

**Coping Strategies and Regional Policies**  
**– Social Capital in the Nordic Peripheries –**  
**Country report Greenland**

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Stockholm, Sweden  
2002

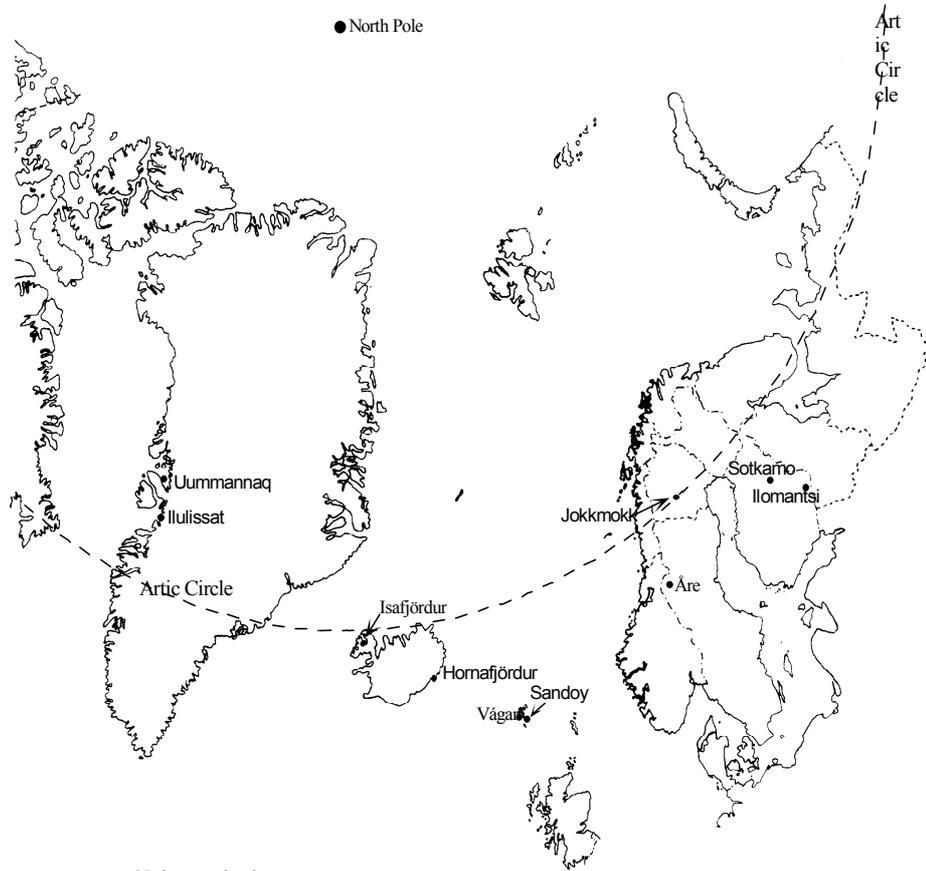
## **Preface**

This country report is one of five country reports (Nordregio working papers) of the research project *Coping Strategies and Regional Policies, Social Capital in Nordic Peripheries*. The research includes fieldwork during 2001 in Greenland, Iceland, the Faroe Islands, Sweden and Finland, two localities per country, two projects per locality. The project was co-operatively conducted by researchers from the University of Iceland (Reykjavik), the Research Centre on Local and Regional Development (Klaksvík, Faroes), the Swedish Agricultural University (Uppsala), the University of Joensuu (Finland) and Roskilde University (Denmark). Researchers from these institutions are responsible for the five country reports. A comparative report written by Jørgen Ole Bærenholdt summarizes the country reports

The project is part of the Nordic research programme *Future Challenges and Institutional Preconditions for Regional Development Policy*. The programme is commissioned by The Nordic Council of Ministers / Nordic Senior Officials Committee for Regional Policy (NÄRP). A pilot phase of the programme was reported in 2000 Nordregio Report 2000:1). This report is one of eight studies in the 2000-2002 phase of the programme. A final phase will start in 2002 and end in 2004.

Nordregio wishes to thank the editors as well as the other researchers involved in this work, as well as the members of the Programme Steering Committee: Bue Nielsen (Denmark), Kari Gröhn (Finland), Kristin Nakken (Norway), Nicklas Liss-Larsson (Sweden), Kjartan Kristiansen (Faroe Islands), Bjarne Lindström (Åland Islands) and Hallgeir Aalbu (Nordregio).

Stockholm, August 2002



--- Nation-state borders  
 ..... Region/province borders

0 500 km

Coping Strategies and Regional Policies  
 Social Capital in Nordic Peripheries.  
 Localities studied, NORDREGIO - project 2000-2001.

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## **1. Introduction**

This paper is a country report on the two localities in Greenland studied during the project, namely Uummannaq and Ilulissat in Northern Greenland. Here 25 qualitative interviews were conducted during fieldwork stage from 27 March to 4 April 2001. Fieldwork conducted 1996 in both Uummannaq and Ilulissat, reported elsewhere (Bærenholdt, 1998 & 2000a), provides background information on the development of the locality.

Draft versions of the case-analysis of projects in Uummannaq and Ilulissat were presented as papers to the UNESCO MOST Circumpolar Coping Processes Project conference in Storfjord, Northern Norway, 6 -10 June 2001. A draft case-analysis of projects in Uummannaq was also presented to the Nordic Arctic Research Programme (NARP) Symposium, Oulu, 10-11 May 2001. These drafts have also been e-mailed to local interview-persons as attachments asking for comments.

The 18<sup>th</sup> September 2001 version of the report, together with the Faroese report, was presented to a geography research seminar at Roskilde University on 4<sup>th</sup> October 2001 by Gestur Hovgaard. Thanks to Eva Sørensen, Roskilde University, for her comments as the discussant at this seminar. Thanks also go to Jens Kaalhaug Nielsen, University of Greenland, for his comments on the same version. Finally, this version was presented and discussed in the meeting of the whole project team in Stockholm on the 14<sup>th</sup> November 2001 and with researchers at the seminar at NORDREGIO 15<sup>th</sup> November 2001. Thanks also for the comments and suggestions made by the participants at all these occasions.

I would also like to thank the 27 interviewees and the many other helpful people that made my fieldwork in Uummannaq and Ilulissat 27 March - 4 April 2001 a very interesting and pleasant experience.

## 1.1 Regional policy in Greenland

Greenland has no specific regional policies. Questions of regional distribution and development are however issues that are embedded in nearly all of the policies of the Greenland Home Rule Government. Regional policy questions are very important on several scales from town-village relations to Greenland's international relations, though these issues are not addressed as regional policy questions as such. Apart from Greenland's national question in relation to the Danish Kingdom, regional questions have been at the centre of the post war modernisation of Greenland. During the 1950s and 1960s, (Greenland was no longer a formal colony by 1953), modernisation plans included ideas about the concentration of the population in the Open Water Area towns (from Paamiut to Sisimiut) in West Greenland. However, population concentration never occurred to the extent that one would have expected. Nevertheless, the regional questions embedded in settlement policies as well as in EU policies, were the central motives behind the formation of the Greenland Home Rule Government in 1979, and these questions continue to be central in public discourse on the social, industrial and infra-structural development of the towns and villages in the vast territory of Greenland. The Home Rule government announced the termination of the centralisation policies pursued by the Danish State and saw the problems of industrial development and social conditions as an effect of these policies. Therefore, Home Rule Government discourse has subsequently concentrated on promoting local possibilities and needs as its point of departure (*Landsplanredegørelsen*, 1994: 195). However, the regional policy discourse of the Home Rule Government in the 1990s (*Landsplanredegørelsen*, 1994:197) concentrates on welfare policies and these are dominated by the concern for optimising national incomes. In fact, the only regional question that has a dominant role in public discourse and official reports (Danielsen et. al., 1998), is the national question of economic growth in Greenland, which in itself relates to the need to strengthen independence.

Due to Greenland's status as a home rule area of the Danish Realm, the yearly (approximately 3 billion DKK) block grant from Denmark to the Home Rule Government can be understood as a form of regional policy. Here, the term "regional policy" is not used, perhaps because few regions consider a grant of around half of the GDP as regional policy means. When Greenland was part of the European Community (until 1985), it received regional policy financing from the European Community. Today, Greenland has an OLT-status parallel to other overseas former colonies of other EU-member states, and in combination with the various fisheries agreements this also results in transfers from the EU to Greenland. All of these measures are in fact important fiscal resources allocated to the development of Greenland in order to compensate for its colonial history, military installations, climate and the disadvantages of distance. In addition, Greenland is of major scientific importance due to the role of the Icecap in the processes of global change. No doubt, international awareness of the importance of Greenland in this area is a political factor of some importance to her economic development. Indeed, Greenland's interests in opening an "Arctic Window" to the EU's Northern Dimension is but one example of the role of international politics in the development of Greenland.

Without the block grant from Denmark and additional funds from the EU, the Greenland Home Rule Government would not be able to run business development and subsidy policies ("direct regional policies") nor would it be able to finance the crucial

sector policies that form the welfare state regime and determine its immense spatial effects. Greenland is however also involved in cross-border regional cooperation, although this involves much smaller levels of economic resource. Of the various international and cross-border agendas in which Greenland participates (Bærenholdt, 1999), the Nordic Atlantic Cooperation and the West Norden Fund are the most important in respect of the resources allocated for regional development, which is a fundamental objective of these Nordic organisations.

With regard to internal regional policy, which is our main interest here, interesting shifts can be registered in the development of the policies and administration of the Home Rule Government. Until 1989 the Home Rule Government had a specific Ministry (Direktorat) for villages and the outer districts. Many commentators have seen the abolition of this ministry as the end of regional policy in Greenland, although the declared aim was to deal with all parts of Greenland on an equal basis (that is to say non-discriminatory regional policies). Retrospectively, the abolition of this separate ministry could be seen in the light of the spatial restructuring of Greenland's fisheries sector during the 1980s and the 1990s. Due to the final collapse of the cod fisheries, towns in South Greenland declined, while Greenland's halibut fisheries grew in Northern Greenland including the "outer" districts of Uummannaq and Upernavik. Uummannaq and Upernavik have become more prosperous than for example the open-water town of Paamiut to such an extent now that raw fish from these "outer" districts are transported to the more southerly towns for processing in order to secure employment there.

In the late 1990s a new discursive shift appeared in Greenland's political culture. During this period, privatisation became the objective in nearly all sectors; a number of standard economy reports recommended such strategies, and these soon became the normal political terminology (Nielsen, 2001). A commission on a reform of the unitary price-system suggested that four specific towns should become development centres: the capital Nuuk, Qaqaortoq in Southern Greenland, Sisimiut in the Open Water Area in Western Greenland and Ilulissat in the Disko Bay in Northern Greenland. These were also the towns where the lack of an adequate labour force had been particularly acute, in spite of significant levels of local unemployment (Danielsen et al., 1998: 22). A division of Greenland into two worlds has thus now been implemented, and this division is rather different from the 1960s' rift between "open water towns" and "outer districts". In some cases, the geographical distinction is different: For example, the privatisation of the dominant Home Rule owner KNI supermarkets will occur in several towns, whereas trade and other services to the "non-growth" areas are subsidised through "service contracts" with specific firms. Without explicit reference to this, in fact a growth centre policy has been implemented in Greenland. The main objectives are connected to the national development of Greenland's economy, this having been the main idea since the official reports (*Landsplanredøgørelsen*, 1994) of the mid-1990s. As has also been the case in Iceland, regional development thus becomes a means to national development, not a question of internal redistribution. In public investigations, attitudes and values attributed to distribution and settlement (as in the case of the unitary price system) are seen as an obstacle to business development, and to exports in particular (i.e. Danielsen et al., 1998: 141). Instead of a regional policy, Greenland is then trying to develop an industrial or economic development policy for the whole country, where the attitudes and values of the population are of more concern than regional inequalities as such.

The focus of these policies is on business development with four overall objectives:

- Decreasing dependence on Danish block grants
- Increasing export incomes
- Increasing employment
- Decreasing dependence on labour from outside Greenland (Danielsen et. al. 1998: 31).

These objectives focusing on “national growth” are however silent about regional questions within Greenland.

### ***1.1.1 Business development strategies in the four pillars***

The strategies have been built on four pillars:

1. Fisheries
2. Raw materials
3. Tourism
4. Other on-shore industries.

The *fisheries* sector is dominated by Royal Greenland A/S, a Home Rule Government owned limited-stock company. As part of the ongoing privatisation, Royal Greenland A/S closed their unprofitable activities. Some of these are taken over by the new company Nuka A/S running village plants and producing for the domestic markets; Nuka A/S has a service contract securing economic support for these activities. As we will see in the case studies to follow, fish processing is on occasion taken over by private fishermen and others. In addition, fishermen can obtain support from the Home Rule Government to buy vessels.

A major regulatory policy with regional consequences is the public distribution of quotas for fishing, one of the issues being whether or not the private fishing company Uummanaq Seafood (see later case study in section 2.1) should be allocated quotas for fishing halibut. Furthermore the issue of the socio-economic responsibility for local development emerges as a question of whether or not such quotas can be packaged with proposals for processing onshore to secure employment. As more and more private actors emerge in the fisheries sector, the contradictions between private interests and the interests of “socio-economic development” locally and nationally are laid squarely on the agenda. Greenland experienced the development of private business in the form of co-operative firms (“Ambas”) in the 1980s, and major private shrimp-trawler companies in the 1990s. While the former (co-operatives) did not succeed in the long run, the latter are less embedded in local socio-economic development.

*Raw materials* are not extracted at the moment from Greenland, but exploration is ongoing in several locations, including offshore drilling for oil and gas.

*Tourism* is supported through the work of Greenland Tourism (The Tourist Board of Greenland). This organisation also has a service contract with the Home Rule Government to secure financing. Greenland Tourism also administers the TRT development means for Tourism development for the Home Rule Government.

Tourism in Greenland grew only slowly from 1950s to the 1970s. The main destinations were Southern Greenland around the airport of Narsarsuaq. In addition Icelandic

operators took tourists on one-day tours to Kulusuk in Eastern Greenland. Infra-structural development is a major factor in tourism development in Greenland. In 1982 and 1983, airports for fixed wing planes opened in Nuuk and Ilulissat. Over the course of the following years, this substantially altered the pattern of tourist development in Greenland. Today Ilulissat and the Disko Bay area are the major tourist destinations (39% of tourists, Greenland Tourism, in Kaae, 2001), while Nuuk is also important, with a part of this trade being so-called "business tourism".

Greenland Tourism A/S was established in 1992. Until 1998, the role of Greenland Tourism A/S was that of a business entrepreneur; since 1998 however this role has changed to that of a "normal" co-ordinating tourist board with responsibilities in international marketing and supporting tourist enterprises (Skydsberg, 1999: 156-161). All actors in this field of business acknowledge the expertise of Greenland Tourism's international marketing. Help to tourist enterprises includes the use of the TRT fund for tourism entrepreneurs and the Unnuisa fund for hotel development. In reality, the problem of tourist development is that there are very few professional business actors within Greenland. As such, applications for funding are often of bad quality, or are simply not made at all. In addition to the Greenland Travel Bureau, which is owned by the Home Rule Government, the major influence as regards tourism is in the hands of foreigners. One interesting instrument in this area has been the development of the so-called "Outfitter system", which aims to develop the local tourism business by building on the qualifications and aspirations of local hunters, fishermen and farmers. We will look into the development of this concept in Uummannaq and Ilulissat in later sections. Thus far however it should be noted that practically no actors can gain their main incomes from tourism outfitting. This is largely due to the fact that foreign tour operators control the tour planning and the major part of the economic circuits involved in running tourist businesses (K. Rasmussen, 1998).

In recent years, much emphasis has been laid on the fourth (and somewhat late in its implementation) pillar of so-called "*other on-shore industries*". This renewed emphasis is due to the imperative of economic diversification (Nielsen, 2001). Business development efforts in this area are the task of SULISA A/S, Greenland Business Development Corporation, founded in 1994 (Skydsberg, 1999: 161). SULISA both advises business entrepreneurs and provides capital on behalf of the Home Rule Government's law on financial support to on-shore industries (Law no. 20). SULISA has the service contract to administer this financial support by different measures in order to establish new firms, product development, export market surveys and tax reductions. Furthermore, SULISA has the ability to invest in private companies (maximum 49%) and stand surety for credits (SULISA, 2001). In addition SULISA engages in local and regional business development efforts as a consultant.

Although many of the measures above can be regarded as a kind of regional policies, the policies with the strongest "regional content" are without doubt to be found within the overall regulation of the different sectors of the operation of the Greenland Home Rule Government including its various business engagements.

### ***1.1.2 "Big" regional policy : sector policies and the question of effect***

Due to the dominance of the public sector in Greenland's economy, it is hardly surprising that the sectoral policies of the Greenland Home Rule Government themselves have the most profound regional consequences, though this may not in fact be the initial intention. It has often been said that the possibilities for local initiative depend

primarily on the non-occupied conceptual fields or spaces left behind by national actors such as Royal Greenland or KNI, the Home Rule Government owned retail store chain.<sup>1</sup>

Apart from fisheries and their almost total dominance in terms of exports, the major economic sector important with regard to regional development is that of retail, which is dominated by KNI. KNI has been divided into two sub-companies: One for trade and shipping to the outer districts and villages (KNI Pilersuisoq) and the other for trade in the major towns (KNI Pisifik). Each of these cornerstones can be said to have their own regional policies in respect to the supply of goods, logistics etc. Although private merchants do exist vis-à-vis KNI, the policies of the dominant retail store actor have immense effects.

Other policies with profound regional effects are those relating to social services, labour market policies, health and education. In all of these sectors, contemporary discussions are very much on the effects of regionalisation. That is to say on ways of reorganising the administration and supply of these services on a scale smaller than the Home Rule Government, yet larger than the municipalities could undertake. Moreover, the association of Municipalities in Greenland (KANUKUKA) is a more or less independent actor in these sectors, and this is no surprise when we take the strong position of Greenland's municipalities into consideration.

One case study on the regional effects of public sector activities was on the spatial distribution of income transfers within the sectors relating to social services, the labour market and business development policies. Here, there were both significant regional patterns and patterns of division between towns and villages. Some regions, such as Southern Greenland received income transfers much higher in *per capita* terms than others, such as Eastern Greenland. The study also compared the distribution of different types of income transfers: "Passive" social income transfers are most important in towns, while villagers tend to receive "productive" income transfers such as support for fisheries (Rasmussen, 1998; Friis, 1998). These distributive effects were only implicit; no political intentions have however been expressed about the spatial distribution of transfers.

All of the various types of policy effects discussed so far have however been concerned with some form of the distribution of resources, be they natural resources or public funding. In addition, we have considered the implicit paradox that the Home Rule Government for years discursively claimed to be building its policies on local capacities, while in fact it actually concentrated on national growth.

Of course, both the allocation of resources and discursive formation may produce some effects, but in respect of innovative developments producing new socio-economic structures in response to the challenges of a globalizing and increasingly knowledge-based economy, it is our intuitive evaluation that little innovation happens locally without the networking efforts of actors at a local level. Of course, the allocation of fish quotas or of a specific office do have economic impacts at the local level, and as such one could make an evaluation of regional policy instruments in these

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<sup>1</sup> Thanks to my colleague Rasmus Ole Rasmussen stressing this point as well as other points on sector policies.

terms. In this project we have however chosen another approach: In the context of our knowledge of the national system of regional policy (presented above), we have chosen to look further into the processes of local development projects. In Greenland, there are two such cases in this regard, relating to the development of private fish firms and two in local tourism development with a "fish" and "tourist" case in each of the two localities: Ilulissat and Uummannaq (see next section). This approach allows us to understand the actor-network processes involved in the projects, and from this point to ask, what was the role of (the various kinds of) regional policies?

This approach fits well with recent trends in both discursive and practical regional policies in Greenland, where the role of the municipalities as developers has been strengthened. Municipal involvement in production has been legal since 1998. Although this formal change in municipal law was implemented in response to specific problems in Qaqortoq in Southern Greenland, it does in itself point to an ongoing trend. The trend was manifest in the 2001 municipal elections. Here, the Prime Minister of Greenland clearly stated, that it was the role of municipal government to strive for local and regional development through what he called a "midwife" strategy: It is now expected that municipalities will take responsibility for local socio-economic development. In practice, this means that municipalities will now be expected to engage directly in business development, withdrawing once the ball has been set rolling, so to say. Within this context however there remains much for private business entrepreneurs and their networks to do, though the major question remains as to the degree of the embeddedness of businesses in local social relations. Or in other words: The question is to what extent such projects contribute to – and built on – the development of social capital, and to what degree the coping strategies involved are mobile versus territorial, and bonding versus bridging? Finally, we will return to regional policies, and discuss, whether, how and why regional policies work in concert with coping strategies locally?

## **1.2 Selecting and introducing the localities of Uummannaq and Ilulissat**

The primary criterion for the selection of localities in the whole Nordregio project has been "that a number of innovative projects (not only formal) can be identified locally in the period 1990-2000 and that some kind of regional policy (A, B or C)<sup>2</sup> has been involved in these strategies." (Bærenholdt, 2000b: 4). Ilulissat and Uummannaq are localities that were among the more successful in Greenland during the 1990s with regard to population growth; this is also the reason that they were selected for studies in earlier research projects by the current author.<sup>3</sup> Fieldwork was conducted during

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<sup>2</sup> (A) Direct regional policies, (B) Spatial effects of welfare state regimes, and (C) Cross-border regional cooperation. Due to the focus on projects, the main focus is on direct regional policies (A) although defined in broad terms (Bærenholdt 2000b: 3).

<sup>3</sup> Ilulissat and Uummannaq were cases for a study of transnational relations within the overall Conditions for Sustainable Development in the Arctic Project 1995-1998, supported by the Danish Research Councils' cross-council polar initiative. The same localities are also included in the UNESCO MOST Circumpolar Coping Processes Project. Research findings on these localities can be found in an earlier article (Bærenholdt, 2000a), the rest of this section introducing the two localities is based on this earlier article (ibid. 84-87). The major of Ilulissat until 2001 Ole Dorph participated and contributed in the MOST CCPP users conference in Isafjörður, Iceland, in 1998. The second deputy major of Uummannaq since 2001 Lars Jørgen Kleist and the business development officer (Head of Board of Commerce) of Ilulissat Søren Bundgaard participated and contributed in the MOST CCPP phase one

the municipal campaigns and elections in Uummannaq 27-30 March 2001 and Ilulissat 30 March - 4 April 2001 (election on 3 April). Here it was obvious, that regional policy questions in the broad sense of the distribution of efforts and awareness as well as local development projects were issues at the centre of public interest. Political leaders in both localities have been and/or are central actors in public debates on regional and the local development of Greenland, and are well aware of the fact that political contacts and negotiations are central to socio-economic development in Greenland.

In what follows we will present a brief introduction to the history, geography and socio-economic structures of Ilulissat and Uummannaq:

Ilulissat and Uummannaq are both in what Greenlanders traditionally call North Greenland. They are both rather successful cases in terms of demographic development in recent years, although Ilulissat is considered to be a “development area” and Uummannaq belongs to the “outer districts”. In winter and spring, sea ice usually prevents ship transport in both areas; but fishing and hunting continue through ice-holes with dog sledges for transport (Hertz 1995 & Nellemann 1961). Both locals and tourists consider the environment attractive.

Uummannaq was founded in 1763 and is still considered to be a hunting district. In addition to the town, the municipal district includes seven smaller villages/settlements. The dispersed settlements have also functioned as the territorial basis for the new fishing industry based on the Greenland halibut, formally begun by Royal Greenland Trade (KGH) in 1962 (Frstrup 1988: 186). Indeed, Greenland’s halibut fishing is now the main economic export activity of the municipality. The town and some of the villages have a department of Royal Greenland buying Greenland halibut from the local fishermen, who fish from small vessels, while in the town itself and in a few of the villages the local plant processes frozen fillets. The Greenex lead and zinc mine in Maarmorilik represented a major local economic sector when it was operational during the period 1973-1993. In 1999, a new airport for fixed-wing air aircraft opened at the village of Qaarsut.

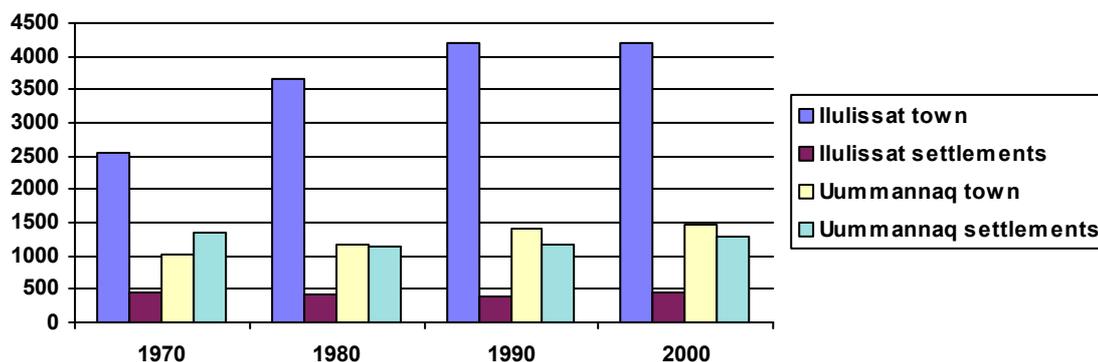


Figure 1: Population in Ilulissat and Uummannaq  
(Source: Grønland 2000: 432 (Ilulissat settlements 1970 excl. Illimanaq))

Ilulissat was founded as the Danish colony of Jakobshavn in 1741. As early as the end of the 19th century, the head of the local Royal Greenland Trade branch, Poul Müller,

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concluding conference in Storfjord, Northern Norway, in 2001.

privately exported salted Greenland halibut to Copenhagen, and the activity was formally taken over by Royal Greenland Trade in the first years of the 20th century. In the years 1920-1960 there were also local cod fisheries. In the 1960s shrimp production took over (Fisker 1984: 238ff). Today the Royal Greenland plant is the biggest processing plant for Greenland halibut, and one of the biggest for processing shrimps, the only problem being that the shrimp factory is closed from November or December to May because of the ice cover. In 1984 the airport for fixed-wing aircraft opened.

Closer scrutiny of local socio-economic structures in Ilulissat and Uummannaq (inside and outside the “development areas”) show that there are both interesting similarities and differences between them. Structurally, the overall economic dominance of the public service sector, Royal Greenland, and KNI (the trading company with shops and transport) is a principal similarity and this reflects national economic structures. But there are also significant differences.

Within the local public service sector, the municipality is the major local employer. In November 1996, the number of local authority jobs (in both the town and the settlements) was 495 in Ilulissat and 382 in Uummannaq – but a large number of these jobs were part-time: 236 in Ilulissat and 239 in Uummannaq. Part-time employment is most common among the majority born in Greenland, and more common among women than men (Grønland 2000: 487 & 490). The larger number of part-time jobs in Uummannaq must be seen in the context of the many settlements in the municipal district of Uummannaq – there are many part-time jobs in the settlements.

The local fishermen form the major private sector in Ilulissat and Uummannaq. Ilulissat has the highest number of private vessels in Greenland; the register of the number of vessels smaller than 80 GRT showed 36 in the town and 11 in the settlements in 1995. The number and size of vessels is much smaller in Uummannaq, although the number has grown in recent years. In 1995, the number of vessels smaller than 80 BRT was 10 in Uummannaq town and 4 in the settlements of the Uummannaq district. The total number of vessels in Greenland smaller than 80 BRT was 267 in 1995 (Fiskeri og fangst, 1998). In recent years, these numbers have grown. In addition there are a number of unregistered small dinghies. We should also note that the dogs and dog-sledges are used for fishing through ice-holes in winter and spring. Small-scale fishing is undoubtedly the local sector most clearly controlled by Greenlanders providing ties among local families and households. In addition the local associations of hunters and fishermen organize the major Inuit-Greenlander local interest group, which is often in conflict with Royal Greenland over prices and the conditions for landing catches.

In the “other onshore industries”, Ilulissat has many entrepreneurs in construction and services, whereas Uummannaq has only a few private construction and service firms many of which have few employees beyond the owner (fieldwork 1996 and 2001, Sullivinnik Paasissutissat 1996). There are no significant local linkages between these firms and Royal Greenland, but local construction firms often work for the municipalities and the Home Rule Government. For the most part it is Danes who own the firms in the onshore private sector, but many of these Danes have been in Greenland for many years and now consider themselves Greenlanders.

As regards the private service sector, the major local employer is the Home Rule Government's KNI trading and shipping company. In November 1996, the various branches of KNI had a total of 89 full-time employees in the municipality of Ilulissat and 89 in the municipality of Uummannaq, with a further 53 part-timers in Ilulissat and 75 in Uummannaq (Grønland 2000: 490). KNI jobs can be compared to jobs in the public sector, as they are more permanent than jobs in the fishing industry and the jobs are also clearly related to the number of settlements with shops and transport connections (either by ship or truck in the period of safe ice-cover).

Tourism is an interesting service sector in both localities. Uummannaq and Ilulissat are among the localities with the most success in tourism, thanks to their local environmental attractions. Ilulissat in particular is a major force in Greenland as regards tourist development. This is because of Ilulissat's location close to the largest ice fjord in the Northern Hemisphere (known from the film *Smilla's Sense of Snow*) and its infrastructural equality with Nuuk, in the sense that Nuuk and Ilulissat both have small airports at the same distance from the international airport at Kangerlussuaq.

During fieldwork in March-April 2001, the impression that fisheries and tourism are the two major sectors, where people can identify – and identify with – projects, was confirmed. Across the significant difference in local development and projects between Uummannaq and Ilulissat, it was possible to select similar project cases in both localities. That is one case in new private fish firms, and one case in tourist development with an attempt to focus specifically on the outfitter system.

## 2. Cases from Uummannaq

The history, geography and socio-economic structures of Uummannaq and Ilulissat were introduced in section 1.2. Uummannaq Seafood is an obvious choice of project, as this business has run since 1998 and it is a case of a local development project started on the initiative of the municipality and local people (see section 2.1). The other case was planned to be specifically on the outfitter system, though subsequent field-work revealed deeper problems in local tourism development. As these problems are in themselves also one of the major reasons for the lack of development in the outfitter system locally, this case study has had to look more generally into local tourist development (section 2.2).<sup>4</sup>

### 2.1 Uummannaq Seafood A/S

Fishing is the single most important industrial sector in Greenland's economy. Only the block grant allocations from Denmark bring more money into the local economy. One single firm is dominant in fisheries: Royal Greenland. Royal Greenland is based on the heritage and facilities of the colonial Royal Greenland Trade; today it is a stock company owned by the home rule government. Royal Greenland follows a strategy of globalisation, and thus is often faced by the political claim that it does "normal" profitable business while non-profitable tasks are auctioned off on specific "service-contracts" between the Home Rule government and specific third companies. Today, both the business and public sectors in Greenland are dominated by the discourse on "privatisation"; major changes in this respect can be seen between the two fieldwork periods in Uummannaq in 1996 and 2001. On the one hand, Royal Greenland is still a secure nationally embedded fishing company; on the other hand however Royal Greenland has been a monolith dominating local economies without any further local embeddedness (Bærenholdt, 1997 & 2000a). Business innovations are seen in the field of upcoming new firms. Meanwhile, municipal authorities are playing a major role in the start-up of local projects. It is a part of national political discourse that municipal authorities should be "midwives" to industrial initiatives (e.g. see Home Rule Prime Jonathan Motzfeldt in the newspaper "Sermitsiak" no. 9, p. 10, 16 March, 2001).

Uummannaq Seafood A/S is a case of the implementation of such regional policies by the municipal authorities. In late 1997, the mayor of Uummannaq (as of spring 1997) contacted a local fisherman to ask for an initiative to be drawn up by local fishermen to establish new jobs. This initiative was a follow up to a local industrial development seminar. A major actor in the processes thus initiated was at that time the local industrial manager ("erhvervschef"). Through the local association of fishermen, fishermen in all of Uummannaq municipal district were asked to join the establishment of a fish buying company. At first 166 fishermen signed up. In the end 62 fishermen joined the initiative and invested money, when the company was established in 1998. It is a stock company; one third of shares are owned by local (now 59) fishermen, one third by "The Lyberth brothers" in Maniitsoq (Greenland) and one third by "Kangaamiut Seafood A/S in Dronninglund (Denmark, one fourth of this company (Kangaamiut Seafood A/S) is owned by "the Lyberth brothers") (Thorin & Heilmann, 2001).

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<sup>4</sup> In addition to interview persons (mentioned in the list in the end of the report), I want to thank Dora Kleist, Makkak Markussen, Jakob Kruse and Jens-Oluf Lundgren, Uummannaq municipal authorities, for their assistance.

The structure of owners is a hybrid of different interests: Local fishermen had for long been unsatisfied with limitations in Royal Greenland's purchasing of Greenland's halibut catch (temporal closures etc.). This is the explanation given by every local to the question of what was decisive as far as the initiative was concerned. Furthermore, the number of local fishermen in the business of catching halibut has grown throughout the 1990s, and fishermen have invested in larger boats (with government subsidies). Local fishermen represent the major social group of private entrepreneurs among Greenlanders. Subsequently an alliance was made with one of the few traditional Greenland Fisheries Corporations in Maniitsoq (and Dronninglund in Denmark, "Kangaamiut" is the name of a village in the municipal district of Maniitsoq). The Lyberth and Heilmann families of Maniitsoq are well known as major local players in private fisheries and the fish trade; the managing director of Uummannaq Seafood also has his background in these Maniitsoq families.

Until now, Uummannaq Seafood has only been running one activity: The factory ship "Umának". During the maximum 8 months of ice-free waters, the ship sails around in the Uummannaq district, buys fish from local fishermen's vessels and processes halibut on-board into "Japan-cut", which is a product for the Asian market. The Maniitsoq/Dronninglund based "mother companies" takes care of sales. Onboard are 7 officers (4 Greenlanders, 3 Faroese) and 20 jobs in processing working in two shifts (all Greenlanders, due to turnover more than three times as many persons had these jobs in 2000.). In spring 2001, the ship was reconstructed to meet EU-requirements. Onshore administration is composed of a further 2 employees. Since the introduction of "Umának" in 1998, Royal Greenland has also introduced a factory ship in the Uummannaq district. Such competition for the fish is good for the fishermen. They get higher prices (the same fish are upgraded) and the need to transport the fish to and from the fishery areas is limited. Royal Greenland's Uummannaq on-shore factory had to close however in the summer of 2000, due to the lack of supplies. So the jobs were moved offshore; this is good for both productivity and profitability. Not all people, for example young mothers, are now however able to take those jobs. Uummannaq Seafood has also committed itself to buying or building a land-based plant sooner or later. Thus far, the Royal Greenland plants in Uummannaq and the surrounding villages provide the only possibility of selling catches from ice-fisheries in the winter-spring period. Moreover, this was one of the major reasons why some fishermen did not want to get involved in the Uummannaq Seafood project.

Uummannaq Seafood is not the only firm of this type. "Arctic Fish" in Ilulissat (another case-project to be reported on in section 3.1) was also started as a combined initiative of municipal industrial development and local fishermen developing crab-fisheries. "Arctic Fish" is now also planning to operate in Uummannaq, thus convincing the Uummannaq fishermen about the prospects of fishing crabs. Moreover, village-based plants are transferred into private-municipal firms, as Royal Greenland is now withdrawing from village plants, apart from the prosperous halibut plants in some Uummannaq and Upernavik villages. In Uummanaq district, Royal Greenland has decided to sell out plants in three villages Qaarsut, Niagornat and Illorsuit. A new firm QNI Seafood is under construction and will buy and run the plants. The preparation of this process is assisted by a municipally employed co-ordinator (who has also been the second deputy major since elections in 2001). Here the municipal authorities may take one fourth of shares in the beginning. As the mayor said: "These monies

will be returned many times over as taxes.” The mayor also floated the idea of using the airstrip in Qaarsut for the direct export of fresh fish.

Meanwhile, political contacts (political capital as a special variant of social capital) play a major role for example in the efforts of development fish plants in the villages. Often, mayors negotiate directly with the Home Rule Government and Royal Greenland’s board on these issues. Moreover, firms such as Uummannaq Seafood expect the public sector to secure for them wharves and supplies of water and electricity before on-shore processing can begin (Thorin & Heilmann, 2001). However, the further development of Uummannaq Seafood fundamentally depends upon the political regulation of fish licences and the like, and this is a highly controversial issue.

Indeed, what we can see as far as Greenland’s halibut fisheries are concerned is the development of a specific form of capitalism where political negotiations play a major role. The managing director of Uummannaq Seafood was the Home Rule Government Minister of Fisheries 1995-1999. From this position he caused uproar among fishermen in 1997 when he abolished public subsidies for the landing of fish. It may however be that these subsidies were more of an advantage to Royal Greenland than to the fishermen themselves. Interestingly, not so long after this successful abolition of subsidies, Royal Greenland and the Home Rule Government (the Prime Minister (now deputy director of Royal Greenland) Lars Emil Johansen and the main director Kaj Kleist, (not the Minister of fisheries) produced a “capacity adjustment agreement” in 1997 (Bærenholdt, 1997). The “capacity adjustment agreement” is a typical case of the implementation of *ad hoc* regional policies in Greenland: The Home Rule Government accepted the need to subsidise (53 mill. DKK in 2001) the transport of halibut catches from Uummannaq to crises hit plants in Qasigiaanguit and Qeqertarsuaq in the Disko bay; these plants were reconstructed to facilitate the production of halibut fillets although they had few traditions in this line of production. In the local election campaign in Uummannaq, local candidates described the agreement as wrong headed, particularly as catches are not possible in the ice-cover period. To my questions: “Is it not solidarity with these towns?” one candidate answered: “It is said to be solidarity but on the other hand we also lack employment here.” Political strategies of local territorial bonding are thus often crucial in municipal election campaigns. Moreover Uummannaq Seafood supports this strategy, though it is itself employing a hybrid strategy between the territorial bonding among local fishermen and mobile bridging/bonding with the Maniitsoq fish corporations.

What we have seen in the case of Uummannaq Seafood is entrepreneurship by the combined efforts of the municipal authorities, local fishermen and non-local “fish capital”. All of these actors played important roles in the development of Uummannaq Seafood. Thus it can be seen as part of municipal regional policy, but also as co-operative efforts among fishermen and as the corporate strategies of Maniitsoq and Dronninglund based firms. Meanwhile, it was also a response to the type of – or the lack of Uummannaq-oriented – regional policies by the Nuuk based Home Rule Government and Royal Greenland. Indeed, the initiative makes a significant difference. Development of fish industries outside the control of Royal Greenland implies major changes in local economic structures. Undoubtedly, many locals feel that Uummannaq Seafood is an activity that is locally embedded, unlike most other economic activities (Bærenholdt, 2000). Territorial bonding is one major aspect of the project. On the other hand, many fishermen did not join the initiative. Moreover sig-

nificant numbers of local people are critical of the environmental and social consequences of factory ships. As a counterweight to the advantage of less sea transport by vessels, comes the problem of pollution from the factory ships themselves and the trend, as well as the fact that the other Royal Greenland ship in particular employs many people who are not citizens in Uummannaq municipal district and thus pay their municipal taxes to other municipalities.

Both in terms of jobs and capital, the dynamics of this type of enterprise-based regional policy lies in the intersections of territorial and mobile strategies at work. New forms of mobile bridging to fish firms in other localities have been crucial, but nobody knows whether or not this will be productive for local development in the long run. Apart from the scale of the operations themselves, the fact that the majority of the stockholders in Uummannaq Seafood are from "the outside" could see a lack of local embeddedness for its economic activities, which in the long run would be not that dissimilar to the situation pertaining to Royal Greenland. Therefore, local development in Uummannaq cannot simply rely on this type of enterprise-based regional policy, where private businesses essentially become the only major actors. During the summer of 2001, political debates on the "outer-districts" developed and caused major disputes over national leadership in the dominant Siumut party. It is no coincidence therefore that in Uummannaq local politicians played a role in this game: They suffer from problems of regional development – but they have also had some success in this field, and this gives them a stronger position in terms of the ongoing national debates. The highly political character of Greenland's fisheries industry is however illustrated by the unfolding of events in October 2001 (Grønlands Radioavis 9 October): when the Home Rule Government decided to award Royal Greenland a monopoly on the buying of halibut in Uummannaq, while at the same time talking about the development of commercial fisheries in the area.

## **2.2 Local Tourist Development in Uummannaq**

The first tourist committee in Uummannaq started in 1978. Mountain climbers visited Uummannaq. Tourist development in Uummannaq has relied upon one (Danish) entrepreneur; his Hotel Uummannaq opened 1989 and was stimulated by the recording of the Danish Christmas television series in Uummannaq during this time. Certain personal networks were crucial, and the Santa Claus house used for the recordings can still be visited. This entrepreneur is the only local that has obtained any outside funds (e.g. from the West Norden Foundation) that could be in any way interpreted as an outside regional policy allocation of resources. Such funds have been used to support the construction and extension of the Hotel, as well as for buying a tourist excursion boat.

As such, tourism is a new business in Uummannaq. It has developed through the 1990s as part of the efforts of Greenland Tourism (GT, The Tourist Board of Greenland). Locally, everybody acknowledges the positive role played by Greenland Tourism in their international marketing efforts. When it comes to tourist development strategies inside Greenland the policies of Greenland Tourism have however had a rather more mixed reception.

One case of tourism development policy, which can also be understood as regional policy, is that of the so-called "Outfitter programme". Outfitters are tourist guides offering experience tours based on their specialist equipment and skills, such as dog-

sledge tours, boat tours, snowmobile tours, hunting, fishing etc. Outfitters need to go through a course in security and tourist services in order to receive authorisation to enter the trade. The idea was to produce tourist experiences in small-scale locally based enterprises. The major problem has however been that very few can make a living through such activities alone: Either the outfitters have another main occupation, or their outfitter products are part of a broader tourist enterprise including tourist information and accommodation. Lack of sufficient incomes from tourism in peripheral areas is thus a well-known problem (Tykkylainen, 1998)

The seasonal limitations of the tourism business are of course part of the problem, although the development of winter/spring tourism in Northern Greenland (dog-sledding) was seen as one way of coping with this. Another problem is that some tourist activities, such as renting and tours by snowmobiles, may be considered as not 'sustainable' in terms of tourist development (Mordhorst, 1999). Meanwhile, a major problem is also to be found in the lack of skills in foreign languages; as one outfitter told me, "what is the point of getting a long dog-sledge tour to a village (e.g. six hours), if you cannot communicate with the tourist even on very practical issues."

From Uummannaq itself, some 3-4 persons have been through the course and 2 have been given authorisation. A fee is payable in order to receive and maintain authorisation; furthermore outfitters from all over Greenland are expected to meet at annual seminars in order to develop their skills. Only one outfitter is currently active in Uummannaq, and his main occupation is fishing. The main reason for his activity has been his skills in sailing, dog sledding and languages "learnt from television". He started dog sledding with tourists before he was an authorised outfitter, and today he also organises dog sledding tours by a whole team of other local fishermen. Furthermore, the local tourist entrepreneur asked him to sail with tourists from the summer of 1996 and onwards. It was also on the entrepreneur's (the hotel owner's) own initiative that he became an outfitter. The outfitter is well aware of the possibilities of getting funding for tourist entrepreneurs (the Home Rule's TRT arrangement), but he has more trust in the economic possibilities of fisheries (e.g. investing in a bigger vessel, also with public subsidies). During some periods the transport of fish from the villages to Uummannaq via snowmobile has also provided a good income. Furthermore, economic activities are for him merely a necessity of life, profit and accumulation is not *the* goal. As he said: "It is the price of fish that decides how much we need to fish"; the boat and two men on the boat have to be paid.

Local tourist development in Uummannaq suffers from the peripheral location of the district, although everybody agrees that very few destinations can compete with Uummannaq in respect of the attractions of the environment. It is however not particularly easy to reach Uummannaq. In summer it is possible to arrive by the coastal steamer; all year transport is by air. Until 1999, there were direct Sikorsky helicopter flights from Ilulissat to Uummannaq, but since "Uummannaq" airport (at the village of Qaarsut some 20 kilometres from Uummannaq) opened, tourists need to make an extra change from a fixed wing plane (Dash Seven) to the small scale Bell helicopter commuting between Uummannaq airport and Uummannaq heliport. In addition, the prices of domestic flights have increased recently. As such, the number of tourists has been on the decline since 1997-1998. However, some locals find the location of the airport to be the most sustainable long-term choice. The Uummannaq Island lacks both space and a safe water supply, and new tourist development on the main land at

Qaarsut is perhaps therefore a better option for the future, due to the possibilities of hiking and skiing there in the mountains.

The hotel itself depends more on business and conference tourism than on leisure tourism *per se*, in addition to crucial incomes from the local restaurant and pub in the hotel (something now challenged, as another local has also been allowed to sell alcoholic beverages in his bar). The local tourist entrepreneur has also invested in tourist facilities in the Disko bay localities of Qasigiannnguit and Ilulissat in recent years. In addition he has a permit to build a skiing facility on the mainland next to Uummannaq.

Local tourist development in Uummannaq is however currently in a rather critical situation. Many people now talk of the local tourist development as being *the* future of Uummannaq. So far, only one business is however "up and running" and the tendency therefore is to concentrate all local tourist activities in this one business. Tourism has been an issue on the local public agenda for many years. In the local 1994 business development conference, nearly all of the seven groups, comprising 105 persons in total had tourism on their agendas. The local business council and the municipal authorities succeeded in opening a tourist information centre outside the hotel in 1998, but it was closed again by the mayor in 2000. The mayor also admits that tourism is not his strong suit.

Tourist development in Uummannaq is characterised by severe problems in local co-operation; conflicts are personal and have even reached the court system. There is therefore a serious lack of trust between the actors in some cases. The hope now is that a newly appointed local tourism officer can do something about these problems. He comes from the town, had his education and a professional career in telecommunications in Denmark, and when he and his family decided to move back to Uummannaq, he had the choice of three different local jobs, eventually choosing tourist development. Although, one person can mean a lot in Greenland, it is also a problem that people place their hopes in only a few persons, when in reality the problems themselves are bounded to the practices of a whole network.

Obviously, local co-operative efforts work very differently in tourism as compared to fisheries. Social capital as "the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, op.cit.) does not seem to work well in the case of local tourist development in Uummannaq. The lack of economic innovation prospects for tourism in Uummannaq is perhaps one reason for this, though it is certainly not the only one. Perhaps also of note is the fact that a certain culturally inscribed scepticism to tourism development can be said to exist, a scepticism very much connected to the acknowledged lack of skills and education ("cultural capital") in language performance and business management, crucial to tourist development. Logistical problems limit the access of tourists. Although limited access is part of the tourist attraction, the destination's capacity has not yet come close to being utilised.

Across Greenland a tourist network exists under the umbrella of Greenland Tourism; only the local entrepreneur and the recently appointed tourist development officer however take part in these networks. Furthermore, this network is primarily formal

and professional; it does not therefore include the more social aspects of trust, acquaintance and recognition that we associate with social capital. Actors tend to stick to “their own business”; networks are not that durable or viable. The socio-spatial aspects of coping strategies are lacking in all four directions: territorial bonding, territorial bridging, mobile bridging and mobile bonding. To further local tourist development, the critical thing will be to construct a strategy that includes territorial bridging work. Local people need to co-operate and extend space for more entrepreneurial actors, if tourism is to be developed in Uummannaq. Such a development would also strengthen the position of municipal actors in negotiating for more frequent infra-structural connections.

Tourism is an unstable economic activity that is not possible to de-limit as one sector. It is not unusual for jobs to be seasonal and for the holders of such jobs to combine them with other jobs in household combinations. Nevertheless, the instability of employment tourism in Uummannaq is worse than it need to be. One crucial point here being that municipal policies have been unstable to an extent far greater than in the case of Uummannaq Seafood and the connected entrepreneurial activities in fisheries.

### **2.3 Actors, networking and social capital in Uummannaq**

Comparing the two cases studied in Uummannaq, many of the actors in the political domain are the same. These actors are culturally and economically very much more inclined to work with fisheries than with tourism. This is no coincidence, as the economic impact of tourism is marginal compared to that of fisheries. Meanwhile, this orientation of actors, networking and social capital to fisheries simply reproduces Uummannaq’s huge dependence on the Greenland’s halibut fisheries. If the stocks of this fish were to collapse (and crab or other types of fish could not compensate for this), the people of Uummannaq would in turn face the disadvantages of this dependency that they have had so much advantage from in the 1990s, particularly since the closure of mining.

In the case of Uummannaq Seafood, we saw that the combined networking of territorial bonding among fishermen and the municipality (mayor, business development manager), mobile bridging with business partners and contacts abroad, and particularly the coalition with Manitsaq based fish capital (hybrid territorial-mobile and hybrid bridging -bonding due to its non-local character) produced a case of entrepreneurship. Success in this case however depends heavily on the fish licences that are a part of the system of national resource management. Similarly, as local fishermen do not control the majority of capital, their future also depends on the other business partners involved. Such municipal-entrepreneurial regional policies can produce significant results. However, the socio-economic sustainability of these can be questioned.

The case of local tourist development in Uummannaq is however rather different. It is a case of a locality that has not managed, either economically or politically to match tourist development in other localities such as Ilulissat. Infra-structural isolation is a major explanation here, although this is also a consequence of economic and political isolation. When the absolute number of tourists is not increasing year on year, the conditions for better relations and greater trust between local actors are not present. With a trend of decline in tourism, in spite of the obvious tourist attractions of global significance, local conflicts over the decreasing size of the “market” emerge and

feelings inevitably become embittered. Of course, this situation has to do with the dominance of fisheries in the identities and discourses of local networks. Few people consider themselves to be professionals with regard to tourism. Regional policy means have been forthcoming from the West Norden foundation, which has been engaged in the development of local tourist facilities. Only the lonely entrepreneur however has had the capacity to attract such funds. Municipal efforts as regards tourist development have not been significant. Therefore, the lack of the development of local tourism is due mainly to the lack of connections between the avenues of local networking characterised by territorial bonding and professional networking characterised by mobile bridging between business actors. As the local entrepreneurs only seem to belong to the professional network, and none of the actors from the local networks fully identify with tourist development, no social capital has really been produced – or used – in connection with tourism. Social capital is not without identity; social capital is always about some activity and identity. Here, fisheries play a much stronger role. Territorial bridging is thus much needed in the development of local tourism in Uummannaq; paradoxically this might also allow a firmer integration of Uummannaq into Greenland's national tourism efforts. Thus if Uummannaq held a stronger negotiating position, based on the strength of local coalitions, they would also be better able to play a role in the mobile bonding of national tourist development.

When the question of regional policies was raised in Uummannaq, the mayor and local politicians did not think of the Home Rule Government. This certainly indicates the lack of a national regional policy. Instead, they thought first and foremost of their own efforts with regard to regionalisation, and in particular to their costly municipal administration, the idea being to work together with Ilulissat and Qasigiannuguit by placing certain administrative functions for all three municipalities in each. This signifies a new trend of combining the obvious new possibilities offered by ICT in respect to mobility with new regional territorial identifications. In fact, the idea was very much bound up with the personal network between the three mayors; not all of whom were re-elected in the spring of 2001. So networks can be vulnerable, and it is still not clear whether or not these ideas will bear further fruit.

### **3. Cases from Ilulissat**

#### **3.1 Arctic Fish A/S**

Arctic Fish A/S is one of the major examples of the emergence of new enterprises in fisheries in Greenland following the discourse on privatisation during the latter half of 1990s. In 1995, the mayor of Ilulissat took the initiative to ask the municipal council of Ilulissat for funding to investigate the possibilities and development of a project to establish a new company in fisheries. This initiative was one of the early attempts to involve local fishermen in the establishment of alternative possibilities to landing fish and seafood for Royal Greenland, given the general level of dissatisfaction with their dominance of the business.

In 1997, an internationally experienced Danish businessman was headhunted to investigate and develop the project. This person felt able to come to Ilulissat because he had personal contact with the then business development manager (“erhvervschef”) in Ilulissat. Today, this person is the managing director of Ilulissat Fish A/S. Originally the municipal council only funded the initial investigations with some 300.000 DKK. By 1998-99 however the municipal authorities no longer took any part in the business. Today however the yearly income tax total due to the municipality from workers employed in Arctic Fish should be around 8 million DKK a year and additional 2 million DKK a year in business tax from the firm itself. As the wages on board the ships of Arctic Fish are high, according to the mayor the taxes from the 90 or so employees of Arctic Fish total around the same as those from the 380 or so employees of Royal Greenland in Ilulissat. The turnover in 2000 was around 200 million DKK.

Arctic Fish was handed over to fishermen from Ilulissat. Ilulissat has the highest number of private fishermen in any locality in Greenland, and many of them have had good incomes due to their being able to fish both shrimps and Greenland halibut. The group of fishermen is however highly diversified, as are the sizes and types of vessels. Some local fishermen – as well as other entrepreneurial families in the fisheries business – are not involved in Arctic Fish.

Around 38 local fishermen founded Arctic Fish A/S in late 1998. It is a private limited company based in Ilulissat owned by the fishermen. It owns two thirds of the company Arctic Wolf Aps; a Norwegian partner owns the other third. Since April 1999, Arctic Wolf has run the crab fish processing ship “Arctic Wolf.” Additionally, during the winter of 2001, another subsidiary company was established in Aalborg in Denmark: Arctic Seafood. It is a sales company, Arctic Fish owns one half of it, Janne shipping owns the other half. Since September 2000, Arctic Fish has had another ship, namely “Arctic Star” which also processes crabs, but do not fish. Both ships were bought in Norway with financial capital made available by Norwegian banks.

There are numerous moments of coincidence in the story of the development of Arctic Fish: First, the Danish businessman had been headhunted to investigate several possibilities; another project on renewal of shrimp vessels collapsed. Second, the project on “other species” resulting in a project on crab fishing was worked out, but only by coincidence a fisherman mailed the application for licences to the Home Rule Government, when the staff in the industrial development office once again changed. Third, in September 1998 the Home Rule Government gave the license to fish crabs

in addition to a quota of 500 tons of halibut both in 1999, this was in making the business viable. Fourth, in the light of this success the Danish businessman came back in order to find a proper ship and succeeded in so doing in Haugesund, Norway. Arctic Fish was established as a company around the new-year period 1998/1999, "Arctic Wolf" (formally "Seafog") was ready to fish crabs in the Davies Strait in April 1999. The crew is from Ilulissat (which is crucial to tax-incomes), but the ship hardly goes to the town, as it fishes in water far away and lands in ports along the coast from Nuuk to Aasiaat. As development needs also existed in the Disco Bay, Arctic fish bought another factory ship "Arctic Star" to buy crabs from local fishermen. It is thus able to bring crabs to the south for a longer period in the winter, as the Disco bay is more or less ice-covered. Moreover, Arctic fish now also plans to send the "Arctic Star" to the district of Uummannaq (as mentioned in section 2.1). Furthermore, new business areas are now being actively considered, for example the export of "Icefjord-Greenland halibut" by air as a Nature-product based on the image and qualities of Ilulissat winter fisheries through ice-holes.

Thus far, Arctic Fish with its various subsidiaries has been a success. The company is however very much dependent on several features: Crab resources, where Arctic Fish more or less was first in the race. International markets in Japan and the US nursed by sales companies. The co-operative efforts of local fishermen, that wanted to manage their own businesses and employ directors and workers, they trust. The entrepreneurial (now former) mayor of Ilulissat; perhaps his high personal engagement in the original business development was part of the explanation that he lost the municipal elections on 3 April 2001. The internationally experienced Danish businessman head-hunted by a former industrial development chief to investigate, develop – and as it turned out – manage the firm.

Compared to Uummannaq Seafood (section 2.1), the structure of ownership is rather different: Uummannaq Seafood has parent companies in other places. Arctic Fish is however the parent company owned by local fishermen. No doubt, Ilulissat fishermen are richer than those of Uummannaq, and they therefore have the means available to control business to a higher degree. Moreover, there is a marked difference between Ilulissat, being one of the four "growth towns" of Greenland, and Uummannaq, being part of the outer districts, though it is among the more successful.

In this context, another difference is clear: While Uummannaq Seafood operates within the district of Uummannaq, Arctic Fish operates on the high seas (Davis Strait) and in other districts such as Uummannaq. This fact may lead Arctic Fish and Ilulissat into political problems, because of their mobile strategy in relation to the marine resources. If resource management is to be organised on territorial principles in the future, Arctic Fish will have problems. Should there be an introduction of quotas on crabs, Arctic Fish would undoubtedly seek a non-territorial system of transferable quotas. Much has been gained by Arctic Fish due to its status as the first player on the scene.

In both cases we see fishermen becoming businessmen. As one of the fishermen that founded Arctic Fish told me: Business people and fishermen used to be two different categories; still they do not mix well, while "fishermen are not acknowledged as much because they are out at sea". This is the view seen from the perspective of a fishermen still not feeling at home in the "shark-infested" waters of business. Although

fishermen have come into the business world, they do not have the professional skills to manage businesses. Here we need to clarify then that some fishermen from Ilulissat have been in business – that is to say owning more than one vessel – for some time. Therefore, the development of Arctic Fish could hardly exist without the proto-capitalist and co-operative entrepreneurial traditions of Ilulissat fishermen. Meanwhile, the efforts of the mayor, the local industrial development office and the, by now, managing director of Arctic Fish have also been necessary to the development of Arctic Fish.

Arctic fish is a case of regional policy carried out by the municipal authorities. These policies have been predominantly entrepreneurial in character; they have also been successful in withdrawing from financial involvement in business, once the “mid-wife” function was completed. In many respects, Ilulissat has become a major winner within Greenland over the period 1996-2001. In some ways, Ilulissat is a prime case of the development of local capitalism in Greenland. This was something that was discussed as early as the 1950s, though few successes in private business development have been recorded since then. Furthermore, the policies of 1960s, 1970s and 1980s were dominated by the discourses of state intervention (either Danish, or since 1979 Greenland based Home Rule). However, the new type of local entrepreneurial and expansive strategies exercised in Ilulissat cannot be implemented everywhere for two reasons: 1) Lack of private capital among local fishermen in other localities, 2) The level of marine resources available and the inability of international markets to deal with greater volumes (for a similar price) allows others to copy the efforts of Ilulissat. In relative terms, entrepreneurial efforts among winners also contribute to the production of losers. Basically, in dealing with world markets for raw materials such as fish, we see that capitalism is effectively a zero-sum game. For every winner produced, we have a loser also. These can be losers in other localities, where people did not succeed in fishing the resources, nor did they find other resources to use. There can also be losers within a town like Ilulissat, where the very high incomes on factory ships have not been distributed to everybody. So it is possible to question the local embeddedness of a project such as Arctic Fish. Territorial bonding among some fishermen has been as crucial as the embedding of the business in international networks of mobile bonding and bridging to new foreign partners. Meanwhile, territorial bridging across social groups within Ilulissat is an issue in need of further investigation. Such considerations however do not change the fact that the Arctic Fish project is an important case of municipal-private-co-operative entrepreneurship, and one that will remain interesting to follow in the future.

### **3.2 Outfitters and the local development of tourism in Ilulissat**

Ilulissat is a major tourist destination in Greenland. It could however be asked whether or not local tourist development in Ilulissat is “one” project in the sense defined in the design of this research project: *“A project is a specific process of innovation (“change in economic structure that include new solutions to local problems, as responses to the transformation of a globalizing and increasingly knowledge-based economy”) that involves the practices of several local actors and can be identified as a common project by these actors.”* Here, it is the word “common” that causes problems. Meanwhile, actors in tourism do acknowledge the “coherent” character of tourist development, as the attraction of the destination for every actor depends on the efforts of others. Indeed, there is a discourse on “problems of co-operation” in Ilulissat. As however the lack of co-operation is seen as a problem, tourism is thus rightly seen

as something that should be a common project. The character of the problems with regard to co-operation in local tourism in Ilulissat are however different from those in Uummannaq, due to the higher number of actors (and also tourists) in Ilulissat. In spite of the difference in the levels of complexity in Ilulissat and Uummannaq, similar forces may nevertheless be seen to be behind problems of co-operation with regard to the local development of tourism.

In the following, we begin with an introduction to the development of tourism in Ilulissat since the 1970s. Thereafter, the analytical focus will be on the role of outfitters and the outfitter programme in local development.

Tourism began to develop slowly in the 1970s. The Hvide Falk Hotel opened in 1972. Although dog-sledge tours were organised, tourism was not that embedded. Tourism was thought of as something bad, as something that could distract fishermen away from the necessary business of fishing or from the work of the processing plant. A German couple, still active, were among the few actors outside the hotel. Throughout the 1980s, the way forward for tourism was paved by the building of airport for fixed wing airplanes (1984) and by the construction of the Hotel Arctic, which was meant to be the transit hotel of Greenland Air. Throughout the summers of the 1980s, tourists came from Germany, France and Italy in the spring, and hikers from Denmark passed through also.

As with Uummannaq, everybody agrees that the establishment of Greenland Tourism in 1992 was the crucial event, as it put Greenland on the world map of tourist destinations. Summer tourism began to be developed, and the number of tourists from Denmark increased. In 1991 a new tourist information office was opened in a former store. As with earlier attempts to run such places it was placed under the tourist committee of the municipal board. In 1992 or 1993 the tourist office was changed into a "self-owned institution", and the politically elected committee was changed into a committee of business representatives. Municipal funding continued until 1998, but due to the constant local conflicts over public subsidies, the tourist office was changed into the share company Ilulissat Tourist Service A/S. There are now 62 shareholders. These include hotels, incoming firms, staff, outfitters, private persons, and the municipal authorities with 43 % (equal to the value of buildings handed over to the firm). The managing director of Hotel Arctic (former director of Greenland Air) is the chairman of the board. The manager of Ilulissat Tourist Service is Greenland-Danish since 1997. He first came to Ilulissat as a tourist guide in 1992.

One of the major local conflicts is due to the fact that local tourist offices exist. The Ilulissat Tourist Service (ITS) A/S has however gained the status of the official Greenland Visitor Information office (GWI authorised by Greenland Tourism) and is also a company selling souvenirs and tours. The GWI status, which is rather similar to the system in Denmark, gave the office direct links to national marketing materials. The two other local tourist offices (Greenland Tours and Tourist Nature) also sell souvenirs and tours, but unlike the Ilulissat Tourist Service they are also incoming travel agents owning excursion boats and facilities for accommodation (of a lower standard than the two 4-star Hotels). Greenland Tours have been operating since 1977 though it did not have its own office until 1996-97. It is owned by a German couple. Tourist Nature has been operational since 1993, it has had its own office since 1995 and it is the business of an Italian national. These foreign entrepreneurs have been in

Ilulissat for around 20 years, they speak Danish and a little of Greenland's native language, while they also have certain advantages in respect of language in general and with regard to the networks important to serve the German, Italian and French markets. They need their offices in order to sell their excursion tours etc.

The problem is that tourists may be confused by the fact that the different offices offer the same products. It thus portrays a Klondike-like image of local tourist development, though the image of "local competition" can also be an attraction one to the visitor, instilling the notion of "value for money". Once, tourists find that the same tours are sold in the different offices this image may however break down. Hopefully, this means that products are co-ordinated, so that five excursion boats do not depart at the same time with too few tourists on-board, though in the past this has also been a problem. Much overdriven competition is due to the fact that in reality the scale of tourism in Ilulissat is limited, thus everyone is hunting the same visitors, and particularly in the spring time, there are only a limited number of tourists to go round, while autumn and winter are not tourist seasons at all. Competition is also growing in terms of the standards of accommodation available, where more and more offers are supplied with new Garni Hotels opening. Furthermore, competition is as much in virtual space: Use of Internet to search for tourist information and use of e-mail or telephone requests or bookings based on Internet information are all on the increase.

The conflicts over the GWI status of the Ilulissat Tourist Service may well lead to the amalgamation of the sector into two separate groups (or "camps") of business partners in tourism. The Ilulissat Tourist Service with the major Hotel; Greenland Tours and Tourism Nature with the other Hotel etc. Obviously, such desperate steps will service neither the interests of tourists nor the interests of local tourist businesses. At the heart of these conflicts is the question of the size of commissions given to offices booking tours; this is a type of conflict well known in other cases of tourist development.

Looking further into the specific development of outfitters locally, a first interesting observation is that many tourist products in Ilulissat are somehow affiliated with the 1996 recordings of the movie *Smilla's sense of snow*, based on Peter Høgh's novel of the same title. This is an affiliation attractive to most tourists. At the moment four authorised outfitters can be identified in Ilulissat; two of these are identical to the private incoming agents:

Greenland Tours own the tourist boat "*Smilla*", bought with West Norden fund loans, and also used for transport by the company's hostel and restaurant in the village of Oqaatsut (Rhodebay). Tourist Nature runs the "*Smilla* Holiday Centre" in the former settlement of Ata. The camp consists of three of the cabins that were used during the recording of *Smilla's sense of snow*; Tourist Nature received special Greenland tourist entrepreneurship (TRT) loans to buy the cabins. Both offices offer all-in packages as well as different kinds of accommodation in Ilulissat and trips from Ilulissat.

A third outfitter, Disko Wildlife, also offers snowmobile tours and hunting. Disko Wildlife owns a hut/camp at Kangarsuneq. Disko Wildlife is run from a private home by a Danish-Greenland couple, both have good main occupations in local infrastructure institutions/firms and these jobs also create networks important to their tourist business. The male Danish partner has authorisation and is a member of the national council of outfitters. Their speciality is to assist camera crews; a business that started

with the recording of *Smilla's Sense of Snow*, continuing with the recording of the Greenland based movie "The light of the heart" etc. This firm has access to equipment that can take 30 people out in the snow. While it would be possible to make a living from this work, the couple want to keep this business on a part-time basis.

The fourth outfitter is a Greenlander well known for his winter expeditions by dog-sledge across the Arctic visiting and connecting Inuit communities. He assists camera crews including *Smilla's Sense of Snow*, where he can be seen acting in the opening sequence. He owns a tourist boat and organises sailing trips. But due to the unstable character of the tourist business and the bad atmosphere surrounding local co-operation as regards tourism, he finds it difficult to make his tourist business work, and is thus currently seeking other sources of income.

In addition to the facilities mentioned above, the Ilulissat Tourist Service also runs Eqi Camp at the Eqi glacier. In spring 2001, the building of the Ilulissat Tourist Service was restructured into a more attractive visitors centre and arts shop with the help of loans from the West Norden Fund.

Clearly, tourist development in Ilulissat has received funding from the West Norden fund and the Tourism Entrepreneurship Loans administered by Greenland Tourism. Ilulissat has priority in national tourist development; tourist facilities are also often used for conferences and meetings. For example courses and conferences account for some 45 % of bed nights at the Hotel Arctic, while tourists account for only 32 %, and transit travellers 23 %.

Apart from the Ilulissat Tourist Service Manager, few Greenlanders play any significant role in local tourist development. The (now former) entrepreneurial mayor placed the issue of tourism (as well as housing for newcomers) in his campaign manifesto for the municipal elections, an election that he subsequently lost. This is another expression of the problems of local embeddedness among Greenlanders. Yet, the major tourist business actors, although not Greenlanders, have been working in Greenland for decades. Some of the capital invested comes from other business activities apart from the public loan funds. In some cases, non-Greenlander tourist entrepreneurs have had major incomes from activities other than tourism, such as computer sales and cleaning. It remains however rather difficult to involve Greenlanders in local tourist development. At the hostel and restaurant in Oqaatsut, Greenland Tours has employed some German friends to run the place. It seems that many Greenlanders either already have alternative job possibilities or they do not have the qualifications in languages necessary to service tourists. Local co-operation problems also add to the reasons for not seeking tourist jobs, apart from the obvious problem of seasonality. Indeed, the non-Greenlanders running most tourist businesses would have few alternative jobs possibilities in town; tourism is the reason most of them are here. Greenlanders are ready to "get more into tourism, if it gets necessary", and they acknowledge the need for language training in this case. Thus far however, to most Greenlanders other businesses and jobs, primarily in fisheries, though also in transport and the public service sector, continue to be more lucrative, and thus more attractive. It is hard to evaluate the Outfitter programme as an attempt at regional policy. First of all, the regional aims of the programme were not that clear. The outfitter programme should then perhaps rather be seen as a product development effort. Meanwhile, the

aim was also to involve Greenlanders in tourist development, and this has only been successful to a limited extent in the case of Ilulissat.

### **3.3 Actors, networking and social capital in Ilulissat**

The two cases studied in Ilulissat give the impression of economic activity taking place on another scale when compared to that of Uummannaq. The case of Arctic Fish differs from the case of Uummannaq Seafood in the fact that fishermen of Ilulissat control the company. This is a sign of the strong organisation and capital accumulation among private fishermen in Ilulissat. Meanwhile, the project did also depend on the mayor and the business development manager (“erhvervschef”) at different times, and the international network and experience of the managing director was also of significant importance. None of these features seem to be insignificant to the project. As stated by one of the interviewees, fishermen have taken to business, and thus we can say that Ilulissat has been successful in creating a kind of business milieu. This milieu is very much a product of municipal entrepreneurship. On the other hand, it is not without conflict; in fact recent municipal elections can only be understood in the context of local cleavages between social groups. As such, this business milieu is not that embedded among local people. We have to acknowledge that Ilulissat is also one of the few places in Greenland where a sense of working class tradition exists, and it is here also that an elite of successful and rich fisheries families exists. Clearly then, Ilulissat is not one community. These observations are also true in respect of the development of local tourism and particularly of the outfitter system, where foreigners play a significant role. In many ways however foreigners involved in local tourism are not that foreign, and everybody should acknowledge their specific qualifications in respect to market contact. Thus we also need to raise the question to what extent can we expect businesses to be embedded “among local people” in what is increasingly becoming an urban setting. In short: The making of a local business elite including its political involvement has been crucial to the business projects in Ilulissat, and also to the community’s political and economic strength in relation to other actors across Greenland. On the other hand, the making of this elite (or class) is not without its own problems, particularly as social tensions are often combined with ethnic differences.

The local elite can be important as the most innovative projects depend very much on political contacts and connections (political capital as a special form of social capital) in the Home Rule administration in matters of crucial importance to the development of fisheries and tourism: Allocation of fish licences and infra structural logistics (transport of fish and tourists) and the different kinds of conditions affiliated with these. Therefore, questions of power relations are not in any way separate from those of local development. To the contrary: The success of local development projects is very much a question of the power relations produced conditioning and resulting from project activity. The combination of territorial bonding among local groups of fishermen and mobile bridging with international business partners, together with some of Greenland’s own hybrid relations (political capital) is crucial. But both within business and between business and local citizens, the question of territorial bridging arises again and again onto the agenda. Municipal entrepreneurial regional policies can produce certain winners – but losers are an almost inevitable by-product of this same process. How to bridge the gap between these people is not a problem that these policies can answer. However, such policies cannot sustain their roots in municipal authorities and the local moral economy behind it, if the gap is not bridged.

## 4. Conclusions

The types of national and trans-national regional policy instruments used by the Home Rule Government (TRT and Uniusa) and the West Norden Fund have been more significant in tourism than in fisheries. One does however have to remember that the actual amounts contained within these funds is small, particularly when compared to the many subsidy systems available with regard to fisheries. Home Rule Government financial support for new vessels is significant, and has provided the basis for the accumulation of capital among private fishermen so crucial to the cases of Uummannaq Seafood and Arctic Fish. The sector policies of the Home Rule Government (B-type spatial effects of (welfare) regimes) are the regional policies of most significance here. These policies are so embedded in the structure of Greenland's society that the spatial dimension is not an explicit aspect of official discourse. On the other hand, in many specific cases reported in the press, this dimension become apparent, when somebody claimed not to have received "their piece of the cake". The strength by which these claims are placed onto the agenda depends upon social capital. What seems to be the crucial aspect of regional – including business – development of Greenland is the social capital produced in the nexuses between:

- Sector policies
- Local municipal entrepreneurial policies
- International networks.

The actors able to combine networks across these fields – thereby combining mobile bonding, territorial bonding and mobile bridging from a theoretical point of view<sup>5</sup> – are thus able to strengthen their positions and networks. However, these crosscutting networks more often than not miss the dimension of territorial bridging, as they do not develop local cooperation and local embeddedness in economic life. In fact, many of the businesses in the four projects studied in this report can be seen as un-embedded economic activities; this is no surprise, as this has perhaps always been a driving force in the development of capitalism and the processes of primitive accumulation it is based on.

Regional policy in Greenland is not a specific social or political field. Due to Greenland's extraordinary spatial conditions, one can say that all policies are necessarily "regional" in character. However, few policies have explicit regional objectives on behalf of their subsidiary parts. Home Rule Government policies are focused on the national level; that is to say on the relationship between Greenland and the world. The question of regional difference and the unevenness between localities within Greenland is primarily something that the municipal level deals with. In this respect, real regional policy, as the question of how a state distributes among and integrates its different parts (regions) – or how the EU distributes among and integrates its different parts – is not a part of any formally institutionalised official policy in Greenland. Meanwhile, questions of the distribution of activities and resources are nearly always to be found on the political agenda of the Home Rule parliament (*Landstinget*), where politicians negotiate deals over specific regional or local questions.

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<sup>5</sup> Of course, each of the fields mentioned are not equivalent to each type of coping strategy; reality is always hybrid and typologies nothing else than ... typologies.

The lack of an institutionalised regional policy regime is contrary to the tradition of Nordic Regional Policies (particularly Norwegian, but also Swedish and Finnish) and to the principles of discourse and funding in the European Union. The coherence and the associational principles of Social democratic welfare regimes have been so important to the development of the Nordic margins (Aarsæther and Bærenholdt, 2001) that we must say that the trend here in Greenland focusing on municipal entrepreneurial policies and national level policies is rather different, though it does show many similarities to that of the Icelandic case.

Particularly in the absence of an explicit national regional policy, different coping strategies compete in the localities. Of course, identity formation can be used for concrete political deals, but in most cases the over-arching framework of the absence of an explicit national regional policy means that discursive formulations have much less power than the power of concrete networking and innovation among the elite. So to the extent that local fishermen have accumulated capital, they can gain influence in partnership with “professional businesses”, as long as their access to natural resources is secure.

Much of the public discourse in Greenland’s media concerns problems in a particular locality. As such, problems tend to emerge into public consciousness in cases where powerful actors are involved. For example there is still little real awareness of the immense extent of regional unevenness in development terms between East and West Greenland, because few powerful actors “speak” from East Greenland. If Greenland had had a national regional policy concerned with eliminating uneven development, the discourse could have been otherwise. Without official policies on regional distribution, the powerful always define problems of public awareness located in their own context. This is how social capital works without strong associational principles at the national level.

The case studies of the local projects contained in this report document processes where indeed the redefinition of outside connections and the reformulation of the place of the locality in wider networks (Oksa 1999: 72) have been crucial to the success of projects. The absence of an explicit regional policy within Greenland may have facilitated the entrepreneurial trend in such processes. As such, this may also produce spatial consequences that are perhaps similar to the outcomes expected were traditional regional policy to exist in Greenland.

How regional policies work in relation to coping strategies locally in Greenland is a question that focuses on the weak institutionalisation of regional policies, and the ability of powerful actors to use their social political capital to influence crucial Home Rule decisions on the location of activities and resources. So if regional policy were a meaningful label here coping strategies and regional policies would become almost the same. As the Home Rule Government is in fact very weak in terms of an institutionalised and explicit regional policy, a more meaningful conclusion is that there is no real interaction with regional policy nationally, as there are no real regional policy actors in the Home Rule Government. This point is further stressed, when we observe that the real regional policies, although weak, performed in Greenland are those performed by the West Norden Fund and Nordic Atlantic Cooperation. This is a paradox: The amount of funding and the level of formal institutionalisation of West

Nordic and Nordic Atlantic Cooperation is low, while the Home Rule Government is highly institutionalised and controls the significant yearly block grant from Denmark.

Social capital is important to regional development in Greenland, and the special form, that Bourdieu labelled “political capital”, that is to say, the networks that give actors access to the control of public or common resources (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 119), are particularly so here. The importance of such political contacts is partly due to the importance of the block grant. However, the existence of the block grant as a common or collective resource does not need to cause dominance, in terms of political capital, of a non-civic character, as opposed to the normative concept of civic social capital as generalised reciprocity (Putnam, 2000; Bærenholdt and Aarsæther, forthcoming). Indeed, the concrete distribution of activities and resources is always on the *public* political agenda in Greenland. It does not always however seem clear what the relationship between non-civic and civic forms of social capital in Greenland is in matters of regional distribution, and this situation has a great deal to do with the lack of a generalised and explicitly institutionalised regional policy. On the other hand, the two sectors of fisheries and tourism, studied in case studies in this report, are the priority pillars of Greenland’s economy. As such, these industries also receive several forms of subsidies, though there are not given any explicit regional criteria for the allocation of these resources.

In the somewhat successful localities studied in this report, fishing is a dynamic business for the fishermen. The natural resources and the subsidies given enable fishermen in Ilulissat and Uummannaq to have a reasonably comfortable way of life and some manage to accumulate capital for investment, such as in the case of Arctic Fish in Ilulissat. Clearly, the social capital involved in the networking important to innovation is of a specific character: In localities such as Uummannaq and Ilulissat, “social capital has a taste of fish”. As long as the fisheries exist to the extent we currently see, alternative projects in tourism will only assume major significance “if needed”. The social capital involved in fisheries cannot be transmitted to tourism or the like in an easy manner, as there are specific cultural identities and economies associated with this form of social capital. This point is also valid in respect to national networks in associations and in relation to Home Government regulations. However, the projects investigated did not themselves emerge as spontaneous processes. The “midwife” role of the municipalities has thus been crucial from the outset. The role of the municipalities is central, and social capital also has a taste of this. It is no coincidence then that Greenlanders think about their municipalities when it comes to questions of regional policy and coping strategies.

**Interviewees:** (interview number – total number is 25)

Steen Bangsgaard, managing director, Arctic Fish A/S, Ilulissat (19)  
Erik Bjerregaard, managing director, Hotel Arctic, Ilulissat (22)  
Aksel Blytmann, tourist development officer, Uummannaq (1)  
Søren Bundgaard, business development manager, Ilulissat (23)  
Ole Dorph, mayor (until 2001), Ilulissat (16)  
Maj Duedahl, deputy manager, Hotel Hvide Falk, Ilulissat (15)  
Karin Kleist Egede, Greenland Tourism, Nuuk by phone (11)  
Jens Lars Fleischer, mayor, Uummannaq (9)  
Johanne Fleischer, chair of women's association, Uummannaq (6)  
Ono Fleischer, outfitter etc., Ilulissat (interview in Roskilde) (0)  
Paviaraq Heilmann, managing director, Uummannaq Seafood A/S (2)  
Nina Hjøllund, secretary, Sulisa A/S, Manitsoq by phone (24)  
Marius Jeremiassen, business development consultant, Uummannaq (5)  
Flemming Lassen, outfitter etc., Ilulissat (20)  
Lucia Ludvigsen, museum manager, Uummannaq (10)  
Kaspar Lythans, Greenland Home Rule Government / NORA, Nuuk by phone(12)  
Rebekka Magnussen, trainee Sandgreen family firm, Ilissat (21)  
Karl Markussen, outfitter and fisherman, Uummannaq (3)  
Elke Meisner, Greenland Tours incoming bureau, Ilulissat (13)  
Niels Ole Møller, Royal Greenland plant manager, Uummannaq (7)  
Flemming Nicolaisen, manager, Ilulissat Turistservice (17)  
Arne Niemann, hotel owner and tourism entrepreneur, Uummannaq (4)  
Frits Overballe, merchant, Uummannaq (8)  
Petrine Reimer, officer worker Sandgreen family tourist accommodation, Ilulissat (21)  
Karl Jakob Sandgreen, fisherman and tourist accommodation, Ilulissat (21)  
Silver Scivoli, Tourist Nature incoming bureau, Ilulissat (14)  
Evald Schmidt, land coordinator, Arctic Fish A/S, Ilulissat (18)

Number of female interviewees: 8 out of 27 (requested 1/3 would be 9)

Number of interviewees less than 40 years old: 12 out of 27 (requested 1/3 would be 9)

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