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The postcolonial relationship between Danes and Greenlanders in contemporary Greenland

A phenomenological study of identity forming in a post-colonial context

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Abstract

This study has a phenomenological approach and examines perceptions of a post-colonial situation held by subjects in Greenland This research has the dialogical self theory as its theoretical framing and applies an intersectionality perspective that operates with the categories ethnicity, diaspora and class. The work is based on self rapports of 15 Danish, 22 Greenlandic and 1 Faroese subjects within different positions in society who reside on the Greenlandic west coast. All interviews have been through a surface analysis in Sphinx Lexica, and nine of them have been selected for deep analysis in Meaning Constitution Analysis (MCA) - Minerva, developed by R. Sages. It was found that two different discourses exist concerning the relationship between Danes and Greenlanders; one dominant discourse where the colonial relation still exists and the two ethnic identities are constructed as each other's negations and another competing discourse where the power relation is under reconstruction by using strategies such as emphasizing the Greenlandic cultural values or bridging the dichotomy of Danes and Greenlanders. The usages of strategies for the reconstruction process relates to ethnicity and diaspora positions. It was also found that learning the other culture's language was central in the redistribution of power as well as for the integration of imported Danish manpower in the Greenlandic culture to avoid groupings of us and them.

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Introduction

We are a small community and what we have achieved today is very important to us. Starting today, we are recognized as a people - we are accepted on an equal footing with other nations. Many societies have achieved self-determination through great sacrifices, but we have achieved self-rule through discussion, mutual understanding and mutual respect (Kleist, 2009, The author's translation).

Kuupik Kleist's, head of government in Greenland, quote from a speech given at the introduction day of Greenland's self-rule the 21st of June 2009.

The speech contains some of the discourses that have been central in the political and cultural debate up to the election, with themes such as being accepted as an ethnic group and the characteristics of the relation between Danes and Greenlanders. Greenland was linked to Denmark during the colonial period 1721-1953, and since the Home Rule was established in 1979 there has been an expressed desire for a higher degree of empowerment. The self-rule is an important step in this emancipation process, and Greenland is now formally independent, albeit simultaneously remaining economically and culturally dependent on Denmark.

Aviâja Egede Lynge (2006) post-colonial researcher at Ilisimatusarfik, the University of Nuuk, argues that the Greenlanders need for being accepted as an ethnic group is a consequence of not being through a process of decolonization. Instead, Greenland went from being a colony of Denmark to becoming a county within the Danish Kingdom. Ever since the colonization, the Greenlanders and the Danes have been the two consistent ethnic groups, characterized by the Danes as the dominant group and the Greenlanders as the colonized group. Egede Lynge claims that the power relation in the post-colonial relationship still exists and that Greenlanders feel as if they were of lower value than the Danes. Even though the majority within the self-rule is of Greenlandic origin, the leading positions within the society are still occupied by Danes, who thereby have a strong influence on the decision-making processes. Egede Lynge argues that Greenlanders lack of self-determination and the lack of acceptance as an ethnic group has caused a new sense of nationalism, with a strong need to emphasize their ethnic distinctiveness and to strengthen the self-

confidence. Further, she implies that Greenlanders have to come to terms with colonialism. This has however not been achieved through trying to live up to Danish financial and material norms and "becoming just as good as the Danes", but instead by mental decolonization where an understanding of the affect that the colonial history has had on the self is established by linking between past occurrence and the feelings experienced today. Further, Egede Lynge (2008) claims that it is obvious that the younger Danish generation that has come to work in Greenland lacks knowledge about the consequences that the colonial epoch has had on identity, and that this arise misunderstandings between Greenlandic and Danish groups.

Egede Lynge (2006) also acknowledged that it is striking that no research has been carried out exploring the colonial influence on identity. In the view of that I found it highly significant to examine the identity forming of Danish and Greenlandic subjects living in Greenland. The specific purpose of study is present in the following.

Aim and the purpose of the study

The aim of this study is to explore the perception of the colonial relationship held by Danish, Greenlandic and Faroese subjects within the post-colonial context of Greenland. A phenomenological scientific approach is applied, focusing on identity forming of lived and imagined experience, where the individuals make sense and meaning out of the colonial history as well as the contemporary situation and possible imagined futures. In the study, different narratives from diverse positions within the Greenlandic society will be represented concerning the major variables; ethnicity, class and diaspora.

The research has an emergent design, which means that the theoretical and methodological framing are developing with time and are finally settled first when the researcher has found foundations that are considered to be best suited to explore Danish and Greenlandic subjects' horizons of comprehension concerning the colonial relationship.

My aspiration of this study is to make the participants reflect about the effect that the colonization has had (or not had) on their lived life, their identity and the view of the other, as well as the experienced emotional reaction in the meeting and its connection to the past. Hopefully the participation will open up for new horizons of comprehension, simultaneously as the reading of the thesis can give new perspectives

of other's experiences and perceptions of their lived life, their present and future as well as their place in the world. All together, this study can be seen as a case study, where the power relations within the context simultaneously inform us about similar colonial or half-colonial situations in other parts of the world.

Contention for the perspectives present in the introduction part

When conducting research on the subject of a post-colonial relation it is of major significance to reflect about the power relation in the context of study, as well as the researcher's position in relation to the research field, though knowledge always is operated by power. This study does not have a post-colonial theoretical framing, but it is eminent to present the post-colonial research field, so that examined data can be understood in the social power of colonialism. My purpose of not using post-colonial theory is to avoid not merely confirming the post-colonial paradigm, but also to be open to see patterns and draw conclusions that are not described within the post-colonialism field. Hence when doing cultural psychological research it is of major importance to incorporate other scientific disciplines to establish a complete understanding of the subjects of interest. Cultural psychology research attempt to discover psychological universals in social, cultural and ecological context, and represents an approach in which meaning, values and beliefs in content, as well as the social, cultural and ecological in context, are explicitly incorporated into the research design (Kim, Yang & Hwang, 2006). Accordingly, in the present thesis, I will first present the postcolonial field followed by an overview of Denmark's colonization of Greenland and the effect it had on political, social and economical condition in the context.

The postcolonial field

In the 1930s, colonies and ex-colonies covered over 84.6 per cent of the land surface of the globe, which illustrate the size of the colonialism's extent during the last four centuries. This fact also implies that colonialism cannot be a homogeneous practice, and therefore it is highly significant to examine local conditions of colonialism (Loomba, 2005). But even though it is difficult to theorize colonialism,

there are some general patterns that can be found in the relation between a colonial power and a colonized people (Fanon, 1997).

Throughout human history, people have moved to new territories. Loomba (2005) differ between earlier colonialism and newer European colonialism, where the previous was pre-capital and the latter was established alongside capitalism in Western Europe. Further, she also distinguishes colonialism from imperialism, where colonialism is defined as the takeover of labor and interference with political and cultural structures of another territory or nation, and imperialism is defined as a global system. Colonialism led to a flow of human and natural resources between colonized and colonial countries. People from colonized countries were moved as slaves, domestic servants, travelers, and the colonial masters took roles as administrators, soldiers, merchants, settlers, travelers, writers, domestic staff, missionaries, teachers and scientists. According to Loomba (2005), that meeting locked the original inhabitants and newcomers into the most complex and traumatic relationship in human history. Eriksson, Baaz & Thörn (2005) state that today's global society is deeply marked by the colonial era, economically as well as culturally. Consequently, in post-colonial theory there is an ongoing discussion about the prefix 'post', though the post-colonial epoch still is characterized by the difference between post-colonized people and post-colonial powers. Stuart Hall (1996) asks "When was 'the Post-Colonial'?" and concludes that the term post-colonial cannot be seen as an indication of an age when decolonization means a complete break with colonialism. Hall argues that colonialism is deeply enrolled in the national state of a colonial power as well as a colonized people. Further, he also states that no society today can be defined as impartial, seeing as colonialism does not just concern former colonized countries and colonial powers, but also countries that did not formally participate in colonialism. Eriksson et al. (2005) argue that the way of defining the own national identity and the viewing of other cultures must be understood in the context of a global process. Loomba (2005) also remarks that people within a culture can have different experiences of colonial exploitation depending on one's position within the post-colonial society. In relation to class, the upper class might not experience oppression, concurrently as there is nothing post about colonialism for those at the bottom end of the class hierarchy. Further, Shohat (1993, referenced in Loomba, 2005) states that hybridity also can create different positions within a post-colonial state, where various mixed people experience post-colonialism differently. Furthermore, the traveling that

comes with globalization generates diasporic identities, where people have various experiences of post-colonialism dependent of their diasporic narrative (Eriksson et al., 2005).

Post-colonial theory can be described as an analysis of the power structures that were developed within colonized countries, and how they operate locally and globally, at an economical, political and cultural level (Eriksson et al., 2005). Eriksson et al. (2005) argue that the post-colonial research field is strongly influenced by post-structuralism. Post-structuralism emphasizes languages' impact on identity, institutions and policies, and shows how languages are practiced in the social practices whereby the world is produced and reproduced. Jacques Derrida argues that language must be understood as a system, which is given meaning through the implicit and explicit relationships of differences and contrasts. Language is built up around binary oppositions that are not symmetrical, i.e. where one dominates over the other, which is seen as subordinated to the dominant binary. This can be seen in the dichotomy of man/woman, white/black, civilized/primitive, where the first words in dichotomy pair historically have been higher valued. Binary oppositions contribute to the creation and maintenance of social hierarchies. Derrida does not mean that we can eliminate the binary structuring, but that we instead can become more aware of linguistic power relations (Eriksson et al., 2005). According to Eriksson et al. (2005), post-structuralism lacks absolute utopias of a complete abolition of power or of structures, and as an alternative they define the use of post-colonial research as:

> /.../ by analyzing how meaning is created through linguistic structures, one can seek to destabilize the binary opposition of structures and by that help to open up opportunities to correct the social relations of power that these includes (Eriksson et al., 2005, p. 18, the author's translation).

Knowledge is not innocent but profoundly connected to the operations of power. Consequently, a central term in post-colonialism is discourse analysis, which can be described as a description of the social and historical structure of representations that refers to the same object. By discourse analysis it is possible to critically examine the relation between power and knowledge, and this is hence a valuable tool to undermine the European truth of claim (Eriksson et al., 2005).

Edward Said, who is strongly influenced by Foucault's discourse analysis, wrote the groundbreaking book *The Orient* about how the other is constructed in

European texts about the Orient. The book shows how the other is constructed as a discursive other in order to strengthen the West's self-image as the superior civilization. East was seen as sensuality, irrationality, backwardness, despotism and femininity, while the West was seen in terms of rationality, progressiveness, democracy, rationality and masculinity. Like Said, several other post-colonial theorists underline the importance of boundaries between colonized and colonizer to legitimize colonialism. Western people connected indigenous people with barbarity and cultural people with civilization, and indigenous people were said to be lagging behind the cultural people at a linear evolutionary line (Eriksson et al., 2005). The children-adult metaphor is often used to characterize how the children (the colonized) need to be brought to line with the rest of the country (Loomba, 2005).

Frantz Fanon, who is often described as the father of post-colonialism, has by means of the psychoanalysis examined how the dialectic between colonizers and colonized, acts in psychological terms, as well as impacting the construction of identity (Eriksson et al., 2005). Eriksson et al. (2005) write that Fanon and Bhabha use the Lacanian model of identity formation, in which they argue that identity is created through imaginary identifications. In a simplified way, this means that our identities partly lie outside ourselves. Our identities are so interlinked with a series of relationships of identification with others, which can be other individuals or collective quantities such as culture, nationality or sex. This means that our identity is not fixed, but instead constantly under negotiation with significant others. Further, the colonizers and the colonized identities are defined by each other and reproduced, modified and changed in relation to the other. This means that the civilized, enlightened, rational European cannot be imagined without the primitive, unenlightened, irrational other (Eriksson et al., 2005). From a psychological perspective, this phenomenon can be understood through the concept of ambivalence, i.e. to feel contradictory emotions towards the same object. The difficulty of dealing with ambivalence causes suppression of unwanted feelings, such as taboos around sexual and aggressive nature. Consequently, in the asymmetric colonial relations, the colonizers tend to project the unwanted emotions onto the other, and when the colonized encounter their colonizer, the colonized internalize the colonizers image of him her. The colonized does not get the positive acknowledgement that is necessary to develop a positive self-image. As a result, the colonized can be said to live in symbiosis with his/her enemy (Eriksson et al., 2005). For the non-European subject,

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the white represents everything that is desirable, all that the self can desire. The desire is inscribed in a power structure, which gives white a master position in the non-European consciousness (Loomba, 2005). Fanon (1997) believes that all colonial areas, where the local culture has been destroyed and buried, will result in a mental inferiority within the population. Bhabha (1997) writes in the article *Foreword: Remembering Fanon, Self, Psyche and the Colonial Condition* that "It is not the colonial Self or the colonized Other, but the annoying distance between them, that represents the colonial other's character" (p. 123, The author's translation). Fanon (1997) has questioned the often accepted assumption that it was the indigenous encounter with modernity that has caused devastating consequences for colonized people. Instead, he argues that it was the meeting with the colonial oppression that damaged the colonized psych, to the extent that he or she lost himself or herself. Fanon states that the colonized must protect the self by "channeling [the aggression] outwards instead of inwards, against the real enemy instead of oneself (Fanon, 1997, p. 22, the author's translation). Fanon demonstrates two strategies that the colonized can use to handle the oppression. The colonized can either ask the colonial power to care about skin color, and thus asserts his/her own specific nature, or contrary the colonized can ask the colonial power not to care about skin color, and thus appear as white (Fanon, 1997). The strategies both have their limitations, since the distance and the dialect between the groups still exist. Fanon thereby came to suggest a third strategy; by reducing the distance between the groups, they separately can include both the desirable and undesirable characteristics in the self as well as in their group (Eriksson et al., 2005). Fanon writes, "Let us try to create the total man that Europe has not been able to create" (Fanon, 1961, referenced in Azar, 1997, p. 15, The author's translation). That is related to Bhabha's term the third room (quoted in Eriksson et al., 2005) "where the meaning changes to be neither the one nor the other" (p. 46, The author's translation). Furthermore, Brah (2004) has investigated how the concepts of similarity and difference are used in various disciplines, and she implies that from a psychological perspective similarity is impossible, thus we become humans from a sense of unique otherness. Brah believes that we must develop concepts of similarity and difference in interpersonal relationships, so that they do not contradict one another.

The colonial relationship was originally documented by Danish anthropologists from a Danish perspective (Manniche, 2003). The anthropological research field was in the 1960s accused of ignoring the effect of colonialism among colonized people. Ethnographies were said to be primary reflections of the preconceptions of ethnographers, based on their own disciplinary and Western cultural expectations (Aull Davies, 2005). In Greenland, it is first in the mid-1800s that Greenlandic material can be found, which describes the Greenlandic notions of the colonization of Greenland (Manniche, 2003). And first in the 1990s, the Danish historian Niels Brimnes argued that Danish colonial history had not followed time. Brimnes suggested that one from a discourse analytical perspective should analyze both the historical construction of the other, and the dominance strategies applied by the colonial powers to the foreign community (referenced in Manniche, 2003). The Danish history research of Greenland has been profoundly influenced by Finn Gad's *Grønland historia I-III* [Greenland history I-III], which is exclusively based on Danish sources (Saiding, 2007). Saiding (2007) shows in an examination of Gad's Grønlands historia, how Edwards Said's dialectic of the Orient is also applicable in Gad's books, where the Greenlander can be known by a colonial discourse, characterized by a dichotomous power conditioned definition of "otherness". Thereby the discourse about the nature of Greenland was really a projection by the Danes of its own preconceptions and imaginings. Saiding (2007) asserts that the Greenlanders have learned about their colonial history through the Danish discourse, and to this day, Danish history books are the primary teaching material in the compulsory school (Egede Lynge, 2008).

Different definitions of the term colonialism can mirror the difference of perspective between people of a colonial power and the colonized people. The terms colonialism and imperialism are frequently used interchangeably and are often defined from a Eurocentric perspective. In a Danish dictionary the term 'colony' is defined as:

> *A larger land area that a state has acquired outside its original territory, often on another continent, and which is in political and economic relationship with that state (Den danske ordbog, n.d., the author's translation).*

As Loomba (2005) shows, the definition given by the colonial power often avoids reference to people who might have lived in the land areas before the colonies were established. Furthermore, there is no mentioning of an encounter between people or that the acquiring of land might have been unfair. The Greenlandic dictionaries' definition of colony is similar to the definition given in Danish and English dictionaries, which means that the Greenlandic word for colony is impressed by the Danish and English discourses and thereby explains the word from a European perspective. In order to acquire a definition from the colonized perspective I will follow Roberts Petersen, a Greenlandic anthropologist, who uses Sukarno of Indonesia´s definition:

> *A situation in which a people was governed by other people politically, economically, intellectually and physically (Gould & Kolb, 1964, referenced in Petersen, 1995, p. 2.)*

This definition is, in contrast, more open to considerations regarding the effect that the governing might have had on the colonized people. These two contrary perspectives can however be said to show two sides of the same coin. Loomba (2005) has emphasized that the imperial epoch makes it impossible to talk about one history and suggests that we instead should talk about multiple histories. As a consequence of this, there is not an uncomplicated assignment to construct a historical narrative in a post-colonial context. There will be different perspectives dependent on different subjects' positions in the Danish and Greenlandic societies.

The historical section below is built upon leading Greenlandic and Danish researchers' descriptions, whose material emanates from Danish sources, but the researchers have added a post-colonial perspective on the colonization's impact on the Greenlandic and Danish subjects.

The Greenlandic-Danish colonial period took place between 1721 and 1953, and was, like other acts of colonization, motivated by economical interests, striving for higher international status and an ambition to spread Christianity (Manniche, 2003). In the beginning of the colonization period, the term "colony" was defined as a trade station with an extension of 70-80 miles on each side. The Greenlandic word niuertogarfik, which means 'trade centre,' named these colonized areas, while Greenland as a whole, in relation to Denmark, was called nunasiaq, the same word as used for other colonized areas in the world. The colonization of Greenland is, in

comparison to other acts of colonization, often described as humane. There was no real history of oppression by force, as known in other places (Thisted, 2005; Petersen, 1995; Egede Lynge 2008).

Petersen (1995) means that it was due to the fact that the Greenlandic community had no previous organization above household level; there was lack of private ownership of land and common resources, and there was thereby nobody who might be interested in defending his/her power. During the colonization period, Greenland was isolated from the surrounding world to protect the Danish interests, and a regulation assured that Greenlanders who did not obey the colonial power were punished (Egede Lynge, 2008). Egede Lynge (2008) claims that during this period of time, a national identity evolved that was based upon the "good Greenlander" and the "bad Greenlander", where the good maintained Greenlandic traditions, and the bad was affected by the European culture. This cultural norm was later changed to the opposite, and became a Danish assimilation strategy.

Denmark's other colonies were founded in 1849, but the official status of Greenland as a colony remained until 1953 (Petersen, 1995). After a growing wish from the Greenlandic side to get equal rights with Denmark, Greenland's status as colony was changed and Greenland became a county within Denmark. After the constitution, great effort was put into developing a modern society, to become an equal state with Denmark. The development period was planned in Denmark, the so-called "Danization" period, and occurred from Danish cultural and political norms (Egede Lynge, 2008). The modernization of Greenland brought some improvement to a number of areas. There was a campaign to reduce tuberculosis (the leading cause of death in Greenland at that time), the school system was separated from the church and there was a modernization of many dwellings etc (Petersen, 1995). Petersen (1995) argues that these modernization processes made Greenland more dependent on Denmark. Danish manpower was imported to realize the modernization and by that, Greenland was more than ever governed, politically, economically, intellectually and physically, of another people. The workers were said to have come to "help the Greenlanders" and in 1964 the "birth-place-criterion" was legalized and implied a higher salary for Danes in Greenland (Greenlanders got 85% of the Danish basic salary). This was a type of compensation for not being able to take part in the Danish culture. Petersen claims that this kind of discrimination is what one might call a true racial discrimination; as a privileged numerical racial minority avoided sharing their

benefits with the majority. The birth-place-criterion still existed in some places up until 1991. Besides getting a higher salary, the Danes also got the leading positions in society, and lived in the best dwelling with water and heat supply (Rosing Olsen, 2005). Rosing Olsen (2005) argues that the two languages, the educational gap, the cultures and the social differences formed a wall between Danes and Greenlanders. Furthermore, Petersen (1995) claims that the mental colonization resulted in many of the intellectual Greenlandic elite internalizing the colonial power ideology, and thereby worked as the long arm of the colonial power. This can be seen as an example of the Danish assimilation strategy that Egede Lynge refers to. Moreover, Egede Lynge (2008) argues that the Greenlandic people were never assimilated into the Danish identity, and that the dichotomy between Danes and Greenlanders continues to exist.

The different conditions of the Greenlanders and Danes during the 1970s led to the Greenlandization period. The ethnic awareness was growing and the equal worth and greater self-determination were key factors in the period leading up to the introduction of Greenland's home-rule in 1979. The new rule implied more power to Greenland within the Danish kingdom, but Greenland continued to be economically dependent on Denmark (Lynge, 2008). It was now given a core support, so that the Greenlandic bodies could make their own budgets and have partial economic autonomy. Even though the home-rule can be seen as the official end of the colonization period, Petersen claims that a colonial way of thinking continued to be practiced (Petersen, 1995).

Egede Lynge (2008) argues that in the assimilation to Denmark, Greenland did not undergo a mental decolonization. Greenlanders never fully dealt with the colonial era and authorities, and they never got the acceptance and acknowledgement, which is necessary to achieve a truly equal relationship with Denmark. Petersen says:

> *There is no doubt that they [the Greenlanders] adopted an identity that was strongly influenced by the colonial period. An identity which they saw themselves as inferior to the Danes… if an idea is being internalized by the colonized themselves, that will create a people who have lost faith in their own ability. It will create a people who are grateful for being colonized (1995, p. 122).*

In the early 2000s, the Danish-Greenlandic Commission has worked on expanding the home-rule's self-determination, and the themes that have been important during this national process are identity, decolonization and the equivalence with Denmark. On 25 November 2008, there was an election for "self-rule", which a large majority voted in favor of (Nanoq, 2009). After the election for self-rule, a parliamentary election was held on the 2nd of June 2009, which resulted in a change of government. After 30 years in power, the party Siumut lost to the party Inuit Ataqatigiit (IA) (Krogh Andersen, 2010). The self-rule came into effect on the National Day the 21 July 2009 (Nanoq, 2009).

Scientific approach

In this section the reader will get an introduction to the philosophy of phenomenology. I will introduce concepts that are central to follow the steps in analysis but also to deepen the understanding and the evaluation of the result.

Phenomenology

Phenomenology is a search for meaning and the origin of meaning is situated in the life-world. The life-world can be described as the world that a human is born into, where everything is pre-given and taken for granted. In phenomenology there is an ontological realistic belief of the world's existence, but at the same time the life-world can only be experienced in a subjectively relative way. Thereby, we can never get an objective description of the world. Instead we have to explore single individuals' life-worlds to gain knowledge of the existing world (Sages, 2003). Sages (2003) argues that even though it is only through the subject that we can learn about the world, it is important to underline that constitutional experience is never only a private matter but always and at the same time an experience of a community. The human is a cultural being and all meaning is originated in a partly shared life-world. In a culture individuals participate in common forms of activities and traditions, and they have established a partial understanding of each other and their shared culture. Karlsson (1993) states that although the content of different subjects life-worlds within a cultural can be different, they all share a common invariant structure that can be recognized by a cultural significant understanding of conditions in the life-world. The invariant structure can be said to be the a priori condition for existence of a cultural life-world.

In phenomenology the core doctrine is the belief that every act of consciousness we perform is intentional. Everything we experience is the consciousness of, or the experience of, something. All our awareness is directed towards an object, which can be a physical object or a more complex phenomenon as other individuals, groups of people or cultures. We can only be sure about our own conscious existence and the states of consciousness (Sokolowsk, 2000). Sokolowski (2000) implies that we are caught in an egocentric predicament, where we all are a part of the world, at the same time as the I also has the world cognitively in its mind. The I, is the centre around which the world, and all its contents circulate. In the world

there are many I's, but among all of them there is one which stands out, namely me. Sages (2003) argues that even though we only can be sure of our own experiences; we all share one world that is accessible to each one of us at any time, which makes it possible to reach agreement with other Is in concordant experiences. Further, Hannah Arendt (1958) implies that humans have the twofold characteristic of equality and distinction, which she refers to as human plurality. That means that humans equality make people understand each other, while humans distinctions make people attempt to understand each other. This postulation is active between subjects in the same cultures as well as in between individuals from different cultures. That makes people that are similar to each other concerning age, gender, language, class position, diasporic narratives, cultural experiences and ethnicity experience themselves as more equal, simultaneously as people that don not share the same variables, are more distinct.

The objects we intent are always perceived from a certain perspective. If we look at a cube, we only see it from one angle. It is first when we turn the cube around, that we see the cube from different perspectives. The intension of the cube correlates with other experiences of cubes and cube related objects. In phenomenology the object is not just the sum of these perspectives; the object has an identity that is public and available to all in the life-world (Sokolowski, 2000). The examples of the cube characterize the intentional process at a concrete basic level, but the structure of intentionality is equal for more complex phenomenons such as the self and the other self.

Sokolowski (2000) states that there are three basic structures which constantly appear within an intentional process. Firstly; in *the structure* of *parts and wholes*, pieces are parts that are independent and can be detached from the whole, while moments are dependent and cannot be detached. One individual can for example be a part of a nationality group, and thereby be separated and still present themselves as independent entities, while the mind is a moment to the world and its content, and thereby reliant on one another. Secondly; *the structure of identity in a manifold,* refers to the fact that the identities of objects, like the cube, are given to us in a multiple of appearances. The identity of objects belongs to what is given in experiences in the life-world and the recognition of identity belongs to the intentional structure of experience. The presence of other people gives us not only bodily manifold of perceptions, but also a manifold of the other self and the awareness about other

peoples' experience of the world. We understand that the other self experiences manifolds of objects and phenomenon in the world from different perspectives than us. We also experience our own self's identity in the interplay of memories, perceptions and imaginations. Our own identity is not the same as any other object that is given to us, but it is the same kind as that of other selves. Thirdly; *the structure of present and absent*, are the correlations between filled and empty intentions. An empty intention is an intension that targets something that is not there, something not present to the one who intends, in contrast to a filled intention which targets something that is there, in its bodily presence, before the one who intends. All intensions of objects are perspective in a mixture of presence and absence. When we intent our self or other selves we only perceive our self and other selves in perspectives. These structures are always active in a temporality formation. Sakorowski (2000) argues that in the immediate experience we do not only have a present framing, we also have a sense of past and future direction given to us. In relation to the self, the memories are given in the past dimension, while the imaginations can be seen as our projection of ourself into possible futures.

Phenomenology differentiates the natural attitude from the phenomenological attitude. In the natural attitude we are in our natural basic stance where we intent objects, situations and individuals in the life-world. We intent objects in our surroundings, imaginations about the belief of our self and other individuals through different times in life as well as fantasizing about what is to come in the future. The acceptance of the belief about the intensions of the world is called *doxa*, and the belief about the world's existence is called *ur-doxa*. In the natural attitude the world is the horizon of context where everything can be given, and correlation to the world is the self; the agent of the natural attitude. In the phenomenological attitude we shift viewpoint and reflect about everything in the natural attitude including the underlying world belief. We look at and describe all the particular intentions and their correlations to the world as its correlative. We contemplate the involvement we have with the world, and the involvement other humans have with the world. We are now not only participating in the world, we are also contemplating our contribution to our surroundings. In the phenomenological attitude, which is also called the *phenomenological reduction*, we withdraw from the experiences in the natural attitude, and we suspend the intentions which we contemplate (Sokolowski, 2000).

The term *epochê* in phenomenology is the neutralization of natural intention that must occur when we contemplate these intensions, after which we *bracket* the world and all things in it. The bracketing retains exactly the modality that the object has for the subject in the natural attitude. In the phenomenological attitude we distinguish between a thing and its appearance, and we try to describe the various intentionalities and their objects, as well as the self and the world (Sages & Jakobsdottir, 1999). Sages (2003) states that the *epochê* and the phenomenological reduction are the principal instruments of research in Husserlian phenomenology.

In the phenomenological reduction the terms *noesis, noema* and *horizon* are all central for analysis. In the *epochê* the intentional act (the streaming of consciousness) is called noeses and the object of this act is called noema. Every noetic act has a correlating noema (Sages, 2003). As described above, we intent the surroundings in perspectives, where every perspective of an object involves interaction between the subjective's noetic pole and the objective's noema pole. Karlsson (1999) argues that it is important to distinguish the *immanent noema* (the objects experienced while conscious) and the *transcendent object* (the physical objects in the life-world). The noema can never be a copy of the transcendental object, nor can it be a representation of the real object. It is through the transcendent object that we can gain knowledge of the world. This means that subjectivity and objectivity are linked to one another through the notion of intentionality, and meaning is thus tied to the concept of intentionality (Karlsson, 1999). The objective with phenomenological research is to describe how the world appears to individuals. In phenomenology the clusters of intentional structures form horizons. This means that every perception has a horizon to its object, and by defining these horizons we get access to the inner world of subjects. The perceptions correlate with both the immanent and the transcendental world. There are internal horizons, which can be examined by internal clues, in the nomatic pole. There are also external horizons which correlate to the context, within which the perceptions are received (Sander, 1999). The comprehension a human has about something such as an event, a work situation, political situation or cultural relationship, all have a horizon in phenomenology. The horizon has both at spatial and temporal structure. The spatial ramification shows both the kinds and the degree to which objectives are embedded in one another. The temporal structure gives indications about an intentional object's relation to the past, the present and the future. The temporal dimension indicates the kinds of experience necessary for an internal

object to get its sens (the past dimension), and it also indicates which kind of experiences the individual is moving towards (the future dimension).The horizon delimits the meaning of an object and contributes to the intention of meaning, of which we are not necessarily aware of but which is part of grounding for creativity and change, both at an individual and a cultural level (Sages, 2003). Sages (2003) states that the horizon is of major importance, seeing as it enables exploration of the plausible direction of the life of an individual, which are the temporal-process aspect, goal and characteristic of phenomenology.

Theory

In this study I have chosen to let the dialogical self theory and the intersectionality perspective form the theoretical framework. The terms are related, where the dialogical self theory concerns how the external world affects the forming of the voices within the self and intersectionality focuses on the interface of external social positions e. g. ethnicity, gender and class. In the present study, the dialogical self theory will be used in analysis to examine how the internal voices of subjects in the Greenlandic society is reflecting about the relationship, while intersectionality will be used as an important methodological tool in defining major categories of relevance in the context of study, but also for the analysis to deepen the understanding of power relation on the basis of the interplay of the different categories that the individuals take part in.

The dialogical self theory

The dialogical self is a concept that was created by and developed from the work of the psychologist Hubert Hermans. The concept refers to the fact that the self has an ability to imagine an internal dialogue between the different positions that the self take part in, and that the internal dialogue is in close relationship with the external dialogues in the exterior cultural context (Hermans, 2010). Hermans (2007) argues that social dominance is intrinsic in the dialog of voices and that emotions play a central role in the dynamic of the voices within the self. The dialectic self theory share some important features with the self in the phenomenological approach, and will thereby deepen the understanding of the cultural meeting of Danes and Greenlander, and the dialectic voice within the Danish and Greenlandic selves.

The dialogical self theory can be said to go beyond the dichotomy of self-other by constructing a model of the self, where there is no sharp line between the external and the internal world, but instead a gradual transition. Hermans (2007) describe the self as a society of minds, where the self consists of a multiplicity of positions that have the opportunity to consider dialogical relationships with each other. Dialogues may take place among internal positions, between internal and external positions and between external positions. Hermans (2007) argues that personal voices of other individuals or collective voices of groups enter the self-space and form positions that agree or disagree, unite or oppose, with each other. Hermans (1992) further suggests,

in accordance with object analysts, that the self is object-seeking from birth and gains experience in interpersonal relationships. Thereby external objects are invariably internalized and become personified parts of the self. The multiply of the internal self can in this manner be an internalization of other individuals, groups and cultures in the living context.

A central feature of the dialogical self is, in accordance with the phenomenological self, its combination of temporal and spatial characteristics. Hermans (1996) argues that the self is moving in space and time, and that the self imaginatively can occupy a number of positions in the landscape of the mind. The identity contains an organized set of actual, ideal and ought selves and also incorporates a series of events that are seen as characteristic for the self narrative. To shape a coherent narrative of the self, Hermans (1996) further argues that the self can be seen as consisting of an I and a Me, where the I appear as the author and the Me as the actor in the narrative of the self. Thereby the self construct a narrative of the lived life and of possible futures.

The dialogical self can only be fully understood when its cultural constraints are acknowledged. The self is embedded in a historical context with deep implications of both the form and content of narratives and dialogical processes. The selves are distributed interpersonally and take meaning from historical circumstances that gave shape to cultural values (Hermans, 1992). Hermans (1996) claims that there is a relative autonomy between personal and collective parts of the self and that the personal parts can be in opposition to, or agree with, the collective parts that are connected to the culture. An analysis of the dialogical self thereby enables a study of the dialog of the relationship between the individual and the culture voices within the self. Further, Hermans (2010) argues globalization causes boundary crossing and leads to international and intercultural connectedness and exchange that also need to be examined within the analysis of the dialogical self.

Hermans (1996) states that there are always asymmetrical dialogical relationships among positions within the self, as well as in relationships outside the self, and that these external and internal dialogues are connected with one another. Emotions are constantly a part of the dynamic social process in the dialectical selves. People always act on their feelings, and emotions are always affected by positions-bound expectations and requirements. Hermans (1992) argues that positions within the self as well as the positions in the lived context are organized in a hierarchy where

some Is dominant over other Is. The historical context of the lived life influences the inner organizations of Is, which is affected by social dichotomies where the positions with more power is often defined form the favored part in the dichotomy pair. Hermans (1992) claims that positions that correspond with one's own national, religious and ethnical group represent positively loaded words, while other groups represent negatively loaded words. Hermans (2007) implies that collective emotional states make individuals identify themselves as part of a group simultaneously as constructions of disidentifications against other groups occur. In accordance with psychodynamic thinkers, Hermans (2007) claims that there is on emotional ground that unwanted feelings unconsciously are neglected as an integrative part of the self and these are instead placed into the other group. Hermans (1996) argues that participants of asymmetrical encounters may seemingly agree about the uneven conditions. Hermans explains that the dominant group derives power from authority, while the less dominant group may adhere to memories, intentions and goals which are associated with the inferior position, in order to maintain the relationship with the power holder. The dynamics of the dialectical voices are under constant negotiation, and when an inferior individual establishes contact with different others, this may result in a repositioning, and other memories and concerns may become more prevalent. Hermans (2007) claims that the relation of dominance become problematic when institutional and societal structures and ideologies prevent individuals and groups from expressing their voices from their own particular points of view and on the basis of their own specific sources of experience.

Intersectionality – class, ethnicity, diaspora and culture

Intersectionality can be described as a methodology of studying the power relationships among multiple dimensions and modalities of social relationships and subject formations. The term intersectionality has its theoretical foundation in the theory of post-colonialism, post-structuralism and feminism. The term attempts to establish a theoretical framing for how different categories interact, with and against each other, in a heterogeneous global world. In the global world ethnicity doesn't just have a national context, but several national contexts and frames, as one has to place the term ethnicity within to understand its meaning. Simultaneously, the national category does not stand alone in an individual or a group identity, but instead interact

with other elements, that are of relevance to the view of an individual or a group of people, and also in these individual's and the group's perception of itself or themselves (de los Reyes & Mulinari, 2005).

Intersectionality is a theoretical tool that integrates categories like gender, ethnicity, nationality, class and diaspora. These categories contextualize and are put in mutual relation to each other in order to establish an understanding of the complexity of power and power relationships. The aim is not to establish a universal model for analysis, but instead to define the terms contemporary and historically anchorage, and thereby investigate the construction of a specific power relation. Like in the other theoretical and research approaches that have been present, intersectionality also require positioned knowledge as a precondition for the research to examine and deconstruct the perspectives (de los Reyes & Mulinari, 2005). De los Reyes and Mulinari (2005) claim that analysis should be done at two levels; *the material level –* that examine living conditions, division of power and influence, and citizenship, and at the *discursive level-* the preferential right of interpretation. By doing that, one can avoid doing the same mistake earlier anthropologists did by doing research based on Western cultural expectations. Thereby, the applying of an intersectional perspective also critically examines categorical thinking that present the world as unambiguous and coherent. In that way, intersectionality breaks down boxes and examines the coherence between different categories. De los Reyes and Mulinari (2005) write:

> *"The visibility of these categories; complexity, historical anchorage and social character, is an important part in the construction of a scientific counter discourse. In addition, it is possible to highlight how these differences constitute one another and the ways in which dialogues and strategies that exceed established limits can be formulated." (p. 127, the author's translation).*

Thereby intersectionality examines the interplay between different categories, simultaneously as it also deconstructs hegemonic perceptions of categories.

In the present study, intersectionality will be used to examine the amount of power resources that different subject possess on the basis of specific group affiliations. I have considered the categories class, ethnicity and diaspors as being central in concern of power. These categories are selected as a result of the fieldwork

and acquired knowledge from previous research and texts about Greenland, and they will function as a multi-axial of positions in the examined context. Even though intersectionality has its origin in feministic research, a specific gender perspective will not be examined. The reason for this decision is that the gender category has not been one of major significance with regards to the research aim, and instead other categories are deemed as more pertinent in relation to subjects' experience of colonialism/post-colonialism, as well as to the identity forming and the view of the other. Greenland is divided and has cultural-, social-, and language differences, which can be illustrative of a primary Danish speaking elite in cities and a primary Greenlandic speaking population in the urban areas. Further, Greenlandic subjects in Greenland have a dependency on generation experiences deriving from different epochs in the post-colonial relation. Some of these subjects have lived through colonialism, while other have experienced the Danization period and/or the Greenlandization period. A number of Greenlanders have lived in Denmark to study, to work or to receive medical care. Other Greenlanders are from Danish-Greenlandic mixed marriages, and have thereby potentially been more influenced by both countries' cultures. Danish subjects typically come to Greenland as imported manpower for a limited period of time to fill positions in the upper class. Some Danes integrate into society, while others live in separated Danish diasporas. The Danes that have integrated into society often live in relationships with Greenlanders and have been in Greenland for a long period of time.

To summarize, the intersectionality perspective will be used to examine how different subjects' positioning interact in a multi-axial of the major categories class, ethnicity and diaspora. In order to deepen the concepts operating throughout this thesis I found it significant to theoretically define the three major categories. The term cultural will also be theoretically defined, since it is essential to provide a description of the term when doing cultural studies. That will also render to describe the invariant cultural structures within Greenland as well as the invariant cultural structures within the Danish and Greenlandic subgroups. The terms class, ethnicity, diaspora and culture are intertwined and the definitions will thereby partly overlap each other.

Class: To examine the class perspective Beverly Skeggs (1999) term respectability is a useful tool. Skeggs claims that respectability is one of the most important markers of class, simultaneously as it connects class, gender, sexuality and

ethnicity. Skeggs uses Bourdieus metaphorical description of four capital forms; economic, cultural, social and symbolic. Economical capital consists of income, property and monetary funds. The cultural capital manifests in three different forms; embodied, cultural belongings and institutionalized capital, where the latter concerns educational qualifications. Social capital refers to the resources one has in social networks and through group memberships. The symbolic capital is the form which various capitals achieve when they are acknowledged as legitimate. All forms of capital are context-bound and have to be seen as legitimate before they obtain symbolic power. People in the social room are distributed depending on the amount of symbolic power they have in relation to others, and symbolic power hence affects our movement though the social room. Bourdieu argues that these forms of capital are formed and created historically. We are born into different positions which have different amount of capital resources. The capital forms cannot exist outside the inter-social relations, which limits which kinds of available capital there can be in various positions. Complex circular processes create gender, class and ethnicity positions, which put us in various positions through which capital is organized and valued (Bourdieus, 1970; 1986; 1987; 1989; referenced in Skeggs, 1999). Skeggs claims that our access to cultural, economic, social and symbolic capital affects how we recognize ourselves in the positions which we possess. She further states that it is by (dis)identification and (dis)simulation with these social positions and subjects positions that our identity will appear coherent (Skeggs, 1999).

Ethnicity: Fredrik Barth's definition of ethnicity, presented in the introduction to *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (1969), has had a major influence on the ethnicity research field (Brah, 2003). According to Barth (1969) ethnic groups are categories of self-identification and acknowledgment by others. He emphasizes the social processes by which ethnic groups identify themselves as distinctive entities and maintain boundaries to others. Barth (1969) argues that ethnic groups are better defined by the process of boundary formation than by cultural characteristics. Ethnic boundaries may be constructed and maintain around some signifiers articulation in varying combinations under particular situations, which include a brief common ancestry, concerning a shared history which provides a foundation to a feeling of shared struggles and shared destinies, connection to a homeland which may or may not coincide with place or residence, and a sense of belonging to a group with a shared

language, religion or social customs and traditions. In this manner, ethnicity is a way of looking at the social organization of culture differences. Barth (1969) critiques the earlier formations of ethnicity for presenting ethnicity as something pre-given, with already existing cultural differences, and instead he advocates a context and process which mark the appearance of specific signifiers of differences as constitution ethnic distinctiveness. In line with Barth's definitions of ethnicity as a process of boundary formation it is conceivable that the experience of the own ethnicity as well as the view of ethnic borders varies with positions held within the culture. For that reason the ethnicity has to be understood both from the subject's own definition of their ethnicity as well as their notion of the boundaries and the power relation between the ethnic groups.

Diasporas: Avtar Brah examines in her book *Catographes of diaspora* (2003) the term diaspora as a frame of reference for analyses of economical, political and cultural modalities from historical forms of migration. Diaspora is thereby a sort of gathering concept for intersectional research work regarding migration groups. Even though the term diaspora is often associated with a journey, diasporic journeys paradoxically are about settling down and establishing a home elsewhere. Diasporic multiple journeys can configure into one journey via a confluence of narratives, as it is lived and re-lived, produced, reproduced and transformed through individuals as well as collective memory and re-memory. Brah argues that it is important to examine when, how and under which circumstances people travel. Diasporas can be connected with traumas and separations from the home country, but diaspora can also potentially represent a hope for a new beginning. Brah claims that 'situatedness' is central to how different groups come to rationally position themselves in a given context. Due to this fact, Brah further states that it is significant to examine the configurations of power within and between diasporic formations. She states that it is important to ask who is empowered and who is disempowered in a collective we. Further, embedded within the term diaspora is the notion of border. Brah acknowledges that there is an interesting paradox in the diasporic positioning between locality and dis-locality and between the home as reality and home as a feeling. There is one locality for one chapter in life, and another location for another chapter. When conducting an analysis of diasporic migrations it is important not to only examine the place in which subjects are in the present time, but to instead also include all the other places they have

crossed in their past, as well as places they dream about going to in the future. Brah uses the concept of a positioning of multi-axial places to describe the inclusion of locality in the understanding of the diasporic paradox. Further, Brah points out that the boundaries of a diasporic understanding are not only between countries, but rather connected to switches between rooms. Rooms can be of any kind, such as ethnic, gender, cultural, identity, sex, generation etc. Brah refers to this as transnational identity, a concept that both contains several nations, but also several understandings of identity and worldviews. In my understanding of Brah's concept diaspora the subject is the sum of all the different transnational positions she/he has possessed. In the thesis the rooms that subjects have been taking part in will be examined in order to deepen the understanding of the subject's preferential right of interpretation.

Culture: In order to identify possible cultural differences within the Danish and the Greenlandic cultures, it is significant to define the term culture. Kim et al. (2006) argue that a psychological phenomenon has to be understood in relation to dynamic cultural and environmental conditions where the phenomenon is being studied. Kim (2001, quoted in Kim et al., 2006) states that *"Culture represents the collective utilization of natural and human resources to achieve desired outcomes" (p.10).* Further Kim et al state that cultures represent a rubric of patterned variables, like collective goals, humans and natural resources, methods of achieving the goals, and meaning and values attach to collective pattern are integrated from a meaningful and coherent whole. In opposition to these collective goals, differences in cultures can be described as existing "if people pursue different goals, utilize different methods and resource to realize the goals and attach different values on them" (Kim et al. 2006, pp. 10-11). The experience of culture depends on your position within the society (Kim et al. 2006, Brah, 2003). Kim and Park (2006) acknowledge that culture cannot only be described historically, and instead the present and future dimensions have to be included. Generational conflicts can arise when generations use the past to understand the present and future cultures, when the historical preferences are diverse. Further, Brah (2003) emphasizes the fact that the cultural comprehension varies with class position and she states that the significant characteristics of collective cultural identity tend to be defined by people in the superior class.

Method

In this section the epistemological and ontological foundation for this study will be present. I will present my view of how one can gain knowledge in human cultural research as well as my notion regarding validity and generalization of the study. A description of the research design will be provided, followed by a description of the selection of data to in depth analysis. Lastly, some confidential considerations with regards to the research are presented.

Phenomenology and the two theoretical perspectives

The phenomenological approach will together with the dialogical self and intersectionality perspective operate when examining the aim of research. As the dialogical self theory argues, there is no sharp line between the internal and the external world, i.e. the invariant structure of culture will be found among the Danish and the Greenlandic subjects. When examining the subjects' associations, thoughts and feelings regarding the relationship, the self and the other, the purpose of applying the dialogical self theory is to distinguish the cultural voices from the experienced coherent self, as well as the view of the other and the culture the other takes part in. The intersectionality perspective will examine how the power relations between the positions the subject take part in affect the experience of the relationship. The three perspectives all share a temporal and spatial foundation for analysis. The perception and feeling of the relationship, the self and the other will thereby always be situated in time and space, i.e. they all have a past and a future direction, shaped by positions within the subjects self narrative.

The method in the present study is usage of two software Sphinx Lexica and MCA-Minerva, the last-mentioned is developed by Roger Sages. The tools are purposely useable in phenomenological research, since they help the researcher to put pre-understanding and pre-comprehensions in 'parenthesis' and thereby go into the phenomenological attitude. Sphinx Lexica and MCA-Minerva will be present in the next section.

Validity and generalization within the natural attitude

In the present study, the planning and actual fieldwork can be placed in the natural attitude, while the analysis of textual material in Sphinx Lexica and MCA-Minerva is accomplished in the phenomenological attitude. In my comprehension of phenomenology the transition between the phenomenological and the natural attitude can never be definite in practical work. In analysis there will always be successions of choices that have been made earlier in the process, and every choice will inevitably be made in favor of other possible options that would affect the result in another direction. It would be naive to believe that all researchers would make the same choices even though the phenomenological tools will help the research to separate the own prejudices and presuppositions from the result. Thereby the result and the historical and theoretical framing it will be put in, will unavoidably be affected by my being and subjective comprehension. Sages (2003) means that the researcher's intuitive, heuristic approach cannot be eliminated from neither the research process nor the obtained result, which will always be marked by the researcher's thought process. Therefore, I found it of major significance to consider the validity of ethnographic research within the natural attitude. Aull Davies (2005) suggests in her book *Reflexive ethnography – A guide to researching selves and others* that reflexivity is the way to assure validity, and argues that reflexivity should be found at all level of research; from the selection of the field, the planning and actual interpretation of the fieldwork, to the final writing. Aull Davies suggests that a philosophical foundation will allow a transcendent real nature (like in phenomenology) that permits us to gain knowledge about other selves and cultures. In addition, she suggests an understanding of the self as a twofold interpretational characteristic; where one's interaction is detached from our cultural pre-comprehension, while the other is free from cultural presuppositions. In that way, the reflexivity of the dialectic in the self is the main tool in ethnographic research to obtain valid data. Sages (2003) argues that validity must be characterized as a process of validation, and can only receive local solutions depending on the region of reality to which the object of the study belongs. Thus, the process of validation has three characteristics:

- The sequence of systematic steps taken and followed during the project, from its first formulation to its conclusion.

- The modalities of its application; including the ways its aims are formulated, its postulated relationship to similar projects, the "public" to which it addresses itself, and the understanding of ethical implications it suspends.

- The intersubjectivity for which, implicitly or explicitly, it strives as the competent judge and guarantor of its objective value.

(p. 58)

Sages argues that validations are about following and evaluating the systematic sequences step-by-step during the research. Skeggs (1999) implies that all research is partial and that the task of a researcher is to identify the biases and evaluate how they affect the result in order to come up with the most likely explanation of a certain phenomena. Her view of the validity of the interpretation is "A valid account comes up with the most plausible explanation for the phenomena being studied" (Skeggs, 1997, s. 32).

In science, validity is closely connected to generalization. Sages (2003) claims that it is only by rigorous study of a thing that we can get to its general essence. Further, Sages argues that in phenomenological language, one individual can contain horizons of comprehension that are valid for other singularities of the same type. Thereby the question of validity is local and not global. This means that by rigorously studying single informants in the field, one will not only learn something about that singularity but also about other individuals in similar positions within the living context.

Indwelling and interpretation

Indwelling is an important philosophic orientation within ethnographic fieldwork. The term can be described as a way for qualitative researchers to understand people and situations in a context that is meaningful for those involved in the inquiry. Indwelling means that with all of his/her skills, experiences, background, knowledge and biases, the researcher is the primary, if not exclusive, source of all data collection and analysis and therefore the researcher is the instrument in research (Maykut & Morehouse, 1996). Maykut and Morehouse (1996) use Hannah Arendt's

term 'human plurality,' i.e. the condition of being distinct from and equal to all other humans, to understand how the researcher and the subjects of study are connected. Indwelling requires the investment of sufficient time to learn the culture, get to know its people and build trust, and requires placing the researcher in the field of study long enough to understand things as they unfold. Indwelling allows the inquirer to see differences within similar situations and similarities in different situations. It also underpins the possibility to gain knowledge of foreign cultures. Kim et al. (2006) argues that the researcher, with an external point of view, can bring attention to the fact that what is assumed to be natural can actually be cultural. Furthermore, they argue that even though people have a complex and sophisticated understanding of themselves and their society, they may not have the ability to describe the underlying structure or process.

Maykut and Morehouse (1996) claim that there are two types of knowledge that are active when we understand the world; tacit and explicit knowledge. There is an important distinction between the terms; tacit knowledge is unformulated, but explicit knowledge can be expressed in writing or verbally. Our explicit knowledge can be entered into our field notes, while the tacit knowledge will aid us in understanding the environment. Tacit knowledge is gained by indwelling and requires not just understanding the pieces but also the whole. That is the paradox of tacit knowledge and indwelling; to gain understanding of the whole, one must experience pieces and allow the whole to emerge from the experience.

The research process and my position in the post-colonial context

To assure validity in research my primary interest and thoughts are present to make it possible for the reader to follow the initial research process.

My interest for the research field occurred after taking part of a minor research project about Greenlandic women in Denmark, when I was doing gender studies. At that time I had only lived in Denmark for some months and my knowledge about Greenland was limited. In the Swedish culture, people usually know that Greenland is linked to Denmark, but most people lack knowledge about the consequences of post-colonialism in the relationship between Danes and Greenlanders. In the initiation of this research project I had lived in Denmark for about five years and at that time I started to realize that the Danes' knowledge about Greenland was deficient as well.

After reading Greenlandic newspapers and meeting Greenlanders in Denmark, my apprehension was that Denmark was more visible in Greenland, simultaneously as Greenland seemed to be invisible in Denmark. I wanted to gain more knowledge about the post-colonial situation and I decided to examine the consequences of colonialism in the contemporary meeting of Danes and Greenlanders in Greenland in my master thesis in psychology.

An emergent design was applied, which means that the research design develops with time. The usefulness of an emergent design was that I was not held back by a certain agenda, but instead the finial research framing could be guided by my indwelling in the culture. The initial research question was formulated with a specific focus on the colonial relations' impact on Greenlandic life, but later the focus shifted to emphasis on the meeting and thereby the focus of the Danish and Greenlandic perspectives became equal. My aspiration was that my position as a Swede would facilitate the establishing of a confiding relation to individuals of the two ethnic groups and make informants express themselves more freely about the relationship, since the Swedish identity does not take part in the Danish-Greenlandic colonial dialectic. The aspiration was that the participation, as well as taking part of the gained data, would lead to a new understanding of the relations' impact on the daily life and empower people to focus more of the relations' resources instead of their limitations.

Early in the process, I realized that there were no obvious categories of Danes and Greenlanders, simultaneously as it appeared to be inconceivable for individuals to define themselves as having a Danish-Greenlandic identity. Instead the Danish and the Greenlandic identity seemed to be defined as each other's negation. The dichotomy can be illustrated by one participant with Faroese background, who was born and raised in Greenland. Originally he identified himself as Dane because he felt that he had more in common with Danes compared to Greenlanders, in Greenland. After spending some years in Denmark during his studies, he realized he was not Danish either, and consequently he started defined himself as Faroese. Hence, I comprehended that the division of the ethnic groups was central, simultaneously as it was important to use a research design that would facilitate finding divisions within each ethnic group, as well as similarities between the two ethnic groups.

The theory of the dialogical self was settled as a fruitful complement to the phenomenological view of the self, and was useful when examining individual and

cultural voices within the self. The cultural voices can be of a more passive characteristic given that it is received from the surrounding culture, while the individual voices are of a more active characteristic though it can be empowered to reconstruct the structures of inner voices. Furthermore, the intersectionality perspective emerged as a consequence of the complexity of narratives held by people in Greenland. The complexity was so noticeable that it almost seemed like homogeneous groups did not exist and my comprehension was that the ethnicity, class and diaspora were the most important factors in capturing the heterogeneous groups in Greenland.

The power relation between the interview subjects and myself, being a 30-year-old Swedish female academic living in Denmark, varied with the interviewee's position. I experienced that variables like being of older generations, academic education, good skills in the Danish language and town residency provided symbolic power; while on the other hand, lack of these variables i.e. being of younger generations, no academic education, bad skills in the Danish language and countryside residency gave limited power resources. Before the fieldwork took place, I was afraid that my limited Danish language ability would be a weakness in field. Conversely, I realized that it in fact was a benefit in the meeting with Greenlandic subjects. In the interviews, it arose as a reciprocal understanding of the difficulties to find definite language; whereas in the meeting with highly-educated Danes, I experienced inferiority- an inferiority that Greenlanders most likely also experience. Important to add here is that if the fieldwork has been performed in Greenlandic it is likely that good Greenlandic skills had been a power factor.

The research project's focus of the relationship between Danes and Greenlanders encouraged to a dichotomic way of thinking of us and them. As described in the post-colonialism section and by the dialogical self theory, the division of groups encourage to a projection of unwanted feelings into the other group. All along the research process I had to relate to my Swedish identity as it appeared in relation to the examined subjects. Even though Sweden did not contribute in the colonial era, the Swedish identity does not stand outside the identity dialectic between post-colonized and post-colonial powers. As researchers such as Persson (2008) has showed, Sweden's passive role in colonialism was not an active standpoint against imperialism, but rather an expression of incapability to compete with other European

nations. Further, the fact that Sweden has taken benefits from other colonized nations, confirm that Sweden also took part in colonialism (Persson, 2008).

Initially in the fieldwork I experienced that my Swedish identity was more closely related to the Danish identity and my Scandinavian look also made people presume that I was Danish. I felt more comfortable in the contact with Danes, simultaneously as the Greenlandic view of me made me insecure. I responded by looking critically back at the Greenlanders. The phenomenon was well-known to me from post-colonial theory, and I partially interpret the experience as an indwelling experience of the cultural meeting; but also as a signal of not having settled with my dialectical self. This research thereby also came to be a confrontation with my own dialectical self and came to include both the desirable and undesirable characteristics in my own self. The research was more time-consuming than expected and the reason for that can partly be explained by this settlement. I needed to put myself into the post-colonial field as well as come to terms with my own prejudices, to be able to give participants and the individuals the research concerns justice. The readers of this project, and especially those who have participated in the research, will be the ones who validate how far I have come in the process. Thereby the participants will be the judges of this project's validity.

The research Design - Data collection

When doing phenomenological research, the aim of the study is to generate theory of perceptions held by subjects in the examined group. To get entrance to the life-world of individuals it is significant to develop at good alliance, as well as examining a matter that is of relevance to the individuals in their natural setting. Sages (2003) argues that in order to get entrance to the informants' life-world, it is of major significance that the person can express himself/herself as freely as possible. Consequently in the research design the participants were asked to write a text or talk freely from an open-ended question, to assure that the informants unreservedly could tackle the research question without any restrictions.

In the section below the fieldwork will be described in detail. First some Greenlandic demographic and the actual sample is present, followed by practical aspect of fieldwork and lastly the specific research question and meeting with interviewees, will be described.

Demographic and language in Greenland: To give a picture of the distribution of Danes and Greenlanders residency some demographic of Greenlandic is presented.

The demographic of Greenland can be described by a population of 58 000 that is spread of over an area of 2176000 km^2 and can be divided into four main groups: West Greenlanders, North Greenlanders, East Greenlanders and Danes. The West Greenlanders constitute 80 % of the population, the East Greenlanders 6 %, the North Greenlanders 1.5 % and the remaining group of Danes is spread over the country (Den store danske, n.d.). In total, there are approximately 3000 people living in the eastern county of Tunu (Ittoqqortoormiit), 1000 people in the northern Avannaarsua (Qaanaaq) and the last 54 000 in the western county of Kitaa. In the capital Nuuk, there are approximately 15 000 inhabitants, 3000-5000 in other cities and only a few hundred in the small villages (Krogh Andersen, 2008). The population ethnically consists of 88 percent Inuit or mixed Danish and Inuit, while the remaining 12 percent are mainly of Danish decent (Central intelligence agency, 2011). Greenland is divided by cultural, social and language differences, which can be seen in the mainly Danish-speaking elite in the cities and a primarily Greenlandic-speaking population in the villages (Egede Lynge, 2008).

Limitation of sample: Originally, my ambition was to capture the heterogeneity of the whole population in Greenland in my sample. Due to the high costs of traveling, where air and waterways are the only available traveling opportunities, there were neither time nor financial means to include the whole country in the fieldwork. Instead the fieldwork was located on the west coast, where about 85 % of the population resides. I tried to get in contact with people by email in the north and at the east coast, but even though some people accepted the request, they did not fulfill their obligations. Initially I wished to include monolingual Greenlandic citizens in my research, but albeit the research description was translated into Greenlandic, I never received any replies from monolingual Greenlandic-speaking citizens. I did not have the means to work with an interpreter, so the interview option was only available for Danish speaking subjects. Consequently the sample consists of bilingual or monolingual Danish-speaking subjects at the west coast.

Practical aspects of the fieldwork: The fieldwork took place at the time when the self-rule came into effect the 21st of July 2009. I spend a month in Greenland travelling along the west coast with stops in Ilulissat, Sisimiut, Kangaamiut, Nuuk,

Qarokdok, Narsaq and Narsarsuaq. I stayed at each destination for about four to seven days. The emergent design gave the research a dynamic form that allowed the recruitment of participants to be an ongoing process. Before arriving at a new destination, the residents whose email addresses were available on the internet were contacted with a request to participate in the project. By using Google Search Appliance inhabitants' email-addresses could be found at homepages of counties, compulsory schools, folk high schools, high schools, the University of Nuuk, hospitals, police offices, the church etcetera. Internet communities like Couchsurfing and Facebook were also used. In the email I briefly described the project and individuals who wanted to take part were asked to read the two attached documents; the project description (appendix 1) and the instructions of participation (appendix 2). The participants were first requested to participate by writing a text, but the possibility to take part by giving an interview was also offered. For the interview option, dates for when I was going to pass different towns and villages were provided in the letter. There was no selection of participants and everyone who wanted to contribute was accepted. I noticed that most people whose email addresses were available on the Internet often had a higher position in society, while people without a higher level of education were harder to get in contact with over the net. That might also explain why no monolingual Greenlandic speaking subjects answered the request, since they often are found in the lower-class. Consequently, I often had appointments with educated people, before I arrived at a new destination, and in the field I actively tried to balance the sample by contacting people within the lower strata. The finial sample consists of individuals I had got in contact with over the internet, individuals I met in person and individuals that had been mediated by other informants or people I had met.

Protocol: In the instructions for participation a minor inquiry form was present where informants were asked to give information about gender, age, occupation, ethnicity, if the informant had lived in other countries and in that case, for how long time. In the end the following phenomenological question was present:

> *Can you please write down all of your associations, thoughts, feeling, ideas, emotions ... about the relationship that Greenlandic people and Danish people have, and have had, for your life, your dreams and your visions.*

(Everything that you write will be treated anonymously and will only be used in this research. Try to express your thoughts and feelings with your own words and as freely as possible. Remember that it is your subjective experience and history that is of interest for the study. There is nothing which is right or wrong to write. Write approx. 1-2 A4 pages.)

To gain entrance to the life-world of subjects it is significant that the participation is carried out in a way that the informants are comfortable with. For that reason, subjects were also offered to participate by giving an interview. The interview was sat out from the same phenomenological question as in the protocol.

Interview: The interview took place at appointed locations; mostly in participants' homes, offices or at cafés. Other times, the interview was accomplished while the participants were working or between working duties. In the beginning of the meeting, time was set off so that the informants could read the documents they had been given, to make sure that all the informants had received the same information. The participant was inquired to specifically read the research question and try to express the first associations or thoughts that came to mind. Some interviewees thought that the question was too open and to them the purpose of the loose interview-structure was specifically explained. In the interview my ambition was to make participants feel comfortable enough to talk about the relations' impact on life and on their daily situation. I did not have any prepared questions and instead I came with remarks and clarification questions to deepen their narrative. The clarifying questions could for example be "Can you please elaborate?", "How did it affect you?" or "How did you experienced that?". In the interview, I tried to show my presence and my active listening by body language, but I also came with remarks like "That sounds hard" or "So you learned a lot from each other". The interview continued until the interviewee expressed that he or she did not have more to say or when I noticed that the interviewee had stopped bringing up facts that had not been mentioned previously.

The interview meetings were diverse; where some interviewees spoke very personally and emotionally about the relationship, others tended to lose focus of the phenomenological question. I experienced that the Danes that just had arrived in Greenland had a need to talk about their first impressions of stay, and the feelings and thoughts that they had faced in the meeting with Greenlanders and the Greenlandic culture. In contrast, Danes that had lived in Greenland for a longer period of time had made sense of their perception and feelings and put them in a post-colonial

comprehension frame. In meetings with Greenlandic subjects, their experience of Danes and the relationship was linked to generation; elder generations had experienced the power relation between the ethnic groups just after the colonial period come to end, while younger generation only experienced the Greenlandization period and the contemporary situation. Several well-educated Greenlanders stated, in accordance with Egede Lynge, that the Greenlandic low self-confidence was a consequence of colonialism, and that self-assurance was related to class and Danish language abilities. Individuals in the group it actually concerned within the sample did not explicitly mention low self-confidence as a theme.

Participants, surface analysis and the selection of texts to deep analysis

All the informants were asked to define their own ethnicity, and even though ethnicity is not always unambiguous, most participants undoubtedly defined themselves as either Dane or Greenlander. There was only one participant, who was born in Greenland, that could not define himself as either Dane or Greenlander and instead defined himself as Faroese – the same ethnicity as his parents. The finial sample remains of 15 Danes, 22 Greenlanders and one Faroese. Two interviews were done with two heterosexual Danish couples and each interview was treated as one text in analysis. The quota of Danes participating is higher than the quota of ethically Danish individuals in the population as a whole, but according to the purpose of study, the meeting of the ethnic groups is in focus.

Table 1. Informants			
	Danes	**Greenlanders**	**Faeroese**
Number of participants	15	22	1
Number of interviewees	11*	21	
Number of written texts	4	1	1
Total number of transcribed/written texts	13	22	1
Total pages of transcribed/written texts **	95 (92)	100(99)	2
Mean of interview length ***	65	49	
Mean of transcribed pages per person	7,3	4,8	

* of which two interviews are with heterosexual couples, which is treated as one transcribed text/couple

** in txt-format, without the researcher's questions, () without written texts

*** minutes

For a detailed description of participants see appendix 3

Sages (2003) states that in phenomenology research, the experience of each and every person in the study must be treated as equally valid from the beginning of study. For that reason, all interviews were transcribed before any decisions were made about analysis. Nevertheless the written text-form differ from the transcribed text-form, given that the written texts are a product of the participants interpretations of the written instruction and phenomenological question of study, while the transcribed texts besides the written instructions and question also is a product of the meeting with me and everything my being and interactions may represent for the participant. Hence the written text-form may also differ from the transcribed text-form when it comes to expressions and usage of words. For example it is more common to repeat oneself when talking, as well as to frequently use personal pronouns and exemplify one's arguing with experience situation in life, compared to when writing a text.

In the Shinx Lexica, all texts of Danes and Greenlander will undergo a surface analysis that gives a general view of the whole corpus, while some text will be selected for in-deep analysis in MCA. Within the scope of this thesis there has not been time to analyze all texts in-deep in MCA. It takes a considerable amount of time to register text material in the program and therefore some texts have been selected for in-deep analysis. In the selection of texts, the written texts have been considered to be more convenient to MCA-analysis, since they are less affected by my being and thereby can give more pure meaning in the phenomenological analysis.

To assure to maintain the complexity of sample all texts were divided into several homogenized groups guided by the variables class, ethnicity and diaspora. Within the Danish group class was determined by position in the class strata, ethnicity by the integration in the Greenlandic culture and diaspora by the time which informants had lived in Greenland. Within the Greenlandic group class was determined by the position in society where subjects from the country side also were represented, ethnicity by informants from mixed marriages and also the group of Danish-speaking Greenlanders and diaspora by the time individuals had lived in Greenland but also by generations' diverse experiences of (post-) colonialism. The number of subjects in each group varied and one subject was selected from each group to assure that the variables of interest in the study remained. In each group the written texts were of higher priority but otherwise texts were randomly selected. This resulted in nine selected texts for in-depth analysis; four Danish subjects, four Greenlandic subjects and the single Faroe in the sample.

Confidential considerations: Participants were all assured anonymity in the research. To guarantee confidentiality it is of major significance to consider the population size in the context of study. In Greenlandic cities or villages, there are sometimes only one or a few persons with a specific occupation, diasporic narrative or language skill. It can therefore be hard for a researcher that comes from outside Greenland to evaluate what can be presented to assure anonymity. For that reason the occupation or place of residence for single individuals in the sample will not be presented in the overview schema of participants (appendix 3). Instead only village or city residency and higher or lower level of education are specified in the overview schema, followed by a list of all occupations held by all participants but without specifying to whom the occupation belongs.

Analysis

In this section the advantage of using both qualitative and quantitative methods will be mentioned followed by an illustration of each step in the two analysis tools; Sphinx lexica and Meaning Constitution Analysis. The demonstration of the analysis tools will describe the process from raw data to the final result.

Qualitative and quantitative analysis methods

The usage of various methodologies has been advocated by the indwelling psychology perspective to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the psychological phenomenon being studied (Kim et al., 2006). In the present study the written and transcribed text will be analyzed from a quantitative and qualitative perspective. The Sphinx Lexica will be used to get a general view of the transcribed text material while the Meaning Constitution Analysis (MCA) will used to analyze the selected texts in-deep.

Sphinx Lexica

Sphinx Lexica is a software tool used for rapid and efficient treatment of large amount of text materiel, based on lexical analysis. The Sphinx Lexical analyses the surface of texts and gives detailed information of speech acts, morpheme frequencies and richness of text material (Sages, Lundsten, Lahlou, Kurc & Moscarola, 2002).

In this study, Sphinx Lexica will be used to validate the richness of the whole corpus and the separate Greenlandic and Danish text mass. The richness is calculated by the number of different words used in the observation, divided by the number of words in the observation. That means that the variation of words being used in the interviews indicate that the informant really wants to participate and has something to say about the phenomena being studied - the ecological validity is high (Batissat, 2011, 14 March, email-correspondence with Sphinx lexica support).

Further, Sphinx Lexica will together with the statistical analysis program SPSS be used to compare topics in the narrative participants expressed when answering the phenomenological question. Sphinx Lexica shows a word list of all the words expressed by informants, and the software renders the researcher to construct

themes from the list. In practice this means that the researcher constructs a theme when he/she sees frequently recurring words that could potentially build a theme. The act continues until the researcher considerers it to be no more topics of relevance to establish. After that, Sphinx Lexica renders to present frequencies statistic over expressed words within each theme for every participant in the sample. The different interview lengths make it inexpedient to compare frequencies from the Danish samples with those from the Greenlandic samples and for that reason the frequencies data is converted into percent. The converting is done by dividing the amount of words for every theme by the totally amount of words for all themes for each participant. To determine whether observed differences are significant, the non parametric tests Kruskal-Wallis H and Mann-Whitney U are calculated in SPSS. Non parametric tests are used since it is unknown if the data is normally distributed. First, a Mann-Whitney U test is done with Danes and Greenlanders as grouping variables, and the themes as test variables, to examine if there are any differences in expression of themes between the two ethnic groups. After that, three separate Kruskal-Wallis H test are done for ethnicity, class and diaspora with these variables as grouping variables and the themes as test variables. These tests are performed to examine if class, ethnicity and diasporic positions affected the extent to which the participant speak about the different themes.

MCA – Meaning Constitution Analysis

Meaning Constitution Analysis is a method of analysis based on Husserl's phenomenological psychology. The aim of the method is to obtain pure meaning that is untouched by the researcher's pre-comprehension. In the natural attitude, we have a lot of consciously and unconsciously, prejudices and presuppositions, based on both science and tradition, cultural thinking etc, that we take for granted. The eposhè and the phenomenological reduction are the principal instruments, to put the pronounced meaning in parenthesis, and attain as pure vision as possible of the phenomenon been studied. The MCA is thereby the instrument that can move the researcher from the natural attitude to the phenomenological attitude (Sages & jakobsdóttir, 1999).

In the following, I will show how to use the MCA. First, the written or transcribed text is broken into meaning units. The text is broken every time the researcher notices that there is a small meaning shift in the text, and therefore there is

no grammatical definition that decides where the text should be broken off (Sages, 2003).

This can be illustrated by the sentence
I feel totally home here, but I will not be considered as a true Greenlander because I do not speak Greenlandic.

This sentence will be broken up in the following meaning units:

1. *I feel totally home here*
2. *but I will not be considered as a true Greenlander because I do not speak Greenlandic.*

In the following steps, the meaning units will be put in 'parenthesis'. The object of that is as mention above, to free oneself from previous meaning, but also to enable the separation of the pure meaning from its modalities of expression. Meaning is always connected with modalities (Sages, 2003). Sages (2003) states "The modalities give an understanding of the form of experiencing, and are the way(s) in which the acts of consciousness (the noetical process) constitute the noema" (p. 68). Modalities can be of different kind, but is always express in degrees of *belief*, *function* and *time*. Produced meaning is always an approval of one or another form of existential notion and intentional object an acceptance of one or another form of function defined by a time horizon in the natural attitude (Sages & Lundsten, 2004). But there can also be other modalities present in the text and accordance to the aim of this study the modalities *subject* and *object* will examined the expressed meaning of the self and the other. The modalities *affect* and *will* is also of interest, though they can describe the emotions and eventual motivation for change that are connected to the constitution of the self and the other as well as the relation in-between.

Belief
Doxa affirmation
Doxa-negation
Probability
Possibility
Question

The alternatives, within the Belief category, are about how certain the informant is about the expression in the meaning unit. Doxa-affirmation, means that the meaning unit is expressed without any hesitation (E. g., We are just as good as the Danes.). Doxa-negation means that something is not known for the person (E. g. I don't know if my labor is wanted.) Probability, indicate that that something is not sure, but probable (E. g., We can become totally

independent from Denmark.). Possibility, imply that something is possible (E. g., I believe that there is a lot of opportunities.), and Question means that a question is asked about something (E. g., Do we have a value as human beings?).

Function *Perceptive* *Signitive* *Perceptive/Imaginative* *Imaginative/Perceptive* *Imaginative/Signative* *Signative/Imaginative*	The Function modality is about how the meaning unit is expressed. Perceptive means that the meaning unit is expressed in a way that does not leave any room for further questions. The expression is made in concrete terms (E. g., I am Danish.). Signitive means that the meaning unit is expressed in a way that leave room for further questions. The expression is made in abstract terms (E. g., Some people do not accept me as a Greenlander.). Perceptive/Imaginative and Signitive/Imaginative indicate that the informant talks about thoughts that are related to the past or present situation. The Perceptive/Imaginative is above described in a concrete way (E. g., It was the first time I thought about Greenland.), and Signative/Imaginative is described in an abstract way (E. g. I do not feel like a part of a colonial power.). Imaginative/Perceptive and Imaginative/Signitive describe thoughts that are related to the present or future, where again Imaginative/Perceptive is expressed in concrete terms (E. g. Greenland will get less financial support.), and Imaginative/Signitive is expressed in abstract terms (E. g. My future is in Denmark.).
Time *Past* *Present* *Future* *Present->Past* *Present ->Future* *Always recurrent* *Empty*	The alternatives, within the Time modality, describe in what time the informants' expressions take place. Past means that something took place (E. g., The Danes were given too much attention.), Present refers to that something is taking place (E. g., I have 100% accepted their presence), and Future that something will take place (E.g., I want to learn how to speak Greenlandic.). Present->Past means that

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something took place in the past, but has an effect on the present time (E. g. Sometimes I think about my childhood.). Present->Future means that something takes place in the present time, but is directed towards the future (E. g., I am thinking about getting an education.). Always recurrent stands for that something is always happening (E. g. I go out in the nature every day.). Empty means that something is said without mentioning the time-dimension (Greenland has a lot of possibilities).

Affects

Positive prospective
Positive retrospective
Negative prospective
Negative retrospective
Ambiguous
Neutral

The categories within the Affect modality describe the feelings that the informant connects to the expressed meaning unit. Positive affects can be either prospective and be directed towards the future (E. g. I am happy about the self rule.), or retrospective and be directed towards the past (E. g. We have always been able to talk about things.). Negative affects can also be prospective and directed towards the future (E. g. We cannot become totally independent.), or retrospective and directed towards the past (E. g. Greenlanders lack self-confidence.). Ambiguous indicate that there are emotions connected to the meaning unit, but it is not obvious if it is positive or negative (E. g. We need to import Danish manpower.). Neutral means that the meaning unit is pronounced in a neutral way (E. g. We have a long history together.).

Will

Engagement
Wish-positive
Wish-negative
Aspiration
Unengagement
None

The categories, within the Will modality, illustrate the motivation that is prominent in the informant expression. Engagement means that the informant shows commitment in the expressed meaning unit (E. g. I want to take part in the culture.). Wish-positive indicate that there is hope (E. g. I believe in the future.), and Wish-negative implies a lack of hope (E. g. They will not make it.). Aspiration is when the meaning unit contains ambitions (I want start a business.). Unengagement is when there is an obvious lack

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of engagement (E. g. I do not feel that it is my responsibility.). None is when there is no indication of ambition in the meaning unit.

Subject *I* *We* *Danes* *Greenlanders* *Denmark* *Greenland* *All-one* *Unspecified*	The category Subject points out from which perspective the meaning unit is expressed. I means that the informant speaks from his/her view (E. g. I like it here.). We means that the informant is talking from a group perspective while acting (E. g. In one way, we are here to help.), and Danes, is when the group is specifically defined as Danish (E. g. Danes only hang out with other Danes.), and Greenlanders, is when the specified group is defined as Greenlandic (E.g. Greenlanders have another time perception.). Denmark and Greenland, is used when the informant expresses something from the country's view. All-one indicates that everyone in a specific context could be the subject in the meaning unit (E. g One can choose to get educated.). Unspecified,is used when there is no subject specified in the meaning unit.
Object *Greenlanders* *Danes* *Greenland* *Denmark* *Denmark/Danes-* *Greenland/Greenlande* *rs* *Other*	The Object modality is specifically used to gain information about the subject's perspective of the self and the other. The category Greenlanders is used when the informants express something about Greenlanders (E. g. Greenlanders are friendly people.) and Danes when the informants are mentioning something about Danes (E. g. Danes talk all the time.). Denmark and Greenland are used respectively when the informants are talking about the countries (E. g. I think the Danish/Greenlandic culture is full of paradoxes). Additionally, the alternative Denmark/Danes-Greenland/Greenlanders is used when a meaning unit contains matters between individual(s) and/or the countr(y)ies (E. g. I think Greenlanders are more stress-free compared with Danes.). And finally, the category Other is used for all themes which are not

specifically mentioning the Danes/Greenlanders or Denmark/Greenland.

In the MCA, there is a statistic function that describes the percent distribution of the expressed modalities in the analyzed text. Thereby, it is possible to compare how the expression of different subjects' modalities varies, when answering the same research question. One can in that way examine the variation of modalities among subjects in different positions the post-colonial context.

In the following step, each meaning unit is broken up in partial intention, entities and predicate. It is the partial intentions that construct entities and predicates. Every entity is something that appears to exist in the informant life-world, and the predicate expresses the subjects own way of representing the entity (Sages & Lundsten, 2004).

The meaning units used above will demonstrate the process.

I feel totally at home here,
but I will not be considered a true Greenlander because I do not speak Greenlandic.

Partial intention	Entity	Predicate
I exist	*I*	*Who exists*
One can feel	*feel*	*As one can*
I feel totally	*totally*	*As I can feel*
Here exist	*Here*	*Which exist*
I feel totally home here	*I*	*Who feels totally home here*
One can be a Greenlander	*Greenlander*	*As one can be*
I can be a Greenlander	*I*	*Who can be a Greenlander*
One can be a true Greenlander	*True Greenlander*	*As one can be*
One can be considered	*Considered*	*As one can be*
I will not be considered as a true Greenlander.	*I*	*Who not will be considered as a true Greenlander*
Some can speak Greenlandic	*Greenlandic*	*Who some can speak*
I do not speak Greenlandic	*Speak Greenlandic*	*As I do not*
I will not be considered as a true Greenlander because I do not speak Greenlandic	*I*	*who will not be considered as a true Greenlander because I do not speak Greenlandic*

The final step of the analysis is to explore the relationship between the different modalities, entities and predicates to construct the complete noema. In the MCA-Minerva there is a working-table, where one can get an overview of all that is said or written by the individual within each modality. By analyzing the synthesis in-between one can explore the horizons that individuals comprehend concerning the effect of the colonial relations, how the relation to the other country/people has affected the lived life and the dialectic process of identity creating in the past, the direction of the relations and the identity construction in the future. Finally, considerations of the totality of the obtained horizons give insight to the life-world of the individual (Sages & Lundsten, 2004).

The result from Sphinx lexica will first be presented to give an overview of the whole text corpus. The result in Sphinx lexica will metaphorically describe the landscape of themes expressed by Danish and Greenlandic subjects when reflecting about the post-colonial relationship's affect on their lives, while the MCA will examine single individuals' meaning constitution of the relationship in-depth. Thereby the two types of software will discover the landscape from different levels.

Sphinx Lexica

The validation of text's richness indicates that the ecological validity of study is high. There is a slight difference between the corpus, where the richness in the Greenlandic corpus is fairly richer, but not enough to draw any conclusions. Instead the ecological validity of both groups is considered high. Another interesting remark is that the transcribed text amount of 11 Danish interviews is almost just as long as the Greenlandic text material with 21 participants, the difference in mean interview length between the two groups is approxiamtely16 minutes. This demonstrates that the Danish subjects speak faster and for a longer period of time when answering the research question.

Below, a graph is presented in order to illustrate the themes that the Danish and the Greenlandic informants talk about when reflecting about the colonial relationship's affect on their lives.

Table 2.

Percentage distribution of expressed themes
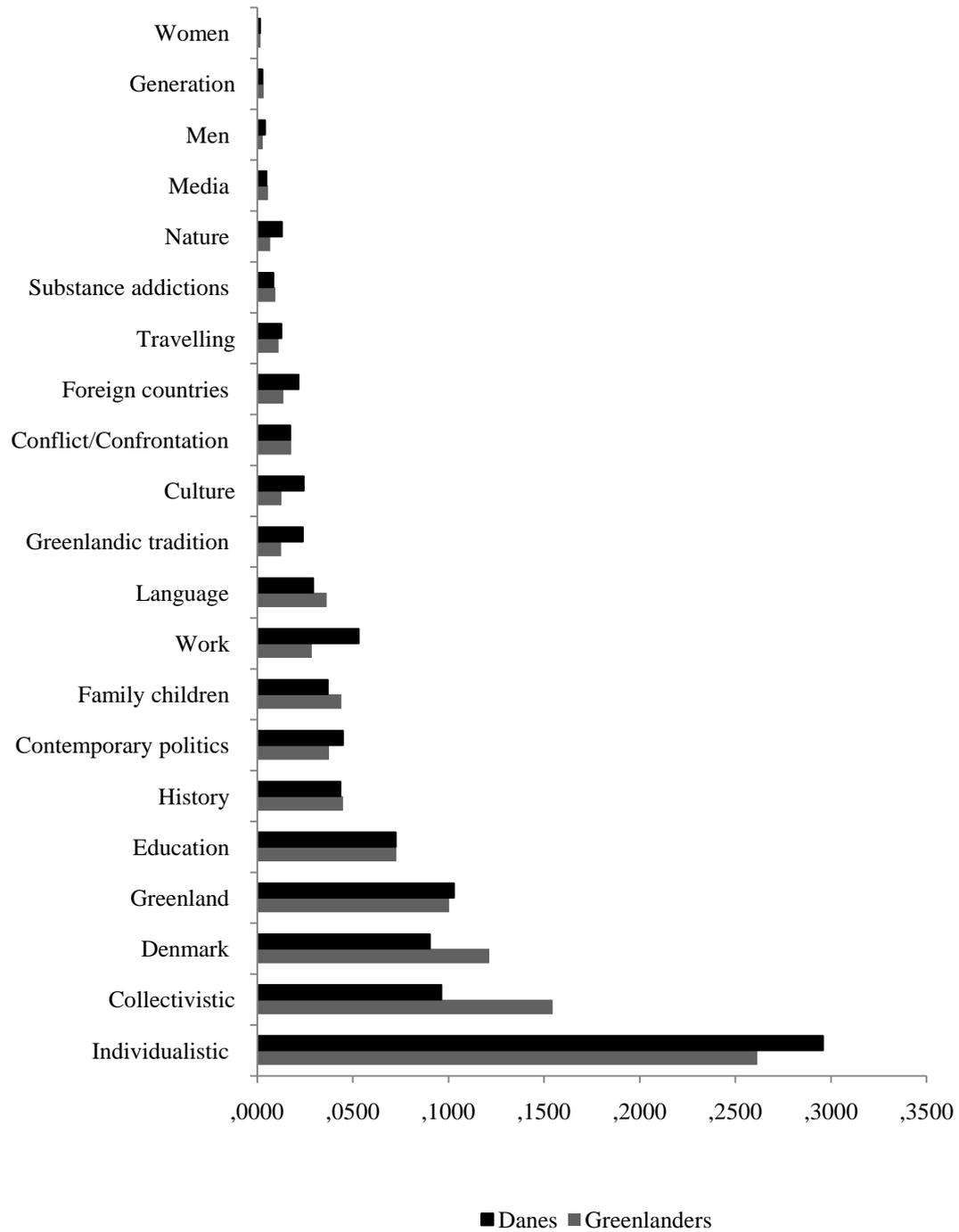
For a specification of the word within each theme, see appendix 4

Generally, the graph's inclination demonstrates that the Danish and Greenlandic participants have proportionately spoken about the same themes. To determine whether observed differences are significant, The Mann-Whitney U and The Kruskal-Wallis H are used. Significant differences, as well as results that are close to being significant, are being presented since the commonly used significance level of 5 % is unsuitable in the present study. A level of significance of 5 % denotes that there is a 5% risk that the result is incorrect. In the present study it is considered to be more appropriate to also present differences that are nearly significant together with the level of significance.

The Mann-Whitney U test of the transcribed interviews shows that Danish subjects talk more about work (U=33; asymp. sign. =0,005; exact sign. = 0,004), cultural (U=48; asymp. sign.=0.035; exact sign=0,036) and nature (U=53; asymp. sign.= 0,053; exact sign=0,053). The test also indicate that Greenlandic subjects speak more in collectivistic terms (U=54, asymp. sign.= 0,067, exact sign=0,070). The Kruskal-Wallis H test is used when there are more than two groups to analyze differences between. Concerning class, the Kruskal-Wallis H test shows that Greenlander with higher level of education talk more about the theme education, compared to Greenlanders with lower level of education (chi-square=6,287; asymp. sign.= 0,043), while Danish subjects with higher level of education talk more about work compared to Greenlandic subjects regardless of class position (chi-square=7,750; asymp. sign.= 0,021). In relation to diaspora, older Greenlandic generations that have spent a lot of time in Denmark speak more about language compared to younger Greenlandic generations that only been on holiday in Denmark (chi-square=13,466; asymp. sign.= 0,019). Danes who recently moved to Greenland speak more about work than younger generations of Greenlander (chi-square=9,579; asymp. sign.= 0,008). When testing for ethnicity, groups of Danes that have been living in Greenland for at limited period of time speak mostly about work, while Greenlanders speak less about work regardless of ethnic position (chi-square=8,961; asymp. sign.=0,062)(For a detailed description of subgroups, see appendix 3).

Outcome of Sphinx Lexica: To sum the richness of text is considered to be similar for the both ethnic group which indicate that the subject been of interest for the participating subjects. Further it is showed that Danes speaks faster and for longer period of time when answering the phenomenological question. Furthermore Danes

and Greenlanders generally speak about the same themes i.e. individualistic, collectivistic, Denmark, Greenland, education, history, contemporary politics, family/children, work, language, Greenlandic traditions, culture, conflicts/confrontations, foreign countries, travelling, substance addictions , nature, media, men, generation and last women. The frequencies in mentioned themes are falling with the enumeration of themes, which means that the last mentioned topics are not a part of all participants' text. There are some differences in between the two main ethnic groups, but also between Greenlanders with different educational level as well as Greenlanders of different generations. Danes speak more about work, culture and nature, while Greenlanders express themselves more from a group identity. Greenlanders with higher level of education speak more of education compared to Greenlanders with a lower level of education and older generations of Greenlanders speak more about language compared to younger generations of Greenlanders. The in-depth analysis in MCA will aid the examination of how the participants are talking about these themes, and if there are similarities or differences in informants' ways of expressing themselves when making sense of the colonial relationship's affect on their lives.

Meaning Constitution Analysis

The participants position within society will be determined by the given personal data in the participant form (age, gender, occupation, ethnicity, time spent in Denmark/Greenland) and the information about group affiliation that can be deduced from the written text or transcribed interview. General patterns of modalities will be present for each participant. The belief- and will-modality shows similar pattern for all participants and will therefore not be specifically present. The belief-modality is expressed mostly in doxa-affirmation, which implies that persons are certain in their way of make sense of the relations impact in life. The will-modality is expressed mostly in the category none, which indicate that the phenomenological question does not encourage people to think about solutions and instead people seem more to make sense and meaning of the colonial relations consequences for previous, present and future experiences. The most expressed entities and the most substantial adherent predicates will be present in a time horizon where the affect modality also will be marked. The central position of the affect modality is founded by the theoretical

underpinning of the dialogical self theory where emotions are said to take a central role in the dynamic of the dialogical self. In analysis of the written text or transcribed interview the dialogical self and the intersectionality perspectives will be operating when exploring the relationship between modalities, entities and predicates in the construction of the complete noema. The analysis will examine the temporality of horizons participants comprehend in their life-world concerning the colonial relations impact in life, identity forming and view of the other. The dialogical self theory will locate different voices within the self in the texts, while the intersectionality perspective will evaluate the subject's power resources and preferential right of interpretation from their class, ethnicity and diasporic positions. In the in-deep analysis participants will be present under pseudonyms to assure confidentiality. In accordance with the general view of informants in appendix 3; the informants that have been selected for deep analysis are the Danish participants 4, 6, 10 and 11, the Greenlandic participants 18, 25, 29, 32 and lastly the Faroe subject participant 36.

Sofie (P4): Sofie is a 30-year-old Danish woman who has been working for the Greenlandic self-rule for at shorter period of time. Sofie's employment and higher level of education, gives her a position in the upper strata of society. She did not have any connection to Greenland before her arrival and she has not learned the language. Additionally, her friends are mainly Danes and thereby her integration can be classified as poor. Sofie can be said to be the one in the selected sample that represent the main group of Danes that come to Greenland as imported manpower for a limited period of time. Sofie is participating by writing a text.

She expresses herself consequently in I-form (78%) and only once does she specify that she is speaking from a Danish point of view, and is therefore speaking primarily from an individual identity rather than a group identity. Her emotional expression in the affect-modality is ambiguous (51%) with a higher tendency towards expressing herself in negative-retrospective (31%) than positive-retrospective (5%) terms. In the belief-modality category, she mostly expresses signitive conditions (sign. 51%, sign/imag 22%), which imply that she mostly communicates in abstract terms. Mostly she writes in present time (54%), but she also reflects frequently about her past thoughts and experiences (26%, present>past 14%). The past dimension incepts that it was first after she had decided to move to Greenland that she started to reflect about Greenland and what it would mean to live in Greenland. Sofie's expression in

the object-category is most typically on Greenland (43%) and Greenlanders (10 %), but she is often mentioning them in comparison with Denmark and Danes (14%). She speaks less about Denmark (5%) and Danes (8%).

In her attempt to make sense of her perception of the Greenlandic society and Greenlanders, the conflicts between voices within her life-world are noticeable. In the past dimension she experienced dual voices where one is fantasying about a paradise, while the other voice has a negative image of the country. The voices can be seen as the expression of different cultural voices within Denmark. After her arrival, Sofie experienced that the reality was totally different from what she had expected, but also much more contradictory than she had predicted. Further, she states that she differentiates single Greenlandic subjects from her general view of Greenlanders and Greenland, and she adds that she does not experience any differences between herself and the Greenlanders she actually knows. Instead, the cultural voices become active when there is a distance between the Danish and the Greenlandic groups; for example, when describing the Greenlandic culture. Besides, she expresses that not speaking Greenlandic limits her from becoming a part of their culture. Sofie further expresses that things are not working as well in Greenland as in Denmark and she does not think that Greenland is critical enough towards itself. Here a Danish cultural voice is active that consists of a colonial mind-set that takes a dominant position and lack knowledge about colonialism's effect on post-colonial societies. She has difficulties to understand the Greenlandic nationalism, simultaneously as she interprets that everything about Denmark has a negatively corresponding counterpart Greenland. Here, she perceives the Greenlandic cultural voice as negative towards Danes and Denmark, and that makes her think about the possibility that the Danish colonization could be responsible for the negative conditions in Greenland. She remarks that she does not feel like a part of a colonial power, just an ordinary employee; and notices that she feels like she is given the role of being a Dane, while in other places she has been in the world, she has just been herself. The conflict in her dialogical self, where the dialectic between Danes and Greenlanders is central, makes her conclude that she cannot have a home in Greenland and that her future is in Denmark.

In accordance with the intersectionality perspective, it is essential that analysis both occur at a material and a discursive level. Sofie's material level can be considered to be high, seeing as her educational and employment gives economic as well as cultural and social capital, which will be legitimated to symbolic power of

most groups in Greenland. But the fact that she experiences the Greenlandic nationalism as critical against Denmark and Danes indicate that her forms of cultural and social capital are not being legitimated or only partly seen as legitimated by some groups in Greenland. Nevertheless, her text indicates that she is in a position that allows interpretation and that she is sincerely and honestly reflecting about the relationship's previous lack of effect in life, and her thoughts and feelings in the actual meeting with the culture and its people. In relation to ethnicity, Sofie defines the Danish and Greenlandic ethnicity more in terms of differences than similarities, even though she also notices that she does not experience the differences in the personal meeting. In Sofie's diasporic narrative the Greenlandic capture starts first after she decided to move to Greenland. She comes as imported manpower, which means that her labor is needed and thereby she is a part of an empowered we. Sofie has a hard time handling the superior role she is given seeing as it is not coherent with her self-image, simultaneously as she does not question her western view that is formed by a Danish pre-comprehension.

Table 3 P4: Sofie	
Past	
I: *Neutral:* Who just before I came up here, began to think about what Greenland was and what it meant to live in Greenland.	**Greenland**: *Neutral:* Was for me something quite diffuse.
Denmark/Danes-Greenland/Greenlanders: *Neutral:* The relations between Denmark and Greenland first occurred to me after I moved to Greenland. *Positive-Retrospective:* It gave me an impression of paradise; that here was calmness, stillness; something that was not in Denmark. *Negative-Retrospective:* Many documentaries in Denmark gave the impression that nothing worked in Greenland.	
Present>Past	
Dane: *Neutral:* As a Dane, I did not think about Greenland's existence.	**Greenlanders:** *Neutral:* Some remind me more of myself, the one who has lived in and was educated in Denmark. *Positive-Retrospective:* Who, after all, are friendly, open and not at all different from me. *Negative-Retrospective:* Of whom I met hostility in connection with my work **Greenland**: *Ambiguously:* Where everything is so much more antagonistic than I had anticipated.
Present	
I: *Ambiguously:* Who doesn't feel like being a part of a colonial power. Who has the role as a Dane, who other places have just been myself. Who does not wonder much about whether someone is a Greenlander or a Dane. Who	**Greenlanders:** *Neutral:* Who can have a relationship with Denmark. *Ambiguously*: When I meet Greenlanders I personally know, many of my prejudices disappear.

truly believes I differentiate greatly between Greenlandic society and individual Greenlanders. Who can't figure out if my labor is wanted. *Negative-retrospective:* Who do not feel like a part of the culture, because I don't speak Greenlandic. Who sometimes thinks that my prejudices have been confirmed. Who sometimes feels a bit guilty - is it really the Danes fault? **Danes:** *Negative-retrospective:* Whose fault it can be. **Denmark:** *Negative-retrospective:* Where it is almost negative and embarrassing to adorn oneself with the Dannebrog.	*Negative-retrospective:* From the Greenlandic side, you experience very little self-criticism. **Greenland**: *Negative-retrospective:* I get irritated over the dependence of society, where the government must do everything.
Denmark/Danes-Greenland/Greenlanders: : *Ambiguously*: The Danes who are here in Nuuk are resourceful, educated people. *Positive-Retrospective*: Face to face, I don't wonder much about whether someone is a Greenlander or a Dane because I do not think there is any difference. *Negative-retrospective:* It is strongly emphasized that this should not emulate Denmark.	
Present>Future	
I: *Negative-prospective:* Who now clearly knows that I cannot have a home here in the long term.	**Greenland**: *Ambiguously*: A place I will not be in the future.
Future	
Denmark: *Positive-prospective:* Where my future i*s.*	

Pernille (P6): Pernille is 21-year-old Danish woman and has been living in Greenland for one year. She is working as a cashier in a supermarket and has therefore a lower position in the class hierarchy. Pernille is the only Dane in the sample who deliberately has come to take a position in society that does not possess power. She has a great interest for the historical relationship between Danes and Greenlanders, which started in contemporary school. She has learned some Greenlandic and has Greenlandic friends; her integration is thereby considered to be high. She is participating by writing a text.

She expresses herself mostly in I-form (68%), but sometimes she also speaks in we-form to mark the Danish voice (8%). She mostly writes in signitive terms (signitiv 14%, sign/imag 45%) compared to perceptive conditions (perceptive 16%, perc/imag 22%). Emotionally; she expresses herself as much in negative-retrospective (37 %) as in positive terms (retrospective, 27%, prospective, 12%) and some in ambiguous (16%). Pernille reflects upon the relation mostly in past tense (55%, present>past 16%), but speaks more in present tense (23%) than in future tense (4%). Pernille is talking mostly within the category other (40 %), but otherwise she speaks about the relationship (32 %) and after that Greenland (18%) and Greenlanders (10%).

Pernille has read a lot about Danish colonialism and the following period, and comes to Greenland with a mission to act different from other Danes in Greenland and thereby give Greenlanders a more nuanced view of Danes. She wants to take part in the Greenlandic culture and make friendships with Greenlanders and learn from their cultural values. Her way of wanting to differentiate herself from other Danes illustrates that her inner voice can be understood as a counter-discourse to the Danish cultural discourse in Denmark. Pernille's perception is that the positions that Danes possess in Greenland recreate the power relation from the colonization period. In her life-world her post-colonial understanding gives her a coherent understanding of the relations between Danes and Greenlanders, and the times when she experiences hostility from Greenlanders, she interprets the Greenlandic voice in a historical context. She perceives the Greenlandic voice as marked by the colonial period, where they feel disrespected by Danes simultaneously as they feel anger towards Denmark's political power. Pernille's vision is to overcome the dichotomy thinking and also show Greenlanders that Danes can behave in another way and that they also have a deep respect for Greenland.

According to Skegg's use of Bourdieu's capital forms, Pernille's capital can be considered to be limited, but at the same time her Danish identity can in a colonial context give her cultural and social capital, due to the colonial power's relation which ascribes her symbolic power form both Danish and Greenlandic groups. Her aspiration to integrate and learn about the Greenlandic culture also gives her social capital from Greenlanders that can be transformed into symbolic power. Further, Sofie's position does not seem to be held back from the right to interpret and her educational ambitions about becoming an eskimologist will give her a position within the higher class strata in the future. Concerning ethnicity, Pernille's focus is not on differences between the two population groups, but instead on overbuilding the post-colonial dichotomy of identity. She is well aware of the Danish acts during colonialism/post-colonialism and her way of expressing herself in a collective we when describing Danish reasoning indicate that a Danish superior identity is part of her diasporic narrative. The Greenlandic chapter for her diasporic narrative can be said to start in contemporary school, where she begins to think and fantasize about Greenland and what it would be to live there.

Table 4.	
P6:Pernille	
Past	
I: *Ambiguously*: Who wanted to live on equal footing with Greenlanders. *Positive-retrospective:* Who didn't want to have a position as a Danish manager. Who wanted to come to a place where I could find peace and quiet. *Negative-retrospective*: Who was ashamed about Denmark's political treatment of Greenlanders. **Denmark**: *Ambiguously*: Who changed their life from hunters into a modern Western life.	**Greenland**: *Neutral*: That you can write a paper about in high school.
Denmark/Danes-Greenland/Greenlanders: *Negativ-retrospective:* Denmark overlooked Greenland's cultural value.	
Present>Past	
I: *Positive-retrospective:* Who has learned some Greenlandic and it has been the way into their hearts.	**Greenlanders:** *Negative-retrospective:* Who told me that they normally don't feel respected by Danes. **Greenland**: *Negative-retrospective:* Who has a former hate towards Denmark's political power.
Present	
I: *Negative-retrospective*: Who considers Denmark to be arrogant towards Greenland. *Positive-retrospective:* Who feel loved by my Greenlandic colleagues. Who in Greenland can realize all my dreams. Who in Greenland found out that my environment is safe and secure. **We:** *Negative-retrospective:* Who don't learn the language and expect them to speak Danish. **Danes:** *Positive-retrospective:* Who also respect Greenlanders for their unique history and culture. *Negative-retrospective*: Who comes for a few years and are clever and educated. Who rarely sees who the Greenlanders are. **Denmark:** *Negative-retrospective:* Who can be arrogant towards Greenland.	**Greenlanders:** *Negative-retrospective:* Who feel that Danes look down on Greenlanders. *Positive-retrospective:* Who can also be respected for their unique history and culture. **Greenland**: *Positive-retrospective:* A place associated with personal freedom, space, self-development.
Present>Future	
I: *Positive-prospective:* Whose vision has been to give Greenlanders a more nuanced image of Danes. Who wants to become a eskimologist and help find solutions to the social problem caused by modernization.	**Greenlanders***: Positive-*Who can be given a more nuanced image of Danes

Morten (P10): Morten is a 52-years-old Danish priest who has lived in Greenland for 22 years and has children with a Greenlandic woman. He has had a lot of privileged positions within the Greenlandic church and has by family bond been introduced to the Greenlandic society. Morten has a position in the upper class, speaks

Greenlandic fluency and can be said to be well-integrated into the Greenlandic culture. He is participating by writing a text.

He writes mostly in the subject-category unspecified (64%) and after that in I-form (30%). He only expressed himself a few percent in we-form (2%) and when he does he is switching between a Greenlandic and a Danish group identity. In the function-category he expresses himself approximately as much in signitive (sign. 32%, sign/imag 23%) as in perceptive terms (perc. 30%, perc/img 15 %). In the affect-category Morten is expressing himself mostly in ambiguous terms (34%). Otherwise he speaks in neutral (23%) or negative affect (retrospective 28%, prospective 4 %) and sometimes in positive-retrospective (11%). Concerning the time-dimension; Morten is expressing himself mostly in present time (47%) and past time (past 26%, present>past 23 %) and nothing in future time. Morten mostly writes about Greenland (51 %) and Greenlanders (13%), and is sometimes reflecting about Denmark in relation to Greenland (9%). He writes a lot about other matters that are categorized within the other-category (28%).

In Morten's life-world, the dialogical of voices are neither between Danish and Greenlandic culture nor post-colonial thoughts, but instead of a religious character. He blames the missionaries for the lack of spirituality that he experiences in the Greenlandic culture. He also describes some paradoxes concerning parenting in negative terms, materialism/simple life and laughter/tragedies in the Greenlandic society that he interprets as consequences in all post-colonial societies. He is positive about the Greenlandization's aim to support the Greenlandic ethnicity and self-esteem, but this process is not supported by the Greenlandic elite who he claims only have their own profit in mind. Instead, Morten states that Denmark has tried to repair the damages that were caused by missionaries ever since the colonization period. Morten is skeptical about the discourse of blaming the Danes for negative conditions in Greenland and sees it as a strategy used by the elite not to take responsibility. When Morten is identifying himself as a part of a Danish collective, he is writing in past tense, but when taking Greenlandic group affiliation he is expressing himself in present tense.

Morten does not identify himself as a part of the Greenlandic elite, but has had honored positions within the Greenlandic society. His position as priest gives him a position that provides symbolic power and his text also illustrate preferential rights to interpretation. The division of a Danish and a Greenlandic ethnicity is central in his

text, which he claims is caused by the lack of spirituality in the Greenlandic culture and not by the colonial power relation. He identifies both a Danish and a Greenlandic we and sees himself simultaneously as imported manpower and as a first generation immigrant. He has had relations to Greenland during a large part of his life and his diasporic narrative consist different positions, ethnic identities and worldviews that are a mixture of Danish and Greenlandic and religious discourses.

Table 5.	
P10: Morten	
Past	
We: *Negative-retrospective:* That with the Nordic Protestantism, gold and punishment, turned a unique community structure off its course. **Denmark:** *Positve-retrospective* Who through 250 years has tried to compensate for the results of missionaries	**Greenlanders***: Positive-retrospective:* Whose relationship between Inuit life and the spiritual universe was unique and tailored to the Inuit's daily practice.
Denmark/Danes-Greenland/Greenlanders: *Negative retrospective*: The resulting impact of missionaries has been loss of self-esteem, loss of self-awareness and indecision in relation to the social structure.	
Present>Past	
Dane: *Negative-retrospective*: That can work as a buffer in Danish-Greenlandic conflicts. **I:** *Ambiguously*: Who have abandoned the attitude of "It is a shame for the Greenlanders" *Positive-retrospective:* Who in my work has experienced that the Greenlandization has been showing result.	**Greenlanders:** *Neutral:* For whom it never has been good practice or good Greenlandic Inuit ethics to mandate anything to the other, not even in a work situation. *Ambiguously:* Who laughs a lot, but who also knows someone who committed suicide in the immediate family circle. *Negative-retrospective*: Of whom the elite always will find a Danish-speaking civil servant to ease tensions in Danish-Greenlandic conflicts. Of whom the elite of 350-400 people are running the society politically, commercially and financially. Of whom the elite don't have the general Greenlandic population in mind, but rather in the name of emerging individualism and his/her own profit. **Greenland**: *Ambiguously:* Who has trouble finding its roots.
Denmark/Danes-Greenland/Greenlanders: *Negative-retrospective*: In one sense the Danish civil servant group represent a buffer to Greenland so that it does not end in civil war.	
Present	
I: *Neutral:* Who officially is imported manpower, unofficially, first generation immigrants.	**We/Greenlanders:** *Positive-prospective*: Who are free individuals, but not individualists. *Ambiguously* Who are characterized by a number of paradoxes that historically occur in postcolonial societies. Who one can feel sorry for. **Greenland**: *Negative-retrospective:* Whose society suffers from a lack of spirituality.

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Sven (P11): Sven is Danish, 48 years old and has been living in Greenland for 35 years, both in cities and on the countryside, and he has Greenlandic children. He is trained to be a teacher, but has had a lot of different jobs distributed over the whole class strata in Greenland. He speaks Greenlandic fluently and is highly integrated into the society. He is participating by taking part in an interview.

He expresses himself mostly unspecified terms (54%), and otherwise he is shifting between I-form (16%), one-all (13%) and we-form (10%). When he expresses himself in we-form he is speaking from a Greenlandic group identity, and when speaking in one-all he is shifting between giving voices of Danes and Greenlanders. He speaks almost as mush in signitive (40%, sign./img. 13%) as in perceptive terms (42%, perc./img. 5 %). In the affect-category he is talking mostly in ambiguous terms (29%) and just as much in negative-retrospective (23%) as in positive-retrospective (23%). The remaining part within the affect-category is expressed in neutral affect. Sven talks mostly in present time (61%) and he also frequently reflects about the past (20, present>past, 12%). Within the object-category he is mostly talking about the relationship (27%) and he speaks more about Greenland (18%) and Danes (17%) compared to Greenlanders (6%) and Denmark (6%).

In his life-world he is reflecting about how the Danes' relationship towards the Greenlandic culture has changed over time. Sven notes that after the colonization the Danes learned the language, integrated in society and taught the population how to write and live after democratic principles, compared to today when Danes are more divergent in their approach. He exemplifies with three types of Danes; one that really wants to do something good for society, one that come here on carrier grounds, live in Danish diasporas and return to Denmark after 2-3 years, and one that comes to get a superior position they cannot get in Denmark. Hence, Sven repeatedly concludes that one cannot generalize about the Danes in Greenland, since they mirror different layers within Denmark. Further, he is also mentioning that Greenland should be happy about being colonized by Denmark instead of other countries, since Denmark always preserved the Greenlandic cultural values. In the interview Sven is mostly expressing himself from a Greenlandic discursive voice, and when he is expressing that the Danes should be happy about being colonized by Denmark it can both be a Danish cultural voice or a Danish voice which has been internalized into the Greenlandic cultural voice. In the interview with Sven, a central theme is the correlation between a lack of education manpower within Greenland and imported Danish manpower, which

he mostly talks about in ambiguous or negative-retrospective terms. Other themes are the Greenlandic symbiosis between civilization and nature, the Greenlandic way of taking care of each other and their emotional way of being, which he speaks about in positive-retrospective terms.

Sven is the one in the sample who can get all capital forms legitimated of most groups within Greenland. His integration in the Greenlandic culture and his way of valuing the Greenlandic way of living will increase his possibilities to get capitals legitimized also by Greenlandic groups that are critical of the Danes. He formally identifies himself as a Dane, but when speaking he identifies with a Greenlandic we. Sven's separation of ethnic groups is not a dialectical one, but instead he differs between the Greenlandic and the Danish way of life, where his lifestyle is closer to the Greenlandic one. Sven has been living in Greenland for most time of his life and Denmark more seems to be the prolog of his life narrative. He has had different employment posts, geographical locations and relations to Danes as well as Greenlanders, which has formed his worldview and being.

Table 6.	
P11: Sven	
Past	
Danes: *Positive-retrospective:* Who in old days learned the language, and integrated well in society. *I: Negative retrospective:* Who thought that we were not going to need imported manpower in 10 or 20 years.	
Denmark/Danes-Greenland/Greenlanders*: Positive-retrospective:* Historically a tradition has developed for the two groups to live on democratic terms.	
Present>Past	
Danes: *Negative-retrospective*: Who sometimes have been badly treated in Denmark. Who sometimes come here and live after their own premises.	**Greenland**: *Positiv-retrospective:* Who should be very pleased that it is the Danes and not the Americans who has been here.
Present	
One: *Positive-retrospective:* Who feels more integrated in a small village. **Danes:** *Positive-retrospective:* Of whom some are doing a really good job for society. Who come to for the adventure, to try something new, to make a difference. *Neutral*: Who are coming from all layers of society. Who are representing the variety in Denmark. *Ambiguous:* Of whom some are getting well integrated and some keep out. *Negative-retrospective:* Who sometimes move	**One:** *Negative-retrospective*: Who constantly need to train new arrived Danes. *Negative-retrospective:* Who are still dependent on people coming from abroad. **We:** *Neutral:* Who also need educated Greenlandic people to come back when they are done with their education. **Greenlanders:** *Ambiguous:* Who need a good level of Danish to get through the education system. **Greenland**: *Neutral:* Where life is completely different compared to Denmark. Where one

here to get a status position in society. .	can provide one's own food in the nature even though we live in modern society. That is a multicultural society. *Positive-retrospective*: Where you are better able to support each other.
Denmark/Danes-Greenland/Greenlanders*: Neutral:* Financially, it is better to live in Denmark than Greenland	
Present>Future	
Danes: *Negative prospective:* Of whom some will leave the country after approximately three years. Of whom one will miss it when they go back.	**Greenland:** *Positive-prospective*: Emphasis has been put on preserving the culture of Greenland and hunting in many ways. **Greenlander:***: Ambiguous:* Who go to Denmark to seek fortune, to try out the dream of a better life. **I:** *Ambiguous:* Who would find it really difficult in Denmark, because I'm used to the life here.
Denmark/Danes-Greenland/Greenlanders*: Neutral:* Financially it is better to live in Denmark than Greenland	

Pauli (P18): Pauli in 35-years-old Greenlandic university student and has been living in Denmark for about 12 years. Both his parents are form mixed Danish-Greenlandic marriages and he has a lot of friends and family in Denmark. He has lived both at the country side and in cities in Greenland and is bilingual Danish-Greenlandic. He is participating by taking part in an interview.

He expresses himself mostly in the category unspecified (44%), and after that equally often in one-all (18%) and we-form (18%), and less in I-form (13%). When talking in we-form he identifies with a Greenlandic group, but in one-all he illustrates both a Greenlandic and Danish way of thinking. He speaks considerably more in signitive terms (sign.36% , sign./img.33%, img./sign. %) compared to perceptive terms (perc. 12%, perc./img.8%, img./perc. 1%). Emotionally he speaks as much in ambiguous (33%) and negative terms (retrospective 27%, prospective 4%) and less in positive terms (retrospective 7%, prospective 8%). Concerning the time-horizon Pauli speaks mostly in present time (44%) and less in present>past (24%), past time (18%) and present>future (11%). Within the object category Pauli speaks mostly about the relationship (45%) but also much about Greenlanders (16%) and Greenland (19%) and less about Danes (2%) and Denmark (8%).

Pauli has had a lot of different positions within the Greenlandic society, and he gives voice to a major complexity of possible views of Danes and Greenlanders in Greenland. In Pauli's life-world he experiences a Greenlandic voice that is affected by a dichotomy way of thinking; while Pauli's individual voice appears to overcome the dialectical thinking. Pauli sees Greenland-Denmark as one culture, since he argues

that they are such an integrated part of one another. Pauli means that many Greenlanders think that everything about Denmark is negative in contrary to other parts of the world where they see Denmark as a paradise. He is therefore positive about the fact that the connections to the outer world has deepened in the last few years so Greenlander can comprehend that other places in the world also contains both positive and negative aspects. Pauli acknowledges that Denmark has done negative acts towards Greenland in the past, which has resulted in social problems, loss of identity and a feeling of being inferior. Nevertheless, he is also critical about a general tendency in Greenland to blame Denmark for all negative conditions in society today, which he finds especially prevalent among Greenlandic politicians. Pauli reasons that the Greenlanders have to take responsibility and also admit that they for example have chosen to implement the Nordic welfare system and thereby also the bureaucratic system that comes along with it. In Pauli's way of making sense of different conditions within Greenland, he is using post-colonial as well as non post-colonial comprehensions. For example, he argues that they have not overtaken a Danish lifestyle, but a modern way of living and when he explains different phenomenon he also draws parallels to societies without a colonial history. A central theme in the interview with Pauli is the link between Greenland's lack of people with a higher level of education and imported Danish manpower, and the consequences it has for the society. In general Pauli is positive about the present political situation with a new government and the self-rule. According to his opinion he thinks that the society is on the right way, and that people just shall continue as before with educating themselves, as well as taking responsibility and only use objective arguments in the political debate instead of blaming the Danes.

Even though Pauli has not finished his education he still has a position that can transform his social and cultural capital into symbolic capital. His ways of analyzing the relationship also illustrate that he is in a position with the preferential right of interpretation, even though the material level/capital can be seen as limited for a student. Pauli define himself as Greenlanders, but is simultaneously talking about having a Danish-Greenlandic identity, and thereby his identity overcomes the dichotomy of the Danish and Greenlandic ethnicity. In the interview it does not emerge if or how he differs between Danish and Danish-Greenlandic identity in his horizon of comprehension, instead he argues for the importance of accepting the integrated Danish part of the identity in Greenland. Pauli's diasporic narrative

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contains a lot of different positions in Denmark and Greenland that has given him a

transnational Greenlandic-Danish identity.

Table 7.	
P18: Pauli	
Past	
Denmark: *Negative-retrospective:* Who has caused a lot of bad episodes with the modernization in the 60s. Who forced people to move from the countryside to the cities. **Danes:** *Negative-retrospective:* Who men have abused the Greenlandic women and made the Greenlandic man very small.	**Greenlanders**: *Negative-retrospective:* Who did not know much about the world beyond Denmark and Greenland. Whose men were amputated.
Denmark/Danes-Greenland/Greenlanders: *Negative-retrospective:* Before, the relation to Denmark and Danes where the only contact with the outside world.	
Present>Past	
Denmark: *Negative-retrospective:* That could have done things better. That have done bad things.	**Greenlanders:** *Negative-retrospective***:** Who has been and are bad at talking about problems.
Present	
Danes: *Neutral:* Who comes when they are done with their education. Who stays here for 1-3 years. Who moves before their children starts school. *Negative-retrospective:* Who can be terrible. Who comes for a limited period of time *Positive-retrospective:* Who can be fantastic. **Denmark:** *Neutral:* Who's contemporary school has a higher standard of education. *Negative-retrospective*: Whose fault it can be. Who can be the scapegoat.	**I:** *Neutral:* Who think of family and friends when I think of Denmark. *Ambiguously* Who do not feel more Greenlandic now just because we can go to the UN and say we are a people. **We:** *Neutral:* Who has been officially recognized as a people. Many of our things are more Western than Danish. **One:** *Negative-retrospective*: Who can have conspiracy theories about Denmark **Greenlanders:** *Neutral*: The real Greenlander doesn't exist anymore. Who can study at university. Who want the Nordic welfare system. *Negative-retrospective*: Who believe that everything bad comes from Denmark. Who experience that they are being dominated by Danes. Who believe that other countries, except Denmark, are utopian dream countries where the sun always is shining. Who thinks it is the Danes fault. Who's consciousness only include Denmark-Greenland and not the outer world. Who do not want to admit their own guilt. *Positive-retrospective*: Who are happy about the self-rule. **Greenland:** *Neutral:* That recently has got a new government. *Negative-retrospective:* That has social problems. Whose politicians want to run the country in a Greenlandic way.
Denmark/Danes-Greenland/Greenlanders*: Neutral:* In some areas it feels natural to say Denmark-Greenland because they have become so integrated.	
Present>Future	
	I: *Positive-prospective:* Who hope and believe

	that the new regime and the new self-rule will get a good start. **Greenland:** *Positive-prospective:* Where people from several countries have started to come. Which should continue as now, and educate people, take responsibility [instead of blaming the Danes] and politicians should use objective arguments.
Future	
	Greenlander: *Ambiguously:* Who will think that it was lovely at the time when it just was us and the Danes. *Positive-prospective:* Who will hopefully stop blaming the Danes.

John (P25): John is a 47-year-old Greenlandic fisherman who has been living in a small Greenlandic village all his life. He is living of fishing and hunting, and sometimes he helps to interpret between local Greenlanders and imported Danish healthcare staff in the village. He is bilingual Greenlandic-Danish but his Danish is limited, which also makes it hard for him to express himself about the relationship in the interview. He is married to a Greenlandic woman and has only been on shorter trips to Denmark in order to learn Danish and for medical care.

He is mostly talking in I-form (44%) and when he is talking in we-form (19%) he is identifying either with the people in the village or with Greenlanders as group. John is talking a bit more in perceptive terms (perc. 52%) than in signitive terms (sign. 37%, sign./imag. 9%). In the affected-category he is expressing himself mostly in ambiguous terms (42%) and almost as mush in positive-retrospective (18%) as in negative terms (22%). John mostly talk in present time (53%) but frequently reflects about the past (pres.>past 22%, past 17%) and hardly ever refers to the future (1%). Concerning the object category he mostly speaks within the category other (71 %), which means that he mostly speaks about things that cannot be categorized as Denmark/Danes nor Greenland/Greenlanders. Otherwise he speaks some about the relationship (13%) and Danes (9%) and hardly anything about Denmark, Greenland and Greenlanders.

Initially in the interview, John expresses that he has not thought that much about the relationship between Danes and Greenlanders, and in the interview his focus is mostly on single meetings with Danes in the everyday life in the village. In his life-world Danes and Greenlanders are very different and he denotes that Danes speak

more, live more carefully and make more plans for the future. He expresses that he has always been attached to the Danes and the Danish language since he was a child. He is one of the few who speak Danish in the village and thereby he gets contacted by Danes that are working in the school and with healthcare service in the village. He thinks the collaboration between Danes and Greenlanders in the village has been good and that they learn from one another. He explains that the Danes want to be a part of society and ask him questions about life in the village. He has experienced single episodes of Danes looking down at Greenlanders. John thinks that the Greenlandic society needs to import manpower, but wishes that they could stay for a longer period of time to understand the culture and learn the language. He also expresses that he has a problem with understanding why Danes that do stay for longer do not learn Greenlandic. During the interview, John frequently goes back to talking about his insufficient health, caused by work accidents and congenital heart defects, though he often had contact with Danish health professionals for this matter. He claims that his deficient health limited his work capacity, which in turn is negative for his self-worth. Further, he states that there are huge social problems in Greenland, and that they need more psychologists in Greenland, to help Greenlanders to talk about traumatic experiences in life. He has only talked to a Danish psychologist, and wishes that he could talk with a psychologist in Greenlandic. It is hard to distinguish John's individualistic voice from the group identity in the village as well as the Greenlandic we, but it seems like the individualistic voice and the village voice are closer connected than the Greenlandic voice, since he mostly exemplifies with situations in the village and only a few times to Greenland as a whole.

John is the one of the selected interviewees that represents the working class. He has neither enough material nor cultural capital to get his capitals transformed into symbolic capital. It is conceivable that his social capital from being a skilled fisherman or hunter gives symbolic capital in the local context. John sees essential differences between Danish and Greenlandic ethnicity out form their way of being, but without reflecting further about the causes for the distinction. In Johns diasporic narrative the Danes and Denmark seems to mostly take a positive but peripheral part in life.

Table 8.	
P25: John	
Past	
	I:*Positive-retrospective:* Who has been in Denmark for two month to learn Danish
Present>Past	
	I*: Positive-retrospective:* Who always have been attached to the Danes since I was a child. Who know many Danes here because I speak Danish. *Neutral:* Who have not thought that much about the relation.
Denmark/Danes-Greenland/Greenlanders: *Positive-retrospective:* It has been a good co-operation between Danes and Greenlanders here.	
Present	
Danes: *Positive-retrospective:* Want to learn about how we live, about fishing and hunting. Who want to take part in our small society. Who sometimes come up with new ideas about new tools to use for fishing and hunting. *Negative-retrospective:* Who can't learn Greenlandic, who say it is hard to learn. Who don't have time to learn the language. Who go back to Denmark again. Who sometimes act superior. *Ambiguously:* Who constantly think about the future. Who talk more than us. *Neutral:* Who one can talk to. Who live more carefully than us. **Denmark:** *Positive-retrospective:* That one can travel to.	**I:** *Positive-retrospective:* Who know many Danes here because I speak Danish. Who only think about finding food, and selling it so I can pay the bills. Who tell stories about whales. *Negative-retrospective*: Who think is a shame that they can't learn the language. Who understand it's a hard language to learn. **We:** *Neutral:* Who do not talk much about our plans. Who develop ourselves all the time with them which are coming from the outside world. **Greenlanders:** *Negative-retrospective***:** Who do not talk about our problems. Who need to talk about problems in Greenlandic. *Ambiguously:* Who need an interpreter. **Greenland**: *Ambiguously:* That need educated people. *Negative-retrospective:* Where there are a lot of problems.
Denmark/Danes-Greenland/Greenlanders: *Neutral:* Danes and Greenlanders are very different.	
Present>Future	
	I: *Neutral:* Who do not think about the future *Positive-prospective:* Who want to become good at speaking Danish again.

Anne (P29): Anne is a 40 year-old Greenlandic interpreter. She grew up at the country side, but today she lives in the city. Anne's education gives her a higher position in the class strata. Her parents are Greenlandic and she is bilingual, speaking both Danish and Greenlandic. She is participating by writing a text.

Anne expresses herself mostly in I-form (47 %), but sometimes she expresses herself in we-form (6%) or one-all (9%) where she identifies herself with the Greenlandic group identity. Within the function-category she expresses herself more in signitive terms (sign. 22%, sign./imag. 53%) compared to perceptive terms (perc.

13%, perc./imag. 22%). Anne is speaking mostly in ambiguous terms (53%), with a higher tendency towards speaking in negative-retrospective (28%) than positive-retrospective terms (9%). She talks mostly in the past dimension (72%, preset>past 13%) and is referring to how the relationships have changed compared to today (present 16%). Within the object category she speaks mostly about Danes (41%) and the relationship (25%), compared to Greenlanders (6%), Denmark (3%) and Greenland (3%).

In Anne's life-world her relationship to the Danes is ambiguous with a predominance of negative meaning constitutions. When she grew up, she experienced that that the Danes were superior concurrently as the Greenlanders accepted their positions and their inferiority. She states that she as a kid had a different view of the Danes compared to her parents and other Greenlanders. She writes that she thought the Danes were very interesting people that she looked up to, simultaneously as she also expresses that she thought they were demanding attention, thought they were always right and that she sometimes wanted to get rid of them. Even if she states that she has totally accepted their presence in Greenland today, the ambivalence still exists though she also admits that the thought about getting rid of the Danes occasionally comes back. In Anne's text her individual voice is partly differed from the Greenlandic cultural voice, since she has had difficulties accepting the inferiority and experienced that it was a great burden for Greenlanders. In Anne's text a description of a Danish woman, who lived with the family when Anne grew up, is central and she portrays her in very positive terms. The positive description shows that the negative view of the Danes is not always active in the personal meeting.

Anne's text is relatively short and the information about the three categories regarding intersectionality is thereby limited. Anne's work as an interpreter, which requires higher level of education, gives her a position that possesses symbolic power. Her perception of the relationship between the Danish and Greenlandic ethnicity is corresponding with the post-colonial dialectic. In Anne's dialectical narrative she has had single positive experiences of the Danes but she is critical about their presence in Greenland in general.

Table 9.	
P29: Anne	
Past	
Danes: *Ambiguously:* Who one that I as a kid looked up to. Who one can be a little envious of. Who one can think about how to get rid of. *Negative retrospective:* Who my parents looked up to and treated as royalty. Who was demanding attention. Of whom everything they commanded was done. Of whom everything they said seemed to be the truth. **Denmark:** *Neutral;* Who she[the Danish woman] was getting sent food from	**Greenlander:** *Negative-retrospective:* Who one could ask if they had a worth as humans? As something can be a great burden for. Who looked up to the Danes. **I:** *Positive-retrospective:* Who have experienced the Danes as very interesting and enterprising people. *Neutral:* Who has had a different view of the Danes. *Negative-retrospective:* Who as a child felt that there were a difference between Danes and Greenlanders. Who felt it was unfair. *Ambiguously:* Who felt that the number of Danes should be limited up here. **We:** Who had a young Danish woman living at our place.
Denmark/Danes-Greenland/Greenlanders: *Negative-retrospective:* Who one made different between.	
Present>past	
	I: *Positive-retrospective:* Who thinks that the differences are not as big as before. **Greenland**: *Positive-retrospective:* As she[the Danish woman]ever since has had a relation to
Present	
Danes: *Neutral:* That one can live among.	**I:** *Neutral:* Who thinks it is different today. *Positive-retrospective*: Who today don't think about that we live among Danes. Who has accepted their presence to 100 %. *Ambiguously:* Whose thought [about limiting the amount of Danes in Greenland] comes back now and then. **One***: Neutral:* Who get used to the Danes. **Greenlanders:** *Positive-retrospective:* Who are on much more equal footing with the Danes.

Nive (P32): Nive is a 32-years-old Greenlandic woman who is monolingual Danish and has lived her whole life in a Greenlandic city. She has been living in another city in Greenland during high school, and has only been in Denmark for shorter trips. She is a pensioner due to mental health reasons and spends much time on Greenlandic traditions like sled dogs, fishing and hunting seal. She is participating by taking part in an interview.

In the subject category, Nive is talking mostly in the unspecified category (44%), but also in I-form (37%) and only somewhat in we-form (4%). She is also talking some in one-all (14%) when describing Greenlanders way of thinking. Nive is talking much more in signitive terms (sign. 46%, sign.>imag. 29%, imag.>sign. 3%)

than in perceptive terms (perc. 13%, perc./imag. 9%). She is mostly talks in negative-retrospective affect (35%) but is also talking much within the categories ambiguous (26%) and positive-retrospective (16%) positive-prospective (8%) and neutral (15%). Concerning time, Nive is talking most in present time (50%) and less in past>present (17%) and past (22%) and almost nothing in present>future (3%) and future (3%). In the object category she is talking much of Greenlanders (27%) and Greenland (24%) simultaneously as she regularly reflexs about the relationship (13%), but less about Denmark (4%) and Danes (4%).

A central theme in the interview with Nive is identity, both at a personal level as well as on a Greenlandic group identity plane. Nive means that she lacks identity due to her mental illness, but also because other Greenlanders question her Greenlandic identity. Even though she is following Greenlandic traditions, her ethnic identity is doubted since she does not speak Greenlandic. According to Nive the language condition has to be filled to be defined as Greenlandic and it does not matter if you have a Greenlandic way of thinking and living. Nive argues that the Greenlanders lost their identity as a result of colonialism, where people had to move to cities and could not live up to what the new society expected of them. Nive states that Greenlanders of today are constantly trying to find their identity, which she also reasons was a central theme in the political debate up to the self-rule as well as in the government election. Nive claims that Greenlanders have to become more international, learn several languages and become better at communication. She explains that many Greenlandic characteristics derive from the former traditional life where one did not need verbal language, since people learned by observing and participating in work as well as they suppressed their feelings to avoid conflicts in the small communities. Today when living conditions have changed Nive argues that it is important to find a new modern identity, where you can communicate, discuss and be critical about things that can improve in society. She does not think it is possible for Greenland to become independent in the future if Grenlanders do not find a great amount of oil and gold, since the population is so small and the country too big. Nive is nevertheless happy about that most posts in society are occupied by Greenlanders and that there only are the higher posts left to get occupied by Greenlanders. In the interview Nive is talking much from an individualistic voice when she is critical about the Greenlandic society, Greenlanders way of being as well as her own way of being. Her voice can also be seen as an internalized Danish cultural voice or according to the

dialogical self theory be an example of the phenomenon to look critical at a group you are not entirely member of. Nive also talks from a Greenlandic voice when describing the positive aspects of the Greenlandic culture. Nive's way of shifting between an individual and a cultural voice seems to be affected by not being 100 % accepted in the Greenlandic ethnicity.

Nive has neither material, cultural nor social capital, but her way of actively taking part of a Greenlandic lifestyle might give some cultural capital legitimated to symbolic capital, even though she does not speak Greenlandic. Her way of talking is radical in one way, but her social phobia limits her form contact with other people and to share her thoughts. Thereby she does not officially have the preference right to interpretation. She describes the Danish way of thinking and being as essentially different from the Greenlandic culture, but the fact that she is not being given access to either of the ethnicities makes her vulnerable. Nive's view of a modern Greenlandic identity, where positive traits of a Danish or modern identity are internalized, will give her access to a Greenlandic we as well as bridge the dichotomy between Danes and Greenlandic ethnicity. Nive has mostly lived in the same city in Greenland all her life, but appreciates the periods when she has been living in other places in Denmark or other cities in Greenland to observe that culture and people are different in other locations. In her diasporic narrative the visits to other places made her understand the culture in her home town better, and even if she experienced that she fitted better in other places, she chose to stay in her home town, where she can always see the horizon.

Table 10.	
P32: Nive	
Past	
Danes: *Negative-retrospective:* Who only stayed for 1-3 years. **Denmark**: *Negative-retrospective:* Where you can get familiar with the term 'Greenlandic drunk'. Who for a longer period of time held all the higher positions in society.	**I:** *Neutral***:** Who went in a Danish class in contemporary school. *Negative-retrospective:* Who was used to that my close Danish friends moved back. **Greenlanders:** *Negative-retrospective:* Who was forced to move into the cities. Who could not live up to what society expected of them. Who learned to drink from the Danish artisans. Who could not talk about problems some years ago. Who complained of the political power, but continued to vote for the same party. *Neutral*: Who did not use verbal language to educate other people.

	Ambiguously: Of whom the most Danish-like persons criticized the governing party and its focus on greenlandization. **Greenland**: *Negative-retrospective*: Where things went in the wrong direction politically. Who had started to resemble North Korea. **One**: *Ambiguously* Should not isolate such a small country.
Present>Past	
	Greenlanders: *Negative-retrospective:* Of whom many lost their identity. *Ambiguously:* Who have a romantic image of the traditional Greenlandic life, where one lived in harmony with the nature and oneself, when one still had an identity. **Greenland**: *Neutral:* Where there has been a political shift. I: *Ambiguously:* Who is one of the few with Greenlandic appearance and has lived here all life without learning Greenlandic.
Present	
Danes: *Ambiguously:* Who think humor that lacks intelligence is embarrassing. Who think so differently from us. **Denmark:** *Negative-retrospective:* Where one can feel alienated. Where one can get claustrophobia from being in a place where you can't see the horizon. *Positive-retrospective:* Where you can go to experience something new. *Neutral*: Where people drink just as much as here. Where you do not notice the well-dressed that behave respectably, they blend in with the crowed. *Ambiguously:* Where you can experience awkward silence. Where the humor is very intelligent.	**Greenlanders:** *Positive-retrospective:* Who loves to laugh, to laugh about nothing. Who can talk about everything today. Who have taken over a lot of the positions Danes had before. For whom it is natural to be in the nature, drive sledge dogs, go sailing and fishing and hunt seals. *Ambiguously:* Who prefer to speak Greenlandic. Who constantly try to find their identity. Who are searching for an identity. *Negative: retrospective:* Who do not occupy the higher posts in society. Who biologically can't handle alcohol well. Who are bad at being self-critical. Who backbite other people. **I:** *Positive-retrospective:* Who feel totally at home here. Who act in the way Greenlanders do. *Negative-retrospective*: Who is not considered to be true Greenlanders because one do not speak Greenlandic. For whom the language is a major limitation. Who lacks identity because of ones mental disease. **Greenland:** *Ambiguously:* Where the greenlandization made it more important to be Greenlandic as well as to speak the Greenlandic language. Where fewer people learn Danish. Where everyone knows each other. *Negative-retrospective:* Where the small cities are very isolated. Where people live so closely they develop the same opinions. *Positive-retrospective:* Where it is a beautiful moment to be silent together.
Present>Future	
	Greenland: *Negative-prospective:* Where it getting harder to live without speaking Greenlandic. Where it is inconceivable to become independent. That has a small population in a very large country.

	Positive-retrospective: Who only have the highest positions left left in society to be occupied by Greenlanders. Who need to become more international. **I:** *Positive-prospective:* Who has an ambition to learn Greenlandic. *Ambiguously:* Who is not satisfied with oneself, and therefore want to change oneself. Who thinks it is important to get away from the old romantic Greenlandic identity and find a new modern identity. **We:** *Positive-prospective:* Who have to learn several languages and not just concentrate on Greenlandic. Who have to learn how to communicate.
Future	
	Greenland: *Ambiguously:* Who has to find oil or gold in large quantities to be able to become independent.

Anders (P36): Anders is 25 year-old Faroe who works as a computer programmer in a city in Greenland. He has lived most of his life in Greenland, except for four years when he was taking an education in Denmark. He has also visited his family in the Faroe Islands every summer. He is participating by writing a text.

He mostly speaks in I-form (58%) and is otherwise expressing himself in the category unspecified. He is not identifying himself in either the Danish or the Greenlandic we. He writes mostly in signitive terms (sign. 29%, sign./imag. 44%) compared to perceptive terms (perc. 13%, perc/imag 13%). Anders speaks mostly in ambiguously terms (64%) and talks more in negative-retrospective (16%) than in positive-retrospective (8%). In the future dimension he is speaking in positive-prospective terms (8%) and otherwise in neutral terms (8%). Concerning the time horizon he is talking mostly in past tense (44%) but also a lot in present (31%) and present>past (17%). He talks less about present>future (5%) and future (3%). In the object category Anders is talking mostly of Greenland (43%) but also much about the relationship (27%). He speaks less of Denmark (5%), Danes (1%) and Greenlanders (4%).

In Anders text the division between Danes and Greenlanders is a central theme. Even though he has spent most of his life in Greenland he never identified himself as Greenlandic. Instead he identified more with a Danish identity, which was affected by the fact that he went to a Danish school, has a Danish appearance and struggled with the Greenlandic language. During his study in Denmark he realized

that he was not Danish either, and thereafter he started to define himself as Faroe– the same ethnicity as his parents. In his life-world he is very critical of the Greenlandic society, which he argues is plague of violence, incest and alcoholism. He states that something is fundamentally wrong in Greenland and is puzzled by the Greenlandic discourse of blaming the Danes. Anders is raised after Christian values and believes that one can take responsibilities for one's own life, and therefore he cannot see the rationality in blaming the Danes for the negative conditions in Greenland. In opposite, Anders is positive about the Danish appearance in Greenland and argues that the Danes introduced the Western lifestyle with democracy, education and welfare. He also experience that Greenlandic politics has been given all the freedom that the Greenlanders wished for. Anders tends to compare Greenland and the Faroe Islands, since he claims that they have in many ways had the same opportunities, and he notes that the Faroe Islands has managed to become self-sufficient while Greenland has not. Further, Anders expresses that he is tired of the turnovers at the labor market and the lack of professional competence in Greenland. Nevertheless he describes the Greenlandic nature and being close to his family in Greenland in positive terms. He also writes that he is positive about the self-rule, the new government and the younger generation's engagement in Greenland's future, even though he himself does not feel any responsibility to take part in the country's future development. Instead, Anders has decided to move to the Faroe Island. He wants to give the Faroe Islands a chance and see if the society lives up to his expectations. In Anders' text he is mostly talking from an individual voice that is a result of an intertwining of Danish, Faroe and Christian cultural voices. His individual voice seems to shape a counter-discourse to the Greenlandic culture voice.

Anders's education and employment post gives him a higher position in the class strata. All his capital can transform to symbolic power and he can be said to possess a position that allow interpretation. Anders' strong experience of the dialectic between Danish and Greenlandic identities makes it impossible for him to define as neither one nor the other, and instead he identifies himself as Faroe. In his life-world it is not possible to have a Greenlandic-Danish ethnic identity. In Anders' diasporic narrative Greenland is the frame for his life story. Where his critical view of Greenland's culture and people is formed but also an appreciation of the beautiful nature; Denmark's well functioning society but lack of the arctic nature; and the

idealized image of the Faroe Islands with a well functioning society and arctic nature; are three important element in his way of making sense of his world view.

Table 11.	
P36: Anders	
Past	
Danes: *Ambiguously*: Who stayed for a limited amount of time. **Denmark:** *Ambiguously:* Where one can feel a strong longing to go back to the nature.	**Greenlander***: Ambiguously*: As one cannot feel like.
I: *Neutral:* Who in my childhood had more contact with Danes. *Ambiguously*: Who did not feel like a Greenlander. Who was perceived as a Dane. Who got confronted with which nationality I actually had. Who realized I was not Danish. Who never decidedly missed the Greenlandic people or culture, since I don't feel like a part of it. Who realized I can't live without the fresh air, the mountains and the view of the sea. Who never had sled dogs or paddled kayak, which is typically Greenlandic.	
Present>Past	
Denmark: *Ambiguously*: Who has had a major responsibility for the introduction of a Western lifestyle with democracy, education and welfare. Whose presence in Greenland I've never experienced as a problem.	**Greenland:** *Negative-retrospective*: Who has greatly evolved into community grants.
I: *Negative-retrospective:* Who always have had problems with the Greenlandic language. Who never could found it rational when Greenlanders complained about that it is the Danes fault. *Ambiguously:* Who don't feel like a part of the Greenlandic culture or people. Who realized that I was not Danish. Who were raised to know that everyone can take responsibilities for one's own life.	
Present	
Denmark: *Ambiguously:* Whose general attitude towards Greenland reconciled in many ways with my own perception. Who is not the worst to be together with.	**Greenland**: *Neutral.* Who has had the same opportunities as the Faroe Islands. *Negative-retrospective:* Where something is fundamentally wrong. Who is badly plagued by alcoholism, violence and incest. Who has major social problems. Where one can be tired of the turnover and lack of competition. *Positive-retrospective*: Who is a grand and beautiful country.
I: *Ambiguously:* Who cannot understand why it should be the Danes fault. Who often compares the society of Greenland with the Faroe Island, since they have in many ways had the same opportunities. *Positive-retrospective*: Who is happy about living here.	
Present>Future	
I: *Positive-prospective:* Who look forward to a new future in Greenland with the self-rule and a new political leadership. Who is thinking about moving to the Faroe Island where I never lived.	
Future	
	Greenlanders: *Positive-prospective:* Of whom younger generations want to take responsibilities for the country's development.
I: *Ambiguously:* Who do not feel responsibility for the Greenlandic future.	

Outcome of Modalities in MCA-analysis: In the following the modalities in the MCA-analysis will be weighted together in an attempt to find a pattern in the selected sample for deep analysis. Interpretation on the basis of the dialectical self dialog will also be integrated in the findings for some of the modalities.

Subject: Within the subject modality the relation of I-form, we-form and one-all are of interest. The category unspecified indicates that a person is describing something but without giving it a personal pronoun. The ones that identify with a collective we or give voice to a collective we when speaking within the category one-all are the ones that are shifting between a collective and an individual voice (P6, P10, P11, P18, P25, P29, P32), while the ones who never identify with a collective we mostly speak from an individual voice (P4, P36). There is no doubt that the individualistic voice is also affected by collectivistic voices, which also can be found in the texts written by the participants that do not identify with an ethnic we when writing/talking. Danes (P10, P11) that has been living in Greenland for a major part of their lives are shifting between giving voice to a Danish and Greenlandic culture, while the Greenlander (P18) that has had most connection to Denmark also gives voice to the Danish way of thinking when speaking in the category one-all. In the collective voices, the invariant structure of the Danish culture, Greenlandic culture and the internalized Danish-Greenlandic culture can be found.

Function: When expressing within the signitive category participants are talking/writing in abstract terms, while perceptive category indicates that participants are expressing themselves in more concrete terms. Most participants speak in signitive terms, but Morten (P10) is expressing himself as often in signitive as in perceptive terms and John (P25) speaks mostly within the perceptive category. In the text the ones that are mostly expresses themselves in signitive terms are inclined to be communicating their subjective thoughts, while the ones that express themselves more in perceptive terms are talking more in terms of facts (P10) or coming with concrete examples from their daily lives (P25).

Affect: All participants express similar patterns in the affect modality. Participants mostly express themselves ambiguously and in negative-retrospective terms when reflecting about the relationships' affect in life. As described previously the category ambiguously means that participants are expressing themselves in an emotional way, but it is not obvious if the meaning unit is expressed in positive or negative conditions. When thinking of the future the participants generally reflect in

positive terms. That means that there is a general tendency in the selected sample that the relationship has been and is emotionally charged with a propensity of negative affects, but when thinking about the future participants' project positive ideas.

Time: In the time modality all participants are shifting between talking in past, present>past and present time, but think less about the future when answering the phenomenological question. In accordance with the dialogical self theory, emotions determine our thoughts and actions and the distribution within the time horizon indicate that there are many emotions connected to the past and present situation. The Danes' personal experiences of the relationship is first becoming current after their arrival in Greenland and their meaning constitution in the past dimension is often based on theoretical knowledge gained before their entrance, while the Greenlanders have personally experienced colonialism or have heard stories form older generations about past times.

Object: The pattern in the object category differs between participants. The ones (P18,32,36) who focus mostly on Greenland/Greenlanders and the relationship are the ones who think that Greenlanders should take more responsibility and adapt to the contemporary modern life. They all acknowledge that Denmark has preformed both positive and negative acts towards Greenland in the past, but reason that one should focus on the contemporary situation and the future. Three of the Danes (P4, P6, P10) tend to focus on Greenlanders and the relationship, while the one who has been living most of his life in Greenland (P11) focuses just as much on Danes as on Greenlanders. The Danes are less critical about the Greenlanders compared to two of the Greenlanders (P18, P32) and the Faroese (P36). Two Greenlanders (P25, P29) focus more on Danes and Denmark and are expressing a curiosity as well as criticism of Danes' position in Greenland. This indicates that individuals in the two ethnic groups have diverse ways of relating to the other ethnic group.

Belief: In the belief-modality participants are mostly expressing themselves in doxa-affirmation, which implies that a person is certain of her or his way of making sense of the relations' impact on life.

Will: In general the selected participants do not show any engagement when answering the phenomenological question, which implies that the question does not encourage people to think about solutions and instead people make sense and meaning of the colonial relations' consequences for primarily previous and present experiences.

The Sphinx Lexica themes described in-deep by the selected text to MCA

In this section the themes from Sphinx Lexica that have been mentioned in the selected sample for deep analysis in MCA, will be weighted together and described in-deep. As mentioned previously the graph of expressed themes in the quantitative analysis in Sphinx Lexica generally illustrates that the two ethnic groups are proportionately thinking of the same themes, i.e. individualistic, collectivistic, Denmark, Greenland, education, history, contemporary politics, family/children, work, language, Greenlandic traditions, culture, conflicts/confrontations, foreign countries, travelling, substance addictions , nature, media, men, generation and women. The frequencies in mentioned themes are falling with the enumeration of themes, which means that the lastly mentioned topics are not a part of all participants' text. In the presentation of each theme the predicates of entities as well as modalities within each theme will be weighted together when describing the internal structures that form the horizons. In the selected texts the invariant structure of culture can be found, even though the texts have not been the foundation for the total result in the Sphinx Lexica analysis. The same applies for the Faroese participant's text, since the text also consists of information about the relationship between Danes and Greenlanders in Greenland, even though his text could not be positioned as either Danish or Greenlandic in the Sphinx Lexica analysis. The themes located in Sphinx Lexica are partly intertwined in each other, since all the topics interplay in subjects' attempt to make sense of the consequences of the relationship when answering the phenomenological question. To avoid repetition of information, the themes Denmark and Greenland will generally describe the structure of how participants talk about the own and the other ethnic group, while the other themes will describe participants' meaning constitution of the relationship in detail.

Individualistic and Collectivistic: The categories individual and collectivistic were constructed with the aim to examine if there were any variation in the expression of group affiliation between the ethnic groups, which was not found in the selected texts. In the individualistic them, participants talk from an individualistic identity when speaking about private experiences, as well as when expressing opinions that they do not want to attach an ethnic collective we to, and talking in collective terms when giving voice to a collective we. The collectivistic theme only describes when subjects explicitly express themselves in we-form, and not when they are talking from

a Greenlandic or Danish group affiliation, which instead is described in the categories Denmark and Greenland respectively.

Denmark: When speaking in past tense both Danes and Greenlanders are talking in negative terms about Denmark's colonization of Greenland (P6, P10, P11, P18, P32) and especially the decisions taken during the modernization period (P18, P32). Some Danes express that it is difficult to think about the negative consequences of the Danish colonialism (P4), and some tend to switch focus towards the positive acts that Denmark has preformed (P10) and the benefits of not being colonized by other countries (P11). There is only one of the Danes that has integrated a colonial consciousness in her Danish ethnic identity (P6), with a theoretical understanding about the effect that colonialism have on colonized subjects. The Faroese (P36) compares Greenland and the Faroe Islands and argues that the regions have had the same opportunities, and cannot find it rational to blame the Danes for the negative conditions in Greenland, that do not exist on the Faroe Islands (P36). Instead the Faroese (P36) describes the development in positive terms, highlighting that Denmark has introduced a Western lifestyle with democracy, education and welfare. Several participants of all three ethnicities argue in ambiguous terms that Greenlanders have to stop blaming the Danes and take responsibility for their own situation (P10, P18, P36). One Dane (P11) notices that the Danes' integration in society has changed over time, and expresses in positive terms that Danes learned the language and took part in society in the past, while he describes the current situation in negative terms, pointing out, that Danes do not learn the language and live in Danish diasporas. When talking in past and present time, participants frequently express that Danes sometimes intake a superior position in society (P4, P6, P10, P11, P18, P25, P29, P32), even though some participants argue that the conditions are more equal today (P18, P25). The Danes' presence in Greenland is also spoken about in positive terms, where there is explicitly expressed that some Danes do good for society and take part in the culture (P6, P11, P18, P32, P25), and some Greenlanders mean that Danes and Greenlanders reciprocally learn from one another (P18, P25, P32). The Danish way of being is also described as diverse from the Greenlandic appearance (P4, P6, P11, P18, P25, P32, P36).

Greenland: Greenland and Greenlanders are mostly described in negative terms by both Greenlanders and Danes. Greenlanders tend to be positive about the traditional Greenlandic life (P25, P32), the self-rule and the future (P18, P32), while

they are critical about the way Greenlanders are today (P18, P32, P36). Greenlanders' lack of identity is frequently mentioned as well as the importance for Greenlanders to become recognized as a people (P18, P32, P36). Some Greenlanders claim that Greenlanders cannot hold on to the traditional Greenlandic identity and that people instead need to develop a modern identity (P18, P32). Other participants are talking about the power relation, where Danes historically have had a superior position that can also be experienced today (P4, P6, P25, P29). Danes are also critical of the Greenlandic society and of Greenlanders, but the criticism is more moderate than the critique expressed by Greenlanders themselves. The one that is most critical about the Greenlandic society is the Faroese (P36), who states that something is fundamentally wrong in Greenland. The Danes and the Faroese (P4, P36) tend to argue that Greenland is lagging behind Denmark in a linear evolutionary line. Danes positively acknowledge the nature when thinking of Greenland (P4, P6; P10, P11) and also the Greenlandic way of being is positively described (P6, P11).

Education: The education theme is frequently mentioned in relation to the work and the language themes, and they all include negative thoughts of the power relation between superior and inferior subjects. A central topic, within the education theme, is the need to educate Greenlanders in order to limit the need for imported educated Danish manpower (P6, P11, P18, P25, P36), which is expressed in neutral affect. People are in favor of several Greenlanders getting an education (P11, P18), and hope it will increase, so the higher posts in society can become occupied by Greenlanders as well. Some people are nevertheless skeptical about the prospect of occupying all post with Greenlanders, since the population is too small to educate enough people to occupy all essential work positions (P32). Others subjects (P11, P18, P32) also acknowledge that Greenlanders' limited Danish and English language abilities will foreclose some Greenlanders from higher education, since language skills are a precondition to follow a Danish education program. Greenlanders seem to be positive about the current development and see a positive future if the development continues (P18, P32). The Danes' introduction of an educational system in Greenland is also mentioned in positive tense (P36). It is noticed that the Danish contemporary school upholds a higher standard than the Greenlandic, which is also used as an explanation to why Danes return to Denmark when their children begin school (P18).

History: The entities within the history category confirm the finding in the time modality, showing that the colonial history is a more integrated part of the life-

narrative of Greenlandic subjects (P18, P25, P29, P32), compared to the Danish subjects (P4, P6,P10, P11). The Greenlandic society's political, cultural and financial dependence on Denmark has resulted in that subjects growing up in Greenland (P18, P25, P29, P32, P36) continuously have related to Danes and Denmark throughout their lives. The Greenlandic experiences are diverse, where the older generation personally have experienced colonialism (P25) and the younger generation is aware of colonialism through older generations' experiences and from the consequences the historical episodes have had for society (P18, P29). In opposite the Danes have only a theoretical knowledge about colonialism, which has been acquired in Denmark or after the arrival in Greenland (P4, P6, P10, P11). The colonial epochs are described in negative terms by both Danes and Greenlanders, and the Faroese (P36) is the only one not expressing colonialism in negative terms. He is instead focusing on the positive things that have come with the Danes.

Contemporary politics: Several participants of all ethnicities are talking about politics in positive terms with regards to the self-rule and the new government (P10, P11, P18, P32, P36). In the political discussion leading up to the general election and the election for the self-rule, themes like being recognized as a people and the lack of identity are mentioned as central (P18, P32). Nive (32) argues the importance of getting a modern identity, seeing as she thinks it is vital in order to operate in a modern society. In contrast, Pauli (P18) argues that Greenland already has a modern identity, and points out that they have not internalized a Danish identity, but a modern identity. All participants seem to be positive to the political changes and see a bright future ahead. Sofie (P4) is the only one who expresses negative thoughts about the nationalism that came along with the political shift, since she experiences that the nationalism has a negatively corresponding counterpart in Denmark. Pauli (P18), Morten (P10) and Anders (P36) are critical to Greenlandic politics' way of blaming the Danes for all negative conditions in Greenland, and argue that Greenlanders have to take more responsibility and handle their own guilt in the contemporary situation.

Family/children: In the selected texts, entities of the family/children theme are only briefly mentioned. Many of the participants in the whole sample are working in primary school or folk high school and are referring to themes concerning children and family in their text and interviews, which might explain the general interest in the sample for the family/children theme.

Work: The need for imported Danish manpower to occupy the higher posts in society upholds the dialectic of a superior Danish group and an inferior Greenlandic group (P4, P6, P10, P18, P25, P29, P32), which is expressed in negative terms by all participants. The newly arrived Danish subjects (P4, P6) have problems handling their superior role and have both experienced hostility in their workplaces, which made them think about if their labor was wanted. One of them, Pernille (P6), has a post-colonial understanding of the power relation and has thereby been able to channelize her feelings by her insight in the historical context, while the other one, Sofie (P4), has not had that possibility and has instead projected the negative feelings against the Greenlandic society. The imported Danish manpower's role in society is being described in positive as well as negative terms. Participants, regardless of ethnicity, notice that Danes in the cities do not integrate into society (P4, P6, P11, P18, P32, P36), while it is easier for Danes to get integrated in the smaller villages (P11, P18, P25). Determining factors for not integrating into society seem to be being part of Danish expatriate communities and not learning Greenlandic (P11, P18), which is not possible in a smaller village where the population is small and people cannot speak Danish (P11, P25). The constant turnover and lack of competition in the labor market, as well as the training of newly arrived Danes, is expressed in negative terms by Sven (P11) and Anders (P36), but is not emphasized as a problem by the Greenlandic subjects. Several participants (P11, P25, P32, P36) also express that it is emotionally hard to connect to Danes, seeing as they know that the person will leave in some years when his or her labor contract expires. It is also expressed by John (P25), who lives in a village, that the cooperation between Danes and Greenlanders has always been good and that they learn from one another. Further, he also expresses the importance of getting help from Denmark (P25). Other participants (P10, P18) argue that the group of Danes in Greenland serves as a buffer for the Greenlandic elite to blame when things go wrong.

Language: The entities within the language theme are emotionally charged and never expressed in neutral terms. The language is beyond work and education also strongly linked to identity, culture and integration. Greenlandic subjects' ethnic identity can be questioned if they do not speak Greenlandic, even if they are born and raised in Greenland (P32). The Faroese subject Anders (P36) states that not speaking Greenlandic was one reason for not being given a Greenlandic identity, while the other non-Greenlandic speaking subject Nive (P32) states that her ethnic identity will

always be questioned until she learns Greenlandic, regardless of her Greenlandic way of being and the traditional Greenlandic life she is living. For Danes who learn Greenlandic, the language seems to be a way to get integrated into society as well as to understand the culture (P4, P6). As Pernille (P6) describes learning the language was the way into the Greenlanders hearts and in contrary Sofie notices that not learning Greenlandic limited her integration and her understanding of the culture (P4). Further, Pernille (P6) argues that Danes do not learn the language and expect Greenlanders to speak Danish, which disappoints Greenlanders, especially when Danes have lived in Greenland for a longer period of time do not learn the language (P25). The two Danes (P10, P11) who have been living in Greenland permanently speak Greenlandic fluently. Sven (P11) argues that Danes learned Danish and integrated in society in old days. It is also mentioned that a limited level of Danish and English limits subjects' possibilities to get an education and thereby a job in the higher social strata (P11, P18). Greenlanders stress the importance of learning several languages for functioning in a modern world and not just concentrate on the population learning Greenlandic (P 18, P32).

Greenlandic traditions: The theme is closely related to the culture and nature themes. The Greenlandic traditions are described in positive terms, where Greenlanders seem to be proud of their cultural heritage (P18, P25, P32). The Danes also acknowledge the uniqueness of the Greenlandic culture (P6, P10, P11) and some are actively taking part in Greenlandic traditions (P6, P11). The Faroese (P36) states that he never takes part in the traditional Greenlandic traditions, even though the relation to the nature is essential in his life.

Culture: Entities within the culture themes is often mentioned with the aim of describing the Greenlandic culture, and not as much the Danish culture. The Greenlandic culture is described in positive terms and seems to be closely connected to the nature and is characterized by hunting, fishing, sledge dogging and kayaking (P11,P18, P25, P32, P36). The Greenlandic way of being is described as non-verbal (P32), being in the present (P25), a lot of laughing (P10, P36), an emotional way of taking care of each other (P11) and a close connection to the nature (P18, P25, P32, P36). The Danish culture is mostly described as being different from the Greenlandic culture, and Danes are described as talking a lot (P18, P25, P32), thinking about the future (P25), having an intelligent sense of humor (P25) and having problems handling silence (P32). The Danish culture is described as verbal and the Greenlandic

as non-verbal, which can be illustrated by the differences in the interview lengths noted in the outcome of the Sphinx Lexica analysis.

Conflicts/confrontations: The theme is only mentioned briefly by the selected sample, and when speaking about the conflict when Danes take superior and Greenlanders inferior roles.

Foreign countries: The entities within this category do not constitute a coherent category and are instead functioning as examples of how participants relate to the external world. Pauli (P18) states that the Greenlanders did not know the world outside Greenland-Denmark some years ago, but are positive about that the world is getting more available to Greenland. It is also mentioned in positive terms that other nationalities than Danes are starting to come as imported manpower (P18). Nive (P32) mentions the risks of becoming like North Korea, if Greenland continues to isolate itself from the rest of the world and accepting a small group of people occupying the positions of power and deciding which news to publish in Greenlandic media. Sofie (P4) notices that she in Greenland is seen as a Dane while she other places has just been herself.

Travelling: The entities within the travelling theme are mostly mentioned in relation to travelling between Denmark and Greenland, or between different places within Greenland (P4, P6, P11, P18, P25, P32, P36). It is noticed that in the past all contact with the world went though Denmark, and still today Iceland is the only option for travelling elsewhere (P18). The Greenlandic society has been so dependent on the Danish society that the connection to Denmark has inevitably become a part of the Greenlandic diasporic narrative (P18). Greenlanders have to go to Denmark for medical care (P25), to get a higher level of education (P18, P36), to learn the Danish language (P25) and to visit relatives and friends (P10, P11, P18, P36). For the newly arrived Danes, Greenland first becomes a capture in their diasporic narrative after their arrival (P4, P6, P10, P11).

Substance addictions: The entities within this theme are described as a negative consequence of colonialism. Alcohol is described as coming with the Danish workers (P18, P32). Further, it is also acknowledged that the Greenlanders' bodies are not capable of digesting alcohol due to biological reasons (P32). Nive (P32) states that alcohol has been used as a strategy to hold back negative feelings of being suppressed by the Danes in their own country as well as negative feelings of not being able to live up to the new demands that the Danish society puts on them. The Faroese (P36)

cannot see the rational in blaming the Danes for social problems like alcoholism and argues that everyone have the same possibilities, hence he cannot see why the alcoholism in Greenland could be the Danes fault.

Nature: The nature theme is closely connected to the Greenlandic tradition and culture, and is described as completely different from Danish tradition. The nature is explicitly described as significant in life by several participants (P10, P11, P25, P32, P36), but without them being able to verbalize the experience of nature. Being in the nature can therefore be described as being a non-verbal experience. Different participants express that the nature are essential part of life in diverse ways (P11, P18, P36).

Media: Entities within the media theme is mentioned by Sofie (P4) who argues that documentaries in Denmark give a negative impression of Greenland. Nive (P32) is also talking about the risks for democracy if a small group of people with a lot of power in society also are the ones who decide what to write about in the newspapers.

The last three themes; men, generation and women, are not mentioned by any of the participants in the selected sample.

The differences that were found in the Sphinx lexica have not been possible to confirm in the selected text material for deep analysis. This can be explained by the small sample size but also by the fact that the selection of texts has not taken the number of participants in each subgroup into account, where only one was selected regardless of the amount of participants in each group. The selection process has thereby given priority to maintaining the sample's heterogeneity instead of the distributions of the numbers of participants in each subgroup. The description of the themes hence illustrates the horizons of comprehension held by the heterogeneous group of subjects livening in Greenland.

Based on the reports in the MCA-analysis it is likely that the imported Danish manpower, that were the main part of the Danish group sample, refers greatly to their work situation as well as reflecting about how the Greenlandic culture and nature differs from the Danish. The Greenlandic tendency to identify more with a group identity can be explained by Greenlanders' frequent acknowledgement of themes like being recognized as a people, finding a new identity and becoming more independent of Denmark, which can be considered to require a stronger group identity to achieve this goal. In opposite the Danes in Greenland are given a group identity of being the dialectical other. It also seems sensible that Greenlanders with higher level of

education reflects more about the need of educating Greenlanders compared to Greenlanders with lower level of education or no education, since it is a part of their daily situation. The same applies to the older generations that have experienced language correlation through the Danization and Greenlandization periods, which probably make them reflect more about the meaning of language compared to younger generations.

Outcome of the intersectionality theory

As described previously de los Ryes and Mulinari argue that intersectionality deals with examining the power resources that different subjects possess on the basis of specific group affiliations. According to De los Ryes and Mulinari it is significant that the analysis includes both a material and a discursive level. In the following I will compile the result of the intersectionality perspective of the nine texts that have been analyzed in MCA. Participants' material resources and their preferential right of interpretation will be put together based on the multi-axel of the major categories class, ethnicity and diaspora.

Class: According to Bourdieu's capital forms, Sofie (P4), Morten (P10), Sven (P11), Anne (P25) and Pauli (P36) all have a higher level of education and can be considered to get their material capital transformed into symbolic capital, while Pernille's (P4) as a cashier, Pauli's (P18) as a student, John (P25) as fisherman/hunter and Nive (P32) as pensioner can all be considered to have a limited income. Cultural capital is gained in three forums; embodied, cultural belongings and educational qualifications, and since all capitals are formed and created historically, the colonial history will influence which cultural capital that can be legitimated. If we first inspect the educational qualifications, the ones who have completed a higher level of education (P4, P10, P11, P29) or have educational ambitions (P6, P18) will get a different amount of cultural capital legitimated dependent on their positions in the hierarchy, while the ones without educational experiences (P25, P32) will not get cultural capital accepted for the educational criterion. The cultural belongings are determined by culturally shaped values and, as shown previously, the Greenlandic and the Danish cultural characteristics are frequently described as each other's negation with the consequences that different cultural characteristic will be legitimated by

different groups. The ethnic-dialectic where Danes intake a superior and Greenlanders an inferior role, which has been acknowledged in the MCA-analysis, illustrates that the Danish characteristics might be valued higher. Participants that intake a characteristic ethnic identity and simultaneously differ between us and them can be considered to reduce the possibilities to get capital legitimated form all groups in the population (P4, P25, P29, P36). The Danish way of being seems to be valued higher, but at the same time the traditional Greenlandic life is described in positive terms, which indicates that one can also get cultural capital legitimated for a Greenlandic way of living (P25, P32). Participants that instead bridge the dichotomy (P6, P32) or even shift between a Danish and Greenlandic identity (P10, P11, P18), which seems to require bilingual Danish-Greenlandic abilities, will have the possibility to get their cultural capital legitimated by several groups. The social capital is determined by social networks and group affiliation. The limited information obtained in the texts or interview situations, where deepening questions were not part of the method, makes it hard to assess participants' social networks. For the Danish subjects integration and the time spent in Greenland can be considered to favor social networks. Moreover, it is also likely that participants who get more material and cultural capital legitimated into symbolic power are also is part of larger social networks (P10, P11, P18), compared to people that attain lower levels of material and cultural capital (P6, P4, P29, P36) and the ones with limited material and/or cultural capital (P25, P32) that only take part of smaller social networks. John (P25) can be considered to be the one in the selected sample who possesses the lowest amount of power and, in accordance with the MCA-analysis, he is also the one who expresses himself mostly in perceptive terms, which implies that speaking in concrete terms could be a class specific pattern. John also expresses an appreciation for the help that comes from Denmark.

Ethnicity: The division between the Danish and the Greenlandic ethnicity is central in most text, but is given different grounds like cultural differences, consequences of colonialism or an outcome of missionaries. The fact that everyone defined their ethnicity without hesitation indicates that it is significant to position one's ethnic identity, even though the horizons of ethnicity in the life-worlds of subjects are ambiguous. Given that the Danish and Greenlandic ethnicities are partly defined as each other's negation, it is not possible to have a Danish-Greenlandic identity, with the consequence that the Faroese has to identify with his parents'

ethnicity, since he cannot define as neither Greenlandic nor Dane. The power formation between the two ethnic groups, as emphases previously, seems to be historically formed, where the Western Danish identity intake/is given a dominate role and where the Greenlandic identity intake/is given an inferior role. The Danish way of being is described as modern, verbal, intelligent and superior and the Greenlandic as traditional, non-verbal, unintelligent and inferior. As Herman (1996) highlights in the intersectional part, participants of asymmetrical encounters may seemingly agree with the uneven conditions. This is carried out by the dominant part's advisement from the power of authority and the less dominant part's adherence to memories, intentions and goals which are associated with the inferior position, in order to maintain the relationship with the power holder. Neither the Danish nor the Greenlandic subjects seem to like the structure of the power relationship, but the superiority/inferiority is deeply integrated in the subjects' inner identity structure, which makes it demanding to change the uneven relationship. The uneven relationship can be illustrated by the pattern of the empowered ethnic group's frequent projection of negative feelings into the other group and their cultural characteristics (P4, P6, P11, P18, P36), where the inferior subjects mostly criticize the other's superior role and the consequences of colonialism (P18, P25, P29, P32), but not the other's way of being. The subjects that are able to intake double identities or have an understanding of the other ethnic identity have the opportunity to bridge the dichotomy (P6, P10, P11, P18, P32). It is also important to remark here that cultural characteristics also can be described in value systems that are not characteristic of binary oppositions, but where participants can see the uniqueness in the other's culture. That can be demonstrated by the positive way Danes are speaking about the Greenlanders' relation to nature (P4, P6, P10, P11) or Greenlanders' way to see benefits in the Danes' verbal approach in communication (P18, P25, P32).

The term cultural was previously defined as collective utilization to achieve desired outcomes, where cultural differences in opposite was described as when people pursue different goals, and utilize different methods and attaching diverse values to those goals. In the research most participants can be said to be optimistic about the future and have collective goals for Greenland, when speaking positively about the increased independence, finding a new Greenlandic identity, and redeploy the ethnic power relation (P6, P10, P11, P18, P25, P29, P32). The diverse strategies can generally be summarized into two main strategies; one that include approaches

that assert the uniqueness of the Greenlandic culture and another that incorporate methods to bridge the dichotomy of the different ethnic groups. Two of the participants in the selected sample do not feel any responsibility for development of Greenland's future (P4, P36). It appears like diverse personal experiences influence the different strategies that require one to achieve (or not to achieve) the common goals. Thereby the invariant cultural structure can be said to utilize different methods to achieve desired collective outcomes. The concrete suggestions of how to achieve the goals are not ethnic specific and mirror the heterogeneity of the sample, in opposite to the settling of a superior and an inferior identity that is considered to be ethnic specific. The invariant cultural structure also seems to include a belief of a positive future, where people are proud of the contemporary independence process, fueled by the new government and the self-rule, and the conviction that the goals will be reached with time.

Diaspora: As frequently recurring in the analysis, the Greenlanders have related to Denmark throughout life due to the Greenlandic society's dependence on Denmark and thereby the Greenlandic narratives contain several meetings with Danes. In opposite, Danes' Greenlandic-capture started in Denmark when thinking of Greenland, but took place in real life first after their arrival in Greenland. The major groups of Danes in Greenland come as imported manpower to intake an empowered we in the society, where the dependency of Danish manpower creates a disempowered we. In the selected sample Sofie (P4) can be said to represent the typical Dane in Greenland that most participants are talking about when referring to the Danes in Greenland. The other three Danes are more described as exceptions; Morten (P10) and Sven (P11) lives permanently in Greenland and have children with Greenlandic women, where Morten has always had a superior role in the upper class, Sven has had different positions all over the class strata and Pernille (P6) has come to the country with the aim of not having a superior position, and hence act differently in comparison to other Danes. The Greenlanders' narratives include Danes and Denmark in different parts of life. The Greenlanders that are in close family with Danes like Nive (P32) and Pauli (P18) have passed several transnational rooms in life that seems to facilitate the understanding of the Danes' perspective. In John's (P25) and Anne's (P29) case the Danes have instead mostly come to visit their world, though at least John has had short visits in Denmark. Pauli (P36) has a strongly negative view of the Greenlandic

society, and identifies with a Greenlandic counter-discourse that makes him feel closer to the Danes, even though he realizes that he is not Danish.

In the presentation of the outcome of the analysis so far subject's horizons of comprehension concerning the colonial/post-colonial relationship in MCA-analysis has been present individually as well as compiled within the themes determined in the Sphinx Lexica analysis. Further, situated knowledge has been connected to power resources and horizons of comprehension in relation to class, ethnicity and diaspora. The life-narratives of the subjects in the selected sample illustrate the complexity of meaning constitution that constitutes of coherence as well as contradicting voices that characterizes the life-world of different subjects in diverse positions in contemporary Greenland. An attempt to emphasize the main finding in the study follows below.

Main findings of the weighted Sphinx Lexica and MCA analysis

In this final section of the result part I will highlight the most essential findings of the outcome of the Sphinx Lexica and MCA analysis. The most frequently mentioned themes and the correlation in-between will be emphasized. When trying to create a coherent description of a phenomenon of study it will inevitably cause a simplification of all contradictions that characterize the life-world. The outcome presented previously in this section can be considered to be accomplished in the phenomenological attitude, while the construction of the main findings, which will inevitably have been colored by my being and my experiences in field, will be transferred to and carried out in the natural attitude. The narrative that emerge can be said to be a product of my indwelling in cultural and reflexivity during the process that has led to the most plausible interpretation about the relationship affect, that consists in the horizons of comprehension in my life-world.

Regardless of ethnicity, participants are generally, negative about the colonization of Greenland, they are talking in ambiguous terms about the contemporary situation and they are projecting positive thoughts into the future. Overall the informants are positive towards the welfare society, but they express negativity regarding social problems, lack of identity and the dependency to Denmark. Subjects are positive about the ongoing liberty process that came along with the self-rule and the new government. They picture a positive future, with a belief that the

goals of increased independency, finding a new Greenlandic identity and the redeploying of the ethnic power relation will be fulfilled.

Participants are proportionally expressing themselves within the same themes, which illustrates that people share the same frame of reference when reflecting about the relationships affect in life. Occasionally contradictions appear between the two ethnic groups, as well as within the groups. The main findings can be described with regards to two different matters. *Firstly;* the power relation's linking to class and ethnicity and the construction us and them, *secondly*; determined strategies used in order to achieve future goals are connected to ethnicity and diasporic positions, where the language is described as a central mean to change the power distribution.

The main group of Danes that come to Greenland as important manpower form an ethnic empowered upper class, while the less empowered positions in society are occupied by Greenlanders. The situation recreates the colonial power relationship. The Danes generally lack knowledge about colonialism's affect on the colonized self as well as the own self and thereby they do not question their Danish preferential right of interpretation. In opposite, Greenlanders have related to Denmark and Danes through life and their inferior position is deeply marked in the subjects' identity structures. The uneven relationship is unpleasant for both parts, but the superiority and inferiority is deeply integrated in the subjects' identity structures. Even though the relationship is under constant negotiation it takes time to reconstruct the unequal conditions. Both parts have to acquire a post-colonial understanding in order to be able to settle with their dialectical other. Further, the Danish and Greenlandic ethnic characteristics are partly defined in negation to one another, where the ethnic characteristics are valued diversely in the different discourses. The power relation together with the division of ethnicity contributes to the construction of us and them that creates the positioning of unwanted feelings in the other ethnic group. The uneven power relation makes Danes project negative feelings about the Greenlandic society and the Greenlandic ethnic characteristics, while Greenlanders are mostly negative about the Danes' superior position. Between the ethnic groups there is also an ongoing discussion about who is responsible for the negative conditions in Greenland and there exist a "guilt" that is being projected back and forth between the ethnic groups. Simultaneously as the colonial relationship still exists there are also areas where the formation of us and them is not present and cultural characteristics are

described in value systems that are not characterized by binary oppositions like the Greenlanders relation to the nature or the Danes verbal approach in communication.

A pre-condition for reaching the future goals is that Danes and Greenlanders who live in Greenland settle with their inferior and superior dialectical other, as well as develop a way of coping with the imported Danish manpower's lack of knowledge about colonialism and their western superior role. The strategies are generally aimed towards preventing and deconstructing formations of us and them, but also towards emphasizing the Greenlandic cultural values in order to improve the Greenlandic self-worth. The usage of strategies is affected by subjects' ethnicity and diaspora positions, where subjects that can bridge the ethnic dialectic use the strategy of preventing the construction of us and them, where the one that dis-identify with the other instead tends to emphasize their own ethnic culture. Both strategies will deconstruct the colonial relationship when used by Greenlanders, but when Danes emphasize their own cultural values they will instead maintain the colonial power relationship. The language subject is given a central position when it comes to reach the future goals, since it contains the potential of a redistribution of the power relationship. For Greenlanders the improvement of Danish and English language abilities is a pre-condition of fulfilling a higher level of education and thereby limiting the need for imported educated manpower and the dependence on Denmark. And for Danes learning the Greenlandic language, it is a prerequisite to get integrated in the Greenlandic culture and is perceived by Greenlanders as an active standpoint against the reconstruction of the colonial power relationship. The imported Danish manpower should therefore be encouraged to learn the language as well as actively be integrated in society, which also requires that Greenlander are letting them in even though it might be emotionally hard to handle the separation when the Danes return to Denmark. The positive feelings towards the ongoing process and the future can be connected to the fact that the active usage of the approaches has carried visible fruit, which can be illustrated by the phenomenon of seeing the uniqueness of the other's cultural values without putting it in a binary value system.

The subjects in the selected sample represent the heterogeneity of the population. Their life-narratives and viewpoints concerning the relationship's affect in live have to be understood from their position concerning class, ethnicity and diaspora, where the interplay of these categories gives each participant a unique viewpoint of the invariant structure of culture in Greenland. Even though the

phenomenological approach means that rigorous study of single subject will examine the horizons of comprehensions that are valid for other singularities of the same type, it is likely that several variables have to be determined to be able to generalize the findings to specific groups in context, since subjects always hold a variety of positions such as gender, specific occupations, political views and roles within the family unit that affect their being and life view. Subjects in Greenland will albeit by the reading of this thesis be able to relate to the different viewpoints and hopefully also gain an increased understanding of other subjects' meaning constitutions that could be helpful in the ongoing independency process.

Discussion

 This research has examined the perception of the colonial relationship held by subjects that reside on the Greenlandic west coast in contemporary Greenland. A phenomenological approach with a theoretical framework consisting of the dialogical self theory and intersectionality perspective were applied to explore the content of subjects' life-worlds. The work was based on self-reports of 15 Danes, 22 Greenlanders and 1 Faroese within different positions in society and analyzed from a multi-axial of the categories class, ethnicity and diaspora. All texts have been through a surface analysis in The Sphinx Lexica and nine texts were selected for deep analysis in Meaning Constitution Analysis (MCA) - Minerva. It was found that two different discourses exist concerning the relationship between Danes and Greenlanders. In the dominant discourse the colonial relation still exists and the two ethnic identities are constructed as each other's negations. In the competing discourse the power relation is under reconstruction, the cultural dichotomy does not exist and the Greenlandic cultural values are higher esteemed. Even though the uneven relationship is described as unpleasant for both Danish and Greenlandic subjects, the settling with the dialectical other require gaining post-colonial knowledge. Two strategies have been determined concerning the settling process; one that emphasizes the Greenlandic cultural values and another one that bridges the dichotomy of Danes and Greenlanders, in the latter the usage of strategies is linked to ethnicity and diaspora positions. It was also found that the language is central to achieve a redistribution of power as well as for the integration of imported Danish manpower in the Greenlandic culture to avoid grouping of us and them.

 The findings of this thesis confirms several of the basic assumptions of post-colonial theory and the local conditions of post-colonialism that have been determined in Egede Lynge's research. Egede Lynge can be said to describe two different discourses in Greenland; one that emphasizes the Greenlandic national norms and another that favors the Danish cultural standards. These discourses have been challenging each other through different periods of the colonization and decolonization phases. The Greenlandic national norm and the Danish cultural standards are equivalent to Fanons first and second strategy i.e. to either emphasize the own culture or assimilate to the superior cultural norms. In the present research the counter discourse can instead be said to be more characteristic of Fanons third

strategy, i.e. to reduce the distance between the groups and include both the desirable and undesirable characteristics of both cultures. The described positive feelings expressed by the subjects of study regarding the ongoing process and the future can be connected to the active usage of bridging strategies. This process can be illustrated by the fact that some of the other group's cultural characteristics are assessed by the subjects in a way which is not characterized by binary oppositions. This phenomenon can also be an example of Brah's concept "the third room" where meaning changes to be neither the one nor the other and where similarities and differences in interpersonal relationships do not contradict one another. The positive feelings about the ongoing process and a future where the colonial relationship does not exist and the dependency of Denmark is decreased illustrate the belief that the competing discourse will be dominant in future.

Finally, I want to highlight that it is ethically problematic to examine a post-colonial relationship with the power holders' native language as a mean to entrance to the subjects' life-world for three reasons. Firstly, only bilingual Greenlandic-Danish or monolingual Danish speaking subjects can take part in the study. Secondly, it might also be demanding for Greenlanders do find definite language when expressing themselves in their second language. Thirdly, the fact that the Greenlandic culture is described as less verbal than the Danish culture also makes it challenging to capture feelings and atmospheres that cannot be described in verbal language. The founding that language is central in the redistribution of power also makes it difficult when I as a researcher have only been speaking Danish and thereby partly performing as the power holder by not giving priority to learning the Greenlandic language. This will inevitably affect the outcome in favor of the Danish perspective. With the experiences I gained through this research it would have been more ethical to establish a co-operation with a Greenlandic speaking researcher to also include monolingual Greenlandic speaking subjects. It would also have been preferable to further establish an understanding of how to convert non-verbal experiences to verbal language, as well as to let the analysis process be formed by the dialog by the invariant structures of the Greenlandic and the Danish cultural voices.

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Appendix

This project will be the foundation for my master thesis in psychology at The University of Lund. The interest of the field emerged after I took part in a study about Greenlandic women in Denmark, as part of my gender studies. The study gave me insights and knowledge about the post-colonial meeting that I want to deepen in my master thesis.

History: Greenland was a Danish colony from 1721 to 1953 and was isolated from the surrounding world to protect the Danish interests during this period. In 1953, Greenland's colonial status abolished and the Greenlandic people formally became on an equal footing with the Danes. At the same time a modernization of Greenland was carried out, which was underpinned with Danish cultural and political norms. In 1970s, the Greenlanders expressed a wish about settling the hierarchic relation between the Danes and the Greenlandic people, and by doing so also make up with their colonial inheritance. This resulted in 1979's home-government. After almost 30 years of home-government, the Greenlandic people voted in favor of self-government on the 25th of November 2008. In spite of that, there are still great differences in living conditions and visibility between Greenland and Denmark. Denmark and Danes are more visible in Greenland, at the same time as Greenland and Greenlandic people are less visible in Denmark. Greenland is divided by cultural-, social-, and language differences, which can be illustrated by a primarily Danish speaking elite in the cities and a primarily Greenlandic speaking population in the rural areas. The population of only 56 000 citizens are spread over an area of 2 176 000 $km^{2.}$, which at the largest part is constituted of the inland ice – air and waterways are the only available traveling opportunities[1].

Purpose of the study: This project will examine how the historical relationship between Denmark and Greenland has influenced the individuals in the contemporary Greenlandic society. I will examine the experiences of Danes and Greenlanders in Greenland, but also previous experiences Greenlanders have had in Denmark, since these narratives can mirror the colonial relation in the contemporary Greenland. The research question is:

How does the historical relationship affect the relationship between Greenlandic people and Danish people, and especially the Greenlandic lived life?

Method: The study has a phenomenological explorative approach, where theory generates through analysis of data received in the meeting with the studied individuals. The quality of the alliance between the people that I choose to work with, but who also choose me, will be decisive for the understanding of the Greenlanders

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[1] Egede Lynge, A. (2008). Vi blev inte alla danskar - Kolonialt inflytande på grönländsk etnisk identitet. *Ord & Bild*: Norden & kolonialismen, 2, 54-61.

situation. In phenomenology a good alliance – the cooperation between the researcher and the people that want to participate in the research project – can lead to an entrance to humans inner life-world. The life-world does not only say something about the particular individual, but also about the group in which the individual is active. That can analogically inform us about similar colonial or half-colonial situations in other parts of the world as well.

The people that participate in the study are asked to answer an open-ended question by writing a text or by taking part in an interview. In the analysis, the essential focus will be the individual's thoughts, beliefs and feelings. Two software tools for text analysis, MCA (Meaning Constitution Analysis) and Sphinx Lexica, will be used. The MCA is a method for phenomenological text analysis developed by Roger Sages, lector at The Institutions of Psychology, The University of Lund.

The aim and location of the study

The aim of the study: When working with a post-colonial relationship, I find it highly significant to take part in both cultures, and thereby it is necessary that the research actually takes place in Greenland. Taking part in the culture will deepen my understanding of the field, simultaneously as it will give me new perspectives of the Danish discourses about Greenland. In phenomenological research the human is the instrument, and being in Greenland will make me reflect about my own position in relation to the research field. The fact that I am Swedish and live in Copenhagen will affect the study, both in the meeting with the interview persons and in the data analysis.

Location of the study: I will fly to Ilulissat in West Greenland on the 17th of June 2009 and celebrate the national day there. After that I will take a flight to Sisimiut on the 22nd of June and continue with boat to Kangaamiut on the 25th-29th of June. My next stop will be Nuuk, where I will stay for a week from the 30th of June.. After that, I will carry on with boat to Qaqortoq from the 7th to the17th of July, where I will visit small villages around that area. Hopefully, I will return to Greenland in the fall to finish the fieldwork on the east coast.
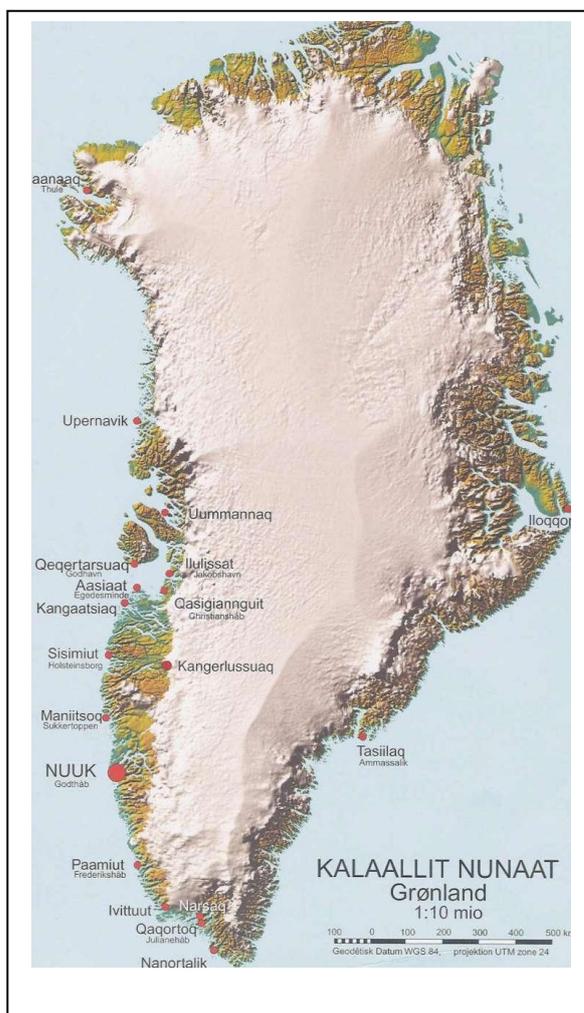
Appendix 2: The letter with instructions to participants

Hello,

My name is Frida Björklund, I'm Swedish and I study psychology at The University of Lund, Sweden. I'm at the last semester of my studies and I will during this semester work on my last exam - my master thesis. I have a considerable interest in cultural psychology, and after living in Copenhagen for four years, I have decided that I want to examine the relationship between Denmark and Greenland.

The aim of the study: I will examine how the historically grounded relationship between Denmark and Greenland has affected Danish and Greenlandic subjects living in the Greenlandic society. I will not study any specific population group; instead my aspiration is to get in contact with people from different parts of the population.

The study can be of importance, as it can generate knowledge of the historically grounded relationship between Denmark and Greenland. The knowledge can decrease eventual conflicts between the Greenlandic people and the Danish people and make it possible for individuals to focus more on the historical relations resources instead of problems. The study can furthermore analogically provide understanding about similar situations in other parts of the word.

Method: I have chosen a phenomenological approach, which means that I want to discover the life-worlds of people. The individuals are asked to describe their own thoughts, beliefs and feelings, using an open ended question as a starting point. Thereby the researcher gets entrance to a human's inner thoughts. It is important that the participants take part voluntary and the aspiration is that the study will be of interest for the individuals that the research concerns. In the cooperation that will develop between participants and researcher, the participants are experts in their life situation and the researcher in the research method.

In the text analysis the two types of software Meaning Constitution Analysis (MCA) and Sphinx Lexica will be used. They are specifically useful in cultural research, since the instruments help the researcher to separate his or hers own pre-comprehension from the research material.

You, who are reading this text, have been contacted by me personally, by e-mail or have gotten this information forwarded from a friend or someone else you know. It is not all of you that I will meet in person, but you will all, as a part of the study, be asked to answer the same question that is related to the aim of the study. Some of you will also be contacted again with some complementary questions if necessary.

I hope that You will want to contribute with Your perspectives. Your person is unique, and your perspectives and your way of thinking are therefore very much of interest to me and the study. Take your time when answering the following question.

When you are done, you can send it to my e-mail address. You are protected by anonymity, when your data is treated.

Feedback: I will present the result of my study in January 2010. If You are interested in the result I will send You a copy of my master thesis and a shorter summary in February. You are always welcome to contact me during this process.

Best Regards,

Frida Björklund   Roger Sages

E-mail: frida.bjorklund.124@gmail.com   roger.sages@psychology.lu.se

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Gender: □ ♂   □ ♀
Age:
Occupation   :   For how long time?
Ethnicity: Have you lived in other countries? – For how long time?
I want to have the result of the study sent to me: □
Name:
Address:
E-mail:

Can you please write down all your associations, thoughts, feeling, ideas, emotions … about the eventually meaning that the relationship Greenland-Denmark and Greenlandic people – Danish people has, and has had, for your life, your dreams and your visions.

(Everything that you write will be treated anonymously and will only be used in this research. Try to express your thoughts and feelings with your own words and as freely as possible. Remember that it is your subjective experience and history that is of interest for the study. There is nothing which is right or wrong to write. Write approx. 1-2 A4 pages.)

Appendix 3: Overview of the Informants

Informants													
Nationality				Age	Sex		Education		Location		Language		Lived time		Interview Length
	D	G	F		♀	♂	Higher	Lower	Town	Village	D	G	D	G	
1				50										1 m	31
2				53										1 m	72
3				33										3 m	45
4				30										3 m	-
5				53										6 m	-
6				21										1	-
7				30										3	67
				35										3	67
8				32										1	108
				38										4	108
9				60										10	91
10				52										22	-
11				48										35	65
12				43										32	40
13				34										26	65
14				55									16		67
15				55									11		43
16				50									10		100
17				45									10		14
18				35									12		37
19				48									6		39
20				55									5		39
21				55									5		37
22				42									4		81
23				35									4		51
24				51									3		51
25				47									-		50
26				45									-		55
27				40									-		59
28				44									-		25
29				40									2		-
30				40									3		83
31				35									2		48
32				32									-		75
33				23									2		21
34				21									2		23
35				19									-		29
36				25									4	21	-

	Lighter gray indicate limited language skill		
Danish interviews:	Length: 31-108 minutes	Mean: 65 minutes	
Greenlandic interviews:	Length: 14-100 minutes	Mean: 49 minutes	

Occupations within the sample

Occupations held by Danes in the sample that are considered to be of higher education: four teachers, one psychologist, one *s*pecialized consultant, one occupational therapist, one employee in the self-rule, one librarian, one cashier, one store manager, one museum director, one priest, one editor and one programmer/computer worker

Occupations held by Danes that are considered to be of lower education: one cashier

Occupations held by Greenlanders that are considered to be of higher education: two captains, one construction techniques, one psychologist, one principal of folk high-school, one interpreter, one librarian, one programmer/computer worker, one university teacher, one student of higher education

Occupations held by Greenlanders that are considered to be of lower education: three students, one pedagogue, one elementary school secretary, one fisherman, one secretary working for the self-rule, one care assistant, one counselor, one pensioner, one police officer

Subgroups for nationality, class, ethnicity and diaspora in statistical analysis			
	Danes		P1-3, P7-9, P11-13
	Greenlander		P14-28, P30-35
Class	Danes	Upper class	P1-3, P7*-9, P11-13
		Lower class	
	Greenlanders	Upper class	P14-18, P20, P 22, P 26, P 29, P 30
		Lower class	P19, P21, P23-25, P27-28, P31-35
Diaspora	Danes	0-1 years in Greenland	P1-3
		1-4 years in Greenland	P6-8
		10-35 years in Greenland	P9, P11-13
	Greenlander**	10-16 years in Denmark	P14-18
		2-6 years in Denmark	P19-24, P29-31, P33-34
		Holidays in Denmark	P 25-28, P32, P35
Ethnicity	Danes	No Greenlandic	P1-5, P9
		Some Greenlandic	P6-8
		Greenlandic and Greenlandic children	P10-13
	Greenlander	From mixed marriages	P18, P27, P32
		From Greenlandic marriages	P 14-17, P19-26, P28-31, P33-35

*The male in the couple has a chef position, so even though he does not have a higher education, his has a position that possesses power.

** The time spent in Denmark correlates with generations, i.e. older an older generation has spent more time in Denmark compared to younger generations.

Appendix 4. Words within the constructed themes in Sphinx Lexica

The present categories underneath include words expressed within the themes in the Sphinx Lexica analysis. Not all words are present, but the stems of words are present to give the reader an apprehension of the words included in each category. For example, the single word school can stand for high school, school teacher and school activities, and eventual suffixes are also reduced. The amount of words within each category is given in the parenthesis after the theme.

Individualistic (4332): I, mine.

Collectivistic (2218): ours, we.

Denmark (1694): Copenhagen, Danes, Danish, Denmark.

Greenland (1688): Greenland, Greenlanders, Greenlandic, Nuuk, up here.

Education (1353): academic, class, education, exam, failed exam, folk high school, high school, philosophy, pupil, school, student, teach, teacher, work training.

History (739): colonization, colonial power, decades, G60, history, industrialization, missionaries, Inuit people, the Danization period, the Greenlandization period, post-colonial, years, and references to different years.

Contemporary politics (737): core support, county, debate, department, election, economy, EU, Euro, export, FN, gender equality, globalization, government, IA, import, internationalization, ministry constitution, modernization, nation, party, politician, politics, prime minister, referendum, Siumut, secession process, , society, tax, the home rule, the self rule, welfare system, working class.

Family children (732): boy, boyfriend, brother, children, childhood, girl, girlfriend, grandparents, grandchildren, father, family, marriage, mixed marriages, mother, parents, sister.

Work (667): business, carrier, colleague, employment, labor market, salary, unemployment, work, work environment.

Language (539): communication, Danish speaking, bilingual, English, GLDK, Greenlandic speaking, language, mother tongue, speak, verbal.

Greenlandic tradition (304): anorak, bead work, caribou hunting, christening, confirmation, dog sledding, dried fish, fishery, fishing factory, hunter, hunting, hunting culture, hunting society, kaffemik, leather sewing, national dress, whale, polar bear, seal hunting, sealskin, skin.

Culture (278): culture, cultural background, culture differences, cultural meeting, monoculture, multicultural, traditions, traditional.

Conflict/Confrontation (274): conflict, confrontation, problem, problem solving.

Foreign countries (274): Africa, Alaska, America, American, American Indian, Arab, Australia, Brazil, Canada, Canadian, China, Chinese, Croatia, England, Englishmen, Europe, European, Faroe, Faroese, Finland, foreign countries, Germany, Greece, India, Iceland, Iran, Islamic, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Japanese, Korea, Mexico, Nordic, Russia, Scandinavia, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, USA.

Travelling/diaspora (160): journey, move, travel.

Substance addictions (144): addiction, alcohol, alcoholic, drunk, drink, hash, beer, Greenlandic drunk, sober.

Nature (110): fiord, mountains, nature, sea, woods.

Media (101): documentary programs, DR (Denmark's radio), journalist, Jyllandsposten (Danish paper), paper, radio, the news, TV.

Men (69): men.

Generation (60): generation.

Women (51): women.