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Faculty of Social Sciences, Humanities and Education

UNESCO and beyond - Whose voices are heard? And how?

A case study on local participation and sustainable tourism development in Sarfannguit, Greenland

Marie Louise Søndergaard

Thesis submitted for the Degree of Master of Philosophy in Indigenous Studies
Autumn 2020

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Acknowledgements

So, writing this thesis has been a long process, but not even having a baby or COVID-19 could stop me from finishing it. However, I did not do it on my own. I have many people whom I want to thank for either their contributions to my thesis, persons or who have inspired, motivated, cheered and taught me so much.

Else Grete, thank you for standing by my side for the past three years, both as a professor and as a supervisor. I could not have asked for a better supervisor; a supervisor who also know what it is like to joggle life, baby, and academia and one who never runs out of patience. It has been a pleasure to work with you, feel your excitement for my work and you always knew how to take my thesis one step further.

Everybody else at the Centre for Sami Studies, for always being welcoming and for your support during the master program.

Paulette, Kaja and Kendyl... GOSH! Sometimes I doubt if I would have finished this thesis without all of your support, love, dinner-cooking, answering countless grammatical questions, helping me with complicated sentences and most importantly; babysitting (good job Paulette!). We are now spread out to different parts of the world, starting new adventures, but remember that there is still one back in Tromsø missing you and ready to welcome you back anytime.

Ann, Karl and Hans, thank you for introducing and giving me the opportunity to work with you on the BuSK-project. The fieldwork in Greenland taught me so much along with countless great discussions, perspectives and knowledge that you shared. I am so grateful of how you welcomed me to the project and the book-publication *Sharing Knowledge for Land Use Management* will be a satisfied memory of this.

My participants who have either let me interview them, shared their opinions and/or stories with me, pointed me in a direction of whom to talk with, or in any other way helped me with this thesis, thank you!

Preface

Six months ago, Wuhan was not on the map, but after the outbreak of COVID-19, the city became known worldwide. With country borders, kindergartens and schools closed down, and home-offices established, the world was brought to a standstill. The virus has cast a pall of fear, gloom and death throughout the world and tourism has been one of the worst affected of all major economic sectors. The coronavirus mutated and we changed the way we live and the way we travel; something that the tourism sector in Greenland also will suffer from due to closed borders and lack of tourists.

On March 27th, 2020, Kim Kielsen, The Prime Minister of Greenland, closed Greenland's borders and all air traffic was cancelled. This also means that no tourists could enter the country. On April 4th, Greenland reported 11 cases of Covid-19 and all have since recovered. In the closed Facebook group "Turismens Bagland i Grønland", I have been able to follow the debate around how tourism operators have handled the COVID-19 situation alongside their frustrations in this unusual situation. Many are worried about their future due to the short tourism season in Greenland and frustrated about the lack of communication between Visit Greenland, Naalakkersuisut and the tourism industry. Also, the uncertainties of the economic relief packages and if and when they will receive the money are hard for the small business: "I have to shut down [my business], if I do not get help from innovation.gl. It is hard to accept that I cannot even pay the rent" (Facebook group April 10th, 2020). I empathize with those who are struggling, hoping that Naalakkersuisut and Visit Greenland will help them find a way through this crisis and that when it is time to welcome tourists again, it will be in close cooperation between the locals, the tourism operators, the municipalities and the government.

Even though the COVID-19 pandemic is not a central theme in my thesis, it is imperative to keep the pandemic in mind because of its impact on not only the tourism industry as a whole, but also on peoples' lives. In Sarfannguit the tourism adventure is just about to begin following the acceptance of the UNESCO area Aasivissuit-Nipisat, but this pandemic and the uncertainties it brings along might prompt the community to hold back. It is surely difficult to predict what the future of tourism in Greenland will be like.

Abstract

In 2018, a large area in western Greenland, close to the Arctic Circle, was inscribed on the UNESCO's Heritage Site list. The site is now known as *Aasivissuit – Nipisat - Inuit Hunting Ground between Ice and Sea*. The small settlement Sarfannguit is situated within this site. The settlement is one out of seven key sites within the UNESCO site, making the place an attraction, yet the question remains: Will the locals benefit from this possible increase of tourism?

Through my exploratory ethnographic approach, I have aimed to gain a better understanding of to what extent the locals in Sarfannguit have been involved in the planning of tourism activities in this area. My research involved participant observation, semi- and unstructured interviews and a community meeting in Sarfannguit. I followed up with re-visiting the community and organized two new community meetings/workshops in both Sarfannguit and Sisimiut.

This thesis undertakes a discourse analysis, focusing on key narratives about local participation and sustainable development in Qeqqata Municipality. Critical discourse analysis mixed with storylines reveal that considerable power is embedded in structured ways of seeing and experiencing a certain situation. These narratives form part of a pattern that frames the ongoing initiatives which have taken place before and during my fieldwork. Insights gained from my work might contribute to forming sustainable tourism development in the region.

I argue that local participation is essential in the development process in order for this new UNESCO site to become a successful and sustainable tourism attraction in Greenland.

Resumé

I 2018 blev et stort område tæt på den Arktiske cirkel i Midtgrønland optaget på UNESCOs verdensarvsliste. Området er nu kendt som *"Aasivissuit – Nipisat, Inuit Jagtområde mellem Indlandsis og Hav"*. Bygden Sarfannguit ligger i dette område og er et ud af syv såkaldte nøgleområder, hvilket gør bygden en attraktion i sig selv. Dog opstår spørgsmålet: Hvordan vil de lokale få gavn af den mulige turisme?

Gennem min etnografiske tilgang har jeg forsøgt at få en bedre forståelse af, i hvilket omfang de lokale i Sarfannguit har været involveret i udvikling af turismen i dette område. Min forskning involverede deltagerobservation, semi- og ustrukturerede interviews samt et samfundsmøde i Sarfannguit. Jeg fulgte op med endnu et besøg et halvt år senere, hvor jeg organiserede to nye samfundsmøder / workshops i både Sarfannguit og Sisimiut.

Denne afhandling foretager en diskursanalyse med fokus på centrale fortællinger om lokal deltagelse og bæredygtig udvikling i Qeqqata Kommune. Kritisk diskursanalyse blandet med storylines afslører, at magtrelationer er indblandet i strukturerede måder at se og opleve en bestemt situation på. Disse fortællinger udgør et mønster, som omkranser nogle af de episoder og initiativer, der foregik forud og under mit feltarbejde. De opdagelser, som gøres i denne afhandling, kan bidrage til udformning af en bæredygtig turisme strategi i regionen.

Jeg argumenterer for, at lokal deltagelse, især fra Sarfannguit, er afgørende i udviklingsprocessen, for at dette nye UNESCO-område kan blive en vellykket og bæredygtig turistattraktion i Grønland.

Eqikkarnera

2018-imi nunap ilaa annertooq Kalaallit Nunaata kitaani qaasuitsup killeqarfiata eqqaaniittoq UNESCO'p nunarsuarmioqatigiit kingornussassaattut allattorsimaffianut ilanngunneqarpoq. Nunap ilaa taanna ima taaneqarluni ilisimaneqalerpoq *"Aasivissuit – Nipisat, Sermersuup Immallu akornanni Inuit Piniarfii"*. Nunaqarfik Sarfannguit nunap ilaani tassaniippoq, sumiiffiillu qitiutinneqartutut taaneqartut 7 akornanniilluni, taamaammallu nunaqarfik namminermini pilerinartunngortillugu. Taamaattorli una apeqqutinngorpoq: Tamatuma kinguneerisaanik takornariaqarneq pilersinnaasoq najukkami najugalinnit qanoq iluaqutigineqarsinnaava?

Inuiannik ilisimatusarneq toqqammavigalugu pullaveqarninni paasisaqarluarfiginiarsarisimavara Sarfannguani najugaqartut nunap ilaani tassani takornariaqarnerup ineriartortinnissaanut qanoq annertutigisumik ilaasimanersut. Ilisimatuutut misissuininnut ilaasimapput peqataanikkut alapernaarsuineq, apeqqarissaarinerit killilimmik aaqqissuussat aamma aaqqissuussaanngitsut kiisalu Sarfannguani innuttaasunik ataatsimiisitsineq. Ukiup affaa qaangiummat tikeraaqqippara, tassanilu Sarfannguani aamma Sisimiuni innuttaasunik ataatsimiisitsinerit / isummersoqatigiissitsinerit nutaat marluk aaqqissuullugit.

Ilisimatusaatitut allaaserisami uani isummat akerleriiffigisaannik oqaloqatigiissuteqarnerup misissoqqissaarneqarnera ingerlanneqarpoq, Qeqqata Kommuneani sumiiffimmiut peqataanerat aamma piujuartitsisumik ineriartortitsineq pillugit oqaluttuat qitiusut ukkataralugit. Isummat akerleriiffigisaannik oqaloqatigiissuteqarnerup misissoqqissaarnera isornartoq oqaluttualiat imaannik akullugu ersersippaa suup pisup aaliangersimasup aaqqissuussamik isiginissaanut misiginissaanullu pissaanermut attuumassuteqartut akuusut. Oqaluttuat taakku aaliangersimasumik ilisarnaateqarput, ornigullunga sulinera sioqqullugu tamatumalu nalaani pisimasut aammalu pilersitsiniarnerit ilaannik avatangiillutik. Ilisimatusaatitut allaaserisami uani nassaarineqartut nunap immikkoortuani takornariaqarneq piujuartitsisoq pillugu periusissiap ilusilersornissaanut tapersiisinnaassannguatsiarput.

Nunap ilaa UNESCO-mit eriaginartinneqartoq manna iluatsittumik aamma atajuarsinnaasumik Kalaallit Nunaanni takornariaqarnikkut pilerinartunngussappat sumiiffimmiut peqataanerat, ingammik Sarfannguarmiut, ineriartornerup ingerlarnganut pingaaruteqartoq tunngavilersuutigaara.

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ACB	Arctic Circle Business
AECO	Association of Arctic Expedition Cruise Operators
DMO	Destination Management Organization
GVC	Greenland Visitor Center
Inatsisartut	Parliament of Greenland
IPTRN	International Polar Tourism Research Network
Naalakkersuisut	Government of Greenland
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNWTO	United Nations World Tourism Organization

Me: "What makes Sarfannguit special?

Participant: Have you seen the view?

Have you heard the silence?

That's what tourists need to experience - the beauty of just being"

(Fieldwork diary: September 19-20th, 2018)

Photo by: Karl Brix Zinglersen – BuSK-project

1. A touch of Aasivissuit – Nipisat

"The cold wind blows snow across the Arctic tundra. The land is barren; there are no people, plants, or animals to be seen. This far-off part of the world is inhospitable to any form of life" (Hardcastle, 2008, p. 2).

This imagery is what people often associate with the Arctic: some place far away, cold, isolated, and rather unwelcoming. Yet, this is also what attracts tourists to the circumpolar North. The impressive landscape and the distinct cultures in the Arctic are so special that there are great opportunities for development within the tourism industry in the region. According to Viken and Müller (2017), tourists want to experience something that they cannot experience in their everyday lives. Johnston (2011) clearly states that wildlife attractions, landscape features and cultural attractions are some of the main reasons why tourists are drawn north.

In 2002-2003, the Greenlandic Government (from now on Naalakkersuisut) called on the Danish Government to nominate three areas on UNESCO's tentative list of World Heritage Sites:

> 1) *Church Ruin at Hvalsø, episcopal residence at Gardar, and Brattahild – A Norse/Eskimocultural landscape* (now known as *Kujataa – an Arctic farming culture through a millennium);*
>
> 2) *Aasivissuit – Arnangarnup Qoorua, Greenlandic inland and coastal hunting area* (Now known as *Aasivissuit – Nipisat Inuit Hunting Ground between Ice and Sea*); and
>
> 3) *Isfjord* (Jakobshavn) Disko Bay (now known as *Ilulissat Icefjord*). (Suul, 1996)

All three areas were accepted on the tentative list meaning that they were considered to be cultural and/or natural heritage of outstanding universal value, and therefore suitable for inscription on the UNESCO World Heritage List within the next five to ten years. Since Aasivissuit – Nipisat is placed within the region of Qeqqata Municipality, the municipality began to plan both the economic and physical future for the region and its people. Qeqqata Municipality specifically included locals, politicians and local tourism operators, yet all

meetings and workshops between 2010 and 2016 were open for whomever found them interesting (Fog Jensen et al., 2017, p. 159). These meetings led to a new draft for the UNESCO proposal focusing on the cultural history of the area, and it was during these meetings and workshops that the decision was made to include a part of the inland ice sheet, which eventually led to the final title: *Aasivissuit – Nipisat – Inuit Hunting Ground between Ice and Sea*. Within this UNESCO World Heritage site *Aasivissuit – Nipisat – Inuit Hunting Ground between Ice and Sea* (from now on the UNESCO site or the site depending on the context) lies the small settlement Sarfannguit consisting of 113 people, which is now one out of seven key sites [1] (Fog Jensen et al., 2017).
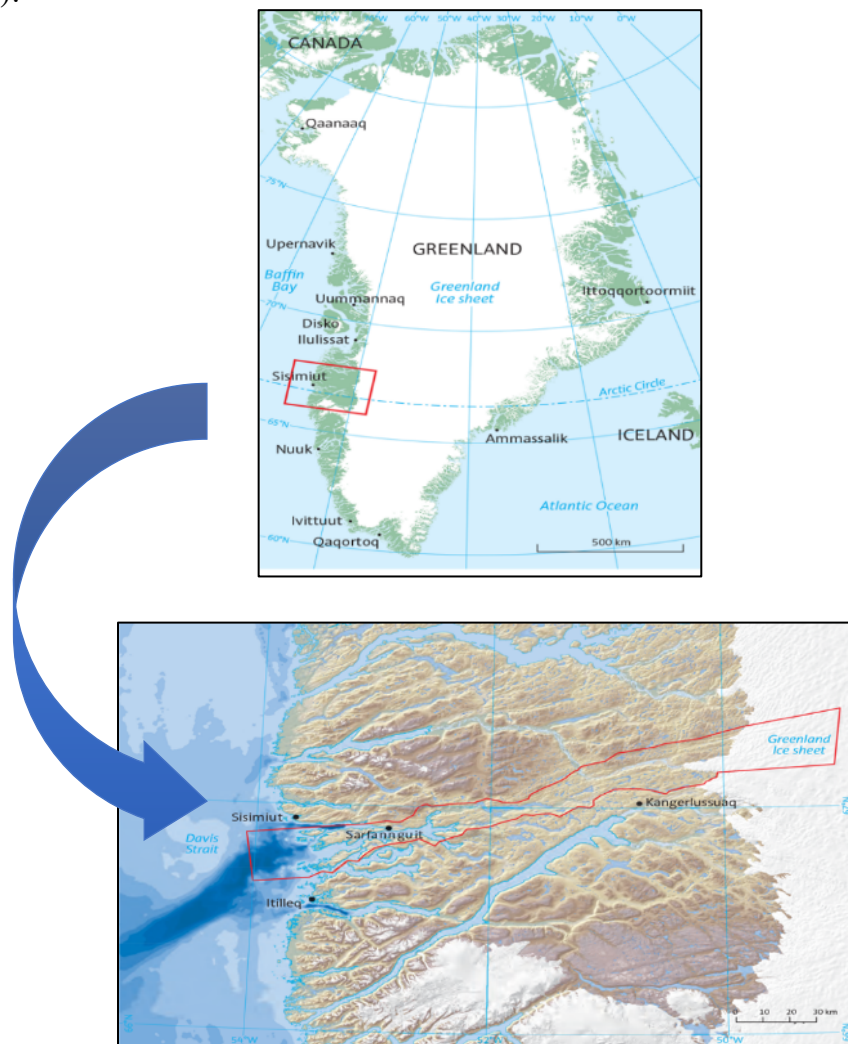
Figure 1. Map of Greenland and the nominated area
Retrieved from: Fog Jensen et al. (2017, p. 12)

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[1]Being a key site means in this context that the site either contains best preserved evidence and/or is (one of the) the easiest accessible sites for interpretation of the traditional housing and life in West Greenland.

Aasivissuit - Nipisat is a unique cultural landscape in the Arctic, located on the central part of west Greenland. Old buildings and monuments are oftentimes associated with UNESCO World Heritage Sites, with the focus being on conserving iconic cultural assets. However, "a truly representative heritage sample must also include normal daily life, values and traditions" (du Cros & McKercher, 2015, p. 50). Within the huge Aasivissuit-Nipisat area of 417,800 hectares, Inuit have left traces of their culture and hunting tradition between the open water and the high Arctic area of land fast winter ice. This history is visible through some of the best-preserved records of Arctic hunting traditions in forms of ruins and traces dating back from 2500 BC. Sarfannguit, a small, active settlement, provides the unique possibility of linking the present sea and land use to the old, traditional sustainable nomadic hunting societies of the Thule, Dorset and Saqqaq cultures dating back 4,200 years and have illustrated through their lifestyle how Inuit culture has changed and adapted to the ever changing environment (Fog Jensen et al., 2017). The key element of heritage management is to make conserved heritage accessible for physically and intellectually use, enjoyment and education (du Cros & McKercher, 2015, p. 50). The Aasivissuit-Nipisat site consists of these elements such as history, culture and storytelling. It is a site where not only tourists, but also Greenlanders, can learn something about Greenlandic history and culture.

1.1 Research question(s)

Throughout my fieldwork in August and September 2018, I discovered many diverse opinions about whether Qeqqata Municipality would experience the tourism boom that they were expecting. Here are some of the perspectives that I collected:

> "No doubt that we are hoping for the *"UNESCO wave"* and we believe it will come – maybe not this year, but at least the next" (O, personal communication, September 17th & 25th, 2018).

"There is focus on Greenland due to climate changes and they [the tourists] want to see the ice. There lies a big challenge in communicating this story to make the UNESCO site a great success" (E, personal communication, August 29th, 2018).

"If it [the tourism industry] gets too organized, then the place will lose its charm" (E, personal communication, August 29th, 2018).

"UNESCO is not only important for the locals in Sarfannguit – it is important for all Greenlanders who get an opportunity to learn about their own history and culture" (F, personal communication, September 27th, 2018).

Many experiences are waiting to be told, but the question is then: how can the locals be part of telling those stories? According to Sofield (2003), there are few studies that "focus specifically on empowerment and tourism development outside the business sector", which inspired me to pose the following research question:

What does the process of establishing tourism in Sarfannguit within the UNESCO World Heritage Site indicate about local participation and sustainable development?

The research question is divided into three sub-questions, the first of which is descriptive, the second analytical and the last prescriptive.

1. To what extent have the locals in Sarfannguit been involved in the process of planning possible future development(s) when implementing the Aasivissuit-Nipisat site?
2. What can the debate about tourism in Sarfannguit teach us about the connection between local participation and sustainable tourism development?
3. Are there lessons learned regarding local participation when needing to establish and/or develop sustainable tourism in small communities?

To answer the research questions, I will be utilizing phenomenology as a theoretical framework to explore my participant's experiences of the process of implementing and establishing tourism in Aasivissuit-Nipisat, focusing on Sarfannguit.

With discursive storylines as my analytical tool, the participant's experiences shall form a pattern, which then will be explored further in the form of storylines. Each storyline that I

identified through these patterns will form the main arguments of my discussion. Finding the right storyline is therefore essential to my method for finding these storylines, which will be described further in chapter 4 along with a more detailed description of my data collection. In this case study, I will analyze how the perceptions on the local participation and sustainable development differ among the involved actors at different organized levels; the local, regional, and national.

This thesis is structured as follows: The rest of this chapter is comprised of a review of research on sustainable tourism and local participation, zooming in on Greenland and discussing the relevance of this study. The second chapter is a descriptive chapter of tourism and tourism development in Greenland including a reoccurring challenge; the airports in Greenland. Chapter three and four set out the theory, method and methodology, while chapter five presents the analysis through the three main storylines identified. The sixth chapter discusses the findings in the context of sustainability and local participation and the ways forward. Lastly, the final section presents the main conclusions.

1.2 Key concepts in relation to the research question

In this section, the key concepts and definitions in relation to my research question are defined in order to prevent confusion when reading this thesis.

1.2.1 Community, local & local participation

The word *community* can have multiple interpretations and is in today's culture often defined geographically as in a valley or in a specific mountain range, or politically as in towns, cities or even countries. Local communities then become an expression, referring to small villages or settlements that are located in the periphery. When discussing community in terms of tourism, Murphy (1985, p. 118) emphasizes the role of the community. He examines tourism development and the possible issues that can come along a planning process by focusing on the host community and their needs and desires. However, he argues that communities are locked into one place. I agree that all parties should have equal opportunities to participate in the political process, which is not the case in Sarfannguit. However, I look at communities as complex and dynamic where one needs to focus on power dynamics and decision-making processes between and within the group(s). Furthermore, I follow Murphy's emphasis that planning of tourism must include community participation. When I use the term community in

this thesis, I refer to the locals in Sarfannguit *and* Sisimiut, since they are closely linked in developing this site.

Definitions of who should be involved in community participation involves an ingroup and an outgroup. Therefore, attention should be paid to how the term local is used. Using the term local can be problematic because one can too easily consider the local as being bound to one place or one people. Furthermore, when discussing 'the locals' it also often leads them to be in juxtaposition to the other (Donais, 2012, pp. 9-12). Therefore, defining 'the locals' and deciding whose experiences are valid or important is therefore essential before discussing the locals' experience or local participation. In this case study, the locals are defined by a specific population at one place and the term refers to the local people in Sarfannguit while the others are the outsiders, e.g. the locals from Sisimiut. The locals' experience of participation must represent the voices of those who are described as locals above, meaning the people in Sarfannguit. Likewise, the term participation is also open to a variety of interpretations. Pretty (1995) and France (1998) have identified participation to be a ladder ranging from 'being informed' to being able to determine every aspect of the development process. In this case study, all communities, both Sarfannguit and Sisimiut, have participated to a certain degree. Yet, as Warburton (1998) points out, the need for participation is not doubted but the empowerment end of the ladder has received little attention in the tourism development literature. According to Scheyvens (2003), lack of ownership, capital, skills, knowledge and resources all constrain the ability of communities to fully control their participation in tourism development.

Local participation aims to better engage the locals to achieve long term and sustainable outcomes and processes, relationship, discourse, decision-making or implementation (Richards & Hall, 2000). Lekaota (2015) reports that participation ranges from a passive position to self-mobilization that is characterized by independent initiatives, yet it remains important that locals are involved in tourism management so their benefits can be ensured and their lifestyle respected (Mitchell & Reid, 2001). In this thesis, local participation will refer to whether the locals in Sarfannguit have been included by either the municipality or by other stakeholders.

1.2.2 Sustainable development

There are many different approaches to sustainability, which makes it a hard concept to define since it has been used by different groups to promote different agendas (du Cros & McKercher, 2015, p. 14; McDonagh & Tuulentie, 2020, p. 100). Yet the most often quoted definition of sustainability is from "Our Common Future", also known as the "Brundtland report" (1987), where sustainability is defined as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (Brundtland, 1987). Even though sustainability had been discussed previously in connection with tourism, it was not until this report was published that sustainability became a central theme in the tourism sector departed from the ideology of sustainable development introduced by Brundtland (Saarinen, 2006). Today, the discourse about sustainability is based on solidarity to future generations and the actions are based on the question of what will be left behind for our next generations (McDonagh & Tuulentie, 2020, p. 102). In order to obtain sustainable development, the global community must work in three areas: environment, social conditions and economy considerations in a long-term perspective (McDonagh & Tuulentie, 2020, p. 100).

As illustrated in Figure 2, sustainable development depends on environmental, social and economic viability. Sustainable development impacts the local economy, which could provide job opportunities and development for the destination, such as Sarfannguit. However, one also needs the environmental aspect to be considered for how to develop Sarfannguit so that the surrounding resources, which the locals are dependent on, are not damaged. One cannot only look at the aspects of social conditions and economy, since these three sub-categories are connected and dependent on each other, requiring the need for a balance among them.
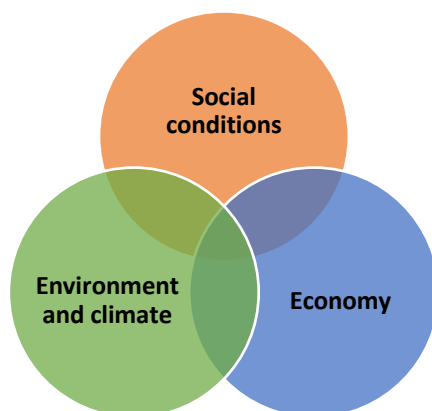
Figure 2. Sustainablity and its three sub-categories - Retrieved from: FN (2019), translated by me

However, finding this balance will not be without conflicts; different priorities between economic growth, the protection of nature and social conditions will challenge this balance.

1.2.3 Successful tourism being sustainable tourism

Scheyvens (2003) argues that empowerment should be the forerunner for community participation or, in this thesis, local participation. The community needs access to knowledge about tourism. As mentioned many times during my fieldwork, I never got the impression that the locals did not want to be a part of the process for developing the site or developing tourism products. Actually, I experienced the opposite. The locals in Sarfannguit really want to participate, learn and be part of the process and even have some tourism activities/products themselves; however, they do not have knowledge of how to handle or prepare for tourism (S, personal communication, September 19-20th, 2018). Ashley and Roe (2001) further argue that an understanding of tourists and tourism is the first stage of empowering local communities to make informed and appropriate decisions about their tourism development and this is still ongoing. Empowerment is the capacity of groups to determine their own affairs. It represents the top of the ladder where the locals in Sarfannguit are active agents of change and have the ability to find solutions, make decisions and implement them, rather than just being informed about them. Arctic Circle Business[2] (ACB) is of the belief that they are providing those tools, yet they might not succeed looking at it from the perspective of the locals in Sarfannguit.

Throughout the thesis, there will be an emphasis on local participation as a foundation for creating successful tourism when establishing tourism activities in Sarfannguit. Many 'ingredients' are important when forming successful tourism. Nonetheless, when I discuss whether tourism is successful or not, I determine success by collaborative arrangements, i.e. partnerships between the involved parties. Knowing which factors help or hinder the partners in achieving positive outcomes can contribute to collaboration. I do not determine success by number of tourists or number of activities offered to the tourists. Instead, I argue that successful

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[2] ACB is an independently founded organization by Qeqqata Municipality and Naalakkersuisut. Their aim is to strengthen local tourism operators and local business through networking, guidance and branding (ACB-A, personal communication, September 25th, 2018).

collaborative partnerships require local participation and are perceived as a means to successfully achieve sustainable tourism/or aim to successfully achieve sustainable tourism.

1.3 Data, method and theoretical framework

The case study approach used for this thesis is qualitative and was applied to get close to the "object under study". According to Altinay and Paraskevas (2015, p. 93) such approach "aims to develop understanding of the context in which a phenomena and behavior take place". My data, method and theoretical framework will quickly be introduced here and otherwise discussed further in chapters three and four.

The theoretical framework is built on phenomenology. I will describe the participants' feelings, experiences and understanding of a certain phenomenon in a certain context. While feelings and experiences take place, it provides a holistic understanding of it through the participants emotional and sensory experiences (Desjarlais & Throop, 2011, p. 88). By having phenomenology as my framework, it sets the setting for letting the storylines evolve and unravel, and it removes the distance between the researcher and the participants that otherwise could have been possible.

Critical discourse analysis is relevant for my research since it illustrates how discursive practices influence social structures. Storylines became relevant in order to fully experience my participants' experiences throughout this process. By combining these two theories, the storylines will later reveal that knowledge, positions and conflict are essential for the participant's worldview of this specific phenomena, since they all have the ability to perform, produce and promote specific versions of the future for the local community and its surroundings.

1.4 Relevance of the study

Local communities need to develop a tourism industry that does not have a significant impact on the natural environment and their livelihoods. Especially in a sensitive area like the Arctic where consequences of climate change and global warming are visible (Johnston, 2011; Lemelin et al., 2010; Maher et al., 2014; Schrot et al., 2019). The melting of the sea ice and rising demand for natural resources are creating new economic opportunities, but also new environmental, social and security challenges (Bjørst & Ren, 2015; Maher et al., 2014; Ren &

Chimirri, 2018; Viken & Müller, 2017). Most of the tourism activities in the north are based on natural phenomena such as northern lights, icebergs, glaciers. In order to maintain tourism, sustainability needs to be taken into account (Ren et al., 2020, p. 9).

Tourism is an important contributor to the global economy and is seen as a path for development according to Viken and Müller (2017) and McDonagh and Tuulentie (2020). A significant amount of research on Arctic tourism and in relation to sustainability has been conducted worldwide for the last decades; especially through the International Polar Tourism Research Network[3] (IPTRN) (Britton, 1982; Butler, 1980; Hall & Johnston, 1995; Johnston, 2011; Saarinen, 2006). Through the last decade, there has been a switch from focusing on tourism in general to start looking at the impacts of tourism and how communities are influenced by tourism (du Cros & McKercher, 2015; Viken, 2007; Viken & Müller, 2017). In the Arctic, there has been emphasis on Indigenous tourism, commodification, agency, authenticities (see for example Cole et al., 2006; du Cros & McKercher, 2015; Viken, 2007; Viken & Müller, 2017) and now culturally sensitive tourism which the project Arctisen focuses on. Arctisen is a collaborative study across the Arctic region and aims to improve the entrepreneurial business environment within this field (Arctisen). Furthermore, collaborative and interdisciplinary projects in the circumpolar North have also increased so the local communities can gain and share knowledge, such as what the BuSK-project (see section 1.5) aims for, and also what the Arctisen hopes to achieve.

Increased interest in tourism is also visible in Greenlandic politics as public actors have released several reports, policy documents and strategies. The research conducted has revealed challenges such as the short tourism season, lack of infrastructure and the limited capacity (Bjørst & Ren, 2015; Christensen, 1992; Kaae C., 2001; McDonagh & Tuulentie, 2020; Ren, 2016; Ren et al., 2020). As of 2020 Grønnow is starting a big project, "Activating Arctic Heritage: Exploring UNESCO World Heritage In Greenland", which focuses on creating new knowledge on the cultural history of two UNESCO areas in Greenland, one being Aasivissuit-Nipisat and the other being Kujataa (Grønnow, 2020). However, this project is from an archaeological and historical perspective. As the result I have not been able to find any tourism

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[3] IPTRN is a network complimentary to the University of the Arctic's Thematic Network on Northern Tourism.

research on local participation and sustainable development within the UNESCO sites in Greenland, or more specifically about the site Aasivissuit – Nipisat.

When I did my fieldwork in 2018, Aasivissuit – Nipisat had just been accepted on the UNESCO World Heritage List. The lack of research on tourism development and local participation calls for action. More research on tourism in Greenland, especially in the scope of the newly accepted UNESCO sites and how it affects the local communities and its surroundings is essential for developing a sustainable tourism industry on Greenland. Besides, more research with and on local participation is needed in general.

An important part of this thesis is to discuss how research and academia can potentially lead to better implementation efforts and thus bettering the relationship between tour operators and the local communities. In order to show how an organization can use research to implement new tourism initiatives and ensure better relationships between the tourism industry and the local communities, I have specifically chosen to include the Association Expedition Cruise Operators (AECO) in my discussion. I use this organization as an example of a private organization that aims to ensure sustainable development and sustainable tourism within the expedition cruise ship industry in the Arctic. AECO has proven to be very dynamic and able to adjust to changing environments all while continuing to put emphasis on community engagement. AECO's main goal is to ensure that:

> tourism in the Arctic is carried out with the utmost consideration for the vulnerable,
> natural environment, local cultures and cultural remains, as well as the challenging
> safety hazards at sea and on land. (AECO, n.d)

While previous research suggests a number of ways sustainable development could be developed, little emphasis has been given to how local communities can participate in tourism development. By adding AECO and their work to the discussion, combined with the storylines formed in my own research, I aim to show how tourism can be implemented in small, remote communities in a sustainable way.

Keeping the COVID-19 pandemic in mind, there is no doubt that the future research of tourism in the Arctic will change its focus. Academic theories may not make a difference for either businesses or communities in these times of crisis. Yet, I believe that academics researching tourism development alongside, or maybe now more important than ever *with,* the local communities do have a role to play alongside all of the diverse actors in global tourism; they contribute with informed skills and reflections necessary for critical thinking in order to rebuild the tourism industry in a sustainable way. While some destinations will undoubtedly reconsider the nature of their tourism industry and focus more on local and more sustainable forms of tourism, others will try to continue business as usual. The main theme of this thesis centers around local participation when implementing a UNESCO site locally, making it contemporary despite the fact that the data were collected before the COVID-19 outbreak.

1.5 BuSK – Building Shared Knowledge

My research was done in collaboration with the EU-funded project *BuSK – Building Shared Knowledge*. BuSK is a research project that develops planning tools, which enhance the use of participatory techniques and assists decision makers concerning land use planning and natural resource governance. My role in the project was to gather as many perspectives on how to develop tourism activities in Aasivissuit-Nipisat, and to learn how the locals in Sarfannguit were involved in this process. This meant many interviews with:

- different tourism actors in both Sisimiut, Nuuk and Ilulissat;
- locals from Sarfannguit and Sisimiut;
- individuals from the public sector;
- and lastly politicians.

I also interviewed the people who have been a part of the planning process of getting Aasivissuit-Nipisat accepted on the UNESCO World Heritage list.

This thesis will include a discussion on how academic research can be translated and adapted into everyday life situations, in this case tourism. It is exactly for this connection between research and practice that the BuSK-project was announced the winner of the Arctic Award 2019 in the category "Sustainable Use of Resources." The project was awarded for showing direct benefits for the people living in Arctic region and for providing valuable input within many different fields; one being the importance of local knowledge when establishing the

UNESCO site in Greenland (Zinglersen, 2019). In June 2020 the book *Sharing Knowledge for Land Use Management* was published based on the three-year research program. The book draws on the research from the BuSK-project and emphasizes the importance of integrating local and Indigenous knowledge with scientific knowledge into the decision-making project (McDonagh & Tuulentie, 2020).

They [locals in Sarfannguit] had been told that once Aasivissuit-Nipisat were inscribed on the UNESCO list, tourists would come. But so far they have only experienced one [tourist] and judging from the looks on their faces, I would say they were disappointed. No wonder that they are skeptical towards tourism and whether tourists will come.
(Fieldwork Diary: September 23th, 2018).

Photo by: Karl Brix Zinglersen – BuSK-project

2. Greenland in the context of world tourism

Greenland's ties to Denmark stretch over almost three centuries. From 1721 until the early 1950s, Greenland was a colony under Danish rule. In 1978, the Danish Parliament granted Greenland the *Home Rule Status,* which essentially meant that Greenland administers most of its domestic matters itself. By the 2000s, the Home Rule Agreement was evaluated, showing a growing frustration mostly among the Greenlanders. They argued that the Home Rule Agreement did not go far enough in terms of obtaining a greater degree of autonomy. This led to a new vote in November 2008, where 75% of the population voted in favor of the Self-Government Act (Naalakkersuisut). This vote has been perceived as a step toward eventual full independence (Nuttall, 2008). Greenland wants to live off its own resources without being dependent on the annual block grant from Denmark. With increased attention towards Greenland, tourism has increased as well. As of now, tourism is considered one of the three pillars within the Greenlandic economy, making it extremely important, especially in the debate about independence and creating their own economy. This chapter will provide a historical background to the tourism development in Greenland.

Millions of people perceive tourism as a measure of the quality of their life, and as a compensation or balance for what is missing in their normal work life (Graburn, 1983, p. 29). Tourism can be seen as a modern ritual where people get away from their daily life. The desire to experience and explore new things is not new in itself, but it is new that so many are travelling, and the travel industry is growing, especially in the Western world. According to the United Nation World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) the definition of a visitor (tourist) is:

> A traveller taking a trip to a main destination outside his/her usual environment, for less than a year, for any main purpose (business, leisure or other personal purpose) other than to be employed by a resident entity in the country or place visited. (United Nations, 2010)

During their travels, tourists will involve other actors (besides themselves); tourism industry and the people living in the tourism destination. Meethan (2001) addresses tourism as part of the process of commodification and consumption in modern capitalism. He believes that cultures are best understood, viewed or analyzed as dynamic systems that incorporate both

material and symbolic elements that cross accepted perceptions of boundaries and also have the capacity to be created and recreated for consumption in the global market (Meethan, 2001, pp. 115-119). Viken and Müller (2017) discuss this within an Indigenous framework, where many Indigenous people see tourism as a path to modernity and economic development. However, it is important that tourism does not occur if the consequences for the Indigenous people/community is losing their Indigenous traditions and cultural uniqueness (Viken & Müller, 2017, p. 5). Luckily, Indigenous tourism is still a niche-tourism, so the tourists who are coming are willing and interested to learn about the culture they are visiting. This chapter will explore the tourism development in Greenland and place in the context of world tourism.

2.1 Tourism development in Greenland

Although tourism is relatively new in Greenland, it is quickly gaining traction. The foundation for tourism in Greenland started in 1953 with the opening of charter flights to Kulusuk and Narsarsuaq (Ren et al., 2020, p. 12). During the 1960s, tourism became organized and in the 1970s it was viewed as a possible source of income. The Ministry of Greenland published in 1973 the report "Tourism in Greenland", which concluded that there were 500 visitors in Greenland during the year of 1960 and that this number of visitors had increased to approximately 6,500 in 1972. The Ministry of Greenland argued that world tourism would continue to increase and that it was not unrealistic to reach 35,000 tourists by 1980. If this happened, tourism would be the second largest industry in Greenland. However, by 1981 there were "only" 10,000 tourists in Greenland (Ministeriet for Grønland, 1973). It was not until 1990 that it was decided that tourism should contribute to the country's economy. The economy of Greenland is often explained as consisting of three pillars: fisheries, mining and tourism, which eventually led to a commercial development strategy developed by the existing Home Rule Government (Kaae C., 2001, p. 43; Ren et al., 2020). Already in the 1970s, it was pointed out that locals had to be educated within the service- and guiding field and that each region had to be organized in a tourist association (Ren et al., 2020, p. 12). Since then it has been politically emphasized that tourism must bring local employment and generate income to the local community (Ren et al., 2020, p. 12). The growth and development of tourism in Greenland should be on the nation's own terms, and from a politician's perspective this means, that tourism is closely linked to national, local and Indigenous culture.

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Tourism is a worldwide growing industry, and Greenland's tourism industry has increased and become more organized through time due to several factors, such as increasing visitor numbers, political interests and financial necessity. On January 1ˢᵗ, 1992, the Home Rule Government established Greenland Tourism – The National Tourist Board of Greenland (now known as Visit Greenland, and heretofore referred to as such) (Q, personal communication, August 31ˢᵗ, 2018). The aim of this organization is to promote tourism in accordance with Greenland's nature and culture, placing emphasis on the unique, the unspoiled and the unpolluted environment. The activities of Visit Greenland are funded by the Home Rule Government. The organization have several roles such as sharing ideas, inspiring and coordination the tourism sector and develop new products while improving existing ones and lately, the branding of Greenland.

Nature is used as the main branding symbol, where the environment and tourism go hand in hand. From my perspective, the Greenlanders know that the Greenlandic nature is powerful and immense, and the Greenlandic people have adapted to a forever-changing environment through time. It is the environment which has shaped the country as we know it today. Visit Greenland's slogan 'Be a Pioneer' is therefore an invitation to all adventurous travelers (Visit Greenland, n.d-a). According to Visit Greenland, the Greenlanders are proud of branding Greenland as a *Pioneering Nation*, and they feel that it explains their culture, traditions and the core of the Greenlandic mindset: always be prepared to adapt (Q, personal communication, August 31ˢᵗ, 2018). Visit Greenland has divided Greenland into six regions for branding Greenland and its destinations (see Figure 3, page 19). When destination names are also used in everyday speech when talking about tourism in Greenland, for example; Destination Arctic Circle is where the Aasivissuit-Nipisat site lies and where I did my fieldwork.

Since 2011, Destination Arctic Circle has promoted themselves as *"Rough – Real – Remote."* They continue Visit Greenland's national branding on Greenland *Pioneering Nation,* where they without a doubt have adventure as the core. *Real* refers to the local culture, the local traditions and history but also to the everyday life. Getting the tourists to experience history dating back 4,200 years up until the modern Greenland is also one of the aims with the key-sites in Aasivissuit-Nipisat (Destination Arctic Circle, 2011).
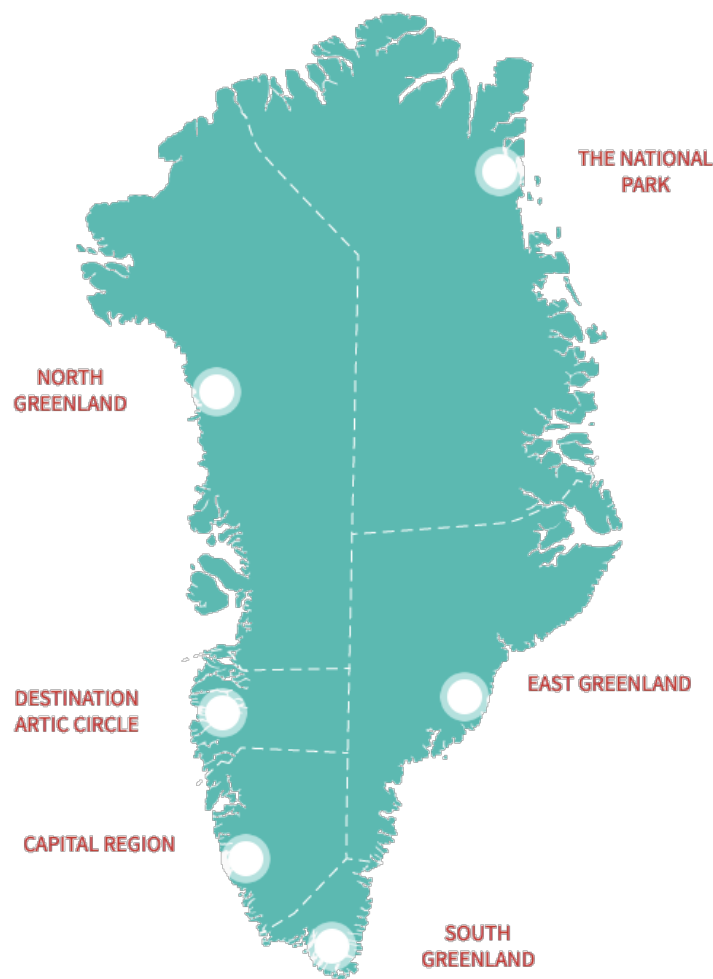
Figure 3. How Visit Greenland divides Greenland into six regions.
Retrived from: Visit Greenland (n.d-b)

Nonetheless, there is no doubt that the "climate crisis" narratives about the Arctic, along with authors such as Drew and Tutu (2011) who mention Greenland in their book *100 Places to Go Before They Disappear*, have helped promoting Greenland, even though Greenland have never branded themselves as a disappearing country (Q, personal communication, August 31st, 2018). Publicity like this might have had an influence on the increasing tourism. Either way one thing is for sure: Greenland is on the world map of places to visit. Naalakkersuisut has therefore invested 60 million Danish Krones to boost tourism in the time period 2016-2020. This includes large infrastructure projects such as new Atlantic airports in order to facilitate transatlantic tourism (Økonomisk Råd, 2017; Qujaukitsoq, 2016). Despite huge investments, Greenland has not yet introduced either a UNESCO fee or tourists' taxes. This has been highly debated, and during my fieldwork I found that tour operators, several politicians and other stakeholders are

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afraid that it will scare tourists away since Greenland already is an expensive country to visit (Email, personal communication, 2020). Specific to the UNESCO fee at Aasivissuit – Nipisat, ACB has argued that it is difficult to overlook payment in an open country far out in nature. Also, it is a bit controversial for the politicians and the local population to introduce a UNESCO fee since Greenland belongs to everyone and no one should therefor pay to be in a specific area, a UNESCO site or not (Email, personal communication, 2020[4]).

2.2 Structural framework

When developing tourism in Greenland it is important to know that tourism and its development is being worked on at three different levels; the national, the regional and the local. There is the Government of Greenland, where Visit Greenland is a subcategory on the national level. The municipalities are working on the regional level. Many municipalities have taken the initiative to hire a Destination Marketing/Management Organization (DMO). For example: I did my fieldwork in Qeqqata Municipality. During my fieldwork I worked closely with ACB that also has a DMO. The same goes for Destination South Greenland and the Capital Region. The DMO's job is to ensure that tourism development takes place in the best possible conditions in the region, meaning that communication with local citizens, the municipality, local politicians and local tour-operators is essential. However, the municipality can also decide to have the DMOs working as a separate organization; this is how Avannaata Municipality and Qeqertalik Municipality have organized it (Email, personal communication, 2020).

Afterwards when emailing with ACB, I added another group to my communication path – Greenland Visitor Center (GVC), which is a subdivision of Naalakkersuisut, just like Visit Greenland, but with a focus on the Greenlandic Visitor Center and the three UNESCO sites in Greenland (Email, personal communication, 2020). It is a new, independent organization created by Naalakkersuisut in 2018, and it reports directly to the Ministry of Industry, Energy and Research (Schultz-Nielsen, 2018a).

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[4] February 28th, 2020, I had a mail correspondence with one of my participants to confirm some information from our earlier interviews and to get an update on the current situation about communication between the different levels.

How this structure and the communication path is experienced will be described and analyzed in my storylines later in this thesis, but first I want to address a reoccurring challenge that my participants expressed a great deal of concern about; the airports.

2.3 "We need to know about those airports"

The new airports in Greenland and whether or not to invest in new trans-Atlantic airports have been greatly debated through the past years. However, it reached a new level during my fieldwork. The Danish Prime Minister Lars Rasmussen visited Greenland and signed an agreement September 10, 2018, stating that Denmark will support the airport project by 700 million DKK (Olsen, 2018). Also, the US showed an interest in supporting Greenland financial as well regarding the airports which has been welcomed by Naalakkersuisut (Turnowsky, 2018a). During my fieldwork in 2018, Naalakkersuisut had not yet reached any conclusions about which airport(s) would be further developed or closed, except that Nuuk Airport was going to be transformed into a trans-Atlantic airport. This decision was highly criticized by many Greenlanders who argued that Naalakkersuisut was centralizing everything to Nuuk, and that the weather conditions in Nuuk were not suitable for an airport of this size. Therefore, when Naalakkersuisut (with Kim Kielsen in the lead) accepted a deal with the Danish government on financing parts of the airport-project(s) in 2018, Kim Kielsen lost his support since a party left his government coalition (Qvist & Schultz-Lorentzen, 2018). Through my interviews, the need to know about these airports before investing in these projects for establishing tourism was always brought up. Many had ideas for tourism businesses ready, but they needed to understand the future direction of air tourism, especially after it was suggested by Naalakkersuisut in 2018 that Kangerlussuaq Airport should be downgraded to a heliport. This would have huge consequences for the UNESCO site. The unique thing about Aasivissuit – Nipisat is the ability to hike through the whole site, while learning about the Greenlandic culture on the way meaning that you could also hike from one airport to another (Redaktionen Sermitsiaq, 2018). But if Kangerlussuaq were to close, this opportunity might not seem as attractive and tourists might only hike half the way, meaning that they will not get the full history and culture of the UNESCO site.

The case about the airports in Greenland is a politically and economically complex case, which is simply out of my participant's control. Because of this, I have decided not to detail the entire debate but only use it as an example later in the thesis.

One of my participants thought it was a bit weird that I

wanted to hear their story.

"Do you just want me to talk? Talk about everything?"

"Yes – I want to learn"

"This is a bit different – normally people ask me the

questions... but you just want to listen... I do not even know

where to begin. Let us take a walk – I will show you"

(Fieldwork Diary: September 20th, 2018)

3. The meaning of theory - methodology

This chapter outlines the theoretical framework for my thesis and describes my choice of analytical tools. In order for the reader to understand the theoretical point of departure for my analysis, I will introduce two of the most important concepts within the field of phenomenology. The idea is not that I create the storylines but rather that I identify them as they appear in my interviews when analyzing the data through the scope of a critical discourse analysis lens. The goal is to let elements of expression, knowledge, information and interactivity create the storylines through the discourse analysis. By using critical discourse analysis, my storylines will present conflicting positions and they can perform, produce and promote specific versions of specific phenomena. This thesis will demonstrate how in particular the local communities, in this case Sarfannguit, and Qeqqata Municipality have different understandings of involvement, communication and success during the process of establishing tourism in Sarfannguit.

Departing from the assumption that agency is shaped through the discursive positioning of individuals and groups, and through the articulations of the contextual conditions for their agency, I have decided to utilize phenomenology as my theoretical framework. Within that framework, I have combined two methods originating from two different areas: critical discourse analysis and storylines, based on the work of Fairclough (1993/2010) and Hajer (1995). First, I will discuss my theoretical framework, phenomenology, before narrowing it down to the two theories mentioned above.

3.1 Phenomenology – the consciousness and its context

Departing from Hussler's view, phenomenology is not only the philosophical study of the consciousness but also the meaning in context (1936/1970). I will look at and describe the Sarfannguit locals' experiences and understanding of a certain phenomenon in a certain context; in this case local participation and sustainable development in the discussion of implementing the Aasivissuit – Nipisat site locally. I, as a researcher, aim to gain access into universal feelings and/or experiences shared by my participants as they contribute to a holistic understanding of them through the participants emotional and sensory experiences (Desjarlais & Throop, 2011, p. 88).

Hussler introduced the concept of *lifeworld* which is one of the more complicated concepts within phenomenology, since it is mixing both the personal and the intersubjective (1936/1970). The lifeworld can be thought of as the horizon of all one's experiences, and how one perceives them in the sense that it is that background on which all things appear as meaningful. It refers to the human world in a pre-scientific state where humans create experiences through their senses and emotions. However, a person's lifeworld is not static. Instead, it is a dynamic concept of how we *live*, and which "lives with us" in the sense that nothing can appear in our lifeworld except as *lived* (Hussler, 1936/1970). According to Jackson (2013) every part of life is part of the lifeworld. Our relationship with the world is so obvious that we humans hardly think about it. The experiences that the actor had in the past will have an influence on how the actor will react in future situations and thus how the actor's lifeworld will develop in the future.

This means that the experiences the locals in Sarfannguit have had in the past with tourism operators from both Sisimiut and Qeqqata Municipality will shape their view about the implementation and development process, making the concept of lifeworld important for this thesis in order to fully understand the locals from Sarfannguit's experiences on this matter. With this approach, my role as a researcher is therefore to present the locals' experiences and feelings, while considering the context.

Intersubjectivity is another important concept in phenomenology. For Hussler, intersubjectivity is the most basic quality of human existence, which is constitutive of the subject and of the very notion of an objective world (Desjarlais & Throop, 2011, p. 89). The world is experienced through our senses. Through intersubjectivity, one can form an impression of an organized network of mutual relations of expectations between the actors, which also characterizes the individual's lifeworld (Desjarlais & Throop, 2011, p. 89). Looking at Sarfannguit, the community's insecurity of whether this site will become a success might have been shaped by the expectations they were given by the municipality. The locals in Sarfannguit were told that once they would be a UNESCO site the tourists would come. However, they only experienced one tourist in 2018, the same year that they were inscribed as a UNESCO site (S, personal communication, September 19-20th, 2018; Community meeting Sarfannguit, personal communication, September 20th, 2018). Furthermore, the local tourism operators in Sisimiut would like to hire the locals in Sarfannguit as guides and give the tourists an authentic

experience; however, not if it means that the tourist will have a bad experience due to lack of English language skills. The tourism operators will not compromise on quality (F, personal communication, September 26th, 2018). This means that the local tourism operators from Sisimiut and the locals in Sarfannguit have different expectations and different life-worlds, due to their varying life experiences.

These examples illustrate how the definitions of lifeworld and intersubjectivity are important conceptual points of departures when analyzing the data through a critical discursive storyline lens.

3.2 Discourse analysis with participants' storylines

Through discourse analysis and storylines, I will analyze my interviews to determine the most common experiences and feelings, which will create a discursive pattern. I want to illustrate how these patterns shape an individual's world view, and to show how the different groups interpret different views on local engagement and involvement. Discourse analysis is a systematic interpretive study of peoples' language use in the world. It can also be used to map power relations in a society and formulate normative perspectives which forms opportunities for social change. For example, when asking my participants whether tourism in the new UNESCO site would become a success or not, the answer very much depended on both the audience and other factors. For instance, whether they were an outsider or insider of the region, a local in Sarfannguit, or working within the municipality; a lot of hope was connected to the whole project. Because of this, my focus will then be on *why* their experience with this differs. These discursive patterns will be used to let the storylines evolve.

3.2.1 The miracle of communication - Critical discourse analysis

Discourse analysis has been used by a wide array of disciplines with different objectives in the humanities and social sciences. It is not *one* theory or method, but a collective term for a number of approaches used in these disciplines. Discursive practices through which texts are *produced* and *consumed* are viewed as an important form of social practice, which contributes to the *constitution* of the social world, including social identities and social relations. In the social sciences, discourse analysis emerged within the context of the wider post-positivist interpretative tradition. The basic poststructuralist assumption in a discourse analytical approach is that language profoundly shapes people's view (Gee, 2014a, 2014b; Hajer, 1995).

Discourse analysis is the study of language use in the world including both written and spoken language, as well as nonverbal communication. In this thesis, the focus will be on the spoken language that is relevant to the context and the topic of the thesis, which is why I have transcribed as many of my interviews as possible. As Ochs (1979) points out, transcription is inevitable discourse theory since the transcription process will involve interpretation of the spoken language. Fairclough explains this with an example of a conversation between several people. One will eventually interrupt the other, and if there is an overlap between speakers, it will be the analyst who has to decide who it is that interrupts whom, and decide who should be transcribed (Fairclough, 1992, p. 229). The analyst will then consider what is important in the view of the research question. Gee (2014) emphasizes the importance of the connection between saying (informing), doing (action), and being (identity), and emphasizes that it is not possible to understand a statement without knowing who is saying it and why (Gee, 2014a, pp. 2-3). I am aware of this possible positioning when transcribing the interviews and in general while focusing on the details of the spoken language. In the end, these discourses will define and produce the objects of my knowledge. Most authors in policy studies use normative discourse analysis based on a Foucauldian approach, meaning that they focus on the relationship between power, knowledge, and subjectivity. However, social constructivists Hajer and Versteeg (2005) argue that different actors hold different perspectives of what the conflict of interest really is, arguing that discourse analysis assumes the existence of multiple, socially constructed realities. Discourse analysis is utilized to map the processes through which meanings are established and to critically interrogate the power relationships underlying these processes (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002, pp. 25-26). For my thesis, this could mean that I will investigate how people have experienced the process and if they have experienced it in a different way, why have they done so?

I pull from the theory of Fairclough (2010) who states that "[d]iscourse is not simply an entity we can define independently: we can only arrive at an understanding of it by analyzing sets of relations" (p. 3). I have chosen this analytical tool since I experienced unequal power structures between the locals in Sarfannguit and Qeqqata Municipality. When I am analyzing my interviews and the power relations expressed in them, I will favor a critical discourse analysis. In 1993, Fairclough defined critical discourse analysis as an approach that seeks to investigate systematically. He argues that critical discourse analysis is the study of relations between

discourse and other objects. The aim is to contribute to social change by equalizing power relations in communication processes and society in general. The analysis looks at what is 'wrong' with the discursive practice in the maintenance of the social world, including those social relations that involve unequal relations of power and how it can be changed. This also means that discursive practices do not only create and recreate social structures, but it prompts reflections of *how* these social structures can be evaluated (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). Because of this, I will focus the analysis of my interviews with the locals in Sarfannguit on how these 'wrongs,' as Fairclough describes it, are presented, produced and maintained. Fairclough asserts discourse is an important form of social practice which both reproduce and changes knowledge, identities and social relations including power-relations. Simultaneously, discourse is also shaped by other social practices and structures, making the context important. To understand discourses in an argumentative context one must not only examine the words, but also consider the positions that are being criticized. Gee (2014b) describes context as:

> (…) the physical setting in which the communication takes place and everything in it; the bodies, eye gaze, gestures, and movements of those present; what has previously been said and done by those involved in the communication; and any shared knowledge those involved have, including shared cultural knowledge. (p. 12)

Within phenomenology, context is essential for creating meaning: "WHAT THE SPEAKER SAYS + CONTEXT = WHAT THE SPEAKER MEANS" (Gee, 2014b, pp. 18, emphasis in original). Therefore, I will be analyzing in which context a statement is made and to whom the statements are directed. Discourse is then seen as internally related to the social practice in which it is produced; it is intersubjective.

Fairclough admits that an interdisciplinary perspective is needed in which one combines textual and social analysis. Discourse analysis is not sufficient by itself since the latter encompasses both discursive and non-discursive elements and will only explore the links between language and social practice. Therefore, my analysis requires interdisciplinary approach which takes social and cultural contexts into consideration.

3.2.2 Why storylines matter

Narrative analysis relies on stories from various sources of data in order to uncover a sociocultural pattern and experiences regarding a specific phenomenon. It serves to explain a

phenomenon in the context of which it exists (Birks et al., 2009, p. 406). The storyline theory has been criticized by Strauss and Corbin (1990) for making data fit within the necessary framework and allowing the stories to develop in the direction needed for the researcher, depending on the research questions. However, Birks et al. (2009) argue that storylines are a good tool since they seek to describe and explain phenomena and that storylines "can be used throughout the research process, with the intent of constructing, integrating and making visible the final theory" (Birks et al., 2009, p. 407).

Hajer (1995) works with *discursive storylines* within contested environmental policy arenas. In his research, he applies the concept of storylines to environmental studies through the Foucauldian discursive analysis approach by including the relationship between power, knowledge and subjectivity. This approach is taken one step further, as Hajer argues that different actors hold different perspectives of what the conflict of interest really is. This is why discourse analysis assumes the existence of multiple, socially constructed realities. Aiming to understand how actors' interests are gathered in order to make environmental discourses more powerful within the political debate, he made it possible to follow the stories being told by the individual and institutions. Storylines are defined by Hajer as:

> A storyline, as I interpret is, is a generative sort of narrative that allows actors to draw upon various discursive categories to give meaning to a specific physical or social phenomena. The key function of storylines is that they suggest a unity in the bewildering variety of separate discursive components parts of a problem (…).
> (Hajer, 1995, p. 62)

This means that actors are not totally free but are holders of specific positions in a web of meaning and that people are expected to position their contribution in relation to something well-known:

> (…) people do not draw on comprehensive discourse systems for their cognition, rather these are epokes through storylines. As such storylines plays a key role in positions of subjects and structures. (Hajer, 1995, p. 56)

Hajer's theory has shown how the subject can be actively studied and involved in the production and transformation of discourse. Circling back to Fairclough's argument, critical discourse

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analysis focuses on the question of which knowledge the writer assumes that the reader has. This is important since people unconsciously bring knowledge with them and take this knowledge for granted. This thought follows Gee who emphasizes the connection between saying, doing, and being. The storylines become clearer when acknowledging the participant's position and power relations. For example, while the locals in Sarfannguit feel that Qeqqata Municipality does not properly inform them, the municipality might assume that the locals in Sarfannguit have read all the official documents, such as the municipality developmental plans. The municipality then feels that they have communicated what was necessary however, the locals do not feel like there was any communication between them at all as they did not read the documents (S, personal communication, September 19-20th, 2018). Storylines are devices that make visible how actors are positioned. In the example above, the locals in Sarfannguit can be positioned as victims of bad communication and Qeqqata Municipality as the problem solvers. However, this was not how the locals in Sarfannguit experienced it, making the positioning of the actor in the given context important (Hajer, 1995, p. 65).

The storylines can be understood as spatial since they all have the ability to perform, produce and promote specific versions of the future for the local community and its surroundings. With that being said, the storylines performative accomplishment depends on the stakeholders and how they interpret themselves. I will adapt Hajer's concept of storylines and combine it with Fairclough's theory of critical discourse analysis, in order to fully understand how different, the actors have experienced the process when planning and implementing the UNESCO site Aasivissuit-Nipisat. The storylines will illustrate that knowledge, positions and conflict are essential for the participant's worldview of this specific phenomenon

3.3 Summary

Discourse analysis is the study of language use in the world including not only written and spoken language, but also what is communicated nonverbally. These discourses will define and produce the objects of knowledge and regulate them in such a way that researchers can meaningfully talk about them. According to Fairclough (1993), critical discourse analysis aims to map the processes through which meanings are established and to critically interrogate the relationships of power underlying these processes by focusing on what is wrong and how it can be changed. I want to take this discursive approach one step further and combine it with

storylines. Fairclough argued himself, that discourse analysis could not stand alone; rather he wanted to include other aspects in discourse analysis, instead of seeing these aspects in addition to discourse analysis.

Departing from Hajer's (1995) definition of discursive storylines, I do not merely focus on the relationships between power, knowledge, and subjectivity, but I add a personal aspect and put an emphasis on the connection between saying, doing and being. This allows me to follow the story to the end. I acknowledge that different actors hold different perspectives of what the conflict of interest really is. I do this within the phenomenological framework, which allows me to present my participants' life worlds. It is when a pattern of the participants' perceptions is found that the storylines unfold. When that happens, I will be able to reveal what the storylines illustrate about local participation and sustainable development when implementing the Aasivissuit-Nipisat site locally.

Ooookay... What a day... One interview;
and a lot of information!
Most importantly I was told about the lack of
communication and vision/goals regarding the
UNESCO area. Something that surprised me!
I thought they were ready for this,
and just needed to press the start button once they
were accepted as a UNESCO site.
(Fieldwork Diary: September 5th, 2018)

4. How it all happened - Method

For decades, Danes have researched Greenlanders, oftentimes on negative topics such as suicide, child abuse, alcoholism and domestic violence (see Grove & Lynge, 1979; Leineweber & Arensman, 2003; Niclasen & Bjerregaard, 2007). It was therefore important for me to keep the scope of the research positive. If I were a Danish student coming to look at domestic violence or alcoholism, I would not have been welcomed the way I was. The fact that I have chosen to focus on participation and implementation of tourism activities in a sustainable way, made the participants interested in talking with me and telling their story. Then it becomes my responsibility as a researcher is to ensure a respectful and reciprocal relationship with the communities and the people participating and/or supporting the research (Smith, 2012). This is also why I emphasized coming back to the community and presenting my results rather than just writing a report and e-mailing it. The next section will continue this subject by explaining my considerations when positioning myself in the field.

4.1 Positioning

Chilisa (2012) and Olsen (2017) argue that there are no binary system of Indigenous versus non-Indigenous or unprivileged versus privileged. When entering the field as a researcher, one takes on a number of roles. Since many factors have played a role in my research, it is essential that I reflect on my own position and the influence that this position had on my research. It is important as a researcher to be able to distinguish between these different roles and to stay objective. I have, to my best of my knowledge, recognized my different roles and balanced them throughout my fieldwork. The different roles vary depending on the contexts and nature of informants one encounters in the field. The field is often a space for negotiating ethnic, gender, social, cultural and religious identities, among others. I therefore reflect on my role(s) as a researcher in the next section.

I was born and raised in Nuuk, Greenland, yet I do not consider myself a Greenlander. My parents are Danish, and I have lived most of my life in Denmark. Furthermore, I have forgotten my Greenlandic language, which I used to be able to speak. However, I have a strong connection to Greenland and have travelled and worked there regularly during the past ten years, and this opened many doors since I was able to talk about how some of the cities had developed over time.

Tourism has in the last decade been highly debated and researched, so Greenlanders are used to answering questions about tourism, especially from researchers. However, they rarely see the study result: "But we never get to see those reports, so what good is it? How will we learn?" (T, personal communication, September 19-20th, 2018). This, again, illustrates an important gap in the communication between the researcher and the locals. Being aware of the local's feeling towards the researchers, I had a greater awareness to my own position in the field and to the power relations involved. During my fieldwork, I travelled with my partner and baby. My partner, who had never been to Greenland, showed a natural interest in learning about the culture and country. However, for me it was important to emphasize that I was there to conduct research. I went to the field as a representative of the UiT The Arctic University of Norway and of the Greenland Institute of Natural Resources. I was therefore obliged to abide by UiT's research regulations, the regulations from the Norwegian Center for Research Data (NSD) and the research- and ethics regulations applicable in Greenland.

Yet, it was not always possible for my participants to perceive me solely as a researcher, which is why it was important for me to pay attention to the different roles that researcher either take on are given by the community. It was important to always remember that the kind of relationship I had with my informants could influence the nature of data that I collected from the field. One example is my standpoint regarding the airport debate in Greenland. It is important for me to stress that I do support preserving the airport in Kangerlussuaq and I do not see how a new airport in Nuuk benefits Greenland as a whole. Yet I noticed during the seminar in Maniitsoq that having this opinion made me appeared to take their side in this discussion. It was not possible to have an opinion in this case without being categorized or placed on a certain side of the debate and it might have had an influence on my interviews with the representatives from Naalakkersuisut that I conducted during the seminar, if they had known my own opinion. On the other side, my opinion might also have strengthened my position as a researcher amongst the locals in Sarfannguit and Sisimiut and given me more access or easier access to information during my fieldwork.

I also felt that the locals wanted to use me as a middleman between them and the municipalities, which made my job juggling between the different roles very important. I was not there to guide them in regard of tourism development or to handle the communication between the locals in Sarfannguit and the municipality, instead I was there to learn about how Sarfannguit had

participated in the planning process. They knew this. However, I often experienced that the locals in Sarfannguit wanted me to talk with the municipality for them: "Can you suggest this to the municipality? Maybe they listen if it comes from you*?*" (Community Meeting, personal communication, September 20th, 2018). They believed that their wishes would be taken more seriously if it came from me, which clearly illustrated an unbalanced power relation between the municipality and the locals in Sarfannguit. 'The middleman' was clearly a role given by the locals in Sarfannguit, and I had to find a way to juggle this role. I did not want to turn them down, but I also did not want to give them false hope and let them believe that I would go back to the municipality and "fix" their problems. I therefore had to remind the locals in Sarfannguit several times that I was there as a student during my fieldwork for my master thesis and not as a consultant from the municipality.

Nonetheless, my main challenge during this project was joggling my role as an insider and outsider. I thought a lot about this being in the field and I guess this is a constant battle an anthropologist will be in – did I aim to be an outsider? Yes, in some settings, e.g. when interviewing representatives from Qeqqata Municipalities and when being on the Industry and Tourism seminar in Maniitsoq compared to when listening to the stories full of dreams, hopes and challenges of the locals in Sarfannguit. I knew that I had no Greenlandic language, so to some people I would be an outsider (a Dane) merely because of that. One of my informants called me "A white Inuit" since I am born in Greenland, considering myself as a Dane while still having a longing for Greenland and their way of life (S, personal communication, September 19-20th, 2018). This took a while for me to understand but I have reconciled that Indigenous Studies has been a journey into understanding my belonging to Greenland while considering myself as a Dane. While living in Denmark I never said that I was born in Greenland; it brought along negative connotations and prejudices. Now after living in Tromsø four years, I always say that I am born and raised in Greenland and I am proud of it.

4.2 Importance of the Greenlandic Language

Language is an important factor for communicating effectively with participants in the field, and language, especially the Greenlandic language, is significant to the Greenlanders. Greenlandic is the majority language in Greenland but a minoritized language within the Kingdom of Denmark. From the time of colonization in 1721 until 1950, approximately, the language of instruction in schools was Greenlandic. However, in the 1950s the Danification

period came and the education legislation in 1967 was based on the idea that the school system should resemble the Danish system as much as possible (Rosing Olsen, 2005, p. 75). However, on June 21st, 2009, Greenland celebrated self-government and with this type of increased self-determination, the Greenlandic language had once again gained status as the only official language in Greenland (Selvstyreloven, 2009).

Sadly, I have lost my own ability to speak Greenlandic and was therefore relying on my participants speaking Danish or having a translator present. Luckily for me, most of my informants spoke Danish, and the interviews could therefore be conducted in Danish. However, when visiting Sarfannguit, I was relying on my contact person who had contacts among the locals since very few of them spoke Danish at a level where it was possible to discuss this subject. During my fieldwork, I therefore paid a lot of attention to the sound of the participants' voices when they were speaking along with their body language. I do not regret using a local interpreter from the settlement to help me translate. I felt that bringing another "outsider" to the community, which only consists of 113 people, would have made it even harder to build a relationship with the research participants and to have people sharing their stories and knowledge. As soon as my contact person had accepted me and trusted me, I was accepted by the community. Getting this acceptance did not take long time since I was a part of the BuSK project, which the locals were familiar with. I was therefore not a complete stranger in their eyes – I had people to vouch for me. Also, the purpose of my visit was to gain insight of the locals' experiences and feelings of involvement, and people were eager to tell their stories.

4.3 Data collection

The main bulk of data and other materials for this thesis has been collected from 2018-2019 followed by email correspondences in 2020. My first step was to gain an understanding of the current status of tourism in Greenland. Through my research, I identified a number of people I wanted to interview during my fieldwork. By coincidence, I met Ann Eileen Lennert who introduced me to the BuSK project and this case of the newly listed UNESCO site. Karl Zinglersen from the Greenland Institute of Natural Resources and Hans Holt from Qeqqata Municipality, who were responsible for the part about Greenland in the BuSK project, decided to include me in the project and gave me access to their research, research participants and ideas for how to approach different perspectives regarding the site's lack of community participation. They had already worked on the project for a year and had mapped various actors and were

known faces in both Sarfannguit and Sisimiut. Therefore, I was able to make connections with my participants and to resources that I otherwise would not have had such as a translator from the Institute of Natural Resources, who translated and transcribed the community meeting held in Sarfannguit into Danish.

My fieldwork in Greenland was conducted from August 14th – September 26th, 2018. I started my fieldwork in Nuuk, the capital of Greenland, and then travelled to what I would describe as a successful tourist destination, Ilulissat, before ending my fieldwork in Sisimiut. Sisimiut was one of the main cities where tourism activities were being planned for the new UNESCO site. While I was visiting Sisimiut, I traveled to the local settlement of Sarfannguit, which is located within the UNESCO site, and lastly I got the chance to participate in an industry and tourism seminar in Maniitsoq organized by Naalakkersuisut September 15th – 17th, 2018.

The main data collection method for this thesis derives from my semi-structured interviews. During my fieldwork in 2018, I conducted 14 interviews and one community meeting. My interviews were predominately semi-structured, allowing for in-depth and flexible answers while a few were non-structured or through a "walk and talk" method, where we would take a walk while discussing or talking about my participants' experiences regarding the site (Chilisa, 2012, p. 204). The interviews gave me insight into a lot of background knowledge and perspectives on the tourism industry in Greenland. It was not only helpful, but also interesting to get these differing perspectives on tourism depending on where I was in Greenland. This relational aspect is essential my theoretical approach. One interview always led to another one since one participant would always suggest who I should speak with next. The list of participants not only included interviews, but also some informal conversations that I had with locals either on boat trips, at *Sømandshjemmet*, the hostel in town, or at the knitting club. Regardless of the interview style, all interviews guided me in different directions during my fieldwork and I chose, as a researcher, to intentionally follow my participants' suggestion(s) of whom to talk with next. During my fieldwork, I relationships and networking are important tools in Greenland and that engaging with the community only will open more doors.

The community meeting gave me the opportunity to hear from the locals themselves on how they felt about local participation and what their visions for the future were. The community meeting was held in Sarfannguit with six participants in order for the locals to tell me their

stories and expectations for the future in regard to an increase in tourism. I asked about their involvement and they told me their dreams for this new tourism. They also told me about the challenges they have faced. This community meeting was an important way to validate some of the information I had gained through other interviews, small talks, and sources that I had read before fieldwork. Through these group discussions, I was also able to categorize and identify issues that cut across individuals and tourism actors.

In order to respect participants' anonymity in a small tourism industry, I will refer to my participants by letters all the while acknowledging that due to it being a small industry, some people may recognize each other. My participants were informed about this risk during the fieldwork, something that is required by the NSD. However, none of the people that I interviewed in Greenland ever expressed any concern about being recognized by other people locally. Due to the size of both Greenland's population and those working in this small industry, many of the participants knew, in one way or another, who my other participants were. This was not an issue for them. Regardless, in an effort to anonymize the participant best I can, I have divided them into four main categories: Locals, public authority, local tourism industry and outsiders. I have color-coded them as well, blue being actors from Sisimiut, yellow being outsiders, orange being public authority from outside Sisimiut and green being locals from Sarfannguit. This color-coding will continue throughout this thesis.

Table 1. List of participants sorted on date

Color-code key:
Blue = actors from Sisimiut.
Yellow = outsiders.
Orange = public authority outside Sisimiut.
Green = locals from Sarfannguit

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Participants	Category	Dates	Incite citation
Workshop with AECO in Sisimiut	Local	2018	Workshop with AECO
Hotel Arctic (Ilulissat)	Outsider	August 29th 2018	E
Local from Ilulissat	Outsider	August 30th 2018	L
World of Greenland	Outsider	August 30th 2018	R
Campus Kujalleq	Outsider	August 31st 2018	C
Visit Greenland	Public authority	August 31st 2018	Q
Greenland Cruises	Outsider	September 8th 2018	D
Arctic Circle Business	Public authority	September 5th 2018	ACB-A
Local from Sisimiut	Local	September 8th 2018	J
Sisimiut Museum	Local tourism industry	September 10th 2018	P
Local from Sisimiut	Local	September 11th 2018	K
Qeqqata Kommunia	Public authority	September 12th 2018	M

Arctic Circle Business	Public authority	September 17th 2018	ACB-B
Naalakkersuisut	Public authority	September 17th 2018	G
Naalakkersuisut	Public authority	September 17th 2018	H
Local from Sisimiut	Local	September 17th 2018	I
Qeqqata Kommunia	Public authority	September 17th 2018	N
Qeqqata Kommunia	Public authority	September 17th and 25th 2018	O
Local in Sarfannguit	Local	September 19th and 20th 2018	S
Local in Sarfannguit	Local	September 19th and 20th 2018	T
Local in Sarfannguit	Local	September 20th 2018	U
Community meeting Sarfannguit	Local	September 20th 2018	Community meeting 2018
Hotel Sisimiut	Local tourism industry	September 26th 2018	F
Community meeting Sarfannguit	Local	May 27th 2019	Community meeting 2019
Workshop in Sisimiut	Local	May 28th 2019	Workshop in Sisimiut 2019
ACB-A E-mail correspondence	Public authority	Spring 2020	ACB (2020)

Prior to the interviews, I introduced myself transparently saying that I was a student in Indigenous Studies from UiT and then explained my project. Most participants were asked to sign a consent form regarding their participation, but I have taken into consideration that having my participants sign this form might have been "too formal" for some and that it could potentially have an effect on the answers given (Chilisa, 2012). For example, during the community meeting in Sarfannguit, my contact person advised me not to bring up the form. He explained that people did not like signing papers and that I would seem like a person from the municipality (S, personal communication, September 19-20th, 2018). Instead, he explained in the beginning of the community meeting who I was, that the meeting would be recorded, transcribed and translated, but that all names would be left out. He also made it clear that if someone wanted to say something off the record, that was possible as well. Lastly, he explained that it was going to be used for a master's thesis. He asked the participants for their consent, and all agreed verbally.

Some of the individual interviews were recorded, but this depended on the setting of the interview since some of the interviews were "walk-and-talk". All recorded interviews have been transcribed and color-coded by me, so it would be easier for me so visualize the patterns that appear. If the interviews were not recorded I wrote a thorough document of the interview, and these documents have been sent to each participant so they could read it through and give me their final approval. Some had comments or details they would like to add, which were then noted in the document.

As researchers, we have a responsibility to the communities in which we have conducted our research (Kovach, 2009; Smith, 2012). Not only with how we portray and write about these communities, but also with how we inform them of our results. Returning to communities to explain the data and results is becoming more and more important for ethical research and greater accountability (Chilisa, 2012). When the BuSK-project ended in May 2019, I was invited back to Sisimiut and Sarfannguit, accompanied with Zinglersen and Holt, to present our findings and results to the communities. Through a workshop in Sisimiut and a community meeting in Sarfannguit, we explained how to best secure sustainable tourism activities and development through local engagement. At both workshops, we had invited various speakers to give presentations. One group we hosted was the Arctic Circle Business, who held a presentation of how new business start-ups could get assistance from them. We intentionally chose to travel back, as opposed to sending a report, to further our engagement with the community and show them our results. The workshop and community meeting gave concrete suggestions for actions which could be handled right away such as the desire for transparency of the municipality's plan and vision of the UNESCO site. Both the meeting and the workshop were open for all interested.

It is also important to mention that throughout this writing process, I have been in close contact with my key participants both to confirm my data and conclusions, and to get an update on the current situation as of 2020 for how it has evolved since I left. This is something that I have chosen to do intentionally to keep in touch with the community as well as to give them updates on the status of my thesis. This means that there have been several e-mail correspondences with my participants through 2019 and 2020 which is also a part of my data.

Finally, I would like to mention my fieldwork diary which was written throughout my fieldwork in 2018. It was a blank page every morning, which at nighttime was scattered with my thoughts, questions, concerns or ideas. It was simply my thoughts at the moment; no analyzing, just my stream of consciousness, and the quote before every chapter is chosen from this diary, so that the reader can gain an insight into my thoughts and experiences while being in the field.

4.4 Data analysis walkthrough

As mentioned, Fairclough admitted that an interdisciplinary perspective is needed since discourse analysis is not sufficient on its own (Fairclough, 1993), which is why I have decided to combine it with Hajer's concept of storylines. Now I will explain how I have managed to combine critical discourse analysis and storyline as a method when analyzing the interviews by focusing on the relationship between power, knowledge, subjectivity and personal aspect.

4.4.1 Combining critical discourse analysis & storylines as a method

Fairclough (1992) and Jørgensen & Phillips (2002) introduce a three-dimensional model for critical discourse analysis (see Figure 4). These three dimensions, or levels, cannot be seen in a linear order. Instead, the three levels influence each other during the analysis. Nonetheless, all three dimensions were covered in the discourse analysis.

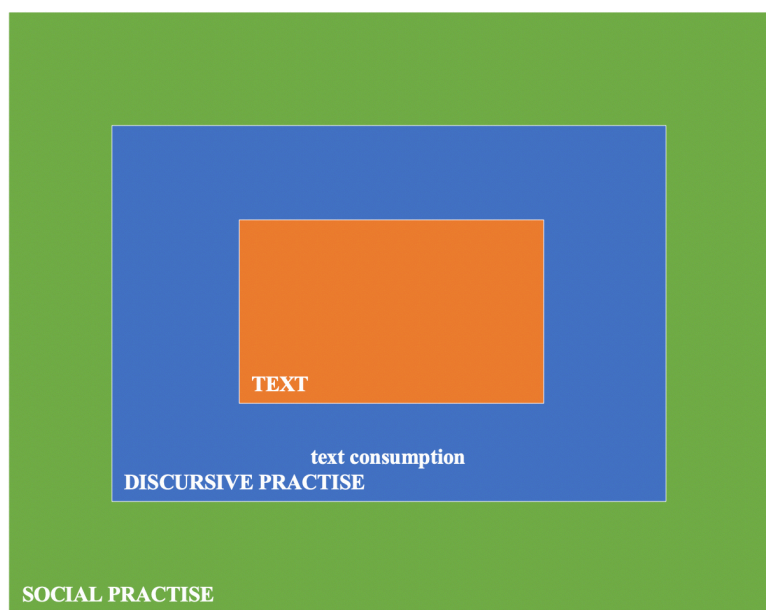*Figure 4. Three-dimensional model for critical discourse analysis*

Retrieved from: Jørgensen and Phillips (2002, p. 8).

The first level is *text*, which refers to speech, writing, visual image or a combination of those. This dimension is an analysis on a textual level of how social structures are created on a linguistic level and will illustrate how discourses are shaped by these linguistic features.

The second level of the model is *discursive practice* which refers to the production and consumption of texts. It focuses on the processes relating to the production and consumption of the text, how authors of texts draw on already existing discourses and what effect it might have when creating a new text. In Sarfannguit for example, this level is about the production and interpretation of what local participation means.

The third level is *social practice*, such as power relations. This level is an explanation of discursive practice in relation to social structures. In my thesis, it is about how the discourses are created on a textual level, for example the UNESCO management plan of Qeqqata Municipality Development Plan, and then how it is interpreted and communicated to a social structure. The impacts of this on the social structure is central to my thesis

Fairclough himself argues that the three-dimensional model aims to provide an analytical framework, and the model could never be used alone. Texts can never be understood or analyzed in isolation; they can only be understood in relation to webs of other texts and in relation to the social context and he therefore combined texts and talks in his later work (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999, p. 21). The text analysis concentrates on linguistic features such as grammar, syntax and sentence coherence. However, it is the relationship between the text and the social practice which is especially interesting in my case study. The text is shaped by social practice, which is why discourse analysis should not be used alone. Nonetheless, a critical discourse analysis was necessary and has been conducted on my interviews. By reading through my interviews, a pattern became clear; a pattern between objects, statements and concepts which I identified as my main subjects for my analysis. The experiences presented through the interviews can be encapsulated within the stories and relayed through my participants telling. Narrative analysis relies on stories from various data sources in order to uncover a sociocultural pattern and experiences regarding a specific phenomenon.

4.4.2 Data process – step by step

To minimize the risk of jumping to conclusions while finding the storylines in my data, I have decided to provide the reader with a simple step-by-step guide, so it is clear what I have done in order to let the storylines surface. It is important to stress that I do not write the stories; instead I find certain patterns within the data and investigate those.

This is how I reached my storylines:

1) I started familiarizing myself with each participant both before and after an interview. I got to know my participants, their background story and their position in the tourism industry, because the context is relevant for understanding their answers. According to Gee (2014), I determined my participants' saying, doing and action.

2) When analyzing, I color-coded my interviews according to the themes that was most re-occurring in the interviews in order to find the pattern(s).

3) Then I looked for similarities between the different topics based on categories in which I had divided the people. I looked at people's position and their contribution since I have used Hajer's (1995) concept of storylines, which allowed me to understand that the debate of involvement is inscribed in specific forms of knowledge with authority.

4) By determining my main themes my main themes based on people's story that had been told, the storylines were created.

Based on this case study from Sarfannguit, I identified three main dominant storylines:

1) The story of community engagement and participation
2) The story of communication and coordination
3) The story of success

My reflections about the storylines will illustrate that the different levels are focusing on different issues when it comes to develop the UNESCO site. Furthermore, the different understanding of participation, success and what sustainability means also becomes clear. These different perceptions will be explained in the next chapter where I will let the storylines evolve.

Today was confusing. I saw a municipality that was really fighting for their region two days ago in Maniitsoq, and after being in Sarfannguit talking with locals today, that picture scattered. It is not the same municipality that I experienced that are being described here. Here they do not feel like there is any communication between the municipality and the settlement. Half of them do not even know what is going to happen. Can it really be so that the lack of communication is an evil circle, moving between all three levels?

(Fieldwork Diary: September 19th, 2018)

Photo by: Karl Brix Zinglersen – BuSK-project

5. Let the stories be told - Findings

Before going into each storyline, I want to explain a turning point during my fieldwork, which led to both confusion and clarity. Throughout my fieldwork I consistently followed the lines of inquiry provided to me by my participants, which eventually led to the formation of my storylines presented later in this chapter. However, the order of the interviews led to an aha moment for me during the fieldwork. The order of interviewing the different participants were as follows:

- Outsiders;
- public authorities (Qeqqata Municipality and ACB);
- local tourism operators;
- Naalakkersuisut;
- again, public authorities (Qeqqata Municipality and ACB);
- locals in Sarfannguit;
- and lastly, public authorities once again (Qeqqata Municipality and ACB).

I had been told beforehand that the locals in Sarfannguit did not feel like they had been involved in the UNESCO nomination process. Therefore, when entering the field, I had expected to write a thesis about how the locals were never involved in the process and had just been left out by the municipality. However, when conducting interviews with the Qeqqata Municipality and ACB, I found the opposite to be true. There had been several meetings, workshops, and different initiatives such as English language courses and guiding courses had been offered during the nomination process. Additionally, the local tourism operators acknowledged that they need to use locals in Sarfannguit as guides to provide the most authentic experience for their tourists. Furthermore, during the seminars in Maniitsoq I experienced a situation where Qeqqata Municipality and its mayor, Malik Berthelsen, fought for their region and its development. They especially argued against the opening of the transatlantic airport if that meant that Kangerlussuaq airport should close. At this point, I felt that I had been falsely warned and had entered the field with the wrong mindset. I thought:

There is no way that this municipality, who feels like Naalakkersuisut does not listen to them, would act the same towards the locals in Sarfannguit. It must all be one big misunderstanding. They are fighting for their region. (Fieldwork Diary, personal communication, September 19th, 2018)

However, when I final arrived in Sarfannguit, this picture of a municipality who wanted the best for the region fell apart after talking with the locals in Sarfannguit. They were telling another story:

We never really talk with the municipality. They came with a cake to Sarfannguit when we got accepted as a Heritage Site, but we have not seen them since. We do not know what is going to happen next. (S, personal communication, September 19th & 20th, 2018)

This quickly gave me the impression that there were different opinions towards the concepts of involvement. The feelings the locals in Sarfannguit had about not being taken into consideration during the decision-making process were the exact same feelings that the municipality described when explaining their view on the transatlantic airport-process. Could it really be so, that the lack of community involvement starts from the top (Naalakkersuisut) and works its way down the levels (national, regional and local level)? Is all this trouble of cooperation between Qeqqata Municipality and Sarfannguit due to a misunderstanding and lack of communication? Other questions arose when interviewing my participants such as: How will this become a success, and how will you determine when it becomes a success? The locals in Sarfannguit kept pointing out they had been told that after being accepted on the UNESCO list, tourists would start arriving. That following summer they only hosted one tourist, and it was clearly not a success according to the locals in Sarfannguit - but what is? I will now let the storylines evolve and speak for themselves. The first storyline described is about community engagement and involvement, followed by a storyline about communication and coordination and the last one discusses success and sustainability.

5.1 The story of local participation

On June 30th, 2018, Aasivissuit-Nipisat was officially an UNESCO World Heritage Site which was celebrated with cake and a gathering of representatives from Qeqqata Municipality, local

politicians and even the mayor Malik Berthelsen showed up. Now the settlement had been told that they could expect tourists, not the UNESCO-boom that people had referred to since the inscription was new, but still *some* tourists. The locals in Sarfannguit were eager to get involved. However, when I visited Sarfannguit in September 2018, the settlement still had not received their UNESCO key site sign saying, "Welcome to Sarfannguit, a key site of Aasivissuit – Nipisat," and the settlement had only had *one* tourist. Furthermore, the locals had not met with anyone from the Qeqqata Municipality since the celebration day even though the settlement had expressed several times to the municipality that they wanted to be a part of the planning-process, they wanted to help preparing Sarfannguit and the surrounding area for visitors. Instead the locals felt left out not knowing what was going on or what their next steps were supposed to be: "We want to be a part of it [the tourism boom] – but we do not know how – we need help" (S, personal communication, September 19-20th, 2018).

There is no doubt that the community in Sarfannguit has been engaged since day one through workshops and several meetings however, the locals do not feel like they have been involved by the municipality. When I was there in September 2018 and especially when I returned in May 2019, the enthusiasm of being involved had been reduced like a deflated balloon. Several stories expressed during the interviews pointed me in this direction. At the community meeting in September 2018, I experienced people with dreams and visions; people who wanted to build cabins, to host tourists and prepare Sarfannguit for tourists. It was a settlement who wanted to include everyone in the planning for tourism, even the children, but they kept hitting a wall created by both the municipality and the system of laws.

The locals in Sarfannguit are definitely eager. In May 2019, a representative from Sarfannguit presented a plan at the workshop in Sisimiut of how they believe Sarfannguit can welcome guests in the best possible way without impacting locals' lives in the community, for instance by creating an area for camping with toilet facilities and campfire areas. Even funding has been granted for this. Furthermore, they are trying to build a big stage for music festivals and they are planning a new hiking route from Sarfannguit to the end of the site in Nipisat (Community meeting, personal communication, September 20th, 2018 & Workshop in Sisimiut, personal communication, May 28th, 2019). Since the community meeting in 2018, the locals had become engaged however, they admitted that it was hard. They did not know where to get the support or

whom to ask, so they did it all by themselves. Yet, some actions seemed impossible for them as when it came to law and regulations on when to be allowed to sail with tourists. Many of the people in Sarfannguit have a boat motor that is too powerful, making them unfit for sailing with passengers, while at the same time they lack the certification which gives them the permission to sail with tourists at all, even though that the locals often know the water best. This clash between local knowledge and locals not being certified to take tourists out on trips is something that Ren and Chimirri (2018) also experienced during their fieldwork in Ilulissat. They raised the question of "how to create a certification framework which acknowledges local knowledge and its anchoring in local cultural heritage, but also responds to standardized requirements". Furthermore, this certification along with a new motor is a huge investment for a fishing family in Sarfannguit, especially given the risk of having no tourists at all. The locals have called for the municipality's help with these investments, but so far the locals in Sarfannguit do not feel that the municipality will provide assistance (Community meeting, personal communication, September 20th, 2018).

Nonetheless, the locals in Sarfannguit still managed to stand together as a community and establish some small projects. For example, they wanted to be the cleanest settlement in Greenland and had set up small trash bags around to try to change the habit of just throwing the trash onto the ground. When returning in May 2019, the settlement was definitely much cleaner, and my contact person told me that it had become a sport to keep the settlement clean. People want to keep it clean in case tourists come (S, personal communication, September 19-20th, 2018). As I mentioned earlier, the locals are proud of Sarfannguit being a key site even though they do not fully understand the implications of this. They want to develop the settlement to make it safer for the tourists. For example, they want to have streetlamps, a heart defibrillator and some extra beds in case of bad weather. So even though their balloon of enthusiasm was loosing air in terms of tourism development, the locals still have pride and want to show Sarfannguit best possible side.

Given such a dedicated community, how can there be a question about their(?) involvement? Involvement here implies how well Qeqqata Municipality have been able to include Sarfannguit in the planning and developmental process of the site and what expectations there would be for Sarfannguit as a key site. Notes and reports from the nomination process and the aftermath tell

about a bunch of community meetings, including those in Sarfannguit. The municipality does not know how they could have involved the locals more since they have had community meetings, information meetings, given the locals in Sarfannguit the opportunity to learn English and even offered a guiding course (O, personal communication, September 25th, 2018). Qeqqata Municipality stand by their claim that they have involved the locals. But when I talked with the locals, they did not feel like they were heard and therefore they felt they had not been a part of the development process. During my fieldwork, several experiences revealed that the locals and the municipality were not on the same page. At the community meeting in May 2019, we had a representative from Qeqqata Municipality participating. The representative talked about ideas for how Sarfannguit could attract more tourists by for example using Airbnb. However, the main concern of this meeting, from the perspective of the locals in Sarfannguit was:

> Can we be taken of the UNESCO-list, if UNESCO finds out that our incinerator is broken, and they see trash bags at the dump? It does not really look nice for tourists with many trash bags at a UNESCO site. (Community meeting, personal communication, May 27th, 2019)

These views (the representative from the municipality thinking about accommodations and the locals being concerned about where to dump the trash) clearly illustrates that they are concerned about different things. Another thing that worried the inhabitants in Sarfannguit was the lack of a heart defibrillator:

> But we have asked for it in a long time, but nothing has happened. What if a tourist dies here? Will it then be our fault? We do not have a doctor, and we would not know what to do. (Community meeting, personal communication, September 20th, 2018)

Their approaches towards and understandings of when Sarfannguit is ready for tourists are not the same at all, and when the municipality and the locals in Sarfannguit are not on the same page many misunderstandings and frustrations between the two parties occur. Therefore, I tried to determine how the meetings were conducted. When asking the locals about the experience of the meetings, I got this answer:

They bring their computer; they start a power-point and they tell us what and how to do it. They do not even listen to us. One day they said that someone want to build a hostel, but no one thought they were serious. But apparently, they were. We do not want a hostel until we are ready. We would love to have a cafe but that is apparently not possible. We would love to build cabins, but we never get permission. This is why we are giving up. (S, personal communication, September 19-20th, 2018)

Asking the municipality, I got his answer: "We feel like they have been eager throughout the whole project" (O, personal communication, September 25th, 2018).

Furthermore, I experienced that many of the locals did not really know what it meant to be a key site, only that it would mean that more tourists would come. When I presented this view about the key site to someone from the project group working with this UNESCO site, he said: "That is not true. We have told them many times what this means." (O, personal communication, September 25th, 2018)

I quickly realized that I would experience counter-discourses and disagreements of who said what. However, I am not aiming to determine who told the truth and I have several reasons for not wanting to do this. First of all, this is not a thesis about who did what. Instead, it is a thesis about local participation and sustainable development when implementing a UNESCO site locally. Secondly, it would simply be impossible. Thirdly, counter-discourses are expected due to the participants' different positions (locals in Sarfannguit versus the Qeqqata Municipality).

There is no doubt that Qeqqata Municipality and the locals in Sarfannguit have completely opposite experiences regarding whether they have participated in the planning process, and later the development process. I experienced that the different perceptions of how involved they have been are overshadowed by the lack of communication between the actors leading to misunderstandings. This conclusion leads me straight to the next storyline about communication, since communication and coordination seem to be their biggest problem, in my view, when it comes to implement this site sustainably and with engagement from the community.

5.2 The story of communication and coordination

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, I experienced confusion during my fieldwork while listening to the different participants' stories about involvement and communication. I found myself thinking that the stories of bad communication between the municipality and the locals in Sarfannguit were overexaggerated, due to the experience I had at the Industry and Tourism Seminar in Maniitsoq (September 15-17th). There I observed Qeqqata Municipality fighting for their region. Nevertheless, I was about to be surprised.
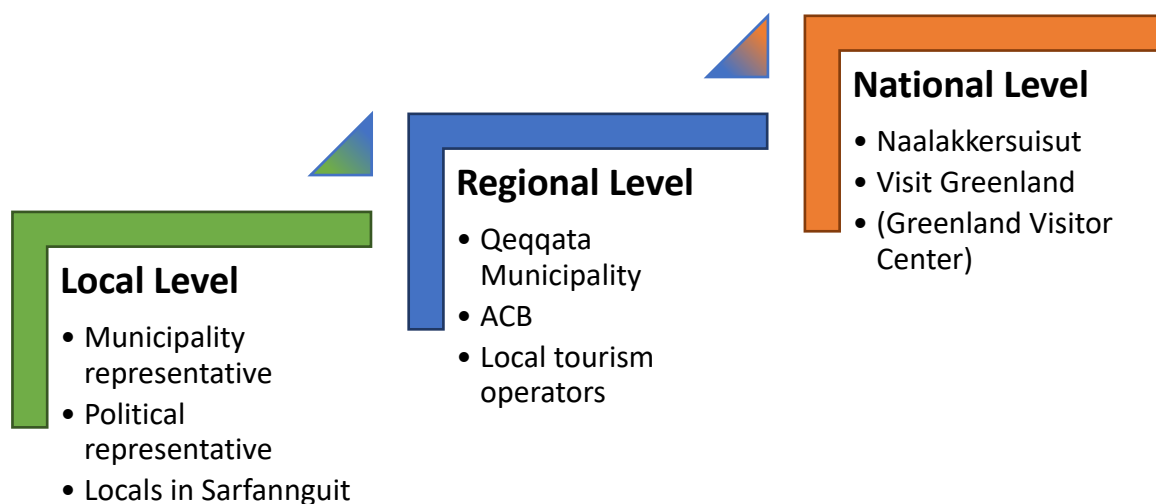
Local Level

- Municipality representative
- Political representative
- Locals in Sarfannguit

Regional Level

- Qeqqata Municipality
- ACB
- Local tourism operators

National Level

- Naalakkersuisut
- Visit Greenland
- (Greenland Visitor Center)

Figure 5. What groups belong within the different levels in my view

When I refer to communication amongst the different levels, I am referring to the communication between the national level (Naalakkersuisut and Visit Greenland), the regional level (Qeqqata Municipality, ACB and local tourism operators) and the local level (the locals in Sarfannguit). As Figure 5 shows, the local tourism operators are placed at the regional level, since none of the tourism operators that existed while I did my fieldwork lived in Sarfannguit. I want it to illustrate how bad communication, works its way through the different levels. The reason that I have placed the national level at the top is since it will be the actors at this level who decide the framework of the tourism industry in Greenland. I acknowledge that since this case study is about an UNESCO site, there is also, formally, an international level, i.e. UNESCO themselves. I have not focused much on communication between this international level and the national nor regional level, since none of my participants have included these levels in the interviews. However, I do know that the management plan of Aasivissuit-Nipisat

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states that local participation has been essential when formulating the application to UNESCO. Between 2010-2016 the municipality received a lot of inputs from the public meetings, workshops and interviews. Moreover, according to Article 15 in The Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage: "Each State Party shall endeavour to ensure the widest possible participation of communities (…) and to involve them actively in its management" (UNESCO, 2003). This article highlights the importance of local participation whilst being a UNESCO World Heritage Site.

At the seminar in Maniitsoq I had the chance to talk with the minister responsible for tourism. When asking him how the government included the regions when developing the National Strategy Plan of tourism in Greenland he answered, that he had been travelling to the different regions having seminars with workshops in order to get different inputs to the national tourism strategy plan. He appreciated input from both the private and administrative sector (G, personal communication, September 17th, 2018). Analyzing this answer, one can argue that Naalakkersuisut is taking initiative to include the different regions in the strategic planning of tourism. However, when talking with ACB, they do not feel this at all:

> They give us 2-3 days to write a page about our thoughts of tourism development in
> the region. Yet, when reading the national strategic plan none of our points are
> mentioned. It seems like a waste of time. (ACB-A, personal communication,
> September 25th, 2018)

This quote is an example of an actor on the regional level feeling unheard. However, the actors on the national level claim they have included the actors on the regional level in the process by travelling to the destinations and talking face-to-face with them about the current tourism situation and the local view on the future development at each destination.

One example which illustrates the tensions between the regional and the national level is without doubt the debate about the airports. This has been highly debated in Greenland, especially in Destination Arctic Circle since the plan can have an effect on their opportunities to further develop as a region. As the plan was presented while doing my fieldwork, Kangerlussuaq would either close or be degraded to a heliport, while new, big transatlantic

airports would be built in Nuuk and Ilulissat. The reason for choosing these destinations was mainly because most cruise ships come to Nuuk since it is the capital, and an airport makes Nuuk more convenient for cruise ship passengers. Rumors surfaced that if Inatsisartut decided to build the new airports in Nuuk and Ilulissat, Hurtigruten, the Norwegian coastline, would build hotels in both places and have cruises sailing up and down the coast of Western Greenland. These rumors were clarified later that same year and as soon as the agreement about the airport was signed, and Hurtigruten started their work (Turnowsky, 2018b). Secondly, the ice fjord in Ilussat is a huge tourist-magnet, so to have a transatlantic airport there would make it more convenient for tourists. However, by closing Kangerlussuaq airport or downgrading it to a heliport, the region Destination Arctic Circle would be left with unforeseen consequences. How would the tourists arrive? As beforementioned, the whole UNESCO site is built around the idea that one can hike from Aasivissuit to Nipisat and experience a time travel through the history of Greenland dating back 4,200 years. The uncertainty about the airport was something that had an impact on many of my participants. They did not know if they can even expect tourists in the future and many ideas and plans were on standby until the future of the airport was clear.

> Wow! It is not often that I attend meetings where you can just feel the pressure and tensions in the whole room. People were prepared for battle. Looking around at people it was easy to see, who were going to engage in the debate and fight (the mayor & the deputy city manager of Qeqqata Municipality), who were going to sit and listen (the representatives from Naalakkersuisut) and who were going to stay neutral (Visit Greenland). (Fieldwork diary, personal communication, September 18th, 2018)

It was after the meeting described in this quote from my fieldwork diary that I caught myself thinking that there was no way that Qeqqata Municipality could really be that bad at communicating with the locals in Sarfannguit – why would they not listen and include the locals, when the municipality had the same experience with Naalakkersuisut? When travelling to Sarfannguit I had the mindset that it was all one big misunderstanding and that people had been overexaggerating.

However, it did not take long until I realized that the bad communication was cyclical. First of all, the locals in Sarfannguit were tired of talking about what was going to happen:

> When is it going to happen? We just keep talking and talking, but we do not see any process. We were told we could build cabins for the tourists, but the applications we sent are rejected by the municipalities. (Community meeting 2018, personal communication, September 20th, 2018)

This statement not only came from Sarfannguit. I also heard something similar at the workshop in Maniitsoq asked by a local to the minister of Industry and Energy:

> So, what will happen next? We have now had another tourism-seminar. It is the same people meeting and talking about the struggles we face in this industry, but when will it change? (Statement at the seminar, personal communication, September 15-17th, 2018)

The people in the tourism industry were eager to get started and are very much engaged but they keep meeting a wall. In Sarfannguit, the locals really felt like it is an impossible situation:

> Why would they even consider placing cabins there (point at a location on the other side of the little fiord) without asking us? There is always strong wind and it is very steep – imagine someone falling down – maybe a kid! (Community meeting, personal communication, September 20th, 2018)

This was a point of contention throughout my fieldwork. Before ending my fieldwork, I asked a representative from the municipality why they would build cabins in such a place, when not recommended. He looked surprised at me: "These plans have been abandoned a long time ago. The locals said it would be dangerous and did not wish to have tourists staying there" (O, personal communication, September 25th, 2018). I then asked if the locals in Sarfannguit were informed about this change of plans, explaining that this concern about the cabins still occupied the locals. He admitted that the information might not have reached the locals directly, but it has been visible in the management plan of the municipality. This was not the only example of

an actor on the regional level admitting that all communication might not go as smoothly as one could hope.

> We have experienced that there seem to be some misunderstandings. First about the cabins and now about the hiking trails. It is just impossible to do a good job, when people do not want to tell you anything or when communication only goes one way. They work with their head under their arm. (ACB-A, personal communication, September 25th, 2018)

Acknowledging the role of ACB and the destination manager, I had several conversations with them about the communication between the different levels, since they work as a middleman. One of their most important tasks is to ensure that information is shared by all parties and that they are all consulted thoughout the development process. Though neutral they must provide a channel of communication between Naalakkersuisut, the municipality, the tourism operators and the locals. However, ACB are not satisfied with the way communication is carried out; ACB find the communication path unclear and difficult for the involved parties to know and understand who is doing what and where to seek help and information. This became clear in May 2019, during the community meeting in Sarfannguit. At this meeting the parties realized that there were two groups working on the same hiking trail with different approaches.

- I did not know that the municipality was working on the hiking path – I thought we had to do it all by ourselves.
- But if you had told us what you were working on it [the path], we could have informed you
- But I told my contact person in the municipality that we wanted to do that path. (Community meeting, personal communication, May 27th, 2019).

There were many more cases like this, illustrating confusing communication. There are many different organizations and actors involved when it comes to developing the tourism industry in Destination Arctic Circle, which made it confusing for the locals in Sarfannguit. They do not know who to contact as the example above illustrates. When I asked whether the process was coordinated between the different levels, the answer was most often: "No." Through interviews conducted with Visit Greenland and Naalakkersuisut, it became clear that the two groups intend

to include the DMOs and the locals in each region to get their input on the current tourism situation and how it should be developed further. They argued that they are developing the national tourism plan with input from the different tourism destinations (G, personal communication, September 17th, 2018; Q, personal communication, August 31st, 2018). However, this is not how Destination Arctic Circle experiences it. The lack of communication from the national to the regional level was often referred to as a struggle in my interviews. In general, communication between the different levels was a problem. ACB and the other DMOs around Greenland all want a much clearer communication path, which is why they at the DMO-workshop in February 2019, presented a communication map they believe is more manageable and functional – see Figure 6 (Email, personal communication, 2020).

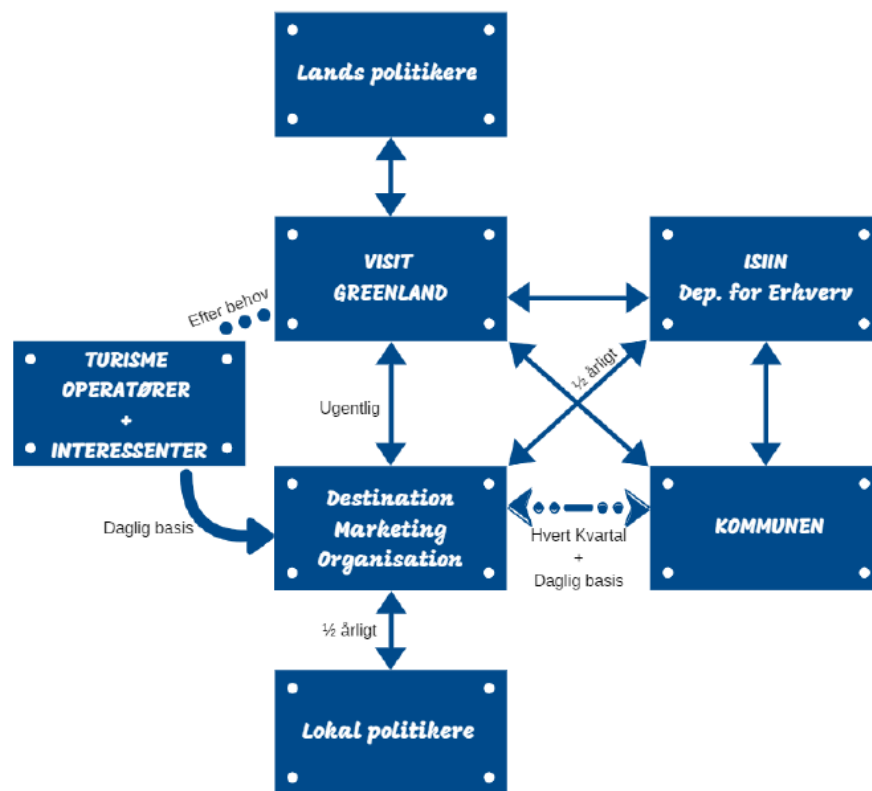*Figure 6*. Desired communications paths by the Destination managers
Retrieved from: Destination Marketing/management Organisation (2019)

The DMOs argue, that they have a constant need for dialogue with different stakeholders such as Naalakkersuisut, Qeqqata Municipality and Visit Greenland, in order to provide the locals with the correct information. In their view however, it is essential to have daily contact with the

different tourism operators in their own region (Destination Marketing/management Organisation, 2019). Without this dialogue, the DMOs will not be able to secure a strong and constructive dialogue between the tourism operators and local people involved, such as the inhabitants in Sarfannguit (Email, personal communication, 2020). While Figure 6 illustrates the DMOs' preferable communication path, Figure 7 shows the communication path I experienced during my fieldwork.
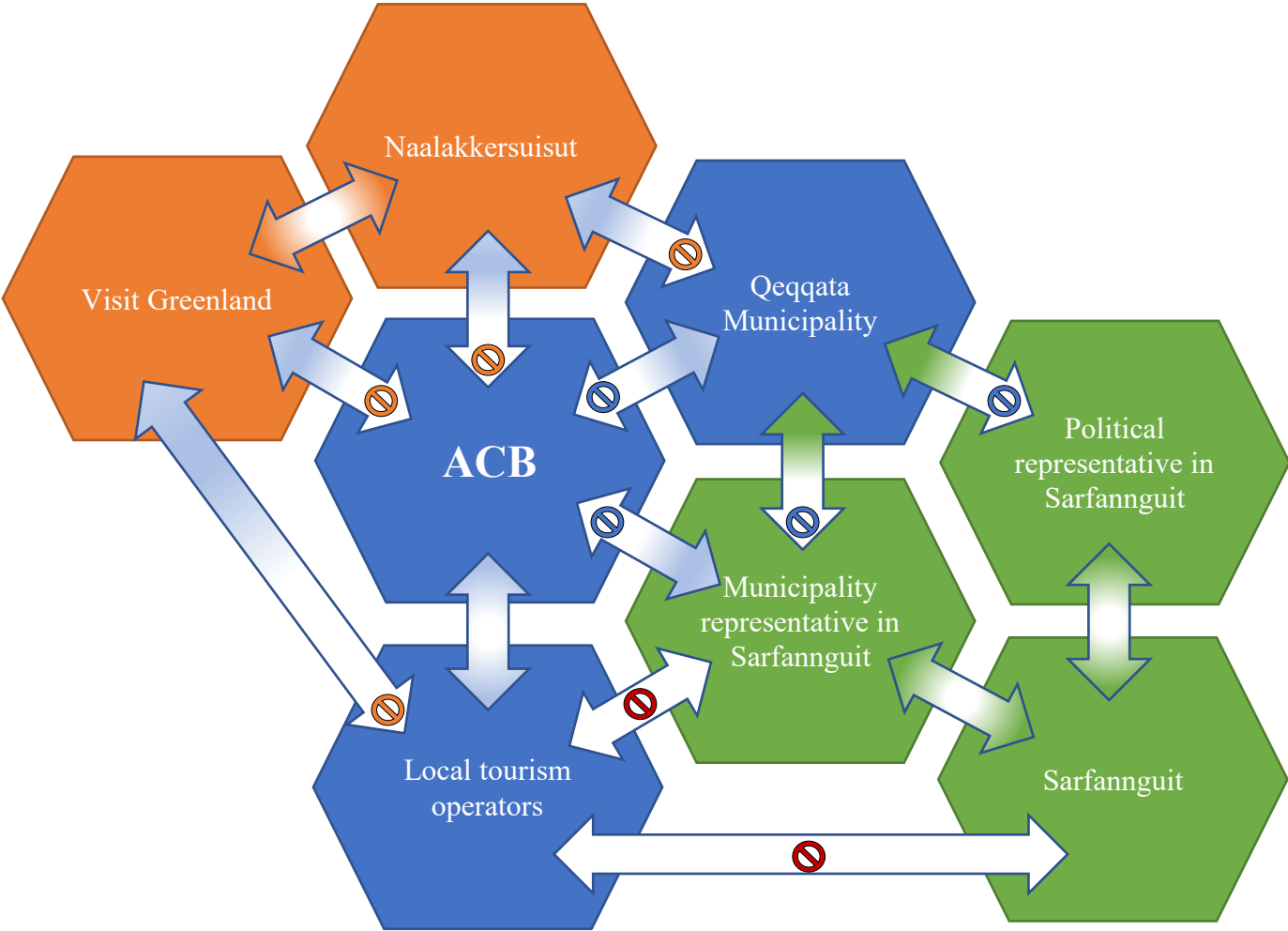

Figure 7. Current communition paths observed during my fieldwork

ACB is located in the middle of Figure 7, which is not a coincidence. As beforementioned, they serve the function of being a middleman between, for example, the locals in Sarfannguit and Visit Greenland. ACB communicates with Visit Greenland, Naalakkersuisut, Qeqqata

Municipality, local tourism operators and the municipality representative. However, very little is communicated back to ACB, as illustrated with the municipality representative not knowing that they should pass on information to ACB and instead passed information directly on to the contact person in the municipality. This representative often felt they lacked information. Figure 7 clearly visualizes the lack of communication between the local tourism operators and the locals in Sarfannguit, something which was highlighted several times during my fieldwork. The tourism operators were pretty good at communicating with ACB however, not necessarily with the locals: "It would be great if we here in Sarfannguit would know when the boats arrived with tourists. If we know, then we can be happy. Maybe even have a guide ready" (Community meeting, personal communication, May 27th, 2019). ACB have acted upon this frustration with the local tourism operators and reminded the tour-operator of the importance of using local guides from Sarfannguit. Through other interviews it became clear that the tour operators had wanted to use local guides, but did not want to compromise on the quality of the product which they offer the tourists. If the local guide did not master English well enough, the tour operator would bring their own guide to ensure their guests would get the best experience possible (F, personal communication, September 27th, 2018). This puts additional demands on locals in Sarfannguit, such as their language skills, which begs the question – is that fair? If the tourism operators are dissatisfied with the quality of local guides and bring their own guides, then the locals in Sarfannguit are less likely to be a part of the tourism which is happening in their own village. Thus, one has to ask if there is a way to combine the concerns of both parties regarding the language barrier.

Figure 7 also illustrates how well the communication between the actors at the same level (same color) functions. Naalakkersuisut and Visit Greenland have good communication. Local tourism operators, ACB and Qeqqata Municipality have good communication and both representatives in Sarfannguit communicates well with the local communities. The lack of communication and misunderstandings happen when the information needs to be moved from one level to another; that is when the one-way communication occurs. Qeqqata Municipality do not feel that Naalakkersuisut listens to them about the airport, and the locals in Sarfannguit do not feel listened to regarding tourism development in Sarfannguit. According to Qeqqata Municipality the locals in Sarfannguit were included throughout the application process to UNESCO and its aftermath. However, the locals held the opposite view. Despite conferences

and seminars that included the importance of collaboration with the other stakeholders, the locals in Sarfannguit never felt that they were heard, which illustrates clear collaboration flaws in (Fieldwork diary, personal communication, September 25th, 2018). When showing Figure 7 to my participants, they recognized this communication pattern. They pointed out that the communication often only went one way from for example the ACB to Visit Greenland, or from the locals to the municipality, or the tourism operators to the municipality. This created new frustrations during the workshop in Sisimiut in May 28th, 2019, where especially the tourism operators asked for more transparency from the municipality:

> What are the plans with the UNESCO site? What can I tell my tourists? What trips
> can I plan? I need to know something – I need to have something to tell them when
> they call. *(*Workshop in Sisimiut, personal communication, May 28th, 2019)

Based on my data, I feel comfortable concluding that a full appreciation of each other's needs and motives is still a work in progress in order for this UNESCO site to become a success, which leads us to the last storyline.

5.3 The story of success

As I already mentioned in section 1.2.3, I do not define successful tourism in terms of numbers of tourists. Instead, I see success as dependent on the relationship between the municipality, the tour operator and the locals in Sarfannguit. I argue, that in order to become a successful and sustainable tourism destination, local participation from Sarfannguit is needed.

During the interviews, when the participants were asked whether the participants believed that the new UNESCO site would become a success and attract tourists to the area, it was my interpretation that they were thinking in terms of numbers of guests. When asking those categorized as being outsiders, there was no doubt they did not believe that it would become a success simply because it would cost a lot to tell the story of the area. As one of my participants said, "it is basically a huge grass field – a lot needs to be done" (R, personal communication, August 30th, 2018). Nonetheless, it is important to stress that even though the outsiders do not believe that the site will become a success they still all hope for it, since tourism is good for Greenland. The minister of Industry and Energy (as a public authority) said: "I really hope that being a UNESCO site will make people come automatically" (G, personal communication,

September 17th, 2018). While ACB believe there are ample opportunities to develop activities that focus on the history of the UNESCO site, such as offering UNESCO dog sledding trips (ACB-A, personal communication, September 25th, 2018). Anette Lings, the manager of Hotel Sisimiut, supports this and argues that dog sledding tourism potentially could save the Greenlandic dog sledding culture and reactivate local knowledge that otherwise might fade away (Schultz-Nielsen, 2018b).

My participants opinion on whether or not the site would become a success depended on their position whether they were an outsider (being from outside of the region Destination Arctic Circle), local (from Sarfannguit) or an insider (ACB, Qeqqata Municipality and other locals from Sisimiut). I find that very interesting. The outsiders were mostly placed in Ilulissat and involved in tourism activities there, World of Greenland (WOG) being the biggest company in the city. In their experience, nature has a natural appeal, however, they now see increasing interest in exploring the authentic Greenland (R, personal communication, August 30th, 2018). Therefore, WOG has focused on building a lodge in a small settlement called Ilimanaq which has 50 residents and is located 15 km from Ilulissat. Over the course of ten years, WOG arranged talks, workshops and communicated with the locals in Ilimanaq about building the lodge and bringing tourists to their settlement, which otherwise was threatened with closure. It was important for WOG to have this long process to ensure that it was sustainable and based on the parameters set by the locals. In the end, the locals agreed to build the lodge with the understanding that it would create jobs for them. However, when I went to the settlement and talked with one local, the attitude was not as positive as I thought it would be:

> We agreed because it gave us hope and maybe we would get new roads. But they have split our settlement into two; one side is for tourists, the other one for us. People who previously lived on their side, have now moved to our side. (Fieldwork Diary, personal communication, September 1st, 2018)

Undoubtedly WOG had the best intentions when building this lodge, aiming for a sustainable development while including the local community. The question of the importance of local involvement, and the perception of such, still remains. WOG feel that Ilimanaq is a successful achievement with good collaboration, while locals in Ilimanaq are frustrated and feel that they

have lost a part of their settlement. This example illustrates different perceptions of success and underlines the importance of the positioning of my participant whether they are locals in a settlement, a tour operator, public authority or someone else.

5.4 The stories have been told

With Figure 4 in mind, I brought together my storylines by first collecting text through interviews, personal communication, documents and other available information. I have focused on the linguistic level to find a pattern. Afterwards, I have looked at the patterns and focused on how the participants could have drawn on already existing discourses that possibly could have affected them, when producing new text; in this case study the interpretation of local participation, communication and success. Lastly, when focusing on social practice I focused on the power relations and positioning of my participants. Throughout my analysis I have concentrated on the spoken language from my interviews while paying attention to the connection between saying (informing), doing (action) and being (identity), as emphasized by Gee (2014).

Before my fieldwork, I anticipated some tensions between Qeqqata Municipality and the locals in Sarfannguit. The first two storylines have clearly showed that the community is eager and wants to be a part of a successful tourism development despite some of the economical obstacles. In fact, the locals in Sarfannguit are so engaged that they have started on their own. Recently, they have started a project aiming to become the cleanest settlement in Greenland. They have also search for funding for the camping site and have had several community meetings to try to reach a consensus regarding what they want to offer the tourists and what makes Sarfannguit special. Despite the community engagement, it is impossible to ignore the fact that communication between the different levels remains dysfunctional. This has led to misunderstandings between different groups working on the same project (such as the hiking path), which has left the locals in Sarfannguit feeling like the municipality and/or tourism operators (or anyone for that matter) do not listen to them.

As beforementioned, at the Industry and Tourism seminar in Maniitsoq (September 15-17th) I had the opposite experience. The municipality fought for their region regarding the whole debate about closing Kangerlussuaq airport and infrastructure in general, and wanted to create

economic stability, e.g. through tourism. According to the municipality, they have done a good job of including the locals throughout the implementation of the new UNESCO site through meetings and workshops. Conversely, they feel that Naalakkersuisut is the actual obstacle for developing a successful tourism industry.

I was repeatedly surprised by the communication gap between Naalakkersuisut, the municipality and the locals in Sarfannguit. To me it appeared like the attitudes between the different stakeholders and the communication between the different levels eventually create mistrust that continues all the way down the system. This lack of communication has led to Qeqqata Municipality feeling like Naalakkersuisut is working against their goal of increasing tourism and the locals in Sarfannguit feeling excluded from the whole tourism development by the municipality. Thus, researchers must ask what this debate about the connection between local participation and sustainable development can teach us.

The locals really want to be a part of this tourism

development – no doubt.

But they keep saying that they do not know where to begin.

They keep mentioning that they know the place better than

anyone else so they really should be involved.

They can contribute.

However, they are afraid that the people in Sisimiut sees

them as «landsby-tosser».

(Fieldwork Diary: September 20th, 2018).

Photo by: Karl Brix Zinglersen – BuSK-project

6. Ensuring sustainable development when implementing Aasivissuit – Nipisat – Discussion

In the previous chapter on storylines, I addressed the first part of my research question on the extent to which the locals in Sarfannguit have been part of the planning process of future development(s) when implementing the Aasivissuit-Nipisat site locally. I have outlined how the locals, from their perspective, feel a lack of involvement. One common pattern throughout my fieldwork, highlighted in the storylines, are the diverse perceptions of local participation, communication and success, depending on the position of the participant. The decision-making process around and management of natural resources is often contested by the stakeholders involved. If the purpose of tourism is to support the local well-being, then is must be responsible. This implies that the stakeholders involved must reconcile the situation and experiences among each other in order to find a balance working for all. Most importantly, they should work for the locals in order to realize a sustainable development; but what is meant by sustainable development?

In this chapter I will first address the descriptive and analytical questions about to what extent the locals in Sarfannguit have been involved in the process of planning possible future developments, and what the debate about Tourism in Sarfannguit can teach us about the connection between local participation and tourism development. Afterwards, I will discuss the prescriptive question regarding what lessons can be learned about local participation when needing to establish and/or develop sustainable tourism in small communities. In this discussion, I will include AECO as an example of an organization that aims to ensure both responsible and sustainable tourism in the cruise industry in the Arctic and discuss some of the initiatives that they have launched to achieve this goal.

6.1 Sustainable tourism

With 1.2 billion tourists crossing borders each year, tourism has a profound and wide-ranging impact on societies, the environment and the economy (UNWTO, 2020). The idea of sustainable tourism involves recognizing and accepting the negative impacts that the tourism industry can entail and find a way to manage these in order to achieve the goals of sustainable development. The inherent relationship between sustainability and tourism has received

increasing scholarly attention, since Butler (1980) introduced his approach on tourist area life cycle model and Britton (1982) came with his dependency perspective followed by the concerns about carrying capacity that were expressed by O'Reilly (1986).

Saarinen (2006) identifies three main traditions in the understanding and conceptualization of sustainable tourism: the resource-based, the activity-based and the community-based traditions. These main traditions enlighten what the locals in the given area define as acceptable and unacceptable changes to socio-ecological systems and how sustainable tourism should be managed. The resource-based tradition is based on the concept of carrying capacity, which determines the maximum number of tourists that a destination can support without negative impact. The activity-based tradition is when an activity is implying that there is a limit of growth and a maximum capacity. It focuses on tourism as an economic activity. Lastly, the community-based tradition focuses on the perspective of stakeholders, especially the local communities, and their perceptions of acceptable changes caused by tourism (Saarinen, 2006).

Over the past decade, the general impacts of tourism have received increased attention (Saarinen, 2006). Tourism is a double-edged sword, which on the one side, has led to a growth and development in specific destination areas, but along with these possibilities, the increase in tourism has led to environmental, social, cultural, economic and political issues (Saarinen, 2006, p. 1121).

United Nations World Trade Organization (UNWTO) defines sustainable tourism as:

> Tourism that takes full account of its current and future economic, social and environmental impacts, addressing the needs of visitors, the industry, the environment and host communities. (UNWTO Sustainable Development, n.d)

An unsustainable tourism industry is a negative cycle where gentrification occurs. For example, the industry takes in so many tourists in one place that the locals are driven out of their homes, prices rise to a level where the inhabitants no longer can afford to live in their own hometown with local wages. In Sarfannguit, an unsustainable tourism industry could potentially lead to the locals in Sarfannguit moving away or their natural resources being depleted, such as decrease in fish population due to increase of boat traffic and the implications that brings along like pollution in the inshore waters. To summarize, the key challenges today is to take

sustainability into consideration when developing tourism. This includes the conservation of biodiversity, safeguarding of cultural heritage, reduction of environmental toxins and pollution, as well as use of land in a sustainable way, and social aspects such as identifying and managing business impact on people (Jacobsen & Viken, 2014)

UNWTO's definition of sustainable tourism is the one often referred to within the tourism research. However, Saarinen argues that this definition only considers the conditions of a given destination instead of looking at tourism in the world as a whole (Saarinen, 2006). Saarinen argues further that the idea of sustainable tourism is about facing and accepting the negative impacts that tourism inherently brings along with it. The industry needs to be able to manage the negative impacts in order to become sustainable (Saarinen, 2006, p. 1126). Sustainable tourism and sustainable development are, as Saarinen states, complex concepts (Saarinen, 2006, p. 1123). For some it is about sustainable management strategies to make sure that the economy and community stay strong and healthy, while others think of sustainability in terms of the use of the natural environment (du Cros & McKercher, 2015, p. 15). Kerr (1994) noted that what is good for conservation is not necessarily good for tourism, and what is good for tourism is rarely good for conservation (in du Cros & McKercher, 2015, p. 15). This statement is still relevant today, especially in this case study of the Aasivissuit – Nipisat site. What might be economically good for the Qeqqata Municipality might not be good for the cultural integrity of the entire site and the people living there. Therefore, in order to maximize the positive impact of tourism the entire tourism community will need to work together to promote sustainable tourism, making local participation essential.

6.2 Sustainability and the everyday life

It is generally believed that tourism can enhance the quality of life for a community's residents and bring along new opportunities for development (du Cros & McKercher, 2015) Sarfannguit is a community that is really eager to participate in developing tourism activities in both their village and the surrounding area. This has been shown through some of the actions taken, like applying for building cabins, being the cleanest village in Greenland, applying for funding to the campsite, trying to find funding for a multi-scene to have concerts during the summer and creating a hiking path to the end of the UNESCO site.

The storylines reveal that Sarfannguit and the municipality do not always share the same view when discussing the developments needed for Sarfannguit to be ready to welcome tourists. While the locals in Sarfannguit wanted to prioritize acquiring streetlights and heart defibrillators to ensure the safety of the tourists, the municipality were already planning cabins and locals from Sisimiut were planning to build a hostel. This was something the locals from Sarfannguit were not comfortable discussing while I was there, since they wanted to prioritize the development of the village's infrastructure first: "What if something happens to a tourist and we cannot help them? Who will be blamed?" (Community meeting 2018, personal communication, September 20th, 2018).

Furthermore, the storylines also expose different perceptions on whether or not Sarfannguit has been included, depending on the position of the participants. The municipality feels like they have included the locals throughout the whole process, yet the locals do not feel like they are being considered. The municipality held several public meetings, and even though public meetings are an essential tool when planning the development process, it still has its pros and cons. There are both strengths and weaknesses to arranging public meeting as illustrated in Figure 8 below.

Strengths
Enables large numbers of people to have their say
Provides an opportunity to explain processes, gives information and gathers feedback
Demonstrates openness and transparency
Can attract publicity or be used as a launch event
Enables participants to develop networks

Weaknesses
Unlikely to be representative - not everyone has the time or inclination to attend
Attendance is often low unless people feel personally or deeply concerned
Some people are likely to be inhibited from speaking in a large group
Traditional formats can limit audience contribution and lead to conflict
If confrontational it may lead to poor media publicity

Figure 8. Public meeting – Strengths & weaknesses
Retrived from: Community Places (2014)

After having analyzed my interviews, I see that some of the locals from Sarfannguit felt it has been impossible to get involved in tourism or they felt uncomfortable sharing information. During the workshop in Sisimiut in May 2019, the representative from Sarfannguit presented what the locals in Sarfannguit had agreed upon. He said that the locals in Sarfannguit could provide housing and welcome 12 tourists at once, the rest would have to sleep in tents at the camping site (Workshop in Sisimiut, personal communication, May 28th, 2019). He was being criticized by the tour operators present at the meeting for having set a maximum number of tourists before they had begun arriving. However, this was based on the number of tourists the locals in Sarfannguit felt that they could easily be accommodated in their homes. The community did not feel comfortable letting tourists sleep at either the school nor kindergarten, so 12 tourists housed privately was their carrying capacity. However, this made him hesitant to present new initiatives in the future since he felt attacked once being open about their plans, visions and dreams for the settlement. This episode illustrates how the locals experience cooperation between the different actors being the tour operator in this example and demonstrates how the locals are not listened to when others are planning tours to their village. This experience can be viewed as contrary to what the community-based sustainable tourism aims for. Here, it is important that the locals are empowered in relation to tourism development, so the changes caused by tourism are not too overwhelming for the local community without compromising the quality of tourist experiences.

The different positions that I encountered during my fieldwork reveals how varying degrees of participation and communication among stakeholders affects the balance between the

economy, society and environment, which are essential aspects of the UN in order to sustainably develop tourism (see Figure 2, page 9). These three main factors are a common way to conceptualize and study sustainability in tourism and to create a common understanding that these factors need to be taken into consideration in order to realize the goals of sustainable tourism.

6.3 Importance of local participation

The community's bond to the land is strongly tied to place, family and community and is powerful in the locals' decision-making process. They fear the consequences that tourism might have:

> How can we go hunting reindeer? Maybe the tourists will scare them away? This
> year I walked so far to find a reindeer, and when I finally found something living,
> it was a tourist! (U, personal communication, September 20th, 2018)

However, no one mentioned that they had considered moving away. It has been shown that the values that people attach to places are based on traditional knowledge as well as emotional reactions (Jørgensen & Bozeman, 2007). The locals' view on sustainability is therefore multi-layered. They are longing for development in the village and believe that tourism can open for this, yet they still want to protect the village and their lifestyle. They do not want too many tourists, and they would prefer to be able to control when the tourists are allowed to visit the settlement, so it does not collide with the reindeer hunting season, for example.

Qeqqata Municipality has the vision to be a sustainable municipality and has formulated five important elements that they need to focus on in order to fulfill the vision of being sustainable: motivation, responsibility, fellowship, competence development and dialogue. The municipality encourages local participation so everyone takes responsibility for the community that surrounds them (Qeqqata Kommunia, 2018, p. 5). This means that the locals in Sarfannguit should be included in the planning process of future tourism developments and in a dialogue with the relevant partners, when planning tourism activities in Sarfannguit in order to fulfill the municipality's vision. Nonetheless, when I asked one participant whether the municipality is sustainable or not, he answered, "yeah, Qeqqata is sustainable in the way that we (municipality)

think about what we do. We have the best intentions" (M, personal communication, September 12th, 2018).

In general, the local tour operators from Sisimiut consider sustainable tourism to be important when developing tourism activities in the region. They agree that tourism must have a minimal impact on the environment and encourage their tourists to leave no trace when for example hiking (F, personal communication, September 27th, 2018). These local tour operators also acknowledge the need to use local guides however, they do not want to use local guides if it lowers the quality of the tourists' experience due obstacles such as language barriers (F, personal communication, September 27th, 2018).

At the community meeting in Sarfannguit 2018, they discussed both which kind of tourism activities the locals wanted to offer the tourists, and most importantly what kind of tourists they would like to welcome. The participants quickly agreed: "No big cruise ships!" When I asked why, they all agreed that they did not have enough space in the village for so many tourists. It would simply interfere with their daily lives. Also, the big cruise ships could ruin the beautiful fjord and scare away the fish (Community meeting 2018, personal communication, September 20th, 2018). I got the impression that the locals in Sarfannguit are afraid of over-tourism. Defined by Goodwin (2017) over-tourism is when:

> A tourist destination where hosts or guests, locals or visitors, feel that there are too
> many visitors that it has an effect on the quality of both the tourists' experience and
> the life of the locals.

According to Erik Bjerregaard[5], it is not necessarily about getting *many* tourists but instead getting the right ones. He does not support the idea of getting big cruise ships to Greenland, but rather the small expedition cruises where the tourists on board are interested in learning about the country and the unique culture, and they support the local communities by buying souvenirs and experiences (Krarup, 2017). Even though at the moment Greenland does not show signs of over-tourism, the locals in Sarfannguit can still feel overwhelmed if they have 200 tourists in

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[5] Erik Bjerregaard is well known within the Greenlandic tourism industry and has work with tourism in about 40 years. He was the director of Hotel Arctic in Ilulissat for 20 years before retiring in 2018.

their village. Some even mentioned that they were afraid of not being able to continue living in the village if tourists come as it suits them (S, personal communication, September 19-20th, 2018). Therefore, the locals in Sarfannguit hope for a better dialogue and planning when tourists will arrive; something that was mentioned at both community meetings in 2018 and 2019. However, they feel that the communication and coordination between the tourism operator and themselves is very limited, practically nonexistent (S, personal communication, September 19-20th, 2018).

Having experienced only one tourist visiting Sarfannguit at the time when I did my fieldwork, it can seem odd that the settlement is afraid of over-tourism. However, this fear of over-tourism illustrates the importance of communication between the different stakeholders, especially with the locals in Sarfannguit. When Sarfannguit presented their view on how many the settlement was able to host at the workshop in Sisimiut, the tour operator from Sisimiut started to question why Sarfannguit had decided to put a maximum number of guests. Nonetheless, this was what Sarfannguit felt was their carrying capacity. At this point, if tourism should be sustainably developed, there is no doubt that there is a need to follow Saarinen's approach to community-based tourism which empowers the locals in Sarfannguit. In this case, it means that the tour operator should accept when Sarfannguit make such decisions and listen to the locals' perspectives on what are acceptable and unacceptable changes caused by tourism. Considering what Erik Bjerregaard states about not having too many tourists, but instead those who are willing to pay, it is good that there are few tourists coming to Sarfannguit; the smaller the better.

Furthermore, the understanding of sustainability and local participation will always depend on the position of the stakeholder. Ren et al. (2020, p. 8) concluded that tourism is recognized as being important for the future development of the Arctic, yet it should be planned carefully. They advocate for public involvement. I argue that in my case study public involvement exists however, only to a certain degree. There has been public meetings, discussions, and workshops about tourism development and how it should be done in the future, yet the locals in Sarfannguit do not feel like they have been involved. I therefore make a distinction between public involvement and local participation, arguing that in order to make tourism a positive driver for sustainable change, which can improve the local wellbeing and community, local participation becomes essential. The position of the involved stakeholders should always be taken into

consideration when discussing future tourism development in the UNESCO site Aasivissuit-Nipisat.

6.4 The way forward?

By using AECO as an example I will discuss whether there are any lessons learned regarding how to organize for local participation, involvement and sustainable development.

Swarbrooke argues that the future of tourism depends on the social fabric of the host community (Swarbrooke 1999, p. 13 in Saarinen 2006, p. 1124). Budeanu et al. (2016, p. 288) support the idea that stakeholders often hold different views on what sustainability means and how important it is. Community participation in the process of tourism development is important for the following reasons (Tosun, 2002):

- Creating common sense
- Long term success of tourist destination
- Providing strong community support which is important for the tourism development
- Providing the establishment of good relations between tourist and the locals community
- Increasing the benefits provided from the national improvement

In Sarfannguit tourism could possibly bring new opportunities, the question then remains how to ensure that it is sustainable? The locals have a fear of cruise ships and how they may impact both their surround environment and their everyday life. AECO is an organization that is set up to represent the interests of the cruise ship industry without negatively impacting the environment and local community. During my fieldwork in 2018, AECO was introducing stakeholders to the idea of Community Guidelines and helping formulate these at a workshop in Sisimiut. Despite the fact that the workshop was open for everyone with interest, it was only local tourism operators in Sisimiut, small scale businesses such as artists and cafés, the local town museum and ACB who participated. The aim of these community specific guidelines was to prepare the tourists beforehand on how they should behave when visiting a small settlement. For example, it asked them not to photograph the children or touch the sledge dogs or snow mobiles. It is how tourism can thrive in small communities without irritating the local

community. AECO's members are obligated to, of course, follow national and international laws and regulations, but they have in addition agreed to follow guidelines formulated by the communities themselves. By using community specific guidelines as a tool, AECO are giving the local communities an opportunity to participate in how tourism should develop at the destination which may according to Garrod (2003) prevent resistance and avoid decisions that otherwise could create conflict. Instead, by having the destination included in the development process, the likelihood of a supportive community increases. As Page (2007) argues, tourist satisfaction is likely to be greater where host communities support and take pride in tourism. All participation is dependent on getting local people to engage and to share their knowledge, creating a collaboration and opportunity for communication. AECO can be seen as having taken a step towards sustainable tourism, since the locals have been involved in the process for how to develop cruise ship tourism in their community. It has been decided when formulating the community-specific guidelines for Sisimiut that a set of both community-specific and site-specific guidelines will be created for Sarfannguit and for some of the key sites in the UNESCO area. It remains to be seen whether the municipality and AECO will include the locals in Sarfannguit to make sure that tourism development will move towards being more sustainable in terms of securing local participation and economic growth in the settlement while taking care of the surrounding environment.

The outcome of the workshop was that some guidelines were made

which must now be formulated precisely by the ACB - then they will

be sent out to all of AECO's members for next season.

The meeting was incredibly rewarding and showed how easy it

really is to gather each other and reach an agreement.

This should be done in relation to UNESCO; an UNESCO

workshop where everyone could be allowed to talk about their

ideas and visions for the area - that would be great!

(Fieldwork Diary: September 11th, 2018)

7. Concluding remarks

Generally speaking, tourism has economic, social, cultural and environmental effects on any given community, which as a phenomena needs be studied in more details. Tourism has the potential positive economic outcomes but can also manifest social and cultural problems causing the destruction of the artificial and natural environment if not done properly. As I outlined throughout this thesis, tourism present some challenges in general: Conservation of biodiversity, safeguarding of cultural heritage, reduction of environmental toxins and pollution, as well as use of land in a sustainable way, and the social aspects such as identifying and managing business impact on people. When addressing these challenges for communities, such as Greenland communities, I emphasize the importance of local participation when developing a tourism industry.

This case study highlights what the process of establishing tourism in Sarfannguit can teach us about local participation and sustainable development by focusing on the stories told by my participants. My research identifies unfolding and evolving storylines of local participation and sustainable development, underpinned by competing rationalities of development. In this context, the governance of tourism was framed by modernization and environmental conservation, which supported competing views of local participation, communication and success.

This indicates that different perceptions of the definition of local participation have led to misunderstandings, especially between the locals in Sarfannguit, the municipality and the tourism operators in Sisimiut. Feeling excluded the locals in Sarfannguit have assumed a negative attitude towards initiatives taken by outsiders, in this case Qeqqata Municipality and tourism operators in Sisimiut. It is notable that the storylines are conflicting depending on the position of the participants. Yet this underlines that the communication, or the lack thereof is the biggest issue in this case study leading to the conclusion that a new communication path, a simpler one, is needed to prevent misunderstandings. Also, the municipality needs to improve their communication with the locals in Sarfannguit in order for the locals to feel included in the process instead of being told what to do. Local participation becomes essential to achieve sustainable developed tourism anchored locally. This is because tourism will affect the everyday life and livelihood of the locals in Sarfannguit.

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AECO is used as an example for how an organization can contribute to better practices towards local communities in regard of sustainable tourism development. AECO and their community guidelines are a way to contribute to sustainable tourism at the destination since they teach the tourists proper behavior before arriving at the destination. Furthermore, these guidelines are created through dialogue with the community, making this collaboration a step towards sustainable development based on local premises. In order to implement the UNESCO site sustainably, similar methods ensuring local participation this way are recommended.

My findings are important in relation to policy making because different perceptions of sustainability affect how stakeholders collaborate to manage and develop tourism, both within the same and between different levels of governance. In hopes of success, the UNESCO site requires changes among the involved partners. Early in my thesis, I defined success as a collaborative partnership that requires local participation, in order to attain sustainable tourism development. Locals in Sarfannguit should actively participate in tourism development by seeking partnerships and opportunities with the already developed tourism operators in Sisimiut, since they themselves lack both the needed certification to sail with tourists and suitable boat motors. Furthermore, the locals should be involved in the decision-making activities through public meetings and/or community meetings to help decide what forms of tourism they want. Also, ACB should continue to offer guide training and English courses to the local community, aiming to support them become more involved in tourism development both as entrepreneurs and as employees. Hopefully these courses will open opportunities for better partnerships amongst the locals in Sarfannguit and the tour-operator. Alternatively, a solution involving an interpreter to assist in communication between the English speakers and the local guide could be an option. In this way the tour operator can ensure an authentic experience in Sarfannguit. As a result, this would create employment opportunities for the locals in Sarfannguit, improve the living standards and make the locals in Sarfannguit more supportive for tourism development. As Garod (2003) stated, the long-term sustainability of tourism can be jeopardized if communities are not involved in the planning and management of tourism.

As beforementioned in section 2.1, the national level lacks some tools in order to control tourism. Greenland needs to formulate laws and regulations. At the moment there are no rules nor regulations for cruise ships making free landing in Greenland, meaning that they can drop off tourists for free basically everywhere. This will eventually leave a big impact on the natural environment. AECO exemplifies that through voluntary membership, and by-laws and guidelines, tourists can be prepared for the world they will meet. They have, in cooperation with local communities, managed to control the number of tourists through the tools provided in order to leave only a little impact on the community. Therefore, some tourist taxes, a UNESCO fee or similar, is recommended despite the challenges that some of my participants mentioned in this regard along with site specific guidelines. Site specific guidelines are a longer process since it involves more actors. For example, scientists who will make sure that the fauna at a given site will not be ruined by allowing tourists into a certain area. However, ACB has promised that the locals in Sarfannguit will be included when defining the site guidelines for both Sarfannguit and Nipisat (Community meeting, personal communication, May 27th, 2019).

Therefore, I argue that partnerships are perceived as a means to achieve sustainable tourism. According to du Cros and McKercher (2015, p. 14), each side needs to develop a stronger and more comprehensive understanding of how the other views the assets, values them and seeks to have them used in order to achieve integration and partnership (du Cros & McKercher, 2015, p. 14). It is also about the locals in Sarfannguit feeling empowered in their own community. They are able as a group to determine their own affair: how do they want tourism to look like, how to they want to be represented? Which stories should be told? If they do not want any tourists, can they say no? Who is actually at the top of the ladder when it comes to decision-making? And are the locals in Sarfannguit being consulted or are they actually participating in the process? Figure 2 (page 9) illustrates how the balance between the social conditions, economy, environment and climate is essential to reach sustainable development. However, my participants varying positions and priorities illustrates that such a balance can be challenging to find. For example, when the municipality is ready to build hostel, but the locals are still focusing on streetlamps and general safety in the settlement first. Sustainable tourism should be primarily focus on using tourism to make better places for people to live in, and secondly about making the destination better for tourists to visit.

Yet, those involved have been slow to realize the importance of community participation in tourism development. Hopefully this thesis will contribute to and advocate for the importance of researching *how* local communities should participate in tourism development. In my research, I argue that if sustainable tourism is to be achieved, the local community must be included in the planning process. COVID-19 has given tourism a new opportunity to rethink and redevelop in Greenland. Hopefully this is done by incorporating the local community and monitoring their attitudes. Based on my case study from Sarfannguit, I advocate that it should be a priority in order to successfully realize sustainable tourism.

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