Through the eyes of the "Other"

Greenlanders' experiences in mediated spaces and places

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About living in the present moment*
To live in the present is the technique of life
and everyone do their best
but one half chooses what has passed
and the other half chooses the next

and the previous and the forthcoming
will never be in life's present moment
and everyone's lifetime will pass
by only reminiscing and waiting.

The now that has passed will always be over
and the next will never be the right one
So make sure the present you live in
once and for all always is this one.

*A translated poem from the work of the Danish poet Piet Hein, whose work my grandmother adored.

Abstract

Greenlanders in Denmark are often overlooked in the spheres of the Danish society. One stereotypical image of the Greenlander has become ingrained to be almost commonsensical in its use in the Danish language and media. That is the Greenlander as the loser in Danish society, someone who is either drunk, homeless, or destitute. Although some Greenlanders suffer from these issues, the majority of this minority who are the functional Greenlanders slide unnoticed under the radar and disappear into the Danish system. They are rarely seen or heard from in the Danish public.

This study aims to find and interview 10 Greenlanders in Copenhagen to elucidate how they experience their everyday life in between mediated spaces and places. Here, the focus will be on how they see themselves represented in the Danish news media and how they construct their identities in and through their engagement with media genres. Greenlanders in Denmark are quite a unique diaspora identity because of the postcolonial history and intricate relationship between Greenland and Denmark. The analysis discovers the existing stereotypes seem dominant in their experiences of the Danish news media and it is also prevalent in their everyday life. Following their diasporic identity they use media to nurture and maintain their relationship with their surroundings and their home country. This enables them to communicate and take part in mediated discursive spaces where they can be part of different communities simultaneously. Their strong tie to Greenland seem to be maintained through how they navigate media and push for that they exist in a hybrid imagined community where they are able to feel belonging to multiple places and communities.

Greenlanders in Denmark are an under researched topic which should not only be acknowledged more in Media and Communication studies but in all academic fields. The conclusion draws to that the informants notice a misrepresentation and general absence of Greenlanders in the Danish news media. Through their engagement with media they find representation and communities that nourish their sense of belonging and foster a diasporic identity.

Keywords: "Greenlanders in Copenhagen"; "Diaspora"; "Imagined Communities"; "Representation in Media"; "Transnational audience"; "Media Engagement"; "Minorities"

Acknowledgements

Table of contents

1

Introduction

1.1 Historical contexts and Greenlanders in the Danish news media

In my daily habit of going through the news headlines, I stumbled upon an article. Here, the newly assigned Danish prime minister Mette Frederiksen postponed an official apology to the Greenlandic children who had once been subjected to a cruel experiment for the sake of a 'greater good' (Politiken, 2019). This event was later publicly known as the *Experiment*, deriving from the film adaptation of the Danish author's Tine Bryld's (1998) famous novel *I den bedste mening*. In 1951, 22 children were removed from their families in Greenland and put on a ship to Denmark (Bryld, 1998). These children were selected to take part in the first step of a Danish political incentive to modernize Greenland (Thomsen, 1998). While in Denmark, they were to be educated in Danish language and culture as part of an experiment to become the first generation of a Greenlandic elite. However, something went wrong in the process and the children never returned to their families. After one and a half years, most of them returned to Greenland but were denied reunification with their families. Instead, they were placed into orphanages. Having lost the ability to communicate in their mother tongue they were estranged from their families. The children from this experiment, who are still alive today, have reported that this traumatizing event has had consequences which deeply affected their sense of identity, family relations, language, and culture. This can be referred to as the colonial syndrome that still to this day partly influences how Greenlanders feel about Denmark as the dominant colonial ruler (Bjørst 2008: 17). Furthermore, this is an event that deserves acknowledgement to better understand the political context, as well as indicates the lack of political recognition of Greenlandic history and the consequences of Danish colonization. It was not until 2019 that the Greenland Committee of the Danish parliament finally sent a proposal to the government to permit a commission to look into the implications of this event for these children (Grønlandsudvalget, 2019). The same proposal suggested that an official apology should be made to these Greenlandic children.

In continuation of the political modernization process that took place in the 1950s, Greenland gained home-rule in 1953; a date recognised as the official end of Greenland's

formal colonial status. Today Greenland is a nation of approximately 56,000 inhabitants that has acquired self-rule governance but remains dependent on economic aid from Denmark. As a small country Greenlanders are often limited when it comes to higher education, job aspects, and a functioning healthcare system. In addition, mobility between Denmark and Greenland is still a popular instrument for Greenlanders to gain access to resources which Greenland is not yet capable of providing. Besides highlighting the political aspects of Greenland's connection to Denmark, the event of the Experiment also stresses the colonial heritage, which has led to what the Greenlandic diaspora is today. In short, the Greenlandic diaspora refers to the Greenlanders' mobility between Greenland and Denmark in a pursuit of higher education as one of the reasons for dispersion, which has necessarily meant relocating to Denmark for an undefined period of time. In the past, it was seen as commonsensical that Greenlanders had to go to Denmark for educational purposes but recently, the discourse has changed so it has become an individual choice.

Nowadays it is estimated that 18,000 Greenlanders live in Denmark (Flora, 2017). Greenlanders in Denmark are regarded as Danish citizens with equal rights to vote and gain welfare benefits. They hold Danish passports that have been customized to their Greenlandic nationality. This also emphasizes that their identities relate to an interconnectedness between a Danish and Greenlandic identity. Thus it also becomes a hindrance when conducting research on these citizens because of their national status as Danes in the Danish society, making it hard to identify Greenlanders living in Denmark, such as the difficulty in tracking Greenlanders' mobilization between Denmark and Greenland. While reading studies on media and minorities in Denmark it became clear that past media studies put little to none emphasis on the inclusion of Greenlanders as an ethnic minority (Andreassen, 2019; Hussain, 2002). An argument for this may be that Greenlanders are a small minority in Denmark or due to their special citizenship that overlooks Greenlanders as a minority (Togeby, 2002; Sørensen, 1993). The Greenlandic people are hard to compare with any other minority group, and Togeby (2002) suggests that the closest comparison can be made to the situation of Sami people in Norway (2002: 155) however, there are important contrasts and differences. Togeby draws on Greenlanders' geographical detachment as they have their own defined territory in which they are the majority, whereas the Samis only have two municipalities in Samiland in which they are the majority. Moreover, Togeby claims that because Sami people are similar in appearance to Norwegians they can therefore better assimilate. This is different from the context of Greenlanders, as they do stand out in comparison with the Danish

appearance (2002: 155). Moreover, recognizing the unique diasporic identity of Greenlanders in Copenhagen underscores that they should not be taken for granted as a Danish minority in research.

As established in the previous section, Greenlanders are often overlooked and more research is needed that acknowledges Greenlanders and their unique perceptions of their lives. In particular, media studies have focused on the representation of Greenlanders through different media genres, but have not managed to take on the perspective of Greenlanders from an audience perspective. Similarly, Greenlanders also tend to be overlooked when it comes to representation in the media. Referring back to the first sentence of this chapter, the article on the postponed apology to the Greenlandic children is one of the few stories in the Danish news media this year that have had a Greenlandic focus. It is rare that Greenland appears in the Danish media landscape on a daily or even weekly basis. The stories often only appear as part of sensational news in relation to larger topics such as climate change, or as in the aforementioned article, through the representation of prominent people as the subject and Greenland or Greenlanders as the object (Bjørst, 2008). When Greenlanders are referred to in the Danish news media it is almost always about the dysfunctional types of Greenlanders, focusing on the homeless and the alcoholic Greenlanders that once in a while take up space in the streets in the bigger cities of Denmark (Togeby, 2002: 139). This negative media attention can be seen as creating a stereotype that all Greenlanders are dysfunctional, despite very few of the Greenlanders residing in Denmark fit these negative connotations. This observation in combination with personal travels to Iceland and admiration of the West Nordic countries led to my interest in undertaking a research with a specific focus on Greenlanders in Copenhagen. While I lived in Iceland I was made aware of the Danish colonial heritage that still exists and how they critically view Denmark as the former colonial power. Later on, in Copenhagen, I made close friends with many Faroese people whom I have had many lively debates with about Denmark's former and current colonial position in the Faroe Islands. Then following the past year's debate on Greenland and its geopolitical importance to Denmark in the Danish news media sparked my interest in getting a Greenlandic perspective on how they see themselves represented in Denmark. To me, the post-colonial power relations between Denmark and Greenland seem still present through the relations of politics between the two nations. This made me curious about how Greenlanders may experience these unequal power relations in their everyday life as a minority in Denmark.

1.2 Aim and research questions

The aim of the study is to investigate how the identity of an ethnic minority is influenced by their everyday engagement with the media. This specific study is founded on qualitative interviews with Greenlanders in Copenhagen, who identify as Greenlanders. One important objective of this study is to give visibility to the overlooked minority of Greenlanders in Copenhagen and to acknowledge their significance as a unique transnational audience. The study supplies contextual knowledge concerning how Greenlandic identities are constructed through the individual experience *in* and *through* media, and how they relate themselves to their host country, homeland, in a global context and mediated spaces. Through a media audience study this study sets out to explore the following three research questions:

- ❖ How do Greenlanders in Copenhagen, seen as a minority and a specific media audience, experience the representation of Greenlanders in Danish news media?
- ❖ How do Greenlanders in Copenhagen engage with mediated spaces and places?
- ❖ In what ways do Greenlanders in Copenhagen construct their identity in and through different media forms and genres?

In this highly mediated world, everyone has become an audience in all social spheres as the media has become an embedded part of our everyday life (Livingstone, 2013). Greenlanders in Copenhagen, as any other citizen, engage with media. Furthermore, there has not been many studies dedicated to giving Greenlanders in Copenhagen their own voice. Thus, it seems relevant to draw from their experiences with media and specifically the Danish news media to get an account of their own position within the Danish society in and through media. Finally, researching Greenlanders in Copenhagen within the framework of a media audience study will give insight into a unique people that have not yet been researched from this perspective and this will be the overarching contribution of this study to the field of Media and Communication studies.

1.3 Thesis outline

The following two chapters contain the literature review and theoretical framework which will lay the theoretical foundation of this study. In the literature review previous studies that are related to the focus on representation of Greenlanders as well as Greenlanders in

Denmark will be discussed, in order to address the gap which this study seeks to fill. The chapter on the theoretical framework consists of an introduction and discussion of the theories and concepts that work as a framework to understand the representation of Greenlanders in the Danish news media and how Greenlanders residing in Copenhagen construct identity through their engagement with mediated spaces and places. In the fourth chapter the methodological framework are presented to address the approaches and methods selected to help construct both the empirical and analytical framework. The fifth analytical chapter presents the two main themes that derived from the interviews: *The representation of Greenlanders in the Danish news media* and *Greenlanders in diaspora in the mediated spaces and places*. The conclusion summarizes the key findings deriving from the analysis and offers suggestions on how these can be used as inspiration in future studies within the field of Media and Communication.

2

Literature Review

This chapter discusses previous studies and literature on the two themes 'Representation of Greenlanders in different media genres' and 'Greenlanders in Denmark'. Therefore, the theoretical concepts that this study draws on will be presented in the following chapter on theoretical framework. Throughout this chapter it will be made clear that this study is exploring novel territory when it comes to the topic of Greenland and media studies. In addition, it will be shown that research on Greenland and Greenlanders is a field that has for many years been subject to an anthropological monopoly. It is only within the last decade that it has been explored wider within cultural and social studies.

2.1 Representation of Greenlanders in different media genres

This section draws on significant studies that have analysed the representation of Greenlanders in different media genres. As will be argued, all of these accounts reveal a clearly defined distinction between how the Greenlander has been represented differently from the Dane. In example, Bo Wagner Sørensen's study (1993) on migration discourses concerning movements between Denmark and Greenland sets up two dominant discourses: the Greenlander as a victim and the Dane as an agent (1993: 35). Here, the Greenlanders in Denmark are seen as victims in their reason for migrating in that their reasons for resettlement are constructed as being forced upon them due to medical reasons, educational purposes, or unemployment. Thus their personal and more positive incentives to move are annihilated in the existing literature. It stands in opposition to the discourse that Danes that have relocated to Greenland are positioned as free agents driven by a calculated purpose. Thus Bo Wagner Sørensen's conclusion suggests that existing literature positions the Greenlander and the Dane in a relationship of the powerless and powerful, which derives from a discourse of the colonizer and the colonized (1993: 42).

In the majority of literature on Greenland, the representation of Greenland(ers) has predominantly consisted of depictions expressed through a Danish lens. Kirsten Thisted (2002) in her analysis of the Danish author Peter Høeg's *Smilla's Sense of Snow* examined

how discourses on Greenlanders deriving from previous literary texts had influenced the plot of the book. Thisted further demonstrates from a historical account of representation through discourse analysis how Greenland has been used as a landscape that "both symbolically and in reality played the part of the Danes' private wilderness, serving as an arena for all kinds of fantasies that cannot be realized in Denmark" (2002: 335). In alignment with Thisted, it can be argued that the Greenlander has been imagined and emerges from the Dane's fantasy of what it means to be Greenlandic namely as embedded within the surrounding nature. In Danish television the representation also often has drawn on two caricatured representations of both Greenland and Greenlanders. Here Greenland is again depicted as a majestic background in what Bjørst (2008) refers to as "the old narrative of the polar explorer" (2008: 81). This background facilitates a more negative representation that draws attention to the social conditions in Greenland (2008: 82). This is often with emphasis on the Greenlanders as exposed to abuse, suicide, and alcoholism. Marie Maegaard and Katrine Mortensen (2018) in their recent study on the representation of Greenlanders in Danish television also highlighted that these previous definitions of Greenlanders are still being reproduced in present accounts. In their analysis, on the Danish documentary series *The Outermost Town,* they showed that although Greenlanders are given 'a voice' they end up being 'silenced' through the host's use of various epistemic authoritative acts. The representations become "counter-imaginaries of a nostalgic lost and simple world on the one hand and a ruined, ugly and perverted world on the other hand" (2018: 22). These narratives can be compared to the image of the pre-modern pure 'Greenlander' and that is problematic if "the most dominant way of citizens residing in Denmark to meet 'the Greenlander' is through mediated representations" (2018: 1). It becomes a reinforcement of the colonizers as the producers of knowledge, where the stereotypes of Greenlanders are maintained. As demonstrated in this section, different media genres, such as migration studies, fiction and TV hold various views of the Greenlander, but also share a one-sided representation of the Greenlander as victimized, simplistic and stereotypical. The following section seeks to further scrutinize the bulk of literature on Greenlanders and to stress existing gaps in research on this particular topic.

2.2 Greenlanders in Denmark

Focus on Greenlanders in Denmark has been a significantly limited area of study. Lise Togeby (2002) in her studies on Greenlanders as a minority group pointed to the cause of it to

be that they in their relocation to Denmark are not registered as immigrants but disappear into the system as Danish citizens. In her study, Togeby (2002) conducts extensive research on Greenlanders in Denmark in relation to *the Danish Democracy and Power Study* which was requested by the Danish parliament. This has been used by many subsequent studies as the foundational and essential work on Greenlanders in Denmark (Bjørst, 2008; Terpstra, 2015; Flora, 2017). The study's main purpose was to map Greenlanders in relation to their democratic rights and co-citizenship as well as their social relations in Denmark and Greenland. Togeby defines Greenlanders in Denmark as an overlooked ethnic minority because in the Danish society they are considered as Danish citizens but with their own nationality they constitute a minority in Denmark (2002: 153). Greenlanders acknowledged as Danish citizens have the same civil, political and social rights as other Danish citizens, and thus Greenlanders are not formally acknowledged as a national minority in Denmark and therefore has no special rights as other national minorities (2002: 150). From Togeby's findings, this can prove problematic as there exists a group of marginalized Greenlanders in Denmark who are left to themselves as they are not covered by a similar integration law that immigrants and asylum seekers in Denmark are secured by. Another important aspect that Togeby puts forward is that the Greenlanders' lack of democratic participation is reinforced by their fellow Danes: "The biggest threat towards Greenlanders engaging in their rights as citizens of Denmark is that the Danish population does not see them as fully members of the Danish community" (2002: 152, own translation). Moreover, Togeby terms this lack of democratic participation as a state of powerless silence, in which Greenlanders do not express interest in Danish politics or engage in the political debate. Instead, they refrain from being critical towards the societal conditions in Denmark. Thus, it becomes difficult for them to take an equal part in the democracy (2002: 151).

Feeling included in society is equally important to democratic participation, as shown by Lill Rastad Bjørst (2008), who connects the missing presentation and representation of Greenlanders and Greenland as a cause of the maintained caricatured stereotypes of Greenlanders that is still present in Denmark. She argues that the mild Danish colonisation of Greenland is part of the way Greenlanders understand themselves and their history. According to Bjørst, the colonisation has also influenced the narrow ways Danes view Greenlanders (2008: 17). The image of Greenlanders as primarily 'losers' in Danish society opposed to the imagined Dane as well functioning, are representations that do not take into account other representations of Greenlanders as people living a normal life with work,

friends, and family. "This contortion in relation to the voice Greenlanders has been given in the Danish society contributes to the creation of the before mentioned stereotyped images" (2008: 30, own translation). Bjørst, sees it as necessary that Greenlanders/inuits take a stand on how they want to be represented if they want any power over how their story is being narrated (2008: 105). To break away from the stereotyped representations within the Danish population, require a change of attitude in the Danish society and information about the Greenlandic society (2008: 82).

Tekke Terpstra (2015) took on an anthropological migration study of Greenlanders in Denmark and looked at how the Greenlandic identity is manifested in Greenlanders in Denmark, and how Greenlandic identity is represented in Denmark by others. The study covered the ascribed and self-ascribed identity of Greenlanders in Denmark from qualitative interviews with Danish high school students and Greenlanders living in Denmark. The external categorization by Danes found that the stereotypes about Greenlanders are present but the perception is ambivalent as it is "manifested through ideas about Greenland's nature on the one hand and alcohol problems on the other" (2015: 138). Concerning the identity experience of being a Greenlander in Denmark, it looked closer at what parameters Greenlanders either consciously or unconsciously ascribe to themselves and others. The Greenlandic cultural identity was found to be reproduced by the Greenlanders living in Denmark through the Greenlandic language, social networks and Greenlandic food. Terpstra also noticed a non-identification among the different social groups of Greenlanders in Denmark, as her informants did not identify with the dominant stigma of Greenlanders residing in Denmark, which is often referred to as a group that is socially disadvantaged in the form of alcoholism and unemployment, just to mention a few examples. In Janne Flora's (2017) study Greenlandic identity was also highlighted with special emphasis on *cultural citizenship*. Her ethnographic study researched mobility as a way in which Greenlandic students in Denmark see themselves contributing to Greenland's future and independence from the Danish realm, as well as how they negotiate the different ideas about citizenship. Flora showed how the Greenlandic students had to navigate both a Danish citizenship and Greenlandic cultural citizenship. The Greenlandic cultural citizenship entails the social duty to participate and bring back knowledge to Greenland with the pursuit of gaining independence in the future. More importantly, the students actively take part in defining both what it means to be Danish and Greenlandic, blurring the distinction between cultural and legal citizenship.

2.3 Covering the research gap

As outlined in the previous sections, studies on Greenlanders in Denmark are few and a handful of them focus mainly on the marginalized subgroups of Greenlanders, for instance those who are homeless, alcoholics, or who otherwise stand out because of social issues (Jette Laage Petersen, 2014; Siddhartha Baviskar, 2015). Based on this research, it can be further argued that only when Greenlanders stand out from the norm do they appear visible, particularly when it comes to media exposure. This raises the issue of stereotypes and the way Greenlanders create an understanding of themselves and other Greenlanders (Terpstra, 2015; Flora, 2017). As this literature review demonstrates, Greenlanders are often an overlooked group in research on minorities but they are also an underrepresented minority when it comes to representation in the public sphere (Togeby 2002). Despite representation of Greenlanders has previously been studied through discourse and content analyses (Thisted, 2002). However, none of the studies evolving around Greenlandic representation in the media have had a qualitative focus on the Greenlanders' own experiences of their representation in the media and the Danish news media in particular. Thus, these limitations open up for further exploration. Though, it is important to acknowledge that much research has contributed towards the topic on the political relationship between Denmark and Greenland. Therefore, this study further expands on how Greenlanders construct identity through the media. More specifically, this study is informed by a media audience study that draws on qualitative interviews with Greenlanders in Copenhagen. In recognition and respect of Greenland's historical and social contexts of colonisation and social disadvantage, this study is a much needed addition to the academic landscape, as the study will contribute knowledge to the existing literature on Greenlanders in Denmark but also towards future work within media studies and minorities in Denmark.

3

Theoretical Framework

This chapter is structured into four main sections. First, the chapter will discuss the concept of identity and Benedict Anderson's concept of *imagined communities* with particular emphasis on his argument about how the media, in the context of Danish news media, participates in and maintains ideas about fixed identities. Expanding on Anderson's concept, this section draws on Myria Georgiou's concept of *hybrid imagined communities* to encompass how the media actively takes part in shaping individual identities and affects senses of belonging in a deeply mediatized and global world. The following sections explore how representation of difference in the media essentially yields a discursive and hegemonic power over those whom are represented as 'others' and often become subject to stereotypes and lack positive representation in the media. By contextualising Greenland within these theoretical concepts, a final part of the chapter is dedicated to a post-colonial perspective which will introduce the reader to the history of *Arctic orientalism* to establish a theoretical framework that acknowledges Greenland and its colonial history in relation to Denmark.

This study takes an overarchingly social constructionist approach. Social constructionism seeks to be critical towards the taken-for-granted knowledge of the world. Knowledge is a construction between people in dialogue that takes place in the everyday life (Burr, 2015: 5). According to Berger and Luckmann (1991) "Man's self-production is always, and of necessity, a social enterprise. Men together produce a human environment" (1991: 69). In this way, ethnic minority identities will always be positioned within a social context and be conditioned by them. Following this epistemology, the study is framed on a media audience study of Greenlanders in Copenhagen to contextualize their experiences of Danish news media and their engagement with media in their everyday lives. This study approaches the research of media audiences from one of the three dominant paradigms which Abercrombie and Longhurst (1998) outlines that is referred to as the *active model of the audiences;* that draws its foundation of theories from the British Cultural Studies and Stuart Hall's (1980) concept of encoding and decoding of messages. This approach "pays attention to interpretation and meaning, often using qualitative methods to analyse how people decode media in multiple ways, including the incorporation of, or resistance to, ideologically framed content by powerful institutions" (Hill, 2018a: 5). In this relation the audience that is being

studied, the Greenlanders in Copenhagen is recognized as a transnational audience where the study takes particular interest into the Greenlanders in Copenhagen's relation to mediated spaces and places in their everyday life, as this according to Athique (2016) is necessary to explore their identities and social imaginaries (2016: 21). Media audience research recognizes that "the media environment becomes the infrastructure for all spheres of social life" and that "to participate in society people must engage with the media" (Livingstone, 2013: 26). Thus establishing Greenlanders in Copenhagen as an audience should not be understood as though they are passive consumers of media products. Instead, that they, first of all, are an audience in all spheres of social life and that they second of all, are consciously and actively engaging with media on their own terms. Media engagement is central to this study as it "explores the dispersed connections across industry contexts, cultural forms, and audience experiences (Hill, 2018b: 6). By studying Greenlanders in Copenhagen and how they engage with media it is possible to develop an understanding of how they "imagine and constitute themselves in the media landscape" (2018b: 185). However, the Greenlanders in Copenhagen must also be understood through other theoretical lenses which will be introduced in the following subsections.

3.1 Identity: Diaspora in Imagined Communities and Hybrid Imagined Communities

Identity is a key concept in this study which explores how Greenlanders in Copenhagen construct their identity through engaging with media. However, to better understand the social construction of identities, there are more terms yet to be defined. For instance, how nations and people understand the meaning of identity. For this I have drawn much of the argument from Stuart Hall (1996) in his definition of *cultural identities*: National identity is not something we are born with "but are formed within and in relation to representation" (1996: 612). It is formed through national culture by people who participate in shaping the nation, as represented through language and culture, which Hall refers to as a 'system of cultural representation'.

According to Anderson (1983) the concept of 'a nation' is imagined. The first argument is the *narrative of the nation;* these are the images and stories that are represented of the nation through the national history and media. The *narration* of the imagined community is important, as the Danish news media, according to this approach, participates in the

construction of a nation. Additionally, there exists an idea of an original and pure people who make up the foundation of the imagined nation. However, it is rarely so that these people are the ones who control the nation, they may not even exist any longer, but the idea of one pure people and nation persist. Thus, the nation is imagined. The concept of imagined communities has been criticized, yet the concept is useful in establishing an understanding of how we make sense of identity and how it is connected to the notions of *belonging* and *nations*. However, the issue with the concept of identity is that we generalize individuals by positioning them into collective identities, rather than focusing on the individual's experience (Cohen, 1994; Aksoy & Robins, 2001). Aksoy and Robins (2001) argue a need to focus on the individual's self-awareness to ultimately, "learn more about the possibilities of transnational cultures (by which we mean the possibilities that may exist for freeing us from our adherence to fictive unities)" (2001: 688). These fictive unities will, however, remain. As Hamilton (2006) points out, "Anderson's Imagined Communities will be relevant as long as nation-states maintain their dominant role in global affairs" (2006: 80). We are reaching a more fluid discourse about the notion of identity but the core ideas of nations exist. Keeping in mind this criticism, it is clear that we cannot only look towards Anderson's concept for clarification on belonging and identity. The world has changed rapidly as it has moved towards a more global and more technological advanced stage, in terms of how we understand and make sense of the media and its influence on identities. Therefore, Myria Georgiou's use of the term Hybrid Imagined Communities (2006) is useful, as she recognizes how communication is key to the construction of identities. Here the hybrid imagined community should be understood as:

> a community that is informed by changes in communication, in mobility and allegiances in local and transnational levels. It is a hybrid imagined community, as it is not bound within specific geographical boundaries. It is hybrid because it does not require exclusive belonging or holistic conforming to the community's rules (2006: 22).

The concept draws on the ideas behind Anderson's Imagined Communities, but the added layer of *hybridity* makes the term more adjustable to today's globalized, highly mediated and fluid identities that also exist within nations, or even replace the notion of nations. It can be compared with Vertovec's framework of *superdiversity* (2007) which refers to the "multiple processes and effects of migration that leads to heightened complexity" (Blackledge & Creese, 2018: xxii). This encourages policymakers and media producers to shift away from

the politics of multiculturalism that has kept focus on "collective identities and on commonalities rather than differences between majority and minority groups" towards superdiversity that deals with "an increased awareness that ethnocultural diversity needs." (Panis, et al, 2019: 15) The hybrid imagined community draws heavily on new communication technology that makes it possible for individuals to interact and participate in an imagined (co)presence. This is how the people of a diaspora communicate with others, through technology. This exists alongside the immediate (co)presence, and that is what makes the hybrid imagined community, where belonging is possible across geographical boundaries (Georgiou, 2006: 22). Put in relation to the informants in this study, Greenlanders feel more or less a sense of belonging, not only in connection to Denmark and Greenland, but they identify themselves with 'Others' from other countries and places, and they navigate and shape this sense of belonging in and through media. The characteristics of a diasporic identity are the hybrid feeling of both belonging to the original homeland and the host country. In addition, it becomes a question about what the meaning of 'home' actually is (Cohen, 1997; Gilroy, 1996). Furthermore, diaspora is the term for a people who has dispersed away from their homeland. By defining the Greenlanders in Denmark as diaspora, they are recognized as foreign, which is only possible if the informants themselves identify as Greenlanders and not as Danes. This has been one prerequisite interviewing the participants, that they identify as Greenlanders. Consequently, this study argues that Greenlanders in Denmark are in diaspora, which can be conflicting, since Greenland and Denmark are tied strongly together. Despite being two different nations, they are in a union under the Kingdom of Denmark. That means that culturally, economically, and politically there is an interconnectedness.

After introducing hybrid imagined communities, I here want to linger on the term *hybrid.* Although it has a history of negative connotations, I argue that there exists a hybridity[1] within the Greenlanders I have interviewed. Being trapped in-between two nations, as the informants explained, always being rejected and feeling as if belonging to the 'other', regardless of what country they reside positions the informants in a state of *hybridity*. This concept of hybridity helps to better understand the position in which the Greenlanders find themselves, as they try to make sense of where they belong in the imagined community. Hybridity is a term that needs to be understood through diasporic and hybrid imagined communities. The term of

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[1] Perhaps it is a lack of proper definition using the term hybridity as it has its limitations as it is: of 'global identity'; "blurring the very differences that hybridity ought to highlight in a hybrid reconciliation between differences; a rush to promote hybridity as such as a new form and a failure to attend to 'the deeper logic of accumulation and consumption that frames modern identity'" (Kalra, Kaur and Hutnyk: 2005).

hybridity can be considered as part of a diaspora, when it comes to Greenlanders because in a diaspora people are influenced by cultures and traditions from their homeland and inevitably by their host country. Therefore they cannot be identified as either the one, nor the other. Even if they return to their homeland, they may never become part of the imagined community in the sense of a nation but rather as a hybrid imagined community.

3.2 Media: Navigating nations, places and discursive spaces

To make sense of Greenlanders in Copenhagen and their hybrid imagined community and their experiences with the media you cannot only look at one facet of the media, such as news media. Although, the chapter has previously established that the representation of minorities in the media has an impact on Greenlanders' lived experiences, other theorists argue that they navigate a far wider space of the media where news is just one part of an experience which impacts their everyday life.

Media is a space which cannot only be perceived as a channel of sending and receiving information but also as a place in which people interact. Today media takes a central part in how we interact, as "media and communication practices are in the heart of the everyday that is lived in local, national and transnational spaces and shaped through continuity and change." (Georgiou, 2006) We constantly shift between spaces through our practices with the media. Media space is multi-spatial as it crosses borders between the local, urban, national and transnational. Moores (2007) defines it as a doubling of place where you are doubly situated in the interaction with the media. He built his notion of media on Scannell's notion of doubling-of-place that was defined as:

> Public events now occur, simultaneously, in two different places: the place of the event itself and that in which it is watched and heard (Scannell, in Moores, 2007: 7).

Although Scannell's focus was on television and radio, Moores argues that in both cases there is an instantaneous doubling of place because "in 'real time' social interactions conducted 'online', the media environments in question are typically 'virtual realities' rather than what Scannell calls the 're-presencing' of physically remote happenings" (Moores, 2007: 7). While drawing on the media you navigate these virtual realities that sometimes relate strongly to a geographical place. Nowadays, the mediated spaces are closer to how we

understand place, if "we think of space as that which allows movement, then place is pause; each pause in movement makes it possible for location to be transformed into place" (Tuan, 2001: 6). From this understanding the media is not just a space but it becomes a place where people interact with each other without an immediate co-presence, enabling communication and community. Today, it can be argued that we engage with media in a cosmopolitan way:

> one of the consequences of the available diverse cultural repertoires on the push of a button is the contestation of the mainstream, national and top-down ideologies of identity as equated to national boundedness (Georgiou, 2010: 27).

As the mediated space opens up for a world outside the national borders, which has the impact that our boundedness becomes more cosmopolitan. For the diaspora that means it enables a sense of belonging in a transnational space, and in the case of Greenlanders in Copenhagen it can mean a strong sense of belonging to both Denmark and Greenland. However, that is not to exclude a sense of belonging to others, as Georgiou (2010) states:

> While there is a temptation to interpret the often observed attachment of dispersed people with a transnational community as a reproduction of the imagined community of the nation in global scale, the diasporic case is significantly different from both the nation and the primordial bounded community. The diasporic condition has significant particularities, many of which are shaped in the context of globalization (Georgiou, 2010: 27).

Greenlanders in Copenhagen, through their diasporic condition, are not limited to constructing a shared imagined community bound between Denmark and Greenland. Instead, this is alternated through a feeling of global identity.

3.3 Representation of difference

The process of 'Othering' is a social construct, and it derives from the process of meaning-making. In the linguistic argument, that Stuart Hall (1997) puts forth *difference* as essential to meaning because without it meaning cannot exist (1997: 234). It is because meaning is relational that the difference signifies meaning. He states that difference is constructed through binary oppositions and that they "have the great value of capturing the diversity of the world within their either or extremes, they are also a rather crude reductionist way of

establishing meaning" (1997: 235). It is also important to note that in these binaries of being either/or, there is always one pole that yields dominance. Importantly, we need difference as we construct meaning through dialogue with the 'Other'. In Hall's example of meaning of nationality, it is "always up for grabs, always being negotiated in the dialogue between these national cultures and their 'others'" (1997: 236). In the case of Denmark and Greenland we can understand this by saying that the Danish nationality can only be understood through seeing how Danes view Greenland as the 'Other'. However, it is equally important to understand how Greenlanders define the Danish nationality.

In this context, I draw on Hartley (1992), who based his studies on the Australian news media's representation of Indigenous Australians ('Aboriginals'). Hartley outlines different types of reporting practices used in the production of news media of how they represent the 'Other'. He distinguishes that the news media often make a clear differentiation between the terms 'Theydom', being the Indigenous Australians who are excluded from 'Wedom', the white dominant group. He creates awareness of how the media often represents Indigenous Australians as one homogenous category of 'them' instead of focusing on the individual. In this view, Indigenous Australians are ascribed the stereotypes of being outsiders and are not acknowledged as citizens with rights. Instead, they are represented as criminals or welfare recipients. Thus, the Indigenous Australians' opinions are also taken-for-granted in news coverage concerning them (Hartley, 1992: 207-209). Although, this study is not carried out within the contexts of the Danish news media and its representation of Greenlanders, these findings are still relevant to this study when scrutinizing the Greenlandic experience of how Greenlanders are represented in the media.

3.4 Media: Symbolic Annihilation, Stereotyping and an Arctic Orientalism

A further implication of the power of the media is what is left unsaid, who is being represented in the media and how they are represented. A lack of representation in the media can be understood through the term Symbolic Annihilation coined by Gerbner and Gross (1976), as "representation in the fictional world signifies social existence; absence means symbolic annihilation" (1976: 182). Tuchman (1979) adapted this to the context of the absence of women's representation in media, where symbolic annihilation also include trivialization and condemnation (1979: 533). The implication of this is that these

representations have the power to influence their audience' social expectations. This also proves problematic for the subjects, who are being represented if the representation is not accurate "then they will be unable to model that behavior in their own lives and reach their full potential as contributing members of society. This has led to the saying, you can't be what you can't see" (Lance & Paschyn, 2018: 39). Furthermore, such Symbolic Annihilation reinforces negative stereotypes of minorities and dehumanizes them (Merskin, 1998: 335).

Returning to Hall (1997), the concept of stereotyping is part of keeping that social and symbolic order because it differentiates between what belongs and what is 'Other' (1997: 258). This is where the power aspect also comes in because stereotyping is "a key element in the" mechanism of *symbolic violence* (Hall, 1997; Bourdieu 1991). It is used to set a norm for people and those who do not fit the category are constructed as the 'others' and thus excluded (1997: 259). Stereotyping thus becomes a tool in maintaining the role between the colonisers and the oppressed. Stereotyping is defined as "a hegemonic and discursive form of power, which operates as much through culture, the production of knowledge, imagery and representation, as through other means." (1997: 264).

The stereotypes that exist of Greenlanders, which will be established later on in the analysis, draw on easily grasped traits which reduce and essentialize how Danes imagine Greenlanders and ultimately also how Greenlanders may be affected in how they view themselves. Following colonization there has been a categorization process in Danish-Greenlandic discourse, and this categorization has continued after the colonisation ended in 1953 (Bjørst, 2008: 17-18). According to Kirsten Thisted (2011), the Dane was imagined as the rational, effective, result-oriented, and efficient at planning in advance, whereas the Greenlander has been represented as impulsive, in the present, and unaccustomed and resistant to rule over others. Ultimately, these categories and representations draw on the general European discourse between culture versus nature, where the imagined Dane is categorized as the civilized, opposed to the imagined Greenlander represented with a hunter-mentality that incarnate the European desire for an original folk (2011: 607). Present stereotypes that exist about Greenlanders still draw on the idea of Greenlanders as a people living close to nature, but they are also represented as alcoholics due to the belief that alcoholism is caused by the removal away from nature and consequently Greenlanders are not able to find their place in the modern world. To further elucidate the constructs of the stereotype of Greenlanders in Danish media it is necessary to include a post-colonial perspective for this study and to

acknowledge the colonial ties between Denmark and Greenland. In the representation through media it is relevant to draw on one of the key founders in Postcolonial theory, Edward Said and his notion of 'Orientalism'. Said delves into how the 'Other' has been studied through time and is in the present times used as a reproduction of the past. That, problematically, has created a naturalized knowledge of 'Others' (Said: 1995: 41), which nowadays is embedded in the production of media. Considerations of the Arctic region, and those former colonies situated there, have often been neglected in such studies of 'Others'. However, Fienup-Riordan (1995) coined the concept of Eskimo Orientalism building on Said's work. Focusing on the representation of Eskimos in Western culture, Fienup-Riordan shifts the focus towards how the West has constructed the natives of the Arctic as an image of the pure primitives in opposition to the savage indians.

> Prior to the postmodern preoccupation with issues of representation, it was common to seek out 'authentic peoples, and filmmakers (among others) repeatedly engaged Eskimo to depict the 'pure primitive'. They looked at Eskimos both to find 'the strange in the familiar and the familiar in the strange' (1995: xii).

The Eskimos represent the idea of the childlike and innocent folk and "the stereotypic Eskimo is seen as eking out a living in a frigid and inhospitable homeland, a tundra waste where only the fittest survive." (1995: xii) Fienup-Riordan's work focuses on films depicting Eskimo representation that still can be applied to today's media representation of Greenland in the Danish media. Despite focus has been put on the Alaskan Eskimos, scholars have used the concept of *eskimo orientalism* and applied it to the Greenlanders, and some has changed it into a more fitting word of an *Arctic orientalism* to not only address the Eskimos but also the different Inuit people (Jensen, 2015; Thisted, 2002).

> The Eskimo, like the Indian, is not an ethnographic fact but a complicated and contradictory idea(...) In many parts of the Arctic today, including northern Alaska, Eskimo peoples prefer to be referred to as Inuit. This preference derives at least in part from the pejorative and derogatory connotations of 'Eskimo,' whose common etymology is 'eaters of raw flesh' (Fienup-Riordan, 1995: xviii-xix).

It was during the anti-imperialist movement that Inuit meaning 'humans' replaced the degrading term 'Eskimo' used in many parts of the northern hemisphere to describe the

native Northerners (Bjørst, 2008: 11). However, in Greenland the Greenlandic people refer to themselves as Greenlanders, whereas Inuits is used in Greenland in relation to indigenous people (Kleivan, 2011: 59). There has been a lack of engagement with the Arctic in reference to post-colonial studies despite the fact that Denmark has been a dominant colonizer (Maegaard & Mortensen, 2018: 3). This derives from the fact that the Danish self-understanding takes on the discourse of a *Nordic exceptionalism* that refers to a declared innocence regarding their participation as colonizers (Loftdóttir and Jensen, 2012: 2). Following these aforementioned studies on Greenland this study will use the term Arctic orientalism to acknowledge the postcolonial relations between Greenland and Denmark.

The media plays a key-role in the representation of these images that exist about Greenlanders and it is problematic because the stereotypes "become naturalized representations of situations where racist premises or propositions are being inscribed in the media coverage as a set of unquestioned assumptions" (Allan, 2010: 173). This is also referred to as 'inferential racism' (Hall, 1990: 13). This is as opposed to the 'overt racism', which openly gives space to racist arguments, the inferential racism because of its naturalized representation becomes a hidden layer for the racist predicates. Furthermore, this also relates to the concept of common sense. In the production of knowledge the media takes on a role of power and often make use of categories represented as common sense. Common sense is the concept of knowledge within the public that is taken-for-granted.

> It is a form of popular, easily-available knowledge which contains no complicated ideas, requires no sophisticated argument and does not depend on deep thought or wide reading. It works intuitively, without forethought or reflection. It is pragmatic and empirical, giving the illusion of arising directly from experience, reflecting only the realities of daily life and answering the needs of 'the common people' for practical guidance and advice (Hall and O'Shea, 2013: 8).

The stereotype of Greenlanders is here argued to have become common sense when referring to Greenlanders in the media. To grasp the process of common sense I look to how Yilmaz (2016) used the common sense concept in his research on '*How the Workers became Muslim*' which is dealing with the discourse of Muslims in Denmark. He argues that the use of categories, such as 'Danes', 'Danish culture', and 'immigrants' are emptied of meaning and have become empty-signifiers:

> Commonsense talk requires some emptying of the signifiers that mark ontological categories such as "Danish" and the concepts associated with these categories in order to treat them in a taken-for granted manner. It is the empty character of the category that stabilizes its meaning but only to the extent it is treated as taken for granted. As soon as the meaning of "Danishness" is concretized, however, it becomes contestable (2016: 34).

Similarly, the use of the category 'Greenlanders' is common sense in its daily use as it recalls on the shared knowledge. The stereotype of Greenlanders is thus what is being signified and what is associated with the word 'Greenlanders'. It should also be acknowledged that common sense is not something static although "it draws on past ideas and traditions; but it also keeps evolving to give meaning to new developments, solve new problems, unravel new dilemmas" (Hall and O'Shea, 2013: 9). The aspect of common sense is ingrained into how the Danish media discourse works in the reproduction of knowledge. Hall (1978) points out that it is the media which defines what is newsworthy for the public and at the same time "they offer powerful interpretations of how to understand these events. Implicit in those interpretations are orientations towards the events and the people or groups involved in them" (1978: 57). This leaves a lot of power to the producer of the news stories' narratives. It affects how the Danish media constructs its news stories about Greenlanders and how the audience interpret and ascribe meaning to these news stories. The media is shaped by "the organizational norms, structures and practices which condition what is represented and how" and to address this current discourse of power, "it is necessary to recognize its capacity to constrain what can, and cannot, be said about issues of race and ethnicity" (Allan, 2010: 173).

Methodological Framework

This chapter introduces the media audience study. It introduces and is transparent about the process of conducting qualitative interviews through the selected strategies, discusses reflections that came up and then elucidates the thematic coding process.

4.1 Qualitative interviews

The method for conducting qualitative interviews was selected in accordance with the nature of the study as qualitative interviews are "particularly suited for studying people's understanding of the meanings in their lived world, describing their experiences and self-understanding, and clarifying and elaborating their own perspective on their lived world" (Kvale, 2010: 46). The interview guide followed an unstructured format due to the exploratory nature of this research (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015). The interview guide was constructed on thematized open-ended questions for the purpose of gaining in-depth understanding about the experiences of the informants while probing questions like 'what do you mean by that?' and 'how did that make you feel?' were used to encourage the informants to elaborate on their experiences. The order of the questions depended on the natural flow of conversation, allowing the informants to lead the structure of the interview on experiences that they wanted to emphasize. One quality of using an unstructured interview format was that it allowed me to gain a valuable understanding of their lived experience of being a transnational citizen, which could be used in the thematic content analysis (Walliman, 2006: 92-93).

The qualitative interviews were structured around two themes: one was to distinguish the informants' background and heritage to Denmark and Greenland; the second was to understand the informants' everyday engagement with media in general and of the themes in how they experience Greenlanders are being represented in the Danish news media. The interviews show how the informants each navigate, negotiate, and use specific media as part of their everyday life. To supplement the interviews, I made the informants fill out a questionnaire on what news media they use to guide a deeper understanding of which media channels are meaningful to them and how they engage with media. It was also used as an icebreaker to start the interview on the use of media. The informants were asked to fill out the questionnaire that included the different Danish news media as well as the Greenlandic news

media channels. Here, they also had to fill in how they access this media, whether it was through social media, streaming, television, as well as how frequent.

Finding the informants, as an outsider to the Greenlandic community, felt invasive to me but nonetheless necessary in order to get much needed perspective for this study. I had previous close to no encounters with Greenlanders in Copenhagen so I turned to social media as a tool to establish contact by becoming a member of the group *Kalaalit KBH-miut/grønlændere i KBH* (Greenlanders in Copenhagen) on Facebook. I created a post searching for interested participants. Here, I found the majority of my informantts who all identified as Greenlanders in Copenhagen, which had been the prerequisite of the sample. I was aiming to use the snowball effect (Atkinson & Flint, 2001) and hoping that through my first conducted interviews with the informants that it could put me in contact with other Greenlanders in Copenhagen. However, I was unsuccessful which meant I had to do a reposting on the Facebook group which fortunately set me up with more informants. Furthermore, I found two informants through contacting Avalak, the Greenlandic Student association in Denmark and the newly established organization Nalik that seek to inform the public about the colonial relational ties between Denmark and Greenland.

4.2. Meeting the informants

The empirical material consists of ten qualitative interviews with Greenlanders in Copenhagen. This section will aim as a short introduction to the informants that will be useful to the reader when continuing on to read the analytical chapter that is to follow shortly.

Anna, 33, moved to Denmark 21 years ago with her family after her parents decided it would be best for their childrens' education. She recently moved to Copenhagen from Aalborg to try something new. She is currently working as a freelance cleaner through the app HappyCleaners.

Benjamin, 33, was born in Denmark but moved to Greenland when he was two months old. He explained his relationship to Denmark through family ties. He moved to Copenhagen in 2012 to be with his, at the time, pregnant wife who was studying in Copenhagen. He now works as a kindergarten teacher in Copenhagen.

David, 26, moved to Denmark 10 years ago to study for a year at a continuation school. He remained in Denmark and is currently studying at Copenhagen University where he is an active member of the Greenlandic student association Avalak.

Joachim, 43, moved to Copenhagen in 2017 to be closer to his family. He first came to Denmark with his mother and sister when he was ten-years-old and had since then moved back and forth a few times. He now works within the police in Copenhagen.

Katrine, 47, was adopted as a child by a Danish couple and has since lived in Denmark. She is currently working as a teacher and has her own healer clinic. She has her own personal blog where she writes about the taboos of being a Greenlander and is a board member of the organization Nalik which works towards inclusion and equality to Greenlanders. She has not been back to Greenland since she was adopted but hopes that she will one day soon.

Laura, 62, first came to Denmark when she was 13-years-old to receive education. She explained this as a natural part of the Danish-ization process in Greenland to go and take one year of school in Denmark. She later came back to Denmark to take a high school degree and in Greenland she finished her education to become a teacher. She moved back to Denmark after her husband died recently. When I met her she had just finished her education to become an abuse consultant, and now she works as a Greenlandic translator at the hospital.

Michael, 38, came to Denmark the first time to study at Aalborg University. He later moved to Norway where he lived for four years and came back to Denmark two years ago. He is currently unemployed.

Nadia, 35, moved to Denmark two years ago after finishing her degree at the University of Greenland. She was offered a PhD position at Aalborg University which brought her to Copenhagen. She explains that she has lived half her life in Greenland and the other half in Denmark. The first time she came to Denmark was when she was 10 years old. She now lives a bit outside of Copenhagen with her family. She is currently working as a PhD student at Aalborg University.

Siv, 61, moved to Denmark when she was 13-years-old as part of the Danish-ization process in Greenland. She only moved back to Greenland for a period of three months and has since then lived her life in Denmark. In Copenhagen, she previously worked as an office assistant and later as a housekeeper for the elderly. The latter profession resulted in a herniated disk that forced her to retire in 2003. She now spends her time volunteering at the association for Greenlandic Children and visiting old Greenlanders.

Victoria, 23, moved to Copenhagen two and a half years ago to start her further education and to be closer to her sister and niece. She first started education as business economist but dropped out and later figured out she wanted to be a kindergarten teacher which she is currently studying here in Copenhagen. Her family is largely scattered between Greenland and the Faroe Islands but she also has a grandmother who lives in Denmark.

4.3 Anonymity

Prior to participating in the interviews, the informants had to sign a consent form so that they were fully informed of the intent of the study, in what context the material would be used, and that they were ensured anonymity. Throughout the remaining process of the research their names were changed for aliases and the recordings, as well as the transcripts, have been kept safely stored.

4.4 Self-reflexivity and ethical considerations

Part of my reflections has dealt with my own position as a researcher. During my interviews, Consideration of my background was an important part of my ethics, relating myself to being a Dane despite my quarter Chinese heritage and how the informants would view me as a Dane. To me, it seemed delicate to interview Greenlanders as a Danish researcher who might be sensitive about their own social position. Recognizing the colonial heritage between Denmark and Greenland I was very aware that I might be crossing an ethical boundary line as a Dane who wanted to interview Greenlanders. The intent of the research was by no means to lead to another account of what Said (1995) referred to be *orientalism* but rather to encourage the informants to be the narrating voice of the analysis. To address this, an important part of conducting the qualitative interviews was to be transparent with the participants about my

research's intentions, this was communicated prior to each interview following a discussion with them about my ethical considerations conducting this research project. This also helped set the atmosphere as an open and relaxed space to conduct the interviews. Despite my fear of being viewed as an ignorant and insensitive Dane I was met by the informants with positivity and interest because they saw this study as an important stepping stone to understanding Greenlanders in Denmark and to including a Greenlandic perspective, which many of them felt has been lacking. To avoid an 'othering' of the participants I have tried in most contexts to avoid the use of 'them' when referring to Greenlanders. I want to acknowledge the informants with respect and gratitude for the crucial information the interviews have provided for this study.

4.5 Thematic Content Analysis

For the analysis, I chose to follow Rivas' (2018) approach to thematic content analysis framework to elucidate the deeper meanings from the experience of the Greenlanders in Copenhagen. This framework has been essential to constructing the analysis as it categorizes and thematizes the volume of the data and makes it easier to navigate the different experiences (Rivas, 2018: 430). In this process thematic content analysis revolves around a framework consisting of three stages. The first phase begins with transcription. This became the first step towards approaching an early analysis as I from transcribing all the relevant details could see some emerging categories that were noted. Moving over to the open coding where I, from Rivas' suggestion, made sure to re-read the transcriptions multiple times to enhance the sensitivity to meanings (2018: 431). Notes on preliminary categories were made without leaving out any emerging findings thus avoiding turning a blind eye to categories outside of the pre-existing categories that inevitably emerge from following the research questions. In the second phase, the categories started taking shape from grouping the open codes. The categories were defined into misrepresentation, stereotypes, absence in media, expectations of media, belonging in media, and diaspora identity. At last following the framework to the third phase, where the two overarching themes of media representation and diaspora identity were generated for the framework of the analysis. One noticeable limitation within this process has been that the other themes that emerged from the interviews were let go, on the grounding that the analytical chapter should give space for a thorough in-depth

analysis. Practical limitations on the available time and word count constraint have meant this aim could only be achieved by discarding other themes.

5

Analysis

5.1 Representation of Greenland(ers) in Media

The first theme focuses on how the informants experience the representation of themselves in the Danish news media. The presentation of this section follows the trail of the thematic coding process and those categories that emerged along the way. Here I introduce these emergent categories as constructed from the informants' experiences which relate strongly to a feeling of being 'othered' drawing on a distorted representation, stereotyping and a general absence of proper representation in the Danish news media.

5.1.1 Greenland as the foreign and exotic

The Greenlanders in Copenhagen who I interviewed were asked to reflect on how they saw the portrayal of Greenland in the Danish news media. Evidently, the informants expressed that the way Greenland is depicted in the media did not align with their own image of their home country. This subsection aims to highlight key-points of the informants' experiences of how Greenland is being represented in the Danish news media. It will further be elucidated that the representation of Greenland takes part as an 'other' in the construction of the media narrative of the nation.

David contacted me in response to my post looking for participants on the Facebook page of Avalak, which is the student association for Greenlandic students in Denmark. When we met for the interview he further explained that he is currently studying in Copenhagen and that he is an active member of Avalak. Being half Greenlandic and half Danish he has strong relational ties to both Denmark and Greenland. He first came to Denmark to attend a continuation school, and jokingly said that "even though I have been here for 10 years it still just feels like a boarding school experience that went out of hand." The conversation turned to focus on the Danish news media through his work with Avalak, where he explained that he does not feel that there is so much content focused on Greenland. In David's experience of the representation of Greenland in the Danish news media Greenland is represented as something different from Denmark:

I think it is a very alienating picture that the Danish media shows. As an example, during the election, a journalist from DR goes into a store to check the prices and it makes it very exotic. It also is of course when a cucumber costs fifty kroner. That is really making it exotic. He had traveled to Greenland, this exotic country, it was alienating. It is the attitude towards it. Yes, the prices are high but I think it is represented what is happening up there as a completely foreign country like two opposite poles Greenland and Denmark. I also think it is the fewest people in Denmark who has a relation to Greenland and they experience it as very exotic.

In his account of the news story, he recognizes the way the Danish journalist followed the Greenlandic election as alienating. He raises that to the journalist Greenland is something exotic and that the general perception among the population is that Greenland is something very different from Denmark. The news story to David supports the general perception that has been established in earlier studies of Greenland as foreign and exotic. Also noticeable from David's recollection is that the journalist chose to investigate something that is not even in relation to the Greenlandic election and its politics but chose to focus on an angle that further differentiates Greenland from Denmark. The media, when choosing to focus on Greenland runs stories that are of interest and relevance to the general audience (Johnson-Cartee, 2005). Significantly playing on the emotional relevance in its audiences to make it interesting to be informed about Greenland by depicting it, e.g. by showing that the price of a cucumber is outrageously more expensive compared to Denmark. Difference is used by the news media to sustain that narration of the nation and it is ambivalent because it is "both necessary for the production of meaning" but at the same time it also contains negative feelings towards the one being 'othered' (Hall, 1997: 238). Here Greenland seems to be maintained in the relation of difference and it has become a commonsensical understanding to the Danish media. It is dangerous when stereotypes are becoming what is signified with the word Greenlander. This is what is referred to as empty-signifiers when what we associate with the word is now just common sense (Yilmaz, 2016: 36).

Nadia invited me to meet her at her workplace at Aalborg University where she is undertaking a PhD-degree. She is currently doing research on Greenlanders in Greenland. Her mother was adopted in Denmark as a child to a Danish couple, so Nadia also has strong relational ties to Denmark, and has lived approximately half her life in between Greenland

and Denmark. As part of her research, it is important for her to follow the news media to track what is going on in the Greenlandic society:

> Generally, when I see something about Greenland in the Danish news media I feel they depict the wrong picture. Was it in the election in 2015, when a Greenlandic cartoonist made a cartoon on how the Danish media portray Greenland. It was about the wrong depictions of Greenland that we take the bus to the election from all the cities. All the misinterpretations of Greenland: the Greenlandic flag was turned upside down, that there only exist two political parties and all the different and wrong ideas of how Greenland is constructed... In general, the Danish media might report what happened, what the results were or that tonight Greenland has an election... But they do not go in-depth about the election; how they want to change this and that. There are some Danish media that does but those are the narrow media... WeekendAvisen would do that. Information would maybe do it but the big media outlets as the mainstream media do not.

As furthered by the above quotation from Nadia, it is clear that her experience of the Danish media coverage of the Greenlandic election does resonate her own perception of Greenland. It shows a level of misconception from the Danish media towards Greenland, and it is felt in the way the public broadcasting channels often do not inform correctly or give in-depth stories about the situation in Greenland. Instead, it is experienced by both Nadia and David as emphasizing the assumption that exists in Denmark about Greenland, that it is different and behind Western civilization, maintaining the postcolonial relation of an Arctic orientalism. In narrating the nation, the media plays a role in maintaining the hegemonic image of Denmark and creating borders. Meaning should be understood as relational and the nation is thus constructed in what is signified by the differences between Greenland and Denmark (Hall, 1997: 234). "The narration of the nation also operates as a narrative of inclusion and exclusion" within this Denmark may be viewed as the more civilized country and Greenland utilized as its 'other' (Jensen and Loftsdóttir, 2012: 105; Bhabha, 1994: 148).

Strikingly, very few positive stories came up during the interviews and when addressed it was hard for the informants to recollect. Most of the informants said they could not think of any but there were a few exceptions. Laura, who recently came to Denmark after the death of her Danish husband, told me that she had recently gotten in contact with a Greenlandic journalist

to come and do a news story on a homeless café where she volunteers. According to Laura, she sees that the angle of the Danish news has changed:

> I think it has become more positive now. Beforehand you were shocked over the focus on the negative aspects as suicide, neglect and the sexually abused children. It was all the dysfunctional and dark sides such as alcohol and how much they drink. Now there is more a focus on the positive sides and the good things in Greenland. E.g. Nikolaj Coster-Waldau has begun to promote Southern Greenland. They [Nikolaj Coster-Waldau and his wife] have bought a house down there because his wife is Greenlandic and her father lives in a small town there. Julie Berthelsen has also come forward. So within that, there are some prominent famous people that try to promote Greenland.

Laura puts emphasis on the promotion of Greenland through famous people, such as the actor Nikolaj Coster-Waldau and the Greenlandic singer Julie Berthelsen, who first appeared in the Danish media in the televised singing competition PopStars in 2002. However, her account suggests that representations in the media mainly consisted of negative issues, and this resonates with how most of the other informants experience the Danish news media's depiction of Greenlanders. Anna's positive account concerns the Danish royal family and their fondness of Greenland and she says that she follows the headlines in the news about their visits to Greenland. Both Anna and Laura's accounts draw emphasis on famous people as subjects to the story about Greenland, and not necessarily positive stories about Greenland and the people living there. In turn, Katrine takes on a critical perspective of this presentation:

> They show when the crown prince comes for a visit. He arrives and shows his face and then he goes home again… They should draw on the human aspects instead of showing that he likes it [Greenland]. Here the media is very one-tracked. The media is more focusing on him, riding a dog sleigh and that he is having a good time… They should dive into the Greenlanders surrounding him because they are the people from the country.

Previous studies have, similarly to Katrine's statement, outlined that there exist two caricatured representations of Greenland in the Danish media, one being the positive representation drawing much on the magnificent nature or following the polar-explorers and their journey, but not a representation of its history and its people. The other being the negative representation with a focus on the social problems in Greenland. These contrasted

depictions become the identification in which Greenlanders have to represent themselves as "either unique or abnormal and socially exposed" (Bjørst, 2008: 82). These two representations can also be found in the informants' experiences of the Danish news media's representation of Greenland(ers) and it can be seen how they lead to stereotypes, which the next subsection will unpack further.

5.1.2 Maintaining the stereotypes - Making ditches instead of building bridges

As part of the interviews, the informants were asked to recollect news stories concerning Greenland(ers) in the Danish news media. Here, stereotypes emerged from these recollections. It was in the previous section elucidated that there exists a caricatured representation of Greenland that leads to stereotypes. Stereotypes are a way of separating what belongs and what does not in the societal structures and is often bound by a binary structure where Greenlanders are either seen as alcoholic or dysfunctional. The Danish news media, in its effort to portray reality, becomes an instrument that sustains these stereotypes attributed to Greenlanders, which thus turn into a vicious circle of re-legitimizing how Greenlanders are being reduced and essentialized to a fixed category.

Victoria told me that she began her further education when she arrived in Denmark after living in Greenland all her life prior to this. During her previous studies in Copenhagen, she told me that she had experienced a lot of prejudices from a classmate about whether there are cars in Greenland, if there is any electricity, and whether polar bears roam around. While it had been difficult for Victoria to remember any news stories concerning Greenland when first asked, she, however, interrupted the conversation as she recalled a stirring article:

> There was at one time a lot of attention to one article. It was primarily about a Danish football coach who had said something along the lines: "Now we are going to be Grønlænderstiv [Greenlander wasted] because they had won a match. That stirred a debate whether it had been right or wrong for him to say that, despite that, he meant it as a joke. A lot of people could not see the fun in it. Then it was later selected to be featured in the dictionary. So now you can look up Grønlænderstiv in the dictionary. Many [Greenlanders] felt hit by that.

When looking up the word 'Grønlænderstiv' in the Danish dictionary it explains the word to mean "an expression that is built on the stereotype that Greenlanders drink more than Danes" (Den Danske Ordbog, n.d.). The recognition of this stereotype is a form of symbolic violence

and it has become ingrained in the jargon of the Danish language, which is an alarming proof that "it is attributed an imagined legitimization that gives the Danish population a false reality of how Greenlanders are as a group" (Bjørst, 2008: 83, own translation). This stands out as something openly racist but through the circulation of the story in the media it becomes acceptable and "just common sense what everyone knows and is openly saying" (Allan 2010: 174). This was also Victoria's reflection on the problems of only portraying one perspective of Greenlanders:

> … If they read an article about that many Greenlanders drink in the streets that is what they will think about Greenland or that the suicidal rate is high then there is only focus on that. Then they will not know more than that.

Benjamin had similarly been exposed to the prejudice that came with these mediated stereotypes. On the first day of his internship his supervisor asked him whether he could arrive on time as it was common knowledge that Greenlanders are too fond of beers. He noted that "she had many of those prejudices because that is what she heard in the media." Stereotyping is also part of the everyday life of Katrine who was brought up in Denmark by her Danish adoptive parents. She elaborated on how she has noticed the media portrays Greenlanders:

> The media only shows Christianshavn when they show something about Greenlanders and take things from there. Those who are there are stereotypes, yes, but we are also so many other things.

Christianshavn is one place where Greenlanders who suffer from alcoholism gather in Copenhagen. To many people from Copenhagen, perhaps even the rest of Denmark, it has become the ascribed stereotype that is associated with Greenlanders in Denmark. Sadly, the impact of this is that, these "many other things" disappear from view, and slide into the Danish norms of society, that happens as the Danish news media often seeks to present newsworthy stories "which occur outside the direct experience of the majority of the society" (Hall, 1978: 56). This is a distortion of the voice the Greenlanders have been given in Danish society and it only contributes to the stereotypes of the imagined Greenlander (Bjørst, 2008: 30). The stereotype of drunk Greenlanders becomes 'common sense' to the Danish news media when referring to Greenlanders and despite their efforts "to portray the news

'objectively', the choices they make when reporting the events of the day appear to 'feed racial stereotypes'" (Allan, 2010: 178). As Katrine argues, the media often portrays the alcoholic Greenlanders located in Christianshavn, because this has become what is signified by the definition of a Greenlander. Thus, the media takes part as an instrument of symbolic power "which help to ensure that one class dominates another (symbolic violence) by bringing their own distinctive power to bear on the relations of power that underlie them and thus contribute to the 'domestication of the dominated'" and that creates a differentiation that leads to a 'Wedom' and 'Theydom' (Bourdieu, 1991: 167; Hartley, 1992). The repeated stereotyping not only influences how Danes view Greenlanders but ultimately it also impacts how Greenlanders internalize views about themselves and other Greenlanders:

> I have to put the cards on the table, that when I saw a Greenlander on Christianshavn that was my image of a Greenlander... Do you remember Rosa from Bagedysten? [Baking competition program] Think about that. She is the only dark-haired Greenlander in the whole family and she thought she was a Dane. That is what she had been told. I have experienced the same. Only when I saw myself in the mirror or when I saw other Greenlanders did I feel like 'uh' [word of shudder].

Katrine here refers to the imagined Greenlander from how she experiences the Danish news media's representation of Greenlanders. To her, it was a problem of identification because she could not relate to the common sense understanding of the Greenlander to the image of herself. Who she saw in the mirror, a Greenlander was not who she identified herself to. She then found a representation of her own identity-struggle through the media from the reality star Rosa who competed in the baking competition broadcast on Danmarks Radio. Rosa later appeared in a documentary about following her heritage back to Greenland and how she came to terms with her identity as half-Greenlandic. Similarly, Katrine further elaborated on her own identity struggle:

> I have always felt that I had to be more clever or more knowledgeable in relation to shine through as a human in the Danish environment. It can also be because it is something I was always told: 'Remember that you are Greenlander you need to be better'... My parents told me that because there exist those prejudices.

Katrine highlights the pressures of being different in Danish culture, always having to perform and prove herself to break the prejudice and stereotypes. As stereotypes often operate in binaries this prejudice relates to the other pole of stereotyping that is put on Greenlanders, that they are also seen as less efficient than the Dane (Thisted, 2011). Even her adoptive parents viewed her as something other than a Dane, despite the fact that she had been educated within the Danish education system and grew up in a Danish culture and environment with Danish parents. This is the essential impact of stereotyping, how it maintains the hegemonic discourse, where breaking or resisting it is almost impossible as long as on is viewed as the 'other' (Hall, 1997: 235). From Katrine's account of her experiences in Denmark, this has ultimately followed her throughout her life. The way she has dealt with it is to recognize her identity as both Danish and Greenlandic, and through opening up for debate about this struggle she has managed to change the perspective of how she views herself, but she has not escaped being 'othered' by her surroundings.

One of the recurring news stories through some of the interviews were about the debut of Greenlandic participation in this year's Danish song contest. Nadia recounted it as a boundary-crossing experience because she knew what most Danes would think of the song in which parts of the lyrics are in Greenlandic:

> I only take offset in those who I know because I know that, e.g. my grandmother and grandfather would say: 'That is ridiculous, why are they doing that?' And from the many conversations I have had with different Danes, I know that there are many of them who would think that it ruins the whole song… I have experienced racism in many different situations and very discrete in this hygge-racism way. So I know that many will think: 'You cannot win doing it like that' or 'that sounds terrible'. My boyfriend and I talked about it. He was saying 'this has ruined their whole chance of winning because they did that'.

Hygge-racism is a Danish term that is correlated to inferential racism where racist statements become naturalized (Hall, 1990: 13). Nadia's previous experience with this in Danish society turns into an internalized racism where her assumption is that Danes would not like the song because it stands out as different. The internalization is a part of the 'struggle of hegemony', to eliminate the difference between 'Us' and 'Them' by enforcing conformation to the Danish norms and thus not standing out as different (Hall, 1997: 259).

Stereotypes and prejudices have been lived experiences of the informants through their recollection of news media stories but just as strongly outside the media as part of their everyday life where they are constantly being confronted with being 'othered' playing on stereotypes such as Greenlanders drink a lot, which has even been adopted as a word in the Danish dictionary. Moreover, other stereotypes were experienced such as the idea that Greenlandic people are less efficient and knowledgeable compared to Danes and the prejudicial idea that they come from a country that is far behind Western civilization, such as being without electricity and cars as well as living side-by-side with polar bears. This also affects the Greenlandic informants internally through a struggle concerning how to belong to a society where they are being 'othered' and represented differently. Despite that, they are highly functioning individuals in the Danish society they cannot escape the prejudices and stereotypes that are attached to their ethnicity.

5.1.3 The absent Greenlander: You can't be what you can't see

Representation is not limited to what is visible but is just as much about what is not being represented. Drawing earlier on the physical representation of Greenland and Greenlanders, this subsection seeks to explore the emergence of an absence of representation in Danish news media. Throughout the interviews, it was established by most of the participants that the topics of Greenland or Greenlanders in the Danish news are more or less absent. Joachim reflected on this:

> The Danish media nowadays writes so scarce about Greenland that you caught me when you asked me what is the latest news I have read about Greenland. Preceding this interview I was thinking about what I had noticed in the media coverage of Greenland… Most of it is not something I have read this year.

The absence of Greenland in the Danish news and the way Greenlanders are being represented in a symbolic annihilation through the stereotyping and trivialization of them (Gross & Gerbner, 1976; Tuchman, 1979). What is being represented in the Danish news media has from earlier sections been established as misdepictions and stereotypes about Greenland(ers), which come to be the image of Greenland(ers). According to Joachim and the other informants a symbolic annihilation is taking place as they also note a general absence of content about Greenland and Greenlanders that is missing a diverse and more accurate

representation. It also shows, through the informants' struggles to recollect the latest news stories on Greenland(ers), that there are far between the news stories with a focus on Greenland. The absence was also found ingrained on a much deeper level as a structural violence, which was noticed by Katrine who within her work as a teacher noticed the lack of contemporary information about Greenland in the school material that pupils are being taught:

> How come that Danish pupils get no insight into Greenland? … What they have done again is to make another story about our past period as hunters. We cannot use that for anything because we are not hunters. Yes, we are hunters in our free time but we are no longer hunters. We are just as modern as the Danes. We are on YouTube, we play, we navigate, and we also go to Australia in our gap year like everyone else… That is what I would like to get material on because we should not dive into another story about our history as hunters.

It is within the educational system that Danes are first introduced to information about Greenland. Katrine's account of what is being taught in the educational system refers to the hegemonic discourse that is being implemented as common sense in the collective memory. Schools have a significant role in maintaining the hegemonic discourse which is found in the selection of teaching materials. Here, common sense "represents itself as the 'traditional wisdom or truth of the ages,' when in fact, it is deeply a product of history" (Hall, 2016: 165). It is within the educational system that salient past events are being picked out to be taught to the newer generations, thus influencing a hegemonic narrative as common sense into the collective memory. Katrine's experience points to that when it comes to the Danish collective memory of Greenland, there is a focus on the past, maintaining Greenland in an outdated representation of the societal conditions:

> When I am out educating the young people about Greenland about this contemporary period they ask whether I use Colgate, how my house looks like, which clothes I am wearing. They imagine I am walking around in sealskin shoes, that we still live in caves and igloos. So the information is nonexistent. It does not exist in the media.

This experience shows that the material taught in the Danish education system only strengthens the representation of difference. From Katrine's account, the young Danish people have gathered an image of Greenlanders, that live their lives very differently from

modern life, and it maintains the idea that Greenlanders are still put in the pre-modern role as a hunter community. Of course, it is important to note that the Danish collective memory of the relationship between Denmark and Greenland is not only relying on the education system but also other media narratives such as movies and literature. The point to draw from this is, however, that the lack of information about contemporary Greenland is absent even in the Danish education system that should teach Danish students about the Unity of the Realm and the countries it consists of. The need for accurate and complete information about Greenland in the education system was something many of the informants stressed would be the only way to implement change to the current imagination of Greenlanders. Without a contemporary representation of what Greenland(ers) looks like today, it maintains and nourishes the narrative and stereotypes of Greenlanders and Greenland because of an absence and a trivialization that is symbolic annihilation (Tuchman, 1979). This example therefore shows that an absence of an accurate representation of Greenlanders in school books, as another type of media, influences the public's perception of them. Building on this, another aspect to the representation of Greenland was brought forward by Nadia when she noticed that an expert who was invited on television to talk about Greenland was not a Greenlander:

> One thing I find very problematic where I have an example: I saw TV2 News, it was perhaps in relation to the election or something else. One of my colleagues who are managing a research group that I am part of, she is Danish and writes about Greenland, she was invited into the studio to talk about Greenland. Here, I thought we are so many in Denmark, who might not be managing an Arctic research group but who have knowledge about Greenland that are not invited in… Here they should have invited a Greenlander because there are many who could say something qualified about it. Here I thought it is about maintaining using a Dane so we understand better or relate better but I find it irritating.

Similarly, Katrine told a recollection about the Greenlandic politician Aaja Chemnitz Larsen who was invited by the Danish television station TV2 to talk about climate change and her take on it. Katrine, however, felt puzzled that a Greenlandic member of the Danish parliament only has been invited in to talk about climate change but are not taken into account or given a voice in any of the political debates on equal footing with any of the other Danish parliament members. Greenland have two seats for their own politicians in the Danish parliament. Relying on Danish experts on Greenland rather than Greenlandic experts is, as Nadia mentions, part of maintaining the power relation between the colonizer and the

colonized. She further mentions that there are many Greenlanders in the area who are researching in the field on Greenland and the Arctic, and to her, it would make more sense to include them in an interview rather than a Dane when it comes to discussing Greenland. It becomes a Western media narrative of Greenland and a maintenance of the idea of the Arctic orientalism when only turning to Danish experts as spokespeople on matters of Greenland. It is referred to as 'hierarchy of credibility' when the media "tend, faithfully and impartially, to reproduce the existing structure of power in society's institutional order" (Hall, 1978: 58). It is symbolic annihilation to exclude Greenlanders in the representation of Greenland experts because it signifies that Greenlanders yield no authority or credibility of their own narrative and leave them absent in the representation of themselves (Tuchman, 1979). It maintains the role of the expert as an *orientalist* whose job it is to interpret *the orient* to his/her fellow citizens (Said, 1995: 222). It thus maintains the power dynamics between a 'Wedom' and 'Theydom', where 'they', the Greelanders in Denmark, seen as a minority, are not given the opportunity to speak for themselves (Hartley, 1992).

However, there was also an example of a counter experience recounted from Michael that shows the power of representation. Michael recollected an old political debate he saw on television years ago with the, at the time, prime minister of Greenland Kuupik Kleist and the Danish politician Søren Espersen[2]:

> ... I think he [Kuupik Kleist] did quite well understood in the sense instead of taking on a restricted opinion to it. Søren Espersen wants to minimize the independence. He would like it to be deprived. I cannot remember specifically in details but he [Kuupik Kleist] answered him with momentum and it was actually nice to see a Greenlandic politician that went to Denmark and explained how things are connected. He [Søren Espersen] was put in place.

To Michael this debate was an example of giving space for a Greenlandic perspective on the situation in Greenland through the inclusion of the former prime minister of Greenland in a political debate with the parliament member Søren Espersen. This showcases the clash between how Greenland is differently imagined by Greenlanders and Danes. The story also highlights the postcolonial power struggle over whether Greenland is still under colonial rule of Denmark. The term postcolonial it implies that the colonial rule is in the past but it is perhaps better to understand this relation through the term of *coloniality*, as it "allows us to

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[2] The foreign affairs spokesperson from the Danish political party Dansk Folkeparti

understand the continuity of colonial forms of domination after the end of colonial administrations, produced by colonial cultures and structures in the modern/colonial capitalist world-system" (Grossfoguel, as cited in Maegaard & Mortensen, 2018: 3). In Michael's example it seems clear that there is still a colonial heritage in form of coloniality; that Greenland cannot see itself free from that Denmark still exercise its authority. However, this is also an example of a Greenlandic politician who was represented on equal footing with a Danish politician. It shows a positive effect on Greenlanders, as it not only makes Greenlanders visible in society but it also gives Greenlanders credibility and authority to voice an opinion just like their other co-citizens. It takes up the existing hegemonic discourse by including a balance, which the news is supposed to include to remain objective.

An inclusion of Greenlanders to make up their own representation gives the Greenlandic audience an opportunity to break away from the prejudices and stereotypes, and be encouraged through representation in the media to act more to their full potential as citizens (Lance & Paschyn, 2018). In Togeby's study (2002) on the Greenlanders in Denmark, she found there not only to be an absence of them in political and public debates but that there also exists a state of powerless silence among the Greenlandic minority, in which they show small engagement and participation with Danish politics (2002: 151). The general absence of Greenlandic representation as well as a lack of positive representation of them in Danish news media maintains their feeling of powerless. If these representations are not visible in the Danish media landscape, Greenlanders in Denmark have no role models to reflect on as they are being symbolically annihilated, and that "has led to the saying you can't be what you can't see" (Lance & Paschyn, 2018: 39). Giving space to a positive instead of negative representation as well as a visible instead of absent representation of Greenlanders allows new meaning to the word Greenlander, that thus far has connotations to negative stereotypes such as alcoholism, homelessness and destitute. Because of the binaries that exist in stereotyping it "does not necessarily displace the negative" representations but by "adding positive images to the largely negative repertoire of the dominant regime of representation increases the diversity of the ways" in which Greenlanders are being represented (Hall, 1997: 274). A positive representation of Greenlanders would thus also nudge towards a change of perception of how Danes view Greenlanders so that they can be seen as equal members in the Danish community (Bjørst, 2008: 82; Togeby, 2002: 152).

5.1.4 The expectations of the Danish news media

When addressing the Danish news media's portrayal of Greenland, the informants wished for a more in-depth perspective into the stories that do appear in the media landscape. They were not rejecting the negative aspects that are often the only emphasis in the Danish news media such as the high suicide rates, alcoholic problems, and the abuse of children. What they, however, felt lacking was action from the Danish news media to be more comprehensive about these subjects instead of just highlighting them. This subsection thus sets out to explore the underlying conditions of the informants' expectations of the Danish news media.

In Michael's reflection of the portrayal of Greenland and Greenlanders, he felt there was missing a nuanced portrayal:

> Of course Greenland has some challenges and we are also aware of that ourselves... When you, however, read about it in the Danish news media there is a lack of action in dealing with it instead of just describing that there exist massive problems.

Michael acknowledged the relationship between Denmark and Greenland in the Unity of the Realm. There is a recognition of Denmark and Greenland as separate nation-states, but there also exists a broader imagined community in the Unity of the Realm. Within this, the informants have expectations of the Danish media to take up salient news stories about Greenland, to be more critical towards the state of affairs there, and to represent them not as different but to represent Greenlanders correct. The Danish news media takes on the role of how the imagined community of the nation is communicated to the members of the nation. It is a narrative wherein stories and images should represent "the shared experiences, sorrows, and triumphs and disasters which give meaning to the nation" (Hall, 1996: 613). The issues of Greenland should also be the task of the Danish news media to critically assess. Instead, it seems there is a cautiousness in the Danish news media around not becoming too seriously involved in Greenlandic matters, and that instead these issues tend to come out as descriptive conditions of a foreign country and its events. However, because Greenland takes part in the Unity of the Realm this should also be the affairs of the Danish news media. This can be understood through Haas' (2014) description of Denmark as a nation of nations (2014: 282). Considering the Danish news media in the role as the fourth branch of government its responsibility should therefore stretch out to critically engage with Greenlandic affairs, just as

it would on matters of Denmark. This sensitivity to news stories about Greenland was also emphasized by Joachim:

> I think there is a sort of caution when it comes to Greenland. There exist a lot of issues in Greenland that are not being addressed… I think the journalists should be less careful and instead dare to handle these issues more critically. Many of them do not dare because they are scared to take part of a post-colonial discourse and scared to be called out on taking part in something that is politically incorrect or colonial.

The Danish news media, in particular the public broadcast channels, are in fact required to cover the affairs of the whole Unity of the Realm which includes the Faroe Islands and Greenland (Kulturministeriet, 2019). However, within this media agreement, it is not explicitly stated *how* this should work, leaving it up to the broadcasters to decide how much media-time should be distributed to these affairs. Furthermore, Joachim made a point in his statement that there is a fear of entering a post-colonial discourse from the journalists in their task to cover Greenlandic affairs. This can be understood in light of Nordic exceptionalist discourse, which was built from the imagined narrative that Denmark, among the other Nordic countries, in contrast to other European colonizers, had exercised a soft colonial rule over its colonies and became the image of "global 'good citizens', peace-loving, conflict-resolution oriented and rational" (Jensen & Loftsdóttir, 2012: 3). To sustain this self-image journalists must be careful how to address affairs of Greenland thus not to engage with a post-colonial power discourse. Joachim further contextualized the implications this journalistic sensitivity leads to as it makes out a big part of the geographical territory in the Unity of the Realm:

> I am well aware that many Danes are thinking, why? 'I do not want to read about Greenland, why do we have to read about Greenland in the Danish media?' That is also fine. However, the problem is that Greenland is part of the Unity of the 'Danish' Realm and it plays an important role for Denmark what happens in Greenland, and of course also the Faroe Islands, but Greenland represent a greater part of the Danish security and foreign policy because of the American presence in Greenland. So let us say that Denmark lost Greenland then it would cause a major change for the Danish foreign, security, and defense politics. This is how it is very relevant for Denmark and for the Danish society.

Joachim refers to it as the Unity of the 'Danish' Realm, which also clarifies that the unity with Greenland and the Faroe Islands is considered to be a *Danish* unification. He highlights the general lack of interest in the unity and the relations between Denmark and Greenland among the population, which the other informants also felt. Katrine, again drawing on her experience as a teacher, contextualized this problem further to a general lack of interest in the Unity of the Realm in Denmark:

> In the [Danish] public schools we are happy that there is now going to be more education on the topic because it is a Realm [Rigsfællesskab], before we were in the colonial age, now we are in the Unity of the Realm. But we are still under the colonial power. How do you solve that? How come there is not more education about it? How can it be that danish pupils get no insight into Greenland?

As a teacher Katrine has an interest in the material taught about Greenland in the Danish education system, and she notes there seems to be a slight increase in the interest from the political side to implement more of the Unity of the Realm in the education system but at the same time, she acknowledges that the Unity of the Realm has not moved Greenland entirely away from its colonial reign but rather made it invisible under the banner of a union. From the informants' accounts of how the Danish media represent Greenland, the imagined community established in the Danish media does rarely incorporate Greenland as part of the Danish imagined community. It is thus suggested through David's experience that the Unity of the Realm is more important in Greenland:

> I also think many Greenlanders feel offended because of it. We know everything about Denmark but Denmark does not know anything about us. The way they address it here in Denmark is very sterilized and does not commit despite that it in a way is their unity.

The Unity of the Realm acts as an imagined community to the informants and it is something that has been emphasized throughout their accounts of their upbringing in Greenland. Since the time of colonialism, Greenland has been influenced strongly by Denmark, through learning the Danish language in school and the mobility in between Denmark and Greenland. The Danish language has been ingrained into the Greenlandic society, as a vital part of the structures of the education system, job market, and the administrative organ. The Danish language thus takes a big part in the images of a nation, where the people speak the same language and share a similar culture. However, not to forget the impact of media, which ever

since the introduction of the television in Greenland consisted mainly of Danish media content flowing into the homes in Greenland, sharing stories that nourish a sense of belonging to Denmark and the Unity of the Realm (Bjørst, 2008: 89). Furthermore, there is also the impact of family ties that are constructed between a mix of Greenlandic and Danish heritage, where also the families live spread between the geographical positions of Denmark and Greenland.

5.1.5 Summary

This part of the analysis has unpackaged different ways in which Greenlanders in Copenhagen experience the representation of Greenlanders in Danish news media. Throughout the accounts and recollections it has established that there exists a distorted image of Greenland in the Danish news media, in which the informants could not recognize their home country or identify themselves. The Danish news media creates a caricatured representation of Greenland as either a magnificent background for Danish celebrities and the royal family or as a non-modern nation in which its people are emphasized to be alcoholics and traumatized. This leads to ascribed stereotypes of Greenlanders that have become a common-sense way for the Danish news media to portray Greenlanders in the news media. Furthermore, these stereotypes were experienced in the everyday life of the Greenlanders in Copenhagen who constantly feels subjected to being 'othered'. A more diverse representation of Greenland(ers) was found to be absent in the Danish news media.

Arctic orientalism seems prevalent, particularly as Danish experts continue to dominate the narration of Greenland. This excludes Greenlanders from being representatives of themselves and their home country. Building on the idea of an imagined community in the Unity of the Realm, the informants feel the Danish news media is not living up to its requirement of representing them accurately. Through the accounts of the informants it was shown that the Danish news media acts cautiously in its news stories about Greenland in fear of taking on a postcolonial discourse which thus has the consequence that the news stories of affairs in Greenland are not taking on in-depth critical perspectives but mere descriptive conditions of a foreign country despite that Greenland is part of the Danish Kingdom under the Unity of the Realm.

5.2 Greenlanders in diaspora in the mediated spaces and places

The world is highly digitized and how we communicate with each other is strongly tied through mediated spaces and imagined communities. This section of the analysis seeks to unpack the mediated experiences of the Greenlanders in Copenhagen and how they construct their identity through everyday interactions in and through media. Taking its departure in a diaspora identity that strongly relates to resettlement from Greenland, this section explores how Greenlanders find representation and a sense of belonging in online platforms and communities.

5.2.1 Media engagement and finding a sense of belonging

While looking for the participants for the study I used social media to get in contact with the Greenlandic community. I found that there were several different online communities spread out over Denmark. Following that the connection to my informants was made through the online space it was apparent that they in their everyday life engage as members of several online Greenlandic communities as part of "formations of at-homeness and belonging at different geographical scales" (Moores, 2007: 19). Benjamin explained why he wanted to be a member of these Greenlandic communities:

> To begin with, it was to stay in contact with the others but with the group with those who have worked in Greenland that also consist of Danes, Norwegians, Swedes, and Greenlanders. I am just curious to see which pictures and stories that are shared to see the differences in our cultures. To begin with, the idea behind joining the group Greenlanders in Denmark was to see where people live… Once when we were in Rødby, we had a flat tire so I tried to write in the group to the person I knew lived there. Then they came to help us as we had no car lift. So in that way you can meet each other.

He has gathered in online networks where Greenland is the common denominator. When he first moved to Copenhagen it was a way of connecting to a community that felt familiar, and within here he also established a physical network of friends to other Greenlanders through his membership in the group. These diasporic online communities develop an "alternative to the mainstream, spaces for identity, expression, and participation" (Georgiou, 2013: 83). This mediated environment is transformed from lived spaces to places as it becomes familiar in the "doings and feelings" (Moores, 2007: 10; Tuan 1977). In comparison to the Danish news

media as a place where Greenlanders feel 'othered', they can find identity in places such as online communities. It was earlier established that the informants feel that the Danish news media tend to an 'othering' of them and similarly there were experiences that this 'othering' has been ingrained into the social sphere. This can further marginalize Greenlanders as a minority and they instead look elsewhere for a sense of belonging, one of these can be in a place of media, such as the groups for Greenlanders living in Denmark or Copenhagen because they share a similar origin, culture, and language which ensures a sense of inclusion. Through Michael's experience social media opens up a space where he connects with communities across transnational and local spaces:

> I follow Facebook to see if there are any interesting events, either political, in relation to Greenland, or art exhibitions. My oldest son attends a private school, in that the parents have a closed Facebook group that I also use to follow what is going on. I am a member of a closed whiskey group that was created by my friends. I am a member of a group that is about Nuuk where I can follow what is happening in Nuuk.

The groups he follows are geographically scattered between Greenland and Denmark, both transnational and local. As he participates in what is going on in his present surroundings but also in other remote places. In relation to news consumption, Norwegian news media is part of his news repertoire because he lived four years of his life there and he feels that it can give him another take on foreign news beyond just following Danish news. In a sense, his activities are part of a claim of "citizenship and assert simultaneous belonging in various communities" (Georgiou, 2013: 96). In this hybrid imagined community, Michael can nurture his multiple belonging and they coexist across geographical and mediated boundaries. It is also a situation of doubling of place where these diasporic Greenlanders can still follow what is going on in Greenland in an immediate (co)presence while they are situated in Denmark (Moores, 2007: 7). In that way, it enables a hybrid imagined community where they maintain their sense of belonging to Greenland, Denmark, and other places they feel a connection to. The social media platforms have become an important tool to maintain relations across spaces and it can be used "in complex ways in trying to find spaces of representation and expression as citizens, as individuals and as members of different communities" (Georgiou, 2013: 94).

The mediated spaces is not only a place for finding communities it can also be used to engage in the public debate. Katrine introduced me to her personal blog that she runs on Facebook where she writes about breaking the stereotypes ascribed to being a Greenlander:

> First, it was about taboos and criticism towards all the prejudices. Now it is about how we can be the new Greenlanders if we are not supposed to be taboo. How can we be representatives of Greenland when all of us who are well functioning are invisible in the Danish system? Instead you only see those [Greenlanders] from Christianshavn we see. We do not see it in the media and we do not hear about it. So how can we become the new generation?

With a "diversification of the media" Katrine is not bound to see herself "on the receiving side of a singular mainstream media system" but she can take an active role in shaping them (Georgiou, 2013: 87). She has found a way to voice her perspective in public through the mediated space. Social media engage with superdiversity as discursively constructed places that can enable networked individuals, e.g. through "a set of semiotic resources with which they can strive to make sense of, reflect on and evaluate their experiences relating to superdiversity" (Leppänen, et al., 2018: 37). In Katrine's case it can be used to address societal issues and discourses concerning ethnicity and cultural differences that are an expression of power relations between ethnic Danes and the Greenlandic ethnic minority. The blog is shared among her online friends, and she also shares it with groups that specifically relate to towns in Greenland. Blogging is Katrine's way of engaging in an online 'civic participation', in doing so she has created a place where she addresses the stereotypes and taboos related to being a Greenlander in Denmark as well as in Greenland. According to Ostertag and Ortiz' study (2015) on blogging during hurricane Katrina, blogging "allow for the type of continued communication that fosters the development of social ties and networks and their activation for a variety of collective action and social change purposes" (2015: 47). Blogging can thus be a gateway to tie social relationships across time and space in an immediate (co)presence between Greenlanders to communicate their shared concerns and it has the potential to prosper to an offline 'civic participation'. Social media platforms can be used as a place for representation of the Greenlandic minority, where they can represent themselves, now that the mainstream media in Denmark does not represent them accordingly.

5.2.2 The diasporic identity: Home is where you hang your hat

Navigating the different media through different channels which are unrelated to their geographical position is part of the diasporic identity. It is clear from the mapping of the informants' use of news media that they each have a preferred way to engage with media. Through their engagement with media, they are able to establish meaningful connections beyond the geographical boundaries of Denmark which can also nurture their sense of belonging elsewhere. Unsurprisingly, Greenland was a subject that came up many times when they talked about their engagement with media. David emphasized his engagement with Greenlandic news:

> ... It is my window to Greenland. I also follow the Danish media but it is not primary.

Despite the fact that David resides in Denmark the preferred news he follows is the Greenlandic news channels. To him, it is more "fun to think about Greenlandic affairs than Danish affairs". David is caught between Denmark and Greenland and where he will end up in the future is yet undecided but he has plans of moving at least temporarily back to Greenland. Being half-Greenlandic, having relations in both places and having spent the past 10 years in Denmark his sense of belonging has become more fluid:

> I consider it [Greenland] home but Denmark is also my home. I can feel that I have started to grow roots in Denmark… It is also in response to this that I want to go home to try it. It is really difficult to talk about. It is where you hang your hat or where your heart is.

The struggle for David to define his home lies in the idea of the imagined community and its "power to generate a sense of identity and allegiance" (Schwarz, as cited in Hall, 1996: 612). This feeling of a fixed home as being exclusively one place has become ingrained in our social construction of identity but they "are not literally imprinted in our genes" (Hall, 1996: 611).This also follows the assumption there is about Greenlanders that they naturally belong in Greenland and outside it they always long for home (Sørensen 1993; Flora 2017).

There is a fear in his statement that he might be losing his boundedness to Greenland and thus may want to go back home to verify his sense of belonging. It does not seem as though David has completely given into the idea of belonging to more places than one. Despite that "diaspora challenges national ideologies it often finds itself trapped in them" as Greenland and Denmark each at the same time require loyalty and commitment (Georgiou, 2013: 85).

Benedict Anderson's (1983) notion of a bondedness to the nation thus remains relevant to the construction of identity. David's feeling is the underlying idea of pluralism which Hollinger (1995) noted to be "more concerned to protect and perpetuate particular, existing cultures" and it is "more oriented to the group and is likely to identify each individual with reference to a single, primary community" (Hollinger, 1995: 85-86). David's notion of that both Denmark and Greenland are his home, however, signal that some modes of cosmopolitanism is superseding the nation-state model (Vertovec & Cohen, 2002). This can be seen in his notion of only belonging to one place is being contested through the progression of a mediatized and cosmopolitan world in what can be considered superdiversity and hybrid imagined community (Georgiou, 2006; Vertovec, 2007). This is the recognition of cosmopolitanism that is "more oriented to the individual whom it is likely to understand as a member of a number of different communities simultaneously" (Hollinger, 1995: 86). Through his use of media, he has been able to nurture his identification with Greenland while he has been in Denmark. This diasporic transnationalism is what Georgiou (2010) notes as an invitation for "us to consider the possible emergence of contradictory yet viable forms of transnational imagined communities, especially through selective and partial participation" (2010: 21).

Katrine, who has not been back in Greenland since she was adopted as a child, follows Greenlandic Facebook groups with a focus on the towns of Nuuk and Sisimiut:

> As an example, I use these groups after I have read the Greenlandic newspapers to see what people comment on them, e.g. during and after the election. I gain knowledge and inspiration from their everyday life, e.g. the Greenlandic traditions, how they use the lard lamp, do their hair, fashion and then identify myself in them.

This online interaction gives her inspiration to nurture her Greenlandic identity despite that she is physically removed from Greenland. It enables her to learn about the Greenlandic culture from afar in a "process of cultural diaspora-ization" as she draws on the diaspora privileges of "unsettling, recombination, hybridization and cut-and-mix" (Hall, 1996: 447). This brings her closer than she has been for many years to belonging to Greenland after having grown up isolated in the Danish culture. What is particularly interesting in Katrine's case is that to her Greenlandic culture and identity is newly recognized. Within the last year that she started opening up to her Greenlandic identity. When I first met her in February she had not yet started reading Greenlandic newspapers. The above quote was from the follow-up

questions that I enquired about in July, where she now participates even more with the Greenlandic community. During the first interview, she talked about how she sought the community in Denmark and since then she has been reaching out across mediated spaces to grasp the community in Greenland and to interact with them. Ethnicity more than nationality, in this case, encompasses a sense of belonging to Katrine, which opens up for the idea of a hybrid imagined identity. The hybrid imagined community is although not only experienced by the informants to be transfixed in a relation between Denmark and Greenland. It is instead oriented towards a more cosmopolitan perspective. In Katrine's construction of her identity she emphasize it as a way to engage with the rest of the world:

> I think we need to see ourselves as world citizens. Everyone needs to see themselves as world citizens. It might be that you grew up in Denmark. It might be that you were born in Aarhus, you have your family and your relations in the Danish culture but there are perhaps some places where you can expand. You experience that when you travel, 'Wow I am alive'... 'I do not have that history', and that is perhaps also what you feel when you arrive to Copenhagen. You do not have that history with you. So you can be a freer human when you go to London to work, or New York or Sydney or wherever you go as a world person, then you have even less history with you. That is when your creativity can shine.

Katrine understands the identity as not linked to a specific nation but to the world. It is a way to let go of the borders that the idea of a nation is built on which limits the identity. She refers to 'history' that can be understood as the social and cultural capital in which "the social order is progressively inscribed in people's minds" to reinforce class, race, sexuality, gender, nationality, and religion (Bourdieu, 1986: 471). In the case of the Greenlanders, Katrine sees that the world can be a gateway to escape the prejudice that is constructed through our social and cultural capital. She also gave an example of this from her own experience from living in Norway where she felt the contrast of how she was looked at as 'exotic' and interesting as a positive experience which was very different compared to her experience from living in Denmark. Anna's construction of her identity is also more holistic but she also draws on her heritage to connect with other parts of the world:

> I feel a bit more international. I like the African culture, I am crazy about it. I would also like to go to Canada. I think it is very international but I would really like to get closer to those who remind me of Inuit. Us Greenlanders are very spiritual. We can feel where we belong, and I can feel that I need to go to Canada.

When explaining her relations in Denmark, she said that she found it hard to penetrate the Danish people but found many similarities between herself and her African friends because of the shared culture. They share a similar or at least identifiable diaspora identity, which is also part of superdiversity and the diaspora identity (Vertovec & Cohen, 2002: 2). With a detachment to the Danish identity, mediated space enabled her to browse the 'cultural supermarket' where she can pick a range of appealing identities (Hall, 1996: 622). Through news media, she became interested in Canada and the Inuits living there which she has created a sense of belonging to through her mediated experience of it. She is thus able to find a meaningful connection to Canada, although she has never physically been there.

5.2.3 Summary

In their engagement with media the informants turn to social media to establish online communities to find a sense of belonging. It moves from a mediated space to a place where they can tie social relations not dependent on a physical presence. The mediated space is also a discursive place that which promotes 'civic participation' and gives them a place where they can engage with each other and to a certain extent challenge discourses about Greenlanders in Denmark. The informants find a sense of belonging to both Greenland and Denmark that can be understood in terms of geographical location, their relations to family, in their interest, jobs, education and the way they engage with media. They do thus not just relate their identity to one imagined community transfixed on the borders of nation-states but they base it on existing in a *hybrid* imagined community. Within this, they are able to draw on the qualities that both countries give to their identity and they are enabled to engage with their various imagined communities through media. Media plays a dominant role in how they stay connected with their family, friends, and *home* country. The media is a space that connects them immediately despite the far distance between the places, and this enables them to nurture and maintain their sense of belonging to Greenland without being there. Although it also shows that through Katrine and Anna's experiences that from a cosmopolitan perspective, the hybrid imagined community opens up for belonging outside the geographical boundaries of Greenland and Denmark where you are not constricted to one fixed identity but can freely choose.

6

Conclusion

6.1 Greenlanders as the 'Other'

How the informants' experienced the representation of Greenlanders in the Danish news media did not differ from previous findings on Greenlandic representation in different Danish media genres (Bjørst, 2008; Maegaard & Mortensen, 2018; Thisted, 2002). Drawing on the informants' perspectives, the Danish news media continues to represent Greenland(ers) through earlier identified caricatures and stereotypes. Informants experienced this portrayal of Greenland in the media as alienating, exoticising, foreign, and oversimplified in contrast to Denmark. The positive representation, as Bjørst (2008) also pointed out in her studies, was that Greenland is used as a picturesque backdrop for prominent Danish people and royals. The informants further highlighted that the Danish news media reproduces negative stereotypes of Greenlanders which often depict them as alcoholic, homeless and socially exposed. These stereotypes were not just present in the Danish news media. Through their personal stories and engagement with the media, these stereotypes were also an embedded experience of the informants' everyday lives. Moreover, these aforementioned stereotypes have been attached to the very meaning of the word 'Greenlander' and are now seen as part of a common understanding of Greenlanders also amongst themselves. The extent to which this hegemonic discourse is implemented was framed through Victoria's example of the articulation of the word Grønlænderstiv in the Danish dictionary. The implication was also made further visible through Katrine's recollections of her experiences growing up in the Danish culture. Here, she did not find representation in the depicted Greenlanders who to her were the images of the alcoholic Greenlanders. She further felt 'othered' from everyone else. Not finding representation in Greenlanders and never associated with being a Dane either, as her parents pressured her to always be *more* knowledgeable to live up to the norms and to not fit into another stereotype of the Greenlander as less knowledgeable to the Dane. These stereotypes can never be broken because they function as a vicious circle between the binary poles (Hall, 1997), always bound up in extremes such as alcoholism, exoticism, simple mindedness or vulnerability. These stereotypes become a structure which sustains the hegemonic discourse and within this the media becomes a reproduction mechanism for a

symbolic power which reinforces the social order of dominant and dominated (Bourdieu, 1991).

Ultimately, the informants feel subjected to a discourse of constant 'othering' in the social and mediated spheres of the Danish society. It is not only through what is visibly represented but just as much as in what is not being represented in which there exist a symbolic annihilation. It is not only in the absence of a diverse or more accurate portrayal of Greenlanders in the media that the Greenlanders are being dehumanized and trivialized in a symbolic annihilation. It happens just as much through the absence of a regular and continuance presence and personal representation of the Greenlanders in the media (Gerbner & Gross, 1976; Tuchman 1979; Merskin; 1998). Through Nadia's recollection of the use of a Danish expert instead of selecting a Greenlandic expert as representative of Greenland it alludes to a still present Arctic orientalism in which the expert has been chosen to speak on behalf of another people. The Greenlanders in this example are being silenced through their absence. Role models can be used to create a more inclusive society in which individuals can reflect and see themselves represented. This can nourish a civic participation but perhaps more important to the Greenlandic individual that he or she will be addressed as full-citizen of the Danish society through a visible representation in the Danish public (Togeby 2002).

The informants see it as the Danish news media's natural task to cover Greenlandic affairs as it would matters of Denmark because both countries take part in the Unity of the Realm also sometimes referred to as the *Danish* Kingdom that makes Denmark the umbrella nation of smaller nation states (Haas, 2014). However, the informants did not report experiencing or witnessing of critical engagement with Greenland's societal and political situation by the Danish news media. This elucidated a certain experience of a journalistic sensitivity to topics of Greenland that could be an underlying byproduct of a Nordic exceptionalism in the Danish-self understanding where one has to be cautious of how to engage with a postcolonial discourse to avoid stepping into the role of colonizer or orientalist anew.

To conclude the section of representation in media, a reflection should be addressed to the fact that these negative recollections that appeared dominant throughout the interviews, just as the regular use of negative angled stories in the news, might as well be an expression of that stories that stir emotional influence are more easily recollected and reproduced because it has the ability to create a memorable arousal in the audience. This is not a dismissal of the

informants' experiences but rather an implication or consequence of the selected method of the study.

6.2 Greenlanders' diasporic identities in a hybrid imagined community

The process of constructing one's identity does not only occur through the eyes of the 'Other' but is primarily a negotiation that happens in the dialogue (Hall, 1997: 236). Thus, it was also the aim for this study to find out how these specific Greenlanders in Copenhagen construct their own identity in and through media. The construction of identity is a negotiation between how others view one but it is equally important to understand how one make sense of their own identity (Hall, 1997). Exploring the representation of Greenlanders in the Danish news media gave insight into how the informants was identified by others and partly how they also identified themselves. Part of the analytical findings also reflected on the questions of *how the informants engage with mediated spaces and places* and *in what ways the informants construct their identity in and through different media forms and genres*. The concept of identity has been explored through the recognition of Greenlanders in Copenhagen as a diaspora and transnational audience. In this deeply mediated world the informants' everyday life unfolds to a great extent in the mediated space. In the mediated space there exist multiple discursively constructed communities that have become familiar places instead of abstract spaces to the informants (Tuan, 2001; Moores, 2007). From the interviews the informants seem to find meaning and interest in communities that connects them to their physical geography as well as their remote homeland Greenland. Their engagement with media thus nurtures and maintains their relations that have meaning to them but also enables them to nurture their sense of belonging to Greenland through, for example, reading the Greenlandic news and taking part in Greenlandic communities. The mediated spaces and places and the advancement of communication technologies such as social media platforms foster the hybrid imagined communities so that the informants feel part of more places simultaneously and with each other in a doubling of place that both exist in the immediate as well as (co)immediate places. Katrine and Anna embraced a more holistic sense of belonging that is connected to their feelings of being international or world-citizen. They explain these identities to be more free than the restrictions of either/or the Greenlandic and Danish bondedness has strained on them. These two experiences align with the superdiversity perspective that turns away from the multicultural but instead embrace the concept of

multiple identities (Hollinger, 1995; Vertovec, 2007). These multiple identities are not limited to nation states but constructed through the diaspora-ization process that has been the result of the heterogeneous cultures and ethnicities that has emerged in especially European cities. Through the cosmopolitan understanding of the environment people are not bound to geographical immediacy but also symbolic immediacy it is easy to find identification and belonging to each other as these identities share a similar fluid diasporic identity, where common experiences or similar culture might feel identifiable but at the same time cannot be seen as a collective (Hollinger, 1995).

Studying the Greenlandic minority and their experience with media can contribute to how national narratives are framed to exclude 'others'. Representation of Greenlanders in the modes of discourse, the framing of debates, and how images of them are being framed can elucidate what should be done different. One feature of studying Greenlanders in Copenhagen has been that they are allowed to speak for themselves and give their opinion about what matters, directing a focus towards what matters to them, what they are critical towards and what they wish to change. Difference is essential to meaning, thus the creation of stereotypes and the process of 'othering' is part of the meaning-making process in the formation of identities (Hall, 1997: 234). The stereotypes and the common sense way of representing Greenlanders in the Danish news media is a byproduct of identifying the Dane from what it is not. However, through the voice of the Greenlanders it is possible to include the perspective of the people who are subjected to being 'Othered'. The informants wished to implement more information and education about Greenland into the education system so that the Danish population are taught early on about a modern Greenland and Greenlandic people which would bridge the contrast between Greenland and Denmark that has been used to establish them in a discourse of a 'Theydom' and 'Wedom' (Hartley, 1992). It is their solution to eliminate the differences between Greenland and Denmark by instead depicting Greenland(ers) as visible and equal citizens of Denmark who are just as credible, diverse and modern as Danes. To truly attain equality between the nation-states in the Unity of the Realm, Denmark must listen equally to what Greenland(ers) require rather than so frequently focusing on Danish requirements of Greenland.

6.3 Concluding reflections

In the introduction the reader was introduced to this study through the historical event of the Experiment that violated 22 Greenlandic children as they were removed from their families and sent to Denmark. I one last time would like to draw on this event to reflect the relevance of this study in a broader perspective. The tragic event was for many years, until recently, neglected to be the responsibility of the contemporary Danish state. Multiple times in the past had it been requested by the Greenlandic people for the state of Denmark to express an apology of the colonial violence it subjected these children to in the past. This was a process of a change in discourse that has been long under way and it has yet not arrived at a conclusive apology. However, it has now been recognized that these children have been violated and the blame has now been accepted and is being processed as a case by the Danish state. Hopefully, the official apology will be stated no later than 2020 when the inquisition has been completed. This historical event proves the point that discourse is negotiated, it can be altered with and change perspective. Hegemonic discourse is thus never static it can both be won and lost (Hall, 1977: 333). Thus it is important to pay attention to all voices of society.

Future qualitative studies on minorities are relevant to research because it can elucidate the underlying power struggles at play that hinder civic participation. We are often blinded by our own perspective so it can be refreshing to see the world through another lens for a change. It is my belief that these excluding representations of minorities can be altered to be more inclusive and that it should look to a superdiversity perspective to help foster further questions towards the power dynamics between state and its citizens. This is moreover also a cosmopolitan perspective as it recognizes individual identities over collective identities and that in the construction of them it not only relies on the belonging to the more fixed entities such as nation-states and cultures but instead are a product of diaspora-ization's ongoing process of "hybridization and cut-and-mix" (Hall, 1996: 447). Many underlying dynamics can be learned from studying the diaspora, hybrid imagined communities and superdiversity when it comes to understanding how identities are being negotiated. It should further be acknowledged that media is an inevitable big part of these processes and thus need to be examined because of its interconnectedness with society. It is here Media and Communication scholars can make a significant contribution to the social sciences, as media

is deeply embedded into the meaning-making processes and negotiations of how we construct identities.

7
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8

Appendices

Appendix 1 – Interview Guide

Themed interview guide
(Note: Translated)

Identity
- Can you tell me something about yourself and your background?
- Describe your relation to Greenland?
    - How does it feel when you are back in Greenland?
    - How do you maintain your relations in Greenland?
- Describe your relation to Denmark?
    - What does it mean to you to be Danish and when do you become Danish?
    - Would you describe Greenlanders as Danes?
    - Can you be both Danish and Greenlandic?
- How would you describe the relation between Denmark and Greenland?

News Media
- How do you experience the news stories that you see about Greenland and Greenlanders?
- How is your experience of the accuracy of the Danish news?
- Which media channels do you trust more than others?
- Is it important for you to follow what is happening in Greenland?
    - Why does it matter to you to follow these news?
    - Where do you find these news?
        - Why do you choose said channels?
        - Do you also use social media for news?
- Which Danish news media has more content about Greenland(ers) than others?
- Can you describe the content of the last news story you have read/seen/heard about Greenland(ers)
    - Why do you think you remembered this story?
- Have you noticed any differences between what the Danish news media focus on compared to the Greenlandic news media?
- Do you want to change anything when it comes to how Danish news media should address their content when it comes to Greenland(ers)
    - What types of news would you like the Danish news media to focus on when it comes to Greenland(ers)

Social Media
- I found you on the Greenlanders in Copenhagen Facebook group.. Why are you a member of that group?
- Are you member of any other groups? What are they about and why?
- What else do you use social media for and why?

Appendix 2 – Survey

Angiv hvilke af følgende nyhedsaviser du bruger

Danske nyhedsaviser	Hvordan bruger du det?	Hvor meget bruger du det?
Berlingske Tidende	• Fysisk avis • Webbrowser • Sociale medier • App	• Dagligt • Ugentligt • Månedligt • Årligt
BT	• Fysisk avis • Webbrowser • Sociale medier • App	• Dagligt • Ugentligt • Månedligt • Årligt
Børsen	• Fysisk avis • Webbrowser • Sociale medier • App	• Dagligt • Ugentligt • Månedligt • Årligt
Dagbladet Information	• Fysisk avis • Webbrowser • Sociale medier • App	• Dagligt • Ugentligt • Månedligt • Årligt
Ekstrabladet	• Fysisk avis • Webbrowser • Sociale medier	• Dagligt • Ugentligt • Månedligt

	• App	• Årligt
Kristeligt Dagblad	• Fysisk avis	• Dagligt
	• Webbrowser	• Ugentligt
	• Sociale medier	• Månedligt
	• App	• Årligt
Jyllands Posten	• Fysisk avis	• Dagligt
	• Webbrowser	• Ugentligt
	• Sociale medier	• Månedligt
	• App	• Årligt
Metro Express	• Fysisk avis	• Dagligt
	• Webbrowser	• Ugentligt
	• Sociale medier	• Månedligt
	• App	• Årligt
Politken	• Fysisk avis	• Dagligt
	• Webbrowser	• Ugentligt
	• Sociale medier	• Månedligt
	• App	• Årligt
WeekendAvisen	• Fysisk avis	• Dagligt
	• Webbrowser	• Ugentligt
	• Sociale medier	• Månedligt
	• App	• Årligt
Andre? (e.g lokalaviser)		

………………..

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………………..

Angiv hvilke visuelle nyhedskanaler du bruger

Danske TV nyheder	Hvordan bruger du det?	Hvor meget bruger du det?
DR 1	• Fjernsyn • Sociale medier • Streaming	• Dagligt • Ugentligt • Månedligt • Årligt
DR 2	• Fjernsyn • Sociale medier • Streaming	• Dagligt • Ugentligt • Månedligt • Årligt
TV 2	• Fjernsyn • Sociale medier • Streaming	• Dagligt • Ugentligt • Månedligt • Årligt

Andre?

………………..

………………..

………………..

Angiv hvilke radiokanaler du bruger

Danske radio nyheder	Hvordan bruger du det?	Hvor meget bruger du det?
P1	• Radio • Sociale medier	• Dagligt • Ugentligt

	Hvordan bruger du det?	Hvor meget bruger du det?
	• Webbrowser	• Månedligt
	• App	• Årligt
P3	• Radio	• Dagligt
	• Sociale medier	• Ugentligt
	• Webbrowser	• Månedligt
	• App	• Årligt
P4	• Radio	• Dagligt
	• Sociale medier	• Ugentligt
	• Webbrowser	• Månedligt
	• App	• Årligt
Radio24Syv	• Radio	• Dagligt
	• Sociale medier	• Ugentligt
	• Webbrowser	• Månedligt
	• App	• Årligt

Andre?

………………..

………………..

………………..

Angiv hvilke grønlandske nyhedsmedier du bruger

Grønlandske nyhedsmedier	**Hvordan bruger du det?**	**Hvor meget bruger du det?**
KNR	• Radio	• Dagligt
	• Sociale medier	• Ugentligt
	• Webbrowser	• Månedligt
	• Fjernsyn	• Årligt

Sermitsiaq	• Fysisk avis	• Dagligt
	• Sociale medier	• Ugentligt
	• Webbrowser	• Månedligt
		• Årligt
Kamikposten		• Dagligt
	• Sociale medier	• Ugentligt
	• Webbrowser	• Månedligt
		• Årligt
AG	• Fysisk avis	• Dagligt
	• Sociale medier	• Ugentligt
	• Webbrowser	• Månedligt
		• Årligt

Andre?

………………..

………………..

………………..

Appendix 3 – Interview Sample

 (Note: translated)

I: What is your background?
V: I was born and raised in Nuuk. I lived in Nuuk until I was six years old and then I moved to a smaller town called Aasiaat, and I there lived for six years and then we moved back to Nuuk again when I was 12 years old. My mother is a full Greenlander and my father is half Danish and half Greenlander.

I: And then you moved to Denmark at some point as well?
V: Yes, that was, when was it? I first moved to the Faroe Islands, three years ago and then I lived there for half a year and then I moved to Denmark. Now I am studying to become a kindergarten teacher and I have been doing it for a year.

I: Did you start it right away when you moved here?
V: No I first started another education. I was studying to become a business economist, but I only managed to go there for three months. Then I dropped out because, well, it wasn't me. Then I had to figure out what to else I could study, and in the meantime I worked full time at a café until I found out that I wanted to study to become a kindergarten teacher here in Copenhagen. I started 1st of February last year.

I: What brought you to Copenhagen?
V: Primarily family. My sister lives here and my niece lives here. Then I also have several friends here who live in Copenhagen. I don't know anyone in that many other places in Denmark. Besides my grandmother who lives in Skagen.

I: What is your relationship with Greenland now?
V: So Greenland is still a big part of me in the sense that I still have a lot of family living in Greenland. I am there as often that I get the opportunity. I go there every Christmas break and then sometimes in the summer when I can afford it because we have a free travel ticket once a year. I often use it during the Christmas holidays. So yes Greenland is still a big part of me. Primarily because of family and that's where I was born and raised.

I: Do you think you will ever go back to Greenland again?
V: I don't really know. I'm in a bit of a dilemma if I want to. Maybe when I get older and have a family and some things like that, but just work-wise when I graduate then I don't think it's so attractive to work there because kindergarten teachers have such poor conditions. There is a shortage of kindergarten teachers so they lack more hands and it is a really low salary. So that's what I'm in a bit of a dilemma about whether I want to move to Greenland when I'm finished. But yes, time must tell. It may be I change my mind or keep studying.

I: How is it.. You can speak Greenlandic?
V: Yes, but it has been better. I can do it in writing and orally, but I think it has been really difficult to maintain after I moved to Denmark also because I do not use it in Denmark. Besides when I talk on the phone with my mom once in a while. I think my Greenlandic language has been better before.

I: What about all your friends and your sister? Are they the ones you speak Danish with?
V: Yes.
I: So how does it feel to not speak that much Greenlandic when you go to Greenland?

V: It's actually a bit frustrating when talking to them. When there is someone who speaks Greenlandic to you and you try to have a conversation in Greenlandic. I think it is a bit challenging because there are a lot of words you forget and you forget how to say the phrases. Then you quickly notice how bad you have become when you finally have to speak Greenlandic. So I think it's a bit frustrating because I want to maintain the Greenlandic language and I want to be good at it, but I find it difficult to maintain.

I: Does it matter that you can't do it so well?
V: Yes, I think so. If I change my mind and intend to work in Greenland. Then it is important that I know Greenlandic, because if I have to work as a kindergarten teacher then I must also be able to communicate with the children in Greenlandic as well. So it is very important to me also that I do not forget the language.

I: What about your affiliation with Denmark?
V: Compared to Greenland or just in general?
I: In General..
V: So Denmark has always been a part of my life. Because my father is half-Danish. My father has lived in Denmark for many years, so I have been to Denmark quite often, and then I have my grandmother who is fully Danish and she lives in Denmark now. So Denmark also has a big impact on me. I see it as part of me. Both Greenland and Denmark.

I: Do you feel at home in both countries then?
V: Yes. But there are times when I am around new people and have to tell where I come from. Especially when I started at my first study. When I was studying to become a business economist. I experienced a lot of prejudices about what it was like to be a Greenlander and what it is like to live in Greenland and such things. So I quickly felt very different.

I: Are you talking about the others as Danes?
V: Yes. I was the only Greenlander. Then there was someone from my study who knew nothing about what it was like to live in Greenland and what it means to be a Greenlander. So there was a lot of prejudice associated with it. I think that was a bit frustrating.
After all, we are part of the Unity of the Realm. So I was a bit shocked how little he knew about Greenland and the prejudices he had about Greenlanders. There, I quickly felt very different. I suddenly felt very Greenlandic and not a part of Denmark, even though Denmark has a great importance to me and because I have family coming from Denmark.

I: How is it where you study now has that been a recurring problem?
V: Not where I study now. There it has not been a problem compared to my previous study.

I: What about the relationships you have in Greenland, how do you maintain contact?
V: Mostly with my family. There I keep in touch. Not with friends, because there is that distance. There are four hours time difference and it is not that often you see each other, so it is also difficult to maintain friendships. But when you finally get home during the Christmas holidays, you once in a while meet with your friends.

I: So, is it most face-to-face you have contact with your friends?
V: Yes.

I: You don't really use social media?
V: No not really.

I: Do you feel Danish?

V: Both and. Nobody connects me with being Danish, because when they see me at first glance, they don't think I'm Danish. Because I don't look Danish. So I feel that I am often seen as her from Greenland and not her who are half-Danish and half-Greenlandic. I don't feel very Danish but I would say my Danish language is much better than Greenlandic.

I: How would you describe the relationship between Greenland and Denmark as you see it?
V: I think there is a lot of lack in information about Greenland and that they are part of the Unity of the Realm and what that even means. Just generally about the people of Greenland, how the culture is in Greenland I think there is very limited knowledge about it. It can sometimes be a bit annoying in some contexts when meeting new people. It is not with bad intentions that they have the prejudice, it is just ignorance, because there is not enough information about what Greenland is and what it entails with the culture itself.

I: Do you eever encounter news about Greenland here in Denmark?
V: Yes, but I think it has often been the negative things that have been focused on. It's not that often the focus is on the good stuff. So I often think when it is in the media that it is the bad sides of Greenland.

I: Can you try to explain what it is?
V: The suicide rate in Greenland. The alcohol problems in Greenland. Child neglect.
I: What kind of positive stories do you feel are missing?
V: That's a good question. Probably the development Greenland is going through. The fact that we would like to become independent in the future and I think that is a difficult question. For what can be the positive things, now there has been so much focus on the negative. But just that with Greenland wanting to become independent. Yes, just as there is more development in the capital Nuuk, and new airport package, so there is constantly development. I think there is not so much focus in the media. The negative things take over.

I: Is the news important for you to keep up to date with?
V: When it is about Greenland then yes. As I am so far away from Greenland, I like to keep up with what is happening in Greenland.

I: So what do you mainly follow?
V: It's Sermitsiaq and KNR.

I: So when you need some information about Greenland is that what you go to?
V: Yes. It is on their website where I look.

I: Not on the social media?
V: Also on the social media, but mainly the websites.

I: So how does it work? So you go to the websites to read stories and stream it?
V: Yes, so on Sermitsiaq, I read stories also on KNR that you can stream, there is something called Ronoroq it is a Greenlandic version of the TV news. So I see that once in a while.

I: The depiction in the Danish news, now that you already talked a bit about how you see it.. but do you think they tell stories about Greenland as it is, ie the current situation up there?
V: Not the whole. It is only some parts of Greenland they tell. It's not the whole story they tell. It's just some parts of the story being told and if that is what is being broadcast in the media then that's what people think. Now they have read another article that there are many

people drinking on the streets, and then that is what they think of Greenland. Or that the suicide rate is high then it only focus on that and they will not know anything more than that.

I: So you feel like that's not all that is being told?
V: Only some of the stories are told.

I: Are the stories they tell the truth then?
V: If they show some specific numbers then yes. In Greenland, there has been a lot of focus on suicide prevention, where there has been a voluntary organization that has been established. So they are working to prevent suicide. But I don't think you have seen it in the Danish media, it is only in the Greenlandic media that you have seen it. There have been some protesters and this has not been seen in Denmark, ie in the Danish media.

I: Do you trust the Danish media if they don't tell the whole story?
V: No not really. I only feel they focus on one specific thing and those are the negative issues, rather than being able to tell the whole story.

I: Does it impact why you don't read the news that often?
V: So it piques my interest when I see an article about Greenland. Then I read it, but you can get offended at it sometimes. Because then you want to associate all Greenlanders with it and I think it is a bit annoying when we are much more than that.

I: Now you say that you mostly follow Greenlandic news over their websites, but what about the Danish news that you come across, where do you find them?
V: Well it's on social media.

I: Do you like their pages?
V: I have followed BT and Ekstra Bladet, where I like their pages, and then there are some articles on my feed. So yes it's not on their website I go into, it's more on their facebook page I follow.

I: And there you also find the others that you wrote down that you also see sometime use in between?
V: Yes... There was also at one point I remember that there was a lot of focus on one particular article. It was primarily about a Danish football coach who had said something about the fact that now we must be a Greenlander wasted because they had won a match. And then there was a debate whether it had been okay to say it even though he meant it as a joke, but there were a lot of people who took it wrong and couldn't see the fun in it. Then it was actually adopted in the dictionary, after all the debate that had been going on. So now there is Greenlander wasted in the dictionary. There are a lot of people who felt hit by that.

I: So when you say those who have been hit by that, are they Greenlanders or are they Danes?
V: It's Greenlanders.
I: Okay.

I: Have you noticed if there are some Danish news media that have more content about Greenland than others?
V: Hmm .. No, I don't think so. Otherwise, I have not been aware of it. Because I don't really remember from where I read those articles.

I: Are you a member of some Greenlandic groups on facebook?

V: No, actually not.

I: How can that be?
V: I'm just not that crazy about being ... I actually don't know. I just don't think I'm crazy about having too many things to deal with.

I: So you have not been looking for a Greenlandic affiliation here in Copenhagen?
V: Yes, I actually have. I just forgot. I am actually a member of a group called AVALAK. It is for Greenlanders studying in Denmark in Copenhagen.

I: What's going on inside that page?
V: Some events are being held. Then there are sometimes some notices about people looking for jobs or job offers and that you can meet and write a job together, but also practical things if you are looking for housing and how and how. So it is such a very practical forum where you help each other, if there is anything in doubt. You are so far away from home, so it is good that you have each other to help each other on the right path if you need to find something practical.

I: What did you use it for?
V: I used it for SU, for example. Questions about SU. It is a different approach for Greenlandic students than when you are a Danish student. Then there is just one particular way that you have to fill it out, and then I got help through it.

I: So you haven't been to any of the events they've had?
V: No not really.

I: Doesn't that mean much to you?
V: I probably didn't need that much. Because I see my friends in private and so do I have my family. So it's not like I've had a need for it as such.
I: So is it not important to have a Greenlandic circle?
V: No, it's not because it's not important. The friends I have contact with are from Greenland myself, so in that way I also have a part of Greenland in Copenhagen. My step-sister's boyfriend is actually a Greenlander, my step-sister is from the Faroe Islands.
I: And they live here?
V: Yes they live here in Copenhagen.
I: So you have more siblings here?
V: No, I only have one.
I: So you see her a lot?
V: Yeah I see her quite often.
I: Is she half a Faroese or how?
V: No she is actually a fully Faroese.

I: Can you tell the latest story you heard about Greenland or Greenlanders in the Danish news?
V: In the Danish news? It's actually about... Aleqa Hammond. She is former prime minister of the Greenlandic government and there have been some scams with her. So it was primarily an article about her.
I: Do you know what kind of media it was on?
V: It was on the social media.
I: And it was a Danish article?
V: Yes.

I: And you just had it on your feed too?
V: Yes.
I: Why do you think that is exactly what you read?
V: That particular article? That was because it was relevant at the time. She is still part of politics. It was primarily about her fraud cases and that she was still part of politics despite it.
I: Who was it now? Was she chairman?
V: Yes she was chairman. For the entire government.
I: You notice a lot of Greenlandic news, so you do not see Danish news at all about Danish politics, or other topics, does it interest you?
V: I do not follow Danish politics very much.
I: But are there any other topics that interest you?
V: General about Denmark?
I: Yes?
V: Well, I see it like that on my feed every day if something is going on in Denmark. So in that way I follow what is going on, but not so much on the political. I would probably say I stay updated once in a while about what's going on in Denmark.
I: But you never actively go to their news websites to see what they have there?
V: No not really. Then it's probably more Sermitsiaq and KNR.
I: But you stream TV2 and DR?
V: Yes.
I: But you do not stream news?
V: No.
I: They also have the one that Sunday news channel about Greenland on DR2, but you maybe just look at KNR?
V: Yes. I've seen some of it.
I: What are you streaming on TV2 and DR then?
V: It is primarily the programs DR produces and TV2. On TV2 it is the show Natholdet. It is quite different also because they have some documentaries on DR once in a while so I see that too. So TV2 is probably more entertainment oriented material that I watch.
I: Natholdet is almost factual. At least sometimes they use these news stories and makes fun features of them.
V: Yes.
I: Did you see that they had a feature on Greenland?
V: No, I haven't. Is there?
I: Yeah I can show it to you afterwards.

I: What do you think the Greenlandic news focuses on versus the Danish when it comes to Greenland?
V: The change. There has been quite a lot of focus on the new airport project. There has been a lot of focus on that, but then there has also been a focus on it with a lack of educated educators and primary school teachers.

I: So they do not bring these stories up in the Danish media at all?
V: No, I don't think they have, but I actually saw at school today on a screen that it said you could become a primary school teacher in Greenland. There was a picture of Greenland and it said that you had the opportunity to work in Greenland. Also because there is a high need of teachers in Greenland.
I: Was it just an announcement at school?
V: Yes it was an announcement in school.

I: How was it portrayed?

V: Yes it was a picture of a landscape. It was a pretty nice picture and then it said "Become a Primary School Teacher in Greenland". Yes, that's what it said.

I: Isn't it a little funny that they picked a landscape picture?
V: Yes, but it is probably to make it more attractive for those who do not come from Greenland. Also because many people see it as an adventure because the landscape is something completely different from Denmark. So maybe it was to catch the attention of others or so I think…

V: At my first study, there was only one person asking some questions and I don't know if it was out of curiosity or if there was anything sarcastic about it. But he asked a question about whether there are cars in Greenland at all, how do they live in and how with polar bears they are just all around and have in electricity and some such things. So I couldn't quite capture if it was meant to be sarcastic or if it was meant to be fun.
I: Didn't you catch that at all?
V: No.
I: And he didn't say afterwards whether it was a joke?
V: No, he didn't.

Interview end.

Appendix 4 – Extract of Thematic Content Analysis

Theme	Categories	Codes
Representation in Danish media	Misrepresentation	alienating, exotic, foreign, positive, negative, neutral, nature, election, objectifying
	Stereotypes	stereotypes in everyday life, stereotypes in media,internal stereotyping,'othering',Christianshavn,grønlænderstiv, alcoholic, abuse, prejudice, hygge-racisme,
	Absence in media	greenlandic representation, Danish experts, Greenlandic experts, no GL news, hard to remember, education, Greenlandic politicians, debate,
	Critical of media	unity of the realm, journalism, politics, postcolonial caution, not critical, Danish realm, colonialism,

Appendix 5 – Consent Form

Consent form

Researcher : Maria Mei-Mei Kjær Petersen
Supervisor: Mia-Marie Hammerlin
University and department: Lund University, Media and Communication Studies
Title: Greenland and Greenlanders in the media

1. I confirm that I have understood the purpose of this thesis and my participation in this interview
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am allowed to stop my participation without any reason until the date of publication.
3. I understand that my answers will be audio recorded and that this data will be securely stored. I understand that I can ask for the recording to be stopped at any time during the interview.
4. I understand that my answers will be anonymized and that my personal information below will not be published.
5. I confirm that I can be contacted for further questions or to elaborate my answers up until the date of publication.
6. I confirm that I will participate in the above project.

Signature .... Date ....
　　　　　　　　　(Participant)

Participant's contact details in order to receive information about the publication of the thesis and to receive follow up questions:

Name .... E-mail ....

Address

....

Phone ....

Signature .... Date ....
　　　　　　　　　(Researcher)