flere bud på en samlet definition af livskvalitet, og der er delte meninger om, hvordan man bedst måler det. Simpelt beskrevet, handler det om, hvordan den enkelte betragter sin livskvalitet, når alt tages i betragtning. Der er en sammenhæng mellem livskvalitet og gode levevilkår, men det er svært at tale om for et helt samfund, og nogle mener ligefrem, at det er umuligt. Andersen & Poppel kritiserer, at traditionelle studier i levevilkår ofte er baseret på en ide om, at samfundet er en homogen størrelse, som man kan sige noget generelt om (Andersen & Poppel 2002). Vedrørende livskvalitet fremfører Veenhoven en lignende iagttagelse i Encyclopedia of Quality of Life. Han mener at,

> *"[u]dtrykket "individuel livskvalitet" bruges til at angive, hvor godt en person lever. Den individuelle kvalitet af flere personers liv kan aggregeres for at opnå et tal, der afspejler den typiske livskvalitet i en kollektivitet, såsom en nation. Men begrebet gælder ikke for sociale systemer. Man kan ikke sige, at et samfund lever godt, da samfundene ikke "lever*[30]*"*." (Veenhoven 2014).

Livskvalitet er altså en individuel betragtning, hvorfor der her anvendes en definition på den subjektivt opfattede livskvalitet, som mere specifikt kan defineres som:

> " […] *hvordan mennesker opfatter og bedømmer deres liv. Det er en opfattelse, der giver den subjektive bedømmelse af livsoplevelsen. Komponenterne fokuserer på den generelle tilfredshed med livet og lykke, samt tilfredshed med bestemte*

[30] Egen oversættelse

områder af livet, f.eks. ægteskab, sociale relationer, arbejde, fritidsaktiviteter og sundhed[31]*."* (Liao 2014).

3$_{A2}$ Metode

Denne artikel vil over de følgende to afsnit diskutere, hvordan livsformer og livskvalitet hænger sammen. Diskussionen vil danne grundlag for en analyse af, hvordan dette hænger sammen med den foranstående udvikling hen imod selvstændighed i Grønland. I analysen af livsformer er der taget udgangspunkt i centrale begreber fra Thomas Højrups livsformsteori. Gennemgangen af teorien er ikke udtømmende, men har fokus på især begreberne den urbane og rurale livsform. Desuden er der taget udgangspunkt i Liaos definition af subjektiv livskvalitet (Liao 2014). Herudover anvendes data fra mit feltarbejde i april 2018 i de sydgrønlandske byer og bygder: Qaqortoq, Nanortalik, Narsarsuaq og Qassiarsuk. Jeg udførte 16 semi-strukturerede interviews med kvinder og mænd mellem 18-65 år, som blev fundet via snowball-metode; dvs. ved at spørge person til person om de kendte nogen, der kunne være interesserede i at deltage. Herudover anvendtes convenience-sampling (Creswell 2013), som kort beskrevet går ud på, at jeg - grundet den korte periode jeg var på stederne - gik efter personer, der var nemme at få fat i: F.eks. via Facebook-grupper samt ved at spørge folk, jeg mødte på gaden eller i supermarkedet. I undersøgelsen deltog 11 kvinder og 5 mænd[32]: 7 personer mellem 18-30 år, 7 personer mellem 31-40 år samt 2 personer mellem 41-65 år. Interviewpersonerne blev stillet åbne holdningsspørgsmål samt spørgsmål om baggrundsvariable ud fra en interview-guide (figur 1$_{A2}$).

[31] Egen oversættelse

[32] Resultaterne for mænd og kvinder var ikke meget afvigende fra hinanden, men det var væsentligt sværere at få mænd til at henvende sig for at deltage i undersøgelsen, hvilket jeg var forberedt på. Det kan naturligvis have påvirket resultatet, hvilket der her skal tages forbehold for.

Kære interviewdeltager.

Først og fremmest tak fordi du vil være med i dette interview.

Prøv at starte med at fortælle mig kort om dig selv.

1) Med fokus på din egen tilværelse, prøv med få ord at beskrive hvad et godt liv er for dig?
2) Prøv så kort at beskrive hvad et dårligt liv er for dig?
3) Hvad er livskvalitet for dig?
4) Hvad i din tilværelse gør dig glad?
   - Hvad gør dig så ked af det?
5) Hvad i din tilværelse gør dig tryg?
   - Hvad gør dig så utryg?
6) Hvad i din tilværelse får dig til at føle dig tilfreds?
   - Hvad kan så få dig til at føle dig utilfreds?
7) Hvad i din tilværelse får dig til at føle dig rig?
   - Hvad kan så få dig til at føle dig fattig?
8) Hvad i din tilværelse får dig til at føle dig fri?
   - Hvad kan så få dig til at føle dig bundet?
9) Alt taget i betragtning, hvor tilfreds eller utilfreds du er med dit liv generelt for tiden? På en skala fra 0 til 10, hvor 10 er fuldstændig tilfreds og 0 er fuldstændig utilfreds.

Nu vil jeg spørge til dine omgivelser. På en skala fra 0 til 10, hvor 10 er meget vigtig og 0 er slet ikke vigtig,

10) Hvor vigtig er din familie i forhold til om du føler du har et godt liv?
11) Hvor vigtigt er dit arbejde i forhold til om du føler du har et godt liv?
12) Hvor vigtigt er det offentlige velfærdssystem i forhold til om du føler du har et godt liv?
13) Hvor vigtig er naturen i forhold til om du føler du har et godt liv?
14) Er der andre ting i dine omgivelser, ud over dem jeg netop har nævnt, der er vigtige i forhold til at du føler du har et godt liv?
15) Hvad drømmer du om?

Det var det hele, er der andet, som jeg ikke har nævnt, som du synes er vigtigt at få med, i forhold til det vi har snakket om?

Tusind tak for din tid og deltagelse?

Figur 1A2: Anvendt interviewguide

Formålet med spørgsmålene var - udover at få interviewpersonen til at reflektere over, hvad et godt liv er - at få dem til at vurdere deres egen samlede livsoplevelse bl.a. ud fra en række spørgsmål, der opstiller modsætningspar. I interviewet blev informationer om alder, civilstatus, uddannelse, beskæftigelse samt geografiske og kulturelle tilhørsforhold indsamlet for at indhente viden om den pågældendes livsform. Der er anvendt kontekstanalyse til artiklens empiriske materiale, som primært findes blandt artikler, publikationer og statistikker, der vedrører livsformer og livskvalitet i Grønland, samt nordiske lande i et par perspektiverende analyser.

4A2 Livsformer i Grønland

Grønland er et land med vidt forskellige og kontrastfyldte kulturer og livsformer. Som i mange andre samfund er der forskellige syn på livet fra by til bygd og fra person til person. Det kan være vanskeligt at udpege generelle træk, men der er tendenser, som karakteriserer livsformerne i de forskellige regioner, og som adskiller dem fra hinanden. For eksempel når man ser på folks arbejdsliv. I 2016 var der flere registrerede enkeltmandsvirksomheder i den nordligste kommune, Qaasuitsup Kommunea, end der var i hovedstadens kommune, Sermersooq, til trods for, at der på tidspunktet var omtrent 30% flere indbyggere i Sermersooq end i Qaasuuitsup Kommunea (Grønlands Statistisk 2016b, Grønlands Statistik 2016c). Dette indikerer, at der er flere med en selvstændig livsform i den nordlige region, end der i hovedstaden. For at blive klogere på livsformer generelt i landet kan man se på graden af forsyning og beskæftigelse i de forskellige regioner.

Vestgrønland nord for Sisimiut

I Nordvestgrønland er der lav forsyningsgrad[33] sammenlignet med andre steder i Vestgrønland (Hendriksen, 2013), men her er store forekomster af fisk og fangstdyr. Dette er formentlig en medvirkende årsag til, at mange er selvstændige eller arbejder i selvforsynende erhverv, f.eks. inden for fangst og fiskeri. Faktisk flere end nogen andre steder i Grønland. I Upernavik og Uummannaq var det i 2016 henholdsvis 17% og 21% af beskæftigede, der arbejdede inden for fangst og fiskeri (Grønlands Statistik 2016b; Grønlands Statistik, 2016c).

Vestgrønland fra Paamiut til Sisimiut

I den midterste del af Vestgrønland er der højere forsyningsgrad på grund af længere isfri perioder, og arbejdsmarkedet er mere blandet. Der er dog stadig en del, der arbejder inden for fangst og fiskeri. Som f.eks. i Sisimiut hvor det i 2016 var ca. 8% af de beskæftigede, der arbejdede inden for branchen (Grønlands Statistik 2016b).

Syd

I Narsaq og Qaqortoq arbejder mindre end 5% af de beskæftigede inden for fangst og fiskeri. Mange arbejder i stedet som lønmodtagere, særligt i den offentlige sektor

[33] Byer og bygder langs de grønlandske kyster er ikke fuldt selvforsynende, derfor kommer der vareforsyninger med skib eller fly fra de øvrige byer samt Danmark og udlandet. Forsyningen er større i sydvestlige byer og bygder, hvor der er længere isfri perioder på havet. I artiklen anvendes forsyningsgraden som indikator for graden af afhængighed af import og tjenester til regionen.

(Grønlands Statistik 2016b; Grønlands Statistik, 2016c). Derudover findes der et mindre antal landbrug og fårehold. Der er fast vareforsyning, når der ikke er storis, der driver ned fra nord.

Øst

I Østgrønland er billedet igen anderledes. Andelen af fangere og fiskere er ligesom i Nuuk og Qaqortoq under 5%, men beskæftigelsesgraden i byen Tasiilaq var i 2016 under 50% (Grønlands Statistik 2016e). Dette er væsentligt lavere end i de øvrige grønlandske byer; i Sisimiut lå den f.eks. på 65% (Grønlands Statistik 2016a). Forsyningsgraden er lav og i de bosteder, hvor man ikke lever af administration af landet eller arbejder i landsdækkende institutioner for undervisning og sundhed, lever man typisk af naturens ressourcer. Forskellene mellem landsdele afspejles også i andelen af personer, der modtager offentlig hjælp. I Tasiilaq var der i 2016 godt 20% af befolkningen i byen, der modtog offentlig hjælp (Grønlands Statistik, 2016c; Grønlands Statistik 2016d). I bygden Ittoqqortoormiit, der ligger i samme distrikt, var det ca. 13% af befolkningen der i 2016 modtog offentlig hjælp (Grønlands Statistik 2016a). I Nuuk, som ligger i samme kommune, modtog 7% offentlig hjælp. Det tegner således et iøjnefaldende billede af meget forskellige livsformer og livsvilkår, især mellem Øst og Vestgrønland.
Selv med denne forholdsvist overfladiske analyse af vareforsyning og beskæftigelse er det åbenlyst, at der er forskel på vilkårene mellem regionerne. Det har betydning for økonomien og for udviklingen mod selvstændighed. Ifølge Økonomisk Råds rapport fra 2018 er det en forudsætning for at styrke udsigterne til en selvbåren økonomi at få flere af dem, som er offentligt forsørgede til at komme i arbejde, samt at få flere til at uddanne sig (jf. Nauja Biancos artikel i dette temanummer).

4.1$_{A2}$ Rurale og urbane livsformer i Grønland

I forhold til teorien om den urbane livsform, er der primært tale om urbane livsformer for mennesker, der lever i hovedstaden. Nuuk er en by, der minder om en moderne by, som man ser dem i Skandinavien: En gågade, butikker, et shoppingcenter, cafeer, restauranter, biograf, diskoteker, svømmehal, kulturelle tilbud og offentlig transport, der kører stort set hele døgnet. Man kan både argumentere for og imod, om der er tale om en urban livsform i byerne Qaqortoq, Ilulissat og Sisimiut, som ikke helt har de samme tilbud. Der findes butikker og enkelte restauranter, og nogle af de nævnte byer har offentlig transport, men chancen for at støde ind i en man kender, er større i disse byer, end den er i Nuuk. Sammenlignet med en by i Europa, er der formentlig flere fællestræk med en landsby, men i en grønlandsk kontekst betegnes de som byer. Den

rurale livsform i Grønland kendetegner livet i bygderne og i de mindre byer. Man kender mange - hvis ikke de fleste - i lokalområdet, og nye ansigter, som f.eks. tilflyttere og turister, opdages hurtigt i gadebilledet.
De grønlandske livsformer og kulturer praktiseres forskelligt fra region til region. I nord fermenteres der fugle under varder, og i syd koges der fårehoveder til middag. Nationaldragter og kamikker har særlige kendetegn, så man kan se på dem, hvorfra i landet de kommer. Sprogmæssigt er det også nemt for en indfødt at høre, om man er fra Uummannaq i nord, hovedstaden Nuuk, Nanortalik i syd eller Ittoqqortoormiit i øst. Der er også visse kulturelle fællestræk, som går på tværs af byer og bygder. Eksempelvis kan man hilse samt svare ja og nej via ansigtsmimik på samme måde i hele Grønland. Efternavne og navne generelt, samt det årstal man er født, er også et særligt kulturelt emne over hele Grønland (Reimer 2010; 2012). Samtalen mellem folk, uanset om man er i by eller bygd, falder ofte på, hvad man hedder til efternavn. Hvis efternavnet er genkendeligt, kan man forvente at blive spurgt, om man er i familie med den eller den person, og dermed sat i en form for relation til spørgeren, uafhængigt af om man kender denne eller ej. Disse få eksempler favner langt fra alle kulturelle fællestræk, men de vidner om et kulturelt behov for samhørighed eller en form for social sammenhængskraft, der går på tværs af steder og livsformer.

4.2A2 Livskvalitet i Grønland og Arktis

I Grønland var det først lige før hjemmestyretiden i 1970'erne, at man blev interesseret i at måle levevilkår og livskvalitet i befolkningen. De første havde fokus på folkesundhed, primært målt med kvantitative metoder (From et al 1975, Bjerregaard 1993, Grønlands Statistik 1994). I 2006 udkom Survey of Living Conditions in the Arctic (SLiCA). Det særegne ved SLiCA var udviklingen af lokale, regionale og internationale partnerskaber med de oprindelige folk, hvis levevilkår og livskvalitet skulle undersøges. Formålet var ikke mindst at sikre fokus på forestillingerne om det gode liv blandt de oprindelige folk i Arktis – herunder de grønlandske inuit. Undersøgelsen er baseret på et spørgeskema med mere end 200 spørgsmål, og resultatet blev mere end 1.000 interviews over hele Grønland (Poppel et.al 2007). Undersøgelsens emner spænder bredt, og er kategoriseret efter 6 anbefalede sociale indikatorer (uddannelse, kulturel vitalitet, skæbnekontrol, kontakt med naturen og BNP per capita) fra Arctic Human Development Report 2004 (AHDR), som samlet set skulle beskrive levevilkårene, herunder også resultater om livskvalitet. Eksempelvis blev der spurgt ind til præferencer vedrørende livsstil, tilfredshed med livet i lokalområdet samt tilfredshed med livet generelt. I undersøgelsen udtrykte 93% af de adspurgte at være rimeligt tilfreds eller meget tilfreds med livet i det store og hele (SLiCA tabel 390).

4.3$_{A2}$ Livskvalitet i Sydgrønland

De store befolkningsundersøgelser og rapporter, som SLiCA og AHDR, kan give et overordnet og ganske omfattende indblik i levevilkår og livskvalitet i Arktis, men formår for det meste ikke at forklare, hvad der ligger bag de resultater, de præsenterer. Til det må man gå et lag dybere ned i den kvalitative forskning. I forbindelse med mit feltarbejde i Sydgrønland stod det klart, at tilfredsheden med livet afhang af en række sociale indikatorer, som primært havde med familie, arbejde og natur at gøre. Gennemsnitligt udtrykte samtlige interviewpersoner en generel tilfredshed med livet (spørgsmål 9 i interviewguiden) på 'over middel'. Der var ikke stor spredning på svarene generelt, men der var dog flere mænd end kvinder, der tillagde det offentlige velfærdssystem betydning for deres oplevede livskvalitet. Ifølge alle mænd var det offentlige velfærdssystem 'meget vigtigt' for, om de følte, at de havde et godt liv, mens det kun var to af kvinderne, der udtrykte det samme. De resterende svar fra kvinderne lå spredt fra 'under middel' til 'over middel'. Ud over svarene på de forberedte spørgsmål, viste undersøgelsen, at det også betød noget for interviewpersonernes oplevede livskvalitet, hvor de fysisk boede. Især i Nanortalik blev der uopfordret udtrykt tanker om at flytte, eller at andre skulle flytte til byen, primært for at komme tættere på familie. I tre ud af de otte interviews fra byen blev der givet udtryk for, at tilfredsheden med livet ville være bedre, hvis de kunne flytte til Nuuk. På spørgsmålet om, hvad der skulle til for at blive meget tilfreds med livet, svarede en kvinde i starten af 30'erne fra Nanortalik for eksempel at, "*Jeg vil ellers gerne flytte herfra. Ikke sådan hele livet, men måske prøve at flytte 1 til 2 år herfra. Men min kæreste synes, det er vigtigt at bo her for ham*". I samme by var der to interviews, hvor det omvendte var tilfældet. Tilfredsheden med livet ville være større, hvis venner og familie ville flytte tilbage til byen. I alle interviews fordelt på de to byer og to bygder i Sydgrønland, var flytning/vandring et gennemgående tema. Det havde en følelsesmæssig betydning for interviewpersonen, og blev uopfordret bragt ind i interviewsamtalen. En mand i slutningen af 20'erne fra Nanortalik berettede for eksempel: *"Nu er der flyttet omkring 1200 mennesker fra Sydgrønland til Nuuk eller Danmark."* og fastslog samtidigt: "*Men jeg vil ikke flytte. Det vil jeg ikke!*". I sammendrag var holdningen, at enten blev man, hvor man var, fordi det var den livsform, man ønskede at fastholde, og derfor måtte man leve med et eventuelt savn af familie og venner. Eller også ventede man på at få mulighed for at flytte, og dermed potentielt bryde op med den vante livsform for at komme tættere på familie og venner, eller simpelthen fordi man ønskede en anden livsform. Vandring ud af landet og mellem byer er et emne, der ofte tages op i samfundet, og som vedbliver at være aktuelt. I 2010 viste resultater fra Grønlands Selvstyres mobilitetsundersøgelse, at godt 40% af befolkningen havde ønsker om at flytte indenfor 5 år. Til sammenligning

var det i Danmark[34] 34% af befolkningen, der flyttede mellem 2010 og 2015 (Danmarks Statistik 2016). Den grønlandske mobilitetsundersøgelse pegede endvidere på, at uddannelse og familie var blandt de vigtigste årsager til at flytte (Grønlands Selvstyre, 2010). Familie, det sociale netværk og tilfredshed med egen bolig, var samtidig de største årsager til *ikke* at flytte. Undersøgelsen er ikke siden fulgt op, men den seneste befolkningsfremskrivning fra Grønland Statistik viser, at folketallet er støt faldende og vil være det frem mod 2050 (Grønlands Statistik, 2019). Dette skyldes, ifølge fremskrivningen, færre fødsler og længere middellevealder, kombineret med den nuværende nettoudvandring.

4.4$_{A2}$ Naturens betydning for livskvaliteten

Tidligere havde det grønlandske samfund en subsistensøkonomisk struktur. Subsistensøkonomi forbindes - især i den vestlige verden - med livsformer i fattige natursamfund, hvor husets produktion (som indebærer fangst, fiskeri og indsamling af planter og bær) er selve eksistensgrundlaget for husholdningen. I Grønland lever man ikke helt på denne måde længere. Subsistensøkonomiske *aktiviteter* derimod, handler om mere end blot overlevelse; det handler også om åndelig og kulturel vitalitet. Det er almindeligt at kombinere lønnet arbejde med naturaktiviteter, såsom fangst og fiskeri, samt dele det med familie, venner og omgivelser (Poppel 2009, Rasmussen 2005, Hertz 1995). Denne blanding af markedsøkonomi og subsistensøkonomi/selvforsyningsøkonomi, hvis samfundsmæssige signifikans er bredt anerkendt (Hertz 1999, Rasmussen 2005, Poppel 2008, Poppel & Kruse 2009, Hendriksen 2013), findes i alle byer og bygder[35], og er en almindelig del af hverdagen for langt de fleste. Det er således en praksis, som i mange tilfælde udføres mere af lyst og vilje end af nød og manglende alternativer, og som derfor optræder på et slags kulturelt hobbyplan. Der er desuden studier, der viser, at lønnet arbejde kan være med til at opretholde en tilværelse med subsistensøkonomiske aktiviteter, fordi det ofte kræver en god økonomi at vedligeholde eksempelvis en båd og andet jagtudstyr (Poppel et. al 2017). Enten fanger og fisker man selv i husholdningen, eller også kender man nogen, der gør, som man enten får eller køber af. Der er derfor elementer, som man typisk finder i den selvstændige livsform; f.eks. Højrups begreb om den rurale solidaritet[36] (Højrup 1989), der også optræder i lønarbejderlivsformen i Grønland, men som falder uden for det formelle økonomiske system. Dette blev

[34] Som ifølge Danmarks Statistik er den befolkning der flytter næstmest i EU (Danmarks Statistik 2016)

[35] Som også gør sig gældende i Arktis generelt, se f.eks. Usher et.al (2002).

[36] Som kort fortalt handler om det at dele afgrøder mm. med hinanden i lokalsamfundene.

ligeledes bekræftet i forbindelse med mit feltarbejde i Sydgrønland i foråret 2018. Her tilkendegav lidt over halvdelen af interviewpersonerne, at de som en almindelig del af hverdagen deltog i jagtaktiviteter uden selv at være fangere eller fiskere. Udover at være en del af hverdagen, var kontakten til naturen, som de fik gennem eksempelvis jagtaktiviteter, væsentlig for deres livskvalitet. Her er det iøjnefaldende, at samtlige mænd i undersøgelsen tilkendegav, at naturen var 'meget vigtig' for, om de følte, at de havde et godt liv, mens der var større spredning i svarene på det spørgsmål blandt kvinderne. Sammenlagt var det flertallet, der mente, at naturen var 'meget vigtig' for, om de følte, de havde et godt liv, og i helhed har naturens betydning for den oplevede livskvalitet den største score blandt svarene.

5$_{A2}$ Livskvalitet og selvstændighed

Opsummerende viser resultaterne fra mit feltarbejde i Sydgrønland, at livskvalitet dér særligt handler om kultur, natur, familie og stedmæssig tilknytning. I en videre fortolkning kan man sige, at for interviewpersonerne handler livskvalitet i store træk om frihed. Deres frihed til at udøve en bestemt kultur, friheden til at være i naturen, friheden til at være sammen, og friheden til at vælge, hvor de vil bo. Værdien af frihed er også noget af det, der driver ønskerne om selvstændighed for Grønland, og det er der ikke noget mærkværdigt over. Frihed har nemlig en positiv indvirkning på vores individuelle livskvalitet. Et nærliggende eksempel er Danmark, som er blandt de frieste lande i verden, og som ligger i toppen af den internationale lykke-måling i World Happiness Report (Helliwell, 2019; Helliwell 2018).
Ser man på sammenlignelige lande, der er blevet selvstændige i nyere tid, er der tendenser, der peger på, at øget frihed i form af national selvstændighed, på mange måder styrker behovet for at give udtryk for sin kultur og samhørigheden i befolkningen. I Norge og Island ser man befolkningen udøve deres nationalitet på flere måder, som kan have tilknytning til deres relativt nylige selvstændige status. Det er interessant at se på Norge og Island, fordi begge lande har haft tilhørsforhold til Danmark, og fordi de begge har fælles træk med Grønland i form af en relativt lille befolkning, særlige naturforhold og en vis afsondrethed fra andre lande. Derfor er det nærliggende at antage, at den kulturelle bevægelse, der har fundet sted i de to lande også vil kunne finde sted i Grønland, hvis man løsriver sig fra Rigsfællesskabet.
I Norge finder den kulturelle markering i høj grad sted gennem det at bære nationaldragter og ved at markere nationaldage (Eilertsen 2012, Goertzen 2007). I Island har man en meget udadvendt national profilering (Huijbens 2011) og man markerer tydeligt sin nation gennem sproget. I dag er det de færreste unge islændinge, der taler dansk, og de kommunikerer hellere på engelsk, hvis det ikke skal foregå på islandsk. Det er resultatet af en længere politisk indsats for at styrke det islandske

sprog og på samme tid tage afstand fra det danske sprog (Vikør 2010). Det er langt fra givet, at alle de kulturelle markeringer, man ser i Norge og Island har med selvstændighed at gøre, men det lader til, at den kulturelle vitalitet og samhørighed er styrket i de to lande efter deres løsrivelse. Dermed kan man også antage, at selvstændighed kan føre til, at den i forvejen stærke grønlandske kultur, bliver endnu mere markant i sit udtryk. Det åbner også op for en forestilling om, at livskvaliteten - i det omfang den er knyttet til følelsen af friheden til og behovet for at udøve sin kultur og at føle samhørighed gennem dette - vil blive øget, hvis Grønland bliver selvstændigt.

6A2 Diskussion

Artiklen her har forsøgt at give et indblik i nogle af de livsformer, der findes i Grønland, og hvordan de hænger sammen med livskvalitet. Det er langt fra en komplet livsformsanalyse, der er tale om, men der er fremhævet nogle væsentlige træk, som skiller sig ud i det eksisterende datamateriale og i den empiri, der er fremlagt.

6.1A2 I Grønland går livsformerne på tværs af teoriens skel

Når det kommer til husholdningsøkonomi og den måde folk foretrækker at leve på, har den grønlandske levevis nogle særlige træk, som går igen på tværs af den rurale og den urbane livsform. I en grønlandsk kontekst bliver livsformsanalysens økonomiske verdensbillede dermed udfordret af den særlige blandede økonomi i Grønland, hvor markedsøkonomi kombineres med subsistensøkonomi/selvforsyningsøkonomi. Der er flere måder, hvorpå Højrups ideer om den rurale og urbane livsform ikke udfolder sig tilstrækkeligt, når det kommer til det grønlandske samfund. Der er ganske vist forskel på det tempo, man finder i en bygd og det, man finder i by, men der findes mange eksempler på kombinationer af rurale og urbane livsformer. Det skyldes, at det at flytte bosted er noget, man har praktiseret igennem årtusinder i Grønland. Derfor er der også mange, der bor i byer eller bygder, som ikke er født eller opvokset der, og selvom en del på et tidspunkt flytter tilbage, så er der også mange, der ikke gør. Det betyder, at Højrups forestilling om, at man ikke kan skifte livsform, ikke helt holder. De, der flytter fra bygd til by eller helt ud af landet, er nødt til at tilpasse deres livsform til livet dér.
Som nævnt i analysen, er der strengt taget kun tale om en egentlig bylivsform i Nuuk. Det er ikke bare fordi, at det kun er Nuuk, der tilbyder muligheder, der minder om andre store byer i Skandinavien. Det handler også om graden af anonymitet og den sociale dynamik. I de mindre byer, og især i bygderne, er der stort set ingen anonymitet. De fleste ved, hvem folk er, hvor de bor, og hvem de er i familie med.

Det er en integreret del af den sociale dynamik på stedet, og derfor helt på linje med teorien om den rurale livsform.
Men idealet om den rurale livsform finder man også udfoldet i Nuuk og de større byer. For eksempel når det kommer til kontakten til naturen, de traditionelle aktiviteter samt den søgen efter samhørighed og familiaritet, som tidligere eksemplificeret med navne og slægtskab. Det er også denne samhørighed og familiaritet, interviewpersonerne fra Sydgrønland kommer ind på, når de taler om, at de ønsker at flytte væk fra byen, eller når de ønsker familie og venner tæt på.
Selvom Nuuk med sine ca. 18.000 indbyggere i sammenligning med byer i Danmark er lille, og selvom byen har mange tilflyttere fra de mindre byer og bygder, er der naturligvis (lidt) længere mellem dem, man kender. Men byen er stadig ikke større, end at nogen altid er i relation med nogen, man kender – enten familiært, venskabeligt eller i arbejdsmæssig sammenhæng. Tanken om en opdelt rural og urban identitet er derfor udfordret, fordi livsformerne er mere socialt og kulturelt vævet ind i hinanden i en grønlandsk sammenhæng, end livsformsteorien formår at begribe.

6.2$_{A2}$ Selvstændighed kan få betydning for livskvalitet og livsformer

For at diskutere livskvalitet i sammenhæng med selvstændighed, bliver vi nødt til at sætte livskvalitet i kontekst med noget, som vi kan antage, at en eventuel selvstændighed også vil påvirke. Hvordan vil selvstændighed f.eks. påvirke kulturen eller den stedmæssige tilknytning? I analysen kom det frem, at folketallet er faldende, og at der i fremtidens Grønland vil være endnu færre indbyggere; særligt børn og unge samt folk i den erhvervsaktive alder. Hvis man oveni dette forestiller sig, at flere vil udvandre eller f.eks. flytte til Nuuk, kan man spørge, hvad selvstændighed vil betyde for livsformerne, og dermed også livskvaliteten. Hvis der bliver færre til at opretholde erhvervslivet, hvis andelen af offentligt forsørgede ikke ændrer sig, og folk flytter fra yderområderne og ind i byerne, vil dette med al sandsynlighed sætte yderligere pres på velfærdssystemet. Samtidig kom det i analysen frem, at livskvalitet for mange er knyttet til følelsen af frihed og at man ved at sammenligne med andre nordiske lande, der har opnået selvstændighed, kan argumentere for, at livskvaliteten vil blive øget, hvis Grønland bliver selvstændigt.
Økonomisk Råd har i deres rapporter og ved flere lejligheder påpeget, at såfremt selvstændighed træder i kraft uden en ændring i de økonomiske vilkår[37], så vil levestandarden forringes. Man kan derfor også argumentere for, at selvstændighed vil påvirke den enkeltes oplevede livskvalitet i en negativ retning, hvis det betyder, at

[37] Udover at bloktilskuddet bortfalder.

befolkningen stilles økonomisk ringere, og ikke kan opretholde en rimelig levestandard.
Nettoudvandringen fra Grønland har de seneste 30 år hvert eneste år været positiv. Det betyder, at fraflytningen har oversteget tilflytningen. Samtidig er antallet af bygdeboere siden begyndelsen af 0'erne faldet med ca. 3.000 indbyggere til godt 7.000 i 2019 (Statistikbanken). Begge dele kan man argumentere for, er en følge af den globale tendens til urbanisering. For Grønlands vedkommende kan man videre argumentere for, at denne tendens vil blive forstærket, hvis landet vælger at løsrive sig fra Rigsfællesskabet. Det skyldes, at der, som det ser ud lige nu, er en risiko for, at de økonomiske vilkår, som fremhævet af Økonomisk Råd, vil blive forringet, og at flere vil blive presset til at flytte til de større byer for at finde arbejde. Såfremt selvstændighed medfører en øget urbanisering, kan det få både negative og positive konsekvenser for livskvaliteten hos den grønlandske befolkning. Som det kom frem under mit feltarbejde, findes der de, som ikke ønsker at flytte, og for hvem det gode liv er knyttet til det sted, man bor. For disse, som allerede i dag oplever konsekvenserne af den øgede urbanisering, vil selvstændighed og øget urbanisering få en negativ indvirkning på den oplevede livskvalitet. De har svært ved at tilpasse sig og ved at klare sig godt i andre omgivelser. For dem er den medfødte livsform måske så essentiel, at de har svært ved at trives på andre måder eller andre steder.[38] Men det er også væsentligt at holde sig for øje, at befolkningen - som tidligere nævnt - historisk har vist evne til at kombinere urbane og rurale livsformer i byen. Der er en vis fleksibilitet i de grønlandske livsformer; noget der ligeledes gør sig gældende for de mange, der flytter fra Grønland til Danmark. Det er en evne, der kan vise sig at være en styrke i befolkningens tilpasningsparathed over for store ændringer, som f.eks. selvstændighed.

7A2 Konklusion

Spørgsmålet om, hvordan livsform og livskvalitet hænger sammen, er i denne artikel forsøgt belyst med elementer fra livsformsanalysen, data fra eksisterende undersøgelser samt empirisk materiale fra mit feltarbejde i Sydgrønland. Artiklen peger på, at man har en mere selvstændig livsform i bygderne og yderområderne, som er i tråd med teorien om en rural livsform og identitet. Det fremgår af artiklen, at

[38] Artiklen her er ikke gået dybere ind i vandringernes sociale problematik i forhold til livsformer, men der ligger her et aktuelt emne, som kan skabe større afklaring i forhold til de tilpasningsproblemer der kan opstå i Grønland, når folk flytter fra et sted til et andet (og så vidt også i forhold til grønlandske livsformer i Danmark).

særligt naturen har en væsentlig betydning for den generelle tilfredshed med livet, hvilket også underbygger eksisterende teori og forskning om sociale indikatorer i Arktis. Der er endvidere parametre, som har en betydning for livskvaliteten, og som er naturligt forbundet med livsformerne. Det er - ud over tilknytningen til naturen - den sociale sammenhængskraft, som rummer mange forskellige facetter. Sidstnævnte, viser artiklen, bliver problematisk, når folk flytter fra sted til sted, og her er således grundlag for en videre og mere tilbundsgående forskning, som kan belyse vandringernes sociale problematikker, både inden for landets grænser og i forhold til vandringer mellem Grønland og Danmark. Om der er en sammenhæng mellem det, vi i dag ved om livsformer og livskvalitet og udviklingen mod selvstændighed i Grønland, er svært at sige noget præcist om. Det grønlandske folk er tilpasningsdygtigt, og har fundet måder, hvorpå de kan kombinere rurale og urbane livsformer, men der er også faktorer, man ikke lige med ét kan ændre, som f.eks. uddannelsesgraden og den økonomiske situation. Med den viden vi har nu, må man overveje, hvad der bør komme i første række; selvstændighed eller et styrket folk og en bæredygtig økonomi. Det er ikke sikkert, det ene udelukker det andet, og det eneste man formentlig med sikkerhed kan sige er, at historien indtil videre har vist, at der ikke er negative konsekvenser forbundet med en sund økonomi eller en veluddannet befolkning.

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Article 3

3.3 What Works for Wellbeing in Greenland?

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Abstract

This article discusses life modes and subjective wellbeing in Greenland from a social scientific perspective. Based on interviews conducted in South Greenland in spring 2018, the article seeks to give insight to the interrelation between subjective wellbeing and life modes. Furthermore, the article will discuss this interrelation in the light of Greenland's potential independence.

Greenland has undergone major and rapid societal changes over the past century going from colonization in the beginning of the 20th century to self-rule in 2009. From the outside there tend to be focus on the extraction of raw materials, arctic security issues and the potential of the north-west passage. All with economic and strategic significance for many countries, besides Greenland. Internal debates in Greenland are predominantly circling around infrastructure (especially airports), fishing quotas and the desire for independence. Being part of the Danish Realm, the country's economy is still dependent on an annual block grant from Denmark, which accounts for just about half of the national income. Parallel to the rising political desire for independence, public health is reported dropping in certain areas, including self-

[39] This article has been altered to fit the format of the dissertation and pictures have been removed. The original article can be accessed on https://www.thearcticinstitute.org/what-works-wellbeing-greenland/

assessed health and increased social inequality (Larsen et.al 2019). At the same time, living conditions are gradually improving in cities, so more people are moving from village to city, especially to the capitol Nuuk (Greenlandic Statistics 2019). No one can know for sure how independence will affect lives in Greenland, however, by understanding the interrelation between life modes and subjective wellbeing in Greenlandic society, it is easier to understand what is important to the Greenlandic people and what is at stake when major changes are imminent.

1A3 Method

The primary data in this article comes from field work in April 2018 in the south Greenlandic cities and towns: Qaqortoq, Nanortalik, Narsarsuaq and Qassiarsuk. I conducted 16 semi-structured interviews with women and men between the ages of 18-65, which were found via snowball method; i.e. by asking person-to-person if they knew someone who might be interested in participating. I also called out for people via Facebook groups and asked people I met on the street or in the supermarket. 11 women and 5 men participated in the study. The interviewees were primarily asked open-ended questions from an interview guide. The aim with the questions - in addition to getting the interviewer to reflect on what a good life is – was to have them assess their overall life experience, among other things. In the interview, information regarding all aspects of their everyday life where collected, e.g. demographic information, leisure time activities as well as geographical and cultural affiliation. A more in-depth analysis and discussion can be read (in Danish) in the special edition of *Politik* published in June 2019 (Steenholdt 2019).

2A3 Life Modes in Greenland

Subjective wellbeing and the notion of the good life is something we tend to associate with the values and cultural norms in a person's life. The physical locality of where a person lives is also important. It is a classical notion that people have substantially different ways of life in a city versus in a village, and values and attitudes about how quality of life is perceived, substantially varies between the two. Greenland is a country with vastly different and contrasting cultures and ways of life and as in many other countries, there are different views of what a good life is from city to village and from person to person.

According to the Danish ethnographer Thomas Højrup's life mode analysis, life modes are the different forms of praxis or *conceptual systems* created by society's structure and production mode. Analyzing life modes is interesting because it enables us to understand what we do not know or are blind to about other conceptual systems in society (Højrup 1989). Culture, values and norms correlates with life modes, however, being an island in the high and remote north, the country is dependent on importing food and goods. Thus, to become better acquainted with what also constitutes life modes in general, one can look at the degree of supply and employment in the different regions. In the ice free areas south of the polar circle there is generally a higher degree of supply. There is also a relation between low supply areas e.g. in North West

Greenland and number of self-sustaining people, typically working as hunters and fishermen. High supply areas tends to have more people working in public administration. Conditions in East Greenland are different. The area is more remote, supply is low and more people are dependent on welfare support than in any other place in Greenland (ibid.) In Greenland, a place is normally characterized as a city when there are more than 500 inhabitants. The capital Nuuk with its 18.000 inhabitants is a city reminiscent of a modern city, as seen e.g. in Scandinavia. One can argue both for and against whether there is an urban way of life in the cities of Qaqortoq, Ilulissat and Sisimiut, which do not have quite the same offerings. Compared to a city in Europe, there are probably more common features with a village, but in a Greenlandic context, they are cities. The rural way of life in Greenland characterizes life in the settlements and in the smaller towns. People know each other and new faces, such as newcomers and tourists, do not go unnoticed in the streets. Life modes and cultures are practiced differently from region to region. This is e.g. reflected culinary; in the north, birds are fermented under rocks, and in the south, they cook sheep heads for dinner. Linguistically, it is also easy for a native to hear whether one is from Uummannaq in the north, the capital Nuuk, Nanortalik in the south or Ittoqqortoormiit in the east. There are also certain cultural commonalities throughout settlements and towns. For example, it is common to greet and answer *yes* and *no* through facial mimicry in the same way throughout Greenland[40]. Surnames and names in general, as well as year of birth, are also a special cultural national issue (Reimer 2010; 2012). The conversation between people, whether in town or settlement, often falls on surnames. If the surname is recognized, you might be related to each other, which is very common. These few examples are far from all cultural commonalities, but they do indicate a cultural need for social cohesion that go across space and lifestyles.

3A3 The Concept of Subjective Well-being

Subjective well-being, also interchangeably referred to as perceived quality of life, is a broad and inclusive concept and in simple terms, it is about how the individual subjectively evaluate his or her well-being, when all aspects of life, material and non-material, are taken into account (Andersen & Poppel 2002)

4A3 The Importance of Nature and Mobility

In the past, the Greenlandic community had a subsistence economic structure. Subsistence economy is when the house production (which involves catching, fishing and harvesting plants and berries) is the basis of the household's existence. However, people do not live this way anymore. Subsistence economic activities, on the other hand, are about more than just survival; as Poppel and Kruse likewise found, it is also about cultural vitality and personal choice (Poppel & Kruse 2009). It is common to

[40] This is also cultural practice across the Arctic. Briefly explained, when you answer "yes" you raise your eyebrows and when you answer "no" you pull your nose up towards your eyes.

combine paid work with nature activities, such as catching and fishing, as well as sharing it with family, friends and surroundings. This mix of market economy and subsistence economy, which societal significance is widely recognized (for details on references, see Steenholdt 2019) and is found in all cities and towns, and is a common part of everyday life for the majority of people. This was also confirmed within with my fieldwork in South Greenland in spring 2018. Here, just over half of the interviewees indicated that they, as a normal part of everyday life, participated in hunting activities without being professional catchers or fishermen and that it was significant to their sense of wellbeing. In total, the importance of nature to the quality of life experienced has the highest score among the answers. In addition, I discovered that it also meant something to the interviewees' quality of life where they physically lived. Especially in Nanortalik, unsolicited thoughts were expressed about moving to especially Nuuk, primarily to get closer to family. In three of the eight interviews from the city, it was stated (in an often very emotional tone) that the satisfaction of life would be better if they could move to Nuuk (ibid.). Migration out of the country and between cities is a recurring topic addressed nationwide and which remains relevant. In 2010, results from the Greenland Self-Government Mobility Survey showed that more than 40% of the population wanted to move within the next 5 years (Naalakkersuisut (2010).

5A3 Wellbeing and Political Independence

The fieldwork results in South Greenland show that wellbeing among other things especially was about culture, nature and family. Analyzing the conversations, it is arguable that quality of life largely was connected with the sense of freedom for the interviewees. Their freedom to practice a particular culture, the freedom to be in nature, the freedom to be together, and the freedom to choose where they want to live. Not surprisingly, the value of freedom is also part of what drives the desire for independence for Greenland. Freedom has a positive impact on our individual quality of life. A nearby example is Denmark, which is among the freest countries in the world and is at the top of the international happiness measures in the World Happiness Report (Helliwell, Layard & Sachs 2018; 2019). Looking at comparable countries that have become independent in recent times, there are trends that indicate that increased freedom in the form of national independence, in many ways, reinforces the need to express culture and community cohesion. In Norway and Iceland, the population exercises their nationality in several ways, which may relate to their relatively recent independent status. It is interesting to look at Norway and Iceland because both countries have had an affiliation with Denmark and because they both have common features with Greenland in the form of a relatively small population, special natural conditions and some seclusion from other countries. Therefore, it is obvious to assume that the cultural movement that has taken place in the two countries can also take place in Greenland, if it disengages from the Realm. In Norway, cultural marking takes place largely through the wearing of national costumes and by the celebration of national days (Eilertsen 2012; Goertzen 2007) In Iceland, there is a very extroverted national profiling (Huijbens 2011). For instance, the Icelanders makes a distinct effort in prioritizing their native language. Today, many young Icelanders do not speak

Danish, and they prefer to communicate in English if not in Icelandic. This is the result of a longer political effort to strengthen the Icelandic language and at the same time to distance itself from the Danish language (Vikør 2010). It is far from certain that all the cultural markings seen in Norway and Iceland have to do with independence, but it seems that cultural vitality and cohesion have been reinforced in the two countries after their detachment. Thus, one can also assume that independence can lead to the already strong Greenlandic culture becoming even more pronounced in its expression.

6A3 Wellbeing in Future Greenland Depends on How you Look at It

In order to discuss quality of life in the context of independence, we need to put quality of life in context with something that we can assume that independence will also affect. How will independence e.g. affect the culture or the local connection? Latest statistics from Greenland Statistics revealed that the population is declining and that in the future Greenland there will be even fewer (native) inhabitants; especially children and young people as well as people of working age (Greenlandic Statistics 2019). If you imagine that more people will emigrate or move from the smaller places to Nuuk, one might ask what independence will mean for life modes and quality of life. If there is less people to sustain business, if public welfare remains status quo and people move from the outer areas and into the cities, this is likely to put additional pressure on the welfare system. Furthermore, as stated in the previous section, people tend to link their quality of life with the feeling of personal freedom. Comparing with other Nordic countries that have achieved independence, it opens up for the argument that the quality of life - insofar as it is linked to the sense of freedom and the need to exercise one's culture and to feel cohesion through it - will be enhanced if Greenland becomes independent.
On more objective terms, the Economic Council has pointed out in their reports and on several occasions that if independence comes into effect without an improvement on economic conditions it will have critical consequences on the living standard in general (Economic Council 2018). Thus, it can also be argued that independence will adversely affect the individual quality of life if it means that the population is financially deficient and cannot maintain a reasonable living standard.

7A3 A Few Remarks: Russian Roulette or the Safe Bet?

This article offers an insight into some life mode patterns in Greenland in a quality of life perspective and it seems that there is a correlation between what we know today about life modes and quality of life and the development towards independence in Greenland. The Greenlandic people are adaptable and have found ways to combine urban and rural life modes, however, there are also factors that cannot be changed at once, such as degree of education and financial situation. With the knowledge we have so far, one can then consider what should come first; independence or a strengthened

people and a sustainable economy. It is not certain that one rule out the other, however, if the choice eventually becomes independence first, it seems quite like a game of Russian roulette with the quality of life and wellbeing of the Greenlandic people. Assumingly, there are no safe bets when it comes to these pivotal decisions. The only thing one can say with certainty is that history has shown so far that there are no negative consequences associated with a healthy economy or a well-educated population.

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Article 4

3.4 Subjective Well-Being in East Greenland

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Abstract

This paper analyses subjective well-being (SWB) among inhabitants in East Greenland. Recently, considerable public attention has been directed toward the conditions of East Greenland, particularly in the Ammassalik region. Shocking reports on severe social problems with substance abuse, domestic violence, and child abuse continue to emerge. Meanwhile, the latest studies of SWB show that satisfaction with life is relatively high despite the poor living conditions. This study aims to explore inhabitants' perceptions of what it means to have a good life, via personal interviews in four locations on the East Greenlandic coast. It discusses specific domains and indicators, such as social relations, emotional well-being, and employment status, and their impact on overall well-being. Finally, the paper discusses whether the findings presented support or dispute existing research practices, with a focus on the report Arctic Social Indicators (ASI) and the Survey of Living Conditions in the Arctic (SLiCA). This study highlights the gap in leading research practice, suggesting that additional research on SWB in Greenland and other areas in the Arctic be conducted

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to ensure that SWB, as a direct measure, is included in future social indicator research in the Arctic.

Keywords: *subjective well-being; social indicators; quality of life; Greenland*

1A4 Introduction

Studies of subjective well-being (SWB) in the Arctic show that despite major social problems, such as unemployment, alcohol abuse, and suicide, most people are satisfied with their lives in their communities (Poppel et al., 2015). The same applies to some extent in the East Greenlandic communities, though not many social scientific studies have dealt with SWB there. Results from the Survey of Living Conditions in the Arctic (SLiCA) showed that satisfaction with life was above average. Yet fewer people were satisfied with their life in East Greenland compared to other regions in Greenland (Poppel et al., 2007). While there are no scientific explanations as to why people in East Greenland are less satisfied with their lives than other regions, there are numerous indications of circumstances in East Greenland that give the impression that life is difficult for people living there. In 2016, the largest town on the east coast, Tasiilaq, was among the top three towns in Greenland with the highest rate of financially vulnerable people (See Table 3.2 in http://www.stat.gl/publ/da/SO/201705/pdf/2016%20De%20økonomisk%20udsatte.pdf). Income inequality in the region of Ammassalik is also the highest within the municipality, partly because it has the highest unemployment rate nationally (www.statbank.gl). The high unemployment rate also explains that the number of people on welfare support is among the largest nationally (statbank.gl). In 2018, 20% of people in the labor force lived on less than 76.203 kroner (11.210 USD) a year in the region (statbank.gl). From an objective perspective, it, therefore, seems that the living conditions set the bar low for the quality of life (QoL) and well-being for people living there. Yet the latest studies show that even though the results on life satisfaction in East Greenland are lower than in the rest of the country, the scores are still above average. This raises the question of how a satisfactory life is perceived. Although similar paradoxical observations have been made before in Greenland and elsewhere in the Arctic (see, e.g., Poppel 2017; Larsen et al., 2010; Kruse et al., 2008), the aim of this study is to go even deeper into the layers and sharpen the contemporary understanding of QoL through a focus on SWB in East Greenland. We know that conditions are harsh there and, in some cases, unacceptable, yet we also know that the people are relatively satisfied with their lives. This paper, therefore, looks beyond measures of life satisfaction to investigate if qualitative analysis can help shed light on the causal mechanisms by exploring *how* QoL is perceived and *what it means* to have a good life in East Greenland.

1.1A4 Ammassalik region

1.1.1A4 Background

This section gives a brief historical outline of Ammassalik and some key structural and demographical points. The publicly known history of the Ammassalik region goes back to around 1894 when Captain Gustav Holm, along with the Royal Greenlandic Trade office (in Denmark), founded Tasiilaq as a missionary/trading station (Lokalsamfundsprofil Tasiilaq, 2012). Thereafter, the area was under Danish administration until 1963 when it became appended politically to the Greenlandic capital Nuuk. Tasiilaq town was originally named Ammassalik (which means "the place with capelin") but was renamed in 1997 to Tasiilaq (which means "a place that looks like a lake"). The region, however, is still called Ammassalik (according to the municipality of Sermersooq, see www.sermersooq.gl/tasiilaq).

In 2009, 18 municipalities in Greenland were reduced to four municipalities in an attempt to strengthen implementation and increase efficiency; today, there are five municipalities in Greenland, since the North-Western municipality, Qaasuitsup Kommunia, was divided into two in January 2018. During this, the municipality of Ammassalik then was merged with the capital municipality on the west coast, Kommuneqarfik Sermersooq. These municipal mergers and the sheer physical distance pose various challenges. According to the interviewees in this study, the municipal merger has made it difficult to reach out to the authorities located thousands of miles away in Nuuk, and several expressed feelings of abandonment; similar observations were made for social monitoring as well. Reports from the monitoring unit in the Department of Social Affairs show that child neglect affects half of all the children in the Ammassalik region (Naalakkersuisut 2019). However, according to the National Advocacy Center working for children's rights, these numbers are inconclusive owing to the presence of dark numbers in the statistics (Mio 2016).

No two cities or settlements are connected in Greenland, and places can only be reached by plane, helicopter, boat, or dog sled/snowmobile. This makes mobility difficult, especially for the poor. The sea and fiords surrounding the Ammassalik region are completely covered by sea ice between November and July, making travel and supply by ship impossible. Aerial transport (to and from Kulusuk, Kuummiut, and Tasiilaq), dog sleds, and snowmobile are the only means of transportation during the winter season. There is running water and sewage system in approximately half of Tasiilaq. In the settlements, there is no running water and sewage, except in the fish factory in Kuummiut, the grocery stores, and some of the public service houses, where people can take baths or wash their clothes. On average, there are a little more than three persons in each household in Tasiilaq, which is the highest within the municipality. There is a hospital in Tasiilaq that offers some, but not all, health services to the people of the Ammassalik region. Some of the settlements have a station with a nursing assistant. This means that people who need a doctor or more

extensive health care have to be transported to either Tasiilaq or the national hospital in Nuuk. The population growth in the Ammassalik region varies from town to settlement (see Figure 1). In Tasiilaq, the population has slightly increased over the past 40 years.

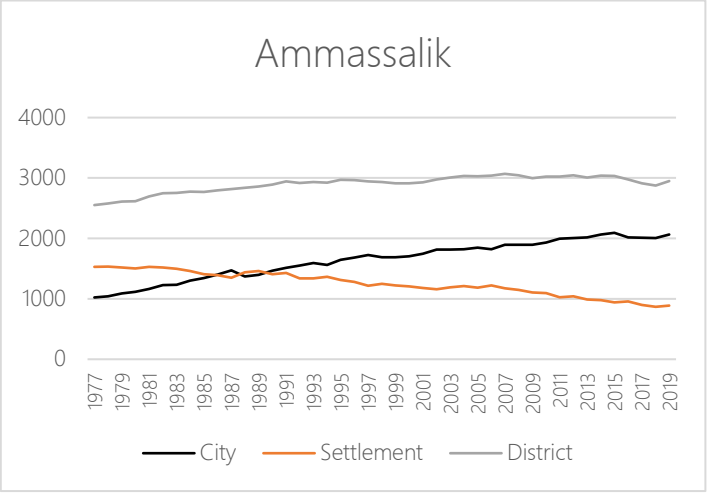

Figure 1A4 Population growth in Ammassalik after time and place 1977-2019

However, in the settlements (Figure 1A4), the numbers are moving in the opposite direction. The trend over the years is that people are moving away from the settlements to Tasiilaq or other towns in Greenland or Denmark (Greenland in Figures, 2019). In 2017, the labor force (average per month) was 1,274 persons, and 956 persons had a job (average per month). The same year, around 1/3 of the labor force had an education degree equivalent to high school or higher (statbank.gl). Almost 1/3 of the population between the ages of 18 and 65 are registered as outside of the labor force. This correlates with the fact that 14 % of the population between the ages of 17 to 74 had not finished primary school, and less than a quarter of the population had higher than primary school education (Statistics Greenland, Education 2018).

1.1.2A4 Geographical distinctions

This paper makes a geographical distinction between region, town, and settlements. The region of Ammassalik (population January 1, 2019: 2,949) includes the town

Tasiilaq (population: 2,063) and the five nearby: settlements Kulusuk (population: 241), Kuummiut (population: 258), Isortoq (population: 58), Tiniteqilaaq (population: 106), and Sermiligaaq (population: 223). The fieldwork took place in four of six possible locations in the Ammassalik region. The region of Ammassalik is defined differently in national statistics, research projects, and monitoring reports. Hence, when the Ammassalik region is mentioned in relation to the primary data in this paper, the reference is to the four locations: Tasiilaq, Kulusuk, Sermiligaaq, and Kuummiut. When the Ammassalik region is mentioned in relation to secondary data, such as national statistics, the reference is to the Tasiilaq town and all nearby settlements. When East Greenland is mentioned in relation to SLiCA, it includes the towns of Tasiilaq and Ittoqqortoormiit (population January 1, 2019: 356) (Poppel et al., 2007). Ittoqqortoormiit is the second of the two towns in East Greenland and is located further north from the Ammassalik region. Ittoqqortoormiit was not part of this field study due to financial limitations.

2A4 Theoretical approach

2.1A4 The notion of a good life

Discussions on QoL and well-being have occupied philosophers and researchers since Aristotle first started debating the ethical idea of the good life (Nicomachea, E. & Bywater, 1894). Psychologically, the human being is essentially motivated by different needs that in literature have been associated with satisfaction with life and SWB and happiness [see, e.g., Tay & Dieners (2011) discussions of the relation between needs fulfillment and SWB]. When such needs are not fulfilled, the effects are negative to the SWB and the conditions for experiencing life as good (Maslow 1943). Yet, human needs can adapt and are susceptible to various factors, such as time and place, among other things. Thus, there can be no universal scientific theories about what a good life is or can be. There are, however, studies of well-being in the Arctic underpinning the correlation between SWB and collective well-being. Thus, Poppel et al. (2015) understand SWB as "closely connected to the collective well-being in social groups, regions, and countries." This paper questions how good life is perceived in East Greenland from a qualitative sociological perspective, and since there are no preceding studies exploring this perspective as such, the study is inherently explorative. Given the lack of existing research that discusses this specific research question, and due to the subjective and explorative nature of the study, the paper's theoretical approach includes scientific discussions about SWB and social indicators in the Arctic in the forthcoming paragraphs.

2.2A4 Subjective well-being

This paper examines SWB by analyzing answers to questions about perceptions regarding a good life and QoL. In defining SWB, this paper applies the definition by Andersen and Poppel (2014) that "(subjective well-being is an inclusive concept,

which covers all aspects of living as experienced by individuals and includes a person's subjective evaluation of his/her objective resources and other living conditions. It therefore covers both material satisfaction of vital needs and aspects of life such as personal development, being in control of one's own life and destiny, and a balanced ecosystem." Studies assessing SWB and QoL have a long and integral tradition in the use and application of objective indicators, such as the Human Development Index (HDI) (AHDR, 2004; Larsen et al., 2010, Kirko et al., 2018). The objective indicators are important measures. However, it is now widely agreed that objective indicators fail to comprehensively describe the well-being of populations without the support of subjective indicators (Cummins, 2016; Andersen, 2005; Diener, 1997), which has also been observed in the Arctic. Poppel et al. (2015) suggest that "human development shall be measured in ways that reflect subjective well-being; thus partnerships with the respondents - (…) the indigenous peoples of the Arctic – is key to study and understand living conditions and welfare priorities." Another aim of this study is thus to feed into the ongoing discussion about the research praxis of well-being and QoL among the native populations in Greenland and the Arctic.

2.3A4 Indicators and domains

A social indicator is a measure that can give an indication of a given social phenomenon and can be utilized as a tool to track changes and trends through time and space (Larsen et al., 2010). There are objective social indicators, such as fertility rates, and subjective indicators, such as overall satisfaction with life. The latter relates to this paper's work, since SWB is considered synonymous with satisfaction with life (Vittersø, 2004; Conceição & Bandura, 2008). Social indicators are highly sensitive to change, such as changes to climate and political circumstances. In the Arctic, social indicators have been the primary tools in tracking human development, including QoL and well-being, for some time. The Arctic Human Development Report (AHDR) (2004) considers six distinct domain areas as "prominent features of well-being in the Arctic" and recommended that they be applied in future Arctic research on human development. The suggested domain areas, embodying both objective and subjective indicators of well-being and human development, were further developed in the Arctic Social Indicators (ASI) report and are as follows (Larsen et al., 2010):

- Health and population
- Material well-being
- Education
- Cultural well-being
- Contact with nature
- Fate control
-

The domains *Health and population*, *Material Well-being*, and *Education* consist of the specific indicators of life expectancy, education level, and GDP per capita (AHDR, 2004). In an attempt to realistically target the QoL of Arctic dwellers, the domain also includes indicators such as infant mortality (domain: Health and

population), Consumption/Harvest of local foods (Domain: Material Well-being), and completion rates (Domain: Education) (Larsen et al., 2010). Cultural well-being is measured with a composite indicator, including language retention, cultural autonomy, and sense of belonging. Contact with nature is also described as the "opportunity to interact on a regular basis with the natural world" (Larsen et al., 2014), where consumption/harvest of traditional foods serves as a proxy indicator (Larsen et al., 2010). Fate control, the last domain, refers to the individuals' ability to guide their destiny. Fate control is measured with the Fate Control Index and consists of composite indicators, such as "the percentage of indigenous members in governing bodies (municipal, community, regional) relative to the percentage of the indigenous people in the total population" (Larsen et al., 2014). The indicators in ASI were selected on the basis of certain criteria, namely: availability, affordability, ease of measurement, robustness, scalability, and inclusiveness.

2.4$_{A4}$ Subjective well-being as a social indicator

Results from SLiCA, a quantitative survey based on more than 7,000 qualitative interviews in the Arctic (1,200 in Greenland), were structured by the above domains as well (Poppel et al., 2007). In the SLiCA, SWB was measured directly with a satisfaction-with-life measure under the health domain (SLiCA 2006a). In ASI, SWB was not included as an indicator in the ASI framework. Mental health is mentioned in the first ASI as difficult to measure and is instead measured through the proxy indicators of suicide rates and self-assessed health (Hamilton, 2010). Probably due to an awareness of this gap, there was an attempt to augment the ASI framework with the indicators developed in the SLiCA (Poppel, 2013). Poppel concluded, however, that the indicators developed in the SLiCA project were not applicable to the ASI framework.

In this paper, the interview responses are condensed and conceptualized under some of the domain areas developed by AHDR and ASI, namely, Material Well-being, Education, Health, and Contact with Nature (see Figures 3$_{A4}$ and 4$_{A4}$). The domains of Family and social relations and Emotional well-being are categories created for this particular study. Tables 1 and 2 show the conceptualized coding sources for each domain. Each coding source refers to a response (translated and not in citation form). It is important to emphasize that the interviews and questions and the process of preparing this paper are not developed with Arctic social indicators as the conceptual framework. The application of the domains in the analysis and discussion should, therefore, be seen in the context of the methodological approach of the paper.

3$_{A4}$ Methodology

The study for this paper employed a qualitative research design to investigate SWB in East Greenland. Data were gathered from semi-structured interviews conducted in

July 11-19, 2019, in four locations, Tasiilaq, Kulusuk, Sermiligaaq, and Kuummiut (see Figure 2_{A4}).

Figure 2_{A4} Field study locations in East Greenland

Living in a town with a population of thousands can be very different from living in a settlement of just a few hundred inhabitants. On this ground, the paper seeks not to compare SWB between the locations. Rather, the paper seeks to investigate and report how SWB is perceived in different locations in the region. Studies do, however, suggest that despite the severe differences in living conditions between towns and settlements, the SWB in a settlement is not necessarily different from that of a town (Poppel, 2007). The locations were reached by plane and helicopter, and the settlements Sermiligaaq and Kuummiut were reached by a hired boat. The timing of the field trip was planned with the consideration that the area was more likely to be accessible weather-wise during summer. However, summer is also the hunting and fishing time in Greenland, which meant fewer people, especially men, were available for interviews.

3.1_{A4} Interviewees

The target population was individuals between the ages of 18 and 65 years from various population strata, native to Greenland, in the sense that they either were born and raised in Greenland, have been living in Greenland for the past ten years, and that they identify themselves as native Greenlanders. Since there are several persons with nationalities other than Greenlandic (mostly Danish) in Greenland, these criteria were

made to ensure a common frame of reference. Assumedly, a person who identifies herself or himself as Danish will have a different frame of reference for what a good life is from a person who identifies herself or himself as Greenlandic, as would be the case with other nationalities. For the sake of the individuals' privacy, all interviewees are anonymous in the study. Interviewees were selected on the basis of convenience sampling and snowball sampling. Before arriving, I got posters put up on town bulletin boards with the help of locals and shared posts on social media. On the day of arrival, I went on a live interview on national radio (Internet connections are not affordable to everyone, so the radio is a significant source of news, information, as well as entertainment in East Greenland). To avoid biased interviews, I looked for people with varied resources. This meant looking for both employed and unemployed people since conditions for SWB are different in case of unemployment and vice versa (Ahn et al., 2004). I was able to borrow an office at the local unemployment office, Majoriaq, which was integral to the process of finding unemployed subjects and securing a relatively neutral space for the interviewees. It was difficult to attract and/or find young and employed male interviewees. The males approached by the interviewer on the street, or in locations such as the supermarket or café, were on their way out to go sailing or not interested. A few men agreed to call back for an appointment but never did. Thus, most of the interviewees were found through online media or through Majoriaq. The female interviewees were found through online media, by snowball sampling, through Majoriaq, as well as randomly by approaching them on the street or in a shop. The fieldwork resulted in 17 semi-structured interviews with eight women and nine men, the youngest being 18, and the oldest 59 years old. Five of the interviewees, four males and one female, were unemployed. Twelve of the interviews were conducted in Tasiilaq, two in Kulusuk, two in Kuummiut, and one in Sermiligaaq. The interviews were digitally recorded and ranged between 20 minutes and an hour and a half. Three of the interviews were conducted with simultaneous translation from Danish to East Greenlandic, and the rest of the interviews were conducted mainly in Danish or West Greenlandic. All citations have been translated from Danish/Greenlandic to English. Performing the interviews on three different languages presented its challenges in itself. In a few cases, there were difficulties with understanding the questions. In other instances, the presence of the translator (who was native to the area) appeared to be disturbing for the interviewee, especially for the questions of personal character. Assumedly, the interview situation, and thus, the outcome thereof, would have been different if the interviews had been performed solely with the interviewees or without the presence of the translator. The results from the interviews with the translator are thus subject to some inaccuracy.

3.2$_{A4}$ Interview questions

The interview questions consisted of 17 open-ended qualitative questions and 7 quantitative questions. The purpose of the questions was to have the interviewees evaluate their life experiences and reflect upon what a good life is. The quantitative questions were included as background variables.

The question design is based on the criteria of Flicks' guide to key points of qualitative interview design. The questions were thus developed according to their relevance to the research questions and their theoretical relevance. It was also a criterion that the questions were unambiguous and easy to understand (Flick, 2006). The latter turned out to be more difficult than expected. While the interviewees had no problems in understanding the concept of *good life,* many of them had trouble with understanding the concept of QoL. This was already an issue when I had the questions translated from Danish to Greenlandic by a professional translator. The QoL question was translated with both Greenlandic and Danish words. This made me reach out to the national Language Council in Greenland, Oqaasileriffik. They informed me that the term could be translated in more than one way and suggested another way of expressing the term in Greenlandic. At this point, I knew that the term might be complicated to use. All interviews were completed, and efforts were made to make the questions as clear and understandable as possible for all interviewees. This meant that I had to explain some of the questions by using other words. Even though I tried to use the same words, this naturally caused differences between interviewees on how they perceived the questions and whether they understood the questions at all. In general, the unemployed interviewees showed more difficulty in evaluating their overall life and life domains than the employed interviewees. One interviewee did not understand the concept of QoL, and all the ones who were unemployed or had not completed primary school had difficulty in understanding the concepts mentioned during the interview. This is further elaborated in the next section. It was not possible to assess where these difficulties originated from, though the overt assumption is that it relates to either language issues or the interviewees' social and/or educational circumstances.

The interviewees were asked two types of qualitative questions. The first type was open-ended questions like: *What do you dream about in the future?* The second type of qualitative questions were pairs of positive and negative association questions, such as *a) What can make you feel glad? b) What can then make you feel sad?* The questions in focus for this analysis are introduced and discussed in the next section.

Analysis of the primary data along with an empirical context analysis of secondary data from relevant publications and statistical material about conditions in East Greenland will give answers to the following research questions: *How are quality of life and the notion of a good life perceived among inhabitants in Ammassalik region?* For this selective analysis, the transcribed interviews were coded in the software program NVivo 11 Pro with each interview question coded as a node and the answers to each question by each interviewee further subcategorized and conceptualized in child nodes. The subcategories were conceptualized after content and relevance. For instance, the answer "A happy family that supports each other is a good life" (Man from Tasiilaq) was categorized under the domain "Family and social relations" (see Figures 3_{A4}, 4_{A4} and Tables 1_{A4}, 2_{A4}).

4A4 Perspectives of a good life in the Ammassalik region

In the field study, the interviewees were asked directly about their notion of a good life. Specifically, the interviewees were asked the following: *Thinking about your own life, try to describe in your own words what a good life is to you.*

Figure 3A4 Conceptualized "good life" domains among 17 interviewees in Ammassalik July 2019

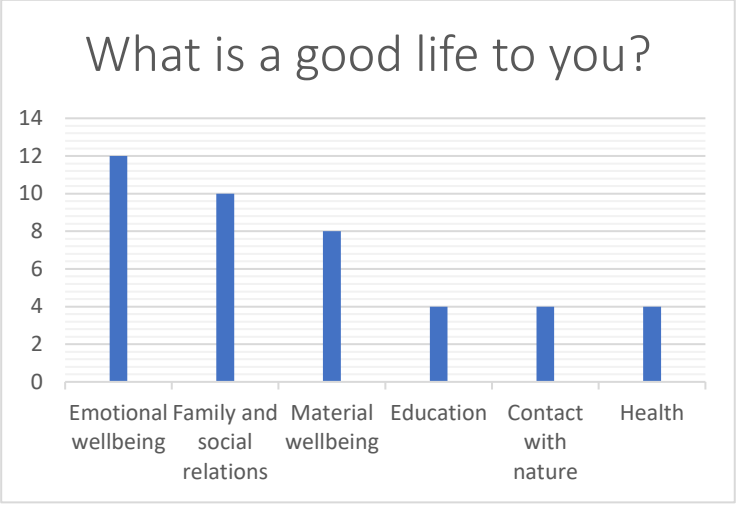

Table 1A4 *Coding sources for domains of a "good life" among 17 interviewees in Ammassalik July 2019*

Domains	**Sources**
Emotional wellbeing	Feeling glad/happy/content/well/safe, personal growth, absence of domestic problems, feeling peace and quiet, not being alone, domestic stability and routines, others happiness
Family and social relations	Being with family, having family, having someone to talk to
Material wellbeing	Having a home, having food, being able to pay bills
Education	Having a degree, finishing primary school/high school, securing education for own children
Contact with nature	Being in nature
Health	Absence of alcohol, absence of depression, absence of anxiety or fear

The interviewees were furthermore asked to express with what they associated the concept of QoL with the question: *What is quality of life to you?*

Figure 4$_{A4}$ Conceptualized QoL domains among 17 interviewees in Ammassalik July 2019

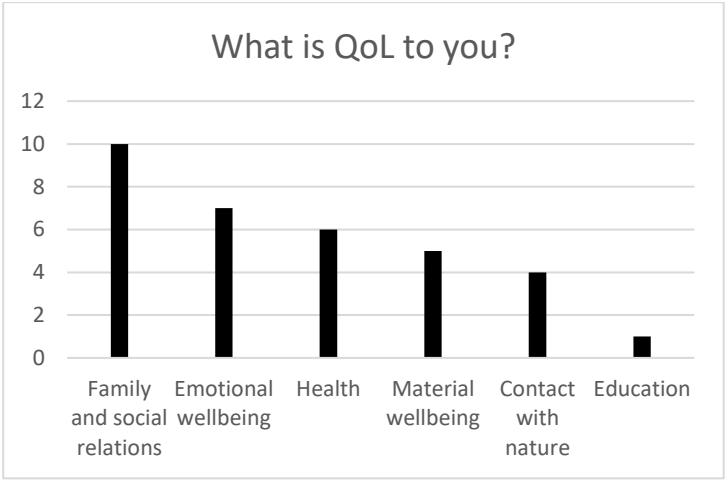

Table 2$_{A4}$ Coding sources to QoL domains among 17 interviewees in Ammassalik July 2019

Domains	Sources
Family and social relations	Having family, trusting relations, loving relations, having someone to talk to, being with family, taking care of family, being supportive towards family and vice versa, acceptance of individuals, good working environment, helping people, sense of unity, social connections in community
Emotional wellbeing	Feeling well/happy/good/content/safe
Health	Healthy life style, eating healthy, good mental and physical health, active lifestyle
Material wellbeing	Having a home, having a job, a good disposable income, being able to pay bills, securing basic needs financially

Contact with nature	Being in nature, eating Greenlandic food
Education	Having a degree or finished primary school/high school

The answers are categorized in domains, as illustrated in Tables 1_{A4} and 2_{A4}, and ranked after frequency in Figures 3_{A4} and 4_{A4}.

4.1$_{A4}$ What is a good life to you?

To the interviewees, the Good life question was closely related to the QoL question, and often the interviewees would repeat themselves for the QoL question or state that they felt that they had answered that question already with the Good life question. This explains why domains such as emotional well-being, contact with nature, family and social relations, etc. are present in both Figures 3_{A4} and 4_{A4}. The three most expressed perceptions of a good life in Ammassalik are related to "Emotional well-being," "Family and social relations," and "Material well-being." Yet, there were differences in the complexity of the notion of what a good life meant, especially between the employed and unemployed. For example, a working woman from Tasiilaq said: "*Well, a good life to me and also my kids is to have, what is it called… A good and stable life with routines. We actually need a lot of routines in our home*" (see the source in Table 1_{A4}, domain "Emotional well-being"). In this case, a good life was associated with predictability and structure in the person's everyday life. In another example, a working man from Kulusuk stated: "*A good life to me is that I have a wonderful wife, we are both very well, we have it nice and quiet, we don't visit other people too much, and we mostly stay at home and enjoy each other's company. I think we have a nice and quiet life*" (see the sources in Table 1_{A4}, domains "Emotional well-being" and Family and social relations"). In this case, a good life also relates to predictability and structure, in the sense that the man associates a good life with having good health and staying at home with his wife without going out too much. A working woman from Tasiilaq associated a good life with mood or state of mind, where a good life was to "*be able to go to work in a happy mood*" (see the source in Table 1_{A4}, domain "Emotional well-being"). These examples from employed persons show that not only was the notion of a good life connected with relatively simple present-day associations, such as a person's mood on any given day, it also seemed to describe conditions or resources that the interviewees already had to some degree. In an interview with an unemployed man from Tasiilaq, the question was too overwhelming to answer, and he could not relate to the Good life question at all. Seemingly, the notion of a good life was unimaginable; thus, he did not know what to answer, and when asked to think about it a bit, he shrugged his shoulders. An unemployed woman from Tasiilaq stated that a good life would be if she could be alone to process trauma, also indicating that the notion of a good life was far away from her current state. A homeless man from Tasiilaq was able to express associations, yet the notion of a good life was complicated and involved needs on multiple levels.

To him, a good life was "*Family… A place where we can be together and be happy… Or… Not being afraid of anything, like being afraid that you might starve… Or to be alone. Yes. Probably many people feel that way down here. That is probably also why so many commit suicide; I know so many, almost half of my family committed suicide; no one ever asked me how I am. Like – How are you doing? I was never asked such things. That has been really hard*" (see sources in Table 1_{A4}, domains "Health," "Family and social relations," "Material well-being," and "Emotional well-being.") In the case of the unemployed and homeless interviewees, the notion of a good life was either too overwhelming, unimaginable, or more complex and involved needs on multiple levels.

4.2$_{A4}$ What is quality of life to you?

4.2.1$_{A4}$ Social relations, structure, and emotional well-being

Most of the interviewees associated the concept of QoL with family and social relations (Figure 4_{A4}). To the question "What is quality of life to you?", a man from Tasiilaq answered: *"Quality of life? My children. They give me strength in my everyday life*" *(*see the source in Table 2_{A4}, domain "Family and social relations"*).* Many interviewees said that it was important to have someone to be there for and vice versa. For example, a man from Kuummiut said: "*I have family that I can trust, and they can trust in me. We love each other very much and people in the settlement, they also like me the way I am*" (see the source in Table 2_{A4}, domain "Family and social relations"). QoL was, thus, to have a trusting family and being accepted in the local community. A woman from Kulusuk answered similarly: "*Quality of life is to… be loving. The most important thing is to be well. (…) Be as good as you can, so you can be there for your loved ones. That is quality of life to me*" (see the sources in Table 2_{A4}, domains "Health," "Emotional well-being," and "Family and social relations"). In the latter case, personal health was most important and a precondition to be able to be there for others. Family and social relations were the second most expressed requirements for a good life and QoL among the interviewees.

Altogether, positive emotional well-being was the most expressed association with QoL. For example, a woman from Tasiilaq answered: "*A happy life where I feel content*" (see the source in Table 2_{A4}, domain "Emotional well-being"). Another woman in Tasiilaq stated: "*That's a hard question… When you can just sit down and say to yourself, "I feel good" and actually mean it*" (see the source in Table 2_{A4}, domain "Emotional well-being"). When asked to elaborate on that, she continued: "*It's just that feeling when you are calm in your mind, that you can rest in it, you can accept how things are, then you feel good.*" In other words, QoL was congruent with feelings of being happy, calm, and content.

4.3$_{A4}$ Quality of life and nature

Being in contact with nature was also among the answers associated with QoL. "*The mountains and nature that we have here are the best to be in. If you think of the local resources we got. For example, my parents go out sailing every weekend to catch seal, trout, and salmon… Yeah, all sorts… you can just get Greenlandic food so easy here. That is wonderful. There are also polar bears during winter, and in spring and summertime, there are narwhales and mink whales and all sorts. I think it is so wonderful to be here*", a woman from Tasiilaq said (see sources in Table 2$_{A4}$, domain "Contact with nature"). In this case, QoL was linked to the abundance of natural resources in the local area and being in contact with nature together with family. The importance of nature to SWB was apparent in more ways. A woman from Kulusuk elaborated when asked the QoL question: "*When my youngest son moved back from Denmark, he started on hunting, and he does well with his hunting skills. And they (her sons) know there are elderly people that cannot get it, who love the Greenlandic food in their everyday life, they might not have siblings or children that can… So, they go around and give away pieces of meat, fish, or whatever they come back with. That is also important to me; it is the way we lived back in time. These are important traditions in my life, from my cultural upbringing. Because we often see these days that they are starting to sell it… seal meat, fish, all sorts of catch, but that is something my children would never do because they are not raised that way! Of course, it costs money to buy gas and ammunition, but why are we the only ones who benefit from it? It's important that they remember that in their lives*" (see sources in Table 2$_{A4}$, domain "Contact with nature and "Family and social relations"). This implies that there also appeared to be a more holistic understanding of the importance of nature and the sharing of natural resources with the community, which revealed an element of social control. Four of the interviewees mentioned the sharing of traditional food at some point during the interviews. Sixteen of the interviewees mentioned nature at some point during the interview unsolicited. The indication that nature and sharing traditional food is important in society as a whole is widely supported in existing SWB literature in Greenland (See, e.g., Poppel 2007, Kruse et al., 2008, Larsen et al., 2014).

5$_{A4}$ What is a good life in the Ammassalik region?

As stated in the analysis, many interviewees could not distinguish between the concepts of "a good life" and QoL. When asked the Good life question, the interviewees seemed to primarily think about the best possible circumstance in their lives or envision how a perfect life would be. The same applied to the QoL question, when most of the interviewees described what made them feel most happy.

The region being remote and small in population, it is no surprise that so many of the interviewees were so articulate about the importance of social and familial relations. Traveling is difficult, and the communities are small, which makes people more dependent on each other. The connection between QoL and family/social relations

supports existing research (see, e.g., Tróndheim 2004 and Poppel et al., 2007). Moreover, the data provide indications of an association between the level of personal resources and SWB. This was exemplified in the analysis where the unemployed and homeless interviewees' perception of a good life was unimaginable or more complex than the interviewees who had jobs and a close social network.

As the objective data on population in the analysis show, more people move from the settlements into the city, and the population in the city has increased steadily, albeit slowly, over the years. Population and migration are typical indicators of human development. However, the statistics could also give the impression that life is better or more attractive in Tasiilaq. This was reflected in conversations with the interviewees. Two of the unemployed interviewees moved to Tasiilaq from nearby settlements in the hope of better job opportunities. Unfortunately, they were met with the reality of a saturated labor market, which according to the head of Majoriaq, was a common issue in Tasiilaq. Thus, the growing migration rate in Tasiilaq is not an indicator of positive development. From the conversations with the interviewees, it became clear that social relations, emotional well-being, health, and material well-being were the most important domains under the Good life question. The importance of emotional and mental well-being to many of my interviewees is interesting. Assumedly, to achieve emotional well-being, one must secure a minimum set of resources, like housing, food, job, and social relations. In the interviews, it appeared to be the other way around in the sense that emotional well-being was the "answer" to a better life (such reverse hierarchy is also addressed in the literature, see, e.g., Maslow theory of human motivation (1943). Some might argue that emotional well-being and SWB are two sides of the same coin and emotional well-being obviously correlates with SWB. However, when asked to elaborate, most of the interviewees would continue to answer in relation to their emotional state. One interviewee said that a good life was that the family was content or happy, as cited in the analysis. Feeling well or glad, be it themselves or their family, was an important value in itself. Running word frequency queries and text search analyses helped shed light on, for example, how many times an interviewee states a specific word or phrase. Answers including phrases like "being well" or "feeling good," outnumbered any of the other answers in the respective questions in focus.

In an effort to understand the phenomena locally, I wonder: What if emotional well-being is so important for SWB in East Greenland because emotional ill-being is just as much or perhaps more the norm in the interviewees' social circles than the exception? Data from SLiCA could help affirm this hypothesis. In 2006, 14% of the population stated that they felt unhappy and depressed often or all the time. This was the second-highest rate of unhappy and depressed people among all regions in Greenland (Poppel et al., 2007).

5.1$_{A4}$ The importance of subjective well-being as a direct measure

In scientific terms, the emotional well-being of an individual is difficult to measure. It requires qualitative methods to sample and analyze, which is costly and time-consuming. However, it is doubtful that these findings are unique to East Greenland.

The fact that emotional well-being is such a significant indicator of satisfaction with life among my interviewees suggests a considerable gap in leading research on well-being, such as the ASI framework. Poppel conveyed a similar assessment, pointing out that the indicators under the ASI Health domain were indirect measures of well-being, as opposed to the satisfaction with life measure used in the SLiCA (Poppel, 2014). As Poppel (2013) argues, SWB indicators are not included in the ASI framework because they do not meet the selection criteria, and that the indicators "have to be selected among accessible vital statistics." In other words, SWB research can only be realized in interpretative studies, which makes me question: Why is satisfaction with life not a measure of vital statistics? Arguably, the cultural and cognitive ambiguities intrinsic to research with SWB indicators are not that different from some of the ASI indicators, such as self-rated health or teenage births. The leading understanding is that vital statistics are quantitative data relating to human life and the factors that influence human life, such as the ASI indicators. If this insinuates that SWB is an indicator that does not relate to human life or influence human life substantially, I have to disagree on the basis of my findings in this study.

On an individual level, it is not difficult to agree that SWB is important. The question is how to measure it in a way that is not impractical and costly in research practice. Regardless of the scales and methods applied in research on QoL, SWB needs measuring, like the satisfaction with life measure, as seen in SLiCA. In SWB literature, the importance of SWB as an indicator has long been stressed (Diener & Suh, 1997; Cummins, 2016). In the Arctic, Vlasova and Volkov (2016) suggest developing indicators of QoL using different approaches, even including a bottom-up approach where key indicators are developed with citizens.

The application of the SWB indicators does present its challenges and has been criticized for, among other things, having different bias problems and doubts about reliability (Veenhoven, 2015). The fundamental challenges that research dealing with subjective data inevitably faces will most likely never cease to exist (until it becomes possible to livestream a persons' thoughts, but even that would solve only a few of the challenges). Yet, there are very few reports or surveys (if any) that measure well-being on the basis of a single or few indicators. Hence, the application of the subjective indicator for satisfaction with life, for instance, would always have its place among other indicators. Furthermore, the argument that data need to be available from registers and statistical databases is only relevant if the aim is to keep social indicator research from further development and advancement. Based on these reflections, I, therefore, argue that an extension of SWB measures to Arctic social indicator research, preferably by a multi-scaling approach from a local, regional, national to a global perspective, will help expand and advance the overall scientific discussions around social indicators, well-being, and human development in general.

6A4 Conclusion

Inuuneq oqittuinnaanngilaq. The Greenlandic proverb that means '*life is not easy'* embodies many of the thoughts going through my mind during this study. That life is not easy in East Greenland is not an esoteric insight or something that only the people living there or the visitors can see. It is evident in the statistics and the ongoing discourse about East Greenland in public and the media. During my stay there, it became evident that life is easier for some than for others. Not surprisingly, there was a distinct difference between the employed and the unemployed interviewees. Among the unemployed, the perception of a good life was more complex and involved needs on multiple levels than among those who had a job. As stated in the analysis, most interviewees associated the notion of a good life and QoL with a vision of how a perfect life would be. This was also different between the employed and unemployed interviewees. For the employed interviewees, this involved the structures and resources they already had, and thereby not necessarily something different than they already had. It was more a question of maintaining the status quo. For the homeless and unemployed interviewees, it had more to do with structures and resources they did not have, and achieving them seemed impossible.

The unemployed interviewees also had difficulties expressing their answers and understanding some of the questions, to a degree where it became questionable if the interviews between employed vs. unemployed could even be compared. In retrospect, I believe it had been useful to address the different groupings with different approaches. Nevertheless, it is a lesson learned about circumstantial bias in the research on SWB. Despite life not being easy, the living conditions do not necessarily drive people away from the area. Confirming the initial theoretical point of departure, most of the interviewees associated a good life and QoL with personal needs. Positive emotional well-being was expressed as either a need or a desire and was cited by most as necessary for a good life and QoL. Positive emotional well-being were linked directly to close social and family relations and were also important to the interviewees' perceptions of a good life and QoL in general. For some, a good life and QoL were associated with contact with nature together with the family or the community. Altogether, this supports existing research in that "family ties, social support of each other, and traditional activities have a lot to do with why indigenous people choose to remain in Arctic communities" (Kruse et al., 2008). This can also indicate why satisfaction with life can be relatively high when living conditions, as seen from a macro level, are poor. Life is satisfactory for those who have jobs and close social and family relations. For the unemployed, who perhaps have none of the above, staying in East Greenland might be a choice, or it might not. For those who want to leave, it most likely has to do with the lack of personal and financial resources. This could further explain why earlier studies showed that satisfaction with life was lowest in East Greenland compared to other regions, since the unemployment rate is highest in the East. Improving the SWB of unemployed people seems more complicated than adjusting the objective conditions surrounding them and requires

individual support and planning. Further research on the causal mechanisms in the well-being of unemployed people is required to improve conditions for unemployed people on a larger scale. The significance of emotional well-being for SWB among my interviewees highlighted a gap in leading research practice, questioning whether or not SWB is a vital aspect of human life in a social indicator context. The findings presented here are not generalizable beyond the population studied, yet they indicate that important knowledge and deeper understanding can be gained by addressing SWB more directly. We, therefore, need to discuss further how to overcome the impracticalities and complexities of collecting data about SWB. Furthermore, there are grounds for more research on SWB to substantiate the claim that there is a need for a new indicator, a quantitative SWB indicator, that could prove useful not only in the ASI framework and other research projects but in national public statistics in general. As Cummins (2018) also concludes: "it is timely for national statistical agencies to consider the adoption of a scale to measure subjective well-being." This author would like to extend the quotation, that it is time for national, regional, and international survey activities, statistical agencies, and research groups to consider the adoption of a scale to measure SWB.

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Article 5

3.5 Subjective Well-Being and the Importance of Nature in Greenland

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[This version of the article is the author's original manuscript. The article was accepted for review in the journal Arctic Anthropology on November 9, 2020[42]*]*

Abstract

This article explores the importance of contact with nature to subjective well-being (SWB) in Greenland. Through a qualitative approach based on 70 face-to-face interviews in 13 towns and settlements in North, South, East and Central Greenland the objective is firstly to explore and discuss perceptions of nature and its importance to SWB. Secondly, the article expands the discussion to include a theoretical debate about how Greenlandic people perceive and interact with nature. The results report high levels of the importance of nature to SWB with little variation between places. More notably, the findings indicates that there is variation in what nature means and how nature is perceived. The importance of nature to SWB highly involves recreational contact with nature, suggesting a possible development towards a paradigm shift in the common perceptions of nature among Greenlandic Inuit, where people mostly perceive nature as an external domain rather than a domain that transcends the physical and meta-physical, as traditional views on nature has been described in literature.

[42] Font size, style and margin has been altered to fit the format of the dissertation. Sharing this article in this dissertation is approved by the editor Dr. Christyann Darwent from Arctic Anthropology.

***Keywords**: subjective well-being, contact with nature, Greenland, Inuit*

1A5 Introduction

Polar bears, icebergs, snowy mountains or whales diving into the ocean are probably among the most common visual associations with nature in Greenland. The country takes up about a fifth of the Arctic land area and populates approximately 56.000, scattered over an area of around 2.2 million km^2. The majority of the sparse population are Greenlandic Inuit, originating from a traditional nature people that through time immemorial has been living with, by and off nature. Today, the majority of the people has adapted to the modern globalized world, yet are still living in close contact with nature and are depending on it as such. Almost the entire national export is distribution of natural resources (fish, prawns and shellfish) as well as extraction of raw materials. However, the natural resources in Greenland are not confined to the material resources that people can catch, extract and sell. The people depends on nature for non-material reasons as well. Leading Arctic studies suggests that contact with nature in itself has a significant correlation to the quality of life and well-being of people (Larsen et.al 2010; Poppel et.al 2007). Most of the studies are quantitative studies that measures socioeconomic indicators of contact with nature, such as consumption of traditional food and time spent on traditional activities as a way to unfold certain aspects of well-being and human development (Larsen et.al 2015; Crate et.al 2010). So far, the mentioned quantitative studies in the Arctic takes no position in how people perceive nature. This gap in science leads this author to question the concept of nature that leading research has applied in their studies of the relation between well-being and contact with nature in Greenland and in the Arctic. For us to be able to understand the importance of nature to subjective well-being, we also need to understand how people see and use nature. What is nature to the Greenlandic people? Once we know the answer to this question, we can continue to ask; how is nature important to subjective well-being in Greenland? In this study, I have talked with people that see nature mostly as a local phenomenon with both physical and metaphysical aspects. To them, nature had something to do with where they grew up or they saw it as it was where they were in the present and many interact with their immediate natural surroundings as is custom in their families or communities. Findings on the latter indicate further that there is a moral aspect of how Greenlandic people see or rather *should* see and interact with nature. What happens then, when our lives change in a way that force us to interact with nature differently? Do we see nature the same as we used to or do our perceptions change as well?

The article seeks on the one hand to explore and discuss perceptions of nature and its importance to SWB and on the other hand expand the discussion to include a theoretical debate about how Greenlandic people perceive nature today and before, by questioning: How does contact with nature affect subjective well-being in

Greenland? Can subjective analysis of the importance of nature provide new knowledge in our theoretical understanding of nature in Greenland?

1.1$_{A5}$ The Greenlandic Inuit

The Greenlandic Inuit was traditionally a nomadic hunter-/gatherer people who settled where ever there were good conditions for hunting and shelter (Petersen 1993). Living with and off nature was a fundamental part of life. Today, the lives of hunters and fishermen's still have certain aspects of the nomadic way of living, however, the nomadic tradition, as such, has dissolved and people reside in towns and settlements. People still move around in Greenland, but today migration is highly connected with job and education opportunities, as seen in many other societies. The number of people hunting for a living is at its all-time lowest and today more people work in administration and service industry than ever (Rasmussen 2007; Greenland Statistics 2020). These changes are caused by globalizing forces, modernization and climate change.

In Greenland, nature perceptions traditionally relates to an almost symbiotic understanding, where nature was not seen as a resource of which humans have the right to use or exploit. The basic perception was that nature was part of humans and humans were part of nature equally. Contemporary studies suggests that this perception still exists, and that the Greenlandic people perceive nature as an important part of their identity (Poppel 2015). This article will seek to further understand how the Greenlandic people perceive nature and in which ways it affects their well-being and conclusively seek to determine if the modern age we live in has changed the way Greenlandic people see nature. The following section will lead the reader in to the methodological aspects of the study.

2$_{A5}$ Methodology

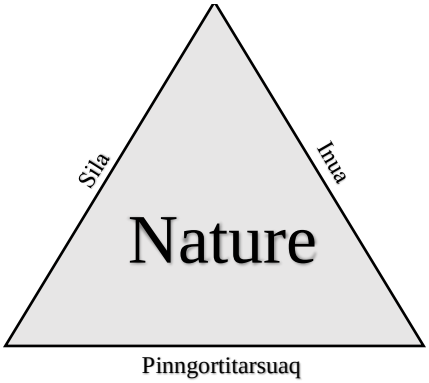
The works of this study commenced with an explorative inductive approach, with collection of data through personal interviews, followed by selective sampling of data as described in the section *Method* (Section 3). After the data sampling, theories about nature and subjective well-being was investigated, analyzed and eventually operationalized as described in the forthcoming paragraphs and in section *Method*. Analysis and interpretation of data is carried out through a hermeneutical approach, where the end objective of analysis and discussion is closing in on an understanding of causal mechanisms through interpretation (Giddens 1984). The article moves between specific segments of well-being and well-being in a wider perspective, in a circular interaction between the two, in order to get to a holistic understanding of part and whole, separately and together, thus applying the principles of the hermeneutic circle (Taylor 1971).

The following two paragraphs will lead the reader to the definition of nature and subjective well-being as they are applied in this article.

2.1[A5] Defining Nature

In Western literature, the definition of nature derives from philosophical discussions, with traditions of structuring nature within simple dichotomies, where humans and all human-made material things appears on the one side and the wild, natural world, independent from humans, on the other (Ducarme & Couvet 2020). This distinction between nature and humans contradicts the traditional Greenlandic Inuit perceptions of nature. To the traditional Inuit, the concept of nature and the natural world was related to multiple perceptions of natural dimensions, and humans was more or less an equal part to nature. As Colding-Jørgensen (2002) conveyed (own translation): "*Equality and egalitarianism seems to be entirely fundamental. Granted, not everything is equal for Inuit, yet equality is far more comprehensive than for Middle Eastern and European people, who more or less, are raised with the idea of a world order, where God is above everything and the unshaped clay is beneath everything else."*. Colding-Jørgensen characterizes traditional Inuit perceptions of nature and everything that comes from nature as something that is part of Inuit themselves. In contemporary context, there is no common Greenlandic definition of the concept of nature. Because the concept of nature involves both physical and meta-physical aspects, as the analysis and discussion will present, this article conceptualizes nature in its own way. Thus, this article defines nature in line with characterization of Colding-Jørgensen and not in dichotomies as is custom in Western societies, rather as a trichotomy with trajectories to the three overarching understandings of the natural world from the Inuit worldview, namely *pinngortitarsuaq*, *inua* and *sila* (see figure 1[A5]). All three concept are ambiguous, having several meanings in the everyday use of the words, depending on the context in which the words are applied, yet are intertwined in the prevailing Inuit perception of the natural world. The following offers a brief description of the three concepts each, that by no means can comprehensively entail the full meaning of the concepts, but can serve as guidelines to come closer to an understanding of the complexity of Inuit perceptions of nature.

Figure 1[A5] The Greenlandic understanding of nature



Pinngortitaq translates directly to nature and refers mostly to a physical place in which humans can be and interact with, and is the most common prefix applied in discourses of nature. Yet, the word's literal meaning has a vaguer and almost philosophical meaning. As Lennert & Berge (2017) states: *[a]lthough pinngortitaq is often simply translated from Greenlandic as "nature" or "creation" its literal meaning is "to come to being*" (Lennert & Berge 2017).

Inua, a unique and complex concept in Inuit cultures and languages throughout the Arctic, translates to "the soul within", but also means "the owner", "the resident", "the processor" and is less commonly in the Greenlandic language understood as "the chick in the egg" and the "owner of the dog". The word was in traditional time a way to explain the earthly environment in an animistic awareness (Rosing 1998). Traditional Inuit believed that all beings (except for the dog, because their inua was their owners) and things had inua, even material objects had inua, a soul or mind of its own (This had moral implications in how people should behave, see Rosing (1998)). The concept relates highly to the concept of *sila*, which will be described in the following.

Sila, another unique concept in Inuit cultures and languages, is perceived as an cultural ideal, which translates to "natural order", but can also mean "the universe", "weather", "wind", "mind", "common sense", "outside" or "the personified spirit of air" (Sonne 1997). Over the years, there has been many scientific efforts, both in Greenland and in the Arctic, to simplify the concept of sila (Williamson 1974; Sonne 1997; Holm 2010; Bjørst 2011). Sonne (1997) argues that the concept and meaning of sila is multidimensional and supplements the meaning of sila with the concept of balance. The balance of the world (such the balance of day/night and winter/summer), the bodily balance (as the physical balance of the human body) and the mental balance (as the equilibrium of the human mind and mood). All which have influence on each other and separately in both the physical and psychological aspects of the world (Which means that how a person feels or thinks on the inside influenced the outside world). This understanding is supposedly meaningful in a Greenlandic context and therefore applied as part of the fundamental concept of sila in this article.

Based on the above, this article defines nature as a conceptual field, an amalgamation of the three concepts of the natural world forms as illustrated on figure 1, which together provides a holistic understanding of nature, shaped by how nature and natural aspects occur in the Greenlandic language and history. Thus nature is defined as the entire natural world that all living beings dynamically are part of, connects with and live in, by and with. Nature and the entire natural world as a multidimensional ever-changing realm, is not confined to the human, physical, geological, environmental and geographical realm, but transcends the physical into the metaphysical and spiritual realm, that exists both within living beings and between them.

2.2A5 Defining Subjective Well-being

Within social science, subjective well-being (SWB) is also commonly referred to as perceived quality of life, happiness and satisfaction with life (Diener & Suh 1997; Vittersøe 2004; Conceição & Bandura, 2008; Veenhoven 2015; Poppel 2015), which is measured to indicate the individual's SWB and quality of life and is generally the applied terms in discussions about "the good life". This article uses the Arctic definition of SWB as formulated by Andersen & Poppel (2004) that SWB is "*an inclusive concept, which covers all aspects of living as experienced by individuals and includes a person's subjective evaluation of his/her objective resources and other living conditions. It therefore covers both material satisfaction of vital needs and aspects of life such as personal development, being in control of one's own life and destiny, and a balanced ecosystem."* Hence, the definition of SWB is related and connected to the understanding of nature, since nature as part of a balanced eco-system is an aspect of life, thus intrinsic to the subjective overall life evaluations by individuals.

The following section explores the empirical studies of contact with nature and well-being in the Arctic, including Greenland.

2.2.1A5 Studies of Contact with Nature in the Arctic

There are several studies in and outside the Arctic, suggesting the importance of contact with nature to overall well-being to humans. Martin et.al (2007) suggests that the ability to participate in traditional subsistence activities, which is exercised through contact with nature, partly explains why most Inuit report high levels of life satisfaction. Capaldi et.al (2015) as well as Cartwright et.al (2018) found that being close to nature improves well-being and further that socially vulnerable people are less likely to suffer from mental illness and report higher levels of SWB, when they are in contact with nature on a regular basis. Poppel (2008) concludes that contact to and connection with nature is not just an "*arctic version of village romance",* it is essential to well-being and quality of life of the Inuit people. This coincide with similar arguments of Freeman (1996) in that the relation between people and nature is more than "*energy and material flows*" between humans and natural resources, it also involves elements of spiritual and cognitive character.

2.2.2A5 Measures of Contact with Nature through Social Indicators

It is not possible to scientifically know or prove if Inuit traditionally has used nature as a source of recreational well-being, since there has been no written tradition of discussing nature as such. Per se, the concept of human recreational need is also developed in the Western part of the world (Mercer 1974). Most studies on the importance of contact with nature for the indigenous people in the Arctic are quantitative studies that measures contact with nature through social

indicators. Social indicators, which are used to track trends and changes in human development (Larsen et.al 2010), are generally measured with both quantitative and qualitative methods in various scientific disciplines. However, regarding contact with nature the indicators are objective, such as the measure of participation in traditional activities, consumption of country foods (kilograms per annum/capita and income spent on nature-related activities (Poppel et.al 2007; Crate et.al 2010). These indicators are crucial in terms of directly understanding the importance of nature to e.g. economies and cultural diversities, yet they fail to explain the causal mechanisms, that can bring us closer to an understanding of the data collected. There is currently no scientific practice of measuring contact with nature with subjective indicators. This is problematic, given the relative importance of contact to nature to the overall well-being of Arctic peoples. As Crate et.al (2010) argues: "*Contact with nature, albeit a somewhat intangible attribute of human development and therefor difficult to measure, is nonetheless central to the legacy of and contemporary state of well-being in Arctic societies*" (Crate et.al 2010)

2.2.3$_{A5}$ Subjective Studies of Well-being and Contact with Nature

Qualitative studies that explore the subjective perceptions of the importance of nature to well-being are difficult and costly to measure on a broader scale. Criteria such as data availability, affordability and robustness over time, are some of the criteria that quantitative studies subject social indicators to (Larsen et.al 2010), which makes bridging objective and subjective as well as qualitative and quantitative methods difficult, thus often avoided. The practice of measuring contact with nature has been limited to measure participation in tradition livelihood activities that involved contact with nature. Poppel et.al (2015) argues, from the results of The Survey of Living Conditions in the Arctic (SLiCA) from 2006, that well-being has both objective conditions and subjective components. Accordingly, he argues that SWB in the Arctic is "*closely connected to the collective well-being in social groups, regions and countries*", leading him to conclude that "*[h]uman development shall be measured in ways that reflects subjective well-being; thus partnerships with the respondents*". He further suggests that contact with nature "*ground humans spiritually in their cultural worlds*", however, without elaborating on what that actually means. SLiCA probably conducted the most substantial work on exploring the importance to contact with nature for indigenous people in the Arctic, with their studies on the importance of ties to nature to the identity of indigenous peoples and preferred ways of living (Poppel et.al 2007). Findings showed that nature was an important part of most people's sense of identity. Hence, leading literature has established that contact with nature is important to human well-being in the Arctic, however, so far, they have failed to question or explain what nature actually is and means to people.

The next section provides a description of the method of collecting data.

3A5 Method

This article is based on a study with 70 semi-structured interviews with Greenlandic people between 18 and 65 years of age in 13 locations in Greenland between April 2018 and December 2019. The number of interviewees in each place is visually illustrated on figure 2A5. The studies in towns was planned before arrival, but the visits to settlements was planned in situ, since factors such as weather, transportation opportunities and financial limitations made it too risky, if not impossible, to plan beforehand.

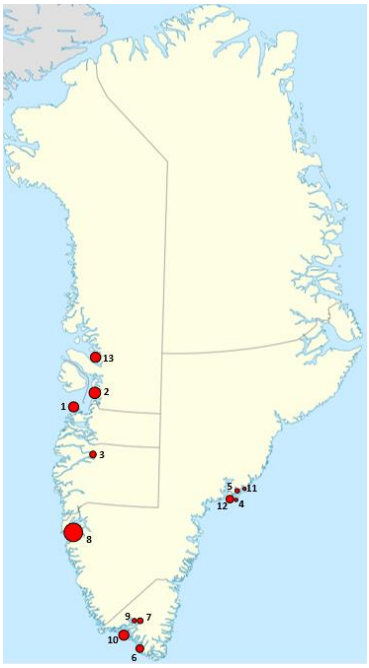


Figure 2A5 Outline map of interview locations in Greenland (numbered alphabetically)

Place	Aasiaat (1)	Ilulissat (2)	Kanger-lussuaq (3)	Kulusuk (4)	Kuummiut (5)	Nanortalik (6)	Narsarsuaq (7)
Population (Jan,1 2019)	3.212	4.554	538	250	400	1.196	124
Number of interviews	7	7	1	2	2	8	3
Place	**Nuuk (8)**	**Qassiarsuk (9)**	**Qaqortoq (10)**	**Sermiligaaq (11)**	**Tasiilaq (12)**	**Uummannaq (13)**	
Population (Jan, 1 2019)	17.984	37	3.012	220	2.063	1.364	
Number of interviews	16	1	5	1	12	5	

Table 1$_{A5}$ Number of interviews in each location in Greenland (numbered according to Figure 1$_{A5}$)

3.1$_{A5}$ Study Limitations and bias

Table 1 show the significant variety in population numbers between the field trip locations. There is a vast difference between living in a town with thousands of inhabitants and living in a settlement with only a few dozen inhabitants (Poppel 2007). Furthermore, there are vast cultural differences between regions in Greenland (Hendriksen 2013). Hence, views and perception of nature will naturally differ from place to place. This article seeks not to compare nature perceptions between these places, more so does it seek to explore the importance of nature to SWB and how people see, relate and interact with nature.

Conducting scientific studies of subjective aspects of well-being always poses challenges in itself. How people perceive nature and well-being is sensitive to many circumstantial factors, such as the mood of the interviewee, the weather and season of the day, personal experiences, type of occupation and how much or little contact with nature has been a part of the individual's life and upbringing. Therefore, it is not possible to discuss neither nature nor well-being as uniform or static entities. This also mean, that even if two or more interviewees seem to describe their perception of nature and its importance to them each similarly, by e.g. using the same words, or rank it the same importance, this article acknowledges, that it is only possible to interpret these similarities as indications of the same result.

3.2$_{A5}$ Data Sampling

The data sampling for analysis is carried out through selective coding of approximately 49 hours of recorded data. The data was coded for any content involving nature or contact with nature, both mentioned unsolicited and in the question that specifically asks about the relative importance of nature (see paragraph *Interview questions- mixing methods*). Signed consent was secured from all interviewees in this study. The following two paragraphs describe the criteria

for selecting interviewees, the interview questions as well as the interview methodology in general.

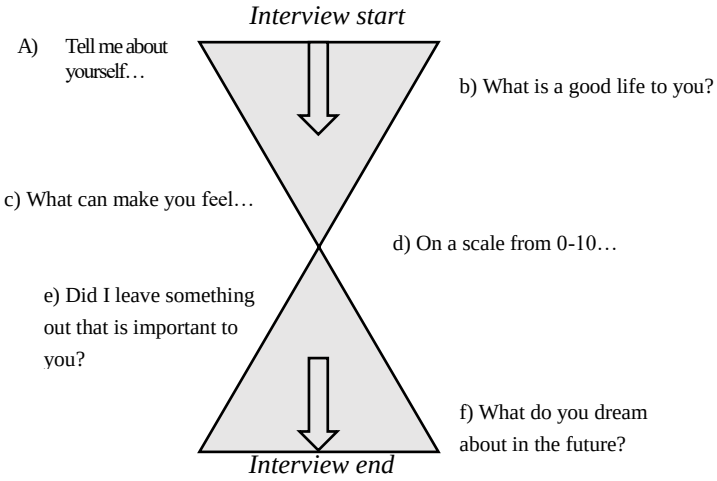
3.3$_{A5}$ Interviewees

The interviewees were between 18 and 65 years old and from varying population strata at the time of the interviews. The targeted population of interest are native Greenlandic people. The criteria selected for identifying native Greenlanders are that they either are born and/or raised in Greenland that they identify as Greenlanders and/or that they have lived in Greenland for a minimum of 10 years altogether. The latter may pose as contradictory to the first criterion, however, due to the fact that Greenland is part of the Realm of Denmark, there are many people who identify as Greenlanders, but in fact have been living outside of Greenland for a longer period. The most important criterion for the identification of a native Greenlander, is that the interviewee identify as such. The interviewees were found through online social media, via Facebook, after posting announcements that were shared individually or in groups. Press releases were sent to the online media platforms, Sermitsiaq.ag and KNR.gl, which then published online articles, that also was shared on social media. In situ, I approached people randomly on the streets, in supermarkets and other public places and asked if they would be interested to participate or knew of someone who might be interested.

3.4$_{A5}$ Interview questions – mixing methods

The interview questions consisted of 24 qualitative and quantitative questions. The qualitative interview questions was a mix of open-ended and closed-ended questions. The interview strategy was first to let the interviewee open up by talking about something general in their own lives. The interview then gradually narrowed down to closed-ended questions and following that, the interviewee would again be asked open-ended questions to expand the conversation again. This *hourglass interview strategy* as illustrated on Figure 3$_{A5}$ was developed in the pursuit of two objectives. Primarily, the interview strategy aimed to have the interviewee reflect on the whole life experience from different perspectives. Following, the nature of the questions where formulated and placed in a certain manner, for the interviewee to feel safe and trust the interview situation enough to share personal thoughts and perception of multiple aspects of well-being.

Figure 3$_{A5}$ Hourglass qualitative interview strategy (own production)



One question asked directly about nature formulated in relation to the direct concept of nature, pinngortitaq (see Section 2.1$_{A5}$), which in Greenlandic were as follows:

- *Skalami 0-miit 10-mut, 10 pingaaruteqartorujussuuvoq 0 –li pingaaruteqanngilluinnarpoq, pinngortitaq illit inuunerissaartutut misigisimanissannut qanoq pingaaruteqartigiva?*
  In Danish:
- *På en skala fra 0 til 10, hvor 0 er slet ikke vigtigt, og 10 er meget vigtigt, hvor vigtig er naturen i forhold til om du føler du har et godt liv?*

Translated to English: On a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 is not important at all and 10 is very important, how important is nature in terms of whether you feel you have a good life?

The same questions were asked in relation to family, work, social network, culture, public welfare services, local community and spirituality. The quantitative questions were asked as a point of departure towards a more in-depth qualitative conversation about the importance and perception of nature. Depending on the ranking, the question would be followed up with: How come your rank it so? If nature was ranked more important than e.g. family or work, I would ask the interviewee: Tell me more about why nature is so important to you? This mixing of methods made it possible for the interviewer to make the interviewee reflect about how important nature was, first by ranking it, to then open up a conversation about the ranking, thus getting closer to an understanding of how relatively important nature was to the interviewee and why.

3.5$_{A5}$ Language

The majority of Greenlandic people speak Greenlandic, which consists of three acknowledged languages and there are multiple dialects throughout the regions. Due to the colonial history between Greenland and Denmark, Danish is the second national language. The author speaks primarily Danish, but can understand and communicate in West Greenlandic, which is why most of the interviews were conducted in Danish and West Greenlandic. Nine of the 70 interviews were simultaneously translated from East Greenlandic to Greenlandic/Danish or Greenlandic to Danish. The quotations applied in this article are thus further translated from Greenlandic/Danish to English. The original quotations are included as footnotes.

The following chapter provides analysis of the collected data. Each subchapter will present the reader with excerpts and quotations of the conversations categorized by the function/relation of nature to the interviewees.

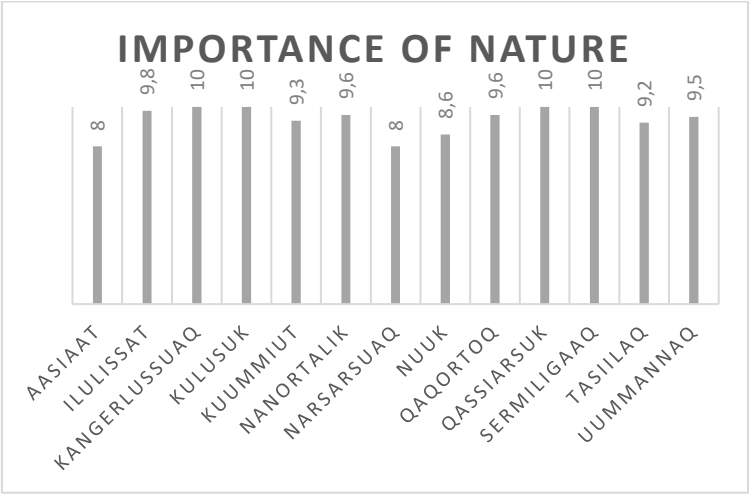
4$_{A5}$ Data analysis

> *"Well, that is why we live here. Because nature is so wonderful, right?*
>
> (Middle-aged man, Nuuk)

4.1$_{A5}$ Contact with Nature in Greenland

The following presents the quantitative mean values from the study regarding the importance of nature from each place visited (Figure 4$_{A5}$). The mean values show that there is no significant variation in the importance of nature to SWB between places, with high ranking throughout the study with 8 as the lowest score in Aasiaat and Narsarsuaq and 10 as the highest score in Kangerlussuaq, Kulusuk, Qassiarsuk and Sermiligaaq. Note that Figure 4$_{A5}$ is not representative for the population in each place, it solely represents the expressed rankings of the interviewees, and the number of interviews are between 1 and 2 in the places with highest score (see table 1$_{A5}$).

Figure 4$_{A5}$ Importance of nature to the feeling of having a good life on a scale from 0 to 10



In all of the places, one or more ranked the importance of nature with the value 10. This is not so significant or surprising, yet, what was more interesting is that most of the people ranked nature higher than all the other variables, many even higher than family. Excerpts of conversation with people who ranked nature higher than family are among the examples in the forthcoming analysis.

> *"Nature is very important to me even though I cannot physically get anything out of it"*
>
> *(Old woman, Nuuk)*

4.2$_{A5}$ Nature and traditions

During my conversations with the interviewees, it became clear to me that many see it as customary or even morally right, to have a good relation with nature. As a middle-aged woman from Nanortalik said: "*It is part of our traditions that we are in close contact with nature."* This led my attention to, not only, explore how important nature was to people, but also how people described their relation with nature. In existing theoretical literature (see Section 2$_{A5}$), nature is depicted as something human was an equal part of. When asked to elaborate on why he ranked the importance of nature with 10, a young man from Nuuk answered:

"Well, we come from the nature. The city is created by man and in nature there is fresh air and fields… We live off it, it is part of us[43]*".*

This interviewee's perception of nature coincides with the ancient Inuit view on nature's relation to humans, yet indicate a contradictory distinction between nature and humans, in spite of his belief that humans are part of nature. Humans and nature is part of one dimension and all human-made is part of another, which contradicts the traditional Inuit perspective of Inua, where a drum, clothing or a dog whip can have a soul; inua. Furthermore, it is the only occurrence of the 70 interviews where nature was directly mentioned as part of humans. The following four paragraphs will present some of the qualitative aspects of other interviewees' perceptions of nature's importance classified after the interviewees' relation to nature and its function.

"Nature gives a peace of mind and the feeling of joy when you come back and meet people again."

(Middle-aged man, Sermiligaaq)

4.3$_{A5}$ Nature as a Place that Provides Physical and Psychological Resources

Many of the people I interviewed saw nature as a force with two dimensions. One where nature provides psychological resources, often described as peace, energy and healing. Another where nature provides physical resources, as food, but also a resource that physically mobilizes a social network of sharing. As a woman in Tasiilaq described:

"During summer, we help each other here in Tasiilaq. In May, there are capelins, we help each other and everyone gives to one another. Then I might get a huge bag of capelins, I can't have them all, so I give some of it to another who might have something else in exchange… It goes like that, you have a network, where you give what you get and catch." (…) *Also to just go out into nature, to be there, out and away from the noise, and sometimes away from the electronics, for that sake, you know?"* Interviewer: "*What does that give you?"* Her: "*Peace… Peace within, like you are getting energy, recharging. A couple of weeks ago, me and the children were in Tinit (red. Tinitileqaaq). I have a special place there, where you cannot see the settlement. It's close by alright, but then I sit out there, and there is*

[43] Original quote: "Altså vi kommer jo fra naturen og byen er menneskeskabt og i naturen er der friskluft og fjeld, det lever vi jo af, det er en del af os."

just the fiord, the icebergs, seagulls, ravens, only the natural sounds. Then you hear some whales, and even though you can't see them, you just sit there… and enjoy the silence. It gives so much, I don't know. Energy. Peace[44]*."* (Middle-aged woman, Tasiilaq)

In this case, nature is a source of food, which is crucial to her, being a mother of several children in a region where resources are scarce. Yet, nature is also able to make people connect to each other and form a community of sharing. Furthermore, it provides meta-physical resources, which she describes as peace, energy and silence. In Tasiilaq, a young man also described meta-physical aspects of nature.

> *"Nature gives me strength, I feel safe there. Everything is quiet out there, when I am surrounded by nature*[45]*"*. (Young man, Tasiilaq)

Contrary of common perceptions of Greenlandic nature being harsh and unfriendly, to this young man it is perceived as a safe place, as a silent place and this is what gives the young man strength. An old man from Ilulissat also had a perception of being safe in nature in relation with his hunting activities. To him nature was one of the most important aspects of his life, and when he was out hunting, it provided him with a feeling of safety. Such a contrasting perception compared to the common discourse on hunting as being a dangerous labor connected with serious risks. The relation between hunting and positive SWB seemed to be reoccurring in the conversations with men. After ranking the importance of nature with the value 10, a man from Uummannaq elaborated:

"It is very important for me to have contact with nature, one often forget that, when one work so much. One forgets how it affects your soul. My grandfather used to say when we went on reindeer hunt: 'Timi tarnerlu pissarsingaarput' or 'body and soul', to get something out of it when you hunt. For example, when you are out in nature and you come home with reindeer meat, you also come home with

---

[44] Original quote: "Om sommeren, her i Tasiilaq, så hjælpes vi ad sådan, fx der om foråret, maj måned, så kommer der ammassatter, og alle giver til hinanden, så får jeg måske en kæmpe stor pose ammassatter, jeg kan ikke have dem alle sammen, så giver jeg en slat videre til den anden, som så har, altså… det går sådan der, man har et netværk, hvor man giver af det man får eller fanger. (…) Også bare det med at kunne komme ud i naturen og være der, ud og væk fra larmen, og væk fra, hvad hedder det, nogen gange væk fra elektronikken, for den sags skyld, ikke? Interviewer: Hvad giver det dig? Kvinde: Fred… altså fred indeni, lige som man henter energi, lader op, her for et par uger siden så var vi i Tinit en weekend mig og ungerne, jeg har et bestemt ovre i Tinit, hvor jeg, hvor man ikke kan se bygden, den er godt nok lige bagved, men så sætter jeg mig derud, så er det bare fjorden, isbjerge, måger, ravne, kun de der, hvad kan man sige, naturlige lyde, ikke? Så kan man høre nogen hvaler, selvom man ikke kan se det, så sidder man bare der og er der… og nyder stilheden. Det giver bare så meget. Det ved jeg ikke. Energi. Fred.

[45] Original quote: "Naturen giver mig styrke, jeg føler mig tryg der. Alting er stille derude, når jeg er omgivet af naturen"

something to your soul. It is very important to gain from nature like that[46]*."* (Middle-aged man, Uummannaq)

Similar to examples from other regions in this study, this man describes contact with nature as highly important, not just as a source of food, as a source of spiritual well-being as well and further discloses that his perception was shaped by conversations about nature with his grandfather, which indicates that oral transmission of knowledge is still practiced. The following paragraph will present examples of recreational aspects of nature perceptions.

"*It is one the big forces, where you can get energy from*"

(Middle-aged woman, Ilulissat)

4.4$_{A5}$ Nature as Therapy – A Provider of Energy and Recreation

During my field trip to South Greenland, I met a young man who stated that he could not live without nature. Following is an excerpt of the conversation, where I ask him to elaborate what it is he cannot live without.

"I go sailing a lot. I can probably not live without sailing. (…) Mountains and everything. We have the most beautiful nature here in Nanortalik. For example, if I am sad, I just go out sailing. Sometimes you meet polar bears and whales. That's it. (…) *I feel energetic when I come home from sailing and the things I have thought about… I always find a solution on how to do things.* Interviewer: *Would it not be possible to do that at home?* Him: *No*[47]*".* (Young man, Nanortalik)

The interviewee describes contact with nature with an aesthetic dimension and perhaps more importantly as a source of energy and recreation. In another

[46] Original quote: "Det er meget vigtigt. For mig er det meget vigtigt, at have den der kontakt med naturen, fordi det glemmer man tit, når man arbejder så meget. Så glemmer man hvordan det påvirker ens sjæl. Altså, fx min bedstefar plejede at sige, når vi går på rensdyrjagt: *'Timi tarnerlu pissarsingaarput'* eller krop og sjæl at få noget ud af det, når man går på jagt, fx når man er i naturen og kommer hjem med rensdyrkød, så har de også fået på sjælen. Det er meget vigtigt at bruge naturen."

[47] Original quote: "Jeg sejler meget. Uden at sejle kan jeg nok ikke leve. Fjeld og alt muligt. (…) VI har den smukkeste natur her i Nanortalik. Så hvis jeg er ked af det så sejler jeg bare. Nogen gange møder du isbjørne og hvaler. Det er det. (…) Efter sejlturen når jeg kommer tilbage så føler jeg mig frisk. Det jeg har tænkt over, så finder jeg altid en løsning når jeg sejler. Så finder jeg altid en løsning på hvordan jeg skal gøre det og det. Interviewer: Ville det ikke være muligt derhjemme? Mand: Nej."

example, a young woman answered following when asked to rank the importance of nature.

"20! 20. If the highest option is 10, then 10! I have realized that it seriously means a lot to my healing. I have not been able to understand what my mother used to say, and I can see it on my father too, how much strength nature can give you. Seriously a lot, apparently, so 20! 10.[48] *"* (Young woman, Nuuk)

This woman describes how her mother had tried to explain the attributes of contact with nature, yet found on her own that nature has a spiritual dimension that has a positive effect to her SWB and further indicating that the importance of nature could not be described comprehensively with the highest value 10. In the settlement Narsarsuaq, another young woman explained why she ranked nature with the value 10 (which was higher than how she ranked importance of family) in terms of her feeling of a good life to her:

"For example, when you are feeling down, it helps a lot to take a walk, to leave Narsarsuaq for a bit and… leave all the technology for a bit and go out to nature. It helps a lot. It is like someone is helping me. Telling me that everything is going to be better, but it is nature that helps me. When it is sunny like now or in spring where you can go where ever you want. That is very important, both personally and on the work place [49]*."* (Young woman A, Narsarsuaq)

In this case, nature almost takes form of a person or therapist, e.g. nature has a spirit or inua, helping the interviewee when feeling down and she indicates that nature has agency in how well she personally feels and that it is important to function at her work place. In Qaqortoq, I interviewed a young man who ranked nature higher than family, he similarly saw nature as a place of recreation with a function of therapy.

"I found out that nature is very important to my ability to function. If I am away from nature for a longer period, I feel mentally ill. It is as if it is easier for me to

[48] Original quote: 20. 20. Hvis den højeste kun er 10, så 10. Jeg har indset, at det betyder sygt meget for min heling. Jeg har ikke kunne forstå hvordan min mor plejer at sige, og jeg kan også se det på min far, for han vil ikke sige det, hvor meget styrke naturen kan give en. Sygt meget, åbenbart. Så 20! 10.

[49] Original quote: "For eksempel når man er nede nogen gange, det hjælper meget at gå en tur, forlade stedet, og alt teknologien, og gå ud i naturen. Det hjælper meget. Det er som om nogen hjælper mig, at alting kan blive bedre. Men det er naturen der hjælper mig. Når der er sol og det er forår, og man kan gå hvor hen hvor du vil, det er meget vigtigt, både privat og på arbejdspladsen".

find my purpose in life, if I am out in nature. Then I get the possibility to think about how to do things in the future and make plans[50]*."* (Young man, Qaqortoq)

Like the woman from Narsarsuaq, this young man credits his mental well-being to nature, and nature as a place to think clearly, helps the man find direction in his life. A young woman in Nuuk who also ranked importance of nature higher than family similarly saw nature as an agent to her ability to function. She explained:

"I cannot… I am not a nature… Yes, I am a nature person, even though I don't go out to the mountains and scream out my frustrations. I cannot function without, I cannot. I lose my mind when I don't get to see the ocean, if I don't have an outlook. If I can't see the mountains, if I can only see… Tassami, if there is no outlook, I cannot have it. Just those towers everywhere[51]*."* (Young woman, Nuuk).

For this interviewee, it is important to be able to see or to be surrounded by nature, for her to feel able to function and be well, and further indicates that being only able to see the tall buildings in cities, has negative impact on her SWB. To summarize most people perceived nature as important to their SWB, yet there were also a few people who did not ascribe importance to nature with high values. The following paragraph will provide analysis of such examples.

> *"It is important to be in nature, although I'm afraid I fall or something."*
>
> (Young woman, Narsarsuaq)

4.5$_{A5}$ When Nature is Not Important

On my field trips I met people who did not rank nature as important as most. The above quote is from a young woman in South Greenland. She believed nature was very important in general for people, but was afraid of the dangers of being in

[50] Original quote: "Naturen har jeg fundet ud af betyder rigtig meget for mig, for at være i stand til at fungere. Hvis jeg ikke er i naturen i en længere periode, så får jeg det mentalt dårligt. Det er som om det er nemmere for mig at finde mit formål i mit liv hvis jeg er ude i naturen. Så får man mulighed for at tænke over hvordan man kommer til at gøre tingene i fremtiden og lægge planer. "

[51] Original quote: "Jeg kan ikke… Jeg er ikke et natur… Jo, jeg er et naturmenneske, selvom jeg ikke går ude i fjeldet og råber mine frustrationer ud. Jeg kan ikke fungere uden, det kan jeg ikke. Jeg bliver sindssyg hvis jeg ikke ser havet, hvis jeg ikke har et udsyn. Hvis jeg ikke kan se fjeldene, hvis jeg bare kan se… *Tassami*, hvis der ikke er udsyn, jeg kan ikke have det. Bare de der tårne over det hele."

nature, which was her motivation to rank it with the value 6. In the following, I will provide a few examples of those who could explain their relation with nature. In Uummannaq, all interviewees ranked importance of nature with 10, except for a young woman, who explained why she ranked it with a value between 6 and 7.

"It is enormously satisfying for me to just be able to look out the window and then nature tells me how the day will be for me. It gives a huge complacency to be able to use such completely natural things as tools in everyday life[52]*"*

For this woman nature is an external domain that influence how her day is going to be. As such, nature is something to utilize. Yet, her rhetorical approach insinuates that she see nature as an entity that can "tell her" something about her day. A young single mother from Tasiilaq elaborated on nature's importance after ranking it with the value 5.

"*I used to spend a lot of time in nature back in time, but after I had my child, I don't do that anymore. In the everyday life I have now, it is not that important. Of course it is nice if the sun is shining and it isn't storming the entire winter, but it is not something that means that much*." (Young woman, Tasiilaq)

After becoming a mother for the first time, with all the pressure that follows and without a father figure with whom she can share parenthood, this woman prioritizes her time with her son. To her, nature is more about how the weather is, than anything else, which means that whenever the weather conditions are bad, she mostly stays inside. In Aasiaat, a young man who also preferred to stay inside, ranked the value 0. When asked to talk about what was important to him, he answered that it was more important to him to play computer games and that quality of life to him was to be able to play all day. When asked about what could make him feel safe, he answered to be in his room and play and he felt unsafe when he was out among other people. In a different example, a young man from Nuuk ranked it with a value between 5 and 6. Being an office clerk with a long distance relationship with his girlfriend, he spends most of this time inside, working and communicating through the internet. When asked to rank the importance of nature, he answered:

"*Today? 0!! It's cold (laughs). If I am being optimistic, I'd like it to have a high value, but in reality it ends on 5 or 6. If I have to promote myself, I'd say that I am a nature person, I love to take walks in nature, but in reality… Come on… (laughs). However, I love to see new nature, to travel and see new nature, I find that very exciting, but I love human made objects just as much as I love nature.* "

[52] Original quote "Det er enormt tilfredsstillende for mig at bare kunne kigge ud af vinduet og så fortæller naturen noget om hvordan dagen bliver for mig. Det giver en enorm selvtilfredshed, at kunne bruge sådan nogen helt naturlige ting som værktøjer i hverdagen"

The young man can see that there is something valuable in nature, yet feels that it is not very important to him. He mentions that he enjoys experiencing nature in other places and that human made objects are just as important, revealing that to him, nature is something to see and experience like human artefacts. He reveals (albeit jokingly) in the beginning of his answer that the weather influences his physical well-being. Yet his answer also reveal that there is a moral aspect of his perception of nature, by stating that he knows that he *probably should* rank it high, in order for him to promote himself as a good person, yet genuinely does not feel so.

5A5 Discussion

5.1A5 Subjective Well-being and the Importance of Contact with Nature

There is little doubt that contact with nature is very important to the SWB of Greenlandic people, regardless of where they live. The majority of the people I talked with perceived nature as being very important to their sense of having a good life and not having regular contact with nature had negative affect on SWB. It is not possible to prove or even suggest what the traditional concepts of inua and sila means to the interviewees in this study, since they were not addressed with the terms directly. Yet, there are indications that some people still perceive nature as being part of humans and that nature has agency in the form of inua. Many people also talked about the air, which could be connected to the concept of sila. Some of the interviewees also expressed moral aspects of their perceptions of nature, which could relate to traditional views on nature. However, most of the conversations with people that ranked nature highly revealed perceptions that differ from what established literature tells us about the traditional Inuit perceptions of nature. To sum it up, the analysis showed that there are two overall dimensions of nature and the meaning of its value, which are unaddressed by leading research on the connection between well-being and contact with nature in Greenland or in the Arctic. A physical and a psychological dimension. In relation to this article's theoretical concepts, these dimensions relate more or less to the concept of pinngortitaq. Most people perceived nature as an external domain, something to look at, experience through the weather or in other ways as something that was less part of them and more part of the world surrounding them. These perspectives leans more to the concept of pinngortitaq than to inua and sila, since the traditional perception of how humans interacts with nature, was that the way an individual felt inside could affect the outside (balance). Considering the traditional Inuit view on nature, it therefore seems that the interviewees in general perceive nature as is custom in Western societies in the sense that Western societies tends to see the world divided between humans and nature. In spite of the numerous indications of such a claim, it is not possible to prove, since I did not ask people specifically about inua and sila or their perspectives on human versus nature. Yet, it leads me to question whether the interviewees saw nature as something equal to them, as

Colding-Jørgensen characterized Inuit views on nature, or they saw nature as something to use for them to function and ensure well-being. If we imagined the majority of the Greenlandic people share similar relations to nature as the interviewees of this study, it contradicts the logics of traditional Inuit views on nature. Nature cannot possibly be equal to humans unless they can give something equally beneficial back to nature and especially if people do not see nature as equal to themselves. Perhaps this is what Colding-Jørgensen referred to when he stated that not everything about nature is equal to Inuit. In this thought experiment, it might not be God that is above everything, as Colding-Jørgensen put it, but seemingly nature that is above humans, because in spite of our cognitive and intellectual advantages over other living beings, we depend our well-being to our inter-action with nature. Thus, nature is on top in a world order, in which we as humans are inferior and must adapt. Further studies on how natural concepts like inua, sila and pinngortitaq is perceived and how they, as well as overall perceptions of nature versus humans, might have changed in contemporary Greenland is needed to clarify further what nature truly is to the Greenlandic people.

5.2$_{A5}$ The Relation between Nature and People in a Modernized World

The close connection with nature that Inuit have makes the importance of nature multi-facetted. Newer studies show that nature is very important to the Greenlandic peoples' sense of identity and that nature is not simply a matter of food on the table. The latter is also strongly suggested in this article through different examples. Such a multifaceted importance of nature has its drawbacks in a modern globalized world, which I would like to address. When people perceive nature as something that gives positive energy and a clear mind, it means that it has consequences when they are away from it, e.g. when you spend more and more time doing something other than being in nature. It might seem almost impossible to not spend time in nature, when you are in Greenland, however, as with the young people from Aasiaat, Nuuk and Tasiilaq that ranked nature with values below 6, some have other priorities and interests. Today, most young people are raised with a smartphone or a tablet as common source of social interaction, learning and education. Due to the tele communication structure, where internet connections are most stable and affordable inside (and because phones, tablets etc. are sensitive to weather conditions) more and more people tend to be inside when they are at work, communicate with others or spend leisure time on smartphones, tablets and computers. It is not implausible that this development will continue to change how people connects with the surroundings, going from connecting with nature to connecting online, the latter which seldom involves contact with nature. Thus, the development in human interactions with and consequently perceptions of nature will most likely continue to change along with the changes in human behavior.

6A5 Conclusion

This article finds that contact with nature is highly important to the SWB of Greenlandic people and that their interaction with nature mostly involves different forms of recreational contact with nature - as a meta-physical aspect of nature, and contact with nature - as a physical aspect of nature (weather conditions, food and mobilizing social networks physically). Established literature has highly focused on the latter, thus neglected to address meta-physical aspects of nature adequately, or in general, how people perceive nature. The answer to the question of what nature is to the Greenlandic people has proven to be complex, thus remains ambiguous and inconclusive in this article. The findings indicate that there could be a development towards a paradigm shift in the common perceptions of nature among Greenlandic people, in that people to a larger degree perceive nature as an external domain, where nature and humans are separated, compared to the traditional animistic view of nature as an inclusive domain where nature and humans are equal parts. Changes in how we live our lives, deliberately or not, are further drivers of change to our perceptions of all aspects of life, including nature. In an ever-changing modernized and globalized world, the article suggests that interaction with and thereby perceptions of nature will continue to change. The question then is; how will it change and what will it mean to our overall well-being and quality of life? The article suggest that further studies in several aspects of human interaction with nature, both theoretically and in social reality, are needed to unveil more accurately how nature affect well-being and human development.

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7A5 Literature

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CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION OF METHODOLOGICAL AND EMPIRICAL INSIGTHS

This chapter discusses and reflects upon the methodological and empirical insights and lessons learned in the PhD project

Conducting this study has brought with it experiences and new insights to reflect upon and discuss. In this chapter, some of the most thought-provoking experiences and lessons learned are gathered. The reflections are of theoretical and methodological character, which mainly involves the experiences and dilemmas that occurred with the applied method. As the forthcoming paragraphs are reflections of my own experiences, the chapter is mainly written in first-person singular form.

4.1 The Issue with the Term 'Quality of Life'

Writing the dissertation in my third language, and therefore having to manage data in four languages, including the *Tunumiisut* dialect in East Greenland, turned out to be quite a hermeneutical challenge. One finding that particularly raised reflections was how I had taken for granted the informants knowledge of the concepts of the study. As described in Chapter 2.2.1, and in the fourth article (Steenholdt *in press*), the term 'quality of life' appeared to be unaccustomed in the Greenlandic language, in the way it has been applied in Western studies by, for example, Veenhoven (2014). To follow Giddens' philosophy of knowledge, the scientific term 'quality of life' was thus not part of the mutual knowledge, the "*taken-for granted knowledge"* as I had presumed the informants possessed (Giddens 1976). With the help of several translators, and Oqaasileriffik, the Directory of Language, I tried to formulate the concept in different ways to reach an equivalent translation of the concept as it is applied in this dissertation, that is, as a concept that can entail evaluations of the whole life experience and as evaluations of different life domains as well. Yet regardless of the different approaches, I had to explain the term to most of the informants, except those who were primarily or only Danish speaking. According to Oqaasileriffik, the best solution was to ask the question in Greenlandic as "how do you perceive to have a good life for you?". This was almost identical to the 'good life' question that was formulated as "With yourself in mind, how do you perceive a good life?". There was a small difference in the wording between the questions in Greenlandic, thus the question about quality of life was included to explore what happened when I tried to

explain quality of life, as a concept that can also involve different qualities of life. As described in Chapter 2.2, such differences can be distinguished as the opportunities and outcomes of life or as the internal and external qualities of life, as argued by Veenhoven (2014). There were no issues with the 'good life' question, and it often happened that when I asked them the 'quality of life' question, regardless of my efforts to explain the concept, the informants answered that they felt that they already answered that in the 'good life' question. This could naturally be reflective of my subjective inability to explain the concept adequately, and for the people who only spoke Greenlandic, it obviously was due to the linguistic similarity between the 'good life' question and 'quality of life' question. Nonetheless, the notion of a good life was perceived as similar or synonymous to the concept of quality of life for many of the informants. This does not mean that the informants were not knowledgeable regarding the quality of different aspects of their lives; it merely means that the way people think about their lives between languages differ, and the way people think ultimately constitutes the nature of their knowledge frame. In this regard, the concept of quality of life can thus be seen as an etic concept, where I as the researcher applied a foreign scientifically generated concept. This give rise to a question: 'How should we apply the concept of quality of life in scientific practices in Greenland?' If the approach is purely emic, the solution would be to develop a new Greenlandic term. This is a very difficult approach, since introducing new terms requires a lot of time before it can be considered customary. This leads to another question: When the term 'quality of life' is not customary in the Greenlandic language, are studies of quality of life then feasible to conduct in Greenland? Considering the earlier discussions by Jacobsen (2000), who concluded that it is not impossible to understand the world in different languages in spite of different ways of thinking, it is probably merely a question of gaining more knowledge of such linguistic predicaments, and a matter of adapting concepts to fit different knowledge frames. This finding is thus considered a stepping-stone to further research. *Ergo*, research must act with more care to how Greenlanders perceive the world and gain more knowledge about cultural and social dynamics to engage in truly meaningful research on quality of life in Greenland.

4.2 Epistemological Concerns with Subjective Data

The previous chapters and the articles have argued that subjective well-being research is both necessary and important to give a nuanced depiction of well-being in general. There are, however, some concerns to deal with in analyzing subjective data (that is, information shared by the subject, which reflects their own point of view). I will exemplify this in the following paragraphs. Research dealing with subjective data are also challenged for the possibilities of a diachronic study. This is part of the explanation of why qualitative research historically has been criticized when it comes to reliability, validity and reproducibility (Andrews, 1974; Veenhoven 2002). One of the most obvious and well-known issues with subjective well-being research is that

the data material derives from information shared by individuals, which reflects their respective points of view (Diener & Suh 1997). Such information is sensitive to varying circumstances such as time, place and mood of the day, to name a few. Specifically in this project, such individual circumstances will most likely influence how the informants evaluated their life on the day of the interview, but could also influence how the person perceive a 'good' or 'bad' life on a more general level. Peoples' mood is influenced significantly by situational life events, for instance, the informant could have just lost a job, had a relationship break-up, fallen in love or just had a baby *etc*. Such circumstances can set the tone well or negatively at the interview. The outcome of the interviews is furthermore sensitive to whether the informant is in a hurry, or has plenty of time for the interview. In addition, it is safe to assume that the informants' first impression of the interviewer and social chemistry with them, affects the outcome of the interview. The concerns about subjectivity were also an issue on how the informants perceived the interview questions. In many of the interviews, it seems as if the informants had built up expectations to what kind of questions I wanted to ask beforehand, and some of the informants told me that they just had a conversation about the subject with friends or family prior to the interview. This could lead the answers in varying directions. There are also considerations to be made about how people express themselves. Besides the complexity that the language and cultural barrier posed (as described in Chapter 2), Poppel et.al (2007) argue, that there are cultural disparities in how intensely people express their individual life experiences. It is not common among Greenlanders to express self-evaluations strongly, and as this study shows, how people choose to evaluate their life can differ between genders, and according to age and cultural upbringing. In this study, most women expressed their answers more in depth than men did, and older people tended to express their views in a more articulate way, compared to younger people. Therefore, there is a possibility that, for example, person A who chooses to express their satisfaction with life as somewhat satisfied, in reality, is just as satisfied as person B who chooses to express their satisfaction with life as very satisfied. This axiom constitutes the core principles in the hermeneutic dilemma of interpretation (see Figure 1, Chapter 2), and reaffirms that this study can only offer the individual interpretation of perspectives of, for example, what a good life is in Greenland as expressed by the informants.

4.3 Navigating the Intersection of Quantitative and Qualitative Research Traditions

Research on well-being in Greenland has mostly been conducted with quantitative methods focusing on objective indicators and as such, there is a lack of subjective well-being research in Greenland. Under these circumstances, I had to keep a stern focus on my own research methodology, whilst leaning on others' research. Learning from other research practices is fundamental and essential to the acquisition of

academic competences. Yet it turned out to be a methodological challenge, especially with the design of the questions being both open-ended and evaluative; the latter mostly applied within quantitative research. The abundance of quantitative data, which in many ways are of relevance to this dissertation, gave me a knowledge frame on the existing discourse, as well as on the gaps and missing links to a coherent understanding of well-being in Greenland. It is not difficult to identify where quantitative research practice is inadequate. An argument for this is presented in the Introduction, in the form of the conceptual framework as well as in the articles. Still, the differences in research design, from framework to implementation in articles, between qualitative and quantitative research made it a challenge to navigate my own agenda. As stated in Chapter 2 under Objective, I had an aim to produce true qualitative analysis, and at the same time feed into the ongoing discourse, mainly represented by quantitative research. This meant making the articles relevant to both research disciplines, based on a research design that fulfilled both sides. In the first articles I did not quite have the realization of this challenge, and admittedly, I might have forgotten occasionally that I was supposed to do qualitative analysis. In retrospect, the first articles could have focused more on the qualitative practice, going deeper into the data, as attempted in the last two articles. I am aware that this is probably merely part of the learning process of distinguishing and working with different academic disciplines. Yet, I wonder if this confusion in some way was affected by the lack of discussions on qualitative research methods in Greenland and the Arctic. Internationally the discussions are ongoing, where Cummins particularly has been outspoken with respect to the application, advancement and feasibility of research on subjective measures of well-being (2005; 2018). Yet there seems to be an absence of a discourse on such methodological practices in research in Greenland and the Arctic. As mentioned in the conceptual framework, the discipline of qualitative research has proliferated over the past decades, and as Poppel et.al (2015) argued, research on human development should be carried out in ways that considers subjective well-being. Furthermore, the diachronic public health survey in Greenland has started to lean more towards measuring quality of life from other and more subjective aspects, besides health and lifestyle (Larsen et.al 2019). Thus, the arguments and progressions are present, which bears promise to future practices of measuring subjective well-being. However, there are still missing debates on how to conduct appropriate mixed method studies, to strengthen and enhance studies of well-being and human development in the Arctic. To this end, it is imperative and timely to start conversations about mixed methods, to identify possible bridges and gatekeepers, as well as to encourage the conduct and methods of interdisciplinary research pave the way towards better and more holistic well-being research. A good place to start is to deal openly with the impracticalities of subjective data. The forthcoming paragraphs present different perspectives of the scientific challenges of interaction with people and their perceptions.

4.4 The Interview Situation

The experience of each of the 70 interviews naturally differed from each other, and each interview gave me something new to reflect upon. There was variation in how open the informants were, and how they handled the situation of being asked about personal feelings. The Greenlandic people are known to be more reluctant, softly-spoken and shy by nature, in comparison with, for example, European people (Sonne 1996) and that was also reflected in the interviews. Though the informants' participation was on a voluntary basis, and many initiated the first contact, the interview situation was overwhelming for some. In the beginning and during the course of interviews, I analyzed the atmosphere in the inter-action with the informant. I observed the informants' facial mimics, body language, our eye contact and the tone of voice in their responses. Based on these analyses, I assessed the informants' attitude to more in-depth questions *ad hoc*. I considered whether it was appropriate to push for more nuanced answers or accept their answers, even if their answers lacked depth. In some of the situations where I had to be careful not to be too pushy, it seemed that the informant would feel unsafe or uncomfortable had I pushed more. In those instances, it was often the informant that expressed during or afterwards, that they had a different idea about the nature of the questions prior to the interview, and sometimes I had the impression that they found the questions more personal than anticipated. When I talked with informants that I sensed that they became uncomfortable during the course of the interview, I would reach out to them by reassuring their anonymity in the study, and inform them that any sensitive information would not be used. If the informant did not know what to answer, I would mention that there were no right or wrong answers in the interview, which often was enough to start a more fluent conversation. In the most difficult cases, I would offer the informant a way out by reminding them that the interview could be stopped at any time. I had informants that were very open, inclusive and experienced in inter-acting with others about personal feelings, but more often than not, I talked with people that were nervous and had difficulties with sharing personal content. The interview situation in itself is naturally an exciting event, and the informants did not know what I was going to ask beforehand, however, different circumstances also had an influence on how the interview would proceed. If there was a translator, the informants tended to be a little more shy and reluctant to answer sensitive questions, such as what could make them feel sad or poor (such circumstantial impacts on the interview situation is also addressed by Kvale 2008). If the informants were in a time of personal distress, for instance, if they were unemployed, homeless or had just left a significant other, they tended to have more difficulties with responding to the questions and expressing their feelings than people who were not in a time of personal distress.

4.4.1 Issues with placing the interview

The place in which an interview takes place will also influence the outcome (Kvale 2008). It was a challenge to find a secluded space for the interviews in some of the

places. In the beginning, some of the interviews were conducted at the place where I stayed, for example in a rented Airbnb-apartment. This turned out to be too intimate for both the informant and myself. A few of the informants invited me to their home, and others were at work or working during the interview. The informants tended to be a little more relaxed if the interview was in their own home rather than in a public arena. If the interview was conducted in the informants' workplace, it conveyed some degree of absence in their focus during the conversations, and some restraint when the conversation turned into matters about the informants' work situation. Others were very articulate about their gratitude towards their work. Likewise, if the interview took place in the informants' private home, some of the informants seemed to talk more positively about their views on family. If the informants interviewed in their private homes were questioned about work, many tended to answer less positively compared to the people interviewed in their workplaces. Thus, it seemed to be difficult to separate the surroundings from the questions and avoid bias. Another experience of mine was that if the people were interviewed in their workplace, and were questioned about quality of life, some of the informants answered in relation to the quality of their work life. In these instances, I clarified that the angle of the study was the personal perspectives of the informant. This experience brought me to approach the interviews by explaining the angle more carefully. I have considered the ideal setting for an interview without interfering circumstances and imagined taking an informant completely out of their home, their work, or even out of the town or settlement. However, I anticipate that the informant, being away from their usual surroundings, might experience homesickness, worry about their work situation, or in some way would be influenced by the physical absence of the place they know and live in. All which also could influence the outcome of the interview. To avoid such 'environmental bias', and to gain deeper understanding about subjective well-being and quality of life, it could be interesting to conduct a well-being study, where a subject is observed and interviewed in the different domains they appear on a daily basis for a longer duration.

4.5 Asking Condensed Questions about Life Concepts

Another perceptional issue with the questions was the precision of the questions, which influenced the informants' opportunity to understand the questions as intended. The ambiguity of questions was mostly concentrated to the evaluative questions, where the informants where asked to rank different life domains in relation to their notion of a good life. For instance, importance of spirituality and the public welfare system attained the lowest overall scores in the interviews. However, this is likely to correlate with the nature of the questions and is probably also related to the inter-cultural perceptional differences of the concepts. Many of the informants had difficulty with understanding the question about public welfare and required extensive explanation in most of the interviews. Some mistook the question as if they were asked if they personally needed social welfare services, others would rate their views on the quality of the different public entities, such as the health system or the municipality's

ability to offer services. Only a few did not need further explanation, which given the amount of people who did not understand the question, made me doubt whether the question was actually understood.

4.5.1 Spirituality

The evaluative question about spirituality also posed similar challenges. Many of the informants had different perceptions of what spirituality was. For some it was religious, for example in the context of being Christian, for others it implicated their beliefs in spirits of late relatives or ancestors. Some would associate spirituality with nature, while others could not associate the term with anything. The different associations does not pose a problem in itself, however, more than often I had to explain what I meant with spirituality by giving some examples of what spirituality could be, and then afterwards the informants responded. In this situation, I lead the informants to express their associations with spirituality based on the associations I suggested, which unfolds the risk of too much bias in the answers. When looking back, I find it to be further problematic to categorize religion and spirituality as the same concept, since the two are of different nature, and separately have different dimensions. To this end, it would have been ideal to categorize spirituality and religion each on their own in the evaluative questions.

4.5.2 Social Relations

The question about social relations also proved to lack applicability. The question was formulated to encompass social relations, both closer relations, such as friends and colleagues and in relation with inter-acting socially in the local community. Many of the informants would rank it relatively low, yet in many conversations informants would talk about the importance of helping others, and likewise receiving help from other members in the community. This led me to include an additional question on the field trip to Nuuk, where the informants were asked about the importance of both social relations and local community. There was a clear difference in ranking, where the informants ranked local community higher than they ranked social relations. The importance of community in understanding Arctic societies goes undisputed, thus it would have served constructively to include the distinction in all interviews. However, among the informants in Nuuk, who was asked about the importance of the local community, there was variation and far from all found it important. This important finding, which unfortunately did not fit the frame of the last article, arise questions whether the importance of community is different between regions or in urban areas compared to rural areas. The answers to these questions might give a deeper understanding of different community dynamics in different places in Greenland.

These different ambiguities pose no threat when the objective is to analyze a single case. The problem occurs when the objective is to compare between cases. In general, this dilemma is likely to occur with all questions with a subjective character, since all complex concepts are open for interpretation. 'Family' might seem like a clear-cut concept of kinship, yet for some it is about genealogical relatedness, for others about personal bonding and attachment, and so it goes on with other concepts, like 'nature' or 'work situation'. Formulating clear and precise questions are critical in an interview situation (and hereby to acknowledge that the informants never misunderstand the questions, it is rather the interviewer bears the responsibility of formulating questions clearly enough for the informants to understand them properly). However, the lesson learned here, is that it was difficult to get something meaningful out of a neutral question. Concepts such as spirituality or the public welfare system, in the way they were employed in the interview questions of this project, are far too complex to be reduced to single life domains. In order to attain meaningful data, I thus had to widen the conversation and get the informant to talk about the role of the different concepts in their own worldview. Methodically, it would have been useful to prepare a generic definition of each life domain to avoid the risk of bias, for instance, when the interviewer explains it differently between interviews.

4.5.3 The Importance of Social Relations for the Unemployed

Lastly, there was a lesson to be learned about employment status and its correlation with subjective well-being. In the fourth article "Subjective Well-being in East Greenland" it is argued that the unemployed informants had the worst prerequisites for having a good life compared to employed informants, and that social relations were a factor to this end. The latter indicates that there are different ways to be unemployed, and that these different ways can determine the level of well-being. One could be unemployed and be socially disconnected from family and friends, or one could be unemployed and still have the benefits of supportive friends and families, and so there are worse and better examples. The article suggests that these circumstances are important to subjective well-being. Most of the unemployed informants throughout this study where long-term unemployed, single and/or had poor social networks. Only a few of them were recently in-between jobs and with good social networks. Considering the findings of Wu (2020) in the Alaskan Inuit study (mentioned in Chapter 2.2.4), she argued that *"[b]eing unemployed is found to be not significantly associated with life satisfaction*" (p. 15). Wu's findings on the positive correlation of contact with nature and subjective well-being has been found among Greenlanders as well, not least in this dissertation. However, in relation to unemployment there are circumstances regarding the supportive networks of the unemployed, or lack thereof, that needs attention in future research. To this end, the well-being of unemployed people arguably depends on their social network. Wu does verge on this causal connection by stating that peoples' livelihoods depend on "*their household production rather than individual employment*". Questions arise considering that around half of the 'households' in Greenland in 2020 (Bank.stat.gl)

consists of single men and women (where the majority is men). For the informants in this study, most of them were single men who lacked strong supportive networks, and their unemployment was part of the explanation to their lower scores on life satisfaction, as argued in the fourth article. If a household consists of only one person and that person is unemployed, the then logical assumption could be that unemployment is only insignificant to subjective well-being if the person has a strong supportive network. This brings me to the point of this paragraph, and its relevance to the subheading. These reflections indicate that when asking about unemployment in relation to subjective well-being, it is not enough to simply ask about employment, or the importance of having a job, it is necessary to consider the circumstances of supportive networks, be it family, friends or public support. In light of this, I should have been more aware of the causal mechanisms in the self-rated satisfaction with life among my unemployed informants to understand more deeply how these circumstances correlate. Nonetheless, the hope is that this will encourage future well-being research on unemployment in Greenland, to bear in mind the aspects and importance of social relations.

4.5.4 Other Aspects of Life

Many of the evaluative questions asked directly about different aspects of life such as family, work, spirituality *etc*. On this level, questions arose on whether the outcome would have been different if I had asked direct questions about other aspects of life, such as personal health (mental as well as physical), political influence, cultural affiliation, the value of material wealth or education, as it has been carried out in for example ASI (Larsen et.al 2010). Setting aside that the evaluative questions only represented a part of the study, it is acknowledged that the choice of questions might have set the tone for the outcome of the interview. If the focus is turned away from the fixed questions to the open-ended, there are findings in the unsolicited content brought in by the informants. Unsolicited content turned up in, for example, the answers to the 'good life' question (Second question on Appendix D). All of the articles discussed unsolicited answers of noteworthy relevance. Unsolicited answers are exemplified throughout the articles, such as fear of loneliness, problems with migration and mobility or not being able to live where one prefer, not being able to go out to hunt, the importance of sustaining livelihoods and health issues. As it also stated in the articles, these observations are key to understanding the important aspects of subjective well-being, and furthermore they are stepping-stones for future studies of subjective well-being in Greenland.

4.6 The Importance of the Researcher's Cultural Affiliation

During my field trips, there was an issue of prejudice: Many of the informants knew who I was, knew of me or knew someone who knew me (this is normal in Greenland,

yet was also accelerated by the media coverage as described in Chapter 2.3.2). In this regard, my nationality or cultural affiliation might also have played a role. As a Greenlandic-Danish researcher with the ability to communicate in Greenlandic I had an advantage in getting in contact with people, and instilling trust with the people I met. This was clear when I travelled in South and East Greenland with my German colleague Daniela Chimirri. Although there were times where she came to me with suggestions for contacts, in a conversation with a tourism operator in South Greenland where we both were present, I got the impression that the informant was turning more to me when talking about Greenlandic conditions. This could of course be a misconception, however, it is safe to suggest that it does make a difference to have cultural affiliation with the subjects of study. During my conversations with people I met randomly or with the informants, it also seemed that there was somewhat fatigue with foreign researchers. The concern shared by many was that a lot of foreign and Danish researchers tend to come into the communities, extract data from people or the environment and leave afterwards without sharing their research with the involved communities. In South Greenland, recent debates primarily revolve around the proposed Kuannersuit mine, where uranium byproduct and its potentials to damage community and environmental structures, are of significant interest. This has attracted various foreign media and scientists over the years, and when I was talking with people in South Greenland, it seemed as if it was a relief that I, as a researcher, was there to talk about something other than uranium and perhaps more importantly, I was a Greenlander. Similarly, in Tasiilaq there had just been a documentary about neglected children in national TV, broadcasted in both Denmark and Greenland, which caused heavy political and societal debates. People told me they were tired of talking about neglect, and wanted to move on and they were tired of being asked questions. One person said that he would talk to me as long as I did not mention the documentary. Others would mention it shortly, seemingly in recognition of the severity of the documentary's findings, and then quickly change the subject of conversation. This discomfort in talking about circumstances that justifies critique, whether it be their own or others, are also discussed in detail by Sonne (2003). On a different note, several people throughout the field trips encouraged me, often suggesting "Greenland needs more Greenlandic researchers". This was also the case in Nuuk, where I was "cheered for" on an almost daily basis. Such support was very reaffirming, however, there were other situations where it seemed as if my cultural affiliation also intimidated people, which could possibly have to do with different culture or power dynamics of the interview (Kvale 2008). Such dynamics could be exemplified in the person's fear of not belonging in the study or not understanding the questions. This would likely be the case in the remote areas, where my function as a representative of the university in the capital Nuuk could have alienated any kind of interaction. For example, Petersen (1998) and Sejersen (2004) both suggests that the modern cultural, political and social life associated with Nuuk is perceived just as culturally distanced to other Greenlandic communities as those of Denmark. This might especially be the case in the rural areas, where people's lives are partially shaped by the consequences of political decisions made in Nuuk. This leads further to another possible issue of power dynamics. The fact that I am part Danish, and preferred to talk in Danish if possible, could also have had an influence on peoples'

trust in me. Based on colonial history, there are some cultural issues with being Danish in Greenland (Udvalget for Samfundsforskning i Grønland 1963), and I cannot dismiss the possibility that some people might not have been able to look passed this, and either refuse to participate in the study, or answer differently than they would have to a 'fully' Greenlandic researcher. This is most likely rooted in my inability to speak Greenlandic fluently or other speaking dialects. In the informal conversations before and after the interview, I often communicated in Greenlandic, which helped a lot in building trust, yet in the interviews, I was only able to explain the questions and issues in Danish. This is not to say that the language issue was a barrier, as no one told me directly, however, I certainly do not question the contrary. These reflections, as difficult and sensitive they are to discuss, bear an important message to future research in Greenland to act with caution and awareness for such circumstances. Additional research that explores the correlative impacts and consequences of the researcher's nationality, regional, cultural or social affiliations on the interaction with the subjects they study, including which language is applied, is necessary to the advancement of qualitative methodologies in Greenland.

4.7 Target Group Aberrations

Another issue in the study was the occurrence of target group aberrations. In the study, there were informants who did not fit the criteria of the study completely, with for example their nationality, or people who were not native to the place of interview. For instance, one of the informants in East Greenland was not native to East Greenland, the person came from West Greenland and was in East Greenland for personal reasons. In another example from Nuuk, a native Danish person participated in the study. The person had been living in Nuuk on and off for decades and had no plans of moving back to Denmark. At first glance, these examples might appear as aberrant in the study. They are, however, more an expression of how the reality is in the Greenlandic communities. People move around between regions, and other nationalities comes and stays, some stay for decades or the rest of their lives. To this end, it was decided on the field trips that in the few instances of aberrations, it was more important that the informant identified as Greenlandic, than to exclude the informant from the study.

4.8 Difficult Conversations

During my field trips, I have met people who shared severe traumatic experiences, where I was in doubt of what I should and could do. Admittedly, I had not anticipated that the informants would be so open about the traumas they had undergone, and it made me consider on how I best could handle such situations, both personally and as a researcher. The first time I was faced with this kind of difficult conversation, I met

a young person who had been sexually abused recently as a youngster. I knew beforehand the statistics, and I knew I would inevitably meet victims of sexual abuse, yet I had not anticipated that I would be one of the only persons that such victims could turn to, to vent and share their pain. At this first conversation with a traumatized person, the informant told me that I was the first person, besides the parents, to know about the abuse. The informant further told me that a travelling psychologist would come to the place once or twice a year. However, the waiting list to get an appointment during the short amount of time the travel psychologist were there was overloaded. Hence, it had not been possible the last couple of years to get professional help or counselling. In regards of my handling of the conversation, I improvised to the best of my ability, and balanced between being empathetic and professional. Above everything, it was important for me to handle the situation with respect to the informant. Given that I was one the of the only persons that could lend a listening ear to this informant, I decided not to discard the conversation, even though that it might, for some, have been a professional way to handle the situation. After my first encounter with a person that shared traumatic experiences, I reached out to a counseling unit in the Government of Greenland to seek advice. This was very helpful, and gave me some direction in not only how to manage the situations, but also how I could position myself in order to protect both the informant and me personally. In light of these experiences, I believe that Greenlandic institutions that conduct interviews and collect data through inter-action with citizens, could benefit by offering courses, or develop educational material on how to properly conduct interviews, and of what to be aware in such interactions with people.

CHAPTER 5

DISSERTATION SYNERGY AND SYNTHESIS

This chapter explains the synergy between articles and research questions, supplemented with a description of the processual progression, as a prolog to the final chapter

In the late stages of this project questions emerged on the way, regarding the discussion of the findings of this dissertation. Is it possible to determine how Greenlanders perceive a good life and how such perceptions differ, with the methods applied in this dissertation?

It is difficult to understand what it means to have a good life without looking at the circumstances that condition it. As argued earlier, the notion of a good life is discussed through the terms of subjective well-being, quality of life and living conditions. Research that deals with the notions of a good life tend to focus on these concepts in relation to certain social phenomena, such as those proceeded in the articles, where subjective well-being and quality of life are analyzed in context with for example nature, local area or industry segments, such as tourism. Before moving on to the Conclusion, the following will seek to summarize the article conclusions, and describe the progression from first to last article. The following will also account for how the articles have contributed to answer the research questions.

Article 1: Tourism and Quality of Life in Greenland – Exploration through Farm Stays in South Greenlandic Settlements.

The first article analyzed the interrelation between quality of life and the developing tourism industry in South Greenland through a case study of farmers (Steenholdt & Chimirri 2018). The data material is based on interviews from the first field trip to South Greenland. The article showed that the farmers maintained their preferred livelihoods through farm tourism, which had impact on the informants' subjective well-being. In this regard, it posed the classical question of whether there is more to well-being than 'just' money. The article applied the bottom-up spill over theory as a way to demonstrate and explain how certain life domains influenced overall quality of life. In relation to subjective well-being, the article found that *"the emotional value of being close to nature and having some autonomy over own fate were significant*

indicators and contributed to a higher sense of quality of life" among the informants, where autonomy over own fate related to the informants' personal freedom to decide how they wanted to live. The study finds, that money did have some agency in the informants' subjective well-being, yet the informants managed to adapt through the possibilities of farm tourism to a degree where money became less important (ibid.). The findings thus feed into the dissertation's first research sub-question in regards of what is considered a good life among Greenlanders, and with the synthesis of the four other articles in this dissertation, it also gave answers to the second research sub-question in regards of determining regional differences in perceptions of a good life in Greenland.

Article 2: Livsformer og Livskvalitet i Grønland – Et indblik i sammenhængen og den potentielle udvikling, and Article 3: What Works for Well-being in Greenland?

The first article turned the sod, so to speak, in relation to the research of the dissertation. It touched upon a few aspects of 'a good life' and of how Greenlanders face challenges in their lives (Steenholdt & Chimirri 2018). The second and third article further analyzed the data from South Greenland, exploring how subjective well-being depends on different life modes between rural and urban life modes, with a perspective to the independence process (Steenholdt 2019a; 2019b). The article applied elements of the life mode theory by Højrup to describe different life modes, and questioned their interrelation with subjective well-being. The article suggested different modes of life between rural and urban areas, where the people living in rural areas tend to have more independent life modes than in the urban areas, where many are wageworkers. Furthermore, the articles argue that Greenlanders tend to adapt and combine rural and urban life modes in the towns. Lastly, the article finds that all of the informants were satisfied with their lives, and pinpoints contact with nature and social relations as the most important reasons for this, which addresses the dissertation's first sub-question. The importance of social relations manifested in mobility and migration issues, and the importance of contact with nature through a closeness to nature, which also included using the resources of nature to sustain livelihoods. In summary, migration had negative impact on subjective well-being when families and friends move away from each other for jobs or education. These issues created feelings of a kind of reverse social deprivation[53] undermining the social attachment between people, which was a determining factor to the informants' subjective well-being. Likewise, it had negative effect to subjective well-being when the people were cut off from being close to nature, or when climate change challenged the livelihood conditions (ibid.). The different findings between the first article and

[53] In this regard, reverse social deprivation is used as a term to explain the consequences for an individual who experience physical and emotional disconnectedness from social interaction with family and friends who for various reasons move away.

the second and third article further give answers to how perceptions of a 'good' life differs, thus contributing to the dissertation's second research sub-question.

Article 4: Subjective Well-being in East Greenland

The first field trip in South Greenland provided lessons in both method approaches, and posed new angles to explore. For the second field trip in East Greenland, more interview questions was thus added, and it was more determinately pursued to get interviews with people living under severe circumstances, such as the unemployed or homeless. Attempts to find people in such circumstances was pursued in South Greenland, however, without success. In this regard, the solution of getting assistance from the employment office, Majoriaq, turned out to be successful. The fourth article explored subjective well-being in the local area of Ammassalik, East Greenland. Through analysis of peoples' different self-reported resources and life situations, the article suggests that what it means to have good life highly depended on the informants' job situation and social network (Steenholdt *in press*). People who were unemployed, homeless or lacked social support from family or friends were less satisfied with their lives compared to people with jobs and close social relations, and they seemed to have difficulties with associating what a good life constitutes. For those who were able to express thoughts more in depth the answers were more complex than the answers of the people with jobs or social networks. Furthermore, the article indicated that improving the subjective well-being of unemployed and homeless people seemed *"more complicated than adjusting the objective conditions surrounding them",* suggesting that it takes more than a job and housing, and requires individual support and planning to turn things around (ibid.) Among people with jobs and social networks, a good life seemed to depend on personal needs for positive emotional well-being, close social relations (which mostly involved family) and contact with nature. Lastly, the article discusses the need and relevance of adopting a social indicator or scale to measure subjective well-being relevant in quantitative studies. The article suggests that more research is needed to discuss how to overcome the impracticalities and complexities of collecting data about subjective well-being (ibid.). The fourth article thus contributed answers to all of the dissertation's research questions, including the main research question of the dissertation, regarding how insights gained from qualitative analysis of aspects of subjective well-being can add to the existing knowledge.

Article 5: Subjective Well-being and the Importance of Nature in Greenland

The field trip to East Greenland was a success in terms of getting interviews from different population strata. The next trip to North Greenland was thus planned

similarly. In North Greenland, more people expressed unsolicited that attachment to culture and local community was important. For the following field trip in Nuuk, evaluative questions about culture and local community were thus added. However, by analyzing the entire data, it became clear that the frequent recurring themes among the answers where tied to social relations and contact with nature. More notably, there were a number of people who ranked nature higher than family. The fifth article thus investigated the importance of nature to subjective well-being and explored the meaning of nature to Greenlanders, as a way to contribute with more nuanced and contextual insights to the dissertations' main research question (Steenholdt, *under review*). As the article argues, there is a lot of existing literature that underpins the importance of contact with nature to well-being in general, yet seemingly no contemporary studies that address what nature actually is and means to Greenlanders. The article confirms that contact with nature is closely connected with perceptions of a good life, and thus essential to subjective well-being in Greenland (which also is a recurring conclusion in the other articles in this dissertation), and finds that most of the informants engage in two aspects of contact with nature; a physical and metaphysical aspect (ibid.). The physical contact with nature entails weather conditions, food from hunting, fishing and harvesting or through the social food networks that mobilizes people physically. The metaphysical aspect of contact with nature entails different forms of contact with nature, where people utilize contact with nature as a means to sustain or improve their well-being. This opened up a discussion of whether people see nature differently today in comparison with how existing literature argue that nature and concepts of nature, such as *sila* and *inua*, appear in the Greenlandic culture and language. The article suggests that there are indications of different perspectives of nature from what is known in literature, that is, that the informants tended to see nature less animistic and more as a source of self-recreation, and that these perspectives will continue to evolve and develop in different trajectories, through the changes and adaptations that we as humans make in a continuously modernized and globalized world (ibid.).

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

This chapter concludes the dissertation. The first part gives answers to the study's research sub-questions, which will lead on to answer to the main research question, before it closes with suggestions for future research.

This dissertation has pursued to gain insights of both methodological and empirical character in conducting qualitative analysis of subjective well-being and quality of life in Greenland. The approach has been guided by existing practices, yet is novel in its research design, and the articles as well as the reflections in Chapter 4 has contributed with new knowledge to the state-of-the-art. The main research question has been sought from two sub-questions that more directly focus on the notion of the good life and subjective well-being among Greenlanders. This leads to the conclusion of the first research sub-question of this dissertation:

a) What is considered a good life among Greenlanders?

In spite of the issue with subjectivity of the question on what a good life is, the studies show that distinctions do not vary with endless possibilities, which essentially was my initial fear, but can be classified in a few overarching categories of subjective well-being. Based on conclusions from five articles, it is evident that close social and family relations, and contact with nature on both physical, mental and meta-physical levels, are the two main and most congruent categories of what it means to have a good life among the informants in the study (Steenholdt & Chimirri 2018; Steenholdt 2019a; Steenholdt 2019b; Steenholdt *in press*; Steenholdt *under review*). In addition, having a job, an education or something to do in their everyday life was also essential in most of the informants' perceptions of a good life. To this end, the people facing severe personal circumstances, such as unemployment and homelessness perceived basic material resources as the main prerequisites for a good life, next to their need of social relations and support (Steenholdt *in press*). With regard to the informants' relationship with nature, it was surprising to discover the magnitude and metaphysical character of nature's importance to many, and more so that most of the informants' relationship with nature was related to personal needs of improving emotional well-being. A vast, and unanticipated contrast to how literature has portrayed Inuit relationship with nature, as described in Chapter 2 and in the fifth article (Steenholdt *under review*), where Inuit saw nature as animistic, and their metaphysical relationship had a more

moral character than a personal one. On a concluding note, and in the answer to the first research sub-question, perceptions of a good life revolved around a few overarching categories, however, it is not sufficient to conclude with these overarching categories, at least not if the purpose is to gain concrete knowledge on how to improve the conditions to have a good life. In order to do this, variations and differences must be identified, and this leads to the answer of the follow-up sub-question of the dissertation:

b) Are there regional differences in how people perceive a good life in Greenland, and if so, what are they?

Overall, the articles show that there are small regional variations in what people consider as important to have a good life. In terms of social relations, the differences between regions were mostly conditional, that is, that people had different conditions for maintaining close social relations between regions. In South Greenland, more people expressed that they had difficulties with maintaining social relations compared to the other regions, which was mainly due to their family and friends moving away to larger towns or to Denmark (Steenholdt & Chimirri 2018). In comparison between the field trips, South Greenland was also the region where more informants expressed dissatisfaction with political decisions (such as the municipal merge in 2009), which have influenced the societal development there, especially in Nanortalik and Narsarsuaq (ibid.). To this end, the above findings can help guide future policy making, since a greater focus on increasing social cohesion will likely contribute to a higher sense of subjective well-being among people. In East Greenland, more expressed that having trusting and safe social relations, as well as belonging to a community, was important compared to other regions (Steenholdt *in press*). The importance of community in East Greenland was also reflected in the perceptions of nature, where being in contact with nature (which mostly involved benefitting from nature's resources) was more a community matter compared to other regions (ibid.). In Nuuk and South Greenland more informants talked about recreational contact with nature compared to other regions, however, in broad terms there was little variation in how people 'used' nature. Almost all of the people interviewed participated in traditional hunting activities, in some way or another at some point during a year. More notably, most of them, across regions, used nature deliberately to improve emotional well-being (Steenholdt *under review*). This finding is an important contribution to current knowledge, and it is key in understanding ways to improve well-being in Greenland. In light of this, implementing strategic approaches that involve recreational contact with nature will likely prove beneficial to established social practices, where existing solutions and strategies are inefficient. This is especially important in terms of rethinking how to plan for (and treat) people who are known to have a low quality of life, such as elderly, unemployed and mentally ill (see e.g. Larsen et.al 2019 and Steenholdt *in press*).

Setting aside the above differences, there were also common themes which, besides the need for close social relations and contact with nature, seemed to be related to other circumstances, such as for example employment status (Steenholdt *in press*). In the study, the long-term unemployed informants seemed to be the most marginalized people, both when it comes to close social relations, and their possibilities for attaining the advantages of having contact with nature. The latter is an argument based on interpretation, since the unemployed informants accredited less of the importance of nature to subjective well-being, and spent less time in nature, compared to informants with jobs and/or social networks (ibid.). This can in part be due to the fact that contact with nature and traditional activities in nature, are often practiced with social or familial relations. In the SLiCA it is further concluded that contact with nature often requires substantial monetary resources, since utilities (like boats, equipment etc.) are expensive to purchase and maintain (Poppel 2015). This can indicate that people with low personal income, who have difficulties in maintaining social relations, also have difficulties with practicing traditional activities and contact with nature. This also suggests that there is a connection between the overarching categories of 'nature' and 'social relations', which the existing social research has not studied further. Following such indications, and bearing in mind the findings of this dissertation, it suggests that when people (like unemployed people) are socially marginalized, it disenfranchises them from the main prerequisites of a good life. This urges special attention and awareness to be paid, by both research and in policymaking (especially policies that influences inflation and employment), to those in the age group between 18-29 years, considering that more than a third of all unemployed in 2019 were young people (Bank.stat.gl 2020). On a concluding note, the above findings indicate that it is not only meaningful to analyze the potential differences between places, when it comes to well-being and quality of life, it is also meaningful to analyze social phenomena that are common across places, such as unemployment or people on transfer income.

How may insights gained by applying qualitative methods add to the understanding of well-being and quality of life in Greenland provided by established quantitative studies?

Regarding the methodological and empirical insights gained using the qualitative approaches in this dissertation, the conclusions in this chapter demonstrate that the overarching lessons learned are mainly of cultural background, and that many of the findings are closely tied to the subjects' local communities. This means that applying 'local knowledge' as a knowledge frame, and considering the community structures with the modified Ecological Framework have both been meaningful whilst conducting this study. It further suggests that while there is a lot to take into consideration when it comes to Western research perspectives of well-being and quality of life, there are limitations in their applicability in terms of meaningfully understanding the well-being and quality of life of Greenlanders. This crucially

underlines the importance of conducting and developing research in ways that consider and reflect the cultural contexts in which the Greenlanders live, as carried out in this dissertation.

6.1 Understanding the 'Puzzling Contrast'

As described in the Introduction, the driving force of this dissertation has revolved around the puzzling contrast that a surprisingly large part of Greenlanders self-report a relatively high satisfaction with life whilst objective data show widespread poor living conditions and social problems in large parts of the Greenlandic society. This paradox was first found in the SLiCA from 2007 (Poppel et.al). However, based on the findings of this dissertation, it is argued that the paradox still applies to the extent that most of the informants in this study reported high levels of life satisfaction, and at the same time many of them lives under severe living conditions, such as lack of job opportunities, lack of medical health services, as well as lack of various personal resources. A number of the informants also had experienced severe personal trauma and/or were faced with major social problems, such as unemployment and homelessness (Steenholdt *in press*). Based on the knowledge gained from the articles, the majority of the informants in this study have close social and family networks, and most of them regularly have contact with nature (Steenholdt & Chimirri 2018; Steenholdt 2019a; Steenholdt 2019b; Steenholdt *in press*). If it is assumed that these conditions generally reflect Greenlanders' lives, this possibly contributes to the explanation of how it can be that most people are satisfied with their lives in spite that many also live under unsatisfying living conditions. The indicative nature of the attempt to understand the 'puzzling contrast' thus leaves more questions to be answered. In the following paragraph, the dissertation concludes with some remarks regarding where future research can build upon this study.

6.2 Future Research

It goes without saying that the conceptualization of the key concepts of this study, and consequently of all subjective well-being research in Greenland, are subject to revision. We cannot fully understand society if we do not analyze society on its own terms. In particular, this means that while other perspectives from, for example, Western research, are useful and sensible to consider, conducting well-being research is only truly meaningful when it is conducted according to the society it analyses. In this dissertation, this argument has not least been raised in the articles that state that knowledge about the importance of nature and how Greenlanders assess their quality of life has cultural distinctions to be aware of. Thus, we cannot fully understand the importance of nature to Greenlanders, if we do not know what nature means to the

people, nor can we uncritically measure quality of life if the concept of 'quality of life' is absent from common practice in the languages and lives of Greenlanders. We must also act with care with the role of the researcher, and pay more attention to cultural diversities, to pursue a higher standard and integrity of the research. With this in mind, this dissertation encourages well-being research in Greenland that is grounded in principles of truly understanding social realities, and considering methods that involves citizen participation, by, for example, establishing partnerships or focus groups, and let the people who are being studied be involved in formulating the research questions. Such involvement of and care with the population studied, might even lessen the people's fatigue with scientists.

These arguments might compel someone to add these circumstances to the complexity and impracticalities of research on subjective well-being. However, if future research should be measured in ways that reflect subjective well-being, as Poppel argues (2015), it merely substantiates the importance to further develop or create new measures of well-being. To this end, one of the articles suggests the adoption of a social indicator or scale to measure subjective well-being, especially one that is relevant in quantitative studies (Steenholdt *in press*). There are many more paths to follow to get closer to the truth about subjective well-being among Greenlanders from many aspects. Particularly, while this dissertation might unveil what it means to have a good life for some Greenlanders, it does not explain why people who struggle with social problems and personal trauma still report that they are satisfied with their lives. Do people look the other way, like, for example, Sonne argued (2004), do they not know or is there something that the social sciences do not know? We also need to know why there continues to be social problems and poor living conditions. Why do so many young people commit suicide still? Why are there reported so much domestic violence? Why does the child abuse continue in spite of the growing public debates about it? Why are there so many who never make it through high school, when the public expenses on education proportionally are among the highest in the world? (at approximately 1/5 of the total national expenditure, Bank.stat.gl 2020). These are important questions, which need to be addressed sooner rather than later. In addition, there were issues that the informants brought into the interviews unsolicited, which shed further light to where future research can be carried out. Among the topics that appeared unsolicited on several occasions, and seemed to have the greatest impact on the informants' quality of life, were for example issues related to mobility and migration as well as loneliness (Steenholdt 2019a; 2019b; Steenholdt *in press*). Also, many expressed the importance of personal freedom, for example the freedom to choose where to live, what to work with, the freedom to go hunting or maintain their preferred way of life (Steenholdt 2019a; 2019b). In light of this, the findings of this dissertation also raise relevant questions of how this particular research applies to other groups of people in the Greenlandic communities that this research study did not cover; such as children and adolescents, elderly people, people living with disabilities and the diaspora communities of Greenlandic people, mainly living in Denmark. The latter is especially interesting when taking into consideration the

findings of this dissertation. When contact with nature and close social relations are of so great importance to the subjective well-being of Greenlanders living in Greenland, how does living thousands of miles away from such relations, and in significantly different natural environments influence the subjective well-being of Greenlanders living abroad? As the above arguments infer, there is still much to learn, and the dissertation is thus but one step on the way to understand what it means to have a good life in Greenland.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Consent form

In Danish – English translation on next page

INTERVIEWKONTRAKT

Mellem

og

Ph.d.-studerende Naja Carina Steenholdt

Information til informanten

Mit navn er Naja Carina Steenholdt og jeg er forsker-studerende ved Ilisimatusarfik og Aalborg Universitet. Jeg er i gang med et projekt der handler om trivsel og livskvalitet i Grønland, og jeg ønsker at undersøge hvad den grønlandske befolkning mener et godt liv er. Jeg vil derfor gerne tale med dig, om hvad du mener et godt liv er, og hvad der skal til for at du trives i dit liv. Interviewet vil vare ca. 1 time.

Kontraktens indhold

- Spørgsmålene til interviewet er lavet på forhånd, men hvis der opstår opfølgende spørgsmål hen ad vejen, kan interviewer komme ind på disse.
- Informanten er 100 % anonym i projektets offentliggørelse, men informantens identitet vil blive forelagt ved bedømmelsen, hvis dette er krævet af bedømmelseskomiteen.
- Informanten kan under hele interviewet gå tilbage til tidligere spørgsmål, hvis det er nødvendigt.
- Hvis der opstår tvivl kan informanten altid bede om en uddybende forklaring.
- Informanten kan til enhver tid afbryde interviewet, hvis denne ikke længere ønsker at deltage.
- Interviewet vil blive transskriberet og kan muligvis blive vedhæftet afhandlingen i sin fulde form til brug for ved bedømmelsen. Hvis informanten ønsker det kan transskriberingen fjernes ved offentliggørelse af afhandlingen, såfremt den er vedhæftet.
- Informanten får mulighed for at læse transskriberingen og godkende denne.
- Hvis interviewer får brug for dette, må denne gerne kontakte informanten ved eventuelle opfølgende spørgsmål.

Såfremt informanten ønsker det, vil interviewer sende en kopi af afhandlingen når denne er indleveret.

Dato og sted:

Naja Carina Steenholdt

_____ _____

Freely translated by author:

INTERVIEW CONTRACT

Between

And

PhD student Naja Carina Steenholdt

Information for the informant

My name is Naja Carina Steenholdt and I am a research student at Ilisimatusarfik and Aalborg University. I am working on a project about well-being and quality of life in Greenland, and I want to explore what the Greenlandic population thinks a good life is. I would therefore like to talk to you about what you think a good life is and what it takes for you to thrive in your life. The interview will last approx. 1 hour.

Contents of the contract

- The questions for the interview are made in advance, but if follow-up questions arise along the way, the interviewer can get into these.
- The informant is 100% anonymous in the project publication, but the informant's identity may be informed to the assessment committee if this is required by the assessment committee.
- The informant can return to previous questions throughout the interview if necessary.
- If in doubt, the informant can always ask for a detailed explanation.
- The informant can interrupt the interview at any time if he or she no longer wishes to participate.
- The interview will be transcribed and may possibly be attached to the dissertation in its full form for use in the assessment. If the informant so wishes, the transcript can be removed by publication of the dissertation, if it is attached.
- The informant is given the opportunity to read the transcript and approve it.
- If the interviewer needs this, he or she is welcome to contact the informant with any follow-up questions.

If the informant so wishes, the interviewer will send a copy of the dissertation when it has been submitted.

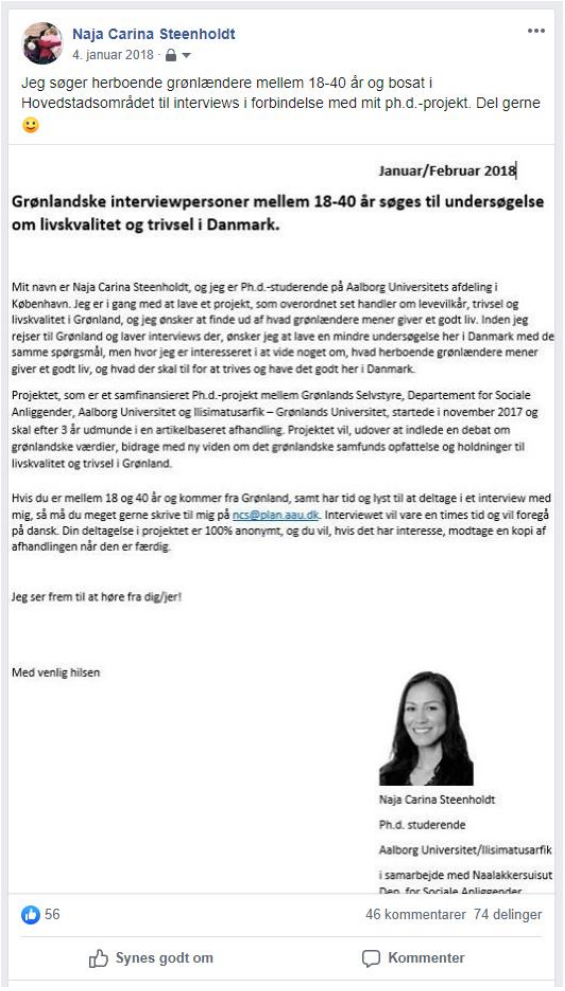
Date and place: Naja Carina Steenholdt

_____ _____

Appendix B

Searching for interviewees for pilot study

Shared on Facebook January 4, 2018



Naja Carina Steenholdt
4. januar 2018 ·

Jeg søger herboende grønlændere mellem 18-40 år og bosat i Hovedstadsområdet til interviews i forbindelse med mit ph.d.-projekt. Del gerne

Januar/Februar 2018

Grønlandske interviewpersoner mellem 18-40 år søges til undersøgelse om livskvalitet og trivsel i Danmark.

Mit navn er Naja Carina Steenholdt, og jeg er Ph.d.-studerende på Aalborg Universitets afdeling i København. Jeg er i gang med at lave et projekt, som overordnet set handler om levevilkår, trivsel og livskvalitet i Grønland, og jeg ønsker at finde ud af hvad grønlændere mener giver et godt liv. Inden jeg rejser til Grønland og laver interviews der, ønsker jeg at lave en mindre undersøgelse her i Danmark med de samme spørgsmål, men hvor jeg er interesseret i at vide noget om, hvad herboende grønlændere mener giver et godt liv, og hvad der skal til for at trives og have det godt her i Danmark.

Projektet, som er et samfinansieret Ph.d.-projekt mellem Grønlands Selvstyre, Departement for Sociale Anliggender, Aalborg Universitet og Ilisimatusarfik – Grønlands Universitet, startede i november 2017 og skal efter 3 år udmunde i en artikelbaseret afhandling. Projektet vil, udover at indlede en debat om grønlandske værdier, bidrage med ny viden om det grønlandske samfunds opfattelse og holdninger til livskvalitet og trivsel i Grønland.

Hvis du er mellem 18 og 40 år og kommer fra Grønland, samt har tid og lyst til at deltage i et interview med mig, så må du meget gerne skrive til mig på ncs@plan.aau.dk. Interviewet vil vare en times tid og vil foregå på dansk. Din deltagelse i projektet er 100% anonymt, og du vil, hvis det har interesse, modtage en kopi af afhandlingen når den er færdig.

Jeg ser frem til at høre fra dig/jer!

Med venlig hilsen

Naja Carina Steenholdt

Ph.d. studerende

Aalborg Universitet/Ilisimatusarfik

i samarbejde med Naalakkersuisut

56 46 kommentarer 74 delinger

Synes godt om Kommenter

Appendix C

First draft of interview questions (Pilot study)

English version freely translated from Danish by the author

Dear interviewee.

First, thank you for joining this interview.

Try to start by telling me a little about yourself.

1) Focusing on your own life, what is a good life for you?

2) What do you think is important for having a good life in Greenland?

3) What in your life can make you feel happy and what can make you feel sad?

4) What in your life can make you feel safe and what can make you feel unsafe?

5) What in your life can make you feel satisfied and what can make you feel dissatisfied?

6) What in your life can make you feel rich and what makes you feel poor?

7) What in your life can make you feel free and what can make you feel bound?

8) Is there anything in your life that you would change if you could?

- If so, what could it be?

9) What do you think is important for the public to help you with in your life to have a good life?

10) Which of the following statements suits you best:

a) My life is good and satisfying

b) My life is quite satisfying

c) My life is quite unsatisfactory

d) My life is bad and unsatisfactory

e) Don't know

11) What are you dreaming about?

Appendix D

Interview questions

English version translated freely from Danish by the author

Please start by briefly telling me about yourself. (Name, age, occupation, birth of place, social and familiar relations, leisure activities)

1) With yourself in mind, what do you think a good life is?
   - What would a bad life be for you?
   -
2) What does quality of life mean to you?

3) What in your life can make you feel happy?
   - What can make you feel sad?

4) What in your life can make you feel safe?
   - What can make you feel unsafe?

5) What in your life can make you feel content?
   - What can make you feel discontent?

6) What in your life can make you feel rich?
   - What can make you feel poor?

7) What in your life can make you feel free?
   - What can make you feel bound?

8) All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days? On a scale from 0 to 10, where 10 is completely satisfied and 0 is completely dissatisfied.

Now I am going to ask you about your surroundings. On a scale from 0 to 10, where 10 is very important and 0 is not important at all,

9) How important is your family to whether you feel that you have a good life?
10) How important are you social relations to whether you feel you have a good life? *
11) How important is your job/study/having something to do, to whether you feel that you have a good life?
12) How important is your local community to whether you feel that you have a good life?**
13) How important is the public welfare system to whether you feel that you have a good life?
14) How important is nature to whether you feel you that have a good life?
15) How important is spirituality to whether you feel you have a good life?*
16) Is there anything else in your surroundings that has an influence on whether you feel you have a good life?
17) What do you dream about in the future?

That was all, is there anything else, that I did not mention before, that you think is important to the subjects we have talked about?

- These questions were added after the trip to South Greenland and used for the interviews in East, North and Central Greenland.
- This question was added in the interviews in Nuuk.

Appendix E

Data management plan

To ensure integrity in the management of collected data the following will provide a description of how data has been and is handled and how personal data is protected and lastly, for how long data will be stored. The personal data collected for this project (personal data meaning details such as name, address and the like) is unspecified in the thesis and the source of data where such personal data exists is stored in a pin code-secured database, not accessible to others than the author. Sensitive data such as CPR-numbers or other personal data of the like was not collected in the project. All of the collected data will be stored for a period of 5 years from date of thesis publication on a pin code-protected database (author access only) and hereafter deleted properly.

Appendix F

Media coverage

Example of a press release sent to Greenlandic media houses July 2018 (in Danish – English translation on next page)

Pressemeddelelse

Forskerstuderende søger interviewpersoner i Østgrønland

Forskerstuderende Daniela Chimirri fra Aalborg Universitet og Naja Carina Steenholdt fra Ilisimatusarfik og Aalborg Universitet skal i perioden mellem den 11. og 18. juli på feltarbejde i Østgrønland. På deres tur skal de besøge Kulusuk, Tasiilaq og om muligt bygderne omkring. Her håber de på at finde interesserede blandt befolkningen, som ønsker at deltage i interviews i deres projekter.

Daniela Chimirri forsker i turisme og samarbejde. Med sit forskningsprojekt "Fællesskabssamarbejde som afsæt for turismeudvikling i Grønland" undersøger hun spørgsmålet om hvordan turisme i Grønland kan udvikles (med fokus på samfundsmæssig synsvinkel). Derfor skal projektet involvere så mange turismeaktører som muligt, og hun søger alle interesserede personer der arbejder i, har kendskab til eller har en mening om turisme-området.

Naja Carina Steenholdt forsker i livskvalitet og trivsel i Grønland. Med sit forskningsprojekt "Perspektiver på livskvalitet og trivsel i Grønland" undersøger hun hvilke livsværdier den grønlandske befolkning har, og hvad grønlænderne mener, giver et godt liv. Hun søger derfor alle interesserede personer mellem 18 og 65 år og som ønsker at stille op til interview.

De to forsker-studerende skal være i følgende byer:

Kulusuk 11. – 13. og igen 17.-18. juli 2019

Tasiilaq 13.-17. juli 2019

Hvilken dag de skal til bygderne er endnu ikke fastlagt, men man er velkommen herfra at skrive til dem begge.

Turen til Østgrønland er den anden feltrejse sammen for de to forskerstuderende. I foråret 2018 rejste de til Sydgrønland under samme formål. Der blev de taget godt imod af en imødekommende befolkning, og det håber de på er tilfældet igen i Østgrønland. Hvis man ønsker at vide mere eller komme i kontakt med dem, kan man sende en mail på chimirri@cgs.aau.dk eller naks@uni.gl. De kan også kontaktes på Facebook på https://www.facebook.com/DaniChimirri eller https://www.facebook.com/najacarinasteenholdt. Begge studerende opfordrer i øvrigt folk der er interesserede i at deltage eller at vide mere, til at henvende sig til dem, hvis man møder dem i de forskellige byer og bygder.

Freely translated by author:

Research students are looking for interviewees in East Greenland

Research student Daniela Chimirri from Aalborg University and Naja Carina Steenholdt from Ilisimatusarfik and Aalborg University will be in the field between 11 and 18 July in field work in East Greenland. On their trip, they should visit Kulusuk, Tasiilaq and if possible the surrounding villages. Here they hope to find interested people who want to participate in interviews in their projects.

Daniela Chimirri researches tourism and cooperation. With her research project "Community cooperation as a starting point for tourism development in Greenland", she investigates the question of how tourism in Greenland can be developed (with a focus on societal perspectives). Therefore, the project must involve as many tourism actors as possible, and she is looking for all interested people who work in, have knowledge of or have an opinion about the tourism area.

Naja Carina Steenholdt researches quality of life and well-being in Greenland. With her research project "Well-being and Quality of Life in Greenland", she investigates what life values the Greenlandic population has and what the Greenlanders believe gives a good life. She is therefore looking for all interested persons between the ages of 18 and 65 who wish to participate in an interview.

The two research students will be in the following cities: Kulusuk 11th - 13th and again 17th - 18th. July 2019 Tasiilaq 13.-17. July 2019

The days they are going to the settlements has not yet been determined, but you are welcome to contact both of them.

The trip to East Greenland is the second field trip together for the two research students. In the spring of 2018, they traveled to South Greenland for the same purpose. There they were well received by a welcoming population, and they hope this is the case again in East Greenland. If you want to know more or get in touch with them, you can send an email to chimirri@cgs.aau.dk or naks@uni.gl. They can also be contacted on Facebook at https://www.facebook.com/DaniChimirri or https://www.facebook.com/najacarinasteenholdt. Both students also encouraging people who are interested in participating or knowing more to contact them if you meet them in the various towns and villages. [End]

Searching for interviewees in South Greenland

KNR.gl

"PhD students is looking for interviewees in South Greenland"

Published April 5, 2018

Daniela Chimirri og Naja Carina Steenholdt fra Ilisimatusarfik og Aalborg Universitet

Forskerstuderende søger interviewpersoner i Sydgrønland

5. april 2018 · 09:09 af Karsten Sommer

To forskerstuderende, Daniela Chimirri og Naja Carina Steenholdt fra Ilisimatusarfik og Aalborg Universitet, skal i perioden mellem den 9. til den 19. april på feltarbejde i Sydgrønland.

Searching for interviewees in East Greenland.

KNR.gl

"Interviewees are wanted in East Greenland"

Published July 11, 2019

Interviewpersoner efterlyses i Østgrønland

To forskerstuderende søger personer, der kan indgå i et forskningsprojekt, hvor de undersøger, hvordan turismen kan udvikles ud fra en samfundsmæssig synsvinkel og pespektiver på livskvalitet og trivsel.

De to forskerstuderende Daniela Chimirri og Naja Carina Steenholdt håber borgerne i Kulusuk og Tasiilaq vil afse tid til interviews.
Privat

REDAKTIONEN | Torsdag, 11. juli 2019 - 12:02

Ilinniakkamik

Searching for interviewees in Nuuk

Sermitsiaq.ag

"Interviewees wanted for research project about quality of life"

Published December 2, 2019

Interviewpersoner søges til forskningsprojekt om livskvalitet

Naja Carina Steenholdt forsker i livskvalitet og trivsel i Grønland og søger i den forbindelse interviewpersoner i Nuuk.

Privat

REDAKTIONEN | Mandag, 02. december 2019 - 15:42

Appendix G

Correspondence with Oqaasileriffik

In Danish

fr 24-08-2018 13:23

Judithe Denbæk <uiguut@gmail.com>

Re: Oversættelse af begrebet og ordet "livskvalitet"

Til Naja Carina Steenholdt

Cc Oqaasileriffik

Du svarede på denne meddelelse den 24-08-2018 13:26.

image001.png
6 KB

Kære Naja Carina Steenholdt

Tak for din henvendelse. I bogen Sundhedvæsensterminologi udgivet af Oqaasileriffik i 2005 er ordet "livskvalitet" oversat til "inuunerup pitsaassusia". Efter drøftelse med mine kolleger, mener vi dog at det i den sammenhæng, som du bruger det i dit interview, ville være mere passende og nemmere at forstå for en sprogbruger, hvis den er formuleret således: "Pitsaasumik inuuneqarneq ilinnut qanoq ittuua?"
Held og lykke med dit projekt.

Med Venlig Hilsen
Judithe Denbæk

Freely translated by author:

Dear Naja Carina Steenholdt

Thank you for your inquiry. In the book Healthcare Terminology published by Oqaasileriffik in 2005, the word "quality of life" is translated as "inuunerup pitsaassusia". After discussions with my colleagues, however, we believe that in the context in which you use it in your interviews, it would be more appropriate and easier for a language user to understand if it is worded as follows: "Pitsaasumik inuuneqarneq ilinnut qanoq ittuua?"

Good luck with your project.

With best regards

Judithe Denbæk

Appendix H

Public opinion street poll

By inquiry of the author, the newspaper Atuagagdliutit (AG) went to the streets in Nuuk to randomly ask people their perceptions of what constitutes a good life. Published on October 4, 2017

PEQQISSUUNEQ PILLUGU SAMMISAQ

PINGASUNGORNEQ OKTOBERIP 4-AT 2017 31

Inuuneq pitsaasoq

(JA) Inuuneq pitsaasoq suunersoq amerlaqisunik akissutissaqarpoq. Taamaattumik AG Nuummi aqqusinermi angalaarpoq inuunitsialammik tunissartup suuneranik paasinnaalluni.

Et godt liv

(JA) Der er mange svar på, hvad et godt liv er. Derfor gik AG på gaden i Nuuk, for at høre, hvad der giver et godt liv.

Kira Emilie Laue

Inutsialannik uannik paasinnittunik uangalu inissisimaffigisannik takunnissinnaasunik naapitsineq uanut pingaarutaqarsimavoq. Taamaattumik tunarsuup, inimasut inuilu oqaaseqarsinnaangitsut paarinissaat uannut pingaarutaqarpoq. Asanninnermik annertunik pigisaqarpunga, taannalu uanga ilaquttamalu nuannaarnissaannut ilapittunitaasorujussuusoq isumaqarpunga.

For mig er det meget vigtigt, at møde nogle dejlige mennesker, der forstår mig og som kan sætte sig ind i de situationer, som jeg står i. Så er det rigtigt vigtigt for mig at passe på jorden, dyrene og menneskene, som ikke har en stemme. Jeg har også en stor kærlighed, som jeg synes bidrager rigtige meget til min og min families glæde.

Hans-Peter Ananiassen

Pitsaasumik inuunequssaguma inissiamik pitsaasumik najugassarisariaqarpunga. Suliffittaarnikuuvunga taassumalu saniatigut aliikkutaralugu avisi Hus Forfi tunniartarpara. Taamaallilunga immikkut akissarsisutigilaartarakku. Inissiami najugaqalerahaaruma pitsaasumik inuunequlissagahaarpunga.

Hvis jeg skal have et godt liv, vil det betyde, at jeg skal skaffe mig en god lejlighed. Jeg har fået et job og ved siden af, bygger jeg mig med salg af Hus Forbi-avisen. På den måde tjener jeg lidt ekstra. Så hvis jeg fik en lejlighed, ville jeg have et godt liv.

Lone Augustinussen

Kiffaanngissuseqarluni inuunissaq uannut pingaarutilerujussuuvoq. Kiffaanngissuseqarluni inuuneq asanninnermik annersuumik tunisinarpoq.

Det er vigtigt for mig, at man lever i frihed. Der er mere kærlighed, når man har frihed.

Tupaarnaq Efraimsen Isaksen

Inuminut tatigineq uannut pingaarutilerujussuuvoq. Taamaalillungami sapiissuseqarlunga siunissaminut ingerlaqqissinnaagama. Tamatuma saniatigut inooqatit pitsaasumik pinissaat pingaarutaqartoq isumaqarpunga.

Selvtillid betyder meget for mig. På den måde, kan jeg gå fremtiden i møde med oprejst pande. Derudover synes jeg, det er vigtigt, at behandle andre godt.

Christian Egede

Inuminut paarinissaq. Tamanna nerisassatigut pisinnaavoq, aamma angerlarsimaffimmi eqqiluisaarnikkut pisinnaalluni. Uanga isiginnittaatsinni taakku ataatsimoortinneqartariaqarput. Eqqiluisaarnikkut nappaatit pinaveersimatinneqarsinnaapput. Aappaqaraanni oqaloqatigiittarneq pitsaasumik inuunequarnissamut aamma tamngavilinilluassaaq. Aamma isumaqarpunga «mamartunik» taaneqartartut, soorlu chipsit mamakujuilu killilersimaarneqartariaqartut.

At passe på sig selv. Det kan være gennem mad, det kan være at holde hjemmet rent. I min optik er det en sammenfletning af de to ting. Renlighed for at holde sygdomme væk. Hvis man har en kæreste, så er snak mellem hinanden også et godt fundament for et godt liv. Jeg synes, man skal begrænse indtaget af det såkaldte «dårkerier», som chips og slik.

Mie Heilmann

Qasuersimalluni ullaakkut piareersimanissaq. Suliartortussaatillunga similluarsimanissara uannut pingaarutaqaaq. Taamaaningippanni ullora pitsaanngitsut misigisimasarakku. Uippakajaarpallaartarama suliassamullu ilungersunartunut takkussuuttunut piareersimanngitsutut misigisarlunga. Taava aamma anaanaallungalu aappaavunga. Meeqqanniit aappannillu pisariaqartinneqaraangama tamatigut maluginiaaqarpara. Aammami suleqatinnit.

At være veludhvilet og være klar til morgendagen. Det er meget vigtigt for mig, at sove ordentligt, når jeg skal på arbejde. Ellers så føler jeg at dagen går skævt. Jeg stresser for meget og føler mig ikke klar til udfordringerne, der kommer. Og så er jeg mor og kæreste. Jeg kan altid mærke, at der er brug for mig, både fra mine børn og fra min kæreste. Men også fra kolleger.

Justine Efraimsen

Pitsaasumik inuunequarniarlunga pisattuartarnera ullallu ingerlanerani imermik imerluartarnissara pingaartittarpakka. Uigalu pisuussutinik pinngortitameersinik atuisorujussuuvugut. Peqqissumik timeqarnissara pisariaqartippara. Taamaattumik neqinik pisiniarlinni pisivallaarneq ajorpugut. Kalaalimiinermik nerinersaarpugut. Nerusunut, puuhukit assigisaallu neringisaannaangajappavut.

For at have et godt liv, prioriterer jeg mine gåture og drikker godt med vand gennem hele dagen. Min mand og jeg bruger også meget naturens egne ressourcer. Jeg har brug for en sund krop. Derfor køber vi heller ikke så meget kød i butikkerne. Vi spiser mest grønlandsk proviant. Vi spiser næsten aldrig okse, gris og den slags.

Mette Andersen

Pitsaasumik aapparalu inooqatigiinnissarput peqqissunnissaralu. Pitsaasumik aapparilluarneq tarnikkut peqqissuunissamut qulakkeerinneqataasarpoq timikkullu peqqissunera attattuaannarusullugu nerisakka nakkutigisarpakka timersortarfunngalu.

At jeg har et godt parforhold og at jeg er sund. Et godt parforhold er med til at sikre mental sundhed og den fysiske sundhed opretholder jeg med kost og motion.

Appendix I

Geographical index

Following index is categorized in chronological order for each visit.

Kommune Kujalleq

There were 6.439 inhabitants in Kommune Kujalleq on January 1, 2020 (Bank.stat.gl 2020).

Nanortalik (Greenlandic meaning: "The place with polar bears")**.** Nanortalik is the southernmost town of Greenland. On January 1, 2020 it had 1.185 inhabitants. There is a couple of supermarkets and kiosks, a few cafés and restaurants, a museum, a church, a gift shop, a school, day care facilities, an employment office and a municipal office.

Narsarsuaq (Greenlandic meaning: "The great plain")**.** Narsarsuaq is a former American base located on the South West coast. Today it is a settlement with 123 inhabitants (on January 1, 2020) and the main source of labor is the airport that carries the only transatlantic routes in Southern Greenland. There is a supermarket, a café, a restaurant, a school, daycare facilities and a few bed and breakfast places.

Qassiarsuk (The name is the Greenlandic word for Brattahlið, which was the name **of** Eric the Reds' farm, which was said to be in the same area**).** Qassiarsuk is a small settlement located on the other side of the bay from Narsarsuaq in South Greenland with 34 inhabitants (January 1, 2020). There is a school for the youngest children. Older children must go to nearby settlements or towns to go to school. Most of the inhabitants work as sheep farmers.

Qaqortoq (Greenlandic meaning: "White"). With its 3.050 inhabitants, Qaqortoq is the largest town in the municipality of Kujalleq. It is an educational center of the region offering different types of education programs beyond primary school. It has many of the facilities as in other bigger towns such as municipal offices, private enterprises, schools, daycare facilities, hotels and restaurants as well as tourist facilities such as gift shops and tourism offices.

Kommuneqarfik Sermersooq East

There were 3.188 inhabitants in East Greenland (including Ittoqqortoormiit) in January 1, 2020 (Bank.stat.gl 2020).

Kulusuk (name derives from the Greenlandic word Qulusuk, which means 'the back of a bird'. Because the Danes were unable to pronounce the original name, it was renamed to Kulusuk)**.** Kulusuk is an island on the East coast of Greenland with approximately 241 inhabitants. Kulusuk holds the only airport in the Southeast Greenlandic area. There is a supermarket, a hotel, a gift shop, a museum, a school, a church, a municipal office and a service station where people can take baths and wash clothes.

Tasiilaq (Greenlandic meaning: The lake-like bay)**.** Tasiilaq is one of the two only towns in East Greenland and on January 1, 2020 it had 1.985 inhabitants. It has many of the facilities as in other bigger towns such as municipal offices, private enterprises, schools, daycare facilities, hotels and restaurants as well as tourist facilities such as gift shops and tourism offices.

Sermiligaaq (Greenlandic meaning: The beautiful glacier fiord)**.** Sermiligaaq is a settlement on the East coast with 209 inhabitants on January 1, 2020 (Bank.stat.gl 2020). Access to the settlement is via boat from the nearby places Tasiilaq or Kulusuk. There is a supermarket, a school, a church and a municipal office. As in many other settlements without a full sewerage system, there is a service house where the people can take showers and wash their clothes. The houses in the settlement are situated around the center where the church is situated. Most people are occupied with fishing and hunting, and the settlement is said to be the one with most children among the East Greenlandic settlements.

Kuummiut (Greenlandic meaning: The people of the river)**.** Kuummiut is the third largest settlement in Greenland overall and the biggest settlement in East Greenland. There are approximately 400 inhabitants in the settlement. The settlement has a fish factory, which is the main explanation to the size of the settlement. The settlement has a school, a church, a supermarket, a service house to take baths and wash clothes and a municipal office. As in Sermiligaaq there are no roads, therefore there are no cars in the settlement. Access to the settlement is possible by boat during summer and by dog sled or snowmobile during winter.

Qeqqata Kommunia

On January 1, 2020, there were 9.378 inhabitants in Qeqqata Kommunia (Bank.stat.gl 2020).

Kangerlussuaq (Greenlandic meaning: The great fiord). Kangerlussuaq is a settlement located on the Middle West coast of Greenland. As Narsarsuaq it is a former American base and today it operates as an airport settlement that connects across the Atlantic all year round. On January 1, 2020, it had 508 inhabitants. In the settlement, there are more tourist gift shops than supermarkets, and most of the inhabitants work in the airport or in the gift shops. Most settlements does not have

police stations, but because of its status as an international airport settlement, there is a police station in Kangerlussuaq.

Kommune Qeqertalik

On January 1, 2020, there were 6.340 inhabitants in the municipality (Bank.stat.gl 2020). The municipality was formed in 2018, when the then Qaasuitsup Kommunia was divided in two, Qeqertalik and Avannaata Kommunia.

Aasiaat (Greenlandic meaning: Spiders). Aasiaat is a town located on the Middle West coast. With its 3.069 inhabitants (January 1, 2020) it is the fifth largest town in Greenland and the main town in the municipality (Bank.stat.gl 2020). The town is also an educational center for the region, with a high school and other educational programs.

Avannaata Kommunia

In 2019, there were 10.726 inhabitants in the most northern municipality (Bank.stat.gl 2020). The municipality was formed in 2018, after the then Qaasuitsup Kommunia was divided in two, Qeqertalik and Avannaata Kommunia. Three months of the year there is no sunlight in the region and for another three months of the year, the sun does not set.

Ilulissat (Greenlandic meaning: "Icebergs"). Ilulissat is a town on the Middle West coast of Greenland. On January 1, 2020 it had 4.670 inhabitants and almost as many sled dogs. Ilulissat is one of the towns that attracts most tourists due to its location near the glacier, Sermeq Kujalleq. The Ilulissat Icefiord is listed as a UNESCO World Heritage Site.

Uummannaq (Greenlandic meaning: Heart shaped mountain). Uummannaq is the second largest town on the North West coast of Greenland. On January 1, 2020 it had 1.407 inhabitants. Most of the inhabitants work with fishing, hunting, and tourism or in public service. Uummannaq is surrounded by 7 settlements. There is a supermarket, a couple of kiosks and cafés.

Kommuneqarfik Sermersooq West

On January 1, 2020 there were 19.935 inhabitants in the Western part of Kommuneqarfik Sermersooq (Bank.stat.gl 2020).

Nuuk (Greenlandic meaning: Headland/Cape). The capital town of Greenland, Nuuk, is located below the Middle West coast and had 18.326 inhabitants on January 1, 2020 (Bank.stat.gl 2020). Nuuk is a modern town with many of the same facilities (e.g. there is a cinema, cafes, public indoor swimming pool and shopping center) as in a smaller European town. The town has two suburban areas, Nuussuaq and Qinngorput, and a third suburban area is under current development, called Siorarsiorfik.

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