Tourism Experiences in the Peripheral North

Case Studies from Greenland

Daniela Tommasini
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1. Introduction

The subject of this book is tourism and its development in small-scale communities and peripheral regions; it is the outcome of research carried out at different points of time, and in several areas in Greenland.

It contains first-hand examples gathered by the author, ranging from the initial ideas and development behind the tourism industry to the successes and drawbacks of tourism initiatives. This is a book about the dreams and realities that local populations are confronted with when they are involved with tourism activities.

This collection of case studies aims to contribute to the general discussion on the development of peripheral destinations, and of tourism as a possible tool for the revitalization of marginal communities.

The book is divided in two sections. The first part deals with the themes of tourism development in small-scale and peripheral regions, with the development of tourism in Greenland and, in a more general sense, with the images, perceptions and representations of an Arctic destination from the viewpoint of tourists. The attraction of this destination, the stereotypes associated with it, and an example of the use of images in advertising are also concisely introduced. This first chapter also contains a section on the methodology utilized for collecting information and data. Interviews and questionnaires have been submitted to the target group as well as to other respondents. A basic questionnaire has been prepared and adapted according to each case study, together with interviews and previous research by the author.

The second part focuses on an analysis of the different forms of tourism that have emerged in Greenland since the birth of the tourism industry. For the case studies, the particular forms of tourism development that have taken place in different areas have served as the guiding principle for choosing the regions that were the object of fieldwork.

Every case study may be considered as the natural follow-up of the previous one and a link to the next one. During and after fieldwork, and when analysing data, questions emerged and another area was chosen for investigation, modelling the questionnaire according the specific information desired. In this sense, every case study is closely linked to the others. They are an attempt to find answers and perhaps give communities in Greenland inspiration, ideas and suggestions.
The case studies have the following structure: geographical information, i.e., the description of the area with some economic and statistical information, the rationale, a brief description of the methodology that has been adapted to the specific case study, data from the fieldwork and the findings:

- Short introduction of the aspects investigated by the fieldwork
- A description of the area, with a reference map
- When the fieldwork was conducted and information and data were collected
- The presentation of the fieldwork
- The relevant findings

**On case studies**

The case study (1) *Tourism and Sheep Farmers in South Greenland* presents a form of tourism that is very popular nowadays known as “rural tourism”. The sheep farming area may very well be considered a pioneering district for rural tourism. In South Greenland tourism started in the '60s and prospered during the '70s and the '80s thanks to a combination of factors: the presence of the sheep farms along the coast combined with the interest of the Danish Hikers’ Association and the willingness of the farmers - usually the women - who understood the business opportunities of hosting tourists and offering facilities, such as providing transfers by boat or selling products such as meat or woollen knitted items. Although it is seasonal, this area of business has proven to be successful.

The case study (2) *Villages around Sisimiut, Ilulissat and Uummannaq* focuses on community-based tourism. Tourism activities featuring small-scale and local involvement (similar to what is practiced in South Greenland) play an important role at the community level. Six settlements in the area were included in the fieldwork,
two in each of the municipalities of Sisimiut, Ilulissat and Uummannaq in North-West Greenland. This is a well known tourist area, where tourism activities are of considerable importance and well established at different levels. The purpose was to see how these villages benefit from the large number of tourists visiting the area, the role of the outfitters – who are quite numerous in the area – and the support offered by the National Tourism Board of Greenland for training, information, consulting and education.

The case study (3) **Tourism Development in Remote Places and Peripheral Areas: Qaanaaq** is a follow-up of the previous research done in South and West Greenland (in 2001 and 2005). The aim of this third part was to investigate, at the community level, the willingness to develop a community-based tourism as an option for economic and socio-cultural viability. Qaanaaq represented the perfect example, being small-scale and peripheral, with subsistence hunting activities as an important part of the local economy; the presence of some tourism activities combined with great potential from the viewpoint of tourists. The area is perceived as pristine and remote. For many it is a far-away place that evokes dreams and longing thanks to its association with the myth of Thule. Not always easy to reach, it is in the minds of visitors one of the last frontiers in tourism.

The case study (4) **The Region of East Greenland, Evolution and Changes in a Peripheral, Remote Area with Opportunities for Tourism** is divided into three sub case studies, each of which examines a different aspect of tourism.

The first sub case study (4.1) **Tourism Representations and Images in East Greenland: Ammassalik** concerns the images, representations and perceptions of tourists visiting an Arctic destination. This case study was conducted in the Ammassalik area and examines Arctic tourists, their motivations about travelling to an Arctic destination, their perceptions of the region, and their level of satisfaction with the experience. The survey was conducted twice, with a 14-year interval. The first questionnaire was submitted to tourists in 1995 and the second in 2009. In addition to focusing on tourists’ motivations, the latter questionnaire highlighted their spatial perception and the authenticity of their tourism experience, and it contained a section about their attitudes and behaviour towards members of the host society.

The second sub case study (4.2) **Impact of Tourism on Local Communities: Tasiilaq** deals with a questionnaire addressed in December 1997 and March 1998.
to the local population about their ideas on tourists and tourism, about the development of tourism and their interest or involvement in tourism activities. Questions regarding the host-guest relationship as well as future scenarios for tourism development were also examined. A new questionnaire was distributed in November 2010 and February 2011 to collect data and information, after a span of more than 10 years, to reveal the evolution and changes in the attitudes and involvement of local communities with regard to tourism and tourists.

The third sub case study (4.3) *Ittoqqortoormiit and the National Park of Greenland, Tourism, Development and Conservation* deals with the Ittoqqortoormiit area, a beautifully located, little, peripheral community searching for alternatives to boost the local economy. Tourism looks promising and the possibility of using the adjacent National Park as a recreational resource may create new opportunities and a brighter future for the community. This is also a follow-up of a research project that was conducted in Qaanaaq in 2007.
1.1. Peripheral Destinations, Local Communities and Tourism Development

Tourism in a Process of Change

Tourism, a combination of leisure and recreation, is dynamic; it has an impact on destinations and accelerates change. At the socio-cultural level it can contribute to changes in the way local inhabitants view of their environment and their way of life [Mason, 2008]; at the physical level it requires land, produces waste, litter and sewage, and makes use of water resources. A great deal of tourism takes place in regions that are particularly sensitive to change, e.g., the Arctic. Many of these regions are extremely susceptible to environmental – as well as to cultural – change [Stewart et al., 2005; Holden, 2000; May, 1991].

Many small regions and peripheral remote areas have attempted to enhance their economic situation by promoting tourism [Blackman et al., 2004]. At the same time, within many of these communities, there has been a growing concern for the preservation and protection of the social, cultural and physical environment. A general question, however, is to what extent the development of tourism in a remote peripheral area can be seen as a concrete option for viable economic and socio-cultural sustainability, and to what extent local communities can benefit from tourism development.

There is often a lack of access to the requisite capital and skills. It is important to consider the costs sustained by residents who want to take advantage of new opportunities and get involved in the industry. For example, a tour guide’s investment of time and money may hinder his ability to hunt [Wenzel, Milne, 1990].

Purely local ownership may also entail hindrances with regard to external markets, which are a key component of the product. Tourists largely come from outside the country and local communities may lack expertise and familiarity when approaching these markets. It is vital for peripheral communities to attract new and different

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1 There are two major types of impacts, those which are associated with structures (hotels, roads, aircraft) and those resulting from the tourists themselves [May, 1991]. And it is known that all tourism, whether of the mass packaged type or the supposedly alternative, more environmentally friendly, eco-tourism has an impact on landscape and culture.

2 A common problem associated with tourism in many areas of the world, is that some of the expectations that locals have of themselves must also be at least partially influenced by what they observe tourists wearing and carrying, and how they behave.
markets [Pearce, 2002]. These places are rarely destinations that are repeatedly visited by tourists; distance and costs are decisive factors, and usually such remote regions remain once-in-a-life-time destinations. It is therefore essential to offer a variety of experiences according to different tourist segments. Effective marketing strategies require sound marketing skills, something that is often lacking in tourism development in peripheral regions [Pearce, 2002; Murphy, 1992].

Tourism involves many players, including tourists, businesses, tourism managers, host communities and society. All players need to derive benefits from tourism for tourism to be truly successful.

Many visitors consider it their right not only to travel to remote regions, but also to camp and fish wherever they want to, and to do so free of charge. Tourists seek to maximize ‘consumer surplus’, i.e. get the best experience possible for the least cost, while businesses seek to maximize (short-term) profits and host communities are interested in long-term income and employment as well as net benefits.

Another trend reflects the growing public awareness of the fragility of the environment and the development of green tourism. Tourists feel concerned about the conservation of nature and want to experience for themselves the few places that are still unspoiled. This image of the polar wilderness is a cultural construct, and this perception of the Arctic as a virtually undeveloped area makes it attractive for those in search of nature. Tour operators dispatch the ‘new explorers’ throughout the Arctic, enticing them with ever new attractions, making everything readily accessible and maintaining and feeding an image in which fascination and challenge are the winning cards, and the ice cap, the midnight sun and the aurora borealis are the Haut Lieux – the celebrated places.

Tourist impact is a relative concept. What may be too much of a burden to one area may be quite manageable in another. The precise delineation of such impact is a culturally-based concept suggesting that it should be the local population that determines what type, and degree, of tourism is good for a community [Anderson, 1991]. A useful tool can be the carrying capacity concept, which refers to the limit of the number of tourists that can be accommodated without creating negative environmental and socio-cultural impacts, in other words, how many tourists are required instead of how many tourists can be attracted [O’Reilly, 1986]. UNEP and

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3 Osherenko and Young [1989: 140] argue that the myth of pristine wildernesses in the Arctic is rapidly vanishing as environmental interest groups focus attention on increasing pollution, habitat disturbance, and destruction of wildlife in the Far North.
the WTO define the carrying capacity for tourism as follows: “The maximum number of people that may visit a tourist destination at the same time without causing destruction of the physical, economic and socio-cultural environment” [UNEP, 1991; UNEP, 2005]. This combines the issues of resource use, renewability and scale. Capacity cannot be used as an absolute limit but as a means of identifying critical thresholds, which require attention and monitoring. These concepts have been available to tourism planners for many years. They are generally accepted, but difficulties in measuring and quantifying thresholds along with flexible and dynamic factors – in particular those referring to cultural identity, local attitudes and the process of de-culturalization – have limited the use of carrying capacity as a planning tool [Saddul, 1995].

Assuming that carrying capacity is the capacity of a destination region to absorb tourism before a negative impact is felt by the host country, a socio-cultural capacity would reflect the host community’s perception of its own interaction with tourists. Host cultures vary in their degree of robustness and ability to absorb the impact of tourists, and not all tourist zones exhibit the same degree of fragility or resilience. Some may permit only very low levels of tourist incursions; others may be able to withstand a much greater scale and intensity of development [Pigram, 1994]. Sometimes massive influxes of visitors can be overwhelming for a small community. There is a general assumption cruise ship visitors bring in money, but it also costs money to provide services for them, and some communities are not very pleased about a massive arrival of tourists. Many locals feel that even occasional visits by cruise ships are too disrupting or disturbing.

Community Options

Much has been written about the need to involve local populations in the planning and development of tourism [Murphy and Murphy, 2002; Lewis, 2001; Pearce, 1994; Pigram 1994; Smending, 1993; Getz & Jamal, 1994; Anderson, 1991; Murphy, 1985;]. Less has been written on how to achieve this ideal and to meet the high expectations of better income, more jobs and an improved quality of life – expectations that have been created by policy-makers and tourism developers.

Tourism could be an important development option for many isolated, scenic but economically depressed regions, which may not have many other ways of generating revenue. Tourism is often seen by governments as an opportunity for economic
development; it can create a range of employment opportunities, workers are needed to provide services and construct the facilities that tourists need, while tourist expenditures can contribute directly and indirectly to the local economy.

There is, however, a divergence between the tourists’ demand for untouched, unspoiled places and the ultimate outcome for the community. The development of services and infrastructures can transform an area, rendering it more structured and sophisticated, and the destination can rapidly change and lose its charm and allure in the eyes of many visitors, in essence sacrificing the appeal of pristine wilderness to respond to the inevitable demand from tourists for more comfort and services.

Other factors can mediate the benefits for communities and regions that are expected by local peoples and governments. The goods and services required by tourists often cannot be provided from within the community or region concerned, forcing a reliance on imported commodities and skills. In this way, some tourist expenditure leaks from the economy, leaving only a small amount in the hands of local people. One of the main concerns is the large proportion of economic leakage associated with polar tourism. For instance, most of the tourist payments for transportation and package tours is accrued by airline and tour operators, usually located outside the region [Smith, 1992]. This is common for tourism in polar, boreal regions such as Greenland, Arctic Canada, Svalbard and Alaska. “The host population, whose culture and environment are the tourist attractions, have profited only tangentially from the tourist trade” [Smith, 1989:60]. Tourism may also generate only semi-skilled jobs for locals: service jobs, which are low skilled, low-paid, and often seasonal. In many areas, local people are not employed in the tourism sector.

The type of tourist visiting a community plays a role in determining the degree of impact. Some visitors want only limited interaction with local residents while others will seek contact. Some tourists will expect high-quality services and amenities and will not adjust to local conditions while others find such adjustments appealing [Nickels, Milne, Wenzel, 1991].

The places that tourists travel to are inhabited by people who have different values in their styles of work, dress, and in many other artefacts and modes of behaviour.4

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4 The inability of some local communities to achieve Western-induced desires by socially accepted means has to be considered, can create tension, and the increased employment of “outsiders” in the industry, along with changes in the economic roles of women and community social organization, can also intensify local resentment towards tourists [Milne, 1990]. These values can be affected and may be fundamentally altered by tourist behaviour when guests’ values interfere with those of the hosts [May, 1991].
Education can play an important role in helping local communities control and monitor tourism. Milne [1992] reports that initiating local involvement in the decision-making process concerning tourist developments has proven to be beneficial for local populations. Maintaining or establishing host control or ownership over tourist infrastructures is another important mechanism for minimizing the negative impact of tourism. Maintaining local ownership not only allows the hosts to receive profits earned from tourism, but it also gives them control over what occurs in their own societies.

Tourism planning should be based on the priorities and goals of community residents [Hall, 2000; Murphy, 1985]. Sustainable tourism development requires local input and involvement, and it is imperative that local people have continual access to information about tourism development, starting with the earliest stages of its growth. Every effort should be made to inform the community as thoroughly as possible about the impact of tourism development and allow them to make informed decisions about their community’s future [Nickels, Milne, Wenzel, 1991:166].

The Arctic Perspective
The last two decades have seen a rapid expansion of tourist activity in the polar regions [Stewart et al., 2005]. The natural beauty, the fascination of the Far North and the never-ending search for what is new, combined with changes in consumer preferences, improved accessibility and advances in technology have made the Arctic a highly attractive destination. The prime motivation of tourists in the Arctic nowadays is still the wild, rugged character of the landscapes, its vast and virtually unpolluted areas. This region is exotic in view of its breathtaking landscapes of tundra, icebergs and huge fjords, its colossal ice cap, and its marvellous animals such as polar bears, musk-ox and whales. Tourists want to see the midnight sun and momentarily experience what it is like to stand at the ‘last frontier’ on the globe.

The Arctic is also attractive because of its still relatively unknown local peoples [Smith, 1989]. Another motivation is adventure. Some travellers need to travel greater distances, experience extreme sensations and surpass their own previous achievements – to climb glaciers and hike where there are no signs that other humans have ever set foot. This yearning to go where only explorers have ventured before has been emphasized by sports-oriented expeditions, popularized by the media.
Peripheral, remote tourist destinations are by definition distant, rather expensive, often difficult to access, and have a limited tourist season [Brown and Hall, 2000]. It is generally suggested that these regions should become niche ‘tourist destinations’, offering special products for a very specific tourist target group. Experts recommend developing very specific products that appeal to what Orams (2001) calls ‘hard eco-tourists’ 5. These tourists are characterized by small groups on longer, specialized eco-tours in relatively wild destinations, with few, if any, services. These tourists seek authentic experiences and are more likely to produce a significant multiplier effect because of their desire to consume authentic local goods and services. The concept of eco-tourism, conceived in the mid-1980s as a small-scale alternative to conventional mass tourism, may fit well with this kind of tourism and represent an interesting development option for peripheral areas and small-scale regions, where the local population, even if most residents are already gainfully employed, might seek additional income.

Demand for new forms of tourism, such as community-based tourism, arises in large part from today’s increased concern and interest in unique and fragile ecosystems. Furthermore, there is a growing desire from tourists to travel to new and exotic places. Tourism is a combination of travel and sightseeing as well as leisure and recreation and the environment is tourism’s resource. Every survey of the motivations of tourists includes factors such as sightseeing, natural and cultural heritage, and landscape impressions on the list of reasons for visiting a particular destination, and there is a growing interest in new destinations, far removed from ordinary daily life, that can leave visitors with remarkable memories of places and encounters.

Increasing visitation and the resulting pressure on ecosystems and communities require a change in the general public’s attitude, essentially making it a privilege to visit remote regions. Remote destinations – and the people who make decisions about them – need to understand the basic principles governing tourism and tourism development so that they can plan appropriately and take anticipative action, thereby safeguarding the region as a great place to live for the regional community and as a worthwhile place to visit for tourists. The considerations shared here will help regional and other decision makers to balance the needs and aspirations of tourists and host communities with national interests and the need to

5 Where the ‘soft’ are associated with larger groups, prefer serviced locations, have reliance on interpretation and a tendency to participate in eco-tourism as a diversion from more conventional tourism experiences (Orams, 2001).
safeguard natural resources and ecosystems for future generations. Arctic regions are ‘peripheral’ destinations (Hohl and Tisdell 1995). This brings specific challenges in terms of changing products, attracting different tourists to diversify the tourism market, adding secondary benefits from money re-spent locally, and combating the seasonality of visitation. The tourist target group in such remote locations will be more often comprised of small groups and individuals instead of large groups, such as cruise ship tourists.

Increasing cruise ship tourism has been one of the strategies of the National Tourist Board of Greenland. If not carefully prepared, organized, and managed, these visits (sometimes massive) can cause unpleasant situations in remote and not easily accessible places. Small communities rarely have the necessary infrastructures to receive – even for few hours – large numbers of tourists. Lack of planning and organization may well lead to visitors leaving nothing in the community. As a result, it is essential to support local development projects for small-scale tourism with lower numbers. Forms of tourism activities proposed by and offered in the community will, as a result, leave the benefits in the hands of the local people, avoiding the leakage of tourist expenditures from the local economy.

**Impact at the Local Level**

When dealing with tourism at the local level, issues such as the community, small-scale businesses and involving the local population have to be considered as well as the type and pace of development, together with local control and responsibility. However, there are many examples of drawbacks in small communities. It has been often pointed out that local communities are rarely involved in tourism planning. On the contrary, small communities are often exposed to the unwanted consequences of tourism activities. Cruise ship tourism is a prime example. It is common for local populations, especially in small-scale places, to receive large numbers of tourists from cruise ships. These visitors tour the community, leaving almost nothing to the local population, but often disturbing the everyday life or intruding in private spheres of life. Sometimes these enormous influxes of visitors can be overwhelming for a

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6 Interview with Ellen Christoffersen, and Margit Sørensen, Greenland Tourism, Nuuk, February 10th, 2005.

7 This has been reported in East Greenland as well as in South Greenland, where the population felt overwhelmed by the arrival of cruise ship tourists that did not buy any souvenir and left almost nothing in the community. See: Tommasini, 2003, 2004.
small community. There are many examples in the Arctic, and also in Greenland, of small local communities that have experienced massive arrivals of cruise ship tourists without being previously informed. The following examples illustrate the range of impacts that tourism can have on small-scale societies, and show the types of cultural alterations that can occur.

Conflicts between host and guests have been observed several times during fieldwork from 1996 to 1999 in the Ammassalik area on the East Coast of Greenland. This entailed for instance that the population shied away from contact and refused to be photographed with hunted seals or whales, or while skinning the animals. Some of them preferred to hunt and skin (an animal) far removed from tourist access. During the summer, women erected barricades to shield their work from tourists’ eyes. The locals feel offended when tourists are not quiet and do not follow other local customs, e.g., intruding into their personal living areas to take photographs. The tiny village of Ikateq (now abandoned) is located on the same island as Ammassalik, is easily accessible and, consequently, was often visited. It has been noted that the local 25 residents reacted in quite a hostile manner to the visits of the tourists, and launched a particular form of protest against this intrusion.

Tourists reported that the village appeared virtually empty when they arrived, and the few local residents refused any contact. Not having witnessed this, but only piecing the events together from tourists’ comments, it is hard to say if the village appeared deserted because people were on hunting trips or at hunting camps, as is often the case during the summer, or if the doors were intentionally closed to avoid any contact. If the latter is the case, a closed door is a clear explanatory sign. It has been suggested that tourists should be educated regarding local etiquette and how to avoid intrusions and other disruptive situations. Indigenous education can also play an important role in helping hosts to control situations with tourists. Educating people is an alternative but is a long-term project [Butler, 1994]. If visits of this kind are frequent and not episodical, it can happen that certain destinations with fragile economies and cultures are actually disrupted by an insurgence of visitors, and this overcapacity can have far-reaching consequences not only on the physical and environmental aspects but also on the social, cultural and economic system of the destination [De Kadt, 1992; O’Reilly, 1986].

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8 For the Arctic see for instance Smith, 1989, Micro-models and marginal men; for Greenland I have personally witnessed the situation stated above in 1995 in Ammassalik; and during fieldwork in Igaliko in 2001 had several complaints from local people about ‘this’ kind of tourism.
Tourism is essentially cyclical in nature, and unless specific steps are taken to ensure healthy development, destinations will inevitably become overused, unattractive and eventually experience declining use.

The decision to limit or to encourage tourism development should take into account not only physical parameters and economic circumstances, but also human concerns. A possible indicator suitable to identifying the consequences of the development of tourism on local communities can be the concept of carrying capacity. Socio-cultural capacity relates the host community’s perception of their own interaction with tourists. It is well known that host populations have different reactions to guests visits, sometimes massive influxes of visitors can be overwhelming for a small community, though most communities appear to welcome cruise ships, others may prohibit visitation for a variety of reasons. Capacity can be considered as part of a systematic strategy plan for the development of tourism. The concept of ‘limits of acceptable changes’ represents a framework within which acceptable levels and types of environmental and social impacts of recreation are defined.

It is a management decision as to what constitutes an acceptable level of human-induced change. Moreover this decision is not determined entirely by ecological criteria. It should be related to the characteristics of the site, its capacity to support higher or lower levels of use, and the net balance between potential gains and losses from imposing limitations on use. These concepts have been available for tourism planners for many years and are generally accepted, but difficulties in measuring and quantifying the thresholds have restricted the use of carrying capacity as a planning tool [O'Reilly 1986].

The Carrying Capacity Option

It is necessary to measure the carrying capacity of the environment, which encompasses the vegetation, wildlife and landscape, and to assess the social carrying capacity. This requires investigation and research among the local population to understand how the community perceives tourism, how well informed the population

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9 Ammassalik, on 1995 lived the adventure of a French cruise ship that brought 450 tourists for 10 hours in town. The population showed disagreement for this peaceful but intrusive invasion, many went to the harbour to take a look of this huge amount of tourists (the town has 1,300 inhabitants) who walked around in town, went to the shop and buy fresh fruits and goods (the supply ship just arrived after 9 months) and sit down at noon in the only one place where usually Greenlanders meet, leaving after a long day having bought only few post cards. The experience was never repeated, a year later the population responded negatively when asked to permit a new visit.
is about tourism, tourism development and planning. How is the tourist challenge perceived, does the community have a positive attitude towards tourism and an interest in launching new tourism activities in an attempt to increase its revenues and boost the local economy? Another important aspect to evaluate is how to avoid a negative impact and get benefits from tourism development. It is thus essential to start a ‘discourse’ on tourism. The lack of information is one of the reasons for failure. Research has showed that populations tend to be in favour of tourism but know too little about it.

It is well known that all tourism, whether of the mass packaged variety or the supposedly more environmentally-friendly eco-tourism, has an impact on landscapes and cultures.

Tourism creates a negative impact, is an industry, and cannot easily be reversed. It requires land, produces waste, makes use of water resources, can contribute to environmental degradation and alter the local inhabitants’ evaluation of their environment and their way of life. The nature of the impact is generally related to the particular form of tourism and the activities engaged in by the tourists. Contrary to the expectations of local populations and governments, the potential negative impacts associated with the development of tourism in the Arctic regions are numerous and more problematic in small, remote Arctic settlements than in larger, easily accessible locations with road networks. Except for the increase of some services during the tourist season, local communities at present do not enjoy many direct benefits from tourism, very few individuals employed for seasonal tourism (hotel workers, hotel employees, guides) have personally profited from this industry. Capital investment in tourism, particularly for the necessary infrastructure, is costly.

The impact of tourism has to be better understood before developing tourism. Research on the effects of tourism on nature and society is still rather limited. According to Mason [2008: 39-42] a number of issues need further discussion, i.e., who are the tourists, where are they from, (domestic or international), where is tourism taking place and what is the scale of tourism, what infrastructures exists for tourists, for how long has tourism been established, and when is the tourist season. McKercher [1993] argues that little research has been done into why some impact is inevitable: tourism consumes resources, is a resource-based industry (i.e., nature, culture) and tourists are consumers, they want to enjoy the tourism experience, escaping from everyday life for the time of the holiday, and tourist products often need to be altered to satisfy tourism demand (i.e., traditional dances, cultural activities).
The Impact of Tourism

The success of tourism is predominantly measured in tourist numbers [Sharpley, 2002; Wilkinson, 1994]. This measure is useful when assessing tourism on a national scale. From a national perspective, it is useful to pursue an increase in tourist numbers. However, equating tourist numbers with tourist success is a dangerously flawed concept for small host communities such as Qaanaaq, Ittoqqortoormiit and other similar small-scale communities and peripheral areas in Greenland and across the Arctic. Here, benefits are not necessarily related to tourist numbers, but rather to yield and net benefit. For example, there are only very few international tourists visiting a (selected) community. On the basis of such an understanding, the host community can develop a vision for tourism for the destination and start to take pro-active and strategic steps to maximize community net benefits. When evaluating tourism benefits it is further important to consider the distribution of benefits and costs in the host community. In many such remote tourist destinations it has been demonstrated that local people, despite representing a majority of population, have only a marginal involvement in tourism and therefore receive few benefits from tourism. In addition, they are also the socio-economically weakest group.10

Without monitoring, control and responsibility, within a relatively short time some or all of the destination’s capacity limits are exceeded, including both environmental and human (socio-cultural) elements [Butler 1994]. Research indicates that the damaging effect of tourism can be controlled or reduced if tourism occurs under the following conditions: first, the scale of tourism must be kept low to moderate, generally the fewer the tourists, the lesser the impact. Nevertheless, several studies have shown that alternative forms of tourism may penetrate even further into the personal space of residents, involving them to a much greater degree. On the other hand, a small number of tourists may have positive social and environmental effects but probably negative economic ones. No matter how environmentally and social-culturally sympathetic visitors may be, every tourist can be damaging to the environment and produce changes to the host society, and perhaps few forms of alternative tourism are really amenable to a no-change scenario over time [Butler, 1991, 1994].

10 Although exceptions can occur: in South Greenland during the tourist activities in the 1970s and 80s the tourist expenditures were retained locally for the benefit of the local population. Despite the shortness of the “good” season this was an important source of additional and, most importantly, secure revenue. For instance in 1987 the renting of cabins for tourist purposes in Southern Greenland has generated DKK 250,000, while transportation from harbour to cabins resulted in DKK 41,000 [Rasmussen et al, 1989].
In the development of new projects, cost-benefit analyses should be adopted to see at what level the project will be financially viable, yet correct levels of carrying capacity must be adopted as well to preserve the economic, physical, ecological, social and cultural balance within the society. The capacity may be reflected in a number of ways, not only environmentally (water supply, land availability, access infrastructure) or in terms of the flora and fauna’s ability to withstand disturbance, but also when it comes to the willingness of the resident population to accept the impact of visitors.

Socio-cultural, environmental, and economic factors cannot realistically be treated in isolation when planning tourism. It is essential that local people be involved and well informed in the planning process. A crucial step is to evaluate resident perceptions of proposed developments, before they commence, focusing on community attitudes toward the current and potential impact of tourist development [Mason, 2008].

Another much-discussed topic is the level of information among those who are willing to launch tourism activities. Fieldwork in both areas (see case studies 1 and 2) has demonstrated that people who started to get involved in tourist activities knew too little about tourism. This is very common when tourism is intended to be a side activity, and when such ventures are pursued by non-professional people. Often there is a lack of information and support\(^{11}\), and even the strongest motivation to start something new sometimes gives way to disenchantment. They need to be informed on how to launch and develop businesses in tourism, how to benefit from them, and how to avoid the possible negative effects.

Research indicates that residents have a positive but not a well-informed attitude towards tourism development and that local involvement is often haphazard. Local communities need to be leading actors in the political and economic strategies for the future development of tourism. Although these local cultures along with the natural environment (landscape) are the primary attractions for tourism, local people are not currently playing a leading role within the tourism industry. Opinions vary as to the reason for this secondary role, ranging from the observation that local people lacked the necessary capital to finance their own tourism initiatives, to the perception of

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\(^{11}\) Interviewees often declared the need to be more informed on how to receive support when starting tourism activities; some of the informants reported to have been granted by the fund TAT (Takornariaqarnermi Aallarnisaasunut Tapersiisarfik), actually only few if considering the total number of the sample.
more fundamental cultural variations in which the ‘business of tourism’ was seen as a foreign concept to most of the local cultures of the North.

One more problem is related to the type and pace of tourism wanted. Research indicates that the participation rate of locals in the tourism business is low. The function of tourism as a means of economic development for disadvantaged or undeveloped peripheral regions is widely accepted. A peripheral region’s government, as a means of economic growth and diversification, generally perceives tourism development as an opportunity for job creation, inflow of capital, and enhancing the overall welfare of the general population. These expectations are not always met. From an economic viewpoint, it is known that peripheral regions receive only a fraction of the money that is spent by the visitors. There is a considerable leakage back out of the peripheral economies; and the peripheries, through time, are at risk of losing control over the decision-making process governing the industry’s development. For local communities, a significant socio-economic factor in tourism development is the proportion of tourism income that can be retained by the local economy.

How to Reach the Goal
Economic feasibility depends on a site having a marketable product; not all locations are sufficiently unique to draw tourists. Poor accessibility owing to remoteness or inadequate transportation systems can curb tourism growth. Some communities may be unable to provide or develop necessary complementary tourist services.

Certain recreational activities may be incompatible with others, thereby resulting in conflicts between different tourists seeking different forms of recreation. Hikers may be at odds with off-road vehicle users, hunters may be at odds with birdwatchers. Accommodating every type of tourist may be unfeasible in every location. Conflicts can evolve over the allocation of natural resources and land use. For many communities, tourism can be seen as a limited growth potentiality and may not always agree with the opinions of local residents about the future of the community. What tourism development may be potentially in conflict with the different uses of the natural resource. However, local residents may see a different type of economic development as desirable.

12 If a location is a less popular or highly specialized destination, there can be risks involved in developing a reliance on tourism (Anderson, 1991).
For local communities a significant socioeconomic factor in tourism development is the proportion of tourism income that can be retained by the local economy. Such income is generated through employment in tourism-related services such as food and lodging, fuel, local tour guiding, and sales of souvenirs and outdoor recreation equipment.

Small tourism businesses often represent a viable option for young men and women. Seasonal forms of tourism appear particularly appropriate when, for instance, housekeeping or child care do not allow for other jobs. Also young people can try their hand at running their own businesses, for example, after completing an education that has, among other things, given them skills in foreign languages, which is a key advantage when it comes to being involved in tourist activities.

Tourism is indeed a way to develop something new that has an important ‘human component’. This is especially true when talking about community-based tourism, where the relationship between tourism development and community dynamics directly involves local residents. In remote and peripheral areas, surveys indicate that among the reasons for developing tourist activities, people very often cite the possibility of meeting other people, as shown by the South Greenland research, where respondents indicated that they wanted to meet foreign people and share part of daily life with the visitors.

Successful tourism development will depend less on how tourism is labelled than on the natural endowments in given locations and the existing infrastructures [Pearce, 2002; Priedeaux, 2000; Murphy, 1992], local expertise, and community support necessary to complement those endowments.

Predictions are made difficult by spatial and temporal discontinuities between cause and effect. A decision to limit or to encourage tourism development should make reference to human concerns and economic circumstances as well as physical parameters. Environmental degradation is rarely catastrophic, but typified more by cumulative threshold effects.

Alternative tourism is not the panacea for all problems in tourism development in all situations.13

13 Virtually any kind of tourism activity will result in some impact to natural resources somewhere (Cater, 1993). Despite strong ethical and environmental motives, eco-tourists are seeking primarily pleasure and entertainment (McKercher, 1993a). As for many scholars suggested, tourists who wish to be ‘green’ holidaymakers should remain at home.
It has been suggested that rather than embracing a simplified dichotomy between ‘good’ and ‘bad’ tourism, a more useful analytical framework may be to examine the dimensions underlying the different manifestations of tourism. Tourism, like all forms of development, needs to be carefully integrated into a destination within the existing cultural and environmental constraints and opportunities. In considering if tourism development is appropriate in a given location, the comparative advantages of different types and scales of tourism development need to be evaluated. Social, economic and ecological constraints need to be identified. A successful tourism industry in one area may not fit in another. The question ‘how much is too much’ may be focussing on the wrong issue. Rather, the focus should be on identifying what kinds of resources and social conditions are appropriate and acceptable in specific settings.

The case studies presented here will illustrate different forms of tourism development, in different locations, and at different points of time. Most of the cases demonstrate that tourism took place thanks to a combination of different factors, including spontaneous forms (e.g., in South Greenland with the sheep farmers), more structured forms (e.g., in North-West Greenland, influenced by external forces, e.g., on the East Coast of Greenland) and responding to the need of finding alternatives (e.g., the attempts made by the communities of the High North of Greenland and of the East Coast of Greenland (Ittoqqortoormiit). Sometimes it is a local initiative, a focus person, or a focus group who is able to foresee and risk a new initiative: e.g., the tent café in Qassiarsuk (Narsaq area), or create a tourist product for cruise ship tourists like in Ukkusissat (Uummannaq area), or launch a tourism project like in Itilleq (Sisimiut area).
1.2. Tourism in Greenland

Development and Planning of Tourism in Greenland

Organized tourism has been practiced in Greenland for decades and the world’s largest island, as well as other Arctic regions, has been planning for the development of tourism since the late 1950s. Greenland’s status as a colony changed in 1953, when Greenland became a Danish province, and the authorities decided to open up certain areas to tourism. The real beginning of the ‘tourism industry’ dates back to 1959 when charter flights\textsuperscript{14} were first offered, taking off from Iceland and landing at the then-new airfield in Kulusuk, on the East Coast of Greenland. Day trips were offered from Iceland\cite{Egede Hegelund, 2009} and today it is still very popular for Icelanders, as well as foreign tourists visiting Iceland, to take a one-day trip to Greenland\textsuperscript{15}. In 1958, Icelandair organized and sold trips from Iceland to Narsarsuaq in South Greenland. Tourists were taken there during the summertime, mainly for angling in the rivers or hiking to the ice cap. Accommodation was organized in decommissioned US Army barracks\cite{Egede Hegelund, 2009}. The Icelandic tourist initiatives in Greenland generated the interest of others involved in the tourism business. Euro Lloyd chartered planes to bring tourists to Narsarsuaq and a Danish woman, Nina Holm, who worked at Euro Lloyd, purchased some of the old

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{l|c|c|c|c}
\hline
\hline
Air passengers & \\
Denmark - Greenland & 4,200 & 14,600 & 16,600 & 18,300 \\
and Greenland domestic & \\
\hline
Single trips in Greenland & 11,700 & 70,400 & 78,500 & 88,000 \\
by air or by boat & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Passengers between Denmark and Greenland, and Greenland domestic by air and boat}
\end{table}

\textit{Source:} Turisme i Grønland, Betænkning nr. 700, Ministeriet for Grønland, 1973: 7

\textsuperscript{14} Civil air traffic began in 1949 organized by the Scandinavian Airlines System (SAS) and Icelandair, Chartered by Den Kongelige Grønlandske Handel (KGH) to ensure transport of workers for the building industry.

\textsuperscript{15} At the beginning of the 1950s Icelanders discovered the decommissioned American airfield of Ikateq (established during WWII), and were fascinated by the impressive beauty of the landscape, prompting them to ask the Danish authorities for permission to use the abandoned airstrip. Permission to make two round-trip flights a week with tourists to Ikateq was granted in 1952 by the Danish Civil Aviation\cite{Egede Hegelund, 2009}.
American disused buildings to offer accommodation to tourists [Egede Hegelund, 2009]. In the mid-60s, SAS also started to fly tourists to Narsarsuaq and the number of visitors grew steadily.\footnote{Before SAS started offering Narsarsuaq as a destination, DDL (The Danish Airline) flew to Narsarsuaq with stops in Scotland and in Iceland. The flight lasted four days at the time. [Egede Hegelund, 2009: 18].}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Icelandair</th>
<th>SAS</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Total</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>1,636</td>
<td>1,680</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>4,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>2,476</td>
<td>3,300</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>2,476</td>
<td>3,700</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>6,500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Turisme i Grønland, Betænkning nr. 700, Ministeriet for Grønland, 1973: 8

The Evolution of the Process

During the 70s and 80s, the industry grew, with some impact on the economy, especially in South Greenland, and the opportunities which tourism created led to the creation of, or improvements to, accommodation capacity and connections, but without any major significance for the overall economy. In 1939, the Association of Greenlanders living in Denmark, Peqatigiit Kalaalliit (PK) was established, organizing cheaper travel from and to Greenland for its members. Based on its awareness of the potential of the tourism business, PK arranged in the 70s several meetings with the municipal authorities and local people along the coast of Greenland. PK wanted local residents to be actively involved in this growing sector. In South Greenland the local sheep farmers started to work together with tourist operators, offering small cabins as overnight facilities, along with local food, and selling knitted items made of sheep wool. A camping site was set up near Narsarsuaq. Tourists arriving at Christmas were taken by snowmobile to Igaliku, served refreshments at the newly opened cafeteria, and then taken by boat to Qaqortoq. Several Danish outdoor and travel associations\footnote{This included The Danish Ramblers Association and The Danish Mountaineering and Climbing Federation.} took part on the programme, and maps of the area for tourism purposes were produced.

In the Sisimiut/Kangerlussuaq area, municipal authorities started to work with the Hunters’ and Fishermen’s Association to promote tours to the ice cap, always in cooperation with the Danish outdoor and travel associations, and a tourist trail from Kangerlussuaq to Sisimiut was mapped out.

In late 1975, PK established a travel agency, INUK travel\(^\text{18}\), and started making arrangements with air carriers and travel agencies in Denmark to bring groups of tourists to Greenland. Things did not turn out as PK intended. A report published in 1974 by the Ministry for Greenland’s Working Committee on Tourism in Greenland recommended the building of large hotels, the construction of airports, and the purchase of additional aircraft [Egede Hegelund, 2009]. This proved to be too much for PK, which felt that these recommendations overly favoured big businesses such as SAS, Grønlandsfly (Air Greenland) and hotels owners. PK’s efforts to involve local people in the tourism business were merely ignored and it was the organization’s impression that a very large proportion of the profits derived from tourism activities would find its way back to Denmark [Egede Hegelund, 2009].

At the first conference on tourism in Qaqortoq in 1975, there was a general consensus that the Greenlandic political authorities needed to adopt a national tourism policy.

**Developing the Tourism Industry**

From the 1970s onwards, Greenland – which became a self-governing part of the Danish Realm with the introduction of Home Rule in 1979 – was increasingly involved in the decision-making process surrounding the development of the tourist industry. Thanks in part to Greenland’s cooperation with the Danish Tourism Board, the number of visitors reached a record of 10,000 in 1981. But a series of unfortunate events such as poor marketing decisions and the international ban on trading furs led to a drastic reduction in these figures, falling to 3,300 tourists in 1987. During the same period, the Greenland Home Rule Government had to face a whole series of difficulties, primarily unemployment caused by the crisis in the fishing and fish processing industries (95% of exports) and the closure of the zinc and lead mine at Maarmorilik.

\(^{18}\) INUK travel went bankrupt after 14 months of activity, being “unable to obtain a line of credit from the banks” (of DKK 50,000.00) [Egede Hegelund, 2009:35]; at the time there was no financial support for development projects.
During the late 1980s, however, a general recognition of the potential of tourism created increasing expectations for future development. Quoting Christensen [1992] “Greenland is seeking alternative ways of creating a sound basis for its economy. It is extremely dependent upon the fishing industry.19 The Home Rule Authority (HRA) still depends heavily on financial support from Denmark. Many potential sources of income for Greenland have been identified, such as oil exploitation. Greenlandic politicians have decided to emphasize the development of tourism as a new, stable industry that can help the economy out of its dependence on shrimp.” [Christensen, 1992:62].

The First General Tourism Plan

In 1990, the Landsting (Greenland Parliament) approved the first general Tourism Development Plan (8), which concerned the period from 1991 to 2005. Based on an analysis of the tourism resources and the attractions of Greenland, the plan aimed for a total of 33,000 tourists in 2005, each spending 15,000 kr., leading to a total revenue of 500 million kr. per year and creating as many as 2,000 - 2,500 direct jobs, along with an additional 1,000 - 1,500 jobs in related businesses. The goal of this plan was essentially to make tourism into the main industry in Greenland, and thereby replace the income and jobs that were lost with the decline of the fishing industry. The idea was for the tourism sector to be profitable enough to survive without public subsidies [Master Plan, vol. II, 1991].

According to the plan, the archetypical tourist would belong to the ‘few but wealthy’ category, well disposed to spending, which was considered ideal given the vulnerability of the Arctic environment and the limited capacity of accommodation in local communities. Favourable factors for the increase of tourism were Greenland’s unique and unspoiled nature, the Arctic environment and Inuit culture. Among the weaker points were: the high level of investment costs and the inadequate transport conditions to and from Greenland, limited mobility and insufficient accommodation facilities, the extremely short tourist season and challenging weather conditions, the impression of the rest of the world that environmental protection in Greenland needs improvement, the lack of trained personnel and little awareness of tourism among the local population.

19 This provides practically all of its exports and most of its manufacturing industry. Moreover, 80% of the fishery is based on only one species (the deep sea shrimp Pandalus Borealis).
The report suggestedaiming towards solutions whichwould not require costly investments and infrastructure – “The key words are control, guidance and limitations, if tourism is not to create problems” [Master Plan 1.3.4.]. The plan, however, did not specify what the solutions might be, except for the fact that nature and wilderness are of strategic importance to tourism because they are precisely what tourists come to experience [Master Plan 1.3.4.]. Another impediment to the fulfilment of the plan would be the fact that traditional capital-intensive development models appear difficult to apply, as Greenland is subject to extreme and strict government regulation in many areas. What’s more, travelling and staying in Greenland is generally expensive compared to similar destinations.

Geographically speaking, tourism was to be spread across different regions, with 40% of guests in South Greenland (zone 2.), where there has been a long tradition of tourism, 30% in the Disko Bay area (zone 4.), where tourism was rapidly growing during the 1990s, 20% on the East Coast (zone 3.), which during the 1990s could boast the highest number of single-day tourists from Iceland, and 10% in Central Greenland (zone 1.), where the redevelopment of the decommissioned American military base in Søndre Stromfjord (Kangerlussuaq) was earmarked to become a conference and meeting centre that would also attract tourists. The development primarily focused on Denmark and Greenland as the main market for the future [Master Plan 4.4.3.2.].

According to the Greenland Tourism Development Plan of 1991, the area chosen for investigation, the Southern Zone, “is visited at present by under 2,000 tourists annually. This figure has not increased significantly in recent years” [Master Plan, 1991: 5.3].

The plan recognizes the value of South Greenland as a magnet for tourism, and sees the region as one of Greenland’s most important future tourist destinations. Nevertheless, the fact that it is located in ‘the South’ was seen as a major drawback instead of an advantage, as stated by the plan: “Due to the limited potential of hunting and because South Greenland is situatedoutside the dog sledging area, seasonal fluctuations will be more pronounced than in the other tourism zones” [Master Plan, 1991, 5.3.3].
A New Plan


The new plan still aimed for a total revenue from tourism of 500 million kr. by 2005, but now the total number of annual tourists necessary for generating such income was set at 61,000, instead of the previous 33,000. This would imply an annual growth rate of 16%, instead of the previous rate of 4% ["Mål og strategier", 1999, 91]. It would also require a diversification of the types of tourists that would be attracted. A major proportion of these tourists were intended to be MIC – meetings-incentives-conferences tourists (50,000 persons and a total of 262,500 nights spent in Greenland) – while the remaining 11,000 tourists were supposed to be ordinary tourists such as hikers, adventure tourists etc.

Even though the 1991 development plan was considered to require limited investments, it was followed by a massive public injection of money in the industry – especially in the public sector – and calculations in 1999 ["Mål og strategier", 1999] showed that, due to subsidies from the government, each position in the industry was supported with 225,000 kr. in annual subsidies, and on average each tourist was supported with approximately 2,000 kr. in subsidies. Instead of generating income in Greenland and helping to generate thriving private businesses, the tourist industry had become a government-supported and managed business!

Consequently, a crucial element in the new development plan was that the expansion should take place without new investments directly in the industry, and within the existing infrastructure. The increased number of tourists expected in 1997 was to be managed by a total of 220 full-time employees, and a total revenue of 130 million kr. was expected.

With the emphasis on MIC-tourists, the Open Water District and the Disko Bay region were considered to be the major players in the game, while the potentials of South Greenland were limited, partly due to problems with the infrastructure, and partly due to the absence of ‘traditional Greenlandic activities’ such as dog sledding.
The figures below give an idea of the development in tourism, seen from the perspective of a paper written in 1999 called "Mål og strategier" (i.e., Goals and Strategies). When looking at the figures for 1995 and 1997, it is important to keep in mind that these are estimates, based on the total number of nights spent in hotels in Greenland. The estimates are probably not conservative, so at the time, the tourist industry in Greenland was still relatively small. Even with these optimistic calculations, it only had relatively few visitors each year – and did not employ more than 220 people on a permanent basis, out of a total population of 56,000. Furthermore, as indicated above, the tourist industry did not generate any surplus to Greenland, but was basically dependent on substantial public transfers, i.e., subsidies [Mål og strategier, 1999].

### Number of tourists in Greenland

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<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Actual number of tourists</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>4,600</td>
<td>6,500</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>3,300</td>
<td>14,000</td>
<td>16,200</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planned number of tourists</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>33,000</td>
<td>61,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2005*: Development plan 1991  
2005**: Development plan 1996

### Brief History of the National Tourist Board of Greenland

Greenland Tourism (GT) was established in 1992 as the National Tourist Board of Greenland, comprising a number of regional satellite companies and dealing with tour operators, the cruise ship business, and the tourism sector in different areas of Greenland. The aim was to develop a viable tourism industry in Greenland. Simply said, the driving concept for creating a National Tourism Board was to encourage Greenlander companies to act as incoming companies and tour operators, and avoid them serving solely as subcontractors for companies from the outside, mainly from Denmark.
The Outfitters’ Programme

In 1994, the concept of “outfitters” was developed with the goal of encouraging locals to launch business operations. The idea behind this initiative was to give local hunters training in tourism-related areas, such as developing services, acquired a basic working knowledge of English, and enhancing their degree of professionalism when dealing with tourists.

The initiative was an attempt to soften the economic consequences throughout Greenland of the international ban on seal skin trading. Hunters are intimately familiar with Greenlandic wilderness, are skilled dog sledge and boat drivers, and are the traditional backbone of Inuit culture, which together with nature, are the chief elements of the tourist attraction.

The outfitter training was popular among more than just hunters. Participants soon included a wide range of individuals, including many foreign tour operators, as is the case among many foreign entrepreneurs in the Ilulissat area who are hostel owners and guides. In early 2004, licensing of the outfitters was discontinued. The word outfitter is still in use today, but the demand for education has shifted from a general course on tourism to a more specific demand for training in targeted activities, and consequently certifications are now internationally acknowledged, and the offers for training are wide-ranging, from trophy hunting and heli-skiing, to fishing and kayaking.

The Destinations

In 1997, Greenland Tourism, acting as a non-commercial marketing and development agency, had to admit that it had a miserable track record, especially in the cruise ship sector. It had chalked up major economic losses, prompting a debate about the future of the organization. Questions arose about the future of Greenland Tourism. Should it be a tourist board or also a tour operator? GT was now handling tourism marketing for the whole country, and at the same time helping the local tourist offices to develop new, innovative products. GT initiated local communities in the business of tourism, assisted local tour operators with marketing and other issues related to the development of tourism products, and helped these regions develop into destinations (Destination South Greenland, East Greenland, West Greenland, and Destination North Greenland) to promote tourism.

From 1997, GT assisted these regional tourist boards, called ‘destinations’, in creating the local infrastructures and improving local conditions, mainly dealing with
legislation and public investments linked to the development of tourism in Greenland. Another issue was the image of Greenland that had for a long time been promoted and consequently identified with only two elements: ice and dog sledging, which have been transformed over time into extremely powerful icons. Consequently, the regions below the so-called 'dog line'\textsuperscript{20} felt that they were at a distinct disadvantage.

The organization Sulisat acted as a consultant until 2005 and provided loans to business initiatives in Greenland, with the exception of activities relating to tourism. Then, in 2005, the company was divided into two segments, Greenland Venture (GV) and the Greenland Tourism and Business Council (GTBC). GV invests money in promising companies with a component of high risk, while GTBC focuses on land-based business and tourism.

As a government-owned agency providing consultancy to entrepreneurial self-starters and small companies focusing on tourism, GTBC aims to develop and promote Greenland as an adventure playground, recreational paradise and exclusive cruise destination through development, regional and national branding, and innovative product development. The strategy is to create and develop a brand encompassing Greenland as a whole and strengthen regional diversities, forging a synergy among the business sectors that enhances the overall image of Greenland as a destination, supports regional networks, uses knowledge and expertise to guide

\textsuperscript{20} The ‘dog line’ lies just south of Sisimiut, which marks the beginning of northern Greenland’s dog sledging area.
decision-makers in building an ideal legislative framework for tourism development, while ensuring optimal use of resources. (see: http://www.greenland.com/corporate).

**Future Plans**

A new strategy for tourism development is currently in place (2010). Until now, the target has been defined in geographical terms, marketing the product *Greenland* in accordance with the most common source regions for visitors, Denmark and Germany, followed by the UK, the US, Japan and the rest of the world. Instead of focusing on tourists’ origins, the new strategy now places greater emphasis on their interests. Every interest is divided into different life stages. This means that the promotional message for a specific interest will address the different age groups of potential visitors, resulting in a concept and a strategy for younger visitors, middle-aged visitors and older visitors.

A new website (http://www.greenland.com/) and a new brochure have been developed for the new image and marketing strategy, which creates a universe around the theme of Greenland. Keeping in mind that Greenland is not a mainstream destination, the concept stresses the above-mentioned aspects to produce a brand that appeals to tourists and focuses on elements such as identity and image. In this sense, the *pioneering spirit* of Greenland is emphasized with respect to all aspects, not least the process of gaining political and economic independence that Greenland is currently undergoing with the newly established self-government agreement [Interview, Anders laCour Vahl, Greenland Tourism and Business Council, 2010].

These elements, together with other distinctive features such as arts and crafts and food, play a key role in the ‘pioneering spirit’. This is reflected by the new website, where pictures and brief texts aim to transmit the message of the ‘pioneering spirit’, for instance a hiker on top of a rock\(^{21}\) with the accompanying text: “Greenland has attracted the most pioneering people for over 4,500 years”. This goes hand-in-hand with other elements that are given a new sense of importance. Food, which was never a distinctive part of the brand, and certainly not as prominent as icebergs, is now an essential part of the promotional message, i.e., where it comes from (hunting and fishing) and how is it prepared, so visitors can gain a comprehensive experience and are encouraged to try it\(^{22}\). A similar approach has been adopted for arts and crafts, adding significance to the concept of souvenirs, and

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\(^{21}\) The rock is a symbol in itself, having the profile of Knud Rasmussen (to be found in Nanortalik, South Greenland)

\(^{22}\) Visitors rarely have an opportunity to try local, traditional food. (See, for instance, case study 2.4.1.)
enriching the underlying meanings and spiritual connotations of objects that are primarily made of animal-derived products (fur, bone, ivory and antler). To make this new image of Greenland a reality, efforts have been made to understand and highlight the perceptions of outsiders and insiders. Essentially, the new approach endeavours to take the traditional picture of Greenland, as an idyllic destination with all the iconic elements of a magical and special island, and enhance this image with information that conveys it as a real and tangible place, where people are surrounded by the breathtaking beauty of pristine wilderness, yet live modern lives – just like the guests that travel there.23

The newly introduced target groups for tourists, divided into specific segments, prompt a key question: Why do people visit Greenland and what are their expectations? In other words, what do these people have in mind, instead of where are these people coming from. [Interview, Anders laCour Vahl, Greenland Tourism and Business Council, 2010].

Tourists seek adventure, beautiful wide-open landscapes and pristine wilderness and pure water – and they find it highly appealing that there is no private ownership of the land in Greenland and the island has virtually no roads. By highlighting these characteristics, the issue of hunting inevitably crops up, and so it is important to emphasize that this is an integral part of the culture (‘we hunt here, we want you to understand that’) and a sustainable activity.

The message is that the country that the visitor is experiencing is safe but rough, the weather is unpredictable and changeable, and there are seldom travel connections between destinations during the winter. These are elements of ordinary everyday life that are usually not developed when promoting a tourist destination, but here they are used as a strong component of the message.

The attention of potential tourists is not directed only towards the enchanting nature of the landscape, and of the opportunities to enjoy and relax, but also towards how visitors perceive the inhabitants. Inuit and the Arctic are very static icons, crystallized in the minds of outsiders. The image currently promoted by Greenland Tourism is of Inuit living in a modern world, yet strongly rooted in their culture.

23 Hindrances, such as ‘bad’ weather conditions, delays in flight connections, and cell phones that in some places cannot receive a signal, have been overcome, turning these impediments into something special that can occur in a special place.
This reflects a modern country. Moreover, emphasis is now placed on the special-
ties that each region has to offer in terms of products and experiences, avoiding the
mistakes of the past, where only individual elements were promoted, like icebergs
and sledging, which are not found all over Greenland.

According to the strategy of Greenland Tourism and Business Council (GTBC),
tourism offers that focus on the country’s main products – adventure and cruises –
will be divided into different segments: one for young, active people; one for
young families with children; one for older individuals looking for a more relaxing
experience.

The offers will range from challenging hiking trips to more leisurely quiet walks, such
as travelling on foot from farm to farm in South Greenland. For young families with
children, offers may focus on areas with Norse ruins, while older visitors may be
more attracted to the Ilulissat Ice Fjord.

Cruise tourists will be able to choose between small and large vessels. Small ships
range from 50 to 200 passengers and visit distant, remote places like Qaanaaq in
the north or Ittoqqortoormiit on Greenland’s north-eastern coast. Cruise ship visitors
ages 55+ may prefer the type of travel on board bigger vessels (200 to 800
passengers) that sail along the coast. Such trips can be booked with big tour opera-
tors, like Hurtigruten and Hapag Lloyd. These two firms offer onboard lectures about
Greenland and passengers are quite well informed when they come ashore about
the place that they are visiting.\textsuperscript{24} The main idea of GTBC’s approach is to attract
visitors, time and again, according to their stage in life.

\textsuperscript{24} This is in contrast to transatlantic cruise passengers (ranging from 1,200 to 3,000 passengers of
different ages), who have access to only limited information on board about the places that they
are going to visit (interview, Anders la Cour Vahl, 2010).
1.3. Projections, Images and Perceptions of an Arctic Destination

The purpose of this section is to create a framework for understanding the perception that tourists have when visiting a place, the image that tourists have of their visit, the projections that tourists make of their holiday destinations, and what kinds of impressions they bring back home once the holiday has ended.

A destination’s image is also related to the local people, the hosts, who also have perceptions about their surroundings and the people visiting their region.

How is an image formed? How has this image developed over centuries and throughout history? How can the image of a destination be used to represent it, for marketing strategies and promotional materials used by tourist organizations? How is the image of a destination influenced by the different perceptions of hosts and guests?

These questions are part of a survey of the profiles of tourists visiting an Arctic destination and, of the perception that the local population, the host community, has of visitors. The survey was conducted in different years in Tasiilaq / Ammassalik on the East Coast of Greenland, and is part of case study 4.

The Attraction

The images that tourists have are the result of a complex mental elaboration, and their perception of space is a construction, a projection of desires (Guichonnet, 1990). In fact, a landscape, a natural place, cannot, in and of itself, be the reason for tourism; one must recognize its “evocative power”, that is its capacity for arousing the interest of an individual or a group. The geographical context does not determine the touristic possibilities of a place: it is not the place itself that counts, but rather its projection.

One of the principal factors is the regard [Cazes, 1992], the way of looking. If one more closely examines an attraction, its qualities, which at first often seem inherent, appear mainly related to how this particular place is regarded. To be a tourism attraction, a site has to be, in the eyes of visitors, special and extraordinary.

A tourism destination is an image gradually forged by tourists and tour operators. This tourist image is moulded by advertising, by the advertisements that create it, but also by the aspiring holidaymaker who dreams about it. The place where the
tourists want to spend their holidays is not imagined in the rain or in other not entirely pleasant situations. The photographs of catalogues and the tourists’ own photographs carefully hide anything that detracts from the image, already formed before departing on a journey [Miossec, 1977].

It is to this dream image, reflected by brochures and guides, that the tourist yearns to travel to, once he has grasped the essential ‘form’ of the message. It is the Überraschungswert, the value of surprise, afforded by the originality of the setting but also by the comprehensibility of the image, that attracts the tourist. This message should be neither too banal – and thus boring – nor too original and thus incomprehensible [Miossec, 1977]. Such a message adds supplementary symbols that can heighten the pleasure of perceiving a landscape, and that need to reassure the tourist that he is in an exotic world that is not yet known, but nevertheless already imagined.

These symbolic elements are used, with the aim of promoting tourism, to forge an image that serves to affirm, identify and mythicize a destination.

The Image in Advertising

The advertising image has the job of synthesizing and emblematizing, of bringing out the value of the site, evoking its Hauts Lieux (icebergs, midnight sun, pack ice, etc.), yet at the same time this type of image is reduced and fossilized to an artificial view [Cazes, 1992]. An analysis of promotional materials reveals that images and texts contain all the elements of rhetoric that are normally found in advertising (André, 1992), and that can be briefly summarized as follows:

• The catch-phrase – a word or brief phrase that immediately grabs one’s attention and that is easily remembered
• The image – the heart of the message and the key element to identify and interpret the symbols that underscore the myths (vastness, purity, power of nature)
• The text – emphasizes the symbolic messages evoked by the image, integrates with words what the image has offered to the sense of sight
• The logo – to be found on all advertising messages of the same type

An analysis of the image and the message is essential given its capacity for summarizing the symbols, landscape and cultural markers of a destination as one of the Hauts Lieux, i.e., celebrated places.
These photos, which reflect two different realities, provide an example of how advertising contributes to the process of establishing images.

The above image is of Tasiilaq (East Greenland) as it is in reality.

The image on the opposite page is of Tasiilaq modified for marketing purposes. This is a collage of real images: tourist symbols of Iceland (geysers, puffins, bubbling streams, amid verdant vegetation) are imposed upon a Greenlandic scene, probably to make it more attractive than the bare mountains, almost without snow, brown arid soil and the sea with just a few small icebergs.

It seems that for the tourist purposes it does not matter if there are two different landscapes merged into one, falsifying the “real” landscape.

The advertiser’s aim is to present the potential Arctic tourist with a preformed image of all the beautiful Nordic sights he could expect to find. Tour operators send visitors throughout the Arctic, maintaining and nourishing an image in which fascination wins the day and icebergs, ice cap, midnight sun and aurora borealis are the *Haut Lieux* – the celebrated places, the sacred places.

These are the ingredients of the reproduction of the Arctic.
The images accumulated before setting off, on a journey or a holiday, be they conscious or subliminal, function as a filter. Once the tourist has arrived, he looks for the same images that he has seen in the brochure, to reproduce them. His journey, his holiday, becomes the process of recognizing the landscapes that he has already discovered through photos, television, and advertisements.

The tourist seeks the appearance more than the substance, it is the space (the place) that must be adapted to the sought-after aim, under the influence of the mythology of the destination, the scenario that creates the image that is dreamed about and expected. The image can acquire such symbolic strength that it becomes the major marker both for potential tourists and for operators: to conform to these models, implicit but powerful, the tourist space is “produced and reproduced”, uniformed and standardized [Cazes, 1992]. It becomes a stereotype.

The image and the representation become real with the tourist’s experience, with the appropriation of his own personal view and that of the camera, of that landscape which, having already been represented in his mind, is now reproduced on the spot. He seeks these images and these settings, reconstructing his mental map in a continuous reproduction. A destination’s image is thus forged from the projections that are the fruit of the tourist’s aspirations and desires.
From the Sacred to the Profane

A series of symbolic elements can be identified, genuine *Hauts Lieux* – celebrated, sacred places – which, thanks to their power as landscapes and cultural markers, play a significant role in the recognition of the imagined destination. Places with a high imageability, i.e., evoking strong images in observers, take precedence in the tourist’s selection of attractions. To speak of projections is also to draw attention to the “founder myths” that produce and invent a whole series of natural and cultural *Hauts Lieux*, and impart a new sense to the region (Cazes, 1992). This involves the construction of a mythological identification based on stereotypes that are destined to characterize the image of a place over a long period of time.

Perceptions of the Arctic through the Ages

The Arctic, the extreme north of the world, has always been present in the Western imagination. In ancient Greece, the Arctic was considered a place of peace and happiness, a symbol of integrity, the probable seat of Paradise. This image persisted despite the tales of travellers and explorers who emphasized the cold, the ice, the polar night. In the legends of Greek and Latin geography, as we read in Pliny (IV, 26), Pomponius Mela (III, 1, § 5) and in Herodotus (IV, 45), at the northern borders of the world “the year is composed of six months of day and six months of night”, “for eight moons it is unbearably cold”, where “the men of the extreme North sleep for six months”. Nevertheless, it is still a place of purity, a symbolic universe, an intellectual construction: an immaculate world, wild and immense, inhabited by the peoples of the extreme North. Indeed, over the years, many fabulous traditions, remembered and embellished by poets, were collected about the people who lived far north of Greece (Faustini, 1912)\textsuperscript{25}.

For classical antiquity there existed in fact “a North”, a geographical place beyond the last stretch of land, which although unknown, was at least denominated. A paradisiacal land situated in the sea free of ice: the extreme North, a virginal land uniformly white.

\textsuperscript{25} To this can be added the legends of the Arab geographers, for whom the northernmost countries of Asia, Gog and Magog are buried under snow, inhabited by savage peoples, surrounded by a murky sea, and continuously wrapped in darkness.
According to Plato it is in the North that the soul rises; for Homer “Boreas” is the wind that generates, leads, carries the soul. The god of the North is the most beautiful and the most mysterious of Greek mythology: Apollo, god of the spirit, master of harmony in the world.

Genesis speaks of the division between man and nature, and Mercator in 1595 represents the North Pole as *rupes nigra et altissima* (black elevated rock) from which the four rivers of paradise branch out, in accordance with Genesis. Furthermore, the Bible, which contains numerous references to the North (Lev.1,11; Ezec.8,5), was read on board ships, and it inspired and upheld the spirits of countless explorers.
The Arctic is described, celebrated in fables, as the lost Eden and the aspiration is to rediscover the state of grace with God, in a world which could be paradisiacal (Navet, 1992).

In the Judaic-Christian tradition the Great North was, according to a mythical-poetical and sacred representation of common beliefs, the mystical place where the impossible could come into being, the place and moment of the Genesis and the Parousia (Bogliolo Bruna, 1992:393).

The North is regarded as a border to another world, a threshold.

It is impossible to return to the myths that lay at the foundation of so many civilizations, to remember here all the fascinating and precious lore passed on to us by the chronicles of old with their fantastic descriptions of terrae incognitae, unknown lands populated by monsters, a visible sign of extreme otherness, of a place beyond our ken, laden with symbols not yet deciphered. After Pytheas27 arrived in the land of Thule, the mythical Ultima Thule, which means the end of the world, where sunrise rapidly follows sunset, the Scandinavian peoples on one side and the inhabitants of the Far East on the other, they all ventured towards the ice (George, 1954).

This was followed by succession of enterprises: to reach the Arctic not as a destination in itself but as a path of transit. The exploration and the conquest of the North Pole enriched our geographical knowledge of these regions and thus the fantasies of classical antiquity and the Middle Ages28 give way to precise, documented scientific knowledge29.

The visual knowledge of this virginal space is accompanied by the desire to appropriate this mythical and providential other place (Bogliolo Bruna, 1992).

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27 Pytheas of Massalia (4th century BC), was a Greek geographer. He made a voyage of exploration to north-western Europe at about 325 BC. Pytheas is the first person on record to describe the Midnight Sun and polar ice. He introduced the idea of distant Thule to the geographic imagination.

28 Period in which a scientific approach to geography disappeared, leaving only copies of the ancient texts of Pliny, Strabone, etc.

29 There is, however, no lack of exceptions. Dutch and English explorers looking for the Passage are led astray by the inaccuracies of the maps (the sea is too open in Mercator’s map (1595), inspired by Zeno’s map of the North), such as Heberstein’s (1549), which places Asia exactly to the east of the North Cape. Kane (“Arctic Explorations”, 1876), having set out in search of Franklin, believed that there was open sea at the North Pole, a hypothesis strengthened also by the thesis of Julius Perth and Augustus Petermann. Hayes, after his second expedition, affirms in his book “The Open Sea” (1876) that he had seen the shore and set up the American flag there (Rey, 1974; Mueller, 1977; Malaurie, 1990). This is the myth, ancient but still present, of the boreal sea free of ice.
A Rising Interest in the Arctic

European interest in the Polar Regions intensified in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, stimulated by the desire to find a passage to the Orient and access the riches of Cathay, to exploit a direct route to the Far East via the Arctic. These expeditions had practical, scientific, strategic and commercial purposes. For centuries, the discovery of a commercially viable Northwest Passage had been the goal of most Arctic explorers, yet the enigmatic Arctic lured explorers seeking answers to mysteries, and it represented a challenge to the human spirit. It carried Western man’s faith in his power to prevail over nature (Loomis, 1977, Sugden 1982; Osherenko & Young, 1989).

These centuries can be described as the era of world maps and atlases (Jacob- sen 1997). The development of a new global map (the atlas) helped to change the prevailing perception of the world. In earlier medieval maps, the world was constructed spatially around Jerusalem. With the introduction of new map systems, the centre of the world had shifted.

This suggests that certain places were looked upon and understood from new perspectives. The period of exploration was also the period of the rise of the Eurocentric world. The Eurocentric view was probably strengthened by Mercator’s projection (1569), which heightened interest in the poles due to the representational size of the Polar Regions (Jacobsen, 1997: 345). This also implies that the image of the North is to a large extent determined by the visitors from the South.

During the 16th and 17th centuries, explorers and chroniclers provided images of the Arctic that would impress later writers with a sense that nature was somehow vaster in the Arctic, more mysterious, and more terrible than elsewhere on the globe – a region in which natural phenomena could take on strange, almost supernatural forms, sometimes stunningly beautiful, sometimes terrifying, often both (Loomis, 1977:96). But even when the explorers evoked the strangeness of the Arctic, they were more concerned with seamanship and profits than with sublimity. John White, a member of Martin Frobisher’s second Arctic expedition in 1557, reduced the magnificent and impressive landscape on the south coast of Frobisher Bay to a few dwarfed hillocks and showed no glacier or bergs (Hope Nicolson, 1959).
The Arctic Stereotype

Western imagination, at the end of the 16th century, fossilizes the stereotype of the Arctic as a mysterious place, inhabited by the Leviathan of the seas, the whale, the horror of the ice, the terror of the polar night.

References to the Arctic in 18th century literature, although infrequent, show the effect of the growing interest in the Sublime. The elation of travellers who find “worlds that puzzle, amaze, astound, enthral by their very differences from our own world” (Hope Nicolson, 1959:32) is evident in the prose and poetry of the period, where Arctic images are invoked to incite the reader’s awe at the vastness of creation (Loomis, 1977:97). The elevation of the Arctic as an attraction was enhanced by famous visitors: from kings, princesses and emperors to painters and explorers.

During the 19th century, narratives about Arctic explorations became very popular and had an electrifying effect on the public imagination. Elegant books embellished with engravings and sketches portrayed the Arctic in various moods and helped to create a popular image of the Arctic. Concern for national prestige was only one of the fascinations of Arctic exploration; it was also the image of the Arctic environment itself that takes its place in the minds of most 19th century armchair travellers and within that environment assumes an almost allegorical significance (Loomis, 1977).

The supposed lifelessness in the Arctic began to fascinate the public. As explorers often pointed out, parts of the Arctic nourish much fauna, its seas are rich with living creatures, and Eskimos inhabit its southern regions, but these facts were conveniently ignored in favour of the image of a region devoid of life. It was a world of phenomena that created weird visual effects: the parhelia (mock suns), the aurora borealis; it was a world made unstable by the movement of sea ice in all its different forms, the terror of pack and floe. For explorers and scientists, it was all natural and therefore subject to scientific explanations, for readers with a more romantic imagination, the Arctic became almost unearthly in its sublimity (Loomis, 1977:102).

The Franklin expedition is a good example of the power of the Sublime, particularly with regard to these places. Western people shared England’s emotional involvement with the Franklin tragedy. During the first five or six years of the fruitless search for Sir John Franklin and his crew, however, the Arctic was still seen as sublime, even if its daunting nature became too real for comfort for the many ill-fated would-be rescue parties. The imagined Arctic was a place of terror, but even in its terror it was beautiful in the sublime way that immense mountains or the vast reaches of
space are beautiful. Like the sublimity of the Alps, the sublimity of the Arctic partly depended on its imagined emptiness as well as its vastness and coldness. It was imagined to be not only inhuman but even inorganic, and that was part of its beauty, terror, fascination, and challenge (Loomis, 1977:110). The fascination of the frozen North is inexhaustible, as Firth Scott noted in 1899. “In all the range of romantic adventure, there is perhaps none which appeals so strongly to the imagination as the search for the North Pole...” The tales of fearless explorers who have faced the terrors and the mystery of the frozen North are without rival (Firth Scott, 1899:13).

The Arctic Sublime

“The Holy Grail is the myth sought on the journey, and the success of a holiday is proportionate to the degree that the myth is realized”. (Nelson Graburn, 1989: 33)

Today, the Arctic retains something of its sublimity in the imaginations of many people, and the “sublime” cannot be mapped (Loomis, 1977:112), even if the Arctic has been explored and studied, and its geographical features have been domesticated with names, it remains a popular setting for science-fiction romances and adventure stories. It is with the film “Nanook of the North” by Robert Flaherty (1922) that the public discovered not only a society that had eeked out a living on the fringes of the Western world, but also the beauty of the northern landscape, until then only imagined through illustrations and paintings.

The revival of the sublime Arctic is evident also in picture books saturated with Arctic light, ice, and animals, as well as in magazines promoting new destinations, tourism or wilderness conservation. There has been an enormous outpouring of books, articles, films and television programmes all portraying the “Arctic sublime” (Osherenko & Young, 1989).

The Current Image of the Arctic

The mythical Arctic, the sublime Arctic, has now given way to a projection more suitable to the demands of its present users who are no longer armchair travellers. It is a projection appropriated by active users who participate in person, not just enjoying their journeys sitting in a room, their imagination inspired by books and summaries. Instead, their experience is enriched by going one step further. After
having dreamt over books, films and the tales of friends, with a very precise image in mind, they travel to the place and breathe life into their myth, giving substance to their dream, to their mental projection.

Today, the attraction of the Arctic relates to the physical and mental challenge, to the perception of something to be conquered, and in a way we are experiencing a revival of the 19th century vision of the “Arctic sublime”, of an Arctic at once beautiful and terrifying, awesome and exotic, a world apart, a romantic, last frontier. While the heroes, like Nansen, Peary, Amundsen and others have passed into history, the images set forth in their journals long remain to inspire us (Osherenko & Young, 1989). Even more significant than whales, seals, and bears is the landscape they inhabit – a landscape that has become a powerful symbol. The recent increase in tourism, and general interest in mythical places such the Arctic, can be partly explained as a postmodern re-enchantment of the world (Jacobsen, 1997).

This mythology of the Arctic and of the North makes the Arctic region a highly attractive place to visit, exotic in view of its fascinating landscapes of tundra, icebergs, huge fjords, its ice cap and its remarkable animals such as polar bears, musk-ox and whales, and an increasing number of tourists are seeking to visit these remote regions to experience their impressive natural beauty.

The main motivation of tourists in the Arctic nowadays is still the wildness of the landscapes, its vast and as yet unspoilt regions, and its mysterious character. Tourists want to see the midnight sun and momentarily experience the geographic conditions on the “last frontier”.

Another motivation is adventure. Some travellers need greater distances, extreme sensations, and the experience of surpassing their own previous achievements – to climb glaciers and hike where (they hope) other humans have not left a mark. They travel to the most remote and untouched places where their activities, however limited, may disturb wildlife. The lure of adventure has been emphasized by sports-orientated expeditions, popularized by the media30.

Another trend reflects the growing public awareness of the fragility of the environment and the development of green tourism. Tourists feel concerned about nature conservation and want to experience for themselves the few places that are not yet polluted. Osherenko and Young (1989) argue that the myth of pristine wildernesses

30 This yearning to go where only explorers have been before can be seen as a snobbish attitude, following the fashion or the demands of (pseudo) eco-tourism.
in the Arctic is rapidly vanishing as environmental interest groups focus attention on increasing pollution, habitat disturbance, and destruction of wildlife in the Far North.

The image of the polar wilderness is a cultural construction and this perception of the Arctic as being a virtually undeveloped area makes it attractive for those in search of “nature”. The mystic symbolism of the polar environment allows individuals to contemplate the wider universe (Sugden, 1989). This is akin to a feeling of purity (Viken, 1993), which is an important component of the tourists’ Arctic image.

The Arctic is also attractive because of its relatively unknown native inhabitants. Visitors wish to meet the Inuit and discover their culture, folklore and way of life. “Despite the common desire of the tourists “to see how Eskimos really live” few have face-to-face interaction with Eskimos aside from the few natives hired to serve and entertain them, and then only in passing” (Smith, 1989:60).

The tourist experience is not just related to an impression of the place as the end of the (European) world; Arctic places can offer both a sacred site and a sacred sight, for instance a view of something very special, the midnight sun, a phenomenon that seems to underline a cosmic impression of the site. Lynch (1972) suggests that a desirable image is one that celebrates and enlarges the present while making connections with past and future. The feeling one gets from seeing the midnight sun seems to be stronger than that of a sunset (Jacobsen, 1997).
1.4. Methodology

On Methodology

The research focuses on tourism, on peripheral places, and on the available options for development in remote areas in Greenland.

The main purpose of this study is to examine aspects and characteristics of tourism in different areas of Greenland, and to highlight different forms of tourism development, according to the individual characteristics and changing circumstances of each region and community.

Data were collected using qualitative methods, with the aim of obtaining in-depth insights based on a relatively small number of respondents and observations.

Qualitative research is suitable for situations where little is known about the issue to be analysed, and where there is intensive and/or prolonged contact with the field. Qualitative is inductive and can be considered as intuitive in nature, but it is also paves the way for generating models and hypotheses. Such interpretative research adopts a more inductive approach to data collection, endeavouring to assess the points of view of the people being studied; it relies to a greater degree on their own explanations of their situation or behaviour (Finn et al., 2000; Veal, 2006).

“Qualitative research is difficult to define clearly, it has no theory or paradigm that is distinctively its own, nor does qualitative research have a distinct set of methods and practices. Qualitative researchers use semiotics, narrative, content, discourse, archival analysis, even statistics, graphs and numbers, survey research and participant observation, all research practices that can provide important insight and knowledge.” (Neslon et al., 1992:2).

Qualitative and quantitative approaches differ mainly in terms of the methods of data collection and the amount of data analysed. They may be complementary, each adding insights to the overall picture, and developing a more complete understanding.

Quantitative research is mainly based on collecting data and conducting analyses using statistical techniques, and it tends to obtain a relatively small amount of information on a large number of respondents (Weaver and Lawton, 2002). Quantitative research can reach large numbers of people by oversimplifying reality, whereas...
qualitative research deals with the complexity of reality but with more limited numbers. Quantitative research can explore large-scale macro structures whereas qualitative research focuses on small-scale micro aspects and/or prolonged contact with the field (Finn et al., 2000).

Combining methods, both qualitative and quantitative – for example, by using a questionnaire survey and published statistics or mixing observations with in-depth interviewing – makes it possible to maximize the strengths and minimize the weaknesses of each method. (Cf. Finn et al, 2000: 8-9).

The Survey

Surveys can be effective means of collecting data needed to research and evaluate. Literature provides guidance for constructing a questionnaire and developing procedures to administer it in order to achieve valid and reliable results31. Surveys require a sample of respondents who have been previously determined as relevant to the research. Using the same questions for the selected sample of respondents makes it possible to compare individuals in the sample. Data may be collected through an interviewer-administered questionnaire or a self-completed questionnaire. Surveys have the chief advantage of collecting a large quantity of information in a relatively short period of time (Finn et al: 5).

For the purpose of the research:

• A basic questionnaire has been prepared to facilitate the comparison of the data of the different interviews conducted among the local population

• One-to-one extensive interviews have been conducted, which is considered the best opportunity for qualitative information: these interactions make it possible to gather comprehensive knowledge about opinions, hopes, obstacles and failures

• The relatively small communities make it possible to conduct extensive investigations using questionnaires and face-to-face interviews

31 Diem K.G. (2002:1) “The challenge is to design a survey that accomplishes its purpose and avoids the following common errors: How representative is the group? (Sampling error); How accurate is the list from which respondents are drawn? (Frame error); Does everyone have an equal chance of being selected to respond? (Selection error); is the questionnaire valid and reliable? (Measurement error)”.
The questionnaire focused on the need-to-know questions, minimising the nice-to-know information; in this questionnaire, extra space was provided, giving respondents an opportunity to comment on the individual questions of the survey.

Double-barrelled questions were avoided because they might confuse respondents and lead them to feel uncertain about how to respond. By the same token, open-ended questions were minimized and emphasis was placed instead on personal, direct and brief face-to-face interviews, using plain language.

Aside from basic questions (what do I need to know, why do I need to know it, and what will happen as a result of this questionnaire) it is important to determine the appropriate population (groups of people) that is going to be questioned\textsuperscript{32}.

A survey requires a sample group of respondents, previously determined as relevant to the research. For each of the case studies a significant sample has been identified: sheep farmers, hunters, fishermen and tourists. In addition to the sample population, a number of individuals were interviewed: representatives of institutions or companies, relevant experts, locally based tour operators and informed people. The aim here was to obtain a general overview of the area, the economic and socio-cultural realities, and the region's future development, including tourism.

The Topics

The following issues have been investigated in each research area:

- \textit{Existing and potential conditions for developing tourism activities}
- \textit{Involving the local population in developing tourism}
- \textit{Tourism as a means of developing communities}
- \textit{The type of tourism development envisaged}
- \textit{Potential and drawbacks: landscape attractions, culture, necessary skills, accessibility, seasonality and costs}
- \textit{Local institutional interest in contributing to community development}
- \textit{Existing or potential conditions for developing local initiatives related to tourism}

\textsuperscript{32} A population is the complete set of subjects that can be studied. A sample is a subset of subjects that can be studied to make the evaluation/research project more manageable. In applied social research there may be circumstances where it is not feasible, practical or theoretically rational to do random sampling (Torchim, 2002). This was the case and a non-probability sampling was adopted.
• **Local involvement in the settlements**
• **Strategies for tourism as a motor for growth**

The first part of the research work was devoted to collecting information and building up a catalogue of tourism attractions and potential areas for growth in the region.

The second part focused on interviews with the local population. In this phase, special attention was given to the requirements and expectations of the local population and local institutions.

Working together with local communities made it possible to gain comprehensive knowledge about what local communities expect from tourism development. Analyzing the data from the interviews and questionnaires made it possible to paint a complete picture of the tourism situation at a given point in time and report on the dynamics of tourism development at the community level.

**On Case Studies**

Each case study consisted of a first part devoted to collecting information during fieldwork and developing a catalogue of attractions and potential areas of development in the region, and a second part featuring interviews with local residents, paying special attention to their requirements and expectations. The core of the research focuses on the different ideas expressed by the community about what tourism should be, its pace of development, and possible future benefits for the local population.

• **The questionnaire retained the same basic structure but was modified for each case study according to the individual characteristics of each location, the target community and the type of tourism under development**
• **The order of the questions varied for each case study**
• **The field work which took place in the sheep farming region in South Greenland had a set of questions specific to the farm, its size, the flock and related activities**
• **In the fishing communities of North-West Greenland additional questions focused on activities relating to fishing**
• **The same holds true for the hunting communities of the Far North and East Greenland, where the primary activity is hunting**
• The questionnaire for tourists (to create a profile of tourists visiting an Arctic destination) has been specifically prepared for the target group. The two sets of interviews were conducted with a considerable time interval and contain basically the same questions in order to compare the answers that were given at two different points in time.

• The same holds true for the questionnaire used for the local population regarding their perceptions of tourism and tourists; the questionnaire used was basically identical at two different points in time.

• Each of the case studies contains a brief description of the methodology adapted to the specific case object of fieldwork.

The questionnaire was divided into different sections, the first one concerning personal information, i.e. name, age, and occupation, and the accessibility, benefits and personal opinions of governmental support, followed by a section about the place and occupational activities.

A number of specific questions, which varied according to the area and its occupational activities, were included in the questionnaire. For instance, the questionnaire submitted to the farmers aimed at providing a comprehensive picture of the farming operation; hence it contained questions about farms, flocks, the slaughtering of animals and market destinations for meat and skins, whereas the questionnaire used for the fishermen and hunters in North-West Greenland had a special section for outfitters, who were quite numerous in the area. At that time, more than half of them (14 out of a total of 23 in Greenland) were concentrated in the area between Sisimiut and Uummannaq, so the questionnaire focused on their decision to become outfitters and the reasons behind that decision along with their level of involvement and expected benefits.

A section was also devoted to tourist activities. This examined the available facilities and leisure activities offered as well as prices and seasonality. It also contained questions for those already involved in tourism to find out the reasons for their involvement, the structure of the activity, i.e., the number of individuals involved and the types of offers, types of tourists, conflicts and economic benefits.

The role of the tourist organization Greenland Tourism and of local tourist offices was investigated to pinpoint any weaknesses and the level of satisfaction, for example, with the consulting and skills enhancement initiatives offered by these institutions.
Furthermore, an analysis was conducted of the existence of contacts with outside tour operators and direct contacts with tourists.

A number of questions provided a picture about the direct sale of products and handmade souvenirs.

Another section focused on people wishing to start or expand tourist activities, and seeking ideas for new initiatives. This highlighted their motivations and level of commitment and the possible need for help in the form of courses, advertising and/or improved infrastructure.

The final section of the questionnaire aimed to create a more general understanding of opinions about the hypothetical or perceived negative effects of tourism.

Questions about limiting or extending the tourist season were then asked to see if there existed suitable offers or ideas for attracting tourists during the off-season. This included questions about the willingness to find new seasons for tourism and activities to determine if, in the opinion of the interviewees, the increasing number of tourists, and extending the season, could reach the perceived limits of the carrying capacity, especially the environmental and cultural capacity.

Opinions and perceptions about tourism and tourists were surveyed in the last section of the questionnaire. Questions were asked concerning why tourists should come and visit a particular destination. Respondents were subsequently asked to describe the local landscape to find out how the local population perceived their own surroundings. This was followed by questions about the perceived conflicts between hosts and guests to determine if tourists’ behaviour has interfered with working activities, intruded into people’s private spheres and reflected a lack of respect toward the local population. The set of questions pertaining to how tourism and tourists are perceived aimed to find out if the host population saw conflicts in host-guest relations. Tourists usually visit Greenland during the summer, which is also the peak season for farming activities, and this can lead to unpleasant situations or reactions. The last question focused on what tourism can bring in a broad sense, from jobs and money to a loss of identity and very different ways of life.
2. Case Studies

2.1. Case Study: Tourism and Sheep Farming in the South of Greenland

Fieldwork took place during June and July 2001

Description of the Area
The area under investigation is the South of Greenland, which is the most diverse region in Greenland. Within relatively short distances it is possible to find sheep farms, hunting and fishing settlements, and bustling towns primarily reliant upon fisheries and administrative and educational institutions. The region comprises the towns of Qaqortoq (3,114 inhabitants), which is considered to be the hub of South Greenland, and is home to the Kalaallit Nunaata Ammerivia tannery – one of the mainstays of the local economy. Narsaq (1,728 inhabitants) has a shrimp and fish processing plant, as well as a slaughterhouse and meat processing plant for sheep and reindeer meat. In addition, the town has a vocational training school for the food and hotel industry.

Nanortalik (1,506 inhabitants) is the southernmost town in Greenland. Narsarsuaq, the international airport, has a population of approx. 190 people. The three towns on the coast are serviced by helicopter from the airport in Narsarsuaq; KNI has a fleet of local ships that sail from Narsarsuaq to Nanortalik, serving all towns and several of the villages.
Furthermore, there are two villages with significant tourism activities: Igaliku (43 inhabitants) and Qassiarsuk (52 inhabitants) [Statistics Greenland, 2001], both of which were established as sheep farmer villages during the 20th century and are built at the site of major Norse ruins.

The villages of Igaliku and Qassiarsuk are regular serviced by KNI ships. The settlement of Tasiusaq can be reached by car from Qassiarsuk and Igaliku Kujalleq by boat from Igaliku. Other farms are scattered across the entire area, and there are considerable walking distances between them. Farmers typically use cars, tractors, snowmobiles and horses for transport; during the summer, tourists usually explore the area on foot.

Sheep Farming in South Greenland, a Brief History

After the Norse period breeding and agricultural activities began again in 1780, when a Norwegian cattle farmer, Anders Olsen, his Greenlandic wife Tupaarna and their children settled in Igaliku. This small community was sustained by cattle and goats livestock, fishing, hunting and horticultural activities.

Commercial sheep farming activities date back to the early 1900s and were introduced as an attempt to create new livelihoods for the local population. After a long period of cool temperatures, the climate began to warm up in the late 1800s, and the seals that the people had depended on moved north along the coast to colder waters.

The Danish Government wanted to create new economic opportunities for the South Greenlanders and asked the Greenlandic clergyman Jens Chemnitz to try his hand at developing sheep farming. Chemnitz, who is considered the founder of commercial agriculture in the region, began raising sheep in Frederiksdal (Narsarmiit) in 1906 with a flock from the Faeroe Islands. Shortly thereafter, other sheep farms were started in Igaliku and Julianehåb (now more commonly known by its Greenlandic name, Qaqortoq) as a supplement to traditional fishing and hunting activities.

33 The Norse, arriving from Iceland, where the first sheep farmers here. They settled in Greenland in the late 10th century, creating a society based on agriculture, fishing and hunting. During the Middle Ages many settlements were established along the coasts of South and West Greenland. During the 14th and 15th centuries, Norse society declined and eventually disappeared altogether, for reasons which still remain unclear.

34 “Many of the farmers in South Greenland are direct descendants of Anders and Tupaarna” as observed by Kenneth Høegh from the Agricultural Advisory Service in Greenland.
The Danish colonial administration imported a flock of Icelandic sheep and established an agricultural station in Julianehåb (Qaqortoq) in 1915. A major turning point came in 1924 with the establishment of the first full-time commercial sheep farm in Qassiarsuk by Otto Frederiksen, who borrowed 145 sheep from the authorities in Julianehåb. During the same period, other farms were established in Qassiarsuk, which was the first Greenlandic community based primarily on sheep farming. In 1935, Qassiarsuk and Igaliku were the largest sheep-farming settlements, while several smaller settlements were created where good locations for sheep forage existed. Sheep farming as a main occupation grew progressively, new farms were established in the fjords of South Greenland, and agriculture became an important livelihood in the three southern districts of Narsaq, Qaqortoq and Nanortalik [Høegh 2001].

“In order to expand sheep farming in South Greenland, a system of lending out ewes and rams was started, whereby anyone interested in farming could receive some sheep, and repay the loan when their own flock grew in numbers” [Rasmussen, 2000:119]. During the 1970s, more than 500 people were engaged in sheep farming, but this number decreased drastically that decade due to severe economic and environmental problems. Acquiring sufficient fodder during the winter was one of the main stumbling blocks for the industry, and importing hay and other types of feed from Denmark proved a very costly solution to the problem. Furthermore, environmental problems increased dramatically due to over-grazing in the core region, leaving many sheep farmers with no alternative but to give up their farms, move to town, and change occupations, often becoming a worker in the fish factories.

With the advent of Home Rule in 1979, a new situation arose. One of the central tenets of the policies of the newly established Home Rule was to reverse the trend towards centralization that had been pursued by the Danes during the 1950s and 1960s. This was done by proclaiming that the villages would form the backbone of Greenlandic society, just as renewable resources – hunting, sheep farming and fisheries – were recognized as the backbone of the economy [Landsplanredegørelsen, 1994]. Consequently, during the early 1980s, the Home Rule Government initiated and financed a reorganization of the farming system to enhance the stability of this sector. This included the building of stables, cultivation of fields for winter fodder production, establishing the necessary infrastructure, etc. These measures have meant

35 A few years later, the debt was paid off and the farmstead expanded; in 1935 it consisted of 300 sheep, 2 cows and 6 horses [Rasmussen, 2000: 120].
that sheep farming today, with around 25,000-30,000 lambs slaughtered every year\textsuperscript{36}, makes a very stable contribution to Greenland’s total value of production (around DKK 6-7 million or $1 million per year) and, in all respects, serves as a model for sustainable development of a renewable resource [Rasmussen, 1999].

According to the Greenland Agricultural Service (January 2001), today an average of 250 people are involved in agriculture; the total number of farms in Greenland is 63, and there are 60 sheep farms.\textsuperscript{37} The stock is equal to 20,467 heads of sheep.\textsuperscript{38} The reindeer stock consists on average of 3,500 animals. In addition, there are a number of horses (138), cattle (7), chickens (180) and bee colonies.\textsuperscript{39} A number of sheep dogs (111) assist the farmers when collecting the sheep at the end of summer [Greenland Agricultural Advisory Service, January 2001].

A large number of farmsteads are located near the settlements of Qassiarsuk and Igaliku, with others scattered throughout the municipalities of Narsaq, Qaqortoq and Nanortalik [Rasmussen, 2000].

\textbf{Development of Tourism in South Greenland, a Brief Overview}

When it comes to tourism, South Greenland is known as the area of the sheep farms and is renowned for its Norse and Inuit ruins, tiny villages and breathtaking scenery. Summer is the main tourist season, runs from early July to late September.

During the 1970s and the 1980s, the Danish Hikers’ Organization (\textit{Dansk Vandrelaug}) was very active in organizing outdoor recreational activities such as trekking and hiking in the municipalities of Qaqortoq, Narsaq and Nanortalik. The main purpose was to give targeted groups of tourists an opportunity to experience the impressive beauty of the landscape, to enjoy sporting activities, and to have a pleasant stay at reasonable prices while being in direct contact with the inhabitants. Sheep farmers made houses or cabins available and provided facilities for the hikers. This kind of accommodation became very popular among both the tourists and the local population because it offered a unique experience without exorbitant prices and paved

\begin{itemize}
\item[\textsuperscript{36}] Most animals are processed at the slaughterhouse in Narsaq, while the remaining animals are slaughtered locally on the farms.
\item[\textsuperscript{37}] Two are reindeer farms and one is growing vegetables in Kapisillit, Nuuk Fjord
\item[\textsuperscript{38}] Consisting of ewes (17,014), gimmers (2,704), rams (444), young rams (152) and wethers (153). The lambs, born and slaughtered every year, are not included in these figures.
\item[\textsuperscript{39}] Or, in term of farms, 3 sheep farms have also cattle, 31 have horses, 24 have chickens and 3 farms also have bee-keeping activities, producing some 120 kg. honey per year.
\end{itemize}
the way for close contacts with the relatively unknown local population. In addition to offering accommodation, local inhabitants had an opportunity to sell souvenirs such as carved and sewn items, and to sell local products like fresh lamb meat, which generated supplementary income.

There has never been any continuous monitoring of the economic advantages of tourism in South Greenland. An analysis of the costs and benefits of sheep farming made in 1989 indicates that the total revenue directly generated by sheep farmers was around DKK 250,000 for cabin rentals and another DKK 41,000 for local transportation [Rasmussen et al., 1989: 29]. In addition, the sale of sheep products directly to tourists also generated direct income for the farmers, just as local boat transportation generated around DKK 1,000 per tourist. It is important to note that, in contrast to organized package tours, these tourist expenditures were retained locally for the benefit of the local population, and despite the shortness of the “good” season this was an important source of additional and, above all, secure revenue. Accessibility to the area was not a problem thanks to the vicinity of the international airport of Narsarsuaq, where visitors could continue their journey to the settlements. Farmers provided transport from the harbour to cabins by tractor, and local outfitters handled boat transport. Usually a two-week tour would entail staying in Narsarsuaq, in two or three different villages, and finally spending a couple of days in one of the larger towns. The settlement structure in the region, with farms located along the coast, provided a wide range of potential accommodation throughout a large part of the region, as well as excellent distribution of generated revenues.

Already by the 1980s, the population and official representatives were concerned about environmental matters. There was an ongoing debate about the necessity to protect and conserve the fragile Arctic environment, particularly in areas with sheep farming activities. Establishing hiking paths was one of the measures considered to minimize the impact of tourist activities. This went hand-in-hand with parallel sheep farming management proposals focusing on fencing off larger grazing areas to control the grazing intensity. However, this turned out to be unnecessary as hiking tourism in South Greenland started to decline during the 1990s. There were diverse reasons for this decline, but the most likely explanation is that the Home Rule Government, acting through its official organ for tourist activities, Greenland Tourism, sought to promote a different image for tourism in Greenland. The strategy at that time emphasized wealthy tourists seeking “ice-attractions” and promoted

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40 These are primarily authorities from the local districts and the Sheep Farmers’ Organization, Savaatilliit Peqatigiit Suleqatiqiissut Siunnersortaat (SPS).
offers related to what tourists perceived as the traditional way of life in Greenland, such as dog sledging, which is not practiced in South Greenland. Unlike hikers and trekkers, these more affluent tourists were generally perceived as visitors spending large amounts of money on their holidays.

Rationale
The main purpose of the survey was to investigate how local sheep farming communities perceive tourism, particularly as a possible supplementary source of income and a tool for development in the area. Within this context, the survey set out to establish the community’s degree of interest in starting up or increasing tourism activities.

Most communities generally tend to be in favour of tourism development, but know little about it. Surveying the local population is a good starting point to determine the local level of knowledge on this issue.

Respondents were surveyed concerning their attitudes and interest in starting tourism activities to increase revenues and boost the local economy. They were also asked about their opinions of tourism and who the tourists are, and questioned on their perceptions of the challenges of developing tourism in the region.

The investigation also focused on local opinions of tourism as a motor for positive development, which could generate jobs and growth or, on the contrary, only bring about changes in the community’s way of life.

Additional questions were asked relating to the level of information about tourism and tourism development planning. The aim here was learn how informed the population was about how to start and develop businesses in tourism, and how to benefit from this sector while avoiding any negative impact.

As mentioned earlier, a common problem addressed in related literature is that community members are often afraid that they would lose local control over tourism. This primarily stems from a lack of information and a lack of experience in tourism.

Indeed, another interesting issue raised by the survey was the attitudes of the local population towards visitors. Questions were asked to shed light on how the population would react to the idea of being (more) involved in tourism activities, and having (more) tourists visiting the area, and how this balances with their perceptions of the economic potential for growth generated by tourist activities.
The investigation also involved meeting with professionals from the tourism sector to gain a comprehensive overview of the industry and tourism development. It is generally said that tour operators tend to send tourists everywhere, also to places that are particularly sensitive to the environmental and cultural impact of visitors. There has been an increasing awareness of these issues and many tour operators are now looking for types of products that have less of an impact on the destination, and are developed in close cooperation with local communities. At the time of the fieldwork (2001), this approach had been adopted by two companies focusing on South Greenland: the Danish tour operator Topas and the Greenlandic outfitter Blue Ice Outfitting (owned by French operator Jacky Simoud). Interviews with representatives of these two companies were conducted to determine the levels of cooperation along with obstacles and advantages deriving from the teamwork between external and internal forces, i.e., local farmers and operators from the outside.

**Methodology**

Field research was conducted during the summer of 2001 (July and August), collecting data in the district of Narsaq, which includes the farming communities of Igaliku, Igaliku Kujalleq, Qassiarusuk and Tasiussaq, and covers a key area for farming activities in Greenland.

Guiding criteria taken into consideration for selecting the sampling technique included:

- **Visiting areas where sheep farming is concentrated**
- **Visiting farmers that already experienced tourism during the 1980s**
- **Visiting areas where the surroundings may attract tourists**

Given the small number of farms spread out over an extensive area, the selection process is influenced by different factors and practical considerations.

Visiting farms according to probability criteria turned out to be less practical, mainly from an organizational point of view. This would have entailed very long trips to reach the different farms with the additional risk that the farmer, unaware of the visit, might not be there. There were additional constraints such as irregular phone connections, adverse weather conditions and the subsequent non-availability of transport.
These unpredictable factors would have resulted in lost time and compromise the results of the (scheduled) fieldwork.

A non-probability sampling was thus implemented. The questionnaire was subsequently submitted to a non-probability purposive sample\(^\text{41}\), including farmers who were already involved in tourist activities, and farmers who may wish to start some tourist activity in the future.

The number of farms visited was 16 out of a target population of 31 (representing the area under investigation), and it was possible to record 11 interviews (sample) corresponding to 35.4%.

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**Presentation of the Data**

The data and information in the following sections cover the surveyed area and related activities, including a summary of the interviews:

- *Farmers*
- *People involved in tourist activities*
- *Local businesses*
- *Respondents*

\(^{41}\) A purposive sampling focuses on a specific predefined group with a purpose in mind.
Farmers

Each of these interviews consisted of two parts. The first contains a brief biographical sketch about the farmer’s family and facts about the farm and the farming activities. The second part contains opinions, ideas, and expectations about tourism as a part-time activity, and for those already involved in tourist activities, past experiences and comments on present activities. This section also includes remarks and observations, as well as the ideas and plans of individuals who want to launch tourism activities. Each interview is complemented by an informal gathering of information and notes.

The questionnaire contained a question about the size of the farm, which refers to the amount of winter fodder produced.

All of the farms have access to common grazing areas that are fenced off. Every farm produces a certain amount of winter fodder, and there is a minimum requirement of winter fodder area depending on the size of the flock. It is in the farmers’ interest to expand this area to avoid having to import fodder from Denmark.

Related to the questions about tourism activities, I would briefly mention three aspects connected to tourism, which often arose during the interviews:

1. The use of the farm as a possible structure for hosting tourists.
   Many farmers mentioned the possibility of using part of the farm for accommodating tourists, for example, furnishing basement apartments or rooms. However, all of the farms in Greenland are built with special government subsidies. The Home Rule covers 90% to 95% of the initial costs and 10% to 5% are financed privately. Limitations on the use of the farm do exist and farms are intended to be exclusively used for farming.

2. The available support for farmers launching tourist activities
   Farmers starting tourism activities can apply to TAT (Takorniaqarnermi Aallarnisaasunut Tapernsiisarfik) for support. TAT is a fund that has been active since 1996 and aims to help entrepreneurs launch new tourist businesses. Anyone who wants to work with tourism, but needs financial support, can apply for TAT money, either as

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42 See sample of questionnaire in chapter 4. Appendix
a bank guarantee or as a subsidy. For example, when buying equipment for tourist purposes, such as kayaks or mountain bikes, only 25% of the total amount is paid by the farmer, and the remaining 75% is paid by the Home Rule Government. For other purposes, such as building cabins, the necessary money can be borrowed, with TAT acting as a guarantor and the money paid back to the bank within five years.

Greenland Tourism has an organization called TAKUSS, which, among other things, aims to “enhance the level of competence within the Greenlandic tourism industry through a broad range of courses (...) and to produce course offers qualifying the various trade groups in the Greenlandic tourism industry: outfitters, tourist offices and hotels etc.” [Greenland Tourism Webpage]. At the time of the fieldwork (2001), none of the farmers interviewed had benefited from TAKUSS course offers.

3. The outfitters
“Financing Support to Entrepreneurs in Tourism” (Finansieringsstøtte til iværksættere inden for turisterhvervet) was introduced in 1996, and came into effect in 1997. This law determines how the government provides financial support to tourism activities. Applicants are required to demonstrate knowledge of the activity, live in Greenland, and present a plan showing that the project has long-term potential.

The word “outfitter”, adopted from Canada, was introduced later, and differs from the Canadian one in several aspects, for instance the training required to use this title. Outfitters are trained in different courses (first aid, foreign languages, the use of VHS radios) and, upon successful completion, they receive a certificate.

Furthermore, Greenland Tourism maintains a network among the outfitters to keep them updated and present them as a single organization within the organization.

1. A farm located in Narsaq and consisting of two families of six and four members, respectively

The farmers are in their 30s and have children. Born in Narsaq, they started farming activities in 1997 and live here all year round, are full-time farmers and equally share in the work of running the farm.

The sheep farm has a winter fodder cultivation area equal to 45 ha, and the size increases every year with the addition of new fields, but is believed to have reached the total envisaged size.
The flock consists of about 700 to 800 sheep, making this the biggest farm in South Greenland. The average age of the sheep is five to six years. The interview was conducted in July 2001, i.e., before the beginning of the slaughtering season. Approximately 800 animals had been slaughtered the previous year, and there were plans to slaughter some 900 animals in 2001.

Lambs are born in April and they remain outside until September or October, when they reach a full weight of 16-18 kg (of meat). With the exception of 30-40 animals for private consumption, regulations call for all of the meat to be sold to Neqi, the company that runs the slaughterhouse in Narsaq, and there is no private selling of meat. Animals are delivered live to Neqi and no particular use is made of the skins. Some of the wool, shorn once a year, is sold to Meqqileriffik, the wool workshop in Narsaq.

There are also other animals on the farm, such as a roost of chickens to provide eggs for private consumption, and a herd of four horses.

As members of the Sheep Farmers’ Association (SPS), these farmers received support from the government for construction and equipment. The amount is perceived to be enough, also in the event that SPS lowers the subsidies. The attitude towards farming is generally positive.

Tourist activities were perceived as a good idea. Tourists pass by when hiking and visiting the surrounding area, which is rich in Norse ruins, and visit the old disused mine at Kvanefjeld to collect minerals, especially the famous pale pink semi-precious gemstone tugtupite.

The family has considered offering accommodation and meals, or maybe opening a cafeteria with light meals. Being involved in seasonal tourism activities may be a good opportunity for the oldest daughter, who is well skilled in English. In light of this, they would like to contact the local tourist office and learn more about the different possibilities. In their opinion, starting a cafeteria does not necessitate special skills such as those required when providing accommodation. However, the idea of launching tourism activities has been abandoned for now.

Since the farm has been built with special subsidies, the local administrative district does not permit the use for other activities, such as tourism. The farmer said that it would eventually be necessary to build something new for this purpose. An interest in tourism exists, an awareness about the potential, too, however when asked about
the perception of the place, the accessibility, facilities, services, and the aesthetic qualities of the landscape, the interviewees were not able to give any response.

The respondent with whom I conducted the interview (with Greenlandic-English simultaneous interpreting) is very active and involved, a mother of four children, and a bookkeeper at the local school. She takes care of administrative tasks and bookkeeping at the farm. In addition, she is involved as a bookkeeper in the Sheep Farmers’ Association and is a member of the board of the Horse Association. She knows how to process the wool but never does this because of a lack of time.

2. A farm located in Timerliit, Igaliku Kujalleq area (Søndre Igaliku)

The family consists of two adults, born in Igaliku and Qaqortoq and in their 30s, with their two children. He is an educated sheep farmer and full-time farmer. The wife is an educated teacher who runs a school from home for their own two children and for the other local children.

The house was built in 1989 and farming activities started in 1990. They live here all year. Three families live in the area and they are all related to each other.

The sheep farm’s winter fodder cultivation area is of 31 ha and the flock consists of 550 animals, with 80 lambs for breeding. In the year 2000, they slaughtered approximately 750 lambs and 60 sheep. The year 2000 was a special year: Neqi did not take all the animals and consequently 100 animals had to be slaughtered at home and sold privately. In year the 2000, Neqi paid DKK 33 per kg. The Home Rule Government supported this price with a subsidy of DKK 5 per kg of meat.

The farm also has 16 horses, and there are no problems feeding them during the wintertime. There is also one cow for the private consumption of milk and butter, and some chickens for eggs.

Being a member of the Sheep farmers’ Association (SPS), they received support for farming equipment. The support is decreasing but they feel that it is still at an acceptable level.

With regard to the possibility of launching tourist activities, the interviewees said that they were thinking about using 16 horses as an interesting possibility to introduce tourism offers. They have a small cabin and the wife could take care of the business. Furthermore, in the basement there is a little apartment, which could be used for tourist purposes, they said.
They had a considerable lack of information about existing opportunities requiring financial aid or support for advertising or courses. In addition, they seem to not know about the existing rules on the use of farmhouses. For instance, the apartment in the basement cannot legally be used for tourist purposes.

In terms of their perception of the place, accessibility, facilities, services, and the aesthetic qualities of the landscape, they commented that the place is nice and was chosen by them as a location to make a living. They do not feel isolated, although they do emphasize that it takes a long time to visit other people.

With regard to the possible increase of tourists in Greenland, they are of the opinion that it should not be a problem as long as tourists respect the country, the nature and the population. Tourists should respect the rules imposed by nature as well as respect local rules, they said, but they felt that maybe too much tourism could create problems.

They say that tourists are coming here because of the landscape, and they consider Greenland to be one of the cleanest places in the world. In their opinion, tourism means jobs, money, opportunities, and awareness about the country. It does not represent a threat to their identity. The interviewees concluded that if many questions arise concerning issues related to tourism, people might have to re-think the entire issue.

3. A farm located in Tasilikulooq, Igaliku Kujalleq area (Søndre Igaliku)

This farm is occupied by an individual in his 30s, a full-time farmer, but not trained as such, who was born in Alluitsup Paa and moved here in 1990. He lives here all year round.

The sheep farm has a winter fodder cultivation area of 23 ha, and the flock consists of 470 sheep and 70 lambs. In the year 2000, nearly 700 animals were slaughtered; 550 went to Neqi and approximately 100 were sold privately. There are five horses on the farm.

As a member of the Sheep Farmers’ Association (SPS), he received support for buying equipment. This is estimated to be enough, but it is decreasing every year and this is not good, he said.

With regard to tourist activities, he would like to get started with some business and seems to have seriously considered the possibility. He is contemplating
providing accommodation for tourists by using the basement, where it will be possible to make an apartment, but permission is needed to equip the basement. This remains an idea for the moment, mainly because he lacks the necessary money to build a bathroom and a kitchen. However, he is considering the possibility of taking out a five-year loan. Another option may be to use the field outside the house as a camping area, or to use a cabin and equip it with ten beds.

Right next to the house there is a lake, and the farmer has bought five kayaks, partly with subsidies from TAT. He plans to look after the tourists himself, and if the number of tourists increases, he will consider acquiring extra help. When asked about the possibility of taking a course on running a tourism business, he said he thinks that this would be a good idea, but since he runs the farm alone, he lacks the necessary time to do so.

In his opinion, it’s good to have tourists; the surrounding wilderness is beautiful and they come for the landscape. He likes the place, and considers accessibility to be okay.

His opinion about tourism is that the activity can bring in money, and a better quality of life, and from his point of view it poses no danger for the population.

4. A farm located in Qorlortukasik, Igaliku Kujalleq area (Søndre Igaliku)

This farmstead is run by a full-time farmer in his 30s, born in Qaqortoq and originally trained as a technician. He lives here with his wife and three children. His wife is currently pursuing an education as a teacher, in 1995, they were farmers in Kujalleq, one year later they came to Qorlortukasik. They knew about the limited accessibility of the place and about the sandy soil. They nevertheless chose to live here.

Close to the house there is a waterfall and they plan to use it for the production of electricity.

The farm has a winter fodder cultivation area of 22 ha and is completely dedicated to sheep farming, with a flock consisting of 484 sheep and 14 rams. Twenty sheep and 655 lambs are slaughtered each year. In 2000, 547 animals were sent to Neqi and 65 were sold privately. Twenty were for their own consumption. On the farm there is one cow together with its calf (at the time of my visit), two chickens, and six horses.
As members of the Sheep Farmers’ Association (SPS) they received support for equipment but found this support to be insufficient. This was especially true when they started out and a great deal of work was required and there was some uncertainty concerning the results. A certain amount of supplementary financial aid would be appreciated, they said.

This young family started some tourist activities in the year 2000. There was a good opportunity for a beginning; a house in Igaliku Kujalleq (4.5 km from Qorlortukasik where they live), which with some adaptation could be used for tourist purposes, as a kind of hostel, with 13 beds. They both take care of the tourists. When tourists arrive, tea, coffee and cake are served to them. She prepares and brings the breakfast to the tourists’ house in Igaliku Kujalleq, and for the evening meal tourists come to the family house (in Qorlortukasik). In addition, they sell meat, offer boat transport, boat trips and biking. For this purpose 15 mountain bikes were bought, benefiting from TAT subsidies.

The rates charged for the facilities in 2001 were DKK 150 per night including breakfast, DKK 95 for dinner, DKK 100 a day for renting a bike. For a boat ride from Igaliku Kujalleq to Iterlak, a starting point for hiking, or to Igaliku, the price charged in 2001 for groups was DKK 150 per person. The tourist season runs from early July to late August.

Discussing the support, they said that they do not receive help or support, and were not even in contact with Greenland Tourism, although they were in contact with the Narsaq Tourist Office. Their involvement in tourism is mainly organized in conjunction with the outfitter Jacky Simoud (see no. 25) and with the tour operator Topas of Denmark, which bring groups of tourists. By contrast, individual tourists prefer to camp in the backcountry and have mostly no contact with them. She says that the present level of tourist activity is sufficient. There is a lot of work to do at the farm, and the three little girls also need a lot of care.

Tourism is a new activity and there is not much revenue at the moment. In 2001, they hosted four groups, and there was a lot of work for two or three nights. Groups usually consist of 12-13 people.

The farmer takes the tourists on boat trips, has some security equipment on board, but no official permission to transport tourists yet. When asked about accessibility, he responded that the dock at the harbour urgently needs to be improved, because it is difficult to get ashore.
When asked about having tourists, they said that it is nice to meet other people. Tourists ask about everything, also private issues, but they don’t feel disturbed by it. The only problem that arises is when they don’t want to pay because they think the services, such as meals, are too expensive. Any misunderstandings between visitors and hosts are usually cleared up after a phone call is made to the tour operator. Sometimes tourists walk in the hayfields and this is not good either.

Tourism is seen as a positive activity, the landscape is nice and can attract visitors, and they think that tourism can bring money, jobs, better quality of life and presents no danger to their identity for the time being.

5. **A farm located in Igaliku Kujalleq (Søndre Igaliku)**

The farmer, in his 30s, is a trained carpenter and works as a full-time sheep farmer, living here all year round with his wife and their three children. He was born in Igaliku and moved here in 1997.

The size of the winter fodder area is 20 ha; the flock consists of 400 sheep. In 2000, 300 lambs were slaughtered at Neqi, another 200 were sold privately, plus 35 sheep. The price was DKK 35 per kg. The sheep farm has also six horses.

He is a member of Sheep Farmers’ Association (SPS) and received support for general equipment.

On this farm some of the animal skins are used at home, as well as the wool, and the farmer’s mother, who is familiar with everything from the shearing to the final knitted product, processes the wool. She knits sweaters, socks, and gloves mainly for the family’s needs.

They didn’t have much to say with regard to developing tourist activities. In 1999, the house burned, and it was necessary to build a new one. Consequently, all thoughts about tourism have been set aside. In their opinion, tourism can bring extra money, and they had some talks about using another house as a cabin for tourists, but nothing has been done so far. The place is nice and attractive, but they say that it is hard to live here during the winter.
6. A farm located in the village of Igaliku

The family consists of the farmer, in his 50s, a full-time (non-trained) farmer and a policeman, born in Qaqortoq, and his wife, a nursing assistant, plus 7 children ages 33 to 10.

The farm has a winter fodder producing area of 15 ha and a flock consisting of 280 sheep, and 400-450 lambs. In 2000, an average of 250 were slaughtered at Neqi; 25-30 sold privately and another 20 for private consumption. There are also 15 chickens and two horses on the farm.

They received support for equipment and to build the house. As a member of the Sheep Farmers’ Association (SPS) he is not entirely satisfied. He feels he receives too little support and help, and would like to have more than one meeting a year. He would like to receive more visits and advice, and feels the representatives are too far away.

On the topic of tourism, they want to start some kind of activity, and plan to refurbish an old house that will be equipped with 10 beds and transformed into a hostel. Now, up to five people can be accommodated in the house. In the spring (2002), he will remodel the basement, creating space for an additional 10 people.

Just prior to my visit, the interviewees hosted tourists at home for the first time. A couple of Danish tourists stayed for four days and were provided with accommodation and full meals, and they helped in washing and cleaning. They paid DKK 800 for the entire stay. The farmer thinks that the price may have been too cheap but he concluded that this was the first attempt and they were not very knowledgeable about calculating costs.

Actually, the two tourists arrived in Igaliku with the intention of staying at the hostel, but it turned out to be too expensive for the facilities offered. They then went to the shop and the manager recommended the farm as a possibility.

The interviewees are convinced that there is a lot of potential for developing tourist activities; they mentioned for instance the possibility of organizing weddings at the village church, using borrowed traditional Greenlandic dresses. To correctly develop their ideas, they need advice, need to be helped in planning and obtaining information, but actually they are not aware of who can help them. They think tourists come here because of the Viking remains and for the beauty of the landscape.
They are of the opinion that tourism as it is now is wrong, because there is no contact between tourists and the local population. They do not benefit and tourists come and go without meeting the residents.

7. A farm located in the village of Igaliku

The family consists of three members. The farmer is in his 40s. He is a full-time sheep farmer, and both he and his wife were born here. She works as the manager of the local KNI shop, and together they have a son.

The winter fodder cultivation area is of 27 ha, and there are an average 500 sheep, 30 rams, and 720 lambs. After the farmers have been out for 10 days to round up the sheep, a special two-level boat comes from Qaqortoq to collect the lambs for Neqi. To help gather the sheep, they use dogs trained for sheep gathering and border collies. Every year, three to four percent of the flock is lost, usually due to inclement weather conditions, such as when it rains too much and the animals get sick and die.

May is the busiest month at the farm. The sheep give birth to lambs, and extra help is needed for about three weeks. On this farm, usually two people are needed during the shearing season between March and April. Nothing is done with the wool; the wife has the knowledge for processing the wool but lacks the necessary time.

In the year 2000, 440 lambs were sent to Neqi (in 1999, it was 525) plus 50-60 sheep. The sheep sold every year to Neqi are between 7 and 10 years old. Privately, 60-70 lambs are sold; selling privately allows them to receive DKK 15 per kg, more than the price paid by Neqi. Lamb (or sheep) meat costs DKK 130 per kg in the shop. Neqi buys for DKK 30-40 (36) per kg and the Home Rule Government provides a small subsidy of about DKK 3 per kg. Privately, the meat is sold at DKK 55 per kg.

There are two horses on the farm. As a member of the Sheep Farmers’ Association (SPS), the farmer feels okay about the amount of support received.

They have given some thought to starting tourist activities, but some uncertainty still remains. They say that they are not yet entirely ready and want to think about what to do. They are convinced they do not want to host tourists at home, and they are considering refurbishing a cabin as a hostel. When asked about how to eventually start, they answered that they want to do it by themselves, with some advice from the tourist office.
With regard to accessibility, services and the aesthetic qualities of the landscape, they think that the services are okay, but winter is harsh and only 40 people live in the village. This is a beautiful country and their village one of the most beautiful places in the entire country.

8. A farm located in Sillisit, Qassiarsuk area

The family consists of three members, the farmer, in his 50s, who is a full-time sheep farmer, and has an additional occupation during the spring maintaining the road. He was born in the village of Qassiarsuk and moved here in 1970. (His wife, who is involved in tourism, was unfortunately not at home during the interview). They have a son who is trained as a farmer.

The farm has winter a fodder cultivation area of 15-16 ha., which together with the winter fodder area of the son’s farm, another 10-11 ha, makes for a total of around 25-30 ha.

The size of the flock is of 540 sheep, and an average of 800 lambs. In the year 2000, 750 animals were sent to Neqi, 15 were for private consumption and 200 animals were sold privately. The private sales depend very much on the Neqi prices. The interviewee thinks that it would be much easier if Neqi bought all of the animals. The farm has five chickens and one horse.

The farm, like every farm, produces hay for feeding the animals during the winter-time. In addition, the farm produces vegetables that are sold in Narsaq. The production is around 300-400 kg per year of potatoes and turnips. This year (2001), one of the machines is broken and this will decrease the harvest by 100 kg. Also, carrots grow very well because the ground is very fertile.

There are various uses for the sheepskins; the wife processes the wool and knits for the family, and a small amount of wool is sold.

As a member of Sheep Farmers’ Association (SPS), they received subsidies for buying new machines. Meat is also subsidized and this, in the farmer’s opinion, is the reason why meat is so expensive. Instead of the meat subsidy he would prefer to receive more direct support.

This family is not new to tourism activities. In the late 1970s the Danish Hikers’ Association brought up to ten groups a year, and the additional income was appreciated.
Nowadays, they have a hut with nine beds and have been cooperating with the outfitter Jacky Simoud since 1999. Tourists can have meals and bed & breakfast accommodation. Compared to earlier, they now have more space and facilities for tourists, but they think tourists have decreased in numbers. He recalls the experience with the Danish Hikers' Organization (DVL) as a good time; the South was the most accessible place in Greenland at that time, but then things changed and for the year 2001 they expected to have six groups of 10-12 people each. The groups are from different operators, like Topas, Greenland Travel, Profil, and not all of them stay in the hut; some of them simply prefer to camp. Also, individuals come from time to time, for instance in 2001 two people from Norway stayed at the place. Tourists stay two days, sometimes only one day, and then they continue hiking.

When asked about his opinion of tourism, the respondent said that tourism can grow again and bring some money and jobs. Tourists come to his place probably because they can easily reach the area of Itilleq on the other side of the fjord and take a boat trip to the ice fjord at the Qoorooq Glacier. The price charged in 2001 for a boat trip averaging three hours was DKK 100 per person.

With regard to his perception of the place, he finds this is a good place to stay; the view changes all the time and it is easy to hike in the area. He thinks accessibility has improved. During the 1970s and 1980s, the only access was on horseback, and now there is a road. In 2002, telecommunications will be improved, and it will be easy to access the Internet, make phone calls and send faxes, but now (2001) the only communications link to the outside world is via VHF radio and it is necessary to go to the post office in Qassiarsuk to send a fax.

9. A farm located outside the village of Qassiarsuk

The family consists of five, lives here all year round, and moved here in 1984. The farmer is in his 40s. He was born in the village, is trained as a farmer, and farms full-time. His wife, born in Arsuk, is a teacher, and they have three children.

The sheep farm has a winter fodder cultivation area of 21 ha and on average 430 sheep, 424 ewes and 10 rams. In 2000, 494 animals were sent to Neqi, 15 were for their private consumption, and some 100 were sold privately.

When they gather the animals in the autumn to send them to Neqi, they noticed that there is always a loss of three to four per cent of the sheep. An average of ten
percent of the lambs are lost and this usually happens when they leave the stable too early. The animals are collected in two shifts and at the end of the season the Qassiarsuk area is divided into three groups. This farm is in the area of Illunnguujuk, and the farmers collect the animals together. Farmers start with the first collection when the date of the estimated slaughtering is approaching. The second time of collection is before the special boat comes from Narsaq to collect the lambs for Neqi. There are also six horses and two sheep dogs on the farm. Some years ago the wool was given to the factory in Narsaq, but not anymore.

He is a member of the Sheep Farmers’ Association (SPS), and she is a member of the Sheep Farming Women’s Association, Savaatillit Arnartaasa Pegatigiiffiat. She looks after the women’s interests, such as the development of the use of sheep wool, through different kinds of courses, like making the felt, processing the wool, and producing yarn. Trips to Norway and Iceland for courses are organized as well as local courses on how to use knitting machines. The selling of wool products is not organized yet, and is mainly done privately. The idea of organizing a network for selling did not succeed because of a lack of organization. One possible reason might be that making wool products from scratch is very demanding, and the women don’t have much time.

On the topic of tourism, they see tourism as a way of learning about cultures and identities, a way to spread information about the people living here and to get information from the outside. Tourism also provides a means of earning money and attaining a better quality of life, and tourism can offer other job opportunities. In their opinion, tourists come here mainly for the landscape (“This is the most beautiful place in Greenland for the landscape, hot summers, mountains, fields. So green in summer”), this is a different, faraway place, and tourists can have very different experiences. During the season, they run a cafeteria with another family.

10. A farm located in Tasiusaq, Qassiarsuk area

The family consists of two people, the farmer, non-trained as such, born in Qassiarsuk, is in his 50s, and the wife is in her 40s.

They are sheep farmers and have a hostel in Qassiarsuk (see no. 14).

They are sheep farmers and have a hostel in Qassiarsuk (see no. 14).

The winter fodder producing area of the farm has a size of 26 ha and the flock is around 600 sheep with 90 lambs. Every year, on average 700 animals are sold to Neqi, and more than 150 sold privately.
There are also seven horses and three sheep dogs on the farm.

The part of the questionnaire focusing on tourism (from perceptions of the place to organization and future development) was not answered.

11. A farm located in Qinngua, Qassiarsuk area

The farmer, in his early 40s, is a trained farmer and farms full-time. He lives here all year round with his parents and two brothers. They were born here, and see no problem with regard to isolation, which was much worse in the old days when accessibility was quite difficult.

The size of the farm is 22 hectares and the flock consists of 440 sheep. An average of 500 lambs are sent every year to Neqi. The farm also has six horses and six chickens.

The mother processes the wool and knits socks, gloves, and sweaters for the entire family.

They are satisfied with the level of support that they have received from the government for buying machines and building the sheds and the house. Problems in running the business arise when the meat prices and the future development of the market are so uncertain. Their only income comes from sheep farming, and there is a need for additional revenue. Selling the wool might be a good idea, but there is no market for it. Presently, what little extra income they have is derived from maintaining the road, but this is not enough. They have started to increase the production of vegetables, due to a promising market for that, but the soil is very rocky and it takes a great deal of effort to prepare it for cultivation. Furthermore, they would need to have some additional help while starting this activity, as well as advice about growing and selling vegetables, but do not know where to ask for assistance.43

Tourism activities are not new to this family; they hosted tourists from the early 1970s to the early 1980s. The farm is beautifully located at the end of the fjord, in Qinngua, and Narsarsuaq airport is located at the mouth of the fjord opposite Qassiarsuk.

The income derived from tourist activities was very good; at the time it was approx. DKK 10,000 a year. There was very good cooperation with the Danish Hikers’

43 The advisor for the Narsaq district, who was with me as a translator, and who has an overview of the situation in the area, had a lot of questions about these matters on behalf of these farmers.
Organization (DVL) and accommodation and meals were offered. At the time the mother took care of the tourist business, and sold many hand-knitted products to tourists.

This activity stopped for private reasons; they needed the house that was being used for tourist purposes, and the mother did not have the necessary energy to continue the activity.

The (young) farmer is thinking about starting again, and is informed about the Home Rule Government’s TAT programme, which makes grants available to farmers who want to launch tourist activities. He will look after the tourists and plans to build two cabins with four beds each to accommodate tourists by borrowing the money with TAT.

In terms of tourist activities, he intends to offer boating, fishing and horseback riding. In his opinion, a tourist activity is not very hard work, at least not compared to farming, and he expects tourism to bring money, and more free time, for instance to go fishing and not be so dependent on the local store.

He has given some thought to the possibility of becoming an outfitter, and considers this a win-win situation. Although not new to tourist activities, the farmer underscored the importance of receiving advice from the tourist office and participating in a network.

With regard to the reasons for why tourists should come here, he thinks that the landscape is the biggest motivation, followed by outdoor activities, such as hiking.

After the formal interview, the parents related their experience hosting tourists thirty years ago, and gave the impression that it was very positive, both from an economic point of view and as a way of meeting other people. Undoubtedly, the positive experience seems to influence and encourage the young farmer to start with tourist activities again. He and his brothers are seeking alternatives to sheep farming, and tourism seems to be an excellent opportunity.
People Involved in Tourism Activities:

People exclusively involved in tourist activities in the two farming regions under investigation were also interviewed with the intention of getting a full picture of the importance of tourism and its development.

I met four people running hostels, and interviewed three. Two of them are also outfitters and all of them are quite experienced in the tourism business, having been involved in the activity for a long time.

As a starting point for these interviews, I used sections of the farmers’ questionnaire. I focused my questions on the offers and marketing strategies, and asked about their opinions on the need for tourism development.

Here are summaries of the interviews, along with a presentation of relevant information.

12. Abel Lynge, hostel owner and outfitter in Igaliku

Mr. Lynge lives in Qaqortoq, and stays in Igaliku only during the tourist season, from June to September. He is experienced in tourism activities having worked for 12 years at the Narsarsuaq hotel.

He started tourist activities in Igaliku in 1988, taking over his wife’s family’s business activity, a hostel, the red hostel, with six rooms (and 24 beds). From 1997 he built eight small wooden houses, each of them consisting of a room with two beds, one table, and two chairs. The year 2000 saw the opening of the green hostel, a structure with four rooms and 18 beds.

He also runs a cafeteria, and has a charter boat for 12 passengers. He has a car for transporting luggage and guests from the Itilleq pier to the hostel. The entire family participates in these tourist-related activities.

The average stay of a tourist is three nights. Mr. Lynge’s opinion is that the tourist season is too short, he opens for four months but tourists really come only during two months. He believes the problem is the lack of flight connections. For instance, during the months of April and May, and also in September and October when the weather is usually very good and stable, there is only one flight a week. So by having more flight connections, the tourist season could be extended.
He is in contact and cooperates with the main tour operators in Greenland, such as Blue Ice Outfitting based in Narsarsuaq, and Greenland Travel, Topas, Profil, which are all from Denmark, Nonni Travel from Iceland, and Nordwind from Germany.

In year 1999, 1,800 tourists came to Igaliku. In the year 2000, this figure increased to 2,000 visitors, mostly because of the Leif 2000 celebration of the “discovery” of America (Vineland/Newfoundland).

For 2001, Abel Lynge estimates that no more than 300 visitors will come here. The flight connection to Iceland is lacking, because the agreement between the Home Rule Government of Greenland and the Icelandic airline no longer exists.

As an immediate consequence of the decline of visitors, there has also been an evident decrease in the people usually employed during the tourist season. In the year 2000, 12 people worked at the hostels and in the cafeteria. For 2001, only two people are needed for the hostel, and the cafeteria is closed almost all the time.

Nearly half of the tourists (40%) coming here are Danes, and the rest are from other countries. Tourists coming from Iceland usually stay at the hotel in Narsarsuaq and make journeys to Igaliku. The excursion programme usually involves visiting the Norse ruins, and having coffee and sandwiches at the cafeteria.

Mr. Lynge presently has the only (official) tourist activity in Igaliku.

13. Jørgine Frederiksen, hostel owner and outfitter in Tasiusaq

Mrs. Frederiksen was born in Qaqortoq and was married in Tasiusaq in 1968. Her husband, now a retired farmer, moved from Qassiarsuk to Tasiusaq and initiated sheep farming activities. He retired in 1999 and sold the farm.

Mrs. Frederiksen is an outfitter. She started the hostel in 1976 and began to cooperate with the Danish Hikers’ Association (DWL) in 1977. Presently, she works in close cooperation with Greenland Tourism and with the Narsaq Tourist Office.

In 1980, Mrs. Frederiksen bought the hostel in Qassiarsuk and started business activities in 1986. The house, which features 26 to 30 beds, is continuously improved, and as she proudly underscored, and is environmentally friendly thanks to its solar collectors for electricity.
Bed & breakfast accommodation and meals are offered for DKK 250 (in 2001). Greenlandic products are used for the meals, with ingredients such as seal meat, mutton and vegetables. She plans to organize barbecue evenings with Greenlandic meat and other products.

A collection of books and videos about Greenland is available in the hostel. Several activities for children are organized, and tourists can go for kaffemik (a Greenlandic tradition involving copious amounts of coffee, tea and cake) with Greenlandic families. The possibility of seeing the Greenlandic traditional dress and handicrafts is also offered, but handicrafts are not yet sold. Mrs. Frederiksen says she intends to open a souvenir shop in the hostel.

Mrs. Frederiksen works together with several (Danish) tour operators like Topas, Arctic Adventure, and Profil Rejser. Daily visitors come from Narsarsuaq, and hike to Tasiusaq for fishing, hiking to the ice cap, or just for coffee and cake.

In the year 2000, 300 tourists came here, mainly groups, and only a few individuals. At the time of the interview there was very little activity, and no visitors there. Mrs. Frederiksen estimated that almost 60% of the daily tourists were missing, and the reason was the lack of an agreement with the Icelandic airline.

Tourists, says Mrs. Frederiksen, like the area because it is very green and in the vicinity of the ice cap. As for the activities, in addition to the many ruins and archaeological sites, other possibilities include bird watching (eagles), and gazing at the northern lights, which are visible from the end of July.

Mrs. Frederiksen is of the opinion that everything is there, in terms of attractions and facilities, including pristine surroundings, which is important for tourism. She usually tells tourists how to take safety precautions in the area she provides a little radio as security along with the “Anna” safety bag.44

A newly established Internet connection will provide access to the Web and make it easy to maintain contacts with different tour operators as well as with interested individuals.

Undoubtedly, Mrs. Frederiksen has acquired considerable knowledge in tourist activities, having been involved in the tourism sector over the past 30 years. She is very experienced and very active; she participates in many meetings and talks about

44 The “Anna” safety bag is a special kit developed by the authorities, to be used in case of accidents.
tourism and developing tourist activities in Greenland. She talked about her participation in a meeting with governmental representatives from all over Greenland, where she explained her personal view on how tourism should be, for the people and for the area. This led to an important result: since 2001 the official tourist organization Greenland Tourism has had a new figure in the organization, a contact person who focuses on the relations between people (involved in tourism) and the tourist organization itself.

14. Poul Frederiksen, hostel owner in Qassiarsuk

The hostel is located in the centre of the village, and offers accommodation and souvenirs. The tourist season starts at the end of June and lasts until September. The visitors are mainly groups but there are also a lot of individuals. Groups stay an average two nights. The hostel is always open and during the wintertime school classes are hosted.

The tourist activities were started together with Mrs. Frederiksen in the 1970s in Tasiuaq. In 1993, the hostel in Qassiarsuk was opened in a former school.

The year 2000 brought a lot of tourists because of the “Leif 2000” event. This year (2001) there are only a few visitors, mainly coming from the Narsaq Tourist Office or from Greenland Travel.

For the first time (2001), a young Danish girl, hired through the Nordjobs programme, is looking after the hostel. When asked about having somebody from the outside to take care of the hostel, they said that they felt that this was a good choice because they live in Tasiuaq and there is a need to always have somebody at the hostel.

The interview was conducted with the hostel owner’s wife, with the help of an interpreter (Greenlandic-English).

15. Helgi Jonasson, hostel owner and outfitter in Narsaq

Mr. Jonasson is an Icelander who came to Greenland in 1979. In 1992, he started managing the Narsaq Farm House (originally a mink farm) as a youth hostel. The structure made of two buildings can accommodate 20 people. The hostel is situated outside the town, and has good facilities for hikers and kayakers.
During my stay in Narsaq, I lived at the hostel and met Mr. Jonasson on several occasions. He is an official outfitter, highly experienced in tourism, and has a good knowledge of the English language, but he refused to grant me an interview.

**Local Businesses**

This section focuses on activities that are related to or dependent upon tourism. I interviewed the local director of the KNI shop in Igaliku and the two owners of the cafeteria in Qassiarsuk. The first interview provides insights into businesses involving contact with tourists through an activity partially related to tourism, rather than hosting or catering activities. The second interview examines the experience of starting a tourist activity, and is a good example of activity that is dependent upon tourism.

The following are summaries of the interviews. Part of the questionnaire used for the farmers has been adopted, and the two interviews continue with ad hoc questions.

16. **Malene Egede, local KNI store manager, Igaliku**

Thanks to her position, Mrs. Egede has an excellent overview of events in the small village and surroundings. Aside from the owner of the hostel, she is probably the individual who enjoys the most amount of contact with tourists – and certainly with the local population. She can shed light on how tourism is seen by the hosts. Generally speaking, Mrs. Egede thinks tourism may be good for the country and for the economy as it represents a way of generating revenue to supplement fishing. Tourism can create jobs, especially for young people, but it needs to be organized and well managed. Speaking about the area and the kind of tourism here, Mrs. Egede’s observations are not very positive. She is particularly critical of cruise visitors, reporting that when these vessels arrive here, tourists comes ashore only for a couple of hours, just to visit the Norse ruins and the church, and then depart again, leaving nothing in the community. In effect, aside from purchasing a few stamps, there is no profit from these visits. In addition, Mrs. Egede complains about the lack of information. Nobody informs the village of the arrival of the visitors and people are not prepared for the visit. In her opinion, the population sees these visits as a kind of intrusion. These brief visits by cruise ships are not welcome, she says, and suggests that it would be much better to have small groups of tourists because it would be easier to get in contact with them.
The other point highlighted by Mrs. Egede is the lack of infrastructure or initiative in the village. Except for the hostel, where the owner is not permanently living in the village, and does not involve the local population in tourist activities, there is nothing else in Igaliku. For this reason there are no major benefits derived from tourism, but the large size of the houses could represent a good possibility for hosting tourists.

17. Ellen Frederiksen and Dorthe Filemonsen, Cafeteria, Qassiarsuk

These two women, both around 40 years old, have other jobs and, as they reported, spend their spare time working in their cafeteria. The idea of the cafeteria came from observing that tourists visiting the ruins had no place to go and enjoy a cup of coffee.

They started the cafeteria in a tent in 1996. The tent was placed adjacent to the local museum, the Otto Frederiksen house, which is the former home of the first sheep farmer who settled in Qassiarsuk. By strategically placing the tent, tourists had to pass by here to reach to the ruins. The tent cafeteria offered beverages and refreshments (cakes, sandwiches).

One year later (1997), the two husbands built a real cafeteria. The building was completed in May 1998, and is located on the way to the ruins. Inside, there are four tables with space for six persons each. The total capacity is 40. There is also a little souvenir shop, which constitutes a good business, as the two women reported, with a large number of articles made of wool, socks, felt slippers, handmade ceramics with Viking motives (from a local artist in Narsaq), objects carved from soapstone and animal bone coming from the Thule area.

The cafeteria is open daily from 10:00 a.m. to 4:00 a.m., occasionally until 8:00 p.m., but not every day. The opening hours vary depending on the boat connections; the local population does not visit the cafeteria often. The cafeteria offers coffee, tea, soft drinks, sandwiches, buns and homemade cakes (mainly rhubarb cakes). During the last two seasons (1999-2000), meals were served to the people working at the Vikings ruins.

With regard to the financial aspect, the launch was made possible by investing DKK 100,000. Later, and with the decision to build, another DKK 250,000 were borrowed from the bank, at a normal interest rate. Grønlands Bank Business Fond gave
another DKK 50,000 and DKK 20,000 came from Narsaq municipality, and these loans do not need to be repaid.

In the year 2000, there were between 1,000 and 2,000 tourists. The respondents could not give a precise figure. For the year 2001, the estimate was less than 200. Business was good until the year 2000, but there are very few tourists in 2001, and the reason is (again) the lack of an agreement with the Icelandic airline. The majority of tourists traveled through Iceland.

The two women summed up the situation by saying that the tourists need to come back. The financial effort in launching the cafeteria was substantial, and even if the debts are paid off, there would be no profit. The revenues have gone toward running the activity, and no profits had been made at the time of the interview. This business requires a lot of time, and both owners have other jobs and families to take care of, so the commitment is considerable and it would be good to see some results.

The tourist season is from April to late September but both women think that it would be good to extend it, and try to attract tourists during the wintertime. Some constraints such as the weather or the icy fjord may hinder this, and in addition the cost of the airfare is also to be taken into account.

With regard to consulting and support for tourism initiatives, they did not get help from the official tourist organization, Greenland Tourism. Both pointed out the need for more tourist structures in the South, and for promoting tours and various offers.

The local tourist office in Narsaq is not perceived as providing the required assistance. They talked about a group of politicians and administrators responsible for the local development of tourism in the Narsaq district. In their opinion, it would be better to have a local association in Qassiarsuk connected with the Narsaq Tourist Office or with the municipality in order to have a better sense of what is needed and a fruitful cooperation.

They want to be more informed, for instance they mention that the population has not been informed about the tourism development plan of the Narsaq district, and commented that it might be good to have a local periodical publication with news reports from the local government.
Respondents

The following is a summary of the interviews that I conducted with relevant respondents, i.e., official representatives of different organizations based in South Greenland. I interviewed the chief consultant of the Sheep Farmers’ Organization; the head of the Agricultural Research Station; the manager of the Neqi A/S abattoir and the head of the Meqqileriffik wool workshop.

Meeting these leading people allowed me to add significant elements to my analysis, get acquainted with the state of the art, the problems and possible solutions; the future strategies and development, the level of cooperation between the farmers and the governmental institutions and different organizations.

18. Kenneth Høegh, Chief Consultant of the Greenland Agricultural Advisory Service and of the Sheep Farmers’ Organization, Savaatillit Peqatigiit Suleqatigissut Siunnersortaat, Qaqortoq

The organization serves as an advisory service, assisting the farmers on economic issues as well as agricultural topics relating to crops and animal husbandry. The organization has a staff of four people based in Qaqortoq, one chief consultant (who is also the advisor for fields/plants), one animal husbandry consultant, one economic advisor, and one administrator/clerk. Furthermore, the experimental station in Upernaviarsuk has a staff of five people (the farm manager, two farm assistants, one gardener and one cook).

Training is provided for new young farmers, with approx. 4-6 trainees every year. The training of the young farmers is done in cooperation with agricultural schools in northern Norway and Iceland.

The total number of farms is 63, with 55 of them located in the South. There are also three reindeer farms. Presently, 250 people are involved in agriculture. A catastrophic winter in 1967 killed 60% of the animals and 80% of the lambs. After this episode many farmers gave up farming activities. In 1981, a 10-year development project started, aimed at increasing the acreage for hayfields and safeguarding against similar unexpected events. At the time, there were about 200 hectares of hay, and today there are some 800 hectares of fields for winter fodder production with a much higher yield per hectare. Different types of fertilizers are used, compound fertilizers (like NPK 15-7-15, 21-3-10, 14-3-18, imported from Europe)
alone or together with sheep manure. Approx. 500 tons of compound fertilizers are used per year (500-800 kg NPK/hectare of grass fields, approx. 800 ha of cultivated grass fields in all of Greenland).

Erosion does not represent a serious problem, with the exception of the Igaliku Kujalleq area, where it is controllable.

There are also other animals on the sheep farms: horses, chickens, and a few dairy cows (a total of 16 heads). Most of the milk and eggs produced are for personal consumption. Farmers usually grow vegetables primarily for their own utilization, but also for retail.

The main income of the farms is generated through the production of meat. When asked about the problems that Greenlandic farmers are facing with the market for lamb meat, Mr. Høegh said that difficulties arose in the wake of Neqi’s export fiasco in the late 1990s, when the company lost significant amounts of money. Afterwards, the farmers experienced a drop in prices of nearly 25%. The highest carcass price was DKK 40.40/kg (back in 1997), but since 2000 the price has been DKK 31/kg. There are still subsidies totalling DKK 4.7 million per annum. The subsidies are paid per kg of carcass meat delivered to the slaughterhouse in Narsaq, meaning that with a production of 320 tons, the subsidies will amount to DKK 4,700,000 / 320,000 kg = DKK 14.69/kg. This means that if the production goes up, as seems to be the case this year, then the level of subsidies per kg goes down. However, Mr. Høegh is fairly certain that the subsidies from the Home Rule Government will continue for a long time, as a reduction is not feasible at the moment.

With regard to meat production, there is no over production, says Mr. Høegh, who reaffirms that Neqi A/S has no problems selling the meat at the moment. Actually the slaughterhouse would like to process 29,000 lambs, but only around 20,000 lambs can be provided.

Approx. 2,000-3,000 reindeer are slaughtered each year, mainly in the new slaughterhouse in Isortoq.45

Selling lamb meat outside Greenland is a very marginal market.

Reindeer meat is exported to Iceland, Norway and Sweden. Mr. Høegh’s opinion is that probably only reindeer herding will offer export opportunities in the future.

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45 Owned by Stefan Magnusson and Ole Kristiansen (Isortoq/Kangerluatsiaq farm), In the autumn of 2002, it received an EU licence for slaughtering.
When it comes to strategies adopted to improve the farmers’ economic situation, Kenneth Høegh has some suggestions, such as bigger flocks of sheep, cheaper production of hay (lower production costs per kg of hay), higher direct subsidies (for instance subsidies for wool production), and more diversified production on the farms. Additional agricultural sales could be generated by selling dairy products and eggs for local consumption, and reindeer farming besides sheep farming in areas with surplus grazing capacity. Other possibilities include cultivating vegetables and potatoes and growing conifers for Christmas decorations, fur farming based on waste from the fish industry and finally a very important issue: tourism.

The cooperation with Greenland Tourism is good, he says, mainly with the tourism consultant for South Greenland, who visits and advises farmers.

Presently, their are training sessions on tourism and on-site farm production of food for tourism (meat and dairy products). The courses started in 2002 and are conducted by the Inuili cooking and catering school in Narsaq.

Training courses have been organized and attended by 15 people. Subjects have varied, from hygiene and slaughtering techniques to meat handling and sausage production.

The courses are partly paid for by the Sheep Farmers’ Organization (government subsidies), and partly by the participants themselves.

19. Jens Østergaard, head of the Agricultural Research Station, Upernaviarsuk

The agricultural research station started its activities in the late 1930s to improve the quality of hay and fodder for animals.

In 2001, five people were living permanently there, along with some 320 sheep and 500 lambs – but no cows, mostly because a cow needs five to six times more fodder than a sheep. There is a greenhouse for the production of vegetables, such as lettuce and tomatoes, which are sent three times a week to the Brugsen supermarket in Qaqortoq.

The station hosts the agricultural school. Students have to complete a three-year course to become a trained farmer. During the first year, they stay in Upernaviarsuk;
during the second year 50% of the time is devoted to internships in Iceland or northern Norway; and the third year is spent back at the school. Every year, one to four students attend the school. In the year 2000 there were two students. Proposals have been made to change the system of training for the farmers, for example, a shorter and more intensive educational programme with one year of schooling and one year of practical experience.

Courses are also held at the station, generally two courses a year, depending on the demand, and there are 10 participants on average. The subjects of the courses vary. There are two-day courses on bookkeeping, on topics like “bees”\textsuperscript{46}, and on cultivation and fertilization techniques. Courses are partly paid for by the government, in the form of private grants, and partly by the participants. The farmers are informed about the courses by mail, and the participants are farmers and their wives.

During an interview, the head of the agricultural research station, Jens Østergaard, reported on the current crisis in the agricultural sector. There are 55 farms in the South (total in Greenland 63); this number was once 130, but there were not enough profits to sustain all or them. The number of lambs slaughtered every year is between 23,000 and 25,000, but the domestic market is saturated, and can absorb at most 20,000, so presently there is an overproduction.

In the year 2000, reindeer hunting permits were issued for 30,000 animals. This year (2001), it will be of 33,000; of which 26,000 reindeer are earmarked for the full-time hunters and the rest for recreational hunters. Mr. Østergaard described the price competition between lamb and reindeer meat, and the recent decline in lamb meat prices.

He points out that reindeer is only 10\% more expensive (at official prices) than lamb meat, and is of the opinion that lamb meat is too expensive. The reasons for this can vary. The prices granted to the farmers are too high, for instance, and there is no export market for the meat, so prices are not competitive. The price paid for each animal carcass is DKK 46-47 per kg, but the real price is around DKK 35; the rest consists of subsidies.\textsuperscript{47}

\textsuperscript{46} In 1998 and 1999 honeybee colonies (six and nine, respectively) were brought to Greenland and distributed to interested sheep farmers – new beekeepers – as part of a 3-year research programme aimed at creating a gene reserve for \textit{Apis mellifera mellifera} threatened by extinction in northern Europe. Ole Hertz, “The black honeybee in South Greenland. A research project concerning the possibility for creating a gene reserve for bees and new income for sheep farmers” paper presented at NARF, 2000, Copenhagen.

\textsuperscript{47} These figures are slightly different from the ones given by Kenneth Høegh.
An average of 75 families live from farming\textsuperscript{48}; all of them pursue other activities such as hunting and fishing for private consumption (hares, birds), and vegetable production (potatoes, turnips). In the year 2000, the Home Rule decided to freeze all subsidies for new farms.\textsuperscript{49}

The research station is also a tourist attraction. It is located on the way to the Hvælsø Norse church ruins, so tourists come here, but nothing is organized to cater for them. Mr. Østergaard would like to guide the tourists, and also have more information on the number of visitors and the purpose of their visits to organize their tour of the station. At the time of the interview, Mr. Østergaard reported that a letter on this subject was sent to the tourist office, and they were waiting for an answer.

There has always been some tourism at the research station, Mr. Østergaard says. Greenlanders on Sunday excursions come to the station to buy vegetables, or visitors to the ruins pass by. A remarkable increase occurred during the 1990s. Many cruise ships anchored during 2000, some 20 or 21 ships, bringing as many as 800 tourists at once. But, he said, at the station there is nothing suitable for tourists, no souvenirs and no services. Infrastructure is completely lacking, with no refreshments or toilets for instance. He observed that tourists coming to Upernaviarsuk are affluent people, well disposed to paying for souvenirs.

Mr. Østergaard left this position in December 2001.

\textit{In July 2003, Kenneth Høegh, gave updated information about some changes at the Upernaviarsuk research station:}

- During 2002, five courses took place, such as shearing training, tractor repair courses (mainly hydraulics), one course in sheep breeding, one psychology course, and one course in meat handling and sausage production
- The station now offers tours for groups with guides. The visit costs DKK 25 per person
- In addition, it has been decided to turn the school into a hostel during the summer (June to September) from next year (2004).
- There are also plans to serve food made from the farm products. This is done in cooperation with the tourist office in Qaqortoq and the station has been included in the 2004 tour operator guide for Greenland.

\textsuperscript{48} The official figure is 63.
\textsuperscript{49} Mr. Kenneth Høegh recently told me “there was a stop for the support to new farms, but there is a change in that policy as there is a lack of lamb meat in Greenland" (2003, July 30).
Esekias Therkelsen, Director of Neqi A/S abattoir, Narsaq

The plant and the equipment are from 1953; a maximum capacity of 25,000 animals can be slaughtered each autumn. The slaughterhouse employs ten people full-time. During the slaughtering season, the workforce increases to 60-65 employees.

In 2000, some 19,000 to 20,000 lambs were slaughtered. For 2001 there are plans to slaughter approximately 24,000 animals, of which 1,200 sheep. The slaughtering season runs from September 3rd to October 26th. Animals are brought to the Neqi slaughterhouse with a special boat for transporting sheep and lambs. The animals are kept in a large outdoor pen and slaughtered the next day. The skins are sold in Denmark. There is currently no use for the wool; it is merely thrown out or burned. The market for lamb meat is entirely in Greenland. In 1986-1987, a first attempt to export lamb meat to Denmark was not successful. The experiment was repeated in 1999, but it produced the same negative results. According to Mr. Therkelsen, there are no precise figures, but he says this failure was due to the high transport costs and, consequently, the selling price turned out to be too high. Neqi is seeking other export opportunities as 24-25,000 lambs are more than what the domestic market can absorb. There is a trade agreement for lamb meat with the European Union, and there are no limits to the amount exported; only an authorization from Denmark is necessary.

In 2000, DKK 36/kg was paid for skinned carcasses, including heads and internal organs (the liver and kidney have a niche market, and the heart and the head are also appreciated by consumers).

Another activity at the slaughterhouse is the preparation of fresh meat. A small division of Neqi, called Nilak, is the fresh meat producer. At the time of the interview (2001), the meat was sold to KNI and Brugsen shops in the Narsaq and Narsarsuaq area, but the intention was to broaden the market, thus creating permanent full-time positions for four or five people. In the Narsaq area, with the exception of seasonal jobs, like the lambing season during the spring and slaughtering season during the autumn, the unemployment rate is quite high.

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50 Owned by Mr. Kaj Egede, from KE trading in Qaqortoq, this boat was formerly owned by the American navy in Kangerlussuaq as a landing vessel.
51 In fact, frozen meat from Denmark is defrosted and prepared for selling.
52 The medio unemployment rate in Greenland is 7.0, while in Narsaq it is 10.9. The minimum is in Qeqertarsuaq (West Coast) with 4.3 and the highest is in Tasilaq (East Coast) with 12.5 (source: Greenland Statistical Yearbook 2000-2001, key table 12.4: 153)
Each year Neqi slaughters approximately 1,600 reindeer from Stefan Magnusson & Ole Kristiansen (Isortoq Reindeer Station) after the 20th of August, and another 150 animals from Søren & Hans Janussen (Tuttutoq Reindeer Station). The reindeer meat is sold in Greenland and Denmark, and in 2000 the average wholesale price was around DKK 40 to 50 per kg.

Mr. Esekias Therkelsen left this position at the end of 2001.

21. Helga-Marie Olsen, head of Meqqileriffik Wool Workshop, Narsaq

The Meqqileriffik Wool Workshop is the result of a project for unemployed people started by the municipality in 1989. Presently five people work full-time at the wool workshop. There are proposals to enlarge the activity to include handicapped people.

The complete wool process is done the old-fashioned way, entirely by hand, without the aid of machines. Consequently, the production is quite slow. It takes eight hours to make a pair of slippers and the selling price (DKK 200-300 for slippers) does not reflect the amount of time needed. Production is currently restricted mostly to slippers and the lining of boots, but in the future, with the help of machines, it will be possible to produce anoraks and other clothing.

Each year an average of 500 kg of wool is used. Some of the farmers donate the wool, while others charge money for it. For practical reasons, mainly due to transport costs, the wool is bought from the farmers in Narsaq. In 2000, Meqqileriffik paid DKK 12 per kg, in 2001 the price was DKK 16 per kg wool. This year (2001) most of the wool has been provided for free, and only the transportation costs are charged. The wool is then sent to Denmark to be cleaned and carded. Ms. Olsen hopes that in the future this can be done on location. The business is increasing, she says, the raw materials are here and there is a need to create new job opportunities as the unemployment rate is high, with the exception of the slaughtering period.

Meqqileriffik staff have visited many factories in Denmark and attended courses on how to work the felt and make different products. Wool is widely used, and women

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53 There are the two reindeer farms in South Greenland: Tuttutoq farm and Isortoq/Kangerluatsiaq farm the latter of Stéfan Magnússon and Ole Kristiansen has two different reindeer flocks, but is under common management (Cf. Kenneth Hægh). Isortoq Reindeer Station located approximately 100 km from Qaqortoq and Narsaq was founded in 1990. Meat production is the main occupation for the time being; the station also arranges reindeer hunting.
in Greenland know how to work with it. In the future, they could own small machines
and work at home. At the annual farmers’ meeting, in the beginning of July, alter-
nately held in Qaqortoq and in Narsaq, farm women sell their own produced goods,
including gloves, sweaters, socks, bags, artistic objects and so on. From 2001 it will
be possible for farm women who make wool hand-knitted items to sell them at the
Meqqileriffik shop.

The market consists of tourists and the local population; articles are also sold at the
airport in Narsarsuaq, as well as in some hotels in Nuuk and Ilulissat.

This interview was conducted with the help of an interpreter (Greenlandic-English).

22. Carolina Nielsen, Business Advisor, Municipality of Narsaq

Narsaq is the most fertile district in South Greenland, says Ms. Nielsen, and people
would like the farmers to grow more vegetables for sale.

Narsaq is working to become an agricultural centre in Greenland, meaning all rele-
vant institutions should be in Narsaq, such as Neqi a/s, which is already here.

Concerning Meqqileriffik, the local wool workshop, Ms. Nielsen says that they are
planning to buy machines, which can make felt and yarn, so they can produce more
and increase production speed and use the good wool from the farmers. The far-
mers do not like to just throw out the sheepskin and wool. Ms. Nielsen pointed out
that they still could produce a lot in Greenland and sell the wool products: “Wool
products are the best in our climate and are good for the health”.

I must admit that I never had a real interview with Ms. Carolina Nielsen; the time
we spent together has been mostly characterized by questions from my side, with
a clarifying purpose, or by a mutual exchange of tourism knowledge and experi-
ences. For instance, while talking about traditions and their revitalization for tourist
purposes, she recalled having been in Igaliku as a teacher years back: “When the
farmers had collected the sheep, they invited all the women and children to dinner.
The farmers themselves made the food, sheep meat with vegetables, served coffee
and washed the dishes themselves, and then we danced different dances and had
a great time. It is a very nice tradition they have in Igaliku”.

54 While I was interested in knowing about tourism in South Greenland, she had an interest in
knowing about agro-tourism in the Dolomites, in the Italian Alps, where I am from. Indeed we had
a great exchange and discussion; somehow we were always "in the topic".
Tour operators

The Danish Hikers’ Organization was very active in South Greenland during the 1970s and 1980s, organizing trekking, hiking and other outdoor recreational activities in the area of the districts of Qaqortoq, Narsaq and Nanortalik. The organization offered tourists the possibility to enjoy sport activities in beautiful surroundings, meet the local population and have an unforgettable experience at reasonable prices. The cooperation with the local population was intense. Locals rented houses or cabins and provided facilities to the tourists, also selling lamb meat, souvenirs (hand-knit wool products and carved items). The income generated was significant and most of it ended up directly in the pockets of the local population. This cooperation declined in the early 1990s, and diverse reasons can be found to explain this, such as a different image of tourism in Greenland sought by the tourist organization Greenland Tourism (see, Research Proposal, 2002).

I interviewed some of the former representatives of the Danish Hikers’ Organization. In addition, I met other people representing tour operator companies presently active in South Greenland, with the intention of learning more about experiences, obstacles and success stories in the region. Here are summaries of the interviews:

23. Mogens Gislinge, Profil Rejser, Copenhagen

The Danish Hikers’ Organization was very active in South Greenland from 1976 to 1982. In 1989 DVL closed and changed its name in “Green Tours”; “green” was at that time more appealing and up to date. In 1990 they closed again and passed to Greenland Travel. Preferences also changed, and now it was the Disko Bay, or East Greenland that were being promoted as new localities.

Back in 1976, at the beginning of the tourist activities in South Greenland, facilities were very poor. Minimum requirements were plain accommodation, crockery and cooking facilities. Hikers were always accommodated in huts, never in tents. The guide (often a student of medicine) was from Denmark.

During the spring, letters were sent to the farms with plans and lists for the summer. Later in May a person would travel around in order to make the necessary arrangements. During the stays, lamb meat and fish were bought from the locals, and later people realized they could also sell handicrafts and knitted items. Mrs. Jørgine
Frederiksen was the initiator of this additional business. Lately, (late 1980s, early 1990s) South Greenland has experienced a decline as a tourist destination, mainly due to changes in consumer preferences, pricing competition and the rise of new destinations such as Nepal and the Pyrenees.

The target group changed, too, from young (25-35 years) and single to couples aged 40 onwards, demanding more comfort and modern amenities, preferring hotel accommodation, shower facilities and not carrying a backpack. Today, only 20% of the tourists in Greenland are hikers.

Another reason for the decline was a change in tourists’ preferences and the need to stay within a budget in terms of time and money. It is too costly to take care of the hikers, says Mr. Gislinge. They always have a lot of questions (compared to hotel all-inclusive package) and it is not always easy to provide accommodation with the farmers. Farmers are not so quick to reply in time and eventually the customers choose other solutions.

This type of client has declined for other reasons as well, for instance prices and commissions charged. A night on a farm costs DKK 200 (commission is 8%), but if clients go directly to the farmer and see the prices, they often for a refund of the 8% commission charge. In addition, the radio connections are too slow and too expensive. Consequently, the organization decided to use only the three youth hostels in South Greenland. Profil Rejser cooperates with Topas Rejser, a company that involves the locals and has chosen to maximize the involvement of the local population.

24. Jørn Nielsen, Topas Rejser, Copenhagen

Topas started their activities in 1998. Part of the company philosophy involves choosing destinations where the local population is involved in tourist activities. This was also the case for South Greenland. Representatives of the company went there and organized the cooperation and the involvement of the local population.

In South Greenland, Topas also has a camp, Motzfeldt Sø, equipped with containers “nicely painted to integrate with the environment” according to Mr. Nielsen.

Topas works with Blue Ice Outfitting, a company based in Narsarsuaq. During the wintertime, a plan is made for the activities in the upcoming summer season.
Agreements are made in a very simple way, mostly by phone, and consist mainly of arranging accommodation at the farms, transport by boat and the selling of locally produced food (lamb meat and fish).

Several people in South Greenland are involved in the tourist activities at different levels. Two of them are fully employed on the boat, owned by the company; others can be hired to bring people by boat from one farm to the next on the opposite side of a fjord; others can be contacted for selling fish or lamb meat. Topas confirms that tourists highly appreciate the contact with the local population, and that the most important interactions take place during trekking tours.

Mr. Nielsen's opinion is that tourism activities can improve, people have different perceptions and react differently to the idea of being involved in tourist activities. Some are more open and receptive than others. For instance, in Igaliku there are no farmers who want to start activities, and only the hostel can be used for tourist purposes.

Topas is considering organizing (time of the interview, 2002) a study trip to Tuscany (destination in the catalogue) bringing some Greenlandic farmers there to see and experience farms offering agro-tourism activities.

25. Jacky Simoud, Blue Ice Outfitting, Narsarsuaq

The company is owned by Mr. Jacky Simoud, a French outfitter in Narsarsuaq, where he also opened the Blue Ice Café. This outfitter and tour operator works together with other companies, such as Topas.

Blue Ice offers an opportunity to choose among 18 sheep farms for accommodation during trips that can include hiking, horseback riding, kayaking, and boat tours. Groups primarily consist of 10-12 tourists (the minimum number is six). Tourists are interested in experiencing nature and culture, and they seek contact with the local population. Since 1999, Mr. Simoud has also extended his tourist offers to the winter season. From mid-February until Easter, he offers snowmobile excursions, ice hole fishing, and kaffemiks. During the spring, from Easter to the middle of May, activities are the same as in summer, but air fares are cheaper and the offer is only for one week, instead of the usual two weeks during the summer season.

For tourist activities, such as hosting tourists on the farms, Blue Ice involves the local population. For guiding, Mr. Simoud employs only European guides and no local
people who, in his opinion, are not trustworthy. Mr. Simoud says: “People come to see me and ask for jobs, but I cannot trust them. I have been here for five years and have not found a Greenlandic partner to share the activities yet. The local population is not prepared to start tourist activities, the standards are low and people have a wrong image about who and what a tourist is.”

26. Nicolaj Galamba, guide, Greenland Travel, Copenhagen

Nicolaj Galamba, guide since 1996 for Greenland Travel.

A typical trekking tour in South Greenland usually takes 15 days during summer (June-August). The group is on average 10-15 people; actually the size of the group depends on the type of tour. A tour package (all-inclusive) uses youth hostels and the food is included and partly bought in Greenland. Six months before the season starts, the number of tourists is estimated and food is ordered from KNI in Narsaq or Narsarsuaq.

For a typical all-inclusive tour using hostels accommodation, tourists arrive in Narsarsuaq and stay at the youth hostel, rented and run by Greenland Travel. In Qassiarsuk, tourists stay at the hostel. Then they walk to Tasiuaq, stay there at the hostel, and come back the same way. Luggage is transferred by car by the hostel owners. The usual stay is 2 or 3 nights. The programme is to hike, see the glacier, the Eskimo graves, the old Norse settlements, and archaeological remains. From Qassiarsuk the group sails to Itilleq (using Arctic Umiaq Line) or a privately registered boat. They then walk to Igaliku and stay at the hostel for one or two nights, walk in the mountains, see the Norse ruins, the church, and go to church service on Sunday.

They walk back to Itilleq and reach Narsaq by boat. The accommodation is at the hostel, for two or three nights. Hiking in the Narsaq area comprises a walk to the uranium mine at Kvanefjeld and the Norse ruins, or a city tour, visiting the museum, or a boat tour to the glacier or the hot springs. Narsaq Tourist Office can arrange these activities for an extra fee, since Greenland Travel only organizes the hiking.

The tour continues to Qaqortoq by boat, staying there for two or three nights, doing almost the same activities as in Narsaq. The accommodation is at the Højskole, the local vocational training school. The tour ends with a helicopter ride to Narsarsuaq.
Most of the accommodation on this tour is at farms, starting in Narsarsuaq (two nights). The first day is spent hiking to the glacier and back again, then by boat to Qassiarsuk (two nights), then hiking to Tasiusaq (two nights), hiking to Nunataaq, having coffee or maybe one night at the farm, then hiking to Kangerlussuaq and staying at the farm for two nights. The group then hikes to Sillisit, and spends two nights at the farm. We charter a boat to Narsaq (two nights), then travel by boat to Qaqortoq (two nights), and back by helicopter to Narsarsuaq.

The last traditional “old-fashioned” tour, only hiking and carrying all the gear and food by oneself, took place in 1997. Today, people prefer not to walk that much and do not want to carry everything.

For this tour, some food is bought from farmers, usually frozen lamb meat and fish, and sometimes vegetables. In Igaliku, one dinner with whale meat is prepared at the cafeteria by the hostel owner.

There is also a visit to the farm with coffee and rhubarb cake, with the fees paid directly to the farmer. An extra activity would be a visit to the research station in Upernaviarsuk.

27. Mads-Daniel Skifte, Greenland Tourism, Nuuk

At the time of fieldwork, Mads Skifte was responsible for the activities regarding sustainable tourism for the National Tourism Board of Greenland based in Nuuk.

The interview with Mr. Skifte mainly focused on TAT⁵⁵ to provide feedback on something that has been frequently mentioned by the farmers while talking about tourism development possibilities and support.

The Greenland Home Rule finances, TAT, with a budget for 2001 of DKK 1 million. Many applicants want either a boat or huts, but not everyone can be supported. It always depends on if the applicant is qualified for the project, or if the project fits local tourism development strategies or if the applicant has completely filled out the application. In order to gain an overview of the situation, many questions are asked in the application form. Some people feel their privacy is invaded and do not

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⁵⁵ The fund TAT, Takomariaqanermi Aallarnisaasunut Taparsiisarfik/Tilskud til Produktudvikling inden for Turismmeerhvervet), has a board of three members chosen from by Home Rule Government. The members are selected among different business backgrounds and Greenland Tourism is the secretariat.
answer. Mr. Skifte said that “it is difficult for the applicants to deliver information, and we do not know if they have problems with that. There are different reasons for denying applications, but with many applicants the reason for rejection is insufficient information”.

With regard to tourism, according to statistics, the tourist season in South Greenland starts in early June and continues to until late August. The peak season is from early July to mid-August.

Mr. Skifte said: “Since we are still in 2001 (time of the interview), it is hard to predict how many tourists there will be this year, but cautious estimates are about 7-10 % more tourists compared to last year (31,154 tourists in 2000 according to Greenland Tourism). Although I can tell you that South Greenland is this year experiencing a decline in tourism because the Iceland-Greenland flight connection has been discontinued”.

**Findings**

An analysis of the data reveals some major findings:

1. *Tourism is a tool for development*
2. *Many are ready to start or increase tourist activities*
3. *There is a need for information and advice*
4. *There is a need for more local presence*

I had interesting, pleasant meetings with all the people I met, while some of them have taken over the farm from their parents, others have deliberately chosen to settle here and become farmers. The majority are married, have children and the women are active and motivated. The general impression is one of dynamic, motivated farmers looking for new ideas to increase revenues and enhance their quality of life. The most concrete ideas seem at present to be tourism development and the production of vegetables.

The latter merely consists of nothing selling their surplus production at localmarkets in Narsaq and Qaqortoq. Indeed, boosting the cultivation of potatoes, turnips and carrots could be an interesting alternative to sheep farming. Many farmers

Motivated and determined, all of them have a job in or outside the farm, and are involved in a variety of different activities. Well skilled in English, some are educated teachers; teach the children at home, and receive support from the government for this.
are interested in increasing the production of vegetables; they look for more organized production and sales opportunities, targeting new markets such as the main town Nuuk.

Tourism represents another concrete alternative for generating additional revenue. Farms are located in beautiful surroundings\(^5\), close to the sea, a waterfall or a lake, and this constitutes a tremendous advantage when talking about the potential of tourism.

**The Decision to Start**

Many people have thought about initiating activities related to tourism, and some have already launched new businesses. They have different starting points. Some became involved through an external organization, the local tourist office or a tour operator, while others have been self initiated, such as the two women in Igaliku with their tent café (see no. 17).

Many factors influence the decision to launch a new tourist activity, and generating extra revenue is not the only salient aspect. Sometimes there is a wish to do something differently, and tourism seems to be an appropriate activity in addition to the prospect of meeting other people, which also plays an important role\(^\text{58}\). There is much to be gained from sharing part of daily life with visitors and allowing them to experience different customs and ways of living.

It has to be said that all too often when people get involved in tourist activities they know too little about them. This is very common when tourism is meant to be an additional activity, and business ventures are run by non-professional people. Often there is a lack of information and support, and even the strongest motivation to start something new sometimes gives way to a sense of disenchantment. This trend was confirmed during my conversations with the farmers who are already involved in tourist activities.

**Benefits and Obstacles**

When it comes to generating income, it takes time before tangible effects emerge. Start-up capital clearly has to be invested in the initiative. Only after a certain amount

\(^5\) Very impressive from the point of view of the tourist: the unusual landscape and the isolation of the farm is the perfect idyllic situation, and gives the holiday a special flair.

\(^\text{58}\) In fact those who indicated that they have no intention of starting a tourist activity are generally the same people who see having to host “foreign” people in their homes as a major obstacle.
of time, and consolidated activity, will substantial gains develop.\textsuperscript{59} Many of the interviewees recognize the discrepancy between all this talk of “tourism equals money” and the reality of the situation. After their initial sense of disappointment, they said that they were satisfied with starting the activity for everything that it brings with it: money, meeting other people, and having interesting experiences. And some of them were pleased to declare that after the second season all the debts were paid.

Usually in the Arctic there is a lack of infrastructure and accommodation is a key problem. In South Greenland this does not need to be a big problem. When it comes to accommodating tourists, farmers indicated that infrastructure is not a major problem, some of them said that they have a hut that can be refurbished and used for tourist purposes. Others thought about using their own house. This would be possible because the houses in the south are quite big by Greenlandic standards (from 160 square metres to over 200 square metres), and nearly all newly-built farms have an additional apartment in the basement. Farmers are usually well skilled in carpentry and build the farms themselves with the help of family and friends, making careful and good use of the material (equipment) and frequently getting a bigger house than planned. Farms, like all the houses in Greenland, are built with public money covering almost all the expenses for building materials and other equipment (heating, etc). Farmers pay 10\% of the total expenditures, but there are limits to the use of the building, for instance it cannot be used for a purpose other than farming.

The interviewed farmers did not seem aware of these limits, and all of the ones I have interviewed were considering using the basement apartment for tourist purposes.

**Need for Information**

Tourism seems to be an opportunity, farmers declared, but they wish to know more about it. They need to be informed on how to start and develop business in tourism, how to benefit from it, and how to avoid any possible negative effects.

Tourism is on the whole considered positively. The idea of hosting tourists or being involved in some tourist activity is highly regarded by the farmers, who see

\textsuperscript{59} Nothing is immediate and tourists — despite what is too often said by governments and agencies - are not bringing a “lot of money” For instance most of the tourist payment for transportation and package tours goes towards the airline and tour operators, usually located outside the region. In this way, a big part of tourist expenditure (travel and tour) leaks from the local economy [Smith, 1992].
economic advantages but, as mentioned earlier, also appreciate the opportunities for meeting people and becoming acquainted with new places and ways of life.

When asked about what they think tourism is, the answer was money, jobs, better quality of life, opportunities and meeting other people.

No dangers are perceived so far, except for some concern about crowding, when massive numbers of tourists come at once. The wish is to have small numbers of tourists, who do not overwhelm the local population and the destination. They would like to be informed about the arrival of cruise tourists, as expressed by the population of Igaliku. There were also complaints that these kinds of tourists leave nothing in the community.60

When asked about why tourists should come here, interviewees explained that they do this to enjoy the landscape. They are very well aware of the fact that the island’s stunning scenery is a major attraction and reason for visiting Greenland, but had troubles articulating this. This vagueness may well indicate that at the early stages of development other priorities are set instead of queries such as “what tourism is and who the tourists are”, which are of interest to researchers. These issues seem to be of minor interest to people when they set up businesses. Once the decision to start some activity in the tourism business is taken, more attention is given to prosaic things, such as how to receive tourists coming here, and how to host them. This is evident and common in every business. In the beginning, practical matters take precedence. Development strategies will be on the agenda later on, when the activity has started and is to some extend consolidated. Afterwards comes the time to look for ideas on how to attract tourists, to think about new proposals and programmes for attracting new segments of tourism.

**Need for Local Presence and Advice**

People expressed the need for more local presence. They would like to have more meetings and exchanges with leaders and representatives of institutions. They feel that experts, municipalities, tourist offices (local or general), and representatives are too far away, and not just in the physical sense.

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60 Cruise ships seem not to be the most welcomed in many areas of the Arctic and reservations and worries about a massive influx of tourism have been reported. Big numbers may intrude too much on the daily routine and disrupt the harmony of people and places. This indicates that tourist fluxes could be well accepted but need to be properly managed.
They demand a local association for the development of tourism, and they want to be connected with key large organizations, too. They would like to have more contact with the people in charge of developing tourism, for farming opportunities, e.g., vegetable production, etc. There is a lack of a local leader or expert to collect all matters, wishes and problems, and serve as a representative to the above organization.

As a (negative) example I evoke the case of the Narsaq Tourism Development Plan. When preparing the tourism plan of Narsaq Kommune the population was not informed or consulted. There has not been any discourse on planning and development, and the population has not been involved in the process at any stage.

At the time of my visit, Ms. Carolina Nielsen, business advisor of the Narsaq municipality, held a meeting in Qassiarsuk. The population of the community showed an interest and readiness to be involved in tourism activities, but needed more support and information, more presence and planning. Many points of discussion came up during the meeting, among them the fact that the local population was tired of guides coming from the outside, and would like to be more involved in the tourism business.

Tourism development should be more in local hands and initiatives; local businesses related to tourism should be encouraged and supported. People need to be kept informed and updated. For instance, during the summer of 2001 no agreement was reached between Greenland and the Icelandic airlines. From the point of view of tourism, this failure in negotiations caused a decline of the tourist presence with repercussions for the local businesses that were directly and indirectly related to tourism.
2.2. Case Study: Villages around Sisimiut, Ilulissat and Uummannaq

Fieldwork took place during June 2005

Description of the Area
Six communities among the municipalities of Sisimiut, Ilulissat and Uummannaq (West and North Greenland) were the object of this field study.

Sisimiut
The Sisimiut has a population of 6,109.61 This includes the town of Sisimiut, which has a population of 5,350, the villages of Sarfannguaq (127), Itilleq (123) and Kangerlussuaq (509).

Fishing is the main business activity. Small and large trawlers and cutters have their home port in Sisimiut. They fish shrimp, salmon, Greenland halibut and cod. Hunting is also another means of livelihood, focusing primarily on seals, walrus, beluga whales, narwhals, reindeer and musk-oxen. The Royal Greenland factory is the largest in Greenland and the most modern shrimp-peeling plant in the world. Sisimiut is the most northerly ice-free Greenlandic town in the winter and the most southerly town for dog sledging.

Indeed, Sisimiut ranks among the country’s most successful communities, characterized by initiative dynamism and managerial qualities, and the ability to seek out and try new approaches. As observed by Rasmussen and Hamilton (2001): “Sisimiut is known as a place where many initiatives have been taken over the years. The land-based production activities play a certain role, for instance with the shipyard for the maintenance, repair and construction of new ships. The city also has a vibrant tourism sector. Thanks to its relatively close proximity to the main airport in Kangerlussuaq and the fact that it is the most southerly settlement allowing sledge dogs, it has developed a rather stable basis for tourism. Sisimiut is known as a bustling town with outstanding connections to important politicians. At the same time, the production facilities are constantly busy, due to a favourable location in relation to local and more distant resources. And with an increase in population, and the prospects

61 Cf. Statistisk Arbog 2005, p. 538, 539, Table 4.3; p. 542, 543, Table 4.4.
of an airport in addition to the present heliport, the future of the town seems to be rather secure!"

Tourists can choose from a wide range of options such as hiking – the classic route extends from Sisimiut to Kangerlussuaq – fishing, skiing tours, and the Arctic Circle Race (a 160-km cross-country skiing competition), dog sledding and boat trips to the villages of Itilleq and Sarfannguaq.

Sarfannguaq was established as a cod fishing station in 1843, and became a trading post in 1850. There are very irregular tourist activities here, mostly connected with the local population, i.e., locals ferry visitors across the small strait by boat.

Itilleq, meaning “the hollow”, lies 49 km south of Sisimiut on a small island at the mouth of the Itilleq Fjord. Itilleq became a trading station in 1847. There are some old buildings in the village, which would be worth restoring for tourism purposes, such as the old warehouse, built in 1848, the old shop, from 1933, and the old church, which was built in 1933 and is now used as a youth club, a library, and an internet café. The current church originally stood in old Thule (Uummannaq), now Dundas. The church was built in 1930 and was moved to Itilleq in 1962.

Indeed the village has some tourism possibilities, and has already experienced some tourist activities, mostly related to the visits of cruise ships, especially the Disko II, which stops here once a week from May to September.
Kangerlussuaq means “the big fjord”, and is known in Danish as Søndre Stromfjord. It was founded in 1941 by the US military on an alluvial plain at the end of the 190-km-long Kangerlussuaq fjord. During World War II, it was known as Bluie West Eight, and continued to serve as an American military base in Greenland until it was decommissioned in 1992. Kangerlussuaq is now the main air transport hub in Greenland, and is large enough to accommodate large, long-haul aircraft. After a significant decline, the population grew again and has now reached 509.

The main economic activities are related to airport services and tourism. The area is home to Greenland’s most diverse land-based wildlife (such as musk-oxen, caribou and gyrfalcons) and a gravel road connects Kangerlussuaq with the ice sheet. The combination of these two factors has made Kangerlussuaq a significant tourist centre for most of the year. In addition, Kangerlussuaq has the advantage of being the leading incoming airport for Greenland, meaning that that the majority of tourists coming to Greenland have a stopover in Kangerlussuaq. Tourist activities range from musk-ox safaris to off-road excursions in four-wheel-drive buses and cars to the ice cap. During the winter, there is also ice fishing and dog sledding, and in the summer visitors can go angling and hunting. There is a hotel in the main building, which is mainly used by transit passengers, and another structure, the Old Camp, which serves as a hostel and a camping place.

During the high season, tourists are typically either hikers or package group tourists on a trip that takes them to Ilulissat or Sisimiut. During the “off” season, there are primarily budget groups on prolonged weekends (Thursday to Monday or Friday to Tuesday) and groups from schools. Individuals over the age of 55 are also an important target group.

Ilulissat

Ilulissat means “iceberg”. The town is called Jakobshavn in Danish (after Jakob Severin, established in 1741), and is the third largest community in Greenland. The local area of Ilulissat consists of Ilulissat town (4,533 inhabitants) and four settlements: Ilimanaq (98), Oqaatsut (45), Qeqertaq (149) and Saqqaq (180). The total population of the district is about 5,005.

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62 According to the data of Statistics Greenland, in 1992 there were 404 inhabitants in Kangerlussuaq, one year later (1992) the population had dropped to 291.
Fishing is the main industry (shrimp approx. 8,000 tonnes/year and halibut about 6,000 tonnes/year, which is more than 50% of the total Greenlandic catch.)

Ilulissat is one of the four “growing towns” in Greenland, and the top “fishing town”. The majority of the town’s population earn their living either directly from fishing or by working in the fish processing plants (shrimp and halibut), or they are employed in one of the associated industries or trades, which are essential to maintaining these activities.

Ilulissat is also a major tourist destination. The town is located nearby the mouth of the ice fjord where huge icebergs float from the ice cap to the sea, and this constitutes the main tourist attraction. The glacier near Ilulissat is the most productive in the northern hemisphere, and it became a UNESCO World Heritage site in 2004. As a result, a growing number of tourists come to visit this destination.

Tourism received a major boost after a large hotel was built and the industry has grown in large part thanks to the presence of foreign operators (20 long-time residents). However, some conflicts exist, i.e., the presence of four tourist offices, three owned by the “foreign” operators and a new one, owned partly by local people.

The village of Oqaatsut (45 inhabitants) is a small hunting and fishing settlement north of Ilulissat, beautifully located in a bay, called Rodebay by Dutch whalers in the old days when it was an important post for flensing whales. The main activity related to tourism is the restaurant run by a German couple.

The village of Ilimanaq (98 inhabitants) is beautifully located south of Ilulissat. It was the third colony after Nuuk and Qasigiannguit, founded in 1721. Ilimanaq has two old trading post houses and a nice little church. Mainly a fishing village, Ilimanaq has a privately-owned fish processing plant that was opened in 2004. Since 2003, tourist activities have been organized in a more structured way, thanks to close cooperation with a number of tour operators from Ilulissat.

Uummannaq

Uummannaq is one of Greenland’s northernmost municipalities, named after the “Hjertefjeldet” (“Heart-shaped Mountain”) a 1175-metre mountain that dominates the town.

Uummannaq town has 1,366 inhabitants and, along with the seven settlements of Niaqornat (65), Qaarsut (200), Ikerasak (261), Saattut (243), Ukkusissat (184),
Illorsuit (99), and Nuugaatsiaq (94), the area has a total of 2,512 inhabitants who live mainly from hunting and fishing. For a number of years, mining was an important source of income and for nearly 20 years – up until 1990 – the lead and zinc mine at Maarmorilik was a major employer. Today, halibut fishing has surpassed the hunting of land and sea mammals in terms of economic importance, yet fishermen and hunters continue to venture out on their dog sledges.

Although Uummannaq is considered to be a peripheral location, it is a highly attractive tourist destination. Thanks to its impressive landscape, it has all the elements of a major tourist attraction: the harsh landscape with high mountains, rare vegetation, and many glaciers and icebergs. It is also attractive for being “peripheral”, which is part of what draws tourists there. Aside from the stunning scenery, many attractions can be found in the area, including the Qilakitsoq mummies (a burial site containing a number of mummies there are roughly 500 years old), the rich geology of the area, extreme events such as the shark challenge, and the settlements, where hunting and trapping activities are a great cultural attraction for tourists.

In the settlement of Ukkusissat (184 inhabitants), fishing is the main activity. There is also a Royal Greenland fish processing plant, and a facility for drying fish was reopened in 2004. Tourist activities started after 1997, when they contacted the cruise ship Disko that passed by and asked them to come ashore and visit. Ukkusissat won an “innovation prize” for initiatives in the tourist sector.
The village of Qaarsut (200 inhabitants) subsists mainly from fishing and hunting activities. There is a skin factory owned by the Uummannaq district. People also engage in a great deal of discussion about starting tourism activities, stimulated in part by the presence of the airport, which is 45 minutes away by foot from the village. However, at the time of the research, no concrete plans had been made to launch ventures in tourism.

Rationale

Tourism activities are of considerable importance throughout the entire area and are well established at different levels. The community-level involvement in tourism seems to increase in the settlements chosen. Literature as well as institutional sources (Greenland Tourism) and news reports indicate that there are activities in the area relating to tourism development, small businesses and individual initiatives.

The project examined the following issues:

The development of tourism activities at a community level, directly involving the local population in (small) tourism ventures.
- How are the people reacting to the idea of developing tourism activities?
- Do people consider tourism as an option or a too vulnerable sector?
- Are other jobs, for instance in the fishing sector, considered more secure?

The role of women and young people, especially in small settlements
- Are they more involved in traditional, informal economic activities, and therefore open to new experiences that can contribute to increasing revenues?

Tourism skills and other skills
- What is the perception of the need for specific skills for tourism? For instance, the knowledge of a foreign language is probably the most important thing to acquire to communicate with guests.
- What about the skills they already possess?
- Are they aware of the knowledge that they can offer / show to somebody, such as a tourist, who has never been there before? For instance, excellent knowledge of the territory, the nature, the hunting and fishing techniques, carving skills: different things to offer that might satisfy tourists.
The selected communities correspond to the following conditions:

1. Small-scale and peripheral areas
2. Presence of hunting and fishing activities as substantial components of the informal economy (that contributes to the income in small and medium-size settlements) and of the subsistence sector (significant contribution to the income in small settlements).
3. Local dynamism, local development projects
4. Involvement and initiative of the local population (social capital)
5. Having developed tourist projects, engaged in tourism activities (i.e., community-based tourism, outfitters)
6. Considering tourism as an option for development in the near future

Methodology

Field research was conducted during June 2005, collecting data in the area of the districts of Sisimiut, Ilulissat and Uummannaq.

As in the previous research, the method chosen for collecting the necessary data includes a mix of different techniques, from questionnaires to interviews, from official meetings to informal conversations. A questionnaire was used at the beginning to acquire basic information (see a sample questionnaire in Chapter 1.3, methodology) and to facilitate the comparison of data.

The main issues under scrutiny are the dynamics of tourism development at a community level, the degree of current or envisaged future local involvement, and the predisposition toward forms of small-scale tourism development. Particular emphasis was placed on the outfitters. The so-called “outfitter programme” is considered by Greenland’s Tourism policy to be an important component of tourism development in Greenland, and at the time of the fieldwork the main concentration of outfitters was in this area: five outfitters were operating in the Ilulissat district, six in the Sisimiut district; two in Kangerlussuaq; and one outfitter was active in the district of Uummannaq.

In order to broaden the spectrum of the analysis, meetings took place with the tour operators who are active in the three regions. The aim here was to acquire a more
precise picture of the future of tourism development as seen by the major operators – the ones that come from outside and generate an amount of business that in some areas is a veritable industry.

Important meetings took place with the heads of different institutions in the municipalities with the aim of acquiring comprehensive information from the local situation. For example, the head of the public works department in Sisimiut provided information about the municipality’s plans for summer cottages that (as reiterated during interviews) could be used for tourism purposes. By the same token, the headmaster of the school in Uummannaq addressed the issue of proficiency in foreign languages, e.g., English, to facilitate interactions with tourists.

The focus of the research was the tourist activities related to and/or offered by the local population, and the questions addressed by the survey (interview and questionnaire) taking into consideration the following issues:

• Local involvement in small communities
• The existing or potential conditions for developing local initiatives
• The interest of local institutions in contributing to community development
• The presence of foreign tour operators as an incentive or interference or obstacle to developing local initiatives
• Strategies for tourism as a motor for growth
• Attempts to develop alternatives to the economic model of the “one” industry
• Potential and drawbacks: scenic attractions, culture, accessibility, seasonality, and costs

**Presentation of the Data**

Data and information collected during the fieldwork are presented here, divided into categories that are representative of the target groups:

• *Outfitters*
• *Tour operators*
• *Representatives of the tourist organizations*
• *Respondents*
• *Local businesses*
• *Involved in tourist activities*
Sisimiut and the villages of Sarfannguaq and Itilleq

Outfitters

Three of the six outfitters were interviewed, two of them were out on long hunting trips, one said he was too busy and did not have time to be interviewed.

1. Inuit Outfitting, Malene and Mathias Ingemann, couple, age 35 & 40, (Danish-Greenlander and Greenlander), both outfitters (licensed in 1994 and 1996). The interview was conducted with Malene.

The main income is from tourism even if the season is short. They also have a shop. The two outfitters are of the opinion that it is better to have more contact with tourists during a week together, instead of just a few brief hours with many questions. The target group is wealthy people, the product “hunting” is expensive, and the offers have to be perfect. Quality is a top priority and expectations are high.

They started their involvement with tourism by organizing dog sledging trips, then developed trophy hunting and boat trips. Now sledges are used only for trophy hunting and not for other tourist purposes.

They bought a boat that they use for tourist activities from late April to November. It can also be hired for other purposes by the hospital, the school, etc. This year they stopped working with Arctic Umiaq Line (AUL). They had an agreement with AUL for sailing people from Sisimiut to the settlements. This has been stopped by the government and it represents a loss of income for them. This year (2005) an agreement has been reached with the district administration, allowing them to take passengers to the settlements during regular trips. The municipality pays a fee to help promote the development of tourism in these outlying small communities, and this means that it is economically feasible for them to make trips there, even with just one passenger on board. If they used the boat only for tourists, with no subsidies, they would need to have a minimum of six people to cover the costs.

A hunting week costs approx. DKK 25,000, including air fare from Copenhagen and hotel, with the exception of the dinner on the last evening. The camp in Kangerlussuaq consists of a cottage and sleeping tents. This accommodates eight to nine tourists plus nine to ten staff members, including the cook and dog sledge drivers. Local hunters are hired for this purpose. The package consists of six days at the camp, and two nights at the hotel in Kangerlussuaq. The season is five weeks long, during the months of March and April.
Tourists take with them the head and the skin of the hunted animal. They rarely take any meat because the regulations are very strict.

Tourists hunting musk-ox mainly come from Greenland, Denmark, Norway and few other European places. These hunting trips are organized in cooperation with travel agencies from Denmark.

Trophy hunting also takes place during the summer using the boat in Kangerlussuaq. During one week in July, three to four staff members are needed.

Future plans: The next step is to involve the settlements. In the two settlements of Itilleq and Sarfannguaq kaffemiks and fjord cod (uvak) fishing can be organized. It would be good if many people felt like taking part in the business and sharing responsibilities, she says. There is a need for cooperation and a need to provide information.

In order to start up tourist activities in the settlements, it is important for people from other settlements to share their positive experiences. A success story can be inspiring for others. Greenland Tourism is going to North Greenland with Mathias who will tell the people in Qaanaaq about his experiences with trophy hunting.

This, in their opinion, will make the difference; information should come from a successful experience and not from the top of a tourist organization. This information should come from someone who has tried their hand at these activities and is familiar with the downsides and drawbacks.

Angling is a new tourist product: a feasibility test will be made this summer (2005). Five people are invited, mainly tourist agents offering or developing the product of leisure angling. They intend to bring the tourists by boat to a river south of Sisimiut and camp there for one week.

Developing polar bear hunting is another good possibility. The concept is easily explained. The hunting quotas are respected and the tourists are merely accompanying the hunters on their normal trips. Talks are underway with Greenland Tourism and the area under consideration is the Qaanaaq region.

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63 Kaffemik is the Danish word for the Greenlandic tradition of opening one’s home to people and enjoying coffee and cakes and other food with relatives and visitors: Traditionally, a kaffemik is for celebrations like birthdays, confirmations and other festive events. A kaffemik for tourism purposes has of course no traditional meaning but is a way of meeting people.
2. Marius Olsen (Greenlander, married to a Dane), 62 years old

Marius Olsen is a qualified outfitter who worked in Maarmorilik as an electrician. In 1990, he bought a fishing boat and became a fisherman. In June he would fish capelins to feed the dogs during the winter. This year he fished a total of 280 sacks of fish, each weighing 9 kg. In July he fished arctic char to sell to the fish processing plant and to individual customers. When he goes hunting, he has a team of 12 to 15 dogs. Hunting starts in late February. This year he hunted 10 musk-oxen. In August and September he goes on hunting trips for musk-oxen and reindeer, and sells the meat to private individuals.

He has noticed that the climate is changing; 30 years ago, the winters were warm like now. After a cold period now it is warm again. It rains more in winter and the ice came early this year (January), then it was warm again (February and March), but the ice was still good. There was snow followed by warm weather, and then stormy weather, but the cod is returning with the warmer weather and the fishing is good.

He started to be involved with tourism through the tourist office, which hired him for short tours of approx two hours. Later on, he found out that in Qaqortoq there was a course for outfitters. The course lasted two weeks and included wilderness survival training, first aid, a VHF radio certificate, “dealing with tourists”, and an English course. The course was taught in Danish. He qualified for sledge tours and hunting. In 2000 he took a course in Kangerlussuaq for trophy hunting, boating and hiking. Then he went to England to learn English. He is now a qualified outfitter well equipped for safe journeys with GPS, satellite telephone, etc.

During the winter he goes with tourists on sledding trips. In summer he has limited tourist activities. Four times a year he takes care of four huts between Sisimiut and Kangerlussuaq.

Most of the tourists are Danes, the “best seller” is the sledge tour from Sisimiut to Kangerlussuaq. It takes three days/two nights and covers 200 km. Overnight accommodation is in the huts along the way. He brings along food and other supplies. It is also possible to rent clothes made of sealskin. Two tourists sit on each sledge. The trip costs DKK 5,000 per person. Renting the clothes costs an additional DKK 200 per day; DKK 75 per night is charged for the sleeping bags.

The season is from February to the beginning of May, with the peak season in March to late April. Special sledges are used, with 15 dogs. Short tours can last anywhere from two hours to an entire day.
Tourists visiting family or friends prefer usually short tours. Tourists that plan a holiday prefer the one-day tour. Women prefer the one-day tour; families with children the short one.

The last offer is an ice cap expedition, which he has taken twice. The team is made up of one person (the tourist) and two sledges with two drivers, travelling from Kangeralussuaq to Isortoq, covering 730 km in three weeks. It is a big challenge. The idea is to make an agreement with somebody from Isortoq and meet halfway and exchange the tourist(s). During the expedition test run food was dropped from an aircraft at precise locations (using GPS). By the second time, it was a round-trip expedition. It started on March 10th (too early) and took two months. Such an expedition costs DKK 136,000.

Investments are needed. Fortunately, the outfitter course is for free. Greenland Tourism is too busy and has no money. They make lots of excuses and provide no support but he thinks that support is needed. He needs support. They used to provide post cards with the name of the outfitter to distribute to the tourists, but not anymore. In Sisimiut there have been quite a number of outfitters but they have stopped all activity. It is necessary to improve all the time to maintain a good level of service. He thinks that a full-time hunter can offer trophy hunting.

He has almost no contacts with the tourist office, but maintains good relations with Greenland Tourism. There is no cooperation with other outfitters. When he needs some help he turns to good friends. He wants to have a webpage. His wife takes care of the email correspondence.

3. Kent, Kentec Snowlife (Danish), grew up in Greenland and speaks Greenlandic

Kent has a repair workshop and makes crab traps. He started out with tourism in 1998 and has been an outfitter since year 2000. He has five snowmobiles. He used to have 12 snowmobiles but he hasn’t had enough tourists for the past two years (2003 and 2004).

Snowmobile tours during the winter constitute his main source of income. The season runs from January to May. Tourists go out for one hour to learn how to drive; the cost is DKK 400 per hour. Tourists can do the driving themselves along with one guide as a passenger. There are different options, e.g., travelling four to five hours to
Kangerlussuaq, which costs DKK 4,000. A minimum of two snowmobiles is required on such trips. The most popular option is a one- to two-hour tour. When tourists are out for two to three days, they sleep in cabins.

A new snowmobile costs on average DKK 96,000 and has to be paid for within three years. With good care and maintenance, the machines last five years.

Half of the tourist business is derived from direct contacts and the other half from tour operators like Arctic Incoming.

He is thinking about developing a new tourist product involving boat trips with fishing and hunting. Tourists can hike, stay in a cabin, go fishing and then return by boat. There are two new huts plus two old stone huts that need to be repaired, but would be ideal for this purpose.

He says that he enjoys good cooperation and teamwork with local tourism authorities, but adds that the tourist office needs to be more open to new initiatives and to provide more help, support and contacts. He thinks that there is a need for a policy regulating the use of snowmobiles, and more information and consulting, also from the local district.

**Tour Operators**

4. Grønlands Rejsebureau (GRB), today also known as Greenland Travel, Nivi, (Greenlander)

Arctic Incoming travel started organizing tourist activities in 2004. Then the company was sold to GRB, which wanted to focus more on the needs of incoming tourists. There is a souvenir shop, which sells handicrafts purchased from local artists and carvers. High quality standards are maintained, and more souvenirs are sold than T-shirts and less expensive items.

GRB organizes tours and excursions. They have a list of outfitters for sledge tours, and most of the sledge drivers are hunters. Local outfitters are in competition with them (Marius, Johanne, Malene) and use the same sledge drivers. Drivers are paid DKK 400 for two hours of work, and the tourists pay DKK 450. A three-day tour costs DKK 3,000/person. Drivers receive DKK 2,000.

Kent is available for snowmobiles tours and, if necessary, some of the members of the snowmobile club are hired.
Guided city walks last two hours and cost DKK 150. These walks are very popular during the summer. There are up to 25 tourists per tour, and all arrangements are made before the arrival of the cruise ship. Tourists from cruise ships stay for anywhere from half a day to an entire day. Sometimes only one to two people sign up for a city walk, which means that the company barely breaks even, but it’s important to go through with the tour anyway to help build up the company’s image and repetition.

Going to Tele Ø (Tele Island) is very interesting. This is a destination where visitors can see remains from the Saqqaq culture and the ruins of 16th century houses. It was a whaling station, with storage houses for whale meat and blubber. The trip takes between two and two-and-a-half hours and costs DKK 175. This is a very popular option, especially on Saturdays and Sundays. In 2004, three local guides were hired. They received DKK 400 for a city walk, which was perceived as well paid, as a normal worker’s hourly wage is DKK 100. Usually Greenlandic students coming back for the holidays work as guides. During the summer of the case study, one guide had come from Denmark for six weeks and was guiding during weekends and taking care of all the groups from GRB (in Ilulissat there were 10 guides from Denmark).

Other offers include walks to two mountains, picnics with “Greenlandic” food (kaffemiks are also quite popular), and “Greenlandic” dinners in private homes.

GRB offers a wide range of tours and is constantly looking for new products, for example, boat trips, although it is not always easy to find somebody who has all the official certificates required to skipper a passenger boat.

Tourism is increasing. Respondents said that it was all a matter of organizing things and knowing what tourists expect. There was a recognition that tourists need to have a place where they can get information and make arrangements.

Dog sledge drivers need to be “educated” in the tourist business, and GRB provides training for hunters and guides. Once a year, before the start of the season, there are meetings to introduce the drivers to each other and lay the groundwork for effective cooperation and teamwork. The meetings also address their expectations about the pay and how many tours per season they can expect. A handbook from Greenland Travel has been prepared for the sledge drivers. A tour list is compiled of which drivers are available for various tours. This year (2005) a new figure will be introduced: the team leader. This person is responsible for three to four drivers, for long trips
and for practical issues. GRB hires 20-25 drivers each season; 7-10 are the usual drivers, and the remaining drivers are taken from the availability list. Sometimes big groups come and then they mobilize virtually the entire town. In April 2005, they had 40 tourists from the Pisiffik supermarket chain on sledge and snowmobile tours.

They are working on a new product: fishing camps (fly fishing). There are many huts available in the area so it will be possible to develop hiking with overnight accommodation in the huts.

Representatives of the Tourist Organizations

5. Sisimiut Tourist Information (STI), Mikkel Nielsen (Danish) and Parma Andersen (Greenlander)

Sisimiut has an average capacity of 150 beds, plus an average of 50 beds at the Knud Rasmussen School. At present it is not possible to use other structures like the residence school buildings, i.e., the Bygge og Anlægskolen Kollegium. Some people may be prepared to offer B&B accommodation, but there are still no operators offering new services. The tourist office says that out of 15 residents who would like to offer this type of accommodation, there are perhaps 5 to 7 who are actually prepared to accommodate tourists in their homes. The idea reportedly needs further developing.

The owners of the Hotel Sisimiut are Danes who are long-time residents in Greenland. This is the only establishment offering accommodation that has close ties to the tour operators. The Sømandshjem (or Seamen's Home, which is owned by a religious mission and, like every Sømandshjem in Greenland, offers modern amenities with no frills and no alcohol) is not very active on this front.

When a cruise ship arrives, Parma or Mikkel provide information for free to the tourists coming ashore about what’s happening in the town, including sightseeing offers, a city map and possible hiking tours. According to Mikkel, this is the only tourist office in Greenland providing this kind of service.

The Arctic Circle Race is a major tourist attraction. About 100 participants, and 200 volunteers, are involved in this annual event. There is a base camp with a big kitchen tent, tents for drying clothes, and four tents for sleeping. The race took place last April but due to the lack of a big sponsor, the organizers lost money on the event.
The problem is reportedly not enough advertising and, according to the tourist office, the race is promoted as a “tough” race giving the impression that is only for “tough guys”. Actually, it is also possible to follow along by sledge for an extra DKK 1,000 per day during the three-day race. It costs DKK 3,000 to participate in the race and there are special agreements with the hotels. There were initially two days of tests, from Tuesday to Thursday, followed by the competition and a party at the conclusion of the event, after which all of the participants went home. It was hoped that some participants would extend their stay, but nobody has stayed longer.

The Polar Route is a 180-km trail from Kangerlussuaq to Sisimiut. Along the route there are 9 tourist huts; and canoes are available at one or the other end of Lake Amitsorsuaq. There is no official guidebook describing the route, but STI helps to organize the journey.

In 2002, the total number of tourists was about 3,000; around 20 of them were hiking. In 2004, 17 cruise ships arrived in Sisimiut for one day, meaning that they came ashore for a number of hours.

Grønlands Rejsebureau offers guided tours in town, but the guides receive only a modest amount of pay and there is a lot of work involved. Guides often come from Denmark, and they choose to come to Greenland more for the experience than for the pay.

As for the settlements, an agreement was made with the district for the season (2005), providing for a regular connection by boat, once a week, with a three-hour stop. The boat, which has a capacity of 21 passengers and needs a minimum of six passengers to cover expenses, will sail even if there is only one passenger; the district government will cover the extra costs as part of the agreement. The trip is scheduled for the weekends. The idea, in addition to providing this service to visitors, is to inspire local residents to develop business in tourism.

There are currently no cafés or similar establishment in the settlements, and there are no guides offering tours. It would be possible to offer traditional meals or sell souvenirs, as in Itilleq when cruise ship tourists visit. Offering bed & breakfast accommodation is another idea, combined with hiking tours. Organizing a kaffemik involves preparing different cakes. Another idea is to serve light meals; in Ilimanaq (a settlement in the Ilulissat area) they offer tourists lunch served in the homes of local residents, and this is working quite well. Sarfannguaq needs more guidance in matters relating to tourism, whereas Itilleq has more experience in this area.
Nordentours, a German tour operator, is managing the cruise ship Disko II and they stop in Itilleq to watch football matches and visit the souvenir shop. Mona provides kaffemiks and soup with traditional food at her home.

One of the outfitters would like to organize a competition between the two settlements (Itilleq and Sarfannnguaq) to see which can develop the greatest number of initiatives for tourism.

People are not aware of the potential for tourism in their local communities. For instance, in the eyes of many people in the population, a kaffemik needs an occasion, like a birthday, for it to be organized. A kaffemik organized purely as a tourist activity is an odd, foreign concept.

Communication is a problem on both sides. How do you sell a product without taking away the meaning behind it?

One idea is to invite somebody who has been successful in tourism to visit the settlement, for example, someone from Ilimanaq or Kangaamiut, where they have enjoyed good success marketing heli-skiing and bed & breakfasts. Hearing success stories from other communities provides inspiration.

**Respondents**

6. Nicolai Ramskov Galamba, (Greenlander) Sisimiut Business Council

Here is a list of the necessary things to do for improving tourism: Info point, toilets, signs for hiking paths, developing overnight accommodation (B&B) on settlements. The tourism manager is taking care of this. The settlements Sarfannnguaq and Itilleq need hiking paths.

Cruise ship tourists represents the vast majority of tourists visiting Sisimiut. There are often 600 to 700 at a time who come ashore in tender boats and stay in town for a number of hours.

The benefits from cruise tourists are the selling of guided tours and souvenirs. Sometimes tourists walk around town without spending any money.

There are not enough beds for tourists, and a lack of flights, too. There are no plans for building a new hotel; the two hotels (Hotel Sisimiut, Sømandshjem, plus the
“Knud Rasmussen” high school) fulfil the “real” demand. Outside town there is an area used as a camping place, equipped with two toilets. Fresh water is taken from the river. There is no youth hostel or B&B but it is possible to rent an apartment.

The two settlements would like to have guests for overnight stays. Itilleq now hosts cruise ship tourists coming ashore. In Itilleq an old house, now used as a souvenir shop, could be repaired and used as a youth hostel. It needs a heating system. The kommune (district government) owns the house and has agreed to provide a stove for heating, but the building is old and not yet suitable for overnight accommodation.

Sarfannnguaq also wants to have tourists, but currently no cruise ships are going there. The settlement is deep inside a fjord. Sarfannnguaq is only occasionally visited by hikers coming from Kangerlussuaq. The hike takes 10 to 14 days, and when hikers arrive at the end of the fjord, near Sarfannnguaq, they ask around for somebody to give them a lift by boat to Sisimiut. People usually do not stop in Sarfannnguaq, and if they do stay, they have a tent because there is no accommodation available.

Itilleq seems to benefit a bit more from tourism, selling souvenirs and offering kaffemiks or soup for the tourists. Football matches with tourists and locals are organized. These are started spontaneously and often played when tourists arrive.

There is a lack of local initiative, and many ideas are never realized. By contrast in South Greenland people (sheep farmers) have a better understanding of how to do business. (Nicolai has worked as a tourist guide in South Greenland).

In the former settlement on the small island of Assaqutaq the school sometimes uses a number of houses. It would be a good idea to repair the other houses and use them as summer cottages and/or for the purpose of tourism. There are many of these “summer houses”, for instance some 20-25 houses in the Kangerlussuaq Tulleq (Første Fjord).

Local Businesses

7. Peter, Sømandshjem (Dane)

The Seaman’s Home has 36 rooms and a total of 250 beds. Most tourists are from Denmark. The United States represents a new market, and a few visitors come from Southern Europe. Bookings are mainly handled by tour operators like Grønlands
Rejsebureau, Vejle Reiser and Profil Reiser from Denmark. There are not many direct bookings. The webpage is in three languages (GR/DK/EN) and gets quite a lot of traffic, but not from direct contacts. Guests from the United States are the only ones to use the booking system on the webpage. They receive a response within hours. Tourists stay from two to four nights, and the preferred choice is for the bed & breakfast option. There are cooperation agreements with Danish operators, but not with the local tourist office.

The low season is December and January, peak season from March to May. A single room costs between DKK 695 and DKK 795 and a double between DKK 920 and DKK 995, including breakfast.

Peter would like to fulfill the requirements for the “Green Key”, which has been acquired by establishments such as the Hotel Arctic in Ilulissat. This may be good for attracting environmentally conscious “green” tourists. Among the requirements for this seal of approval are that 5 to 10 % of the food be organic, e.g., potatoes and milk, but this is quite expensive to buy. The manager of the Sømandshjem hopes that these requirements will be scaled down to take into account that this is the Arctic and not all products are easily available at reasonable prices, and that high-quality products like fish and other local resources can be used instead. The prices of the menu would necessarily increase but more people (tourists) would come if they knew that organic food is served.

The Sømandshjem has already begun fulfilling other requirements like reducing the consumption of energy, electricity and water. Efforts include teaching the staff to save energy and involving the guests in energy-saving measures by asking them to only place towels on the floor if they wish to have fresh ones. Low-phosphate detergents are used, as are new toilets with double-flushing buttons that allow users to save water. Peter intends to make a list of what is already in use to pinpoint areas for improvement, allowing it to fulfil the requirements for the “Green Key”. He will then apply along with a request for special rules and exceptions that pertain to the Arctic.

Peter would like to submit this idea to the board of the organization in Denmark that owns all of the Sømandshjeme in Greenland (in Nuuk, Sisimiut, Aasiaat, and Qaqortoq). He says that getting the “Green Key” shouldn’t just be for the environment, but should provide other benefits as well, such as presenting Greenland as a clean and pristine destination that can make a difference. If the Sømandshjem gets the “Green Key” this can make the difference when booking in Sisimiut.
There was a meeting at the municipal environmental office in mid-May about improving the environment in and around Sisimiut. The main problem is garbage. Only hotels and companies with their own containers pay for trash to be collected. The large state-owned apartment complexes each have a central pick-up station. Garbage collection is included in the taxes that everyone pays. District heating, provided by burning refuse, began three years ago. This heating system only extends to a few apartment complexes. The town is growing and the current trend is toward centralization. There is a need to change the residents’ attitude toward the environment, and to convince people to stop throwing garbage everywhere. A campaign that makes it possible for people to return old batteries for recycling worked well.

8. Frank Ruben Nielsen, Sisimiut Business Council (Dane)

Frank has a project for producing marinated arctic char (salvelinus alpinus). The idea is to send the fish to Denmark to be marinated, pack it in glass jars, and ship it back to the Greenlandic market. He asked the Greenlandic owners of a small fish factory to provide the salted fish. This year he asked for one tonne. Last year he wanted just 10 kg of fresh fish, but there was no way to acquire it during the holiday season. This is a test; if it works, a factory can be established. At present it is cheaper to send it to Denmark. Royal Greenland is not interested in this product because it believes that the market is too small. He hopes things will work out, but he is concerned that the project may fail.

9. Anne-Mette, Director of the Sisimiut Museum (Dane)

Anne-Mette would like the local population to be more informed about the education that museum guides require. She’s already working together with schoolteachers to provide information to the pupils. The museum exhibitions feature different kinds of information according to the various target groups: visitors who stay for only 10 minutes, tourists, cruise ship tourists, and the local population.

Involved in Tourist Activities

10. Pitaaraq (Greenlander), Sarfannguaq

Pitaaraq works for the district government, he is 35 years old, married to Charlotte, and has two children.
Sarfannguaq has a population of 79 adults and 40 children. Alcohol abuse is not a big problem and the last suicide was in the 1980s. There is a lot of fishing (a local plant processes cod and arctic char) and hunting (seals, reindeer, and musk-ox), and many young people in the settlement go hunting.

Pitaaraq is thinking about having kaffemiks at home and providing walking tours. He hopes to get help from the tourist office for developing this product. The first time he wrote to the tourist office was three years ago. This year he received a promising answer. Their new house will be ready by August, and then he can start. Maybe Dorthe (his wife’s sister) can help. He likes meeting people very much.

In 2003, he had a total of 15 hikers from Kangerlussuaq of different nationalities. He picked them up by boat and took them to Sarfannguaq. He did this for free but he knows that some people ask DKK 50 per person for a lift like this. Then he invited the hikers to his home for coffee and cake, also for free. Some of them stayed overnight and had breakfast. He sold seal meat to them. Pitaaraq did not ask for money, but four of the guests gave him DKK 500. In 2004, he hosted three groups. This year there were no tourist activities because he is busy building the house.

He is enthusiastic and would like to learn more about the potential for developing tourism.

11. Mona Kleist (Greenlander), Itilleq

Mona has a degree as a translator for Greenlandic, Danish and English, and has been living for seven years in Itilleq. She is married and has three children. Mona originally came from Uummannaq. She works at the Pilersuisoq shop and plans to move back soon to Uummannaq, where she will work as an office clerk at the police station.

Itilleq has a population of 125, including 40 children. Unemployment is a problem as well as alcohol abuse but not suicide. When parents drink, children have problems at school. Until four or five years ago, alcohol was a problem only on pay days, but now it is almost every day. Young people tend to stay, becoming hunters and taking summer jobs at the fish factory or collect money from social assistance. If they leave to have an education, some of them come back and some do not complete their studies. It is hard to leave. Many men stay, while many of the women leave.

The tourist season runs from mid-June to early September. Most of the tourists come with the cruise ship Disko II. In 2004, an average of 600 cruise passengers
came ashore. Two ships were from Canada, with more than 100 passengers per ship. She is permanently in contact with the two cruise ship companies. The maximum number of visitors per day is around 100.

She started to be involved in tourism activities in 2001, when she was contacted by Greenland Tourism, and then by a Canadian company.

Mona is a one-woman business. Her programme of activities starts with a general welcome at the harbour, talking about life in the settlement for roughly one hour, followed by a walking tour with the tourists. She then invites them to her home for coffee with one or two cakes (traditional Greenlandic cake with raisin; but Canadians prefer chocolate cake) and Greenlandic food. Sometimes food is served outside. In 2005, the price for a kaffemik was DKK 50 and DKK 75 for soup.

Tourists ask many questions, also about private life, she says. Not all tourists come inside for coffee (only a few). Some tourists play football with the village people. Most of the tourists are old people, and there are few families with children. After having been at Mona’s house they go to the shop to buy souvenirs.

On the day of the interview (June 2, 2005), she was waiting for a group of 48 tourists who were visiting for two hours. The group consisted mainly of Danes, and everything had been arranged by GRB. These tourists had travelled from Copenhagen to Kangerlussuaq, then flown to Nuuk, taken the coastal boat to Ilulissat, then come to Sisimiut. They planned to fly from there to Kangerlussuaq and back to Denmark. While they were in the region, they wanted to visit Sarfannguaq. The next group was going to leave from Ilulissat and be there in five days.

The population likes to see tourists but is not interested in helping. Mona has unsuccessfully tried to get people involved in the kaffemiks. The only involvement of the local population is when she asks for help washing dishes or making cakes.

All tourist activity in this small community is in her hands. It’s possible that when she leaves all tourism will stop, with the exception perhaps of the football matches.

12. Jimmy (Dane), school teacher, married, has two small children, plans to live for three years in Itilleq

Itilleq has 30 schoolchildren and 10 who attend pre-school. Hunters earn an average of DKK 40,000 per year and they need additional work. A teacher earns
There is a small fish factory that employs five to six people who prepare salted fish. Seal hunting is also a source of income. A seal skin is worth about DKK 285. There is some discussion about how to use, collect and sell seal meat. Refrigeration facilities would have to be purchased to prevent the meat from spoiling.

From May to September cruise ships (the Disko II and a cruise ship from Canada) arrive once a week, every week. On average 50-80 and 100-150 people, respectively, come ashore. People stay for three hours in the settlement, play football and walk around. Mona Kleist has an agreement with the cruise ship companies and holds kaffemiks, folk dances (Greenlandic polka). Last summer she also made soups (musk-ox, reindeer and fish) for the tourists. Tourists pay DKK 120 for a “package” consisting of kaffemik, soup and an opportunity to ask a lot of questions. The tourists on board the Canadian cruise ship are from the United States, Canada, and Japan, and they only go to Mona’s house.

The local people are only involved to the extent that they sell handicrafts to Mona. This is a one-person business. When she started, she was the only English-speaking person in the settlement (now Jimmy and his wife are here).

Jimmy has some thoughts about tourism. For instance, it’s possible to pick up tourists in Kangerlussuaq by boat. The journey lasts about five hours. They could be hosted here for a week, from May to October. Activities could include fishing (different types of fish) and hunting seals; and from August to November, hunting reindeer and musk-ox.

As for accommodation, the district has an apartment and there are one or two rooms available in the school that could be used for this purpose.

This is an island and one needs take a boat to other locations before taking hiking trips in the surrounding mountains. The idea is to show the tourists what life is like in Itilleq. One stumbling block is that many people among the local population have an alcohol problem. The other problem is that people have no foreign language skills. They simply don’t know what to do – they want to make money, but they lack experience with tourists. There is a need for a local person to tell them about tourism and give advice.

Jimmy worked with Mona when tourists came to visit last summer. He would like to be asked by the tourist office to take over Mona’s business being that he, as he points out, is the only person who speaks English in Itilleq.
Tourism Meeting

I was invited as an observer to a tourism meeting at the district town hall. The participants were representatives from the municipality, the tourist office, Grønlands Rejsebureau (GRB), and two outfitters.

The participants agreed on the necessity to create a “package” to promote the whole area. Kangerlussuaq currently plays a major role. Cruise ship tourists are the biggest tourist component for Sisimiut. As for the tourist activities in and around town, GRB currently receives the majority of the bookings, which are made through GRB Denmark. Two of the outfitters operate in Kangerlussuaq.

It seems that the vicinity of Kangerlussuaq has not been thoroughly exploited. For instance, the huts along the Kangerlussuaq-Sisimiut route should meet certain basic requirements for accommodating tourists. GRB mentioned that there are protected areas in New Zealand where hikers purchase a pass, and that this money is used to ensure that basic accommodation requirements are met and the expenses associated with rescue operations are covered.

One of the outfitters said that he had been to Sarfannguaq and had found a person there who would like to start up some kind of tourist activity, i.e., hosting guests at kaffemiks. The outfitter (Malene) is ready to help her with advice and teach her how to work with tourists. She is only worried about pay days in the settlement, when people have money to purchase alcohol.

Malene is thinking of opening a café in Sarfannguaq, even if it can only be open when a ship comes every 15 days. It would be good to invite people from Kangaamiut to talk about their experiences. She says this is better than having people come down from Ilulissat, where tourism moves at a much faster pace, because that would give people in the area unrealistic notions about what to expect from the sector.

In Itilleq at the moment only the school teacher appears willing to start up a business. However, the tourist office manager notes that tourists like to see native people, especially when visiting small villages, and they would not expect to see a “foreigner” (because this is what this Dane represents in the eyes of the tourists).

(Later on, while in Uummannaq, I met Mona Kleist again and she told me that she had found a woman, the nurse, who was prepared to take over her business in Itilleq.)
There is not enough knowledge about target groups. With the exception of the fact that the cruise ship tourists stay ashore for relatively few hours, very little is known about the other tourists, their expectations and wishes.

There is a need to create a synergy with the two other villages and exploit the vicinity of the airport, and a need to create new products to attract tourists other than cruise ship passengers.

Listening to the various actors, I had an impression of pronounced individualism, although they all offer the same product, with the exception of an outfitter who offers a three-day tour in Kangerlussuaq.

Ilulissat and the villages of Ilimanaq and Oqaatsut

Outfitters

13. Jesper, (Dane)

Jesper came to Ilulissat in 1995 and is a full-time fisherman. He got involved in tourism in 1998 by offering dog sledge tours, and completed the outfitter course in 1999.

He cooperates with ITS and offers two products: dog sledge trips in the spring and fishing with tourists. In the year 2000, in one month, he had 25 passengers. He takes two passengers at a time, with refreshments, for DKK 795 per person per day (minus a 15% commission). Fishing with tourists could also be lucrative, but is too risky and complicated due to the required insurance.

His dog sledging trips range from 1-hour tours to 12-day expeditions, staying in “fisher tents” made of cotton. These are heated with a primus stove and are easy to use and effective. There is no need for sleeping bags, since everyone sleeps with their clothes on because the ice can break at any time and they need to be ready to run. Sealskin clothes and wool work best at low temperatures. The temperature drops very fast, especially on open water. He says that he once experienced -60° for 15 minutes, just before the sun came up. This happened in March 2001, usually the coldest month. This year (2005) spring started in February with temperatures of between -10° and -5° but he is used to temperatures of -25° at this time of the year. Local fishermen say this warmth has been experienced before.
The fisherman charges DKK 2,000 for a two-day tour. When the tourist season starts, in March, there is usually a decline in the number of fish that he catches (the major fishing season is in the fjord in January and February). The fisherman sees this time working with tourists as a “paid holiday”.

Jesper has participated in many seminars organized by Greenland Tourism; but things are different when he returns home. People can talk together but not work together, he says. It’s important to benefit from “start-up money”, but that is not the main thing. What is more needed is support, to have a network, to have someone to talk with about small problems. For instance language: English is a problem. There are courses in English for fishermen, 14 days. This helps but is not enough.

People have many good ideas, can also access money, but there is a lack of support. Greenland Tourism is in Nuuk, and they do not know what is happening in the small places, he says.

He says that there are many meetings with Greenland Tourism and the outfitters, then it’s back to everyday life and things are forgotten again. Maybe the expectations are too big, everything is moving too fast. The problem for developing initiatives is that you have to be able to speak Danish and English have a clear idea of what you want to offer, and so on.

It’s possible to go fishing with tourists, the problem is having both fish and tourists on the sledge. From an economic point of view, fishing is better; tourism is, at best, a sideline and not an important additional source of income. An example of a typical day’s winter fishing: hole in the ice, line 200 m long with hooks, average 200-250 kg fish/DKK 2,000 in a good day, perhaps as much as DKK 2,500-3,000 for a catch of 300-400 kg fish. The tourist season is too short, only a few months and one cannot live on that, he says. Tourists come mainly during the summer because of the ice-bergs. He charges DKK 950 per person for a one-day sledge tour.

During the summer, he can fish up to two tonnes per day. Fishing is done primarily at night when the sun is not so hot. In Ilulissat the halibut season is all year round. In 2004, 350 fishing licenses were distributed to fishermen in The Disko Bay region and Sisimiut. They fish for halibut, shrimps, crabs, and capelins.

Jesper is a good halibut fisherman, by boat and with his dog sledge. His catch is 25-35 tonnes a year. He fishes right in front of the harbour, he says, which is an outstanding area. Prices differ according to the size, small halibuts (under 3.5 kg) fetch DKK 3.43/kg, while big halibuts (from 3.5 kg and over) are purchased for DKK 8.75/kg. His
annual income, before taxes, is on average DKK 216,000. His expenses are for dog food (capelins, halibut, and seal meat), fuel for the boat and fishing equipment.

He has started producing pet food made from dried capelins. In Denmark the market is already four years old and new markets are opening up in Sweden and Germany. In 2002, he sold 5.5 tonnes of dried fish; in 2003, it was 9 tonnes; in 2004, due to bad weather, 6.5 tonnes; and in 2005, until the beginning of June, it was 6 tonnes. Catching capelins is hard work for one month (working 14 hours a day). The water should be 3° to 4° and there should be no rain, then when the sun comes, the fish leave the eggs, and afterwards go close to the shore and die, so they are easy to catch. Large quantities of capelins are dried on big nets on Brædebugt, an island 50 km away from Ilulissat.

Training the dogs begins in October, when the lakes are frozen. Young dogs are first trained in a team of 12-16 animals tied in front of a sledge carrying 150 kg. In January, they should be able to pull 400 kg.

14. Karo Thomsen (Greenlander)

The tourist season is too short for this to be her sole source of income. Ono Fleischer (her husband) is an outfitter but doesn’t work in tourism anymore. In the past, he worked with ITS offering sledge and boat tours. Ono also worked with Poul from Ilulissat Tourist Service on developing special products such as taking trips with tourists for several days, building igloos, and guiding film crews.

Ono Fleischer has been the only one (or one of the few) who wanted to put “culture” into tourism products, i.e., igloos, long sledge trips, hunting, using Greenlanders for the work.

Ono retraced the Thule expedition of Knud Rasmussen in a span of 10 years and became very popular. Now he is writing a book about what he experienced during his journey. He has stopped working in tourism, with the exception of certain special events. He sold the boat to IT last winter, and this is the first summer without tourism activities.

“Greenland Tourism has never supported local development in tourism. To be an outfitter was very popular some years ago. Now things have changed, though, and the number of outfitters is diminishing. The ones who come from the outside turned
to tourism because there were no other opportunities or no other activities for them, and most of all they wanted to be in the great outdoors. Here in Greenland we have outdoor jobs and wilderness. In the South it’s different, the sheep farmers have no other choice than tourism if they want to increase the revenues. Here it’s different”.

15. Dieter Zillman, EM/ GT Tours (German, long-time resident in Ilulissat)

Long-time resident in Ilulissat, became an outfitter in 1993, he has a boat licensed for the transport of passengers.

In the beginning, he says, we were seven outfitters, and three of them were foreigners (Dieter, Willy and Silver). Now, there is only one Greenlander and two foreigners (Dieter and Willy). He thinks that the course, which lasts only 14 days, is not enough; the idea is good, in general, but there is a lack of knowledge on tourism. The course gives a “push” to participate in tourism but this is not enough, there is a need to repeat or improve every year.

The bestsellers are the tour with the Smilla and the helicopter tours. The boat sails for 3-4 months in summer, there are three captains, and one is local.

There are six companies operating with tourism and they all offer the same product. It’s the helicopter that makes the difference. “This year we (Greenland Tours) do not have the helicopter (IT has it) and so we are disadvantaged”.

He says that 70% of the tourists come from Denmark, 10% come from Germany, and the remaining come from other countries. Cruise tourists buy many souvenirs.

The Eqi glacier is a real hit, and “side products” include the waterfall, the birds and the cliffs. The Kangerlussuaq fjord is not very deep; there are many birds and no fishing.

The tourist season is too short for making a living, in the coldest time of the year there are no tourists. Summer is the fishing season, and you can make good money, but then there is no time for tourism.

Representatives of Tourist Organizations

These are incoming tourist agencies that were present in Ilulissat at the time of the fieldwork:

Silver came here in 1993, started with a souvenir shop, and later started to offer sledge and boat tours, accommodation at private homes, and city tours. The owner of Tourist Nature is helped by his wife and an employee. He has a tourist structure in Ata, offering overnight accommodation, meals and outdoor activities. There are two Greenlanders and a Danish kayak instructor employed there. He has three boats going out with tourists, the Clane (captain Jens Ole), the Else (captain Thorvald) and the Maya (captain Willi).

He works in cooperation with European tour operators, with Arctic Adventure (Denmark), which accounts for 30% of his activities, with Grønlands Rejsebureau (DK, Greenland), which accounts for 30% of his activities, and with the French company Grand Nord, which accounts for 20% – and the rest is divided among other tour operators like Terres d’Aventure, Comptoir du Groenland, and Nord Escape from France; not to mention Viaggi nel Mondo and Songline Viaggi from Italy, with whom he has direct contact. On the whole, Greenland receives 35,000 tourists a year, and on average 15,000 to 16,000 come here to Ilulissat.

He works together with local tour operators such as Ilulissat Tourist Service, Greenland Tours-Elke Meissner, Ilulissat Tourism (Peter Ulf), and with the Hotel Hvide Falk. He also works a lot with the local population. After 12 years and over 2,000 sledge tours, he has had only a few problems with drivers.

17. Greenland Tours-Elke Meissner, (German, long-time resident in Ilulissat)

Elke came here in 1973 with a group from Germany, promoted Greenland in Germany, and moved here permanently in 1977. Most of her initial contacts were with
people in Germany, and later she developed contacts with Denmark and, in 1992, with Greenland Tourism.

In 1977, she started with dog sledging tours. There was no summer season at the time, just a little hiking.

Tourism was a secondary source of income for many years until she started working for Greenland Tourism on the German market. In 1994, tourism became her main business with Oqaatsut and, in 1996, the purchase of the company's boat Smilla.

The season has extended from the end of May to the end of September. The reasons for this include the product offered, the milder climate, and the travel agencies in Denmark, which started promoting the early and the late season, all of this combined with reduced-price tickets from Air Greenland.

The bestsellers are above all the Eqi glacier, followed by a day tour, then a tour to the ice fjord and Oqaatsut.

By contrast, a declining number of people are coming for dog sledging. There are a number of reasons for this. It is expensive and there is stiff competition from other countries where flights are cheaper and charter flights are offered.

She is optimistic about the future. As long as there are icebergs in Ilulissat, there will be no problems for the sector.

The tourists are mainly over 60, affluent, and consider Greenland as a once-in-a-lifetime experience. The main market is Denmark with 75%, mostly groups, then Germany with 5% to 10%, followed by other EU countries. Few tourists come from the US or Canada, and those who do come from these countries arrive on cruise ships. The average number of tourists per year is 12,000 to 15,000, and is growing. Advertising is done through travel agents and the internet (for individuals).

18. Ilulissat Tourist Service, ITS, Poul Therkilsen (Dane)

Four people, one Dane and three Greenlanders, work full-time at ITS. During the summer, which, corresponds to 2.5 to 3 months of activity, eight people are employed.

In Ilulissat there are approximately 500 beds available for overnight accommodation. The town is fully booked from mid-June to mid-August. The spring season extends
from March to April for dog sledging, boat trips, and hiking. It is quiet from May to mid-June, then the high season starts. During the second half of August, there are many cruise ships with up to 1,000 passengers. In the autumn and spring, with the exception of dog sledging activities, there are bargain flights and accommodation. From November to February, there are only occasionally tourist activities. Boat trips are the bestsellers and the main source of income. Ilulissat hosts about 15,000 tourists a year.

ITS works on developing new products, like diving and camping. Diving tests were conducted last year and the results were satisfactory, so they will start in September (2005) with this type of offer. The camping will start next year, with tents like the ones used in South Africa, offering luxury-style camping, while still experiencing the wilderness.

Tourists primarily come here for the ice fjord, which is listed as a UNESCO World Heritage site, and for the dog sledging, for the basic products and for the highlights.

There is competition but also cooperation among the other companies. They cooperate with the local hunters for dog sledging, and with the carvers for the souvenirs. Everyone formulates their own strategies and take their own decisions. ITS enjoys close cooperation with Elke Meissner (Greenland Tours) and plans, in the future, to work together with Silver Scivoli (Tourist Nature). There is a lot of competition from big tour operators outside Greenland. Having a common brochure and a common booking system could be the solution. Greenland Tours (Meissner) and ITS will merge to form one company in 2006. Tourist Nature has an opportunity to merge as well, but with the product that they offer, i.e., boat tours and souvenirs, it is not interesting. Furthermore, Ata, Tourist Nature’s base camp with infrastructures for camping, kayaking and other leisure activities, is too far away: by speed boat 2.5 hours, with the “Else” 8 hours are needed. It is simply not a destination that is as interesting as the Eqi Glacier.

ITS focuses on Oqaatsut/Rodebay, and on the area between Ilulissat and Rodebay. They have a camping project in Brædebugt with tents for the entire summer. This year 10 tourists can be accommodated. This is a new product, and in the future they will be able to accommodate 25. Activities include hiking and kayaking. The ITS boat goes to Rodebay every day. Two old boats formerly used as coastal boats, can accommodate 12 people for sleeping on each boat. This will be a flexible system:
hiking, taking the boat, kayaking. It is a beautiful product, we can offer the Ilulissat ice fjord, Brædebugt and Rodebay, and with the Smilla, boat service to Eqi Glacier.

Helicopter trips are very popular. In the past, Elke Meissner and ITS alternately rented a helicopter, but this year Ilulissat Tourism (IT) has the helicopter and is drawing a larger number of tourists. IT has also a guide on board the Arctic Umiaq Line boat.

The tourism business of ITS is divided into 20% accommodation, 15% souvenirs; 15% special arrangements, like for film crews, and the remaining 50% is trips and tours.

To accommodate tourists ITS has 10 beds in private houses, and another 4 to 6 in bed & breakfasts among the local population. Souvenir sales are decreasing. There is simply too much on offer, there used to be five souvenir shops, but now there are 12.

Hunters are paid for dog sledging, 2 hours/DKK 500; 3 hr/DKK 650; 6 hr/ DKK900; day trip DKK 1,000.

The client pays DKK 750 for 2 hours; 3 hr/DKK950; 6 hr/DKK 1,195; day trip/DKK 2,000. Hunters pay 10% in taxes and, like the fishermen, they have a special tax agreement.

The hunters generally feel that they are not paid enough; they can only do one trip a day, they say. ITS, however, says that the hunters cannot compare what they get from one day fishing with one trip with tourists. Although they cannot earn the same amount of money taking tourists on trips, the DKK 500 is easy money compared with the hard work of a day out fishing on the ice. When they cannot go fishing for many days, dog sledging can be a good alternative source of income.

Poul says that one outfitter (Johanne Bech) in Kangerlussuaq offers trips with a big sledge that can accommodate 3 to 4 people. This is not a traditional sledge, it is something new but he is thinking about adopting the model and training three to five people to work with big sledges and have three two-hour trips each day. Three people each is equal to nine people, the hunter can get DKK 350 per person. In a year with good snow, doing this five days a week will give more than 12,000 a week and can provide a hunter with a living for 2.5 months, or an average of 10 weeks, from mid-February to the end of April. For a fisherman’s family in a settlement this is a lot of money and the rest of the year they can do something else.
Tourists wish to have a nice experience, which does not mean that they need to experience the ultimate, remote adventure. Current tourism regulations prohibit going fishing with dog sledges and taking tourists along at the same time. Greenland Tourism is working on the possibility of adjusting the corresponding safety requirements to make it possible to take one to three tourists on fishing trips, or other sledging tours, with large sledges.

ITS has a list of 88 fishermen with dog sledges that can be used for tourists, and 10 of them are the most hired drivers and earn on average DKK 15,000 per year. The dog sledge season is too short, and the dogs need to be fed all year long, say the fishermen. Fishing gives more money but in winter it is tough work and dog sledging, although less lucrative, is relatively easy money.

The average stay in Ilulissat is four to five days.

19. Ilulissat Travel IT, Rikke, (Dane)

Ilulissat Travel IT, was established in the autumn of 2003, and started its activities in 2004. Owned by Ole Dorph (formerly with ITS, and the former mayor of Ilulissat) and by Jørgen Nielsen (Topas tour operator, Denmark).

“After the bankruptcy of ITS, IT bought part of the ex-Eqi Sermia Camp, turned it into a hotel consisting of 14 beds out of 4 huts, double rooms with toilet/bath facilities, building a new hut to become a café. During the season three people are there and three extra guides come when needed. The activities are hiking on the ice cap and on the moraine. The package comprises transfers and full accommodation; the trips are to be paid extra. This is a product where there is no competition in Ilulissat. IT has the exclusive “contract” for the helicopter flights. For winters near the lake, there is a hut accommodation and a restaurant for dog sledge tours”.

“In Ilimanaq we are working with Ove (former mayor), sailing to the village, walking around, having lunch at home with traditional food. It is also possible to offer overnight stays.

We offer authentic trips, involve the local people and keep the quality high”.

Cruise ship tourists prefer helicopter tours, ice fjord boating trips, and hiking. The best-sellers are the short helicopter tours, the midnight boat trip, and the dog sledging tour. The price for 30 minutes with the helicopter is DKK 1,595; 45 minutes DKK 1,895.
During the high season, we have up to 20-25 people (in the office and guides). We have six Greenlanders. There has not been quite enough applicants for the guides’ course, maybe eight and only five are good; at present only one is a Greenlander. The problem is that the work ethics are different.

Tourism is in competition with dog sledge fishing (ice-hole fishing using dog sledges).

More services for tourists are needed at a local level. New products should be more nature-oriented yet still comfortable. IT wants to offer sailing trips going to the fjord and fishing.

**Tour Operators**

20. Arctic Adventure, AA, Peter Morell, (Dane)

Arctic Adventure is the longest existing company dealing with tourism in Greenland (24 years). The main product is high-quality guided tours with the firm's own guides. Between 15% and 20% of the clients are business-class flyers. The offer covers all of Greenland, including facilities and helicopter tours. Arctic adventure also markets trips to Iceland and the Faeroe Islands. In South Greenland this year (2005) they will have 60 people from England; on average 80-100 tourists from Spain and 53 people from Australia. One problem is the changing situation with regard to the connection in Narsarsuaq. For instance, in 2001 the agreement with South Greenland failed. In West Greenland tourists come from England, especially in Kangerlussuaq and in Ilulissat. This year 45 USA tourists with private jets will come from Boston, stay 12 days in Scandinavia, and pay USD 35,000.

In Ilulissat Arctic Adventure works with Tourist Nature (Silver), consistently using guides from AA with the clients. AA will start to work with IT (Klaus) for Eqi Glacier and helicopter tours. Affluent clients will pay for the helicopter flight.

Qasigiannguit and Uummannaq were very strong destinations for AA 10 years ago, but now there is relatively little activity and a guide is sent there only when clients are present.

Local people are not available to back them up, it is difficult to find the right person, he says, and it’s good to work with people from outside. They have a reward system:
low pay/big reward. The first year, the AA guides (on average 23 years old) are paid almost nothing but have accommodation, and then they get paid more and more for each additional year. They stay for three months on location and come again the next year.

In year 2004, AA had around 1,800 tourists (1,400 in summer, 400 in March-April), divided into 400 in the West, 300 in the East and 700 in the South (charter Tokyo-Reykjavik) The biggest market is Japan, followed by the USA. In 2005 (till June), 240 tourists booked tours in the Disko Bay, 260 in the East, 320 in the South, and in the 2003-2004 season, there was a very large number of one-day cruise ship passengers.

In the East, the company has one guide in Kulusuk; two to three guides in Tasiilaq; in West Greenland three guides, except for three days in June (25 to 27), and seven guides will be there for 45 clients.

Local Business

21. Hotel Arctic, Erik Bjerregaard

This four-star hotel was built in 1984 with 40 rooms, was enlarged in 2000, and has now 66 rooms, a new conference building and five igloos (which Greenland Tourism wanted for South Greenland, then gave up the idea and Hotel Arctic got them in 1995) for a total of 127 beds.

Hotel Arctic was awarded the coveted “Green Key” environmental seal of approval in year 2000. The idea came from the Environment Ministry as an innovative way of minimizing consumption of water and electricity and the use of cleaning products. The hotel has managed to reduce the number of cleaning products that it uses from 37 to 7. The staff is trained to not exceed certain limits in the use of cleaning products, and to save energy and money. Working in an environmental friendly environment is better for the workers. The staff was sent to a training centre where they engaged in practical, hands-on learning situations.

Normally the hotel has a staff of 45, in the high season 55, of which 10 to 12 are cleaning staff. Once a year, a supervisor comes from Denmark to inspect the premises and ensure that the requirements are fulfilled, with some exceptions i.e., organic food or the rules for garbage. If the hotel meets the standards, it receives the
“Green Key”. Individuals tend to choose hotels with a “Green Key,” but tour operators don’t see it as an important criterion.

The clients range from package tours to individuals, and from groups to conferences. The average stay is three nights for tourists. Nearly all of the guests (95%) are booked by tour operators. In 2004, the hotel had 7,600 guests for a total of 19,800 bed nights. The goal for 2005 is 22,000 bed nights.

In August the Home Rule Government and the Danish Environment Ministry will host a global environment conference at the hotel.

Respondents

22. Anders Eistrup, Ilulissat Kommune

There are many huts in the Kangerluarsuk/Brædebugt area, maybe 80 or 100, which are used as summer houses. There is another area after Rodebay called Kangersuneq, with about 20 huts. There is no financial help from the Home Rule when building a summer house. Usually a location is selected and the building is constructed once permission is obtained. Authorization is generally required from Home Rule, but with the Frilandsplan the district government grants permission.

The Frilandsplan will also take care of environmental matters, wildlife and vegetation. As for the garbage, it will be burned in barrels and brought back to town. The hope is that people will act in an environmentally friendly manner.

There are many temperature fluctuations and large quantities of rain during the winter. In 1996, the ice was good enough to allow dog sledding trips to the village of Qeqertaq. Since then, the amount of sea ice has diminished significantly. In the fjord, the ice is good. Snow is about 270 ml/year (some snow, some rain). Permafrost is melting. This is not a problem for most buildings, since they are built on bedrock, but it is a problem for the roads. The road going out to the power plant sunk 40 cm 14 days after repairs had been done. There is three times more use of gravel than there used to be.

About 200 flats are using the heating coming from the garbage processing plant. Other places in Greenland using the heat produced from garbage are Sisimiut, Aasiaat, Maniitsoq, and Qaqortoq. The goal is to have 300 more flats heated with this system.
People prefer one-level houses. In two to three years, the available building space will have been used up. There are plans to build a new part of the town, on the other side of the bridge, which is currently a restricted area because of the drinking water reservoir located there. The city needs to find a new place for the water in order to build in this area. The Home Rule has to pay for the infrastructure (there is already an agreement on this) and for the water infrastructure for the new place. The Home Rule lacks money and the pressure for housing will increase.

Involved in tourism activities

23. Arne Lange (Greenlander), Ilimanaq

Ilimanaq was the third colony established after Nuuk and Qasigiannguit, in 1721. Now, in cooperation with the museum, the two existing old trading post houses are going to be restored, one may be used as a restaurant for locals as well as for tourists, and the other as a museum about the history and culture of the settlement. People from the village, will prepare the food and do all the necessary work.

An average of 95 people live here, mainly fishermen. There is no unemployment and a fish factory opened one year ago (2004). This facility used to belong to Royal Greenland, but now the property is private: 8 people from Ilimanaq and 4 people from Ilulissat work here. Fishermen bring fish here only in winter because of the special production of halibut that is cut in strips and can be dried only when temperatures are cold (-10° to -15°) so the fish has a white colour and not yellow. Last year seven people (including Arne) worked here.

Arne (37 years old, has a wife and three children) is a carpenter. During the summer he has two to three employees. During the winter he works in the office of the fish factory.

He started with tourism activities in 2003, working in cooperation with Silver (Tourist Nature), who has a boat that sails to Ilimanaq. He offers kaffemiks (DKK 75), Greenlandic food (seal meat soup, whale, sometimes fish and pancakes with ice cream for DKK150).

In 2004 he hosted 150 tourists, in different size groups (from 3 to 15), 20 of whom opted for kaffemiks, and the rest for Greenlandic food, which is becoming increasingly popular. This summer (2005) he hopes to increase the number of tourists served to 200.
Starting this summer he will offer an outside barbecue, which will consist of whale meat, lamb, gravy and salad for DKK 250.

Arne and his wife Martha like to have tourists. They say that it is okay if they take pictures and ask questions.

It is good to have a course for starting with tourism. He participated in the Greenland Tourism course and says that those three days was very helpful. Four people took part in it, but when problems arise or he has other ideas, Arne talks with Silver.

He is building a new house for his mother, without blasting the rock to make way for the foundation. The location is chosen “by mother nature” and he will use the old house to accommodate tourists.

Tourism is something new. Sometimes there are little problems when tourists come and Arne or Martha are not there. There is a need to have somebody who speaks English; maybe the solution is to use students.

On June 26 (2005) about 50/60 tourists are coming for one day. A barbecue will be prepared and three to four people will help; it is not so difficult to get people to help during these three to four hours. They will be paid DKK 100 per hour. Arne says that workers at the fish factory are paid DKK 75 per hour, but with tourism he can go up to 100 because with tourism there is more money. Getting DKK 250 per person for the barbecue is good money.

Arne prefers to have people at home, so he can talk about the village life and the history. Sometimes he offers guided walks through the village for DKK 50 per person per hour.

Next year (2006), if the barbecue business goes well, they can start fishing for salmon in the Tasiusaq fjord. The idea is to take tourists there and camp with tents, for two to three days, or as much as one week. Activities could include fishing, seal hinting, along with watching for reindeer and musk-ox. Many people from Ilimanaq go to Tasiusaq fjord, live in tents or summer houses, and this is an opportunity for tourists to see how Greenlandic people spend the summer out camping. The plan is to start with tents and, in the future, use cabins for tourists. At first it’s better for tourists to take tents and sleeping bags with them.

He has already applied for a license to transport tourists. He is planning to start in two to three years, but first test to see how things work in the settlement with
tourism. Arne has talked with Greenland Tourism, with Silver and with the people in the village, trying to involve them in making souvenirs – plain things like covering a candy box with seal skin – to be sold at the colonial house/museum.

24. Ove (Greenlander), Ilimanaq

The interview did not take place as Ove was out fishing.

This full-time fisherman (42) hosts tourists full board. He has two houses and in each he can host five to six people, he cooks at home and brings the food to the tourists. He works for IT (Klaus, Topas)

25. Fritz (Greenlander), Ilimanaq

The interview did not take place as Fritz was busy with a film crew.

Fritz (40) would like to start some kind of tourist activity this summer. Fritz is the Greenlandic kayak champion and dog sledge champion in the village.

He will start offering accommodation, kaffemiks and food; he is in contact with ITS (Poul) and at present (June 2005) he is accompanying a crew from Germany that is making a documentary about hunting and fishing in the settlements.

26. Oqaatsut / Rodebay

In Oqaatsut there is a restaurant with seating for 24 people. The tenants, a German couple living most of the year in Greenland, know in advance how many people will come. They do not pay rent. The restaurant and the two houses belong to Elke Meissner.

Uummannaq

Outfitters

27. Karl Markussen, (Greenlander)

Karl was on a hunting trip during my stay in Uummannaq, so no interview was possible.
Karl Markussen is the local outfitter in Uummannaq; he works with the hotel owner, organizing dog sledge tours, and as the captain of the hotel owner’s boat, which has room for 22 passengers.

Local Businesses

28. Arne, hotel and tourist office owner (Dane)

Arne came here in 1974 and opened the hotel in 1989. The hotel has 35 rooms; the tourist office sells souvenirs and organizes tours, by boat and sledge, city walks, ice golf, snowmobile tours, and much more. The range of offers is quite extensive. From Uummannaq tourists can go to Qilakitsoq, the place where a number of remarkably preserved mummies were found, and to the fjord and glacier near Ikerasak. Arne offers the cruise ship tourists of the Disko II the Qilakitsoq trip by boat and the possibility to take a trip to the desert (yellow, sulphates area) in the Salliaruseq (Storøen).

In the village of Saattut there is a little tourism thanks to the boat tours organized by Arne, mainly some selling of souvenirs. Attempts at organizing kaffemiks have failed; the village is relatively wealthy thanks to the fishing industry, and doesn’t seem to need to look for alternative sources of income; the situation is the same in the settlement of Ikerasak. In the village of Qaarsut, where the airport is, there is still not much activity and the airport has no influence on the settlement because it is quite far away, 45 minutes by foot through a landscape that is not particularly exceptional. A shuttle service needs to be organized.

Arne has had no problems so far working with local people. In the hotel he needs three waiters, but finding staff members can be difficult due to the language obstacle: not everyone has the required command of Danish and English. The local school is making an effort to improve people’s education in foreign languages and start working with people from the small settlements to help them learn how to become waiters and cooks. The problem is getting people to understand that working in a hotel is not a nine-to-five job. This year he has two waiters from Thailand. This is very expensive. Local people do not understand the language (Danish, English) and do not feel at ease, so they do not show up for work, using every kind of excuse imaginable, and feeling very small.

The typical tourist is a Dane, over the age of 50, retired, couples travelling in groups. Over 70% of the guests are tourists, and 30% are people on business trips or
governmental employees. Tourists come mainly on package tours, organized by Grønlands Rejsebureau, Profil Rejser (Denmark), and Nordwind (Germany). After the Danes, Germans constitute the second largest group of tourists.

When the airport was located in Uummannaq, there were 2,000 to 3,000 tourists every year. Now, however, since the airport has been moved to Qaarsut, the number of tourists has decreased to 1,300. There used to be helicopter service six times a week, but now it is only two times a week. The flight is always full, people have to use the ship or wait, and this is not good for the tourists. The settlement is dirty and there is nothing there for tourists.

When the airport was in Uummannaq, the hotel had 35 workers and 1,000 tourists from June to the end of September. Now the hotel is rarely fully booked. A few years ago it was expanded, and now the hotel is simply too big.

There are negotiations to reinstate helicopter service from Ilulissat again. It used to take 50 minutes to travel from Uummannaq, and these flights were popular among tourists. Maybe in the future an airport will be built in Teqqissat (Uummannaq). The helicopter flight from Ilulissat to here had a price of DKK 1,900. Now it costs DKK 3,480 to travel from Ilulissat to Uummannaq by plane via Qaarsut. The decision to build an airport in Qaarsut in 2000 was a purely political matter (the highest-ranking local political representative is from there). There was also the issue of costs. Building the airport in Teqqissat (Uummannaq) would have cost DKK 100 million, but it was “only” supposed to cost DKK 70 million to build the airport in Qaarsut. However, cost overruns eventually drove the price up to DKK 160 million. Now, there are some problems because it is built on permafrost and the permafrost is melting. As a result, tourism has collapsed and people are moving away: 300 people have left Uummannaq to move south.

The food sometimes comes too late, stored somewhere in transit for weeks and coming here almost rotten.

The future of tourism in Uummannaq urgently requires a helicopter connection, improved knowledge of foreign languages, and training for the local people.

The Greenland Tourism course for outfitters took place in Arne’s hotel. Arne wanted to talk with the participants but he was not allowed to. He wanted to stress that Greenland Tourism promised money with tourism and the locals believe everything, so they invest and most of the time nothing happen so they leave. There is a lack of strategy.
Ukkusissat

Respondents

29. Najaaraq (Greenlander)

Najaaraq is a teacher and heads the local school. She has two children and is married with Hans (50 years old), who is a hunter.

Ukkusissat in the old days meant soapstone. The sun goes down at the end of October and rises again the 14th of February. The fjord is frozen from January to May. These days there is 50-60 cm of ice, but 10-15 years ago it was 1 metre and more. 15-20 cm is enough for sledging. About 180 people live here and 350 dogs. Half of the population consists of children and young people; 34 of them go to school where there are six teachers. Fishing is the main activity; in the village, there is a fish factory, a grocery store and a convenience shop. There is also a service house (with showers and washing machines and other facilities), the local office of the district government, and a nurse. Traditional food is still important. Fishing halibut, cod, and capelins provides for the basic dietary needs of the local residents, and provides food for the dogs. Seal and narwhal are caught from November to January and musk-ox is hunted up north in Nuugaatsiaq. Lots are drawn for the 10 hunters (in 2004) who will be allowed to hunt musk-ox. For reindeer, the hunting is down at Nuussuaq or near Sisimiut. This year, people are busy with halibut fishing and do not have time for the process of drying capelins, which takes over a week, because the fish need to be regularly turned over, and not allowed to get wet from rain. Halibut fishing is done at a depth of more than 200 m, at the sea bottom, with a vertical line, which is marked with a balloon above the sea, and weighted down with a stone. Capelins are usually used as bait.

In the village, there is some unemployment, and eight people are permanently out of work (unfit for work). There is a meeting group made up of school teachers, the nurse, and the police officer that talks about the problems in the village, and then there are meetings with the general population, and many come to attend. For instance, Najaaraq wrote about raising and taking care of children. There is also the AL-AN meeting (anonymous alcoholics), which started in 2004, and at the beginning it was difficult for people to talk about their drinking problems and accept help. Now things are better, there are regular meetings and people know where they can be helped.
Many of the key positions of leadership in the settlement are occupied by women: the manager of the local Pilersuisoq grocery store, and of Royal Greenland Ukkusissat, six of the school teachers, the nurse, and the catechist are all women.

Tourism started with the old Disko cruise ship. It was maybe 1995 when it first stopped here and singing and dancing was performed for tourists. Otherwise no other experiences, except for a few kayakers, one German with skis and two Frenchmen who wanted to go to Nuugaatsiaq on skis, but the ice was not safe enough.

In Ukkusissat there is a real spirit of community and teamwork, the village is clean, and the people are open and make me feel welcome. Posters are made by the school children inviting people to keep the village clean. Before tourists arrive, there is a general cleaning of the beach and the village. Jacob and other people work on it. The meeting hall is also cleaned. Tourists get no food or drinks; they feel that the arrangements with singing and dancing are enough. In addition, national costumes are displayed and people can watch the dogs being fed.

In the future, they want to offer walking, sailing, kaffemiks and maybe dinners, but no concrete plans have been made. No private accommodation is currently available, the houses are too cramped and crowded. Now it is possible to accommodate up to five people in the service house and six people in the barracks. They have many ideas, but the tourists stay only for three hours. It is not very often that someone comes here. Last year, Jacob had two Belgians stay at his home; Arne from Hotel Uummannaq was the contact.

They won an "initiative award " from the Home Rule Government in 2003. It was DKK 25,000 for tourist initiatives. Ukkusissat showed that it did not need money to launch a new business and was able to provide a good service. Some of the money has been used to make post cards.

Najaaraq will soon leave for Paamiut, where she is from. This will change things in the village; she is charismatic and enthusiastic, not only about tourism but also about the school and life in the settlement. Maybe Marianne and Jacob will not have the same influence.

The 18th week of the year has been declared by the Home Rule as a week without alcohol, and many activities have been planned including dog sledge competitions, football matches and dancing. In March, the race is about 20 km,
Hans (30 dogs, and the winner of many dog races) uses 15 dogs, and the race goes from Ukkusissat to Appatsiaat and Qasigissat. Five winners from each village meet every year in another village for the next race (in 2002 it was in Qaarsut). May 1st there is a children’s race, one child and one dog for 1.5 km, for children up to the age of six. The dogs know how to find their way back home. May 2nd is the race for the elderly (ages 60 and up); each sledge has three dogs.

The dogs start learning how to pull when they are eight months old. Males are bigger and stronger, and females have more endurance. The dogs in the lead are the ones that “listen” to the driver.

30. Jacob (Greenlander)

In 1997, the first tourists came with the old Disko, just passing by and did not stop in the village. They contacted the ship and made the first arrangements for tourists to visit the settlement. Initially, Jakob, Najaaraq, and Marianne worked with the dancing group.

Jacob just attended the Greenland Tourism course held in Uummannaq to learn how to provide better service to tourists. In fact, he was very experienced compared to the other participants in the course, so he gave a brief overview of how Ukkusissat started with tourism and passed on a lot of information. There was a good exchange during the Greenland Tourism course, he said, and he gave a lot but also gained a good deal of valuable knowledge. Now Jacob would like to become an outfitter, along with the fishermen. He can host tourists at home and in the village there are empty houses that can be used in the future to host tourists. They will need an office and accommodation for tourists. They are ready to have more tourists, and there is interest among the young people and Greenland Tourism promises to help with product development and marketing. At the last meeting of the tourist committee (Jacob is the chairman), seven people took part and five of them were young. Important areas for possible new offers include the old mine of Maarmorilik, fishing arctic char in the fjord of Tasiusaq, going with tourists to the soapstone quarry (Ukkusissat means soapstone), and cooperating with other districts, like Aasiaat, Qasigiannguit, Qeqertarsuaq, Ilulissat, and Uummannaq.

They will prepare a tourism development plan that includes a list of the attractions in order to attract tourists here in cooperation with Greenland Tourism and with other towns. They are thinking about making a webpage, but they do not know how and
need help. They want to have qualified outfitters and intends to ask TAT for money so they can build a house with an office and accommodation, then they will think about buying a boat for tourist tours.

They are very proud of what they have accomplished, and do not think they need any special courses. They want to continue to do things on their own and have control over the development of tourism.

31. Jeremias (Greenlander)

Jeremias, 37, is a fisherman. He is the head of the fishermen’s association, which has about 30 members.

There have been rapid climate changes over the past five years, but these changes began roughly 20 years ago. The ice is not so thick, he says, and with bad ice, they can’t take their boats out, so there is no fishing. In the autumn, they had a lot of snow, rain and stormy weather. In March they had a great deal of rain, which is unusual. Now, fishing by boat starts one month earlier, in May instead of in June. The season has been extended in the spring. In 2004, the ice had melted by May but the weather was stormy. Now (June) is a good fishing season. When taking up the line with the fish, there are other fish besides halibut. Some are good for eating, but some are only good for dog food, and cannot be sold to the fish factory. Fishing by boat goes from May to November. When the ice is good, people can go out and fish from ice holes. In summer, there is more fish but also higher expenses for fuel, food for the employees and so on. In winter, from January to the end of April – beginning of May, there are fewer fish and lower expenses. Jeremias has a big boat and in summer a crew of four works with him. In winter, he goes fishing with a dog sledge. There are rules restricting the use of snowmobiles, which can be used to go to and from Uummannaq, but nowhere else.

He is active locally with the Siumut party, and the Atassut party is also active in the settlement. Jeremias is the leader of the choir, with about 40-50 members. They sing and have discussions about different topics, such as tourism, social problems and how to be more open to the world. Everyone can join and membership costs DKK 20 per year. The choir occasionally goes on tours to sing in other places in Greenland. This year they will be in Ilulissat for 14 days, wearing traditional dress on Sundays and singing traditional Greenlandic songs. In the wintertime, there are more meetings, once or twice a week. In 2004, the club arranged a camp on the
island of Qeqertat, which is the site of an old settlement. Everyone in the district of Uummannaq was invited to attend. On one weekend, there were 400 participants. This year, the camp event will be held from August 1-3.

What makes the difference? The teamwork, he says. If somebody comes up with an idea, there are always five to ten people who say, “Let’s give it a try”. They prefer to do things by themselves, without external advice (“We don’t like it because it makes us feel like slaves”). There is group made up of the schoolteachers, the social workers, the nurse, and the police officer, and they hold regular meetings about social problems. In 2004, Dorthe, 46, the nurse, started a group to help young girls who are struggling with issues related to sexual abuse. Every month she publishes a health bulletin that focuses on topics such as how to prevent sexually transmitted diseases.

32. Ukkusissat Kommune, Henriette (Greenlander)

There is excellent cooperation among the different institutions, and there are many clubs: sports, dance, and singing.

The ice is breaking early this year, she says, and the fishing season has started earlier, so they only had a few months with little money. Private boats are used for fishing, and the average income is about DKK 190,000 per year.

Over the past 15 years the climate has changed. The ice thickness is not so good in many places this winter. In past years, it was possible to go to Uummannaq by snowmobile, dog sledge and even by car.

The Royal Greenland factory was established here in 1988, and in 1988 they also built the water tank. The new church was built in 1990. There is a private company, ULU-NUJUS, which processes fish.

There are no cars in the settlement. The only forms of transportation are one tractor, one caterpillar and the helicopter, which comes on Tuesdays and Fridays. There is no kindergarten; three women take care of the children at a day care centre.

33. Birgitte (Greenlander)

Birgitte is a former school worker. She now takes care of children at the day care centre. Last year, she took a course in Uummannaq. She takes care of four children,
ages ranging from six months to six years old, from 7:30 a.m. to 5 p.m. She is very skilled and creative and can make many different handicrafts.

Local Businesses

34. Kunuk Knudsen (Greenlander)

Kunuk is 70 years old and a former politician. He started a dancing group in 1992. In 1990, a festival was arranged by local people in Ukkusissat. The idea was to prepare for the settlement’s 200th anniversary and keep traditional Greenlandic dances alive; then they started to dance for the tourists coming here with the cruise ships.

ULU-NUJUS was a private company in the village that was active from 1976 to 1985, when it closed down. Knud contacted Mikkel Petersen from Nuuk, now the owner, and the fish factory was re-opened in 2004. There is no need for equipment to dry or freeze the fish. The entire process is done naturally in a big plant where part of the walls near the roof is not made of bricks, but open and closed with canvas to let the air circulate to allow for the drying and freezing process. In the wintertime narwhal meat is partly dried and partly frozen (over one tonne of mattaq is frozen) and sent to Nuuk. From January to May, halibut is cut in strips and dried. However, last winter this was not possible because the weather was too warm. When it is too warm, it is impossible to freeze the fish, and the fat does not taste good. Cold temperatures are thus needed to dry the fish. May and June is the season for capelins and fjord cod; in August seal meat can be dried. In November, narwhal meat is dried and mattaq is frozen. Nujus has a big freezer. Two tonnes of fish will arrive this summer. A private grocery store in Uummannaq, Rema, buys some of the fish from the factory here and sells it in Uummannaq. Fish is also sold here to private shop owners or shipped to Nuuk. Local people can also buy fish directly from the factory.

A new business has been started up with capelins; Knud saw an announcement in the newspaper about Jesper’s company in Ilulissat and contacted him. He is the contact and initiator for the time being because no one else has time to look after the business. This year, he started drying capelins for dog food, altogether 8.8 tonnes, which was put in big wood containers and sent to Jesper in Ilulissat. One kilo fresh capelins costs him DKK 1.25; and after it is dried, it is worth DKK 15.10/kg. Every day, the workers at the plant have to turn over the capelins as they dry. They are paid DKK 80/hour.
In the future, he intends to produce salted fish using halibut, cod and fjord cod. On busy days, up to six people work here: two men and four women.

**Disko II Cruise Liner in Ukkusissat**

The Disko II arrives at 4 p.m. with 43 tourists on board, ready to come ashore on tender boats. The excursion costs DKK 100 per person. Jacob, Najaaraq and Mari-anne are waiting on the rocks. A number of people have come down to take a look, while others are busy with fishing activities. The first tender arrives. The tourists are mostly middle-aged and elderly Germans. The second tender arrives, and the two guides from the ship talk with Najaaraq and Marianne while the tourists take pictures. Jacob says “Hello, welcome”, talks to people and lets tourists take pictures of him. The young girl Maanguaq paddles around in the fjord in an original kayak for the benefit of the tourists. Tenders continue to arrive.

Tourists still represent quite a happening here – something new and out of the ordinary. The visitors stroll down to the local meeting hall, and once there, they sit down while Jacob tells them the history of the settlement, the Alfred Wegener expedition, and daily life today. His presentation is in Greenlandic, Najaaraq translates everything into English, and Anja (one of the German guides from the Disko II) subsequently translates it all into German. Afterwards tourists ask questions, then the children dance, and then they start dancing with the tourists. The choir sings and afterwards Petra appears in traditional dress and performs a traditional drum dance. This is followed by a traditional dress show where different costumes can be seen: ones worn by young women, by married women, by old women, by men, and traditional winter clothing. Oline (the choir director) can be seen carrying a child in the hood (amaut) of her traditional anorak. Tourists are not served any refreshments. A small desk with souvenirs has been placed at the entrance. There are post cards, items made of beads, and two seal penis bones. Not much is sold, and later Marianne confirms that they sold very few souvenirs, apart from a few post cards.

Outside, the tourists take pictures of people wearing traditional costumes. Many locals have come out wearing their finest clothes and everyone is dressed up. Everything is very spontaneous and pleasant on the part of the hosts. Najaaraq and Jacob are the focus of attention. The crowd proceeds down to the church to take pictures of the Wegener and Vilumsen commemorative plaque, then “the feeding the dogs show” begins, and a man starts feeding voracious dogs while tourists take pictures. Jacob walks around, looking satisfied; locals gaze at this spectacle as they
have never seen something like it before. The small convenience shop opens, and many locals go to buy something (soda, ice cream), followed by Najaaraq, and finally some of the tourists buy some soda or a souvenir coffee mug, but most of them are just “window shopping.” Down at the harbour, tourists take pictures, mostly of children, before they depart again.

This is the second Sunday that the cruise ship tourists have come this year, and it will be like this until the end of July.

Many are involved in this “tourist reception”: Jacob, Najaaraq and Marianne; Oline and the dancing children; Maanguaq with the kayak; Petra doing a drum dance; the woman at the souvenir desk; the man feeding the dogs; the shop owners, the choir (not official, just who happens to be there) the five people wearing traditional garb. Different people are involved every time to evenly distribute the revenues from these events throughout the community.

The choir is paid between DKK 800 and DKK 900; Maanguaq gets DKK 100 for kayaking; DKK 100 is paid for the local meeting hall (forsamlingshus). The rest of the money goes to the tourist committee for the restoration of the house and to save money to buy a boat for additional tourism activities.

Respondents

35. Villads (Greenlander), Qaarsut

Villads is the manager of Neriunaq, a little seal skin processing plant that was inaugurated in 1984. This facility remained open until 1992, when it had to be closed due to a lack of money. The Uummannaq district government took over and now three to four people work there along with Villads.

Around 200 people and 300 to 400 dogs live in Qaarsut. Fishermen and hunters primarily catch halibut, catfish, seals and capelins. Dried capelins are sold in Ilulissat for DKK 80/kg. From October to January, the narwhal quota is 14, but Villads says there are many narwhal in the sea.

They want to start with tourism activities. The plan is to have a little guesthouse that can host 10-15 people. They hope to start this summer (2005) around mid-August, when Esper, the Danish teacher returns from holiday.
Three or four people here in the village have expressed an interest in working in the tourism sector. Karl Tobiassen and his wife Ane attended the Greenland Tourism course held in Uummannaq.

The idea is to pick up the tourists at the airport and bring them to the settlement where they can visit the church and Neriunaq. In winter, from November, it is possible to go dog sledding in the mountains, and until April-May, on the fjord when the ice is good.

**Findings**

**Sisimiut Area**

The accommodation capacity is quite large in Sisimiut; there is a hotel, a Sømandshjem, some bed & breakfasts, and a youth hostel. Sisimiut is located in the mid-region of the west coast of Greenland. The area still has the highest accommodation numbers of any region in Greenland. The average stay is between two and four nights.

**Tourist Office**

Sisimiut Tourist Information (STI) consists of two persons, the manager and an employee, who provide tourists with information, monitor tourist trends, prepare documents for discussion among stakeholders, draw up tourist development plans, and arrange meetings with stakeholders.

The tourist office manager hopes that local residents will take notice of the tourists coming to the settlements and become inspired to develop their own tourism businesses. People, he said, are not aware of the potential for tourism, and communication is a problem on both sides. For instance, the settlement of Sarfannguaq needs more guidance to gain a foothold in the tourism sector, while the settlement of Itilleq is more used to tourism. The tourist office plans to work on this issue. The idea is to invite people who have succeeded in promoting tourism in the settlements (community-based tourism) like in Ilulissat (Ilulissat region) or in Kangaamiut (Maniitsoq region), and by listening to their experiences and discussing the different aspects, encourage people in the settlements to try their hand at working in this area of business. In addition, FÆKO (fælles kommunalt samarbejde), an initiative to promote cooperation among different districts, is analysing the possible
advantages of cooperation among the actors in this sector and, among others issues, is taking into consideration matters such as tourism products, marketing through a common homepage, and the launch of a single regional tourism office, with one manager who is in charge of the entire region as one destination.

**Outfitters**

The outfitters are well organized, competent, and have additional qualifications that allow them to take tourists trophy hunting, boating and fishing. They offer a wide range of products. Furthermore, they take tourists on several kinds of dog-sledging tours, snowmobile and boating trips, hiking, and whale safaris. They are very active and always looking to develop something new, but do not cooperate much with each other. The outfitters in the area compete with two tour operators in Sisimiut, and in Kangerlussuaq, where trophy hunting is quite popular.

When the tourist season is at its peak, other people, mainly hunters, get involved and lend a hand. This is the case when there is a large demand for dog-sledging, or for hunting camps, though this business remains only an occasional employment opportunity for the hunters. By contrast, the outfitter companies are highly involved in the business, mainly in Kangerlussuaq, and in the area between Kangerlussuaq and Sisimiut, which is a very popular area for tourists, such as hikers, kayakers, skiers and guests on dog-sledging tours.

The outfitter companies offer an impressive diversity of activities, including trips across the ice cap, and are always looking for new products. One of them is currently looking into the possibility of introducing fishing camps, where tourists can enjoy fly fishing, fully accommodated. Another outfitter, and owner of the boat that will provide an important weekly transport link for the settlements, is trying to motivate people from one village to start some kind of tourist business. Thanks to an agreement with the district government, the boat will stop in each settlement for three hours instead of only 15 minutes, as was the case with the former Arctic Umiaq Line connection, and this could represent an excellent opportunity to advance various initiatives on tourism.

**Education**

The issues of “education” and of information also crop up when talking with people who are occasionally involved in tourism activities, or considering launching some kind of activity related to tourism. There is an obvious lack of the necessary competences and skills among these people.
Often the local population cannot see any potential or opportunity mainly because there is a lack of information about tourism development, and the support and opportunities offered by this sector. The representatives of the local tourist office say that there is little to no awareness among members of the local community of the opportunities that tourism has to offer. It has to be said, however, that large segments of the local population are busy with other economic activities, and it seems that little time is left over for tourism activities. Tourism here is mainly an area of focus for the outfitters, the incoming travel offices, and the hotels.

**Settlements**

The village of Itilleq has a rather long tradition of working in the tourism sector. The tourist season runs from May to September, when cruise ships pass by and stop at the settlement. The main visitor is the Disko II cruise ship, but other cruise ships regularly stop here, bringing 50-80 or 100-150 people ashore for three hours every week. These visitors walk around and/or play football with the local population.

The tourist activities are completely handled by one person who, for a long time, has been the only one in the settlement who speaks English. She made the initial contacts and forged an agreement with the cruise ship companies to host guests for brief stays in the village. She put together a programme that includes visiting the settlement, enjoying a traditional kaffemik at her home, and occasionally giving exhibitions of traditional Greenlandic polka dancing. The only involvement of the local people in the tourism business (except for playing football, which does not generate any revenues) is selling handicrafts to this person, who in turn sells the items to tourists. This resource person left Itilleq in June 2005 and apparently all activities in the village have stopped, except for the soccer matches.

The future of tourism in Itilleq, now that the focal person has left, seems to depend to a high degree on having somebody else who will take over the tourist activities. At the time of the field work (June 2005), there were some interested people who were considering taking on this challenge. In addition, the focal person who was leaving had been looking for somebody who could take over. The advantage of this settlement is that certain activities have already been established to accommodate the visits of the cruise ships.

In Sarfannguaq there are some people who are looking into developing tourism activities. At the same time, the Sisimiut Tourist Office as well as some local residents from the village who moved to Sisimiut and are involved in tourism activities, plan to
foster the development of tourism in the village, and are ready to guide and provide advice during the start-up phase. The groundwork has already been laid: the settlement, thanks to the boat transport agreement, will receive tourists at least once a week. In addition, there are hikers coming from Kangerlussuaq who, after being picked up by boat, come to the village and would appreciate amenities and services. A young man, interviewed during field work, reported that he had experience in taking hikers by boat from the shore of the mainland to the village, and was offering coffee and refreshments to the tourists, and occasionally also overnight accommodation. This was done for free, except when tourists spontaneously decided to leave him some money. He is aware of the fact that he was offering a service that is normally paid for and said that he was not sure how much he should charge. He realizes that this could present an opportunity to earn some extra money, and would like very much to contact the people at the tourist office, as well as other people involved in the tourism business, to get information at all levels and give his tourism business a more structured and stable form.

In Sarfannguaq the situation is rather different than in Itilleq. Even if sporadic visits by tourists may have motivated people to consider the fact that tourism could offer certain opportunities in the settlement, everything needs to be built up from scratch. In Sarfannguaq it is necessary to start talking about tourism, about external support, and most of all to give information about all aspects of tourism development, about the required involvement, and about what to expect from the business. As the tourist office and one of the outfitters have suggested, organizing meetings and talks with the local population is the starting point for developing tourism activities in Sarfannguaq.

Ilulissat

The most successful centre for tourism in the region is without a doubt Ilulissat, trailed at a considerable distance by Sisimiut, which does not yet seem to have found its own profile (at the time of fieldwork), and Uummannaq, which is suffering a major loss of tourism business and prominence in the sector, almost certainly due to the relocation of the airport.

The impressive beauty of Ilulissat and its surroundings has long since been discovered by the global tourist market and the place has become a “must” stop-over for tourist visits to the region. Undoubtedly one of the most well known places
in Greenland, Ilulissat’s main attraction is its stunning wilderness backdrop, most notably its icebergs and glaciers. This lure has been reinforced by the tremendous echo induced by including the ice fjord system on the UNESCO World Heritage List.

Ilulissat has an outstanding tourism infrastructure including hotels, apartments available to rent for tourists, and bed & breakfast accommodation in private homes. The airport is located nearby and well connected with the major air travel hub of Kangerlussuaq. A number of local tour operators offer a variety of different programmes for every tourist target group.

Tourism in Ilulissat is an important economic factor. The town is very well equipped in terms of facilities; there are three hotels, which combined with other kinds of accommodation (i.e., bed & breakfasts, apartments) provide a capacity of approximately 500 beds. The facilities are fully booked from mid-June to mid-August. The tourist season has been extended from the end of May to the end of September for a number of reasons. The products on offer have evolved over time, and the strategy of the travel agencies in Denmark has changed. They now promote both the early and the late season, and 70% of the tourists visiting the Ilulissat region are from Denmark.

The types of clients vary, from package tours to individuals, from target groups (i.e., hikers, fishermen) to conference participants. The average stay is three nights. Not many are independent tourists: 95% of the guests coming to Ilulissat have booked their trips through tour operators.

The tourism business is in large part run by the four non-local tour operators who are active in town. These are long-time residents who settled here some twenty to thirty years ago and established their own tourist companies. They are highly experienced and lead the sector by setting the trends for tourism in Greenland. There is competition but also cooperation among them, as they have stated during the interviews; two of the operators have agreed to a common brochure and booking system. Other than that, everyone makes their own strategies and decisions.

The operators offer a very large range of different activities: from helicopter tours to boat tours to trips to the ice fjord and the glaciers, midnight tours, hiking, dog sledding, kayaking, fishing and camping. They also offer bed & breakfast accommodation in private homes. Nevertheless, the souvenir sector has been declining, especially with regard to the sale of inexpensive items. This is probably due to
market saturation. An operator said that dog sledging is declining, too. The number of tourists coming for dog sledging tours is decreasing, and among the reasons for this is the relatively high price of this leisure activity and the competition with other countries, where flights are cheaper and there are offers which include full-board accommodation and charter flights.

Role of the Local Population

The local population is not very involved in tourism activities, except for every now and then when fishermen and hunters can be used for driving sledges. Each of the tour operators has a list of drivers, but only very few of them are regularly hired during the season. People here are mainly involved in fishing and in the fishing industry.

Of the seven outfitters who have acquired qualifications and were active some years ago, many have left the tourism sector and returned to fisheries or other businesses. Presently only one Greenlander and two “foreign” qualified outfitters are still active.

The Settlements

In the village of Oqaatsut, all tourist activities are currently linked to the local restaurant, which is located in a refurbished old trading post building. A German couple who settled here seven years ago is running the 24-seat restaurant and the two guesthouses (14 beds/7 rooms). Local residents are currently not involved in tourism activities. However, this location has a great deal of potential. Excursions to Oqaatsut, with lunch or dinner at the restaurant, are offered by the local tour operators.

The population of Oqaatsut has not been involved in any activity related to tourism and has not benefited from the presence of the restaurant or the guesthouses to the extent that it could. As in many other cases, this kind of infrastructure could act as a kind of catalyst to boost business activities related to accommodation and meals. In spite of this, Oqaatsut is well known in Ilulissat, and is a popular recreational destination for people in town. At present the local population has not considered the possibility of starting even small businesses linked to tourism, such as the “tent café” in Igaliku, South Greenland.

On the other hand, the village of Ilimanaq is actively seeking to expand its tourist activities. Some people are involved in tourism thanks to the cooperation and support of tour operators from Ilulissat. The tour operators organize boat trips to the
village, and once the guests arrive, they are welcomed by the locals, given a tour of the settlement, and offered lunch at home with traditional food. Greenlandic barbecues are becoming increasingly popular along with traditional kaffemiks.

Two different tour operators are currently working together with two people in Ilimanaq, one of whom offers full-board accommodation for up to six persons. During my visit to the village (June 2005), a young man said that he was in contact with a (third) operator in Ilulissat, and as soon as his house is refurbished, he will be ready to host tourists, offering meals, full-board accommodation, and also kayak trips and dog sledding tours.

At the moment, Ilimanaq offers quite a large variety of tourism activities and facilities, and this level of involvement is rather unusual for such a small settlement. Furthermore, people plan to start new activities for tourists such as salmon fishing, and with the restoration of the old trading post buildings, which will be converted into a restaurant and a museum about the settlement, additional activities can be launched as well.

With its plans for tourism development at the village level, Ilimanaq is a perfect example of one of the main issues of the research. Ilimanaq is a village where community-based tourism seems to have really caught on, and is improving from spontaneous forms of activity to more structured offers for accommodation and leisure activities. The level of community involvement in tourism is increasing in the village. Activities are developing related to tourism development, small businesses and individual initiatives. This is also happening thanks to the support of the experienced tour operators from Ilulissat, who aim to promote the village as a new destination in the area. As we have seen (i.e., in Itilleq), for the purpose of tourism development it is very important to find a resource person in this settlement. A local resource may be crucial to the success of the initiative, because he or she will be able to motivate and support the local people, listening to them and giving advice when starting tourism activities.

**Uummannaq Area**

Currently in Uummannaq all tourism and tourist activities are associated with one person: the owner of the only hotel in town. He is a Dane who came to Uummannaq in 1974 and initiated tourist activities with the building of the hotel. This was later followed by a souvenir shop and a tourist office, which organizes all excursions
and activities in the area. Offers range from boat tours to the villages, to Qilakitsoq, where the famous mummies were found, and to the fjord, the glacier, and the “yellow desert” on Salliaruseq Island. In addition to city walks, sledding and snowmobile tours, tourists can also opt to play golf on the ice. Most of the guests (70%) are tourists and the rest (30%) are travelling businessmen. As with the other two regions (Sisimiut and Ilulissat), the majority of the guests are Danes followed by Germans.

Moving the airport from Uummannaq to Qaarsut has triggered a dramatic decline in the number of tourists, from 3,000 tourists to 1,300 every year. When the helicopter service between Ilulissat and Uummannaq was still active, this was an extremely popular attraction, providing tourists with 50 minutes of spectacular flight.

The hotel also owns a boat and offers many different excursions in the area. The captain of the boat is a Greenlander and an outfitter (the only one in Uummannaq) who works together with the hotel/tourist office.

The Settlements

In the village of Saattut there is a little tourism thanks to the boat tours organized by the hotel but, as the hotel owner said, all attempts to market kaffemiks have failed. He thinks that there is enough good business with fishing in the village, so there isn’t much interest in seeking alternatives. The situation is the same in the settlement of Ikerasak.

The other village that I visited, Qaarsut, is located some 45 minutes by foot from the airport. This settlement does not seem to have benefited from this proximity or from the fact that the passengers always have to spend some time waiting at the airport. A number of people have shown an interest in increasing the amount of tourism, for example, by offering dog sledding, walks on the beach, visits to the church and the tannery. They suggest restoring a house and using it as a guesthouse. Two of the inhabitants took part in the course on tourism organized by Greenland Tourism, and some other people are interested in starting tourism activities, but that it is currently unclear who should be the initiator, the focal person, and how to develop tourism.

There is a desire to launch tourism initiatives in Qaarsut. Some ideas are there, and two people have already taken some courses on tourism, but, as they said, they lack the necessary tools to get going. They need more information, support and a reference person. The case of Qaarsut is emblematic of many other places, as is the lack of information and support.
Every now and then one of the settlements has some direct involvement in tourism. This happens when some tourists from the hotel express a desire to stay for some days in a village. Then the hotel owner organizes accommodation in people’s homes and hires local people in the village. This is the case in the village of Ukkusissat.

The Example of Ukkusissat

Ukkusissat started tourist activities in connection with the Disko II in 1997, when the cruise ship first stopped here and singing, dancing and kayak exhibitions were performed for tourists. Otherwise they have had no other experience with tourism, except for visits from a few kayakers and a couple of skiers.

The tourist committee is quite active, and young people are interested in future development and in more involvement in tourist activities. They said that they are ready to have more tourists and prepared to offer more activities, such as visiting the old mine at Maarmorilik, fishing in the fjord, and offering kaffemiks. The tourist committee is working on a tourism development plan consisting, among other things, of a list of attractions and how to get tourists there. There are several ideas for future tourism development, from making a webpage to buying a boat for tourist tours. Sometimes they are inspired by certain events, such as when the hotel owner in Uummannaq asked for full accommodation in a private house for a couple of days for two tourists. This sparked the idea of restoring the old empty houses and using them for tourism.

In Ukkusissat there is good cooperation among the different institutions and among people. There are different associations and many occasions to meet and discuss matters. Once a year a general meeting is held, and the whole population of the village is invited to participate and discuss the different issues. The social situation in this small and peripheral village is not as problematic as in other places; unemployment is almost non-existent and there are no significant social problems.

The salient feature in all the interviews is that the village wants to develop at its own pace. They want to maintain control over resources and their development. They want to decide the kind of development that is suitable for the size and the structure of the village.

The village of Ukkusissat represents an exceptional case, probably unique in all of Greenland. This village brings together all the issues of community-based development.
Ukkusissat corresponds to all the conditions required by the research. It is small-scale and peripheral, hunting and fishing activities are predominant and, most important of all, local dynamism is key element of the village, as is the involvement and the initiative of the local population in developing tourism as an option for future development.

The relevant aspects making this village special are indeed:

• Local dynamism
• Local cooperation
• Local discourse about tourism
• Local discourse about development
• Local discourse about the future for the community

These characteristics are rarely found in other, similar communities.64

Appendix

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<th>Population of Sisimiut and its settlements</th>
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64 Small-scale and peripheral places, with predominantly fishing and/or hunting activities.
### Population of Ilulissat and its settlements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>2005</th>
<th>2011</th>
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<td>Qeqertaq</td>
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<td>127</td>
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<tr>
<td>Saqqaq</td>
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### Population of Uummannaq and its settlements

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<td>Nuugaatsiaq</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

2.3. Case Study: Tourism Development in Remote Places and Peripheral Areas: Qaanaaq

Fieldwork took place during June and July 2007

Description of the Area

The community of Qaanaaq (pop. 652 in Qaanaaq, and 846 in the entire region) is located in the northernmost district of Greenland, called Avanersuaq, which means the place that is the farthest north. It stretches from 70 to 80 degrees north, from Melville Bay in the south up to Smith Sound. Archaeological evidence suggests that the first settlers of Avanersuaq arrived some 5,000 years ago after crossing Smith Sound from Canada. The direct ancestors of today’s Inuit belonged to the “Thule” culture and reached Avanersuaq soon after 1000 A.D.

Qaanaaq was established in 1952 following the Danish authorities’ decision to move the local population, Inughuit (the great people) from their home village Uummannaq (Dundas) because of its close proximity to the American Thule Air Base. Greenland’s most northern town, has the kind of infrastructure that one would expect to find in a Greenlandic town\(^6\) and a museum, which is housed in the former home of the famous arctic explorer Knud Rasmussen\(^6\).

Of all the settlements, only Siorapaluk, Savissivik, Moriusaq and Qeqertaq are permanently inhabited. The other places have been gradually abandoned at different points in time. Some of the settlements are still visited for hunting activities and for dog sledding trips with tourists, and the huts are used as shelter for hunting parties going out hunting for longer periods.

The settlements

Savissivik, located in the northern part of the Melville Bay, is the southernmost inhabited place in the district. The name originated from savik, which means

\(^6\) This includes the hotel, the supermarket, the bakery, the post office, the tourist office, and a small well-equipped hospital.

\(^6\) In 1910, Knud Rasmussen established the district’s first trading post, called “Thule” after the Latin name of Ultima Thule. The area is also well known because it has been the starting point for many of the famous “Thule Expeditions”, which Knud Rasmussen undertook together with Peter Freuchen and researchers Therkel Mathiassen, Kaj Birket-Smith, and Helge Bansted.
iron/knife, and originates from the fact that after a cluster of meteorites fell in the area many years ago. The indigenous population used this as a source of iron for making knives. In the spring and summer, the cliff just above Savissivik is the breeding ground for hundreds of thousands of auks, which constitute one of the main sources of food for the local people. In 2005, there were 78 inhabitants. Hunting and fishing activities form the foundation for the local economy, and there is small-scale production of products made from halibut, seals, narwhals, and auks. Fish and meat products are shipped out in summer for the Greenlandic home market.

The inner parts of Melville Bay are an important breeding area for narwhals, seals, and polar bears. This region has been declared a natural reserve where all types of traffic and hunting are prohibited.

Moriusaq, located about 30 km from the American Thule Air Base (Pituffik), is a small settlement with 13 inhabitants. Hunting in the area is good and constitutes the basis of the local economy. Over the past few years, several families have moved away, especially to Qaanaaq.

Qeqertaq is a very small settlement in the inner part of the Inglefield Fjord east of Qaanaaq, with 21 inhabitants, but in summer, the number of inhabitants often doubles because it is used as a base for narwhal hunting parties. Natural resources also form the foundation for economic activity in Qeqertaq.

Siorapaluk, with 80 inhabitants, is the district’s northernmost settlement (i.e., the world’s highest-latitude Inuit village, the Arctic Circle lies 1,250 kilometres to the south). Almost all year round there is good hunting close to the settlement and at the cliffs around Siorapaluk, which are the breeding grounds for millions of birds, including auks and murrels. Foxes and arctic hares are caught close to the village, and sea mammals, especially seals and walrus, are hunted. All these resources are vital to the economy of the population.

Qeqertarsuaq, a settlement with two inhabitants, lies on the north-east coast of Herbert Island. Families have gradually moved to Qaanaaq but houses are often used by hunting parties or as a recreational facility for tourists.

In the town of Qaanaaq (pop. 652), as in the other peripheral districts, hunting activities are prevalent and are substantial components of the informal economy and the

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67 During the 20th century, several meteorites were shipped out of this area. One meteorite, weighing approximately 20 tonnes, was retrieved in 1968 and taken to Denmark’s Geological Museum.
subsistence sector. Opportunities to diversify these activities, and thus gain extra income, are rather limited in this peripheral and sparsely populated area. Aside from a number of administrative jobs, there is a handicrafts centre called The Ultima Thule, which is managed on a cooperative basis but administratively and financially supported by municipal authorities, with facilities for making handicrafts (in a different building) and a shop for displaying and selling. The raw materials\textsuperscript{68} used to produce these items are bought from the local hunters.

Hunting is the primary economic (and subsistence) activity. Some tourism activities take place in the area. Thanks to the impressive landscape and its remoteness, combined with the mythical aura of Ultima Thule, the region has great potential for tourism. The area, which is not always easy to reach, symbolizes one of the last frontiers in tourism. As the literature shows\textsuperscript{69}, some travellers feel the need to journey greater distances, experience extreme sensations, and surpass their own previous achievements, and since Qaanaaq embodies all of this, the community may consider tourism as an option for economic development in the near future.

The tourist office in Qaanaaq has a wide variety of activities to offer tourists, from dog sledding to kayaking and boat tours, to hiking trips to see the ice cap, icebergs, and glaciers. Whale and bird watching trips are offered as well as ice fishing and

\textsuperscript{68} Mostly narwhal and walrus tusk, polar bear claws and skin from fox, seal, and polar bear.

arctic char fishing trips. Tourists can buy a tourist’s license to hunt most types of
game, except polar bear, walrus, and whales. Short hikes to the ice cap and to visit
archaeological sites can be arranged. Cultural offers include drum dancing, choir
singing, showing and telling about the traditional costume, and kayak shows. The
tourist office also provides accommodation in Qaanaaq and the surrounding settle-
ments. In Qaanaaq, in addition to the hotel (five double rooms), there are nine rooms
that can be rented (at the telecommunications and ionosphere stations), and accom-
modation is offered in private homes in the settlements.

At present there are no qualified outfitters in the area. Instead, only local hunters and
fishermen are involved in tourist activities.70

According to the Qaanaaq Tourist Office, there were approx. 100 tourists in 2005.71
This figure also includes business travellers visiting Qaanaaq. The tourist office said
that 2005 was a bad year for tourism compared to 2004, when there were nearly
twice as many tourists.72

When it comes to visitor’s activities, the tourist office reports that tourists are mostly
attracted by nature and adventure, with cultural aspects as a secondary interest.
Among the leisure activities, dog sledding is the best seller, with a season that
extends from spring to early summer. During summer, kayaking and hiking are very
popular among tourists. Individual travellers like to go to Siorapaluk, the northern-
most inhabited place in the world. They usually reach the settlement by dog sledge,
but during the summer it is possible to travel there by boat.

Some outfitters from North America use the area for dog sledding and kayak activi-
ties. The tourist office reports that during the springtime tourists are given an oppor-
tunity to accompany the hunters by dog sledge and in the summer by motorboat to
the narwhal hunting areas, where they can actually observe the hunt. Presently, the
tourist office is working on a tourist programme that focuses increasingly on cultural
experiences.

71 Information received by Saki Daorana from Qaanaaq Tourist Office. This is presently the only
available information. Data per town/region on tourism are available neither from the National
Tourist Board of Greenland nor from Statistics Greenland.
72 These may seem like trifling small figures; however, this is the standard when talking about peri-
pheral, remote destinations, sharing the same characteristics as the Qaanaaq area.
Rationale

As in previous research, the goal of the fieldwork was to survey local involvement in tourism planning and development. In particular, the focus was on how a small and extremely peripheral community could define its tourism potential and consequently develop a product that can attract a certain number of tourists and generate jobs, including seasonal and secondary income.

For the purpose of this research, Qaanaaq represented the perfect place for investigation, responding to the following conditions:

- Sparsely populated, peripheral area
- Presence of hunting (and fishing) activities as an important part of the local economy
- Subsistence economy, lower incomes, significant unemployment rates, transfer economy
- Presence of some tourism activities
- Presence of people engaged in tourism activities (even not officially listed as outfitters)
- Local dynamism and/or local development

Methodology

Thanks to the relatively small size of the community of Qaanaaq, it was possible to conduct extensive investigations. Working together with the local community made it possible to acquire a deep knowledge of what expectations the survey population has with regard to tourism development.

Visiting the settlements was considered highly valuable for the research, being as these tiny communities are the final outposts of a tourist destination and already have some sporadic local tourist activities.73

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73 For several different reasons this plan was never realized; the ice conditions were not good enough to reach the settlement by dog sledge, but there was too much ice for sailing. Furthermore, people were busy hunting. This often made it difficult to plan meetings, but a number of days of fog impeded hunting activities, which helped make it possible to complete the fieldwork.
Here, too, one-on-one extensive interviews were considered the best option for acquiring qualitative, detailed information on the local population’s aspirations, obstacles and failures. A basic questionnaire was prepared to facilitate comparisons of the data collected from the interviewees. The two methods (interviews and questionnaires) made it possible to obtain a complete picture and report on the dynamics of tourism development at a community level, including local involvement and people’s predisposition toward small-scale forms of tourism. The data will be presented in the following section.

An open meeting was also planned in the form of a loosely structured workshop to give participants an opportunity to express their ideas and expectations, as well as fears and hopes about the possibility of developing tourism in the community, and their feelings about being involved in the development of the community. The workshop was supposed to take place at the local school, and despite the large numbers of people who signed up for the event, it never took place; only three of the 22 people expected to attend showed up and stayed for a brief moment. The reason for this was that a narwhal had been caught and the entire community went down to harbour, where the meat was sold to the general population. That very same day, many of the hunters left on hunting trips and there were no further opportunities to hold an open meeting.

**Presentation of the Data**

Data and information collected during the fieldwork are presented here in a manner that is similar to the previous fieldwork, using categories that are representative of the target group:

- Hunters, not licensed outfitters
- Tour operators (none)
- Representatives of the tourist organization
- Respondents
- Local businesses
- People involved in tourist activities
Hunters, not licensed outfitters

1. Professional hunter\(^\text{74}\) and guide (Greenlander), 45 years old

He got involved with tourism activities around 15 years ago, bringing tourists along with him mainly by dog sledge and sometimes by boat. He also takes the tourists along on longer trips, ranging from two to four weeks, and while he is hunting, tourists take pictures. He also guided for film crews from England and Switzerland.

The income from guiding is good, he says, adding that if more tourists came, it would be even better. It has become difficult to work as a professional hunter; income has decreased so tourism activities are a good alternative source of income. He hunts walrus, seal and narwhal before the polar night sets in, but not with tourists.

The district has only limited resources for social assistance so tourism is important. In his opinion, it’s necessary to lower airfare prices to generate more tourism. Most tourists cannot return because the tickets are too expensive, so they usually visit only once.

He thinks it’s important to know English. A two-week English course was offered 10 years ago, and he found it very useful. He says that it would be a good idea for the district authority to organize a new course, particularly as this would make it easier to tell tourists about hunting and its importance.

2. Professional hunter, occasionally a guide (Greenlander), 42 years old

He first got involved in tourism four years ago. Trips generally last four to five days, but sometimes as many as 10 days. What a trip needs to be organized, he is called by the tourist office, or by the hotel or another hunter. He likes to go with tourists.

The main problem is communicating with them. He said it would be much better if an interpreter could help him talk with the guests. He knows a few words of English and he supplements this basic communication with body language. It would be good to learn more, he says, and an English course would be helpful. They have a Greenlandic-English dictionary, but a course would be better.

The money earned from guiding is all right, he says. During the winter there is not much income, so it is good to have some extra work. In his opinion, tourists should come here to experience the dog sledging, the hunting and the landscape.

3. Professional hunter (Greenlander), 31 years old

During the spring (2007) he went out on two occasions with tourists. He thinks that tourism is good, also in the summer when people are busy hunting. He is aware that there are an increasing number of activities in this sector and would like to take a general course on tourism and a language course. Communication is a problem. Tourists ask a lot of questions and he often cannot answer them. It is always better to have an interpreter; but this happens only with groups and it makes things better on both sides. If the tourists are satisfied, he is satisfied, too.

A course is needed. When tourists book a trip, the hunters who act as their guides should have more knowledge of the language. It would be better to know beforehand what tourists want to see or experience.

He would like more opportunities to show tourists around by boat during the summer. He does not agree with the rules for having tourists along in a boat.

4. Professional hunter until 2006, now has another job (Greenlander), 42 years old

He started working with tourists in the 1990s, taking them on trips by sledge and by boat. He got involved in tourism because the hunting was poor and he needed the extra income. Nowadays the ice is not so good, it forms very late in the year. Instead of in September or October, it now it freezes in November or even in December.

He likes to go out with tourists. This year (2007) he went to Siorapaluk with a team that brought seven Spanish tourists there. Prices are now cheaper than before and tourists pay different rates. Americans pay DKK 1,500 per day, whereas other tourists, like the Spanish, pay DKK 1,000 per day.

He would like to continue guiding. He says that tourism can be a good alternative source of income for the hunters, especially during periods where fish and game are scarce. He thinks that the time has come to start organizing trophy hunting trips for polar bear and musk-ox.
With regard to the tourist season, he says that the period from October to December is not ideal for tourists to come here because of the darkness, but the season from March to May is good for sledge tours and June to August for boat tours.

Tourists can learn about hunting life. He says that most tourists are interested in the landscape, and not in the way people live there. “They want to travel by sledge and enjoy the landscape, but it would be good to show them our culture”.

He would like to have more tourists and to accomplish this he thinks that more advertising is needed. The tourist office should handle of this, in his opinion. “Tourists do not know what life is like up here during the dark period; they should come and experience it”.

A friend, who is not involved in tourism activities, joined the interview to give his opinion about how to increase tourism in Qaanaaq: “Families can accommodate tourists so they will see what life is really like. This will help generate income. Saki (from the tourist office) should ask who wants to accommodate people at home and make a list.”

The hunter’s wife added: “In the wintertime there are not so many jobs. We should offer tourists bed & breakfast or full-board accommodation and not only sledging tours. I would like to know what the requirements are to start accommodating people”

5. Professional hunter and guide (Greenlander), 47 years old

He began guiding when he was 17 years old. In 1991, he was one of the drivers with a team of six dog sledges that took a group of tourists to Arctic Canada. In 2006, he went out with tourists six times, and in 2007, always during springtime, on seven occasions. Sometimes the trips are for two or three days, sometimes, when hunting, for as many as 11 days. If they go to Siorapaluk, the trip consists of a one-day sledge journey, one overnight in the village, and the next day returning to Qaanaaq.

The tourist office arranges the guides. Sometimes they know beforehand where they will go, sometimes they find out along with the tourists before departing on the trip. Ultimately, it’s the weather that determines the trips. He receives payment either directly from the tourists or from the tourist office. He is satisfied with the money that he gets from these tours. Some tourists are okay and respect the hunting, some feel sorry for the animals but do not disturb the hunting.
An interpreter comes along only if there is a film crew, otherwise he uses body language and the handful of English words he knows.

Tourists are a good source of income, especially now, when the ice is getting thinner and making it difficult to reach traditional hunting places. Tourists pay DKK 1,000-1,500 per day and bring along their own food.

It would be okay if more tourists came because this would increase their income, but it is only feasible during springtime with the sledge, and not so much in the summer by boat.

6. Professional hunter and guide (Greenlander), 40 years old

He guides by sledge and by boat, has all the necessary equipment (clothing), is intimately familiar with the area, and has colleagues who can help if necessary. He has no knowledge of foreign languages but he thinks that speaking is not a problem. He uses signs, or makes drawings to explain. He says that if he moves to a larger community, he will take a language course. This spring he had tourists from Spain who were really enthusiastic and they want to come again and hire him as a guide. He would like to have more to do with tourists, also during the summer.

He and his wife are refurbishing a building in Qaanaaq that can be used as a guest-house. She wrote to the Greenland Home Rule to acquire the necessary licenses. They also have houses in Savissivik and Qeqertarsuaq, which can be used for tourism. They have had no tourists in Savissivik yet. It is complicated to travel there because it is necessary to pass through the American air base in Pituffik.

They bought a used car to bring the tourists from the airport into town. They also received the necessary licence from the Home Rule, but have not put it to use yet. Now, they have asked to change the licence for other purposes such as renting the house. Ultima Thule (the tourist office) is aware that the house can be used for tourists.

She has also placed advertisements in Upernavik and in Ilulissat. The advertised prices are DKK 500/day/family or DKK 300/day/single. The house can also be rented for longer periods. If it is for six months then the price will be DKK 100/day. She is considering ways to improve these offers and do more advertising, perhaps in connection with tour operators.
They plan to move Siorapaluk two years from now, and in the future open a guest-house that serves meals and refreshments. They haven’t yet decided what type of house to build. A kit house is ideal if they decide to build it themselves, and costs DKK 450,000 (€ 60,000), but they have not taken any decision about this yet.

She says: “Opening a guesthouse was my idea. It would be good to find a way to Siorapaluk that is not as dangerous as travelling over the ice. Maybe over the glacier but nobody has been there yet. The glacier was used in the old days when a trip was necessary. In the past, they had to use every possible route when travelling was unavoidable. Now, is not necessary to follow nature as we used to. In the past, they had to follow the animals.”

He says: “There are a lot of polar bears in Savissivik. Trophy hunting is a good idea. Life is hard now for the hunters in Qaanaaq, and trophy hunting could make an important contribution to the economy. Fishing is okay in the wintertime, there is enough fish. It is possible to make good money working solely as a fisherman, but I like hunting.”

7. Professional hunter and fisherman (Greenlander), 40 years old

He started in 1994 and has been guiding every year, mainly by dog sledge but also by boat. The best year was 2004 when he went out four or five times with tourists during the springtime. For instance, travelling from Qaanaaq to Savissivik and back; the ice was good and he was out with tourists for 11 days.

There is not as much tourism here as in the South, in Ilulissat or in Ittoqqortoormiit. Among hunters and their wives there is a lot of talk about the fact that there is not much going on here with tourism.

One of the reasons for this, in his opinion, is that it is difficult to communicate with the tourists. English is a problem, and hunters cannot tell tourists about their activities and way of life, the way people used to live in the old days, the landscape and, when visiting an abandoned settlement, about the traditional life.

He thinks that global warming could be another reason. There have been many changes here and hunting has declined. It is now almost impossible to take tourists to Savissivik over the ice; they have to take the inland route and there are no hunting possibilities there. There used to be a lot of ice out on the sea, but now it is only reliable for travel on the fjords. In addition, there was a lot to see and hunt, including
reindeer and musk-ox, but those days are over. Starting in the late 1990s, this was no longer feasible anymore. To take the inland route, the dogs need to be very strong because it is more challenging and there is no hunting, so no supplementary food.

He thinks that it is very expensive to travel here to the High North and people can travel far more cheaply to other places. In any case, “there is a need for more advertising, Ittoqqortoormiit is very active with tourism, and things are too quiet here”. Ultima Thule (the tourist office) should run more advertisements and ask the hunters how to organize the tours and so on.

He regrets that they have no interpreters; some tourists cannot enjoy a complete experience for the money they pay because of the lack of communication. Tourists pay just to have a trip around but it shouldn’t be that way. The first step, he says, would be to organize a course. Maybe one or two of the hunters can learn English.

As the season approaches, he calls the hotel and the tourist office and informs them of his availability, but not much is happening.

May and June would be a good time to have tourists. This is the season when the sealskins cannot be sold because the animals change their fur. The prices of the skins are continuously declining. Currently, they receive DKK 285 for a sealskin that has not been processed, with only the fat removed, and DKK 300 is paid if the skin is dried and processed. In Qaanaaq there is no longer a place where the skins can be sold.

Tourism could be a very good extra source of income, he says. He does not know exactly how to profit from tourism, besides the dog sledding tours, and he thinks that cruise ship tourism could be an option. Tourists go to Ultima Thule to buy souvenirs, then visit the museum and walk around town, but they could be taken by boat to see nearby abandoned settlements or the nearly abandoned settlement of Qeqertarsuaq. This is just an idea now. They have no experience in benefiting from tourism as they do in the South. He suggests organizing a meeting of the hunters’ association, before June 21st (national day), when many hunters are in town.

8. Professional hunter and carver (Greenlander), 37 years old

He also guides tourists on dog sledding and boating trips. He usually receives a phone call from the hotel, or from the tourist office or from the hunter who co-ordinates the tour.
This spring (2007) he has been out three times, for three, five and six days, respectively. The tourists were from Europe and Danes from Thule air base.

Before leaving on dog sledging journeys, a meeting is held to organize things, for instance sometimes tourists buy their own food or the hunter buys the food for them. The rule is always one tourist and one hunter on each sledge.

He likes going out with tourists very much, both for the money that he earns and the contact with outsiders that this provides. He misses the tourists when they are not here. Trips by boat can last one day or many days if they go hunting, and if they go narwhal hunting, the journey takes a minimum of one week.

In 2006, he was in Etah75 with one tourist.

On the topic of developing tourism offers and having a longer tourist season, he is considering going hunting with tourists in the spring. The idea would be to hunt seals using a traditional camouflage technique, where the rifle is hidden behind a piece of white cloth. He is convinced that tourists would be willing to pay for this. In addition, he would like to go musk-ox hunting in the spring and during the summer, by sledge or by boat. By contrast, he thinks that cruise ship tourists are not very useful for the local economy because “the hunters can do nothing with them”.

9. Professional hunter and guide from Siorapaluk (Greenlander)

He has acquired nearly all of the necessary papers to open a licensed guesthouse in Siorapaluk. Tourists there will have accommodation and self-catering. He is not in contact with Greenland Tourism or the Home Rule, and he has not asked for grants.

With the exception of camping, there is no possibility to spend the night in Siorapaluk. He purchased a house from an old woman, restored the building and opened a guesthouse in 2006 for people coming to Siorapaluk and needing accommodation.

Tourists come to see the northernmost village in the world. They stay in tents or are hosted by families. They come mostly during the springtime. This year there have been 30 people.

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75 An abandoned settlement in the extreme Far North. It lies on the migration route from the northern Canadian Arctic to Greenland. The last migration wave occurred in 1865. Etah was also the starting point of several expeditions (Knud Rasmussen, Robert Peary et al.).
During the summer five or six cruise ships arrive, usually with between 50 and 200 passengers on board. Tourists come ashore to take a look around and then leave again.

During the summer tourists come with tents and camp out. Sometimes they arrive by boat. In the springtime they take trips by dog sledge, which last anywhere from one to a number of days if they go on an expedition, go hunting, or accompany the hunters. The hunter takes care of the dog team and provides for himself. Tourists bring their own food and clothing. Prices range from DKK 1,000 to DKK 1,200. When a trip is booked by boat, one tourist pays DKK 1,200, and two tourists pay a total of DKK 1,500.

He has no knowledge of foreign languages and communicates with signs and body language.

In 2006, there were not so many tourists. Perhaps 20 travelled from Qaanaaq to Siorapaluk. This is due to the price of helicopter flights, he says, which are expensive. It costs DKK 626 for a one-way ticket.

10. Professional hunter and guide (Greenlander), 40 years old

He started guiding around 15 years ago, when he was first contacted by Hans Jensen (owner of the hotel). He likes to guide and he thinks that the income is very good.

When the tourist season starts it is a very welcome occurrence because the hunting is poor. Tourists come in the spring, in April and in May. There is only seal hunting at that time of the year, which is fine. Guiding tourists is good money, especially during a disappointing hunting season.

Sometimes tourists have a hard time watching the hunter shoot the animal, but it would be good to have more tourists, also because of the hunting restrictions.

He would like to become a full-time guide and be a hunter as a secondary activity. He left school when he was very young, and was trained by his father to become a hunter.

He would very much like to know English or other languages to be able to communicate with tourists. This would also allow them to contact him directly and not only through the tourist office or the hotel.
Language is a problem. He could take a language course at a time when the hunting is difficult because the ice is not thick enough for dog sledging and it is too thick for hunting with the boat.

He wishes that there were an association for the guides. This organization would hold meetings to discuss issues pertaining to tourism and to prepare a manual about guiding. This would help him be better prepared for tourism and tourists. The tourist office and the hotel merely tell the guides where to go with the tourists, and this is not enough, in his opinion. The hunting association is currently focusing solely on hunting matters.

Prices for guiding vary. If there were an association that handled all matters related to tourism, prices could be standardized. Of course guides prefer tourists who pay more. There is a need of an association for all of these reasons, including a webpage where the guides can be contacted directly. This would make it possible to know more about the tourists and what they want to do when they come here. It is good to have an interpreter along when going on tours.

Guides can earn a lot of money from trophy hunting. People who want to go trophy hunting are generally very affluent and can pay good money.

11. Professional hunter and head of the Hunters' Association of Qaanaaq (Greenlander), 41 years old

There are hunters here in Qaanaaq but not all of them are members of the association. The association now has only 15 members. If people need something, they can make a request for help (i.e., buying food for the dogs or receiving monetary assistance). When someone finds himself in a difficult situation, the application is often handled by individuals, so the association has little importance in these respects.

When it comes to tourism, the main problem is the language. He, for instance, understands English, but cannot speak the language. Figuring out what tourists want is half the job. When tourists come and ask for a trip, before leaving there is a meeting to decide how long they want to be out and so on. When the weather is bad they make a new itinerary. Saki (head of the tourist office) is always helping out in the organization. They try to have an interpreter on every trip when more than one sledge is going out.
He first got involved in guiding in the 1990s, when he moved from Savissivik to Qaanaaq.

The flight to up here is expensive, and when the trip takes more than 14 days, it can be difficult.

In the spring of 2007, he was out guiding three or four times, sometimes for about 14 or 15 days, and sometimes for one week. The experience is good but there is only one route and the hunters have seen it many times. However, the tourists like it and enjoy themselves. In the summer there are hardly any tourists here.

The revenue from tourism activities is important. Hunters call the tourist office when the season starts to ask if there are any tourists who need guides.

Selling narwhal skin (a delicacy known in Greenlandic as mattaq) and meat is the main source of income followed by tourism.

When tourists come, the hunters go out hunting less often and take trips with tourists instead because they earn good money from tourism.

Now the situation is okay but they miss the large groups of 10 to 16 tourists that they had in the early 1990s. Afterwards, the size of the groups dwindled to two to four tourists on each trip. He hopes they will have more tourists in the future.

Over the years, the hunters have become very careful with tourists who do not want to see blood, but during a tour the hunter needs to hunt for food for the dogs.

In his opinion, what is needed right now is to organize all the guides in an association, do more advertising, and provide information about the different activities that can be done according to the season. It is also important to inform people about the amount of time required to travel to different places.

Fishing is another activity that can be offered to tourists. This is the northernmost fishing place in the world. There are a lot of fishing spots in the region, and this should be advertised.

There is a lot of talk and dreaming about tourism but nothing substantial has happened yet. He is prepared to attend a meeting but the municipality has no money to pay for the daily income lost when going to a meeting instead of hunting.
12. Professional hunter, has just started taking tourists out on dog sledging tours (Greenlander), 22 years old

He comes from the village of Qeqertaq where he earns DKK 75/hour at a cleaning job. This spring (2007) he went out for the first time with tourists. He was contacted by the tourist office and subsequently took a group of German tourists out for 11 days. From Qaanaaq they went up into the fjord to Qeqertaq. He liked the experience even though he had little contact with the tourists because of the language barrier. Things would have been better with an interpreter, he says. Tourists could have had more from the trip.

He was part of a team of six sledges. The tourists paid DKK 1,400/day and said that they thought it was too expensive. For him it was good money, he would like to do it again, but it would be much better to have an interpreter along all the time.

13. Professional hunter (Greenlander-Japanese), 32 years old

She is a native of Siorapaluk and a trained electrician who speaks Greenlandic, Danish and English.

When it comes to tourism, she has a number of ideas, along with experience as a guide and an interpreter. Hunters ask her for help with tourists because they have communication problems. She has not decided yet if she would like to be involved in tourism activities.

She is not interested in taking tourists on trips this year, but this is a possibility for next year (2008) when she has a team of dogs that is large enough. She has also thought about building a small guesthouse.

Sometimes she works as an interpreter with the tourists. In the spring of 2007, a group of five Brazilians asked her to act as an interpreter during their three-day dog sledging tour. She was paid DKK 1,000/day and this is good money, but not something that she would like to do all the time. She prefers to be free for hunting or fishing activities.

Tourists can bring money into the community if they engage in activities with the hunters. The cruise ship tourists do not leave any money in the community. It is hard to be a hunter right now because of the climate change and the hunting restrictions. In her opinion, people want to have more tourists as a source of income for the local economy.
Big cruise ships are dangerous for the narwhal. There are restricted areas to protect the narwhal breeding places and where only professional hunters can go. Local people do not like cruise ships because they disturb the narwhal. In Qaanaaq and in the inner fjord area tourists should go with small boats, so money can go to the hunters. In this setting, tourists can enjoy the whales and there is no disturbance.

She says that the high price of airfare is one of the reasons why they don't have more tourists there. Flying there is simply too expensive.

The cruise ships regularly stop at Siorapaluk. Local people are nice to the tourists, and the tourists take pictures and sometimes buy souvenirs, but people don't make carvings with the arrival of the tourists in mind. They carve when they have time, when the weather is bad, as it has always been, and not especially for tourism.

Fishing is just beginning in Qeqertaq. Halibut is a good source of income; fresh and gutted it pays DKK 80/kilo. The factory makes dried fish. She dries the fish by herself to be sold to people at 340 DKK/kilo. Dried fish it is very well paid, but it is a lot of work to prepare it, the whole fish is frozen outside, and then it is cut with an ulu (women's traditional knife). The halibut that is sold has a certain minimum size, around 1 kg and up. The small fish are given to the dogs.

In February three different dog teams went out fishing, trying different places. There are a lot of fish in the local waters. Fishing starts in November-December and extends through to May. There is no fishing activity in the summer when narwhals are hunted. Seal hunting is a year-round activity. Walrus is hunted during the springtime and in the autumn before the ice forms. A number of beluga whales occasionally swim into the area, but there haven’t been any for the past 10 to 15 years. Polar bears are primarily found in Savissivik. March and April is the polar bear hunting season in Etah and the Far North. The hunters stay away for two to five weeks and they also go hunting for bears on the ice cap.

She is part of an international project focusing on climate change and has started to measure the ice thickness once a week. During the summer she hunts for birds, seals and musk-ox. Musk-ox were reintroduced to Pituffik and Etah around 20 years ago. It takes roughly two hours to travel from Siorapaluk to Etah by speed boat.
Representatives of the Tourist Organization

14. Saki Daorana, Ultima Thule Tourist and Souvenir Office, Qaanaaq (Japanese), married to a Greenlandic professional hunter

The area is special for visitors because it has Siorapaluk as the northernmost settlement inhabited by local people and the other special attraction is that this area is the breeding place of the narwhals.

The fjord is off-limits for all boats, except for those driven by professional hunters, because recreational trips would disturb the narwhals. Tourists can go with the hunters; this is not a new tourist product but it will reinforce the tourists’ contact with the local population and the local culture.

In terms of accommodation options in Qaanaaq, the number of available beds is:

- 10 beds at the hotel
- The municipality has two houses, with five and six beds, respectively.
- The Geophysical Institute has an additional five beds.
- Tele Greenland also has three beds.

The beds available at the Kollegium (the students’ hall of residence) will be used for the first time this year in July, when seven Japanese and one Dane will stay there. The local rule is that the hotel rooms should be completely booked up first before tourists are given accommodation elsewhere.

New houses will be built in Qeqertaq; the old ones can be repaired and used for tourism. Nothing is happening yet, however. Due to the current financial difficulties faced by the Qaanaaq district, virtually all projects like this have been put on hold.

The Ultima Thule craft shop was initiated by the former museum curator. Many things have changed since he left Qaanaaq, and the shop declined dramatically until it was eventually closed for a while. The former museum curator had many innovative ideas, which in some ways anticipated what Greenland Tourism is doing now. The marketing was very good, and products of high quality were available in the shop and elsewhere in Greenland and Denmark. After he left, the municipality began to purchase carved products merely for social reasons, without focusing on the quality of the items selected. The purpose was to secure a certain amount of income for the artists, despite the low quality of their products. As a result, millions of crowns were spent on low-quality carvings.
Saki, the present manager of the tourist office and the craft shop, started working here in 2004 and has increased annual sales from between DKK 300,000 and DKK 600,000/ to DKK 800,000 in 2005 and even DKK 1.2 million in 2006.

The quality of the carved items has improved again. The present head of the museum, who is very knowledgeable about the culture, evaluates the quality of the items on sale at the craft shop, which helps the shop manager set the prices. Carved items are sold in Greenland, especially in Ilulissat, Kangerlussuaq and in the South of Greenland as well as in Denmark.

The best sellers are various types of pendants. Special things like the Thule necklace are expensive and very fine objects made of narwhal are sold within Greenland to Greenlanders, along with bracelets made of narwhal or walrus tusk. Collectors like things such as the traditional miniature dog sledges, complete with all the tools and the dogs made of narwhal ivory (priced at around DKK 7,500), and complete narwhal tusks.

Every Wednesday, Ultima Thule buys items from the carvers that will be mainly sold “down south” in Ilulissat, Kangerlussuaq, and Nuuk.

In 2006, they sold for DKK 1.2 million, which equals almost what they have been spending on purchases from local artists. There is a 40% markup on the carved items sold in the shop, whereas buyers “down south” are given discounts if they purchase for a certain minimum amount. The CITES restrictions affect sales to buyers from outside Greenland.

As tourism activities declined in the wake of the departure of the former museum curator, the owner of the local hotel tried to look after the Ultima Thule shop, but he was too busy. Nevertheless, he managed to maintain good relations with travel agents and journalists and this softened the dramatic downturn.

In 2007, a German came with a group of 6-8 people for a two-week stay, and a Spanish television producer was here for 5-6 days with a group of 15. Both had come before to Qaanaaq and came back with a group.

There used to be charter flights via Resolute, with about 10 passengers, usually expedition tourists, on average 20-25 years old. There have been two or three companies actively bringing tourists here in the springtime for dog sledging tours and kayaking in the summer. In good years there have been four or five groups coming from Resolute, even with fluctuations in the overall number of groups.
Before the airport was built in 2002, Twin Otter planes came from Resolute, and could land anywhere on the ice or on the small 300-metre airstrip, and Hans Jensen from Hotel Qaanaaq handled all the arrangements.

The rules changed after the airport was opened. The Greenlandic Civil Aviation Administration (GLV), which manages the airport, has increased the landing and takeoff fees, and prices have doubled over the past two years. There are also extra fees for opening the airport after normal business hours. This situation has made things fairly difficult for tourism.

In the past, passengers flew by plane from Kangerlussuaq to Pituffik, and from there by helicopter to Qaanaaq. Now an overnight is necessary in Ilulissat.

There are occasionally small groups arriving from Copenhagen airport that were organized by travel agencies. Otherwise the other visitors are individual travellers.

For the first time this year (2007), the Danish travel agency Topas has included Qaanaaq as a destination in their catalogue. One of the owners of Topas went on a dog sledging trip here and afterwards Qaanaaq was included in their catalogue. This immediately resulted in a number of groups being scheduled for the season.

Greenland Travel only manages to send a couple of small groups each year.

In the spring of 2007, there were approximately 150 tourists, mainly groups like film or television crews, and research expeditions. Three of these groups consisted of people who have been here before and come back every once in a while. They stay at the hotel or in buildings that belong to the local district.

The best seller is the dog sledging trip, and the peak season for it is during the springtime.

Cruise ships generate no income for the hunters and local people, only for the Ultima Thule shop.

The cultural arrangements represent a small amount of income compared to the earnings from dog sledding. Around 20 hunters can be hired during the season, and the 5 or 10 best hunters are often busy working with tourists.

In 2006, there were 10 visits from cruise ships with between 45 and 100 passengers on board. Most of these ships had made prior arrangements, but three of them arrived unannounced.
The ships Disko II, Hanseatic, and Kaptian Khlebnikov, which have come every summer for the past 10 years, are all scheduled to arrive in 2007.

Tourists pay no fee to come ashore, but they do pay to visit the museum and for the arrangements. They visit the museum, the craft shop, listen to an evening concert given by the church choir, see a drum dance performance, which can also be performed on board, and see a demonstration by the local kayak club.

The museum sells post cards. There is an admission fee for the museum, and usually the cruise ship pays this, but sometimes the passengers do, as is the case with the Disko II, which arrived on Sept 8th. The tourist office makes the arrangements; the Ultima Thule shop sells the crafts and the souvenirs.

This year there will be a programme in the sports hall consisting of a welcome from the city, singing by the choir, presentations of the traditional dress, drum dance performances, displays of hunting tools, traditional games and toys. Outside tourists can try throwing a harpoon, learn how to use a whip, and try on traditional fur clothing.

The local group Sequineq (the Greenlandic word for sun) usually makes arrangements for activities on the day of the first sunrise or for the children. They have been asked to prepare something for the tourists hoping that offering a programme with different arrangements will be interesting for the tourists and a good source of income.

There is no possibility to purchase refreshments once ashore. The tourist office asked the bar (now closed due to the alcohol ban) to open and sell coffee and cake, but they have not tried this yet.

On the 15th of June (2007), during a meeting with the hotel owners, it was agreed that the hotel would offer cruise ship tourists coffee and cake at a reasonable price.

The tourist office has the following plan:

Goals: - Strengthen the cultural component as a real experience
         - Show that the traditional culture has a rich history
         - Show that traditional clothes and tools are still in daily use
         - Ensure that everybody benefits from tourism
         - Introduce new products like educational camps for children

Target: - Wealthy tourists, committed to culture and caring for the environment
The business generated by tourism activities:

When booked by the tourist office, the cost of a dog sledding trip is DKK 1,000/day (in Ilulissat the cost is DKK 950). If arranged directly, a sledding tour costs DKK 1,500/date.

Sixty (60) dog sledding tours took place during the spring of 2007. Many of these trips lasted more than one day, for a total of 269 days.

2006: 41 tours, 114 days
2007: 60 tours, 269 days.

There were many groups in 2007, and this made a big difference. A company from Canada that used to come with groups had Etah in its programme, which is a long tour. They haven't come for the past two years, probably due to the high airport fees.

The margin for the tourist office is 20% on the trips and 40% on the carvings.

A certain amount of capital investment is required to purchase dogs and equipment, but the hunters have dogs anyway and also the possibility to hunt during the tours.

A professional hunter only pays taxes when his income exceeds DKK 150,000 (€20,000), and none of the hunters in Qaanaaq makes enough money to pay taxes.

The carvers pay a small amount of tax, between 3% and 20%. The most common rate is between 7% and 15%. The average tax rate in Greenland is 46%. Everyone has a card, an inhandlingstrækkort, which shows what percentage of tax they have to pay.

Respondents

15. Aage, police inspector (Dane)

Approximately 20 of the town’s 120 families have problems with alcohol. They do not take care of the children, and the oldest siblings have to take look after the young ones. There are no hunters under the age of 25 because young people have no interest in this. In the past the hunters were revered as kings, he says, but they need money to pay all the bills, so now a hunter needs a wife with a job so the man can be the king again.
Now they are building a new factory to dry the Greenlandic halibut, but there is no fish here, and only a few fishermen. Arctic Green (the factory in Qaanaaq) has changed owners every two years (Royal Arctic, Nuka, Pilersuisoq). The business has made huge losses.

In the old days, the hunters went away for many weeks on hunting trips. Today there are perhaps 10 professional hunters.

The economy is extremely poor. The Ultima Thule craft shop has become a type of social experiment, buying a lot of carved items. Prices rose because the carvers had to pay taxes. In 2004, roughly DKK 4 million worth of carved items were purchased, but much of this was low quality. Perhaps 10 of the people living here are artists, the rest are not. During the summer they sell directly to tourists, and don’t have to pay any tax. The cruise ships have from 50 to 220 tourists and they buy a lot.

Every year when the ice melts the river bursts its banks and causes damage in some places. In 1999, the lake overflowed and the flood swept many houses away. It’s a similar problem for the houses near the beach. In 2001, they suddenly had to move dogs and equipment (the river burst its banks while I was there doing fieldwork). Also the road to the airport is not on firm land, and all gravel comes from the mountains. There is a chronic shortage of building materials because supply ships only come twice a year.

16. Erik Sven, Geophysics station (Dane)

Arrived here in 1980 and has been working at the geophysics station ever since.

Spring is the most popular time of the year. Visitors can be accommodated at the station when the hotel or other places are full. There is an apartment for guests, two rooms where three persons can stay. The price is DKK 450/day. Most of the time tourists are referred here via the tourist office. Tele Greenland also has some rooms. The building company that built the hospital left a structure behind the hospital that has been taken over by the municipality and is sometimes used by local people as a place to stay. The number of available beds in Qaanaaq is 24, plus there is availability in private homes.

Thule Airbase sets limits on the tourists’ arrival, so there can be no more than nine passengers per helicopter flight. Then the airport was built here, but the tickets are too expensive. However, the Home Rule subsidies are quite large. The new airport
did not meet people's expectations. Flights are more regular but weather has a major impact on the flights.

The mess around town is not overshadowing the sense of adventure that tourists experience. Tourists notice the filth and dirtiness when they go out on a sledge tour, but apparently the adventure outshines anything else. Tourists rarely come back, however.

17. Finn Hansen (Dane)

Finn came to Qaanaaq in 1985. He is married to a Greenlander, and was a hunter for many years (accompanying and helping the local hunters).

There was a lot of talk during the 1990s and meetings with representatives from Greenland Tourism, he says, including big plans, seminars, and close ties established with Ilulissat, but the municipality did not agree with the plans for community-based tourism and nothing happened. Plans also failed for refurbishing houses to be used for tourism.

Finn was active in tourism at the time. He offered sledging and boating trips and arranged accommodation here. During the tours people camped out in tents. He organized boat tours from here to Siorapaluk, Qeqertarsuaq (Herbert Ø) and further away from town when the weather was good, also in the fjord to see the narwhal breeding places and Qeqertaq. A one-week tour staying in tents costs DKK 1,500 to DKK 1,800 per day.

Now the climate has changed and this has had an impact on the tours. Sometimes when the ice has melted there are too many waves, a lot of wind and rain, and bad sea ice conditions. Up until 10 years ago, the weather was very stable, with sunny summers (arctic desert) and light south-westerly winds until it froze again in October. This was good for seal hunting by boat; with 10 cm ice it was easy to see the seals. Then, when the ice was thick, it was time to go walrus hunting. In October, they went dog sledding, and prepared the nets for the seals. Then, in late December, the ice would be 1.5 to 2 metres thick. Now it is about 1 metre, which is roughly half the thickness that it used to be, and there is much more rain now.

The sun returns on February 17th. In June the melting is normal, but there is simply too much rain. There is open water 20 km off the coast. This year during the spring new ice formed after a storm had pushed the old ice away. This was good weather
for hunting walrus. Now it is impossible because it is not freezing and the water temperature is too warm (average 0.5 to 1° C). Near the shore the local district authorities established a depot for seal and walrus meat to feed the dogs (DKK 4-5/kilo), but this does not exist anymore.

Finn thinks that hunters have to change their way of living and become fishermen. In the fjord there are a lot of halibut and polar cod. In the past, when they were fishing through a hole in the ice, catching a halibut was a minor sensation; now a lot of fish are here, and they can catch 20 in a day. Toku (the only professionally licensed woman) fishes a lot and sells to the factory.

The hunters don’t say it, but they are reluctant to go fishing. This year one big hunter started fishing and some people in Siorapaluk as well. Toku has set an example and fishing is good money. If one private company, maybe from Upernavik, could take over, it might be good because investments are needed and the freezer, for example, is too small. Now hunters fish and wait for the factory to pick up the fish. This is very expensive. Sometimes Finn does it for them for a fee (DKK 1,800). The halibut sold in the shop comes from Maniitsoq. There is also a lot of squid in local waters. He got this information last year from a trawler that was looking for halibut.

On the topic of “new” birds coming here, he said that Canada geese have started to arrive in the area. People in the settlements have reported seeing unknown birds. There are not so many snow geese anymore, maybe 30 to 50, not more.

18. Inukitsoq Sadorana, former hunter (Greenlander), 65 years old

Inukitsoq is one of the founders of the Sequineq group, which organizes cultural events and was established in February 2007. The associations have merged (i.e., the hunters’ and the women’s associations) to act as cultural stewards. The association’s name is now Peqatiguviit.

The municipality has no money so Sequineq is in charge of organizing public events, like when the sun returns on February 17th, new year’s eve, national day (June 21st), “farewell to the sun” and the dog sledding racing competition at Easter. The money for these events comes from the bingo games.

For the first time the tourist office has asked them to make some arrangements for the cruise ship tourists who will come this summer. This is now possible thanks to the umbrella association that is comprised of many little ones.
There is also a committee in Qaanaaq that has been tasked with developing jobs for the community.

In the past, people have had some ideas, but nothing came of it, for example, preparing traditional food for the tourists. This summer (2007) they are thinking of offering food, showing the traditional dress, displays of winter and summer hunting tools, and clothes used during winter. The purpose is to give visitors a taste of the local culture. In addition, there will be drum dancing exhibitions and the choir will sing. Every kind of food will be available for tasting, from fresh fish and meat to fermented specialties. There is always someone on hand to explain what it is and how to eat it. This year (2007), due to limited resources, the offer will only include seal, birds, and narwhal prepared in different ways (there will be no musk-ox, reindeer or polar bear). In the future they will show tourists how to feed the dogs and what they eat. They will explain the need to hunt and to have food reserves. There will also be carving and skin-sewing demonstrations. The language will be English, so they will probably need an interpreter. The Prime Minister of Greenland, Hans Enoksen, has promised the community that there will be courses in tourism and English.

Inukitsqoq has some ideas about trophy hunting. The Home Rule Government is currently holding talks on this issue. Who should shoot the animal, the hunter or the tourists? This and many other questions have to be resolved. He had this idea a while ago, but didn’t mention it because trophy hunting is already going on in the South (in the Kangerlussuaq area). He would like to show how a polar bear is hunted, and how the dogs are trained to learn about polar bear hunting, with a man under the polar bear skin using a stick and teaching the dogs that they must not get too close to the bear.

From October to March there is a lot to show visitors. During the polar night, tourists can experience the hunt, the darkness, and wear traditional winter clothing. Sometimes tourists are not confident that the traditional clothing is warm enough and go on dog sledging trips wearing their own clothing and end up getting very cold. These are all important things to tell the tourists.

19. Jens Danielsen, mayor of Qaanaaq, a former professional hunter (Greenlander)

Jens has recently been to the capital Nuuk to attend meetings and talk about the future of tourism and the economic development of the community. The plan is to have a course in September (2007) about tourism development. There have been
talks about trophy hunting, musk-ox and polar bear hunting here in the area, but nothing is decided yet. However, any future plans have to take into account the impact of climate change. Trophy hunting is popular in Canada and in Sisimiut. They also want to benefit from this here. In Qaanaaq they want to organize trophy hunting on their own, otherwise “the people from Ilulissat will come and do everything”.

20. Oluf Ostermann, school headmaster from Aasiaat (Greenlander)

This is a good area for tourists with many activities, including dog sledding, boating, skiing, helicopter rides, and hiking. Siorapaluk is a special place: the northernmost community in Greenland. There are many stones (gems) and animals (reindeer, musk-ox, seal, walrus), and in May and June there are many birds. Cruise ship tourists arrive in September from different countries.

A little book in several languages about Qaanaaq is needed. Many things can be done but they need someone to manage tourism here. We need more places for tourists. Young people talk about being involved in tourism, making food, hosting tourists. Life here is so traditional it can be a special experience. There are perhaps 10 people who currently show an interest in starting something with tourism. Greenland Tourism will be here in September/October for a two-week course for outfitters with Mads Skifte from Greenland Tourism, and a carving course with the artist Thue Kristiansen.

According to Oluf, a course by Greenland Tourism is necessary to launch genuine development in tourism in Qaanaaq. Necessary steps also include a wider range of accommodation options and opportunities to try local food with Greenlandic families. Communication is not a problem, he says, because people can use gestures and body language if they have no knowledge of a foreign language.

The resource persons are here, he says. He’s thinking specifically of David Qujakitsqoq, who can be a very good leader. It would be best if people from Qaanaaq would start tourism activities on their own, but it is very difficult, and is not only a matter of money. It’s important to have good ideas and have other people to help and support, so you don’t feel alone. Juuanna (Platou) and Qillaq (Danielsen) had a good idea, which involved refurbishing a house to be rented to guests. They are very good at coming up with new ideas and implementing them. Qillaq can take tourists out hunting and accommodate them in the guesthouse. Frank (Ammalporttoq) is also a good hunter and so are many others. It takes a certain amount of initiative to
get started, such as has been shown by people like David (Qujakitsoq) and young people like Bebiane, Toku, Mika and Frank.

We can have a lot of people coming here in the winter and in the summertime, going kayaking travelling by boat, and staying in tents. Many tours can be taken, i.e., in Qeqertarsuaq and other special places that are rich in wildlife.

21. Poul Alex Jensen, head of the district authority (Dane)

The Qaanaaq district has lost roughly DKK 15 million due to poor administration and unpaid bills. Furthermore, a lot of money was used for the 50th anniversary celebration (a big airplane was rented, lots of presents were given to guests and there were a lot of parties) and so on. There are no cash reserves and we have been cutting costs everywhere. Also social assistance has been reduced. The number of single households is relatively high compared to the rest of Greenland, but a lot of money is spent on alcohol. People generally don’t see this as an extra expense that comes after having paid all the other bills: it comes in first place. The alcohol ban has been a bad thing in the sense that it was decided and imposed from outside. We were on the right track; the consumption of alcohol was going down, I am sure that if we look at the first months of 2007 there is less consumption than in 2006 (the ban dates from May 11, 2005).

They should switch to fishing but the cultural component and the status of being a hunter still commands great respect. Fishing is considered a matter for women but there is a lot of fish here. Last year, 12 tonnes of fish were caught, which was worth DKK 70,000. The selling of carved items was worth about DKK 1.2 million. The village of Tasiussaq in the Upernavik area has a lot of fishing activities and the population earns a lot of money from it, in addition they also go hunting for narwhals.

Saki is the only one, in his opinion, who can do something concrete to boost the development of tourism here. She should take over the Ultima Thule but she is hesitating, maybe because she has very young children. He does not think that Toku will do something with tourism because she does not know what she wants to do yet.

If the hunters want to learn English, they just have to say the word and a course can be organized. In his opinion, things are fine as they are. The tourists don’t need more than body language and few words. It’s all part of the experience of being here.
Somebody outside the district should take the initiative. Somebody should invest in tourism. We need more flights, twice a week: people cannot stay here for an additional week if there are no flights available.

22. Simon Iversen (Greenlander)

Simon is the manager of the local gymnasium came here in 2006 from Ilulissat. His wife is a teacher. He wanted to experience what it is like to live in Qaanaaq before he is too old.

Tourist cruise ships will come in August and September and the gymnasium will be used for performing drum dances and other arrangements.

There are not many tourists who come to go dog sledging, but at least the profits stay in the community.

Local Businesses

23. Hans Jensen, hotel owner

Hans was born in Dundas. He was the head of the KNI office and a recreational hunter. He helped visitors come here and organized private accommodation and activities. After getting tired of running two different houses, he decided to build the hotel. He was granted a building permit in 1991 and in 1992 the hotel was opened.

In the beginning he had many visitors, between 100 and 150 a year. This was a good number given the small size of the community. At the time, it was not expensive to come here from Kangerlussuaq to Pituffik, and then take the beautiful ride by helicopter. After the airport was built he had maybe 10 tourists a year. In 2006 there wasn’t a single tourist. This year (2007) he has 10 guests, but they are people from the government.

People stay for an entire week because there is only one flight a week. The hotel has five double rooms and the facilities are shared. The prices are DKK 690 for a single room, including breakfast, and DKK 990 for a double room with breakfast. Dinner can be ordered for DKK 110.
He has a webpage, but since he put it online only one single tourist has contacted him through his homepage and taken advantage of cheaper prices when booked directly. Travel agents from Canada, Denmark, and Spain contact him for rooms.

The tourist office organizes the activities. He does not advertise but he tells the visitors about the area, which is very well known. This is the last place for traditional hunting. There will be a need for a documentary, but it is too expensive. People ask about coming and the activities that are available, but when they hear the prices they cancel their reservations.

The problem is the price of the flight, which has to go down. The airplane is almost empty and the people from here don’t travel because it’s too expensive. The airport was not a good idea; the decision was taken by the Danish government and by the Home Rule Government. The local people wanted to receive compensation for being forced to move to the town’s present location in 1953 to make way for the construction of the American Air Force base, and after the crash of a B-52 bomber with four hydrogen bombs on board in 1968. They lost in court. However, the case may go to the Court of Human Rights in The Hague. Although they lost in Denmark, too, the government decided to build the airport as a kind of compensation, without asking the community. They promised a lot of travelling and tourists but this never happened. The Home Rule has no answers. Before the airport was built, tourists came from Grise Fjord and Resolute Bay (Canada) with Twin Otters, landing everywhere. Now, if the flight arrives after 4 p.m., the airport is closed and if has to be reopened, it costs a lot of extra money.

Only cruise ship tourism is growing, but tourists stay only for a few hours and if they don’t want any arrangements or activities organized, there is no money for the community. They pay to anchor near the KNI store, maybe a few thousand crowns, depending on the size of the ship.

If things are to get better in the future, the ticket price has to go down. There should be a special price for tourists, otherwise it will be impossible to attract visitors here.

Greenland Tourism was here some years ago, and offered a course for hunters to become outfitters. It lasted for a few days and then nothing else happened. Support was given in the beginning, before the airport, helping hunters to learn how to interact with tourists, but not anymore. Greenland Tourism is too far away.
24. David Qujakitsoq, 37 years old, airport assistant, educated police officer and electrician (Greenlander)

Has rented the Polar Grill (owner Hans Jensen) and in 2006 opened the bar “Tavfi”. The idea was to have a café, maybe later also serve food. He is supported by his family and would like to make improvements to the business. No tourists go to Tavfi.

Tourists could come here all year round. In the spring they could see the hunting of narwhal, polar bear, and walrus. In the autumn the weather is unstable and cold, so it can be good to experience how hard it can be to be a hunter, hunting big seals and walrus. The dogs need a lot of meat so the hunters need to hunt quite often. In the summer they can go by boat inside the fjord, looking for narwhals.

Involved in Tourist Activities

25. Carver and part-time hunter (Greenlander)

Due to some health problems, he is no longer a professional hunter. Now carving has become his main activity and his most important source of income. He sells the carvings to the Ultima Thule shop. His wife helps him polish the carved items. He carves a lot and it would be great if the tourist office could buy from him every day instead of only once a week on Wednesday.

He buys the raw materials from other people or from the tourist office. Only rarely does he sell directly to tourists because most of the items that he produces first go to the Ultima Thule shop. Tourists are welcome to visit him and see how he carves. He likes it when the cruise ships arrive. He hopes that more tourists will come so he can sell more items to the shop.

26. Carver (Greenlander)

Her main income comes from carving and sewing items, mainly for tourists. She gains additional income from showing tourists the traditional dress and explaining how it is made and when it is worn. She sells the carved and sewn items to Ultima Thule. Her husband also carves.
She would like to have more contact with tourists. She considers holding kaffemiks to be a good idea. When cruise ship tourists come ashore, she often goes down to the beach with husband, daughter and child dressed in traditional dress, and they let tourists take photos for free.

She thinks that if local people were more open to tourists, there will be better income. She would love to have tourists at home for kaffemik, having tourists near the house in a tent, or tourists buying something (carvings or sewn items) directly from her.

She says that she, like other people in the community, would like to do something with tourists, but everybody appears to be waiting to see what the others will do. This is what she has heard from the school headmaster and from the head of the recreational club. The interest for tourism is here, what is not clear is how and when more people will get involved.

**The Tourism Development Plan “Tourism in Avanersuaq”**

Prepared by the tourist office manager, Saki Daorana

1. Dogsled trips are the main source of income
2. Siorapaluk, the northernmost natural settlement in the world
3. Narwhal hunting is a valuable resource for tourism
4. Groups from Canada arrive directly by charter

**Marketing Goals**

1. Unique Culture

The unique culture and nature of Avanersuaq is our greatest resource for the development of tourism. This is what nobody else in the world can imitate or offer.

- Dogsled trips with real Inughuit hunters
- Narwhal hunting by kayak
- Skin handcrafts and traditional clothes
- Traditional hunting methods and tools
- Drum dancing and other arts
2. **Target**

Marketing will focus on the type of tourist who wants a real experience and can enjoy meeting a different culture.

3. **Tourism by everybody**

Tourism should benefit all the people of Avanersuaq, and not be the business of a handful of “tourist actors”. In this way visitors can experience the real culture alive in the society. More and more travellers around the world are looking for “real” experiences. We have a good chance to be a leader in this market.

4. **More business from business guests**

People who come to Qaanaaq on business trips can make a large contribution to the economy.

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**Long-Term Plan for Tourism**

1. **Present status and challenges**

- The number of tourists went down when the new airport was built in 2002. The high price of the tickets has made it difficult for tourists from Europe. The fees levied by GLV have made it difficult for travel agents from Canada.

- There are only two travel agents who have constantly had Qaanaaq on their travel brochure for the past several years. At present only one new travel agent has decided to make a dog sledding trip to Qaanaaq, and two others are considering plans.

- We cannot do any marketing for boat trips because there are no licensed passenger boats in Qaanaaq. This means it is difficult to distribute information about boats trips to increase the number of tourists during the summer season.

- Cultural arrangements are increasing, but we have difficulties because they are too expensive for individual travellers. It is currently predominantly cruise ships that buy these arrangements.

- Trips to Siorapaluk are a main attraction in all seasons. Development for Savissivik is more difficult because it is far away, and also because you need a permit from the airbase to go by helicopter.
2. **Goals for 2010**

- To have 10 travel agents that sell trips to Qaanaaq. This should triple the income for hunter guides.

- Have a longer tourist season. The two top priorities are:
  - Dog sledging trips in February and March.
  - Hiking and camping trips starting in June.

- Increase the number of cultural arrangements so that a wider range of local people can get income from tourism. For example, storytelling, local food, skin work, etc.

- More development of different activities such as hiking and skiing. This should include development in the settlements.

- Attract more business travellers. Business travellers are important customers for Ultima Thule. This has good potential for tourism, too.

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**Long-Term Plan for Ultima Thule**

1. **Present status**

- Ultima Thule was not taken care of properly from 2000 to 2004. This resulted in a large stock of low-quality items, contact with shops in Greenland and Denmark lost, and a very large financial loss for Qaanaap Kommunia (the Qaanaaq district).

- Since 2004 the amount of money spent on buying products for Ultima Thule has been roughly equal to the amount generated from sales, and it has stopped being an economic burden. It still receives support from the Thule Fund.

- The quality of items has increased, and is back to the level that it used to be.

- Sales to other towns in Greenland have started to grow steadily.

- Export has become difficult because of new regulations from 2006.

2. **Goals for the next five years**

- Funding from Thule Fund should be decreased and, finally, end in three years (2009).
• Buying from the local people should not increase markedly. The present level of DKK 900,000 to DKK 1,000,000 will be maintained for several years.

• By increasing the sales, the balance for Ultima Thule should be normalized so that it can cover all costs without funding. I expect this to happen in five to six years’ time.

• There are still many possibilities to increase sales in Greenland. This will be one of our first priorities for the next several years.

3. Considerations for the future

• Export to Europe, North America, and other countries. This will not be easy, mainly due to new regulations. We need to develop more products, either carvings of reindeer and musk-ox, or skin products.

• Skin products – Skin products have the potential to become big business. Because the target for expensive skin products is different from carvings and jewellery, a proper plan should be made for the development and marketing of a skin project.

Long-Term Projects

1. Skin house (or culture house)

The objective of making a skin house should be primarily to generate more income for the people and town of Qaanaaq. It will be an interesting attraction for tourists, too. It should have the following functions:

• Skin work – Local people can treat and dry skins, and sew skin products

• Shop – Skins and skin products can be sold and bought

• Information and education – Information and courses on skin work and skin products (for locals, Greenlanders from other towns, and tourists)

• Tourism – Tourists can see and experience skin work, and buy products

• Sales and export – Marketing and sales of skins and skin products from Qaanaaq
It would be ideal this could be expanded to be a Culture House so that activities such as drum dancing, choir singing, storytelling, video shows, etc., could take place in the same building. This would be beneficial to both local society and tourism.

2. Event to boost tourism in Avanersuaq

“Year 2009 – 100th anniversary of the discovery of the North Pole” – “The real history of polar exploration seen through the eyes of the Polar Inuit”

Objectives

- Gain publicity in international media
- Tourists groups for the events
- Invite new travel agents to come and see Avanersuaq at this opportunity
- Opportunity to improve infrastructure for tourism

Possible activities

- Exhibits concerning polar expeditions, cooperating with the museum
- Collect stories of contact with explorers, from the viewpoint of the Inughuit
- Develop trips for tourists, in connection with historical places
- Cultural events in the high tourist season
- Invite expedition leaders for lectures
- Dog sledding expedition to Odaap Qeqertaa

3. Ship connection to the south

- Every year there are some tourists who ask whether there is ship transport to Qaanaaq. Many tourists are looking for a cheaper way to come to Qaanaaq. Passenger ship connections will also benefit the local people of Avanersuaq.

- A ship connecting all the settlements from Upernavik to Siorapaluk will benefit both local people and tourists.

- The key to success is to use a small ship and make frequent connections (for example, two to three times a week).
4. Helicopter hanger in Qaanaaq

- Some tourists and most journalists are interested in helicopter charters. However the cost is too high because the helicopter is stationed in Pituffik.

- If the helicopter were based in Qaanaaq, it would create more possibilities for tourist activities in the area (and bring more income to Air Greenland, too).

5. Avanersuaq as an environmentally conscious society

**Objectives**

- Attract more business travellers
- Generate more jobs
- Press coverage about Qaanaaq, including international media

**Some themes that may be considered**

- Wind power (to be combined with solar power)
- Recycle (material such as paper, plastic, glass and metal sent south by ship)
- Furnace for garbage (and swimming pool)
- Clean fuel
- Environmentally friendly products
- Clean-up projects

6. Charters to Pituffik

Charter planes to land directly at Pituffik from other countries would make the travel cost to Qaanaaq much cheaper.

This is very attractive as a future plan. However, it is important that infrastructure, education, and development of activities take place first, and that we are prepared to receive many tourists arriving.
Findings

Genuine tourism has not yet taken place and the tangible benefits are presently limited to a small fraction of the population. The tourist season is limited, as are the benefits that can derived from extending offers to the-season (the peak season is considered the sledging season, in summer mainly cruise ships, with arrivals depending on ice conditions). There is a general lack of infrastructure and professionalism.

Tourism

In general the interviewees would like to have more contact with tourists. They miss the large groups (of 10 to 16) that they had in the early 1990s (1990-1995). Groups have dropped in size to two to four tourists. In 2006, there were not so many tourists. Around 20 travelled from Qaanaaq to Siorapaluk, and mostly during the springtime. In 2007, some hunters took trips with tourists a total of seven times. As the season approaches, the hunters call the hotel and the tourist office to ask if tourists would like to book any trips but, as they said, not much is happening.

It is generally recognized that there is an urgent need “to do something” otherwise professionals from Ilulissat will eventually come up here and start to take over the business. It is also clear that there is not so much going on with tourism as in other places. Interviewees mention in general “the South” and Ilulissat or Ittoqqortoormiit, this latter probably because of some perceived affinity as a peripheral community with a small population. There is an interest in developing tourism products, however, what is not clear, as many interviewees said, is how and when. This issue is widely discussed in the community and among families. Many men said that they have talked with their wives about the fact that there is not much to do in the tourism sector.

Advertising is another issue. People said that there is an urgent need to do more advertising, and they cite Ittoqqortoormiit as very active in this sense. The general opinion is that Ultima Thule (the tourist office) should advertise more, and ask the hunters how to develop the tours, and thus involve them in the process.

In terms of seasonality, interviewees think that it would be good to have an opportunity to guide tourists in April, May and June. Tourism represents a very good secondary source of income at a time when hunting is poor.
Another issue is having a place for tourists, a place where they can go, purchase refreshments and find some form of entertainment. Presently only the hotel can possibly provide this.

During the summer, five or six cruise ships arrive, normally with anywhere from 50 to 200 passengers. Tourists come ashore and go to the Ultima Thule souvenir shop, to the museum and around town to take a look, and then leave again. With regard to cruise ship tourism, interviewees agree that these tourists are not so useful for the local economy because hunters cannot organize any activities with them, but they could be taken to some places by boat, i.e., to see abandoned settlements or the nearly abandoned village of Qeqertarsuaq.

**Income from Tourism**

Hunters who work as guides say that they are satisfied with the money earned from the tours. They say that when the tourist season arrives, and they have an opportunity to go out with tourists on dog sledges, they are glad to take some time off from hunting and go out with guests. The money that they earn is “good money”, even though, as they say, prices are lower than they used to be (when there were more tourism activities going on) and tourists pay different rates (different agreements, depending on the individual groups or according to the amount of days). The bottom line is that revenue from tourism activities is important. Interviewees generally agree that working with tourists is a good source of income, especially now, when the ice is getting thinner, making it difficult to reach hunting places. Many said that they started working with tourists in the 1990s, when the hunting was not so good and they needed extra income.

Some interviewees see tourism as a good secondary option, also because of the hunting restrictions. Some of them would like to be guides as their primary occupation and work as hunters as a secondary activity.

They say that they would like to have more tourists who go on dog sledging tours, but they recognize that the profits stay in the community, which is a positive aspect. By contrast, cruise ship tourism is not seen as an opportunity because, as they say, cruise ship tourists do not leave any money. They suggest bringing cruise ship tourists into the inner fjord areas with small boats, so tourists can enjoy the whales without disturbing the animals and the hunters can earn some money.
Training and Advice

There is a general consensus that language is a problem. Hunters have a very limited knowledge of the English language, mainly only a few words. Many of the interviewees are keenly aware of this and feel the need to learn more English to give tourists a more complete experience.

They have a Greenlandic-English dictionary but a little book in several languages about Qaanaaq is needed and a course would be even better. Some of the interviewees suggest that at least one or two of the hunters could learn English. A course could be held when the hunting is difficult because of the ice conditions: not thick enough for dog sledding and too thick for hunting with the boat. This time could be used to acquire some language training.

Stressing communication as a problem, some hunters during the interview mentioned that they would like to have a course in tourism, because tourists ask a lot of questions and they cannot always answer them. When there is a group, an interpreter is also hired, and this makes things better on both sides.

The relationship with the National Tourist Board, Greenland Tourism, is perceived as distant. Interviewees said that years ago Greenland Tourism organized a course for hunters on how to become an outfitter. The course lasted for a few days but there was no follow-up. Support was provided in the beginning, before the airport was built, to help hunters learn how to better interact with tourists. Now they need advice and support. As stated in other places, Greenland Tourism is perceived as being too far away.

The Need for an Association

There is a need for an association, with a webpage where locals can be contacted directly by the tourists. Direct contact would make it possible to know more about the tourists and what they want to do when they travel to Qaanaaq.

Interviewees talked about the need to organize meetings to discuss matters relating to tourism, and to prepare a manual about guiding. Currently, the Tourist Office and the hotel just tell the guides where to go with the tourists, but an association could help the guides be better prepared for tourism and tourists.

Price rates for guiding vary considerably and an association could help introduced standardized prices.
What Can Be Done

Interviewees have some ideas concerning what could be done in the short run:

• It would be best if people from Qaanaaq would launch activities on their own, but this is very difficult. It is not merely a matter of money or good ideas; they also need help and support from other people.

• Many things could be done but we need a tourist manager.

• Young people talk about being involved in tourism, making food, hosting tourists. Life here is so traditional it can be a special experience.

• To attract more tourists and have tourists return it is necessary to lower the ticket price.

• Knowing English would allow local people to be contacted directly from the tourists and via the tourist office or the hotel.

Appendix

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<th>Population of Qaanaaq and its settlements</th>
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2.4. Case Study: East Greenland

2.4.1. Mental Projections and Images of Tourism in East Greenland, Including a Profile of the Arctic Tourist

Tourist Profile, Surveys from 1995 and 2009
This section features a profile of the Arctic tourist, including preconceptions and realities on the ground, the “sense” of the Arctic, visitors’ expectations and how the tourism experience is adapted. An analysis is conducted, comparing the data from the 1995 and 2009 surveys.

Part 1 – Fieldwork took place during July-August 1995

During the summer of 1995, a study of the perceptions, mental images and projections of tourists’ visiting an Arctic destination was conducted in Tasiilaq (Ammassalik) on the East Coast of Greenland. The main thrust of the study was to provide a baseline profile of the Arctic tourist: his motivations and level of satisfaction, on-site behaviour, expectations, and first-hand experiences. Other areas explored include spatial perception, knowledge of local culture, reactions to promotional materials, the quality of life, and the authenticity of the tourist experience.

Rationale
Tourists were asked to respond to a survey. For the purpose of the fieldwork, only tourists who stay for at least for three days were interviewed. Around 100 interviews were conducted using the deep-interview method, which is considered the best way to describe an experience that can seldom be repeated. The emphasis of the respondents’ answers, the vividness of their impressions, and the abundance of adjectives used subsequently demonstrated that this was a good choice,

76 Ammassalik is the name of the region, the name of the town is Tasiilaq. Ammassalik is a name that is primarily used by the Europeans and the tourists, and means “the place where capelins are typically found”; Tasiilaq, located at the head of Kong Oscar Fjord, means “resembles a big lake” and is the name currently most commonly used by Greenlanders.

77 Individual tourists often plan their holidays in the Arctic many months in advance of their trip, but are not inclined to return to the same place. Package tourists sometimes decide “at the last minute”, mostly when they are already in Iceland on holiday. These “spontaneous” tourists rely more heavily on travel agents and printed material such as brochures and publications from Greenland Tourism.
especially when interviewees described their first impressions, their key experiences, their level of satisfaction, and the degree to which their expectations were fulfilled.

**Origins of the tourists, and other general information**

The majority of tourists visiting this part of Greenland come from Germany, Switzerland, and France. Germans traditionally like to travel, and Germany has been a key area of focus of the marketing strategy of Greenland Tourism (Trade and Industry in Greenland 1995, 1:5).

Denmark has a special relationship with Greenland, and most Danes in this part of Greenland are not here as tourists, although many Danish people working or living here receive visits from friends and family. Furthermore, Danes who have been to Greenland on previous occasions very often return to visit other places.

The majority of visitors travel with friends (59%), followed by travelling with family (24%), and for 83% it is their main annual holiday. For most of the interviewees (71%) this was also their first trip to Greenland.

The trip is quite demanding and challenging, and not just from an economic point of view; people travelling with friends may well be hikers or sports-oriented individuals who want to have a special experience. The sample reveals a high percentage of young people (20-30 years), followed by middle-aged individuals (41-60 years).

**About the holiday**

Most holidays (in 1995) were organized through travel agencies (53%). Friends who may have been here before also play an important role in organizing holidays (40%).

According to the results of the fieldwork, in the vast majority of cases Greenland is the only destination of the holiday (64%). Still, one-third of the respondents have chosen Greenland in combination with Iceland, as a kind of extension of their trip north.
As for the duration of the trip, the majority of respondents are here for three to four days; long-term travellers generally spend anywhere from one to five weeks in the region.

The respondents generally find accommodation at the hotel or bed & breakfast types of establishments.

English is the main language used for interactions between hosts and guests.

**Tourist activities**

As for the tourist activities, it is easy to see the strong attraction of the natural elements, the wilderness and the landscape with their icons – the ice cap and icebergs. The primary interest among tourists is to visit settlements in the area. Most tourists focus on outdoor activities, such as trekking and guided tours, followed by fishing, kayaking and boat tours.

**Tourist attractions**

The findings show that the main tourist attraction is the Arctic landscape, which forms both the first impression and fulfils visitors’ expectations in 52% of the responses. This theme is such a powerful part of the mental projection that for the three-day tourists it is a must (95%) to visit (see) at least three elements: an iceberg, the ice cap and a settlement. The attraction of these natural elements was confirmed at the end of the holiday, too. The landscape still remains the main focus shortly before leaving Greenland and 62% said that the most important thing was “nature”, meaning all of the elements of the natural landscape: icebergs, the ice cap, pack ice, fjords, mountains, flora, fauna, and so on.

**Encountering a different culture**

Reasons for the choice of the destination vary. Seven percent of the interviewed tourists came to East Greenland based on a spontaneous decision and for another 7% it was their life’s dream. An additional 22% came out of curiosity, while only 4% came to engage in sports activities.

The desire to encounter another culture is another important motivating factor for people visiting these places; 22% (10 respondents) decided to come to East Greenland because they were attracted by the culture. The cultural interest is second only to the 29% (13 respondents) who came because they wanted to experience nature and the landscape. However, this interest was not primarily sparked by
reading special literature or informational materials; 81% said that they had acquired practically no information before coming to this destination. The majority apparently heard about it from friends or read brief informational materials distributed by travel agencies. They are more knowledgeable about the region’s physical beauty and attractions than they are of the local culture. The culture is perceived as something that has to be encountered on location. Only the few visitors who stay for a long period of time had read some literature about the destination (58%).

**Knowledge of the hosts’ way of life**

This lack of knowledge about the local population’s traditional way of life did, in some cases, lead to tourists reacting negatively to things like hunting, handling sledge dogs and eating habits.

58% of all tourists that had some prior knowledge of the local Inuit culture from books, 25% from other media, while 17% acquired their knowledge from previous experience travelling in Greenland.

55% did not buy traditional souvenirs because they are made of materials acquired from animals, such as sealskin and bone. 25% didn't buy tupilaks because they found them ugly, without any knowledge of what these objects represent. One-fifth of the tourists didn't buy anything because they found the souvenirs too expensive.

Purchased souvenirs included books (31%), carved items (20%), sealskin items (13%), stone or wood items (23%) and items made of beads (13%).

When it comes to eating and tasting traditional food, most (69%) respondents said that they did not want to try anything. Only a few, 19%, bought food directly from hunters or were invited to eat with hunters (traditional food like mattaq and seal).

**Meeting other people**

71% of the tourists did not have any contact with the Inuit because they did not find it necessary. This is particularly true of tourists on package tours, where the hotel provides everything for them during their brief stay (three to four days), including excursions, entertainment and souvenirs. On the other hand, 29% meet people when they buy things or organize trips. Some respondents said that they would like

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78 “Originally a truly magical being composed from bits of birds as well as land and sea animals, which had life blown into it during secret ceremonies, and was sent into the world to harm or influence a certain person” (K.L. Egede, 1996: 24, Neriusaaq, 3/96)
to meet Greenlanders but were concerned that they would disturb them or intrude too heavily on their private lives.

The majority of the interviewees (69%) did not taste any traditional food, 19% did, and another 12% would have liked to but did not have an opportunity. Tourists staying at the local hotel can select a range of traditional dishes made with local ingredients. There is also an open market in town where hunters sell fresh meat and fish, with the availability of different types varying according to the season. The local supermarket also sells frozen Greenlandic food.

The majority of the interviewees (78%) did not see performances like drum dancing or attend a concert by the local choir; only 11% did, and the same proportion of people would have liked to but did not have an opportunity to do so.

The town’s supermarket and small convenience stores are the establishments that are most frequented by tourists. A fair number of tourists have also visited the tourist office (24%), where they can acquire information, arrange activities and buy souvenirs. The museum, located in the old church, has a permanent collection and temporary exhibitions. Aside from books, maps and post cards, the local bookshop has a limited selection of food, and offers refreshments, access to a telephone, and a fax-sending service. It also sells various supplies and equipment for campers.

A visit to the settlements
Visiting the settlements is a popular activity among tourists visiting the region. The most visited settlement is Ikkatteq – a tiny, now abandoned village, located on the same island as Tasiilaq. During the summertime it is possible to reach Ikkatteq by boat or on foot by following a marked path.
The other settlements – Kuummiut, Sermiligaaq and Tiniteqilaaq – can only be reached by boat. The coastal boats are scheduled to arrive in each settlement on different days. If visitors want to return to Tasiilaq on the same day, the length of their stay is highly limited as the boats only remain in the settlements for about one hour, giving passengers just enough time for a brief look around.

59% of the interviewed tourists visited Ikkatteq, while 13% visited Sermiligaaq, 11% Kuummiut and 17% Tiniteqilaaq.

When asked to rate their overall impression of their trip and visit to the settlements, respondents indicated that it was magnificent (13 respondents), unique (6), beautiful (4), okay (10), too short (3) and disappointing (6). Sailing to the settlements is an impressive experience. During the summer the light is beautiful and there is an abundance of icebergs. During the voyage it is also possible to see the ice cap, for instance when sailing to Isortoq, the southernmost settlement of the area.

With regard to their impressions of the settlements, many respondents said that they had slightly negative experiences. This may be due to the expected image and the disappointing reality on the ground. Tourists may have idyllic preconceptions about village life that differ markedly from what they find when they visit a destination. These settlements suffer from a range of economic and social problems, and they do not always make a tidy impression. Furthermore, during the summer, when people are busy hunting, many local residents are out camping, so the settlements may very well appear to be abandoned.

More than one-quarter of the respondents (28%) expressed the desire to experience a simple, bucolic, traditional way of life that is close to nature and reflects a different culture. This appears to be a search for sensations that have been largely lost in today’s Western way of life.

This response was given before the respondents visited the settlements (whose inhabitants still live a rather traditional lifestyle). After the visit, a number of different opinions emerged. There appears to be a contradiction between the tourists’ mental projection of the destination and the reality that they discovered.

After sailing for hours through a superb landscape, with icebergs in virtually every imaginable shape and size, the boat enters the fiord and suddenly these small, coloured houses appear, with the ice cap in the background. Respondents had difficulty putting it into words, but it was clear that the settlement did not match all of their expectations of a holiday destination. Not only was there a total lack of tourist
services or infrastructure, but also a stark contrast between what they saw and what they had imagined they would see.

It has to be recognized that everyday life here is not as attractive as the dream – the dream of a simple life, in harmony with nature. Instead, the visitors found evidence of the bleak isolation and solitude of these places, and they gained an awareness of the marginal living conditions and social degradation. For 10% of those surveyed these realities presented them with an unexpected experience that overshadowed the beauty of the landscape and marred their holiday with a feeling of sadness.

**The role of advertising**

The results show that advertising plays an important role in guiding visitors’ choices: 53% of the tourists relied heavily on travel agents and printed materials. For 40% of the tourists the fact that friends had been there before plays a role that they view as equally important as having read books on the topic or seen documentaries.

**Length of preparation**

For 17 tourists who were interviewed it took between six months and one year to prepare their trip to East Greenland. Nineteen needed between one to and four months’ preparation time, while only six had their vacation planned in less than a month.

**“The” experience**

Nature in general, remains the number-one attraction (26 respondents), and the most noteworthy experience cited by respondents is the beauty of all the elements of nature, including the landscape, the mountains, the sea, icebergs and the ice cap, the light and the colours of the Arctic.

Seven of the respondents indicated that getting to know the Inuit was the most remarkable experience. Six tourists, however, left East Greenland with a negative impression.

Nearly all of the interviewees felt that their expectations have been met. When asked about their holidays in Greenland, most of them made enthusiastic comments, with a flurry of colourful adjectives to describe their fascination and satisfaction with the experience.
The tourists’ mental projection

The results show that the tourists’ mental projection of the Arctic (question: “Your idea of this place before?”) tends to be a composition consisting of the archetypal images of snow, cold and ice – and is associated with both the search for sensations that go beyond the realm of everyday life and a burning curiosity for remote and different corners of the world. The Arctic in the eye of the Western tourist is invariably a cold, wintry place. Tourists imagined a place that was colder, whiter, snowier than it was in reality (39%). However, the Arctic is visited mostly in summer when sunny days, flowers and mild weather stand in stark contrast to the previously constructed mental image.

Whereas 13% thought that the landscape would be greener, 6% expected more tourists, and 4% expected the people to live more primitively. On the other hand, 28% of the interviewed tourists had no preconceptions of East Greenland prior to their visit.

The majority of the interviewed tourists (15 respondents) went back home with the feeling of having experienced something special during their holidays. Many find East Greenland fascinating but are concerned about the social problems that they witnessed (11). Some (9) expressed their respect and admiration for the Inuit.

The majority of the interviewees expressed a desire to return to Greenland. Most of them want to come back during the winter as a contrast to their summer holiday, although they have some misgivings about exposing themselves to the intense cold of this season.

Some of the interviewees said they wanted to visit another place in the Arctic, without specifying a specific destination. Identical proportions of respondents wanted to travel to West Greenland and Antarctica, and a smaller percentage expressed a desire to visit the Svalbard archipelago.
Part 2 – Fieldwork took place in 2009

The level of satisfaction with the tourist experience provides important feedback for professionals in the field and for community members involved in the development of tourism. The intention to return to the destination, to repeat the experience in the same place, perhaps at another time of the year, is an excellent sign of tourist satisfaction as well as evidence that the community is developing a good product. Within this context, it is important to establish the significance of developments in tourism and determine which individuals in the community play a leading role in this sector.

Rationale
As with the previous study, a survey of tourists was conducted using a questionnaire. Visitors were asked a number of additional questions, such as the use of the web for gathering information about the destination prior to their visit. Not everyone in the sample was directly interviewed.

Parts of the questionnaire were distributed to the tourist office, the heliport and to the book shop “Neriusaq”. Visitors who were not directly interviewed were fairly cooperative when they filled out the questionnaire at the bookshop. Only very few questionnaires were collected at the tourist office and none at the heliport.

The sample, encompassing 80 interviews, consisted exclusively of visitors who were spending more than three days at this destination.

Methodology
As with the study conducted in 1995, the focus was on the preconceptions and mental images of tourists visiting an Arctic destination, namely Tasiilaq (Ammassalik) on the East Coast of Greenland.

This update aimed to compare the profile of the Arctic tourist with the results from 1995.

The questions focused on motivation and level of satisfaction, behaviour, expectations and first-hand experiences. Another section was intended to explore the authenticity of the (tourist) experience, the knowledge of local culture, the reaction to promotional materials, and included questions on the spatial perception of the destination.
**Origins of the tourists and other general information**

The majority of the visitors at the time of the fieldwork came from European Countries, primarily Germany and Austria. As stated in reports by Greenland Tourism and the Greenland Office of Statistics, citizens from Denmark constitute the main group of visitors to Greenland, followed by Germans. Nevertheless, the Danes do not normally think of themselves as tourists since many of them visit family members, return to Greenland for their holidays after having lived there, or combine a work trip with a holiday.

As for tourists from non-European countries, two visitors at the time of the survey came from Australia, two from the United States and one from Israel.

37% of the European visitors came from Germany, 17% from the Netherlands, 7% from Austria, and 4% from each of the following countries: Belgium, Denmark, England, the UK, France and Switzerland. Other countries of origin were Finland, Iceland, Ireland, Italy and Spain.

- *This data may well provide a distorted picture because it reflects only a small fraction of Danish visitors. Only approximately 5% of the Danish visitors were interviewed or answered the questionnaire, but it is known that Danes still remain the primary group of visitors to Greenland.*

With regard to the age of the visitors, as shown here in the graph, a rather large percentage are between the ages of 30 and 39. This may well be a reflection of the wide range of sports activities that are available in the area. The main cluster is of tourists aged 60 and up, and consists primarily of retired people who want to fulfil the dream of a lifetime, whereas the 50-59 cluster may consist of visitors who can afford a high-priced holiday in an Arctic destination.

54 tourists answered the question concerning their level of education. The vast majority (34) were highly educated with a college/university degree. 14 were still studying at a college or university, while five were post-graduates at the time of the interview. One was a high school graduate.
Information on the holiday

The majority of the tourists travelled with friends (47%) or with family (30%). Only 15% were travelling with their partners and 8% travelled alone. “Nature” is one of the main attractions of Greenland, and this destination is perceived as a place where individuals can engage in physically challenging outdoor activity such as hiking, climbing, and kayaking. This may well include camping outside inhabited areas, often with friends.

For almost three-quarters of the interviewees (70%) the visit to Greenland represents their main annual holiday, and for almost the same proportion (73%) this is their first trip to Greenland.

For 77.5% of the respondents Greenland is the only destination; for 22.5% the trip is in combination with a holiday in Iceland.

When it comes to the length of stay, 32% stay for three to four weeks and 30% spend from one to two weeks in the area. A short visit, one to three days long, is chosen by 17% of the visitors; this is the package tour with Iceland, travelling from Reykjavik and spending a day in Kulusuk or, when selecting a stay that is three days long, tourists come to Tasiilaq. Only 10% of the visitors stayed five days and 8% of the interviewees stayed in the area for more than one month.

The main reason for visiting East Greenland is the attraction of the landscape (30%), nature (30%) and outdoor activities (20.5%), followed by culture (19.5%).

Kulusuk is one of the most-visited places when travelling to East Greenland. The airport is located in Kulusuk and very often, while waiting for a helicopter flight, many tourist walk to the nearby village.

South Greenland is also a popular destination. Flying out of Reykjavik, Air Iceland services routes to East Greenland and South Greenland, so it is quite common and popular for tourists to combine a holiday in Iceland with an extra trip to Greenland.

Thanks to its pristine wilderness and the nearby ice fjord (which is on the UNESCO World Heritage list), Ilulissat is a very popular place for every kind of the tourist segment (from hikers to cruise ship tourists). The city has a highly organized and well-running tourism infrastructure that features many recreational offers.

Nine tourists were on their second trip to the East Coast of Greenland. Six of them came back because of the beautiful natural surroundings, the culture, the exciting activities on offer or just because of their love for Greenland. One was there to visit friends and two came to work there.
Planning holidays and using of online resources

This question was not asked in the 1995 questionnaire.

The use of the web is very relevant when planning a holiday. Most tourists used the internet to plan their trip.

Tourists primarily visited the website of the National Tourist Board of Greenland (http://www.greenland.com) and the webpage of Destination East Greenland (http://www.eastgreenland.com).

Other sources of information like travel agencies, books, movies and reports as well as personal accounts by friends also play an important role in the planning of a trip to East Greenland.

Knowledge of the local culture

The vast majority of the sample (94%) has knowledge of the local culture

The main source of information remains books and travel guides (45%), followed by internet sources (23%), school/lectures/museums (15%), personal accounts by friends and tourist guides (8%), television (6%), and information from locals (3%).

Meeting other people

Tourists are generally interested in meeting the local population (0% are not interested) and this has been the case for 72% of the visitors; the remaining 28% would have liked to meet local people but did not have an opportunity to do so.

Tourist activities

When it comes to activities that tourists engaged in during their stay in the Ammassalik area, hiking is still the favourite followed by boat tours – often arranged directly with local hunters – and guided tours.

More than half (53%) of the activities are organized by the hotel, 40% are arranged by the tourists themselves and 7% by the cruise ship staff.
Nearly half (44%) of the tourists met local people while on an excursion. For 37% the encounter was in a settlement or on a city street, for 15% of the interviewees it consisted of meeting local people during a stay at the hotel, and for 4% of the tourists the meeting took place at an exhibition.

**Knowledge of hosts’ way of life**

When it comes to trying local food, 41% did and other 28% would had liked to but did not have the occasion; the 10% who had an opportunity to try local cuisine did not like it and 20% did not have any interest in testing local specialities.

On the topic of attending exhibitions, 34% of the interviewees have not seen any; 30% did and it was in most cases a drum dance exhibition, followed by song performances, games and sporting events.

Postcards are the most common expenditure (30%) during the holiday, followed by food (26%), souvenirs (22%), books (17%), and maps (5%). Only one interviewee reported having made no purchases whatsoever.

The following is an overview of the amount of money spent (1 euro = DKK 7.4):

- 33% of the interviewees said that they spent between DKK 1,000 and DKK 5,000
- 25% reported that their expenditures did not exceed DKK 1,000
- 17% indicated expenditures of between DKK 6,000 and DKK 10,000
- an additional 17% said that they spent between DKK 16,000 and DKK 20,000
- and the remaining 8% of respondents had expenditures that exceeded DKK 21,000

**Infrastructure use and level of satisfaction**

Tourists in Tasiilaq visit the museum, which has a permanent collection of artefacts from the area on display and hosts temporary exhibitions. The tourist office provides information and books activities with local guides and in the settlements. The nearby arts and crafts shop Skæven sells handmade souvenirs and other locally made items. The Neriusaaq bookshop is also a meeting place, and serves refreshments, ice cream and light meals. The stamp factory “Filatelia” has rather limited opening hours, which makes it difficult for tourists to visit it and arrange a guided tour.

When asked to rate the establishments that they had visited, tourists said they were satisfied in the majority of cases, generally giving ratings from good to fair and, in the case of the museum, many qualified it as “excellent”.

Three-quarters of all tourists visit the tourist office and none of the respondents had anything negative to say about the services offered.

70% of all interviewed tourists visited the museum in Tasiilaq. Almost 90% of these respondents rated the museum's exhibition “excellent” or “good”.

The 1995 survey did not include the question about visiting the philately office of the Greenlandic postal service. In 2009, 86% of the respondents visited the “Filatelia” and all of them rated it “good” or “fair”.

A visit to the local art & crafts and souvenir shop “Skæven” is a must for 75% of the visitors. The majority bought maps (27%), postcards (20%) and DVDs (20%), followed by calendars (13%) and accessories (13%). Traditional handicrafts made of sealskin, bone or narwhal tusk were purchased by 7% of the visitors.

The amount of money spent at Skæven ranges from DKK 301 to DKK 500 for 50% of the sample, followed by 25% in the DKK 501 to DKK 1,000 range, and another 25% over DKK 1,000.

Nearly all of the visitors (93%) visit the bookstore Neriusaaq at least once during their stay in Tasiilaq. Neriusaaq is definitely a popular meeting point for tourists as well as local people.

As for the amount of money spent there, more than 60% of the visitors spend from DKK 100 to 300; 30% purchased at Neriusaaq for an amount between DKK 301 and DKK 500, and 9% spent between DKK 501 and DKK 1,000. As for the types of items purchased, 30% bought food and/or beverages; 18% postcards; 16% books and 9% paid for access to the internet.

**A visit to the settlements**

As for the settlements, the most popular visited village is Tiniteqilaaq, which was given top ratings by 44% of the respondents, followed by Kulusuk with 31% of the visits, then Ikkatteq with 10%, and Sermiligaaq and Kuummiut, which was each visited by 7% of the surveyed tourists.

The villages are serviced once weekly by the coastal boat that travels between Tasiilaq and the settlements. It is very popular to take the boat and visit one of the settlements, going around in the village during the time it takes for the boat to load and unload freight and passengers.

44% of the tourists reached the visited settlement by private boat; 25% went by foot – and this probably refers to the villages of Tiniteqilaq and Ikkatteq, which are the only ones that are reachable by foot from Tasiilaq. Kulusuk is also reachable by foot.
from the airport, being located on the same island. 19% of the tourists took the KNI boat to reach the settlements; 9% used the helicopter connection and 3% reached the visited settlement by kayak.

Tourists usually stay no longer than a few hours in a settlement (67%), especially if they arrive with the regular coastal boat. The 33% who stayed longer than one day said that they camped out (46%) or stayed with friends (39%), and the 16% who stayed in a hotel were probably visiting Kulusuk, which is the only place after Tasillaq where there is an hotel.

“The” experience

More than one-third (35%) of the respondents said that the most important experience of their holiday consisted of admiring the beautiful landscape and its impressive views as well as the culture and the people; 17% felt touched by the gorgeous natural surroundings; 10% by the exciting holiday activities and 4% by the adventurous travel.

Nearly nine-tenths of the respondents (86%) said that their expectations concerning this holiday had been fully met; 7% indicated that their holiday exceeded their expectations; and the remaining 7% said that their holiday did not meet their expectations.

The interviewees had some preconceived ideas about the destination prior to their visit; 38% felt that this should be a place with beautiful landscapes; 30% thought that the place was cold and had unpredictable weather; 24% thought that the place is remote and has very few inhabitants; and 9% of the interviewees said that they came with no preconceptions and wanted to be surprised.

With regard to the memories that they will bring home with them, more than half of the respondents (53%) said that they will remember the beautiful landscapes and the “views”; for 27% it will be the interesting people, peace and quiet (7%); this is followed by mosquitoes (7%), cold (2%), unpredictable weather (2%) and social problems (2%).

Revisiting the Arctic

Nearly three-quarters (72%) of the interviewees said that they wanted to return to an Arctic destination; 19% indicated that they were unsure but would consider the possibility; 9% have no intention to visit the Arctic again.

Many of those who expressed a desire to return to the Arctic said that they wanted to revisit it at a different time of the year; preferences are for the wintertime followed by summer and, to a lesser extent, the springtime.
When asked whether they would like to travel to a destination in the Arctic that is different from the one that they have just visited, 26% said that they would like to visit the West Coast of Greenland; 21% would like to go to Norway, and 11% wanted to see Canada;

There were also preferences with regard to specific places in Greenland, with over 5% indicating that they would prefer to travel to Kuummiut and Ittoqqortoormiit on the East Coast of Greenland, and Nuuk, the capital of Greenland (on the West Coast)

Other places in the Arctic that interviewees would like to visit (5% of the preferences for each place) include Alaska and Nunavut.

**Brief comparative summary of the salient data of the 1995 and 2009 surveys of tourists’ motivations and perceptions of an Arctic destination**

The 2009 follow-up questionnaire did not allow for one-on-one interviews and this may well affect the quality of the answers and the number of questions answered. However, a comparison of the two samples may nonetheless be interesting as it can provide information about the evolution of tourist attractions and perceptions of the place, including possible changes in tourists’ preferences, their activities and their level of satisfaction with the experience after an interval of 14 years.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Brief comparative summary of the 1995 and 2009 tourists surveys (listed from most common to least common)</th>
<th>1995</th>
<th>2009</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tourists’ origins:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Germany</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Switzerland</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• France</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Holland</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Austria</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travelling with:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Friends, family, partner, solo travellers</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main holiday and first time in Greenland</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organizing the holiday with:</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Travel agency, friends, books</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Internet sources, travel agency, books, friends</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Brief comparative summary of the 1995 and 2009 tourists surveys
(listed from most common to least common)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of tour:</th>
<th>1995</th>
<th>2009</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Only Greenland</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length of stay:</th>
<th>1995</th>
<th>2009</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3-4 days; 1-2 weeks; 3-5 weeks</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-4 weeks; 1-2 weeks; 1-3 days</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Accommodation:</th>
<th>1995</th>
<th>2009</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hotel; bed &amp; breakfast; private; tent</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tent, bed &amp; breakfast, friends &amp; family; hotel</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tourists’ activities:</th>
<th>1995</th>
<th>2009</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Icebergs; ice cap; trekking; villages</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hiking, boat tours, guided tours</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons for the choice of the destination:</th>
<th>1995</th>
<th>2009</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nature, culture, curiosity, visiting friends, life’s dream</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nature, landscape, outdoor activities, culture</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Knowledge of the local culture:</th>
<th>1995</th>
<th>2009</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very little or not at all</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informed, very well informed</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meeting local people</th>
<th>1995</th>
<th>2009</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Buying souvenirs:</th>
<th>1995</th>
<th>2009</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Did not buy souvenirs because made of bones and fur; bought books, postcards and stamps</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bought souvenirs</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trying traditional food</th>
<th>1995</th>
<th>2009</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meeting the local people</th>
<th>1995</th>
<th>2009</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Purchased during the holiday</th>
<th>1995</th>
<th>2009</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Food</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Books, maps, postcards</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Souvenirs</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Brief comparative summary of the 1995 and 2009 tourists surveys
(listed from most common to least common)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Visited settlements:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Ikkatteq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Tiniteqilaaq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Kuummiut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Kulusuk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Sermiligaaq</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The most remarkable experience:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Nature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Negative impressions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• People</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expectations are definitely met</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The impression before visiting the place</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Beautiful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Cold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Remote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Greener</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Memories to bring home</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Great experience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Fascinating but problematic place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Respect for the people living here</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wish to come back:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• In winter, but fear the cold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wish to visit other places in the Arctic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Arctic, not specified where</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• West Greenland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Svalbard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Norway</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Canada</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.4.2. Impact of Tourism upon Communities: Tasiilaq

After fieldwork on tourists visiting an Arctic destination conducted during the summer of 1995, focusing on tourists’ motivations, perceptions and the authenticity of the tourist experience, this research project examined the attitudes of the host society concerning tourism and tourists.

This research work was conducted in two phases with a 10-year interval.

Part 1 – Fieldwork took place during December 1997 and March 1998

Description of the Area

Ammassalik, a peripheral and remote Arctic community, is seeking alternatives to the current economy, which is characterized by traditional subsistence activities, low incomes and high unemployment rates.

According to the 1991 Greenland Tourism Development Plan, “there is already some tourism in the Ammassalik area and the relatively easy access from Iceland makes for easy development. Attractions include polar sea, ice coming down the East Greenland coast from the Arctic Ocean, hiking, mountaineering, dog sledding, skiing and local handicrafts” [Master Plan, 199179].

The region is located near the ice cap, at a longitude of 44°W and a latitude of 69°N. To the east it borders on the North Atlantic and, more specifically, the Denmark Strait.

Tasiilaq, the main town, is located on the island of Ammassalik, has an area of 772 km² and a population of 1,724 (total for the district, approx. 3,000). Few locals are full-time hunters and most are employed in secondary services, on average 500 people80, the majority of whom work in public administration and services.

Due to the relative isolation of life in the settlements, hunting and fishing still play a major role in the informal economy. In the settlements the variety of products for sale is rather limited. Kuummiut is the largest settlement with 401 inhabitants (many

80 The town council estimates (the turnover is quite high) that 270 persons are employed in public administration or are teachers; 30 are employed in the “Filatelia” stamp factory, 150 work in the building sector and 40 work on fishing trawlers.
families were resettled there in 1965 when the settlement of Skjoldungen was close down). Kulusuk has a population of 332 and hosts the airport. Other settlements are Isortoq, 136 inhabitants; Tiniteqilaq, 153; Sermiligaaq, 187; Ikkatteq five inhabitants and Qernertuarsuit with a population of five.

Travel connections to the town are by KNI boat or by helicopter.

The Ammassalik region in East Greenland
The region experienced its first contacts with Europeans in 1884 with the Gustav Holm expedition (Konebådsekspeditionen). Quite isolated until recent times, Ammassalik has a tourist image as a cold place with magnificent, pristine wilderness and an intact culture to discover, making it one of the few remaining frontiers in the minds of tourists. The area has a very attractive landscape, with fjords and mountains, and is rich in cultural traditions which, together with a certain number of currently existing tourism activities, constitute a potential for future tourism development. Tourism is presently rated as a secondary industry. Indeed, no genuine development of the tourist industry has taken place (1997-1998), and the tangible impact of tourism activities have not yet been felt.

The Development of Tourism
Tourism concretely started in the 1970s with the construction of the hotel in Tasiilaq. The airport in Kulusuk was built in 1959 and used as an American military base during World War II. It later became a civilian airport with daily connections to Iceland. Thanks to an ongoing collaboration with Icelandic airlines, which brought package tourism to Ammassalik, trips to Greenland from Iceland became very popular, with daily one-day tours to the settlement of Kulusuk and, alternately, three-day trips that included visits to Tasiilaq.
During the tourist season, many tourists get a fleeting taste of Greenland, visiting the village of Kulusuk for about one hour, walking around, buying some souvenirs and returning to the airstrip by sledge or boat.

Accessibility to the region is poor (and expensive) compared to other Greenlandic destinations. Throughout most of the year, transport is limited to aviation (helicopter). At the time of the fieldwork (1997-1998), the tourist infrastructures consisted of two hotels (owned by the same family) in Tasiilaq (the main town) and in Kulusuk; Red House, expeditions and guesthouse; Mount Forel, expeditions; the “kollegium”, a student hall of residence that functions as a youth hostel during the school holidays; and tours and a guesthouse in Kulusuk launched by an Icelandic private initiative. The region’s isolated settlements are attractions in themselves, and it is possible to rent accommodation in the school rooms when visiting during the summer.

Most tourists stay in town for just three to four days, usually in combination with their holidays in Iceland. Most tourists are primarily interested in seeing the sights (icebergs, ice cap). Tourists who stay for longer periods are interested in recreational forms of tourism, e.g., trekking, climbing, skiing, and mountaineering.

Where there is infrastructure to serve tourists, the general consensus is that it is of poor quality and high priced. In the early 1990s, the municipality took a number of initiatives to boost the development of tourism and prepared a development plan (Turismeplan for Ammassalik Kommune).

In 1994, a workshop entitled “Tourism as an opportunity – and not just for tourists. Ways of promoting sensitive regions: the example of eastern Greenland” was organized by a private entrepreneur with the participation of district representatives, hunters involved – or wanting to be involved – in the tourism business, and interested members of the local community. Representatives from outside Greenland, mainly tour operators, also took part to the workshop. The municipality organized a course for guides (outfitters) in 1995.

**Rationale**

- *What is tourism and who are the tourists*
- *Interest in developing tourism activities*
- *Opinions about tourism*
- *Dreams and realities concerning the “tourism business”*

**Methodology**

The first data were collected in December 1997, and a second sampling took place in March 1998.
The purpose was to collect information on tourism and tourists by interviewing people involved in the tourism business (guides) and ordinary people.

A questionnaire was submitted to the surveyed population, supported and enhanced by deep, detailed interviews.

• Only Inuit were interviewed, representatives of all age groups, male and female
• 35 local residents were interviewed
• Not all questions were answered by respondents

Presentation of the Data, Fieldwork in 1997 and 1998

When asked whether they wanted to see tourism in Ammassalik, a large number of residents responded affirmatively. One-third has declared that they don’t care about the tourists. Most of the people interviewed seem to like seeing other people, but stopped at that. No negative responses concerning tourists were made.

Most of those interviewed have contacts with the tourists through their job (56%), while others would like to have an opportunity to meet tourists (42%), and a very small number of people refuse all contact (2%).

Tourists ask questions mainly about hunting (44%) and about the family (35%), but also about private matters (21%). Interviewees said that tourists don’t usually disturb their work and activities, and if this happens, it occurs during the hunt. So far no one has had personal problems with tourists.

When asked about inviting tourists into their homes, 40% responded that they would like to, and 33% said that they didn’t want to do this. If invited into the home, the tourists were welcomed to eat together with the family rather than expected to buy something.

On the topic of having guests at home, most people said that they didn’t like this idea (66%); 34% would like to do this but said that it was not possible. Houses are usually small and overcrowded, and the idea of having tourists camping near the house appealed to 55% of the interviewees. Sharing certain daily life activities and eating together could be a possibility, at least according to the 30% of the responses. Offering bed & breakfast accommodation is something that could be considered, according to 15%.

By and large interviewees think that tourism can bring jobs (80%) and money (60%). Tourism can also improve the quality of life, according to 26% of the sample. It can help to preserve the culture (35%) or be a threat to the culture (35%). Tourism can
kindle a desire to move away (20%) and can create aspirations for unattainable levels of quality of life (12%).

Young people in particular indicated that they had no idea about what it can bring (32%).

People said they did not believe tourism would lead to any environmental problems, but most of those surveyed felt small numbers of tourists were better than large groups, as the latter may overwhelm the communities’ infrastructure (boats, food). The majority agreed that there should be restrictions on the number of tourists coming there (perhaps they recall the 450 cruise ship tourists who unexpectedly came ashore in 1995).

Findings
The large proportion of ambiguous answers (don't know, 32%) reveals a lack of community understanding of tourism itself and is a reflection of the lack of information available to community members on the subject. The participation rate of Greenlanders in the tourist industry is low. The impression is that the locals' opinion about tourism is something quite obscure, nebulous, even something not worth considering. The native population lacks an understanding of tourism, how it works, how to treat the tourists, how tourists and local residents can enjoy mutual benefits.

Tourism at this point is not clearly perceived in the minds of most members of the community. Residents have a variety of definitions of tourism. Tourism is seen as something abstract or at most identified and related to the hotel. For many of those interviewed a tourist is somebody who belongs with the hotel. Through the hotel the local people can get small, seasonal jobs driving boats or sledges, making carvings, and working as domestic staff.

People are aware of the aims of tourists who travel to the community with the specific objective of enjoying the scenery of the area. Sometimes these tourists directly arrange with people to go out boating or sledging. This requires a certain degree of professionalism; at the very least, it means being able to speak a little Danish, if not English as well, and this is not always the case.

80% of the respondents felt that guides (and outfitters) would benefit most. There is currently only one guide (outfitter) in the town.

On the topic of making economic gains, most residents commented that they felt that tourism would bring employment opportunities, primarily to young people, maybe to everyone in the community, but, concretely speaking, they don't know how this should come about.
The town council provided some years ago a preparatory course for guides: the few who took part in it are currently away studying or busy with another job.

The same proportion of responses (35%) was given concerning the feeling that their culture is at risk or placed at a disadvantage by tourism: some people think tourism is a good way to help to maintain culture and traditions, while others think tourism can be dangerous because it brings about significant changes to their cultural and traditional legacy.

Some people thought that there would be no change in lifestyle as a result of tourist development. They said that they are not worried about changing their lifestyle because they are adapting to new circumstances every day, and they are still Inuit in the way they think about the land and deep in their hearts. Many elders in the community feel that cultural revitalization through tourism may help the younger generation to learn more about their traditions and way of life. They feel the traditional way of life and culture is in danger because of the massive influence of novelties brought by television and new fashion habits from the outside, e.g., the West Coast of Greenland. Other people feel that if the local culture is too exposed to tourist influences, this can lead to a negative impact, and they fear that tourists may break community rules.

The findings of this study suggest that residents have a positive, yet not well informed attitude toward tourism development. Tourism development in the Ammassalik region is in its early stages, as is the local population’s perceptions of tourism and tourists. The benefits derived from tourism for the local population still remain very limited.

The data reveal that the majority of those sampled were in favour of tourist development, but know too little about it. There is a lack of “discourse” about tourism: what is tourism, who are tourists, how to start/develop tourism, how to generate benefits, how to avoid a negative impact.

Community members are frightened they will lose local control over tourism due to the lack of information, the lack of experience in the industry, and the weak links between the diverse tourist organizations. Presently there is no real planning, and no opportunities to access funding. There is currently no local control of tourist activities, and the few existing initiatives are not in the hands of the native population.

Residents have a positive, yet not well-informed attitude toward tourism development. Local involvement is often haphazard. There is a need for information and expertise, for more infrastructure, for cost-benefit analyses and for analyses of the socio-cultural and environmental impact of tourism.
Although the findings suggest that native cultures along with the natural environment are the primary attractions for tourism, native people are not currently playing a leading role within the tourist industry. Opinions varied as to the reason for this secondary role, ranging from the observation that native people lacked the necessary capital to finance their own tourism initiatives, to the perception of more fundamental cultural variations in which the “business of tourism” was seen as a foreign concept by most of the native cultures of the North. It is, however, generally agreed that tourism represents an important opportunity for the establishment of economic independence and sustainability of the indigenous peoples of the North.

The function of tourism as a means of economic development for disadvantaged or undeveloped peripheral regions is generally accepted, and its merits and drawbacks are discussed at some length in the literature. A peripheral region's government perceives tourism development as a means of economic growth and diversification, and most of all as an opportunity for job creation, greater influx of capital, and enhanced welfare for the general population.

At present (1998) it seems difficult to foresee a development for Tasiilaq that has a tangible impact on the local population. This is mainly due to the lack of planning, information and general support. In addition, there are many practical problems such as a lack of foreign languages skills, and small and overcrowded houses.

People currently have no ideas that could be exploited as small-scale tourism businesses, such as offering tourists the possibility of camping near their homes and sharing only some of their daily activities, such as drinking coffee together.

Part 2 – Fieldwork took place in November 2010 and in February 2011

This is follow-up research that focuses on the evolution and changes that may have occurred during an interval of time between 1997 and 2011.

The research focused on the positive and negative impacts of tourism development on the community, taking into account the local population's approach and attitude to expanding tourist activities. This study sheds light on the hopes and aspirations of the local population with regard to tourism.

Rationale
The main questions addressed by the research were:

• *How do the local people perceive the tourist challenge?*
• **What is tourism and who are the tourists?**

• **Does tourism bring jobs and benefits or does it only bring changes to the community’s way of life?**

• **How well informed is the local population about tourism and tourism development planning?**

• **Hosts and guests in contact: mutual benefits or conflicts?**

**Methodology**

The questionnaire submitted to the local population is largely a copy of the one used in 1997 and 1998. This was done mainly to pave the way for the most meaningful possible comparisons of the results of the two surveys, and thus highlight the possible – and probable – changes.

One part of the questionnaire was devoted to the impact of tourism on the population and their daily lives. This part of the survey aimed to analyze the hosts’ and guests’ interactions.

The previous survey revealed a certain amount of friction between hosts and guests. Usually Arctic people have a very warm and welcoming approach to tourists and visitors, however, it was reported that tourists sometimes intrude too much on the private sphere of local residents. Sometimes a massive arrival of visitors, i.e., from a cruise ship, overwhelmed the small community. These occurrences can easily have a negative effect on residents over the long run.

The survey also aimed to establish to what extent, if any, the local population’s attitudes toward tourism development and tourists visiting the area have evolved and changed. A balance has to be struck between the feelings of the population, especially in small places (settlements), and the visitors, who need to adhere to certain rules (i.e., respect of local etiquette).

• **The sample consisted of 10 interviewed people, men and women of different ages.**

• **Not all the questions have been answered.**

• **The answers were limited to ticking one or more answers on a multiple-choice questionnaire**

• **Deep interviews have proven unfeasible.**
Presentation of the Data from Field Work of 2010 and 2011

What do you think about tourists coming here? The answer to this question demonstrates that almost everyone in the sample (80%) is in favour of visitors. The remaining 20% do not want to have anything to do with tourists.

Most of the interviewees have some kind of contact with tourists (90%), offering services like boat trips or dog sledding tours. A small proportion (10%) of the sample would like to have something to do with this sector, but has not yet decided or has not been involved so far.

A large proportion (80%) of the individuals involved in activities related to tourism are satisfied with the business, and 20% revealed that they were not satisfied with the outcome of their involvement with tourist activities.

The responses to these questions were very similar to the results of the previous survey. Tourists ask questions about hunting (50%; prev. 44%), about family (25%; prev. 35%), about private matters (19%; prev. 21%). This survey had an additional question about the country, and here the answers show that 6% of the total number of tourists’ queries relate to questions about the country. Furthermore, 25% of the interviewees would like to have tourists at home (prev.40%); 33% said that they did not like the idea, and this is the same proportion of answers given in the 1997-98 survey.

Findings

The survey reexamined tourism development in the area, after an interval of more than 10 years.

Tasiilaq still epitomizes the typical situation of an isolated, scenic but economically depressed region, resembling the situation of other peripheral places like Ittoqqortoormiit on the East Coast and Qaanaaq in North Greenland, characterized by remoteness and limited accessibility.

In January 2008, Tasiilaq had a population of 1,904 inhabitants (total for the district, 3,043). Few are full-time hunters; most of the inhabitants are employed in secondary services, on average 500 people.

The lifestyle in the settlements still revolves around traditional activities, such as hunting and subsistence fishing. Kuummiut remains the largest settlement, with 353 inhabitants. The other settlements are Isortoq (95 inhabitants), Tiniteqilaq (144) and Sermiligaaq (233). Ikkatteq and Qernertuarsuit have been officially abandoned, and
are only used occasionally during the hunting season or for summer holidays. The settlements are reachable with the KNI boat or by helicopter as well as with dogs and sledges.

Stunning scenery and pristine wilderness provide the backdrop for a wide range of tourist activities, from skiing in the spring to hiking, climbing, and canoeing. Tourists can also discover the indigenous culture and traditional way of life, especially in the six settlements.

Large-scale tourism has only recently been introduced. Thanks to its proximity to Iceland, this region has become one of the most important entry areas to Greenland, at least in terms of the sheer numbers of people arriving and departing. Around 4,000 people annually fly from Iceland to Kulusuk, where they spend four hours before returning again, so the impact – both in terms of the amount of money spent and the impact on the local economy – is very limited.

There are also other types of tourists, and a hotel was built in Tasiilaq in 1963, and another one in 1998 in Kulusuk, to accommodate them. These establishments are owned by a Danish family, which has made special agreements with Iceland Air and is offering package tours consisting of three-day and four-day visits to Greenland.

The development of other structures and tourism activities has remained characterized by the presence of foreigners who are, in many cases, long-term residents. More recently a guesthouse and another hotel have been built in Tasiilaq. The accommodation capacity is quite good, also in two of the settlements where foreign people are involved with tourism.

Three Greenlandic outfitters are active in the town and in two of the settlements, collaborating with the hotel and with foreign tour operators in the area. So far they have not initiated their own businesses in the sense of directly offering a product to the tourists. Furthermore, they have not thought of creating a webpage like, for instance, the outfitters in Sisimiut, to make themselves known to the outside world and use the net to promote their offers, book trips, and so on.

The key roles among guides and outfitters are currently played by foreigners from Iceland, Italy and France who are active in Kulusuk, Tasiilaq and Tiniteqilaaq. These people live in Greenland during the tourist season, and as soon as it ends, they travel back to Europe to promote their businesses, participate in trade fairs, make agreements with travel agencies, and plan for the next season.

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81 Rambøll, 2002, Miljø og Turisme i Arktis: Ammassalip Kommunia, Østgrønland. Virum
82 The Hotel Nansen does not exist anymore. In 2010, it was sold and torn down, and a jail is to be built at this location.
The local tourist office merged years ago with the other town in East Greenland, Ittoqqortoormiit, to create “Destination East Greenland” with the aim of promoting tourism to the general public. According to data from Statistics Greenland, the “North-East” region, which includes North and East Greenland, reported a total of 6,085 overnights for 2005. The table below shows a comparison with the other tourist regions of Greenland:

| Region South | 12,331 |
| Region Mid   | 35,569 |
| Region Disko | 19,405 |
| Region North / East | 6,058 |

Source: Grønlands Statistikbank 2006

Very often tourism activities in peripheral places are organized by foreigners and the tourism business in Tasiilaq is still largely dominated by foreign companies and developers. Consequently, a considerable segment of the local population still considers tourism to be something quite obscure and tourists something related to the hotels. Attempts to increase the awareness of the potential of the tourism sector through a course for guides have been rather unsuccessful.

At this point in time, tourism has little or no impact on local communities. The income from tourism activities largely flows abroad and only a handful of seasonal jobs as domestic staff or sledge drivers are left for the local population. The local population generally does not have the skills or the necessary funds to launch tourism activities, which tend to be rather lucrative for professionals and tour operators coming from outside of Greenland.
2.4.3. Illoqqortoormiut and the North-East Greenland National Park, Tourism, Development and Conservation

Fieldwork took place in 2009

If a destination is to attract tourists, special emphasis needs to be placed on the landscape, along with cultural aspects. When it comes to the use of “protected areas”, conflicts may arise among the different stakeholders: the government, hunters, conservationists, and tourism companies.

Description of the Area

Illoqqortoormiut, on the East Coast of Greenland, is located at approximately 70°31′N, 22°00′W near the mouth of Kangertittivaq (Scoresby Sound), and the associated district covers an area of 235,000 km² (91,000 square miles) along the Denmark Strait and the Greenland Sea. To the north, it borders on the North-East Greenland National Park, the largest in the world, and to the south-west it borders on the Ammassalik region.\(^{83}\)

Illoqqortoormiut has a very remote geographical location, one of the remotest in Greenland, and only 478 inhabitants. There are two settlements, Itterajivit (Cape Hope) and Uunarteq (Cape Tobin), which has been uninhabited since 2006.\(^{84}\) All three settlements are situated at the southern tip of Liverpool Land along the northern entrance to Scoresby Sound. The name Illoqqortoormiut is used for the entire district, and means “those who live in the large houses”.

Brief History

About the year 1000 A.D. Vikings came to Greenland and established two settlements in West Greenland. The Norse are also known to have used high mountains in East Greenland as landmarks. Archaeologists have found silver buttons and beads in Inuit graves, providing circumstantial evidence of direct contact between the Vikings and the Greenlandic population of the Scoresby Sound. The area, as

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\(^{83}\) With the establishment of the new districts (Jan 1st, 2009), all of these borders now only have a purely geographical sense, as Illoqqortoormiut and Ammassalik are now part of the district of Sermersooq, which also comprises the towns of Nuuk, Paamiut and Ivittuut on Greenland’s west coast.

\(^{84}\) As for the population dynamics in 1990, the total number of the settlement’s inhabitants was 84; in 1994 this number had decreased by 40, and ten years later, in 2004, there were only 9 inhabitants. (Cf. Statistics Greenland, Nuuk).
testified by ruins and other archaeological remains, was once home to a dense population of Inuit.

While sailing in East Greenland waters, William Scoresby senior and his son (also William Scoresby) reported observations of land between 70° and 74°N in their whaling logs in 1817 and 1821. In 1822, Scoresby senior (on the Fame) and Scoresby junior (on the Baffin), together with 20 to 30 other British whalers, were close to land on numerous occasions. Scoresby junior named Scoresby Sound after his father.

As early as 1911, Harald Olrik proposed the establishment of a settlement in the unpopulated tracts of Scoresby Sound. The project was brought to realization in 1924 due to the interest and influence of Ejnar Mikkelsen. About 85 Greenlanders arrived in 1925 and were the first settlers in Illoqqortoormiut. The aim was to move a number of the inhabitants from Ammassalik, 800 km farther south, which had reached a population limit with regard to what the nearby hunting areas could supply. There were also geopolitical factors. Following territorial disputes with Norway, Denmark decided to establish an outpost farther north to strengthen its hold on what was then the colony of Greenland.

Originally the town was flanked by a number of the settlements, many of which have been abandoned in recent years. People from these outlying communities have moved to Illoqqortoormiut, which offers very few job opportunities and little economic development. Apart from jobs in the service sector (shop, school, the little hospital, day care centre and the senior citizens’ home), there are very few permanent positions. The local fish processing plant has almost no activity, except for the brief period when hunters can sell mattaq (whale skin).
Aside from a handful of permanent positions, the local economy consists of a mix of seasonal tourism activities, subsistence hunting and social assistance. For many residents the main and only activity remains subsistence hunting. In addition to people who leave the town to pursue an education, there is a rather significant degree of outmigration.

Although Illoqqortoormiut is situated only half way up the coast of East Greenland, the climate is more typical of the High Arctic. A cold south-flowing current, emerging from the Arctic Ocean, sweeps by the north-eastern coast and has a stabilizing impact on regional weather patterns.

Local hunters have for generations lived from whale and polar bear hunting, which is still a significant cultural-economical factor in the area. Meat and meat by-products play a direct role in the economy of hunting families. Income is gained by trading these products, but these options are seasonal and variable.

Illoqqortoormiut lies near large concentrations of shrimp and Greenland halibut, but the presence of sea ice makes it impossible to exploit these resources year-round and, as a result, fishing has never been extensively developed in the district.

Tourism, on the other hand, is growing in importance. At present Illoqqortoormiut, a rather small town, has limited infrastructure and limited capacity. The area is still remote; the closest neighbouring town in Greenland is Tasiilaq, which lies approximately 800 km to the southwest.

Illoqqortoormiut has no direct connection with the rest of Greenland. It is only reachable by plane via direct flights from Iceland to Constable Point airport, and then by helicopter to the town. There are usually two weekly flights from the end of March to the end of October, and one weekly connection during the rest of the year. Several expedition cruise ships also call at Illoqqortoormiut as a result of the growing cruise ship tourism throughout Greenland in recent years.

The region’s remoteness, impressive landscape and outdoor activities make it an appealing destination, and tourism appears to have become an important component in the local economy. Tourism can generate good money for the hunters, who offer dog sledding tours to the tourists. There are approximately 50 dog sledges in town and in 2005 an estimated DKK 1,000,000 was earned during the entire tourism season from dog sledding and boat tours (interview with KSH in Kulusuk, March 2007).

The place offers several activities all year round, for instance dog sledding, boat tours, and hiking. The peak season is between March and May for dog sledding and
between August and September for boat tours. October is the favourite month for cruise ship tourists.

The number of visitors is around 150 for dog sledging, 180 for boat tours and more than 1,000 for cruise ships (information from Nanu Travel).

**Rationale**

The area chosen for the research was Illoqqortoormiut, in part because it offered an ideal opportunity for making comparisons with Qaanaaq, where previous fieldwork was conducted in 2007. Illoqqortoormiut is also a peripheral and remote community, with traditional subsistence activities, low incomes and a high rate of unemployment. The town is seeking alternatives to the current economy and the area possesses a very attractive landscape and rich cultural traditions. It has “tourism potential” and tourist activities appear to generate income in the area. As in Qaanaaq, this research project set out to examine the community’s willingness to develop forms of tourism that actively involve local residents.

**General Information**

The following section contains general information gathered from the local population. This includes personal opinions collected after interviews and during informal meetings. I chose to report this information because it gives a comprehensive idea of the issues and concerns of the local community.

There are roughly 100 families living in the town. The average family consists of two adults and two to three children. The town has a budget of some DKK 27 million, with DKK 12 million earmarked for the school. The number of students dropped from 150 to 93 within five years, and there has been a decline in the number of teachers, so the level of instruction is not very high. There is no money for cleaning the city during the summer. Last summer the city was dirty, and there was no money. But considerable sums of money have been invested in the school and in teachers with no significant results.

The average annual income from hunting ranges from DKK 10,000 to DKK 15,000, plus there is income derived from other jobs, like tourism activities (dog sledging, boat rides), so the total estimated average annual comes to between DKK 40,000 and 60,000. Before limitations were introduced on selling narwhal and walrus ivory and polar bear skins (now possible only within Greenland), the annual average hunter income was DKK 150,000.

Due to these limitations, along with high prices and rising living expenses, it is vital for the family economy that the hunters’ wives also have jobs, such as at the school, the supermarket, hospital, home for the elderly, and day care centre.
If total annual income is less than DKK 150,000, the Home Rule provides a subsidy to help cover the cost of rent, electricity, heating and food. A mechanism has been put in place to ensure that food money is used to purchase food and not alcohol. Social assistance is about DKK 200 to DKK 300 per week, plus money for heating oil and electricity, if necessary.

The best hunters earn on average between DKK 300,000 and DKK 500,000 per year.

**Hunting Life**

There are 15 to 18 professional hunters out of 60 to 80 individuals who hunt on a regular basis. Some have service jobs and many are weekend hunters. There are about 40 to 50 boats.

There are on average 400 dogs, which are usually exchanged and rarely sold. A full team of dogs requires 10 to 12 animals. Hunting in winter for musk-ox requires a minimum of 10 dogs.

It is expensive to have dogs. Sometimes it is necessary to buy dog food at the shop, for example, when the ice melts during the summer, and there are too many waves at sea. This makes it difficult to take a boat to the area where the seals are, so for two to three months a year it is necessary to buy food. The food is imported from Denmark and costs DKK 230 for 20 kg. Each team of dogs requires 30 to 40 kg a week. Some hunters have up to 15 dogs.

There is a polynia\(^{85}\) in Cap Tobin (Uunarteq) which is often used for hunting. But when it moves and is pressed by the ice, it closes and cannot be used at all times.

Hunting is difficult if there is too much snow. In November, there is no light and it is hard to find game in the two or three hours of twilight. Many use fishing nets to hunt seals. There is no alternative because it is too dark for hunting. The nets have to be placed close to the coast or near an iceberg that is moving and where there is always open water, which is necessary for the seals to breathe. Near the coast the ice breaks, making it necessary to move the nets. When there is a thick layer of snow on the ice, the hunters have to dig deep holes. Every day the hunters go and look for seals in the fishing nets. In Cape Tobin, fishing net hunting is good; the seals swim under the ice from the polynia toward the coast, and when breathing is necessary, they become trapped in the fishing nets. Seals are afraid of narwhal and walrus, so if these animals are in the polynia, the seals go away and there is no game.

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\(^{85}\) Area of open water, surrounded by ice, which remains unfrozen for much of the year.
The narwhales arrive in March. In the springtime they usually stay in the fjord, as do the walrus. There are no conflicts, although the walrus are afraid of narwhals. The narwhals come from the open sea and leave again when it starts to freeze in the autumn. Not all the narwhals go inside the fjord; many stay outside along the coast. It is better to catch a narwhal because the mattaq is very valuable and there is a good market for it. On the West Coast there are severe limitations placed on narwhal hunting. The meat of the narwhal is for human consumption and for the dogs.

Walrus (about three metres long and weighing 400 to 500 kg) travel in the spring from Daneborg down to Cape Tobin and the Cape Swainson area, but as with polar bears, walrus meat has almost no market because it contains trichinosis. Narwhal ivory can be sold inside Greenland. Seals can be caught all year round, although hunting areas vary depending on the season.

**Hunting Seasons**

In January the polynia at Cape Tobin is good for hunting seals; in February there are seals and a few walrus; March is the musk-ox hunting season (March 1 to March 31) for licensed hunters. The community’s musk-ox quota for the season is 50.

In April many seals and narwhals begin to arrive at the polynia, and a quota of 50 animals has been introduced for the narwhals, starting from 2010.

In June they go hunting with sledges outside the town and inside Hurry fjord the seals come up with the pack ice. In June many hunters take their boats to Cape Tobin and begin to sail in open water and hunt for seals and narwhals.

Jameson and Liverpool Land are open for musk-ox hunting during the winter (season extends from November 10 to March 31). Summer hunting is inside Scoresby Sound Fjord, five to six hours by boat from the town, close to the border with the national park.

July and August is Arctic char season. Sometimes in June the fisherman take their boats from Cape Tobin to Cape Steward because there are a lot of fish and narwhals there.

In May and June they fish in the two lakes, Dumbravap Imia and Kangittip Imia, going there by sledge. It takes five to seven hours to travel by sledge from Iloqqor-toormiut to Cape Hope. Around June and in July the common eider and the common guillemot begin to nest.

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86 A parasitic disease contracted by ingesting raw or undercooked meat. Polar bear meat is a primary source of human infection, but walruses and whales can also carry the parasite.
August 10 to September 10 is the musk-ox summer season, and the quota is of 175 animals.

In the beginning of August, the Arctic char season ends. Many families camp while fishing during the summer.

From October to December seals are hunted, and from November musk-ox. Usually from the second week in October the seals are hunted using nets, but now (October 25) the ice is breaking up all the time.

Usually in autumn the fjord is frozen, and inside the fjord they fish for polar cod with long lines through a hole in the ice. The fish can be up to 20 cm. Sometimes they also catch sole and Greenland halibut.

**Prices and Costs**

A good polar bear skin can fetch between DKK 10,000 and DKK 15,000. Narwhal tusks average two metres in length and are worth DKK 10,000, a pair of walrus tusks sells for around DKK 5,000 to DKK 6,000. These prices pertain to ivory that is in perfect condition, and not chipped or damaged.

Top-quality sealskins now fetch DKK 250; 10 years ago it was DKK 500. The buyer is Great Greenland, which receives subsidies for these purchases from the Home Rule Government. Sealskins are subsidized and sell for around DKK 500 on the open market – with top-notch quality sealskins selling for as much as DKK 1,000.

A polar bear skin fetches DKK 5,000 per metre (usually a polar bear skin is about two to three metres long) but now, with the ban on exports, hunters have difficulties selling polar bear skins.

Mattaq is sold for DKK 100 to DKK 150 per kilo to private customers; Arctic Green Food pays DKK 72 to DKK 75 per kilo, and this is the only business Arctic Green Food has had this year. Most of the mattaq is shipped to West Greenland. Since polar bear skins and narwhal ivory are difficult to sell right now, selling mattaq is the only way for many families to make ends meet.

Small amounts of meat and mattaq are sold privately. Prices are as follows: DKK 70-80/kg for musk-ox; DKK 150/80kg for mattaq; a whole seal is sold for about DKK 250-300. Arctic Green Food purchases narwhal meat and mattaq, walrus meat, seal meat and Arctic char.

Expenditure for food, if not hunting, is DKK 800 DKK 1,000 per week.
Climate Change and Hunting Conditions

The weather has changed; now it is similar to Iceland, with more rainy days during the summer. There are more waves because of the lack of ice during the summer. Pack ice produces stable weather. The wind blows more often from the south and pushes the ice out to sea; to get ice inside the fjord, the wind should come from the north. Ice forms later in the year.

The locals used to hunt on the new ice during the first week in October, and started using the dogs from mid-October. Now, sometimes the ice freezes and breaks up again. The fjord usually freezes from mid-November, but five years ago, the hunters went inside the fjord by boat to hunt musk-ox and it was mid-November. Such a hunting trip is normally done by sledge.

In order for the fjord to freeze, cold temperatures are needed and no wind from the south. Sometimes the ice is not strong enough to use the sledges, but thick enough to make it difficult or impossible to travel by boat. As the winter days get shorter, light diminishes and maybe only two to three hours a day can be used for hunting. The fjord has to be frozen to place the fishing nets. It is a problem when the ice breaks up all the time.

Hunting conditions are difficult; 10 years ago the pack ice could cover almost half the fjord. Now, the fjord is free of ice earlier and earlier every year. Around 2003 there was not as much movement of ice, but now it flows down from the north and continues straight down to South Greenland and up the coast to Paamiut. This forms a belt of ice in the south that impedes all activity.

Cape Tobin

In 1981, the weather station and its staff of 30 to 40 people were moved from Cape Tobin to Illoqqortoormiit. In 2003, the last hunters living in Cape Tobin left for Illoqqortoormiit because of the difficulties of living there. The pack ice began to disappear in 2003-2004, and it became difficult to come ashore by boat.

In 2008, there were only two to five people left in Cape Tobin. The Home Rule Government stopped producing electric power and the settlement was abandoned during the winter.

When the sun is back people go there on weekends and during the summer. The houses are in good shape. In the late 1990s, the school was refurbished and is now used for alcohol dependency treatment programmes and as a venue for family therapies.
Residents’ Opinions on Future Plans and Tourism Development

“At the end of the 1990s, people changed their minds, not about the problems of climate change or seal skin prices, but tourism started. Young people wanted to have an education and not to be hunters; the price of the skins was declining. The mayor at the time understood the need for change; he contacted a tour operator in Iceland and since then there have been a lot of meetings and discussions but nothing really concrete had happened”.

“Now tourism is a business and we are looking for alternatives so it would be good to have an airport here. At Constable Point (Nelerit Inaat) the weather is often bad and there are additional costs for the helicopter to come here. We have special attractions here, for instance there is a hot water creek about 500 metres from Cape Tobin; the water has a surface temperature of 63°. About 6-8 years ago there were talks with Iceland, but there has been no response from the Home Rule and no research has been done about the deep warm water”.

“Talks about an airport to be built between Illoqqortoormiut and Cape Tobin have been going on since the 1950s (see the G50 and G60 development plans), but hunters fear the animals will be scared away. The estimated prices in 2006 were DKK 104 million for the airport and DKK 50 million for the road to Illoqqortoormiut. In the future the airport could have a direct flight connection to Nuuk. Now, to reach the capital we need to fly via Iceland. Most of all a new airport will need employees so new jobs could be created. If the airport is built then a road will also be built to Illoqqortoormiut and Cape Tobin, about 7 km from Illoqqortoormiut. We need to have electricity again in Cape Hope; the houses can be used for tourism”.

“In Illoqqortoormiut half of the electric power is used; the new power plant (3-4 years old) is very big and used only at 50% capacity. If the electricity could be used for the airport and for Cape Tobin, the cost of electricity might go down.”

“Two thousand visitors seem to be not enough for the new airport; this figure can be easily increased to 7,000 or 8,000 considering that there will also be visitors to the national park. A local entrepreneur is ready to build a hotel if the new airport is built, and we can get daily tourists from Iceland like in Kulusuk”.

“A Canadian company plans to open a molybdenum mine in 2012 in Malmbjerg, at the end of the fjord. Prospecting started in 2007. The activity is anticipated to last...”

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87 As declared at the beginning of this chapter, this section reports the opinions and comments of the local population and is intentionally kept anonymous since these are informal talks and not official interviews. Nonetheless it is important to report the opinions and the visions that some residents have about the future of their community.
15 to 20 years. If they start mining then a landing strip 1,700 metres long and a harbour are going to be constructed. The estimated population there will be about 400 to 500 for the first two to three years, and afterwards 200 to 300 people will work there. After a stopping due to the economic crisis, it seems that operation will start again. Other minerals have been found in the vicinity; there is great potential and this is a good opportunity for the town."

“The molybdenum mine will be the biggest open mine in the world for this mineral. They say that they estimate 500 workers can be used there. A rare goose is nesting where they plan to build the airport. Now permission has been given without any royalties, just taxes. There is a distance of 150 km from the shipping harbour to the mine. It will be necessary to construct a road and a diesel power plant; this will result in a huge amount of CO2. Maybe 5 to 7 people can work there. This is 200 km away from Illoqortoormiut. According to the plans, the town will have all services”.

“We never had a direct contact; before the contacts were only by ship for passengers and goods. Mestersvig mine had an airstrip and from here it was a long way by sledge. The mail was dropped by airplane with a parachute. Constable Point is 15 minutes by helicopter; it was also built and used by a mining company. We have asked the government for an airport and a harbour”.

“In Mestersvig the mining company started at the end of the 1940s and by the 1950s the airport was built. Now it is used by Air Iceland (before it was used by the Sirius Patrol) to serve expeditions to the national park. They plan to stop the activities because it is too expensive. If the Canadian company won’t start activities soon and the airport won’t be built and Cape Tobin reopened, then tourism will stagnate”.

“If the mine that a Canadian company plans to open is built, this will open the area to tourism; it can be developed there, using the facilities for external tourists. The local population could be involved, i.e., hunters to deliver meat and fish, local employees and staff, for instance for the restaurant and the cleaning”.

“The country is “used” by foreigners. Icelandic operators offer flights with Twin Otter planes from Air Iceland. They fly inside Scoresby Sound where there are many natural places to land. There are many flights from Iceland to East Greenland. The companies are from Denmark and are run by former Sirius members, who organize many tourism activities, including expeditions in the national park. Studies and research have been made (for DKK 21 million) to preserve the ecology of the fjord, and the places where musk-ox are found. Many of the bones and the skulls have disappeared, and now this issue has come to the attention of the central government in Nuuk”.

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“The fee paid by the cruise ships to come ashore should stay here and be used for services in the community”.

“Small communities are suffering in many ways. About 100 people have left the town in the last 14 months; young people leaving for education will not come back, there is a lack of jobs and it is not possible to make a living as a hunter. People are losing their jobs everywhere and as a result they leave, mainly for Nuuk or leave for Tasiilaq where they have relatives. The government has said that now all the villages with fewer than 100 inhabitants are going to be evaluated, and for the other villages the services will be reduced”.

Methodology
The fieldwork consisted of interviews with the population, mainly with the hunters involved in tourist activities, and with other relevant people to gather more comprehensive information about the place.

Presentation of the Data
Data and information collected during the fieldwork are presented here, divided into categories representative of the target groups.

- Hunters
- Representatives of the tourist organization
- Respondents
- Local businesses
- People involved in tourist activities

Hunters
1. Professional hunter and guide, 24 years old

He has 20 dogs and one boat. He can support his family and the dogs with hunting. He hunts also polar bear and sells the skins in Greenland. In 2009, he got two polar bears but sold only one skin.

He started to work with Nanu Travel in 2006 and has 2% of the shares. He goes on tours with tourists by sledge and by boat; he prefers to go by sledge. He likes the contact with the tourists, it is good to go out with them and earn extra income.

In 2009, he went out about 60 days with tourists. He would like to be busier with guiding. This would leave him little time for hunting, but tourism is going to be his main source of income here. Hunting is not so good.
He uses English to communicate with visitors. Many of the tourists like to help him
with the sledge.

Has two little children and his girlfriend would like to pursue an education but he likes
to be a hunter and would like to stay here. They moved to Denmark some months
ago but he could not find a job. He has no education and does not speak good
Danish, so they had to come back. When they returned home, he immediately went
out hunting.

2. Professional hunter, sometimes goes on boat trips with tourists,
   62 years old

The family comes from Alluitsup Paa (in South Greenland); the father was a teacher
and a catechist in 1962. When the family moved back he stayed behind and married
here.

He is a professional hunter with nine dogs and a boat. He hunts all kind of animals
and birds. He started as a full-time hunter in the 1990s; before that he had a service
job. He has a house in Cape Tobin; there are a lot of polar bears there; he got six.

He had some tourism activity three, four years ago. He would take tourists inside
the fjord by boat and pick them up again later on. Usually tourists went camping and
kayaking.

It was a good experience. In general tourism is a good thing for the hunters.

3. Professional hunter and guide, 45 years old

He qualified as an outfitter in 2004; at the time, five outfitters were active here. He
never finished his education as a carpenter in Sisimiut.

He started to work with tourists in the 1990s and then went to work for Nanu Travel.
At the time, there was not much going on with tourism but in the town hall there was
a list of guides that tourists could ask for. He worked with tourists about two times
in winter and twice in summer, but he was busy with hunting. There were no regula-
tions or quotas back then and he earned good money hunting.

In the early 1990s, it cost DKK 800 per day for a sledge tour. Sometimes he goes
hunting with tourists and they pay DKK 1,000 for the sealskin. At the shop it costs
DKK 630 for one skin. There is an agreement with the tourists for the hunting of
seals or musk-ox during the trips.
Today, one tourist pays DKK 1,000 per day; for two tourists the price is DKK 1,500 per day. They pay no extra money for hunting.

This year, from January to June, he spent about 50 or 60 days on sledge tours with tourists. From July to September he takes tourists out in his boat for about 20 days and it costs DKK 1,000 per day; if he sails longer distances (250 km), then the cost is DKK 2,000 per day.

A 10-day trip with two passengers per sledge plus a sledge with all the equipment like tents and food is prepared by the guide. Sometimes there is only one tourist with his own guide plus two guides from here. Expeditions by sledge to Liverpool Land take three, five or seven days. Up to Ella Island it takes two to three weeks; the landscape is beautiful, and there are hot water pools in Hurry Fjord and Horsens Fjord on the way down to Illoqqortoormiut. It is a five-day sledging tour.

During the summer, tourists go kayaking in the fjord beyond Milne Land, about 250 km away from Illoqqortoormiut. Tourists are brought there by boat – with kayaks, tents and food – and picked up later.

Not all the activities are organized through Nanu Travel and working with tourists takes a lot of his hunting time. Hunting is difficult.

He has shares in the Nanu Travel Company and there is a lot of work.

Today, tourism is necessary; he would like to have active tourists who can help. The average tourist is 50 years old, and there are perhaps more women than men. Tourists generally come from Denmark, Germany, France, Italy and the USA. There used to be quite a few from England.

He gets on well with tourists, using Danish and a little English to communicate. Virtually all of the tourists are satisfied. The Nanu Travel webpage is very informative.

He is thinking about taking on another job, and working in tourism with hunting in his spare time. Hunting and tourism is not enough. He has five young children, and his wife has a job at the convenience store.

4. Professional hunter, 61 years old

He was born in Cape Hope and moved here in 2006 when the services to the settlement were stopped. He has 13 dogs and a boat.

Every spring he goes out with the tourists two to three times. He is contacted by Nanu Travel.
Hunting was very good in the 1950s and 1970s, then the climate changes began. The ice is now unpredictable and no longer forms in the first week of October. He noticed the first changes in the late 1980s. There was erosion and the ice cap along the coast began to melt.

Many places had a lot of snow even in summer but in the late 1990s and early 2000s it started to disappear.

It is impossible to live only from hunting, there are too many restrictions, quotas and no export. In the past he could sell a polar bear skin without any problems. He has hunted 21 polar bears in his career as a hunter; quotas are not good; this summer three polar bears were to be hunted in Cape Hope, but he was not allowed. He saw a lot of bears looking outside his window. There is no pack ice so the polar bears go on land. The polar bear population is larger now, and mothers with cubs cannot be hunted. Polar bears are coming more aggressive; it is difficult to get rid of them just with a shot in the air; maybe they are hungry and have no fear.

Cape Tobin is not the only place with a polynia. There is also one in Cape Hope and the hunting is very good.

The service houses in Cape Tobin and Cape Hope are new, built in 2004, and the settlements were closed in 2006. In Cape Hope there was a convenience store, so about once a week he came to Illoqqortoormiut to do some shopping. The distance is 40 km, about one hour if the snow is good.

In the 1950s the population in Cape Hope was bigger than in Illoqqortoormiut. He was compelled to move here in 2006 because the convenience store closed and the electricity was turned off. He misses the place and in summer lives there. He has one daughter and the wife works in the hospital.

Tour Operators

5. Martin Munck, Nanu Travel

Tourism started in the late 1980s. The company was founded in 1998 as “Nonni Travel” and was part of an Icelandic travel company based in Akureyri. In 2003, it became “Nanu Travel” and has shareholders from Denmark and Iceland and eight of the shareholders are local, with four hunters among them. One of the shareholders is the owner of the guesthouse, who wanted more cooperation and less competition.

Dog sledding is from March 1 to June 1 and there are boat trips in August and September as well as hiking. There is no tourist season in July.
The cruise ship season is in September and October, sometimes in June if the ice conditions allow for sailing. On average 15 to 20 ships come every season.

Tourists embarking on dog sledding trips usually stay at the guesthouse. The average stay is 5.5 days but it can be up to three weeks for long expeditions, for instance trophy musk-ox in Jameson Land or Liverpool Land. Seal hunting takes place on the ice in May. The tourist decides if there will be hunting during the trip.

Tourists can stay in huts or tents during the expedition; all the equipment, food, overalls, boots, and sleeping bags are from Nanu Travel. The guide does the cooking. There are two persons for each sledge. The price is DKK 1,300/day/person. The hunter gets DKK 1,500/day/two persons, DKK 1,000/day/one person.

In an average season there are 40 people employed; they get a salary for sledding, boat trips or entertaining the cruise ship tourists. Local hunters have good English skills.

What is more demanding? In terms of the amount of “presence”: cruise ship tourists; in terms of the amount of “time”: the dog sledding, one to two persons per guide.

Cruise ship tourism is easy money; it is more risky with boat trips or sledding when the weather turns bad; and there are responsibilities.

“The young people are not so interested because now it is clear that tourism means a lot of work and not much money”.

The 2010 season seems to be a very good season and there are already a lot of bookings.

One-third of the availability is booked from Denmark, Great Britain, Europe, Australia and South America.

The future will be in service and logistics.

**What we need here:**

- A new airport
- Move the border of the national park and make it a Man and Biosphere (MAB) reserve
- Use the growing interest in the place, nature and the vanishing Arctic
6. Karina Munck, Nanu Travel

Dane, grew up here started to work at Nanu Travel in 2003.

The tourist season extends from February to October. During June and July there is not so much tourism here because the ice breaks up. This year (2009), the first ships arrived in July.

The first cruise ship came in the early 1990s and until year 2000, we had one to two ships a year but since then the number of ships has increased.

The bigger ships had 600 passengers; usually there are about 80 to 100, or 200. Until 2003 there was nothing organized and the local population started to get tired of that. Two things prompted a turnaround: the good relationship with Greenland Tourism, and the idea from the organization of offering an “open package town” (OPT) for the cruise tourists coming into town. Every tourist gets a map of the town and a programme about what is going on in the different places.

Tourists are welcomed ashore and given maps and information. The programme includes dog feeding, exhibitions of the national dress, visiting the museum, the telecommunications station and the church. In addition, they serve coffee and musk-ox meat in a tent.

The OPT package is sold to all ships. Cruise companies compete to offer the best programme and support the town with donations. An OPT for a group of 50 to 100 tourists costs DKK 5,000; if there are more passengers, for instance 600, it costs DKK 12,000.

Young people are not interested in being involved in tourism activities; they do not show up on time. Nanu Travel prefers to use older, retired people as guides; they have great personalities, and even if they don’t speak English, tourists enjoy their presence. They pay them DKK 100/hour.

Guides

7. Gary Rolfe, 43 years old

From London, England, this is his third year (2009) living in Illoqqortoormiut; before that he lived for many years in the Yukon, North West Territories, and Alaska. In these places the connection with dogs, sledges and traditions is lost. Coming here he bought dogs (for DKK 750 each) and to learn about hunting he goes out with an old hunter, without much speaking but a lot of observing, and, as he says, this is a good experience.
He got in contact with Nanu Travel and started to work in tourism. He goes out by sledge with tourists from one day up to three weeks. Clients are families with children or elderly affluent people who like to have this experience. He has expertise in logistics, using the VHF radio in emergencies, dealing with fires, etc., and looks after their safety.

The marketing here is made up of a lot of different segments, from extreme adventure to trophy hunting. Infrastructure is lacking, and this limits tourism. More flight arrangements could be made with a better infrastructure. The guesthouse is good but sometimes there is a shortage of food in the shop.

Hunters should be proud of their skills; children and people are leaving; there are fewer dogs; the dog food at the supermarket is very expensive.

8. Ruth Kühn, 30 years old

Ruth is German and has been living here since 2006. She has dogs and is learning to hunt. Sometimes she works as a guide and a translator with cruise ship tourists or goes on ski trips. Nanu Travel hires her for a number of hours or for a day, and pays DKK 100/hour. This year (2009) she has worked 20 times for a period of three hours. Mostly she works with cruise ship tourists offering a taste of musk-ox meat and explaining about kayaking. She would like to be more involved in sports activities like hiking and skiing.

She has given some thought to having tourists from Germany. She put together a programme, sent a proposal to Topas travel agency (which has shares in Nanu Travel), but they were not interested.

She doesn’t have a permanent occupation, but instead works odd jobs; aside from tourist activities, she delivers the mail once a week (Nanu Travel is in charge of the distribution of the mail). Taxes are 42% of the DKK 100/hour she earns, but if her annual income is not over DKK 45,000, there are no taxes to pay.

Tourists who go on dog sledging tours are still their top customers, followed by cruise ship tourists.

Cruise ship tourists generally want more comfort, as she experienced working for tour operator Topas in Ilulissat, so they tend to go to other places than Illoqqortoormiut.
Local Businesses

9. Klaus Søgaard, entrepreneur and owner of the guesthouse

Klaus came as a carpenter in 1987 working for the local building company, and later took over the company with a Greenlandic colleague.

The situation has changed; he had 18 workers but now only has eight and in a few months’ time there will only be three employees. There are no investments. The situation has changed since the new district Sermersooq was created. The local elected official has moved to Nuuk. There is no political representative here.

The guesthouse originally had four rooms for foreigner carpenters; it was rebuilt in 1998, having at the time two to four tourists a year.

Now the guesthouse has seven rooms and nine beds. Another house with four rooms is now rented. In addition, there are eight containers with two rooms each. The containers were left by the building company that refurbished the school and were used by the carpenters. He refurbished them and now rents them out to tourists. Sometimes the guesthouse is fully booked. A number of government officials and tourists from Nanu Travel stay there. In 2008, he won a DKK 50,000 prize from Grønlandsbanken and has had a lot of investments; maybe next year the guesthouse will see its first earnings.

10. Peter Amattanneq, worker at Arctic Green Food

Arctic Green Food started in 1987 with two or three workers, but the plant has never actually been fully operational. In 2008, lot of mattaq came in but it was not processed here; it was sent away by ship. Three to four people could have had work for two months. The machinery is old, used machinery from the 1960s coming from somewhere on the West Coast; it breaks down often and mechanics are needed to repair it (coming from outside of town). The headquarters in Maniitsoq promise new equipment but nothing has happened yet.

Narwhals usually are caught in September and October. Presently there is no activity at the factory; only one employee (himself) is there to keep the plant open. There are no investments.

Other products beside narwhals can be processed here and sold to the grocery store and maybe to the two convenience stores.

There is no café or other place when tourists come here; it might be a good idea to do something here for tourists using the existing facilities.
The Home Rule supported Arctic Green Food with DKK 20 million in 2008, now (2009) it will be between 9 and 10 million crowns. In the late 1990s, the factory took in musk-ox meat but the veterinary inspection was missed (there is no veterinary in Illoqqortoormiut) so the meat went to the dump and production was halted.

Two or three years ago a separate building was built for fish coming from Kuummiut by ship, but this turned out to be too expensive and was therefore stopped again.

**Respondents**

11. Peter Jørgensen, head of the Department of Social Services

There are two people working in the department, but two more social workers and a childcare worker are needed. The people working in the day care centre are not educated and the children have problems in acquiring skills. There are not enough educated teachers at the school. People leave this place; there is a very low level of instruction at the day care centre and the school.

Criminal activity is mostly limited to burglaries and destruction of public goods. Alcohol is a big problem; there is a need to have the “right” people to solve these issues.

When a family takes a child in its care, for instance during the weekend, they get DKK 350 in compensation for every 24 hours with one child. There are only three families in the community we can ask to take care of children during weekends.

The bigger problem here is the lack of educated people.

12. Tore Andreasen, head of the telecommunications station (Tele Greenland A/S).

Tore first came to Greenland in 1969. He worked at Station Nord, a civilian airport established according to an agreement between Denmark, the USA, and the USSR, which agreed to build a weather station and an emergency landing strip there, with 30 people stationed. It was close to the border with the USSR. In the early 1960s, a B52 airplane made an emergency landing there.

He stayed there for three years; then in 1973 went to Ammassalik for three months. At the time, the local population had alcohol problems and they were almost starving; there was not much hunting.
Then he came here. The hunters and the community were healthy, hunting a lot. Alcohol was rationed. Good hunters would earn good money at that time; boys and girls were raised to become hunters and hunter’s wives.

Now hunters cannot survive from hunting alone. With the wife having a different job the culture is broken. This is a culture based on hunting. In the past, there have been problems, misunderstandings between Greenlanders and Danes, who back home were a farming community that was used to preparing for the next season, but here, in a hunting community, the hunter has to think now and hunt.

Hunters have a different perception (than “farmers”) of what is an agreement. There is no preparation or planning. When the animals are here, it’s time to hunt here and now. It is almost impossible to have an agreement, when the game is in sight, the hunter goes hunting. These kinds of misunderstandings also occur with tourists.

About 12 years ago there was a youth conference, and lots of talk about tourism, too. The mayor at the time, working in cooperation with an Icelandic tour operator, established the local tourist company, Nonni Travel.

Tourism should be for the good of this society; there is no other way for the hunters to earn extra money. Money can be made with cruise ship tourism but there is a risk that this could destroy the image. If tourists are kayaking inside the fjord, they will not like the arrival of a big cruise ship there. If tourism should be for the benefit of the local society, then it is important to listen to local people. They know, more than anyone else, what tourism means is in this place, and what visitors coming here need.

There is a need for regulations; if an accident happens here we have only a helicopter and 10 beds in the hospital. Regulations are needed to avoid incidents such as when the ship “Deutschland” in Ilulissat sailed dangerously close to icebergs.

Ib Lorentzen retired, former employee at Tele Greenland, 77 years old

Ib came to the area in 1956. When this place was founded the town was originally planned to be in Cape Steward, but the ship broke down in Cape Tobin and so they decided to build in Illoqqortoormiut, Cape Tobin and Cape Hope.

The weather station in Cape Tobin started up after WW II, and began sending information in 1947. It was built in Cape Tobin because it was supposed to be a good place for weather observations.
The International Civil Airplane Organisation (ICAO) paid for most of the infrastructure and equipment; 20 people worked there; two or three were Greenlanders. They had the families there.

Later the station was moved to Illoqqortoormiut because this place was deemed better for the weather, the wind and weather balloon measurements. In addition, the electricity necessary for the station in Cape Tobin was produced by a generator, and very expensive. In 1977, they started to produce electricity here in Illoqqortoormiut with a big generator and it was much cheaper, so they moved the station here. Having the station in Illoqqortoormiut meant that they would have telephone, radio and television.

Today the town is slowing down, he says:

“Now, everything is in Nuuk in Sermersooq. Goods and freight arrive only in small quantities. Five or ten years ago the shop was very good, but like many things here it has suffered a decline. No new clothes, only old and no selection. People are ordering from outside, they have to. I don’t know what will happen in the near future; I hope that things can be good again. The factory (AGF) should open again. That is the first step. The by-products cannot be taken out of Greenland; hunting is regulated. Today, hunting has nearly stopped, there are only few hunters; tourism is increasing.”

“When there are job opportunities people come from the West Coast to fill the new positions. People here need to have an education. The building company has no work and has to reduce the workforce; no houses have been built this year. Last year from Nuuk they said that four or five houses will be built but nothing has been built, only one house was rebuilt because it burned down. Many houses need to be renovated but nothing is going on”.

Findings

The tourism season here is quite long, thanks to dog sledging activities in the spring, boat tours during the summer, and cruise ship tourism in the autumn.

Tourism activities, with few exceptions, are in the hands of the local tour operator. Some of the shareholders are Danes who are long-term residents and have ideas and strategies, are thinking about new products to offer, and how to improve the service.

That notwithstanding, this destination is still lacking in terms of service and infrastructure. There is no place where tourists can have refreshments or sit for a moment.
There has been some talk about using the Arctic Green Food factory and its beautiful balcony for tourism, but this notion has been largely dismissed. Another option could be to use the gymnasium, which is nicely located and suitable for short visits. The guesthouse does not offer a restaurant service, being based on self-catering.

The two convenience stores and the supermarket may offer an opportunity to buy food or beverages, but have no place to sit. There is a place that serves as a place to meet and dance on weekends. Beautifully located near the water, it could be an excellent place for tourists and the local population, but the owner seems to have no interest in that.

The service house is located in front of the supermarket and is very well equipped with a nice big living room with tables and chairs and has a kitchen and toilets. Perhaps there are some restrictions on using it for tourism.

Considering the size of the town, there are quite a lot of people who are involved in tourism in some way or another. They all show an interest and wish to expand their businesses. The best option, in their opinion, is to extend the season and be more involved, also during other times of the year.

Young people do not seem to be very interested in getting involved with tourism, but many of them are out of town for education and may have other plans for their future.

Following the reorganization of Greenland’s administrative districts (where 18 districts were consolidated to form four districts), the general population feels that the town has become more peripheral than usual, and not just in a geographical sense. This is reflected in declines in the quality of certain services, for instance people complain about shortages in the supermarket, and not just in terms of the variety of food items available, but also the range of clothing and household goods for sale. Above all, moving many of the local political competences to Nuuk, the regional capital of Sermersooq, has resulted in a lack of local representation.

The following three statements may well summarize the discomfort felt by the community:

“The situation has changed since the new district Sermersooq was founded. Now we are not ourselves anymore, everything is in Sermersooq in Nuuk”;

“Sermersooq promises and promises but nothing happens. To whom should we talk? The representative elected here has moved to Nuuk.”

“The country’s self-government is going to destroy Greenland”.

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Conducting fieldwork in this community was quite challenging. Since the advent of the new district Sermersooq, it has become quite difficult to establish contacts and make arrangements; the impression was that there is nobody to refer to, either in Nuuk or in Illoqqortoormiut.

As usually the cooperation at the local level was very good, in some cases, and rather limited in others. Some were very cooperative; others refused to be interviewed. In general interviewees don’t have much to say. After having mentioned that they want to become more involved in tourism, they had no further ideas or plans for the future.

The impression is of a community that is trying come to terms with the many changes that have affected this fairly small and peripheral place. Originally it was decided to establish the community here in part because of the abundance of game, and hunters, as they said, had a good life here. Since then many things have changed. There are new quotas and bans on selling certain animal products outside the country, climate changes, governmental decisions to close settlements, and last but not least, the restructuring of the administrative districts, which has led here, but probably also in other peripheral places, to a sense of being abandoned by the authorities and democratically elected representatives.
The North-East Greenland National Park

The use of natural resources for tourism is not new, and the North-East Greenland National Park could represent an opportunity to revitalize and enhance the neighbouring community of Illoqqortoormiut.

Protected areas are a cultural construction, and have a relatively long history. In Europe the hunting grounds set aside for nobles and aristocrats were initially considered as protected areas. Later protective areas acquired a more democratic sense, were open to the public and considered a collective good for the benefit of the community, and provided a base for initial forms of tourism.

The 1960s saw a growing concern for nature and the increasing commitment to conservation, and in line with these notions Denmark decided to establish the North-East Greenland National Park, the biggest protected area in the word.

From the 1960s onwards the idea of nature was revisited, ecology became popular, and if at the beginning the meaning of protecting an area was more “to set aside”, later on it became more sophisticated, including debates over issues like the cultural values and protecting landscapes.

Usually the decision to protect an area is made by the government, regulated by law (almost every country has a protected areas legislation) and with clear rules and regulations. The area under protection normally has an interest from the point of view of the environment, the landscape – including the cultural landscape – and is open to the public, although this final proviso does not hold true for the North-East Greenland National Park.

The decision to establish a protected area also has economic implications, and local populations do not always welcome the creation of such an area because they see it as an obstacle to many activities. Local populations rarely see the purpose of a protected area. Generally speaking, local populations do not welcome the establishment of a protected area, considering protection merely as a limitation to access, and a hindrance to traditional activities on that area.

Local populations tend to see a resource as something that offers benefits and advantages, and a source of profit, for instance with seasonal permission for hunting in limited areas within the national park, or with locally-based tour operators organizing excursions in the protected area, and locally-based companies providing logistical support of scientific expeditions.

Yet several cases demonstrate how, following initially ambivalent reactions to the establishment of a protected area, local populations understood the economic
benefits, for instance from a touristic point of view. Most protected areas are set in quite remote territories and adjacent communities can profit from the increasing need for services and infrastructure in the area, and from the creation of new jobs.

In general the protected areas are, at least from a point of view of tourism, appealing. It is commonly said that tourism needs protected areas and protected areas need tourism. In the case of Greenland and its national park, this is definitely the case.

For a long time protected areas have been seen as something “to protect” from external influences. In recent years, however, especially in European regions, the concept of protecting an area has changed, and conservation areas can have also human activities, even with seasonal settlements. Recreational activities are now one of the themes of protected areas, which are becoming more and more popular thanks to recreational and educational offers.

The image of a protected area such a park can be conveyed in different ways. In this case, the message seems to be that this is the biggest national park in the world, where nature and landscapes will be protected from almost any outside influence. Thus, an image can change, for instance during interviews in 2009 the population living near the border with the national park said that, having already a fledgling tourist industry, they would like to “use” the resource as an opportunity to stimulate and bolster the local economy.

The Present Situation
The current image of the park is not of a place where people can enjoy nature and activities, where they can take pleasure from viewing unusual landscapes (for tourists) and benefit from recreational offers; in other words, the image of the park is presently not appealing from the point of view of recreation.

Conveying a more “friendly” image of the park could help draw attention to the area, which possesses beautiful surroundings but lacks in “tourist representation”. Using a refreshed image of the national park could be a way to start enhancing the community. It is well known that the power of images plays a decisive role in the choices of tourists.

In a region almost filled with ice, the original idea of establishing the park was probably not to make it available for educational and recreational purposes.\(^{88}\) Thus things can always evolve, and it may be possible to convert (at least) the image of

\(^{88}\) Some activities are allowed, however. In one specific case, the authorities consented to mineral exploitation. For the pit activities even a landing strip, now almost abandoned, was constructed in a zone within the National Park area.
a protected area from a static and almost untouchable place to something more active. A renewed and fresher image of the park can contribute to the economic revitalization of the nearby region, offering new opportunities for recreation in the area adjacent to the national park. The Illoqqortoormiut region is blessed by stunning sceneries, by the biggest fjord system in the world and Jameson Land, bordering with the Park, is famous for its remarkable landscape. Promoting educational and recreational activities can lead the way to significant outcomes for the local community.

The national park already represents in the eyes of the community an opportunity to increase the development of tourism – despite the fact that park regulations preclude all recreational activities. The local tour operator (Share Company), including some hunters already involved as guides in tourism, is seeking new products to offer to tourists. Limited and regulated recreational activities in the park can represent a significant opportunity for the socio-economic enhancement of the small nearby community.

Actually some tourist activities, officially dubbed as scientific expeditions, already exist in the park area, organized by foreign tour operators, leaving almost nothing to the community, except for sporadic transport activity.

Ilulissat and the nearby ice fjord in North-West Greenland, which became a protected area in 2003 and a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 2004, could serve as an inspiring example of how to promote and improve tourist activities in a wilderness area. Ilulissat has since experienced a rapid increase in tourism, which has also benefited nearby villages. Ilulissat has always been extremely well organized from the point of view of infrastructure and tourist offers, and the related activities organized there. The nearby villages also take advantage of this tourism growth in terms of visits, overnights, performances and other services related to logistics and mobility.

It is not yet clear how Illoqqortoormiut, inspired by other practices like the Ilulissat experience, could attempt to revitalize its economic and social situation through the use of the national park as a resource.

Further research is needed on how to enhance tourist activities, promote the adjacent zones, and thus create jobs and a stable economy that generates additional revenues and tourism services. This paves the way to selling more souvenirs, catering to visitors, and renting houses to tourists visiting settlements such as Cape Tobin and Cape Hope. These issues are still open and need further research.
The North-East Greenland National Park

The national park was established on May 22 1974 under the provisions of the Conservation Act for Greenland Part IV No. 266, and Executive Order on the National Park in Northern and Eastern Greenland, dated 25 June 1976 and ratified 12 November 1980 in the Landstingslov on Nature Conservation in Greenland. It was expanded by 27,200,000 ha in 1988 and now covers a surface area of 972,000 km², extending from the northern part of Illoqqortoormiut in East Greenland to the north-eastern part of Qaanaaq in the High North of Greenland.

It was approved in January 1977 as an international biosphere reserve under the UNESCO Man and the Biosphere Programme and includes two Ramsar sites designated in 1988.

Since permission was granted to carry out mineral exploitation in the national park (1994), Greenland no longer complies with criteria for IUCN Protection Category II, National Park.89

Pressure from mineral and oil exploitation interests makes the need for a strategy plan even more urgent to ensure management that complies with the objectives of the national park.

According to the regulations, recreational and outdoor activities are not authorized in the park. Only scientific expeditions, after receiving special permission from the authorities, are allowed. Other activities, such as mining pits, are allowed.

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89 IUCN has defined a series of six protected area management categories, based on primary management objectives. Category II National Park: protected area managed mainly for ecosystem protection and recreation. Definition Natural area of land and/or sea, designated to (a) protect the ecological integrity of one or more ecosystems for present and future generations, (b) exclude exploitation or occupation inimical to the purposes of designation of the area and (c) provide a foundation for spiritual, scientific, educational, recreational and visitor opportunities, all of which must be environmentally and culturally compatible.
Physical Features

Physical features vary from desert-like plains and gentle slopes to mountain ranges. The mountains consist of late pre-Cambrian to lower Palaeozoic rocks which were faulted during the Mesozoic period. In the north, pre-Cambrian rocks are only exposed south of Victoria Fjord, most being covered by younger deposits from the Carboniferous to Tertiary periods. The east includes the western part of the Caledonian Fold Belt, forming a folded mountain chain in the Ordovician/Devonian period. The beginning of the Tertiary period saw volcanic activity in both the north and east forming granite rocks at Mestersvig. The coasts are characterized by islands, peninsulas and deep fjords blocked by polar pack ice for most of the year. At 80°N Peary Land is the most northern ice-free land mass (Ghisler, n.d.).

It is subject to a High Arctic continental climate, with severe winters and snow cover for eight months and large icebergs immobilized by the frozen sea. Mean summer temperature is about 6°C in the south and 2.8°C in the north due to large masses of pack ice drifting from the North Polar Basin. The mean annual temperature ranges from -9.8°C to -16.7°C (De Bonneval, 1976). Winter temperatures may drop to between -30° and -50°C. Mean annual precipitation, which decreases to the north, is between 100mm to 430mm. For example, Peary Land in the north has 200mm annual precipitation, while to the south it increases to 430mm. The whole area experiences polar night and midnight sun, ranging from 2.5 months in the south to 5 months in Peary Land (Silis, 1989).

The growing season is short and most of the park is ice-covered or barren but there are large areas with various High Arctic plant communities, including white Arctic bell-heather and high-arctic spider plant; shore and marsh vegetation; fell-field; grassland; heath land; moving soils vegetation; and freshwater vegetation which includes willow Salix arctica, dwarf birch Betula nana, crowberry, bilberry, grasses and sedges. (Fredskild, n.d.).

The park is a major breeding area for polar bear and musk-ox. Other terrestrial mammals include Arctic fox, grey wolf, migrating from Ellesmere Island, stoat (short-tailed weasel), collared lemming and Canadian Arctic hare. Marine mammals include Atlantic walrus, and ringed seal along all the coasts, bearded seal, harp seal and hooded seal in the southern fjords. Narwhal and white whale occur.

There are many species of birds breeding in the summer including great northern diver, barnacle goose, pink-footed goose, common eider, king eider, gyrfalcon, snowy owl, sanderling, red knot, ptarmigan and raven (de Bonneval, 1976).

Archaeological evidence shows that settlement occurred from about 3000 B.C. in at least four migrations by Inuit, or Eskimo people. Climatic change led to
specialized Stone Age cultures displacing them, which in turn were succeeded by trappers from Denmark and Norway (Silis, 1989). Since the nineteenth century there have been numerous expeditions through North-East Greenland studying geology, climatology, glaciology, flora, fauna and archaeology. Since World War II important geological investigations have been carried out by the Greenland Geological Survey. The whole area has been mapped by the Copenhagen Map and Land Registry Office. Weather stations are situated at Danmarkshavn and Station Nord. A number of huts exist, built by expeditions and trappers, in most parts of the park, with an airfield at Mestersvig and airstrips at Station Nord, Daneborg and Danmarkshavn (Brondsted, n.d.). Zackenberg Station opened in 1997, located 25 km north-west of the military outpost at Daneborg.

Officially there is no permanent human population; between 20 and 30 scientists and military personnel live in the different stations. The protected area also hosts the Sirius Patrol, a military detachment with duties of territorial control (Anderson, n.d.).

Access to the park is strictly controlled by permit. In the National Park Executive Order (Anon, 1984), management objectives for the park are to conserve the natural state, encourage research and provide access for the public. Regulations include the total protection of fauna and flora but the Qaanaaq and Illoqqortoormiut districts have been permitted access to hunt and fish using traditional methods, the hunting is subject to quotas.

There are potential conflicts between environmental conservation groups and the field activities of petroleum and mineral exploration ventures in Greenland. The general political consensus is that the development of petroleum and mineral resources is vital to the Greenlandic economy and it shall be carried out in a responsible way related to health, safety and the environment. Nature conservation and environmental regulation in relation to petroleum and mineral activities in Greenland are regulated by the Minerals Act.

A “Strategy Plan for the Northeast Greenland National Park/Biosphere Reserve” was adopted by the Greenland Government in 2004 and deals with the main pressures that can be expected as a result of activities in the area, and the tools that can be utilized to minimize negative impact on nature (flora and fauna).

The greatest expected impact, according to the report, is in connection with raw materials activities, and with the establishment of large tourism bases, and similar facilities of a more permanent character. The report stresses the importance of identifying particularly important core areas for flora and fauna. In particular, it said,
efforts should be made to ensure sufficient knowledge to enable assessment of the environmental impact of specific activities. In general, knowledge of the national park is very limited, so background surveys need to be performed in the identified areas before any major activities are initiated.

The Department of Domestic Affairs, Nature & Environment made a number of recommendations for the next Parliament session in the spring of 2011, such as to designate a protected status for the National Park/Biosphere Reserve and initiate the zoning of the National Park/Biosphere Reserve. The revision of the executive
order for the National Park/Biosphere Reserve based on the final strategy plan is planned for 2011; a management plan for the National Park/Biosphere Reserve is expected in 2012.

The Stakeholders, the Resource National Park and the Illoqqortoormiut Community

“In Illoqqortoormiut there is molybdenum (rocks with a high concentration of ore) and the Government would like to start with exploitation. This has been temporarily stopped by the economic crisis, but the company already has the necessary licenses”.

“The Minerals Law in Greenland, originally DK-GL, was adapted in the spring of 2010 by the new Self-Rule Government, extending the exploitation rights to Greenland. It has the power to override the Greenlandic laws, for instance the environmental protection laws”.

“Activities in the national park are going on, research and samples collection, for the time being, in the future real mining activities will start”.

“The IUCN does not allow such activities so the problem for tourism is how “to sell” the park as the biggest, and the greatest in the world, if there is mining exploitation.”

Representative of the Department of Industry and Mineral Resources, Government of Greenland

“The idea is to extend the line of the national park, including the village of Illoqqortoormiut and the Scoresby Sound Fjord. If this were successful in the future, the town of Qaanaaq would also be included. This would entail expanding the national park zone, including some areas around Illoqqortoormiut and allowing, for instance, dog sledging activities for tourism”.

“Hunters feel the regulations that biologists would like to have are too strict; in Greenland in general there are conflicts among them”.

“There is a lack of correct information about the use of the national park”.

“The recommendation is to extend the national park and the MAB reserve, allowing regulated hunting and recreational activities, leaving the core area for mining exploitation”.

Biologist, Government of Greenland
“There was a public meeting about the park in Illoqqortoormiut in August (2010), 30 to 40 people participated. MAB was explained to people, what it is and why it is good to have it. People did not know about it and were sceptical. However they agreed to do something and “sell” Illoqqortoormiut to tourism. The town is dying now; two years ago the population dropped down to nearly 100 people, and now they are starting to come back as there are no jobs in West Greenland. The government says we can have 6,000 to 8,000 tourists a year and can combine the national park resource with the town”.

“It seems that the Parliament of Greenland will take a decision by the next session in the spring 2011.”

“We have a very big problem because there are no hunting activities; we have to find another way. There are no seals and right now (November 2010) there should be a lot. No snow, no ice, no possibilities to go by sledge and reach the musk-ox hunting grounds”.

Subsistence Hunter in Illoqqortoormiut
3. Conclusions

Facts, information and data presented in this book are based on studies of communities that have a certain, in some cases rather limited, level of tourism development. The common thread throughout the different case studies is the challenges faced by these remote and peripheral regions, where development options and community capacity are often limited. The following are examples from emerging and/or less developed tourism destinations.

Distinctive Features from Each of the Case Studies:

South Greenland:

This research aimed to link forms of small-scale tourism – such as rural, green, and other alternatives to mass tourism – with traditional activities such as sheep farming, hunting and fishing. Forms of rural tourist activities started in South Greenland back in the 1960s. Tourists – mostly hikers with limited travel budgets – ventured there to experience the beauties of the landscape and enjoy the contact with the local population, staying with the sheep farmers who provided plain accommodation and facilities. Tourism became very popular and seemed, during the 1970s and 1980s, to be a growing sector. Despite this potential these activities have been neglected in recent years, where other forms of tourism have been promoted to a greater extent.

West Greenland:

This research focused on the dynamics of tourism development in the small communities adjacent to “big” urban centres. Fieldwork took place in the area comprised of the districts of Sisimiut, Ilulissat and Uummannaq, which is considered to be one of the most successful business regions in Greenland, especially for fisheries, with good infrastructure, good accessibility, impressive landscapes and a thriving large-scale tourism sector.

One interesting result of the research is that the two main activities offered in the area – fishing and tourism – may conflict with each other when local residents have to opt for one sector or the other. Even if tourism is perceived by many respondents as interesting and more appealing than fishing, which is seen as a hard activity, tourist activities are ultimately neglected by many people in the local population, even if these pursuits can secure high incomes.
North Greenland:

This study sought to examine the kind of tourism envisaged and local involvement in small communities, bearing in mind the potential and drawbacks that are typical for marginal places, for example, the limitations imposed by high costs and seasonality.

Moreover, the research aimed to investigate the development of tourism as an opportunity to obtain concrete returns. Tourism represents one of the so-called secondary activities which, despite its seasonal character, might help to improve incomes in remote, sparsely populated areas where there are rather limited options to diversify the economy and increase revenues. Such circumstances are shared by many inhabitants of the circumpolar North, who depend in large part on a combination of subsistence activities, public sector jobs, and public transfers.

People on the periphery have few means of increasing their cash flow. With the exception of government spending, little money is invested in the region and, as a result, incomes are low and unemployment, as well as outmigration rates, are high, especially for women and young people.

Tourism is a key business sector for many geographically and economically marginal regions and, as we have seen, the main forms of tourism in these remote regions are nature-related tourism activities.

The different suggestions that the community expressed about what tourism should be, the pace of tourism development, and the related benefits for the community constituted the core of the research project.

East Greenland:

This area has a large amount of “tourism potential”: a very attractive landscape and rich cultural traditions, which, together with a number of previously existing tourism activities, could pave the way for future development.

The focus of the research was on the local population’s perceptions of tourism and attitudes toward tourists. The study aimed to pinpoint to what extent local communities can benefit from tourist development. It is well known that many marginal areas, with their peripheral, remote and small-scale infrastructures, have attempted to enhance their economic situations by promoting tourism, although a common issue here is whether development of tourism can be seen as a real and tangible opportunity for viable economic and socio-cultural sustainability.
The second part of the research conducted in East Greenland (Ittoqqortoormiit) focused on the use of a natural resource, namely the North-East Greenland National Park, for tourism and the possible benefits derived from this by the local population living adjacent to the park. The community has all the characteristics common to peripheral places: a tiny population, significant outmigration, low incomes, high unemployment rates, and a considerable reliance on subsidies. The use of some parts of the protected area for tourism activities may well represent a viable alternative to the current economy.

**Common Aspects that Emerged from the Case Studies:**

- Fieldwork conducted in the research areas (South, West, North, High North and East Greenland) has demonstrated that local communities in peripheral areas seldom have the business skills necessary to become successfully involved in the sector over the long term

- The level of information among the local population regarding tourism development options and support is quite limited

- At the community level there is a desire for more support in terms of financial and technical assistance as well as more training to acquire the various skills required for launching tourism activities

- The efforts of public institutions to involve the local community in the process of development and planning seem to be rather incomplete, if not totally absent

- There is a need for clear definitions and planning for future development

The research considered it important to investigate how people in the settlements perceive tourism, what their expectations are, and what they see as the best way to develop and offer a high-quality tourist product, which has the ability to attract tourists to their remote and beautiful areas. Offering a unique experience to visitors may well develop a “niche tourism” for very special tourists in a very special place.

- There is an urgent need for information, training, and financial and technical assistance, along with a definition of a plan for future development. As mentioned earlier, if tourists need to be informed about existing offers, it is also necessary to know what tourists want.
Another issue is investments. Investments are usually high and, in view of the shortness of the season and other unexpected obstacles90, even well-funded ventures can entail high risks. Nevertheless, the experience with tourism in South Greenland during the 1980s demonstrates that it is possible to introduce forms of hosting tourists that are quite successful, even with limited investments. This development was sparked more by motivation and enthusiasm than by investments and infrastructures, which came at a later point in time. Many of those interviewed, especially women, pointed out that it was the opportunity to try something new that encouraged them to launch tourist activities coupled, of course, with the outlook of increasing their level of income and – this is important to underscore – the fact that the money stayed in local hands. The offer was spearheaded by an impressive landscape, a virtually unknown, rich cultural heritage, and an intact traditional way of life. The main investment was time and availability, a willingness to meet and host tourists, and to share daily activities with them.

Skills are another kind of investment. It is well known that training guides requires an important investment in time and money.

At the early stages of development, training a guide may be too costly for a small community. However, some skills can be learned, such as basic proficiency in a foreign language. Virtually anyone in the community can become a guide if they have knowledge of the surroundings and are motivated to become one. A good, well-prepared local guide is a winning card for the future and can make it unnecessary to bring in guides from the outside. This is a common problem in the Arctic and local communities have often expressed dissatisfaction with missed opportunities for seasonal jobs for young people. Furthermore, some tourists have reported that they were disappointed that their guides came from outside the region; the authenticity of the holiday is jeopardized when the guide is not local.

The adopted methodology made it possible to obtain a complete picture of local involvement as well as the community’s basic predisposition toward forms of tourism development. Moreover, the study collected information about small-scale initiatives for developing tourism tailored to the size and wishes of the community. This was summarized in reports on the dynamics and pace of tourism development at community level.

90 The weather in Greenland is an unavoidable obstacle, but stumbling blocks also included failed agreements, such as in South Greenland in 2001 when Air Iceland cancelled the connection between Reykjavik and Narsarsuaq, as related by respondents during fieldwork in Qassiarsuk.
The direct involvement of the local population could allow them, with limited investment, to increase their revenues through tourist-related activities. The development of even seasonal and small-scale activities within the community can help maintain scenic and remote communities by allowing the local population, with limited investment, to increase their revenues.

Increasing the knowledge about the mechanisms of involving, or the attempts to involve, local communities and individuals in small-scale tourism can constitute a future model for development in peripheral places. It is essential to increase the level of information among the local population regarding tourism development, the possible options and the available support, as well as the efforts of the institutions to involve the local community in the process of development and planning.

When planning for development at community level, a successful strategy has to be established in cooperation with local residents. Such development has to rely on:

- Local initiative (local people developing the living conditions within their own region)
- Local involvement (people who are actively and independently willing to participate in the process)
- Local partnership, cooperation based on the common aims of the local people

It is important to identify the interested actors and establish parameters for the participation and training of local residents in the tourism sector, as well as to identify links with the local (both, formal and informal) economy that can stimulate multiplier effects, and to find the existence of tourist products and experiences that encourage a general approach to promote and enhance the development of tourism at community base, to identify the existence of links with the local (both, formal and informal) economy as stimulating multiplier effects.

There are examples of successful tourism initiatives (i.e., in the area that is the object of the current research), but one might look carefully into the corresponding financial figures. Sometimes communities may appear successful only because of the continued input of external aid, which might be defined as “welfare tourism” (Weaver 2002), as has been the case in the past in Greenland [See, Mål og strategier, 1999].

“Factors found to contribute to the success of tourism development in peripheral regions include the presence of a leader, effective private and/or public sector partnerships, the identification and development of specialist attractions, government control and support, good market research, and community involvement” (Blackmann et al. 2004: 59).
Peripheral Regions

A peripheral area is often defined as a spatial feature. According to the Collins dictionary: periphery is the outermost boundary of any area; periphery is more than a geographical notion or a spatial definition, peripheral is also not important and not interesting to the majority, and not significant, in other words to be peripheral is to be marginalized, to lack power and influence. Thus, the concept of peripheral also includes economic, political and social aspects.

A peripheral region is one that suffers from geographical isolation, being distant from core spheres of activity, with poor access to and from the markets, and also from economic marginalization, a low level of economic vitality, lacking in infrastructures and amenities, with reliance on imports, suffering from poor information flows, outmigration (usually the more active and talented), and an ageing structure, with low or frequently declining population, accruing the sense of remoteness. Peripheral areas often lack in effective control over major decisions, lack of planning, of education and of entrepreneurship (Botterill et al, 2000).

From an economic point of view the world is divided into core and periphery. In the tourism context the concept has been applied to the relationship between the rich tourist-generating countries and the less developed tourist-receiving regions where businesses from the rich countries remain in control of the industry and reap most of the profits (Turner and Ash, 1975; Brown, Hall, 2000).

In the case of Greenland the concept of periphery is more a matter of perception: a place that is remote and difficult to reach may be perceived by tourists (and others) as having certain emblematic qualities such as natural beauty, quaintness (appeal), and otherness which can constitute the attraction, even with the presence of some typical elements of peripherality. It is this perception which represents the key to the development of tourism in peripheral areas.

In terms of tourism, the characteristic of peripherality, long seen as a drawback, are now seen as offering opportunities (see the new Greenland Tourism campaign). Nowadays isolation and remoteness represent peace, difference, even exoticism. (Brown, Hall 2000).

Peripheral Tourism

Peripheral tourism usually also suffers from a high proportion of small and/or family-owned businesses, which limit tourism development. This may not be the case for the type of tourism which has emerged in peripheral areas in Greenland, i.e., in the settlements, where hunters offer tourism services, boat trips or sledge rides, which are well-suited as a secondary activity. When it comes to hunting or fishing activities,
it would probably not be possible to further expand the tourism business without (radically) changing the main activity. For the time being, there is no information about hunters or fishermen who changed their activity in favour of tourism (note: Ilulissat fishermen prefer to fish even if is a hard job compared to taking tourists around by sledge or boat, because they simply earn more money fishing).

The style and level of tourism developed in each region varies; the cases also differ in terms of the nature of their peripherality. The common factor is the need to develop alternative economic activities (cf. Blackman et al. 2004). Effectively, the impact made by tourism depends on both the volume and profile characteristics of the tourists (including their length of stay, activity, mode of transport, and travel arrangement). In this respect, a number of authors have attempted to classify tourists according to their impact on the destinations (see, for example, Smith, 1977). The character of the resource (including its natural features, level of development, political and social structure) is equally important because it determines the degree of its robustness to tourism and tourism development (Mathieson and Wall, 1982).

As to the need for strategic alliances and cooperative partnerships, research indicates that successful alliances require strong leaders, good administrative support, adequate representation of all interests, a shared vision and communication. (Selin, Myers, 1998).

“Tourism destinations usually involve a series of separate elements such as landscapes, wildlife, specific activities, etc. The people who best know and understand how these elements function, are the people in the host community who are exposed to them on a regular basis” (Wearing, 2001).

Several authors (Ashworth 2003; Moscardo and Pearce, 2003; Pearce, 2002) have argued that destination image is an important but neglected aspect of sustainable tourism development. The control by the residents over the type of development often means that the image presented in tourism marketing to tourists matches the image held by the residents (Blackman et al. 2004).

However, the community is rarely asked (by private operators) about their vision for the area, nor have they been traditionally part of the process. Decisions related to the likely impact on the area are often made by planners who do not understand the intricacies or functions of the host community and local tourism resources (Wearing, 2001).
Local Involvement
The involvement, the participation of local communities in the process of tourism development may not be restricted to (seasonal) employment opportunities. Increasing recruitment of local staff at all levels of the industry would benefit the host population, but more importantly, less foreign ownership and more locally-owned operations or vested interests in local operations, would see greater economic benefits accruing to local communities (and not restricted to the existing local elite) (Wearing, 2001).

Focus Person
Factors that contribute to the success of tourism development include among other things the presence of a leader (focus person) who provides motivation and direction for the stakeholders. The leader may leave the area, leadership may be lacking, and education and training ignored (e.g., Sarfannnguaq, Qaanaaq). Obstacles include a lack of control over negative impacts, a lack of infrastructure, and financial difficulties. Controlling requires monitoring, carrying capacity management, evaluating, and if necessary, correcting actions (Blackman et al. 2004). The emergence of a leader with skills and/or experience is a challenge for many peripheral regions where such expertise may simply not exist.

Characteristics that limit tourism development in peripheral areas also include limited access to finances, lack of appropriate skills, low entrepreneurial motivation, high leakage of money to external suppliers of goods and services (Hohl and Tisdell, 1995). Success is associated with long-term financial support from the government, especially for the development and maintaining of the infrastructures and facilities (Blackman et al. 2004).

Impact and (Negative) Perceptions
Residents are not always prepared for the realities of tourism development and a negative impact may emerge. It is well known that as the level of dependency on tourism as an economic activity increases, so does the level of the residents’ perception of the negative impact of tourism. Direct knowledge, experience and understanding within the community form the basis for the management of socio-cultural impacts.

For a number of reasons host communities may consider ecotourism as an approach to tourism development. The main principles or elements of ecotourism are designed to maximize the social benefits of tourism while minimizing the socio-cultural impacts. Ecotourism can, under ideal circumstances, provide the following benefits to the socio-cultural environment (Wearing, 2001):
- Increased demand for accommodation and food and beverage outlets (as shown by the research carried out in Qaanaaq and in Tasiilaq)
- Additional revenue to local business (as shown by all the case studies)
- Increase the market for local products, thereby sustaining traditional customs and practices (e.g., in South Greenland food, knitted items, souvenirs bought directly at the farms; in the other places souvenirs and food bought at the local markets)
- Use of local labour and expertise (in all the case studies)
- A heightened community awareness of the value and benefits of culture and the natural environment (e.g., in Ukkusissat).

**Barriers to Tourism Development**

A lack of entrepreneurial capacity, limited understanding of tourism markets and a lack of community understanding of tourism and its impact have been identified as barriers to effective tourism development in peripheral regions.

A major barrier to the effective use of tourism as a development strategy has been inadequate attention to building community capacity or readiness for development.

A number of key aspects of community capacity must exist in order for new development in any sector to be successful. According to Slater et al. (2005), these include existing development programs and activities, community knowledge of these activities, leadership, resources and community understanding of tourism. How to improve the process of tourism development and enhance its benefits for destinations in peripheral regions? What happens when communities turn to, or are subjected to, tourism as a development strategy? How to improve the process of tourism planning and development in ways that will lead to better outcomes for destinations’ residents? Many of the decisions about tourism development are prompted either by the increasing presence of tourism in a community and/or a growing awareness of the impact from existing tourism (Moscardo, 2008)
Final Comments

Tourism development is often considered as viable alternative for peripheral regions. The realities of tourism are not always clearly understood. The long-term success of the tourism industry depends upon the acceptance and support of the host community (Murphy, 1985; Wearing, 2001).

Successful tourism development does seem possible for peripheral regions but is not a rapid or simple solution: it requires substantial long-term governmental support and extensive training, research and planning processes. The potential exists, however, and a growing number of tourists are seeking the sort of specialized experiences available in peripheral regions (Blackman et al. 2004).

How to build and enhance community capacity for tourism? Provide tools for actual practice, including suggested steps for building local capacity for development, models and framework and lessons for participants in real tourism development situations (Moscardo, 2008).

Tourism is appreciated as an agent of positive change when the pace and scale remain appropriate to the “space” of the community. Planners should be aware of the possible negative impact that large numbers of tourists can have on communities.

In the planning phase, it is essential to know which kind of tourist development is wanted and which type of tourist is desired for the area or region under planning. Government agencies and planners should pay attention to these issues. The area of prospective tourist development must be carefully investigated, and not merely with regard to the potential environmental issues linked to future developments. Socio-cultural aspects are of equal significance and need to be taken into account. Consequences of development need to be correctly evaluated and assessed for both aspects, environmental as well as socio-cultural.

The next crucial step is informing the population. Providing updated information is every bit as important as finding out what the community wants. In this sense, it is essential to have several meetings with the population. This will give people time to think and reflect about suggestions, as well as the possibility to react.
4. Appendix

Interview Questions - Sheep Farmers

PERSONALIA
• Name, Gender, Age
• Education
• Family members
• What is your main occupation?
• Have you a side activity
• Are you a farmer/ fisherman/hunter full time?
• Are you member of the sheep farmers/fishermen/hunters association?
• Do you receive support from the government? Could you specify for what: equipment or general support?
• Do you think it is enough or would you need to be helped for other things? Could you specify which ones?

ABOUT THE PLACE
• Were you born here?
• When did you move here?
• Are you living here the all year round?
• Perception of the place, accessibility, facilities, services, landscape perception (aesthetic)

TOURISM ACTIVITIES
Do you offer:
  a) Hut, b) Hostel, c) Refreshments, d) Camping
Facilities:
• Accommodation:
  a) Bed and breakfast, b) Meals, c) Quiet field only
• Leisure:
  d) Boat transport/sailing, e) Guiding, f) Fishing, g) Horse riding/sled dog riding
• Other:
  a) Selling meat or fish, b) Selling souvenirs
• Prices charged for the facilities offered:
• Seasonality:
ALREADY INVOLVED WITH TOURISM

- When did you start being involved in tourism?
- Was your family previously involved in tourism activities?
- Could you describe why (the idea of) and how you started?
- What do you offer?
- Who is taking care of the tourists?
- Are tourists affecting your daily activities?
- How many tourists do you have every year?
- Type of tourists:
  - Groups, families, individuals
- Tourist activities:
  - Wandering, Fishing, Hiking
- Economy:
  - Could you please describe the revenues?
    - In detail, for the different things, e.g. overnight, transport, selling food or souvenirs, etc.?
- Do you think there are some weak points in your tourism activity; do you feel you have to ameliorate some of the things you do, and if yes, how?
- Is the tourist organization (Greenland Tourism) helping you?
  - How?
- Would you need more support?
  - If yes, could you describe the kind of?
- Would you like to follow a course for improving your skills in tourism?
  - If yes, what would you suggest?
- Do you have contacts with other organizations, or hotels, or other links?
- Do you contact or are you contacted directly by the tourists?
- What do you sell?
- If you sell souvenirs, are they handmade?

STARTING OR ENLARGING TOURIST ACTIVITIES

- Why do you wish to start/or to enlarge tourist activities?
- What would you like to do?
- Who will be involved in the activity?
- Do you think that you need help?
  - For what? Courses, advertising, infrastructures, etc.
- How are you going to organize, can you use part of the buildings?
- Have you a field to use as camping area?
LIMITING OR SPREADING OUT THE TOURIST SEASON

• Do you think that limits should be introduced to the tourist number?
• Is it a small group better or do you think large numbers can be more help to the economy?
  How?
• Do you think that it will be possible to extend the tourist season?
• What about having tourists during the wintertime?
• What can be offered to them?
• Would it be possible to arrange accommodation, food/meals and transportation for them?
• Do you think you could try?

PERCEPTION OF TOURISM AND TOURISTS

• What do you think about tourism and tourists?
• Why do you think tourists are coming here?
• Would you describe this place, the landscape?
• Do tourists ask questions?
  About: Job, Family, Private matters
• Do tourists sometimes disturb your work, taking photos, etc.?
  No, Yes, If yes, when?
• If tourists ask you to tell, sing or make something for them, would you do that?
• Have you ever had problems with tourists?
  If yes, why?
• Are there conflicts in the peak tourist season?
• Tourists disturb or influence the farm activities
• Tourists buy the food intended for the inhabitants
• Tourists walk in the hay fields
• If conflicts exist, how do you think to solve them?
• Tourism can bring:
  Money
  Jobs, especially for the young people (guides, etc.)
  Better quality of life
  Help in maintaining our culture
  Others standards of living (difficult to achieve/maintain)
  Put our identity in danger
  Wish to go away (young people)
Interview Questions - A Tourist Profile

PERSONALIA

• 1. Where are you from?
• 1.1. If you wish you can say your Age, Education, Job
• 2. Do you travel: Alone, Family, Friends
• 3. Is that your main holiday? Yes, No
• 4. Is this your first time in Greenland? Yes
   Why did you choose this destination? Landscape, Nature, Culture, Sport, Other
   No
   If you have been to other places in Greenland, would you please specify where?
   If you have been here before, would you please tell why you came back?
• 5. Your absolutely first impression arriving here

PLANNING FOR THE HOLIDAY

• 6. Information: Have you used the Web?
   If yes, which sites have you visited?
   The official web page of Greenland Tourism
   The web page of Destination East Greenland
   Other, please specify
• 6.1 Other sources of information:
   Advertising and promotional material from the local tourism office
   Travel agency, Friends, Books, reports, movies, media...
   Other, please specify
• 7. When did you begin planning your vacation?
   One year ago, Few months ago, Few weeks ago, Last minute decision
• 8. Are you:
   On inclusive tour with Island Greenland only
THE HOLIDAY

9. How long are you staying here?
10. Where are you living here?
   Hotel, please specify
   Bed and breakfast, Self catering, “Kollegium”, Friends, family, Camp, Tent
11. Did you know something about the local culture?
   Yes:
   How did you inform about?
   No:
   Once back are you interested to learn about this culture?
12. Have you been to the museum?
   How did you like it?
12.1 Have you been to the Filatelia?
   How did you like it?
12.2 Have you been to the Tourist Office?
   How did you find it?
12.3 Have you been to Skæven?
   Have you bought something?
   Would you please specify?
   Would you specify the amount of your purchase?
13. What have you done during your stay?
   Hiking, Guided trips, Boat tours
   Hunting, Fishing, Other
13.1 Were the activities
   Organised by the hotel
   Organised by yourself
14. Have you been in a settlement?
   Which one?
   How did you reach the settlement?
   By foot, By KNI boat, By private boat, By helicopter
15. If “yes”, how long have you been there?
   If more of one day: where were you accommodated?
16. Have you met the local people?
   No, I was not interested
   No, but I would had liked
   If “yes”, what was the occasion?
• 16.1 Did you try some local food?  
  Did you like it?
• 17. Have you seen an exhibition?  
  Drum dance, Songs, Other
• 18. Did you buy something?  
  Food, Souvenirs  
  Other, Please specify what and where

YOUR IMPRESSIONS
• 19. Your impression about this holyday
• 20. The most important “thing” you have seen or lived during your stay here
• 21. Did this holyday meet your expectations?
• 22. What was your idea of this place before coming here?
• 23. What kind of feeling are you bringing home?
• 24. Do you wish to return in the Arctic?
  Here, another time of the year  
  Somewhere else in the Arctic

Interview Questions - Local Population -  
Their Perceptions of Tourism

• 1. What do you think about tourists coming here?  
  I don’t care  
  I like it, I like to see people  
  They are noisy, they disturb  
  I don’t want to see them again
• 2. Have you some contact with tourists?
  No, I’m not interested  
  No, but I will like it  
  Yes, I offer some services  
  What kind of?
  Are you satisfied?
  Do you earn enough?
• 3. Are tourists asking questions?
   - On hunting
   - On your family
   - On private matters
• 4. Do you invite tourists at home?
   - No, I don’t want
   - Yes, to try traditional food
   - Yes, for selling handicrafts
   - Yes, for kaffe-mik
• 5. What do you think about hosting tourists at home?
   - I don’t like it
   - I would like, but I cannot do it
   - If it would be possible, what would you offer?
     - Bed and Breakfast accommodation
     - Camping near the house
• 6. Does it happen that tourists disturb your work, taking photos, asking questions, intruding your private sphere?
• 7. Have you ever had problems with tourists?
   - Could you tell how and why?
• 8. If tourists would ask you to do something like
   - Singing
   - Storytelling
   - Drum dancing
   - Would you do that?
     - Yes, it can be interesting
     - No, not at all
     - No, I’m too busy
• 9. Tourism can bring:
   - Money
   - Jobs, especially for the young people (guides, etc.)
   - Better quality of life
   - Help us to preserve our culture
   - Others ways of life that we can’t reach
   - Put our identity in danger
   - Have the desire to go away (young people)
   - Other
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Tourism Experiences in the Peripheral North
Case Studies from Greenland

Daniela Tommasini, PhD Geography, is a research associate at North Atlantic Regional Studies (NORS) Roskilde University (Denmark), and has been doing research in the Arctic, especially in Greenland, and in the Alps.

Research topics include: sustainable development in fragile ecosystems in Arctic, Sub-Arctic and Alpine areas; community-based development and tourism in sparsely populated and small-scale regions; cultural, socio-economic and environmental impacts of tourism development; socio-economic impacts of climate changes; populations and cultures.

In a research project that spanned nearly two decades, the author travelled from the pastoral sheep-farming region of South Greenland and the thriving tourist areas of West Greenland, to the modern-day Ultima Thule of Greenland’s northernmost community, and ventured from Ammassalik in East Greenland as far north as Illoqortoormiut to interview tourists, entrepreneurs in the tourism industry and local residents and assess the socio-economic impact of modern-day tourism, its past development and potential for the future, particularly in the most remote and peripheral areas of the world’s largest island.

Inussuk • Arctic Research Journal

Inussuk is a Greenlandic word that means cairn. Cairns are man-made stone landmarks that are particularly common in Arctic regions. Throughout the centuries, cairns have been built both by Inuit and Europeans. Cairns serve as a source of information and symbolize the point of reference for new and old knowledge about Greenland’s nature and culture.

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