

Place based regeneration of the Colonial Harbor in Nuuk, Greenland



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Master's Thesis

Urban Planning and Management, Aalborg University

June 2017

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AALBORG UNIVERSITY
STUDENT REPORT

Front page picture:

The Colonial Harbor in Nuuk

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Resume

Titel: Place based regeneration of the Colonial Harbor in Nuuk, Greenland

Projektperiode: 01.02.2017 – 02.06.2017

Nærværende kandidatspeciale i Urban Planning and Management ved Aalborg Universitet, omhandler byudvikling baseret på lokal identitet. I omdannelse af eksisterende områder kan den lokale identitet blive overset eller forbigået, men det er et vigtigt element i byplanlægning idet stedsidentitet og vores forhold til omgivelserne er med til at forme os som mennesker. Dette projekt beskæftiger sig specielt med forholdet mellem bygningskulturarv og stedsidentitet, herunder hvordan disse bidrager til byliv og lokal økonomisk udvikling.

Casen der analyseres ud fra er den gamle bydel i Nuuk, Grønland; Kolonihavnen. Til dette område knytter der sig en række specielle forhold og omstændigheder, blandt andet at hovedparten af bygningskulturarven stammer fra perioden under den danske kolonialisering af Grønland. I denne periode var de indfødte grønlandere undertrykte af den danske kolonimagt. Dette har stadig sit aftryk i det grønlandske samfund, hvilket blandt andet kommer til udtryk i at der både tales grønlandsk og dansk, at Danmark bidrager til den grønlandske økonomi med et bloktilskud samt at der er en selvstændighedsbevægelse i gang. Disse forhold og flere gør at det grønlandske samfund kan kategoriseres som et postkolonialistisk hybrid samfund, hvilket er et behjælpeligt perspektiv i forståelsen af indbyggernes refleksioner over Kolonihavnen.

Ovenstående opsummeres i problemformuleringen: *How can urban planners activate place identity and its contribution to public life and local economy through place regeneration? - The case of the Colonial Harbor, in Nuuk, Greenland.* Denne understøttes yderligere af underspørgsmålene: *Why is place identity relevant in urban regeneration projects? What is the place identity and place qualities of Nuuk and the Colonial Harbor? How are the place identity and place qualities of the Colonial Harbor mobilized? How can place identity and place qualities in the Colonial Harbor be supported through planning?*

Den teoretiske baggrund og bagvedliggende forståelsesramme for analysen udgøres bl.a. af begreberne place identity, place attachment, experience economy, place branding og storytelling.

Indsamling af data der danner grundlag for analysen er foregået ved 31 interviews med indbyggere og besøgende i Kolonihavnen, ekspert interviews med en kommunal planlægger, kurator ved Grønlands Nationalmuseum og Arkiv, repræsentant fra Sermersooq Business Council, turismeoperatør samt lederen af systuen Kittat. Derudover

er flere dokumenter analyseret, bl.a. kommuneplantillægget der udgør den lokale plan for området, og der er gjort observationer i området, understøttet af fotos og noter.

Under analysen fremkommer der flere problemstillinger relateret til den generelle planlægning og til mobiliseringen af stedsidentiteten i Kolonihavnen. Planlægningen i Grønland er generelt udfordret af mangel på ressourcer, arbejdsprocesser og specialiseret arbejdskraft. I forhold til at aktivere stedsidentiteten i Kolonihavnen drejer løsningsforslagene sig særligt om vedligeholdelse af kulturarvsbygningerne, æstetik og det historiske tema i det fysiske miljø, udnyttelse af lokaler og midlertidig anvendelse, aktivering af kultur- og naturoplevelser og netværksdannelse mellem aktørerne på stedet.

Diskussionen omhandler de generelle problemstillinger planlæggerne i Grønland møder, hvordan byomdannelse og byfornyelse balanceres og hvordan konceptet place branding kan anvendes i et planlægningsperspektiv.

Slutteligt konkluderes der jævnfør ovenstående og der perspektiveres til alternative netværks- og samarbejdsformer der udgør nutidige tendenser i det globale planlægningsperspektiv.

Prewords

The present thesis is written in February to June, in Nuuk, Greenland, during my employment as student assistant at the National Planning Department in Naalakkersuisut, the Government of Greenland. My interest in Greenland derives from my internship as municipal planner in Kujalleq Municipality during the fall semester 2017, where I also gained contacts at the National Planning Department. Greenland is a beautiful, scenic country with warmhearted people, but faces several challenges in the nearby future, as all countries do. I hope someday I will revisit.

I would like to thank my supervisor Carsten Jahn Hansen for guidance, and Runa Mathiesen, Inge Bisgaard, Ivik Knudsen-Ostermann, Claus Christoffersen and Nauja Brøns for contributing with their expert knowledge through interviews. Finally, I would also like to thank Thomas Gaarde Madsen, Teit Groth and Fie Vincentz from the National Planning Department, for introducing me to the national perspective on planning, having patience with all my questions and supporting the development of the present thesis.

Reading guidance: The Harvard reference system is utilized in this project. When a source is used multiple times the first reference is regular and the following references are (Ibid.). When the same source is used consistently throughout a paragraph, the source is referenced after the final “.” of that paragraph.

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0 Introduction

Greenland is a country of many contrasts and much diversity. From the many small settlements under 500 inhabitants to the capital of Nuuk; from old, mold-infested wooden houses with outhouses to fancy buildings built by famous architects and from the traditional native Greenlandic fisher and hunter lifestyle and mentality to the modern society influenced by western and Danish culture. These are just examples of the diverse facets that the planners of Greenland must balance in their work. An example of the contrasts in Nuuk, is the Colonial Harbor which is physical placed between the modern city and the ocean, in time it is placed between the present and the colonial times and in identity placed between the native Greenlanders and the Danes, whom still have a high degree of influence in the country. The formal Greenlandic name of the area is Nuutoqaq, but since it in daily speech is called the Colonial Harbor, this is how it is referenced in this project.

Greenland has been undergoing a process of secession from Denmark, initiated by the establishment of the home government of Greenland in 1979 and has been furthered strengthened by the establishment of the Government of Greenland in 2009 (Government of Greenland, 2013). The debate about independence is symbolized by the inclusion of independence as an area of governance under the Ministry of Independence, Nature, Environment and Agriculture, and continuing with an intense current debate about total financial, cultural and societal independence from Denmark. Today the Danish government is funding 3439,6 million Danish crowns in block grants to Greenland and constitutes the laws and policies of foreign and security policies, as affairs of the realm, even though the Government of Greenland has authorities on these matters (Act on Greenland Self-government, 2009). The economy of Greenland is mainly based on the fishing, mining and tourism industries. In Greenland the government, municipalities, organizations and part of the companies have an increased focus on tourism as a new industry that can add self-mobilized capital to the country, which is still highly dependent on the Danish block grants, and at the same time many Greenlanders support the idea of independence from Denmark. Independence and tourism, being two hot agendas of Greenlandic politics and business, are interrelated and brings with it questions of Greenlandic identity and a focus on economic independence. The focus on tourism unconsciously follows a discourse of experience economy among politicians and businesses. In the theory of experience economy, the concepts experience staging, place branding, storytelling etc. are central, and though the theory is based on private businesses improving their sales, the theory can also be utilized in urban planning in regards of urban development and regeneration. But if the focus of planners is solely on the economy of place, something will be missing which cannot be bought for money.

The components of place consist of physical form, activity and meaning (Ujang & Zakariya, 2015). Though the task of developing a physical space seems tangible, it is important to face that the physical environment has an impact on the activity and meaning of the place. Urban regeneration is targeted at improving social the physical settings, local economic flow and environmental attributes (Ibid.). The meaning of the place (in this project incorporated in the concept place identity) is less obvious than the physical setting and the activity of the place, but it is what creates the depths of a place

and joint with activity, the human aspect. The balance between local identity and economy ends up in the following problem formulation of the current project:

How can urban planners activate place identity and its contribution to public life and local economy through place regeneration? - The case of the Colonial Harbor, in Nuuk, Greenland

This question is further researched through the following sub questions:

- *Why is place identity relevant in urban regeneration projects?*
- *What is the place identity and place qualities of Nuuk and the Colonial Harbor?*
- *How are the place identity and place qualities of the Colonial Harbor mobilized?*
- *How can place identity and place qualities in the Colonial Harbor be supported through planning?*

In Nuuk, the target for politicians and businesses is clear: economic development is the foundation for the (independent) future of Greenland. But as mentioned above, the planners are obliged to balance the wishes and goals of organized stakeholders like politicians, businesses and NGO's with the wishes and goals of the common inhabitants.

In this project, the wishes and goals of residents and visitors are framed through the concept of place identity and place attachment, based on a social-constructivist and hermeneutic approach. In the Colonial Harbor, the study of identity of place, including the feelings attached and how people relate to the place, is neither apparent nor simple. Through a study of academic literature related to identity, experience economy, development of place, and transitions in government, organization and network, a set of concepts appears as relatable to the context in the Colonial Harbor, and in Greenland generally. The theoretical concepts are intentionally confirmed or denied in the context of the Colonial Harbor, through the analysis of interviews with residents, visitors and experts, with interests relevant to the Colonial Harbor, and finally a series of new concepts are uncovered. Through the case study of the Colonial Harbor, the present project seeks to investigate the place identity and values, feelings and reflections connected to the Colonial Harbor, through interviews with 21 residents and 10 visitors. To get a further understanding of the intentions and networks of local businesses and authorities and how place identity can act as a place quality and resource in planning for development of the area, expert interviews are conducted with representatives from the municipal planning department, the business council, the chamber of commerce, a tourism operator, a municipal national costume sewing room and the national museum, the two latter placed in the Colonial Harbor. Both the interviews with residents and visitors, and the expert interviews reveals local knowledge and adds on to the series of theoretical concepts uncovered through the literature study.

1 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework of the current paper, consists of, firstly, Place Identity, containing the concepts of place identity and place attachment, and, secondly, the Economy of places, describing how the experience economy can mobilize the monetary and human capital flow of an area.

1.1 Place Identity

Researching the place identity of the Colonial Harbor in Nuuk is interesting, because it is a physical monument of the Danish colonialism and (former) supremacy which is a sensitive subject to many Greenlanders these days. Greenland can be characterized as a postcolonial hybrid society, which according to Homi Bhabha means that the colonialism has ended, and that the two (native and colonial) nationalities and cultures has intertwined in to a new form of society, not completely similar to either of the original cultures and containing more than the sum of the two former societies, called The Third Space (Hernández, 2010). In Nuuk, Danish culture and society is present, especially compared to the other cities and settlements in Greenland. Most obvious in the fact that the population includes highest percentage of Danes and that the most common spoken language is Danish. The Danish language is the common language in the Naalakkersuisut (the Government of Greenland), the Inatsisartut (the Parliament). Most native residents in Nuuk speak Danish, but not all native Greenlanders speak Greenlandic. In the other cities and settlements, the most commonly spoken language is Greenlandic, even though the language of municipal management is Danish. It is a special situation in Nuuk, that the natives do not speak the native language, but the language of the former colonial power, almost 50 years after the enforcement of autonomy. This might be because Nuuk offers the highest number of academic positions combined with that many native Greenlanders do not take higher educations (compared to Denmark) because of the low supply of higher education in Greenland. The subject of language is just one of several signs that the society of Nuuk is a hybrid society, meaning that, not only does the two cultures live side by side, but they also intertwine and creates a new, common culture that grasps certain elements from both the Danish colonial society and the Greenlandic native culture. The hybrid culture in Nuuk also includes fragments of international western culture (that most modern societies can't avoid, like football and fried chicken). In a society, where identity is so complex, it seems highly relevant to research the place identity of places that contains significant symbolism of the former supremacy culture and society.

A space consists of physical structures that delimit a geographical or spherical dimension. A place differs from a space in the way that individuals, groups or societies adds meaning to the physical structures of a place, created through lived experiences (Ujang & Zakariya, 2015). Such notion of place is illustrated in figure 1 (Ibid.). The meaning connected to certain places can accumulate opinions, feelings, specific uses and functions etc. related to the place. The characteristic physical expression and identity of a place affect the meaning and attachment that people perceive towards it. This meaning and attachment supports the sustainability of cultural identity and sense of belonging among individuals (Ibid.). The link between understanding human sense of place and the concept of development is vital for the public life, but has been underestimated in practice (Ibid.). Such societal and individual processes are in the academic literature addressed as Place identity and Place attachment. These concepts are important because they address how humans react to the physical environment and can, if taken in to account in development and regeneration projects contribute to the livability of the area. If the concepts are implemented in urban development or regeneration projects, they can also contribute to diminishing the risk of regeneration unfit for the place in question, which could lead to gentrification.

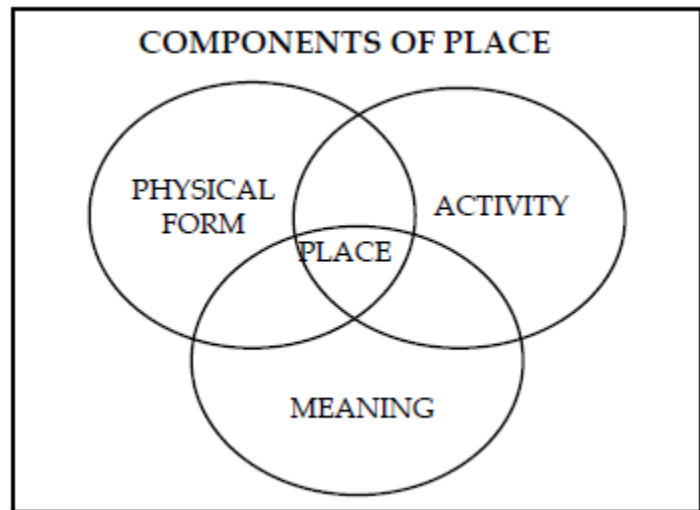


Figure 1 The three components of a place (Ujang & Zakariya, 2015)

The construction of place relations contains the two primary mechanisms of place identity and place attachment. When the two mechanisms are working in balance they provide the individual with;

“contextual sense of belonging, purpose and meaning, invert or intensify daily behavior or characteristics, and increase intention to revisit a specific place” (Davis, 2016).

The two mechanisms are often related but can also exist individually within a person, e.g. having a place identity without being attached to the place, or having a place attachment without connecting a specific identification with the place (though the former is rarely seen) (Davis, 2016). Place identity is a part of the whole identity of the individual, and is based on the various perceptions a person can have about a given physical place (Prohansky, et al., 1983). There are two types of place identity; abstract place identity and actual place identity. Abstract place identity needs only prior knowledge about the place or expectations to appear, and, thus, the individual does not need to have been at the setting to identify with it (Davis, 2016). The second form of place identity, actual place identity, is taking place through the experience when the individual attends the setting (Ibid.). The step from abstract place identity to actual place identity contains a change in the way the

individual perceives the physical place (Ibid.). In the present research, the actual place identity of residents and visitors in the Colonial Harbor is investigated, since they are present in the place when interviewed.

Regenerating neighborhoods or districts of a city takes a deep understanding of the people living and coming there, and the emotions, thoughts and functions that the specific place provides to them. Without such understanding of place relations, assessment of place quality will be inadequate (Ujang & Zakariya, 2015) and the respective planners are risking the quality of public life in the streets and are even putting the area in risk of gentrification, as a consequence of imbalance between the economy of the place and the identity of the place. There is an emerging tendency of underprioritizing the relations between individuals and place, which is called “placelessness” in newly regenerated or developed urban areas (Ujang & Zakariya, 2015). This tendency threatens the quality of public urban places and thereby calls for further attention and research (Ujang & Zakariya, 2015). Placelessness occurs when place is dismantled from relations to and interactions with individuals.

Built cultural heritage is a physical manifestation and witness of the events and people that influenced a certain place to become what it is today. Therefore, we can use built cultural heritage to research where our own identity origins, for example by having information about a family home where several generations have lived. This is also relatable to a community level. If you are from a community where the built cultural heritage is well preserved and you can see the prints of the lives lived there many decades or centuries back, you will more likely understand the place you come from and thereby a sense of belonging. Inge Bisgaard compare taking care of built cultural heritage with a family album, which underlines the link between cultural heritage and identity and stresses the need to take care of the cultural heritage buildings;

“... to throw the family album in the trash can (...) What we throw out is the nuances of our whole evolution. Which we can read in pictures and family photos, you grandchild looks like great grandma and all that.” (Bisgaard, 2017)

In the Colonial Harbor the cultural heritage buildings are a significant character, which highly affects the place identity of the area itself, but also underlines the history and identity of Nuuk.

1.1.1 Place attachment

The creation of place attachment, is a combination of physical place, emotional sense and first-hand individual experience (Ujang & Zakariya, 2015). Place attachment is defined as *“the desire to maintain closeness to the object of attachment which also describes the special feeling towards a particular place”* (Ujang & Zakariya, 2015; Hidalgo & Hernandez, 2001). The mechanism of place attachment includes the *emotional* (psychological) dimension, the *functional* (dependence) dimension (Davis, 2016; Ujang & Zakariya, 2015). Other theory also points at the dimension of *place affect*, the dimension of *social bonding* and the *place climate* dimension as part of place attachment (Davis, 2016). The emotional dimension is based on the bonds that are created between the individual and the physical place. These bonds grow stronger the more time the

individual spend in the setting and there is a tendency that individuals maintain close bonds to specific places (Ibid.). Davis (2016) finds that direct experience and continuity plays a significant role in the emotional relation between individual and place. The functional dimension is based on the dependence of individuals on physical structures, to maintain life, and to fulfill needs and goals. There is no limit in the type, importance or size of the place, in relation to the attachment between individual and place. In the context of place regeneration, the sense of belonging, degree of attraction, frequency of visits and level of familiarity are indicators of place attachment.

Negative places are the results of disharmony in the place identity (how the individual perceive the place) and the place attachment (the relation between individual and place). Both place identity and place attachment is present at negative places, but in a way, that creates a negative perception of and relationship to the place. The concept of a negative place is based on displacement – either psychological or physical (Davis, 2016). The psychological displacement can occur because of changes in social or mental structures and the physical displacement occurs when the physical setting is changed.

Non-places are places where the individual have no sense of place identity or place attachment (Davis, 2016; Ujang & Zakariya, 2015). Though a non-place has no place identity (Ujang & Zakariya, 2015), this is not necessarily a critical situation, since the place mechanisms can yet still be activated. Thus, the situation of a non-place is to be preferred over the negative place, by an urban planner as experience stager, because there is in the non-place still a chance for creating a positive relationship between the individual and the place, where in the negative place the relationship is dominated by negative perceptions and relations. If the individual starts to perceive affluence in commercialization or lack of authenticity or creativity, the place identity and attachment of the individual is at risk of decreasing (Davis, 2016).

Four imagined situations of the outcomes of the case analysis in regards of place identity is that either 1) the residents of Nuuk embraces the place and the history as their own and part of the Greenlandic history, and thereby that they have a positive place identity, 2) a situation where they have negative emotions about the history, but are aware and conscious that it is history, and thereby are able to enjoy the place today with a positive place identity, 3) the residents despite the symbolism of the buildings and have a strong wish to look forward and create a new Greenland with erased Danish influence, and thereby they have a negative place identity with the current setting or, 4) a neutral place identity where the residents is unaffected by the symbolism and the place does not mobilize any strong positive or negative emotions or opinions.

The theoretical framework surrounding place relations offers the following set of concepts to be further investigated in the case study analysis:

- place identity (actual place identity)
- the emotional and functional dimensions of place attachment
- Positive, negative and neutral place relations

1.2 The economy of places

A way to activate place-based qualities and create public life in an area, is to employ the mechanisms of the experience economy. If the experience of place is to be sold, or attract people, it is necessary to know what this experience product is and thereby what the specific place contains.

In Greenland, an increased focus on tourism has emerged the past decades, as a new founding element of the Greenlandic economy. This focus has been cemented in the strategy “Turisme I Grønland – Hvad skal der til?” by the Government of Greenland (Government of Greenland, 2016). The tourism in Greenland is still in a small scale, 57.000 in 2014 (Ibid.). The operators, politicians and officials draws inspiration from, and compare to, Iceland (Ibid.), where tourism has exploded since the financial crisis. Today the main tourism areas are Nuuk and the Disco bay in north-west Greenland. The strategy of the Government of Greenland has three focus points; the first being expanding the aviation infrastructure and capacity, and the second being increasing the experience potential in the regions by attracting private investments in tourism, and establishing visitor centers, the first being Isfjordscentret in Ilulissat. The third focus point of the strategy is to internationally marketing Greenland as destination (Ibid.).

Local development in a particular setting, place or city, can be fundamentally based on local economy. Thus, there must be a financial benefit for public authorities, private investors, local businesses or residents. This financial benefit can be of the short-term character (for example a local business association creating events that effects an immediate financial boost among local businesses) or long term (for example public authorities investing in light rails, to create investment interest in a specific area).

1.2.1 The Experience Economy

The experience economy theory is originally aimed at businesses, to create extra value to their products. But the sense in selling an experience can also be applied to urban planning. This should be done with caution, because the target differs from the one of a business owner (profit) and is instead founded the benefits for the whole city (e.g. mobilizing public life).

The theory of experience economy is founded on the hypothesis that an experience, feeling or sensation can be sold to consumers, with financial profit. This foundation provides that also the experience of place and place itself has become the product, which is staged as a theatre and branded to consumers. This tendency occurs in the interurban competition where cities compete on staging the most attractive experience for the consumers, being (potential and current) residents and tourists. The tourism actors in Nuuk are aware of this tendency and participate in creating unique experiences to attract more tourists to the city.

Through literature review it is discovered that a vast amount of academic material has been published about the experience economy and its relations. The idea was widely spread by Pine and Gilmore in the two books “Welcome to the Experience Economy” in 1998 and “The Experience Economy” in 1999. They define the experience economy as a (then) new arising economy based on the values that the customer experience adds to a good or service, as a new type of “*economic*

offering” (Pine II & Gilmore, 1999, p. 1-2). Pine and Gilmore (1999, p. 4) states that experience is more than entertainment and that creating an experience involves to “*engage customers in a memorable way*”. Further it is stated that an experience must be charged for, to be part of experience economy, and thus a city does not charge directly for the experiences created because the agenda and values of a city is different from the agenda and values of a private business, the experience economy still serves as a guide line to attracting the citizens and visitors that fulfill the agenda and values of the city.

In a historical perspective, the experience economy derives from a series of changing economies. The first economy was the agrarian economy, where raw materials was provided for a market. Then came the industrial economy which processed the raw materials in to goods and sold them to users, followed by the service economy which sells services to clients. The latest type of economies is the experience economy which provides guests, or customers, with experiences. This evolution of economies is an expression of the evolving ways to compete on the market. Each following type of economy is developed by competition and in search for differentiation (Pine II & Gilmore, 1999). For example, if you can manufacture your raw materials in to goods, you are a step ahead of your competitors who may only offer the raw materials, and if you can provide additional service, one is, again, a step ahead. The latest type of economy, the experience economy, is based on the extra value that a product can gain through the creation of the customers’ individual experience. (Lorentzen, 2009; Pine II & Gilmore, 1999)

Parallel to the globalization, societal, economic and demographic changes in the industrialized countries, including Greenland, through the last century have led to growth in recreational consumption, including the consumption of experience products. According to Lorentzen & Hansen, these societal changes are; rising incomes, which means more money to spend per person or family; increase in leisure time, which releases time for recreational activities; longer lives and a drop in birth rates, which prolongs each customers opportunity for spending leisure goods; and higher educations, which means a different structure of demand of leisure products, because higher educated people tend to spend more place-based products, where people of lower education prefer foot-loose products (Lorentzen & Hansen, 2009).

Lorentzen & Hansen (2009) define experience products as services or physical products, consumed for pleasure by the buyer and sold on the market. Thus, they contain an interaction between the experience producer and the customer, and they cannot be given for free as samples or gifts, because then they are not a part of the economy (Lorentzen, 2009). If the city is to be part of the experience economy, firstly, the place must create some sort of relation or interaction with the resident or visitor (for example a beautiful, historic plaza) and secondly, the resident or visitor must purchase something in relation to the experience (for example staying at the hotel in front of the plaza or buying a coffee at the local café). The relation between the consumer and the place is individual, because as Pine and Gilmore (1999, p. 12) states “*No two people can have the same experience*”. Through this producer-consumer relation, that an experience is, a variety of sensations inside the individual is created (Pine II & Gilmore, 1999), which makes the experience personal and unique, and differentiates the experience product from the products of the former economies. Thus, the experience is the sensation that appears inside the individual when engaging with an experience product, being a physical object or a service. The value of the

experience product lies therefore in the memory of the event (remembering it, talking about it, etc.), rather than in the product itself (Ibid.).

Experience products can be either place-bound (theatres, restaurants, streets, hotels etc.) or foot-loose (for example digital games) (Lorentzen & Hansen, 2009). A city is bound by its place and the branding of it, on the experience market, must therefore focus strategically on the competition within place-bound experience products.

Pine and Gilmore (1999) develops the theory of the experience economy in to asking the question of how entrepreneurs can use this type of economy to sell more. To this they adapt the concept of a theatre stage and the different cast roles and adapt them in to a business case. They, thus, create the four roles:

- *“Dramaturgs assist in creating the [drama = strategy]*
 - *Scriptwriters help with developing the [script = process]*
 - *Technicians aid the production of [theatre = work]*
 - *Stage crews coordinate the operational elements of the [performance = offering]”*
- (Pine II & Gilmore, 1999, p. 146)

In the case of urban planning and staging the city, or places, as experiences, these four roles could be played out as follows. The *dramaturgs* would be the planners, offering scenarios to the director (politicians) for the development of the city/place. The *scriptwriters*, also called experience stagers, would also be the planners, this time in realizing the drama/strategy that the director (politicians) chose, by trying to administrate plans, laws, and actors. The *technicians* would be the investors holding the resources to the stage set up and the contractors, architects and urban designers whom physical builds the stage. The *stage crews*, also called the *experience producer*, would be private businesses the businesses such as mobility companies, tourist bureaus, cafés, hotels and restaurants, and other informal actors as street artists and residents, who performs the direct contact with the customers, and thereby supplies the performance/offering of the experience. A fifth role, not mentioned by Pine and Gilmore (1999) in this context, is the *audience* which would be the residents and visitors at the place.

Critique

Pine and Gilmore (1999) admits that the experience economy can be criticized as being a sub-economy under the service economy. They defend their theory by stating that Adam Smith made the same assumption about the service economy merely being a part of the goods economy, but that he has since been proven wrong, because the value of services has exceeded the value of the goods. Further they argue that even though the *work* of the experience stagers may disappear the very moment the customer experience it, the *value* of the work lingers on in the mind of the customer a long time after the experience, and therefore the memory is the true value of the experience product. (Pine II & Gilmore, 1999)

The experience economy also has a backside to it, founded in the ethics of the experiences provided. Pine and Gilmore (1999) showcase Las Vegas as an experience metropolis where a wide range of experiences are produced and consumed. Some of these experiences are morally questionable, as for example heavy alcohol consumption, use of drugs, strippers and

prostitutes. Another questionable case is the use of animals as entertainment for tourists, where they are beat, abused and starved to make them controllable nearby tourists, for example the use of tigers in Thailand (World Animal Protection, u.d.).

O'Neill (2006) criticize the experience economy theory of Pine and Gilmore, by stating that it lacks reference to the larger cultural, social and historic perspective and that they serve the theory as a guideline to businesses on how to improve their profit by including experience in their product.

1.2.2 Place branding

In the context of mobilizing public life and local economy in the Colonial Harbor, it is necessary to create attention on the place. Further, there is an overall strategy both nationally in Greenland and on the municipal level in Nuuk to increase tourism as a way to boost the economy. To attract more people (and money) to the Colonial Harbor as a destination, contains three main elements: making it an attractive place, branding it to experience consumers worldwide and making it accessible. Places can be the physical, built or natural elements that show case certain experiences, but they can also be (part of) the experience as they are (Lorentzen, 2009). This means that places can be marketed, or branded, as experiences, which constitutes a new niche in the interurban competition.

Place branding is concept of social-constructivism and is therefore a phenomenon created by social interaction between humans and social comprehensions of physical structures. Therefore the branding processes can take place in different levels of the social hierarchy – being top-down controlled by authorities or elitists, or bottom-up initiated by residents, local businesses or organizations (Ulldemolins, 2014). This social construction of a place authenticity and how it is branded is founded not in the place itself, but in the ways it is framed and the discourse used about it. (Ulldemolins, 2014)

Branding of attractions are a big part of the external communication of a place, since it is the stage that creates attention and curiosity among the experience consumers, towards the location. The target of branding a place is to create a relation between potential consumers and the experiences in location and to do this, a strategic communication process is essential (Ibid.).

A strategy for the experience stager is to “-ing the thing”, which means to the way the individual behaves when using the experience product (for example eating, sightseeing, whale watching, skiing etc.) (Pine II & Gilmore, 1999). In the context of the Colonial Harbor this could be translated in to the planners constructing the experiences of walking, driving, sightseeing, bench sitting, people watching, listening, living, grocery, statue inspecting, dog walking etc. The task of the urban planners is in this context to stage and form the urban experiences in a way that attracts people. Pine and Gilmore mentions both Las Vegas and Venice, Italy as cities that have succeeded in staging the experiences of the city with a prosperous outcome, by attracting visitors who gladly pay extra for the experience (Ibid.).

1.2.3 Storytelling

Storytelling is an activator of place attachment, which can be used in relation to business and “selling the place”.

Pine and Gilmore (1999) states that companies that produce experiences must find the thematic character that fits to the experience they offer, and promote it to the consumers. The same is applicable to cities that must find their best stories of different functions and experiences and promote them. The thematic approach to commercially branding a product is transformable in to the context of branding a city. To create a narrative around the provided experience, means that the consumer must be written in as a part of the story in a way that the participation of the consumer is vital for the story (Ibid.). An example of inclusion of customers in the narrative, is when LEGOLAND offers the experience of being a gold miner, where the consumer was his/her own gold out of the sand and helps make a gold medal of it, to bring home. Or when theme parks in general have staff members dressed up as well-known characters, for example Mickey Mouse, walking around in the theme parks, greeting the guests and thereby creating the sense in the guest of having met Mickey Mouse and thereby creating a little narrative in the guests mind about “what happened that time I met Mickey Mouse”. Thus, when branding experiences, it is about withdrawing the best experiences offered and promoting the narratives that includes the consumer. This is highly relevant in the branding strategies of cities, because the planners, or whom is branding the city, needs get to the core of the identity of the city to know what can be offered. Is it a city with passion for sports, for example through a popular hockey/basketball/football team? Is there an identity around culture, for example through the local arts museum, street art or music? Is there a focus on architecture? Is there a company or organization that plays a huge role in the local community? Which kinds of activities does the residents engage in? Is there a passion for outdoor activities and are there facilitators for such in the city?

Bernd Schmitt and Alex Simonson defines, in their book *Marketing Aesthetics*, nine spheres for creating themes in a marketing perspective: 1. History, 2. Religion, 3. Fashion, 4. Politics, 5. Psychology, 6. Philosophy, 7. The physical world, 8. Popular culture and 9. The arts (Pine II & Gilmore, 1999). Such spheres can be experienced through the physical environment in a city and are therefore highly relevant in staging a city’s brand theme.

The experience economy in urban planning is about planning for places that creates experiences for the visitors, that adds to their self-understanding and identity. But what about the people already living there and using the place as it is? Does it make sense to make a place fit to a certain by authorities preselected theme? The circumstances of globalization and the tendencies of gentrification calls out for a deeper research of and focus on the identity and qualities of the place and mobilizing them through regeneration processes. Thus, place making is about more than creating physical environments that sells a certain experience through superficial attachments and visits. As stated by Ujang & Zakariya (2015), creating a place should also include the research and mobilization of the current local place identity.

The theoretical framework regarding the economy of places offers a set of concepts to be further investigated in the case study analysis:

- Place branding
- Staging the experience
- Storytelling and theme

2 Methods

In order to answer the problem formulation several methods are applied.

2.1 Project design

Following figure 2 illustrates the process design of the project.

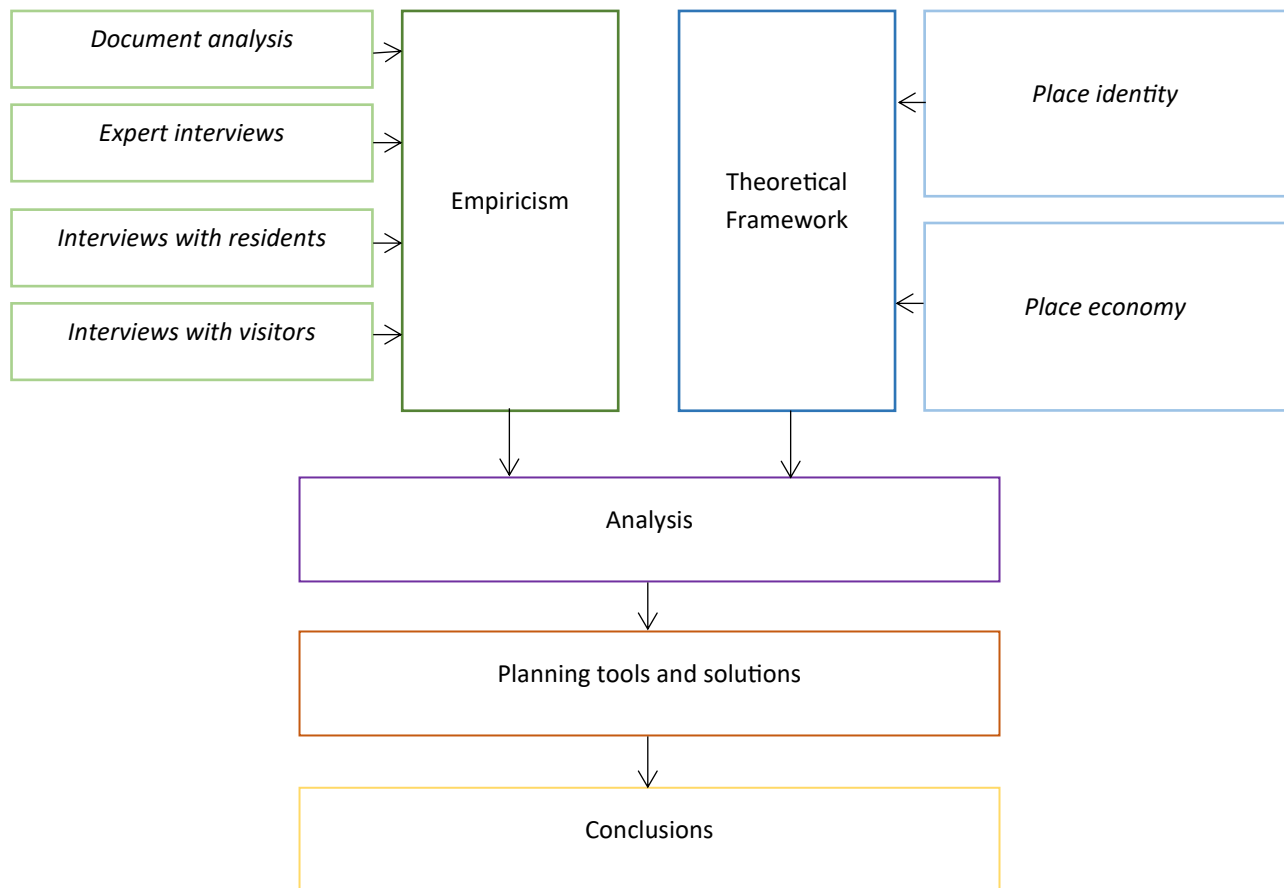


Figure 2 Project design

2.2 Literature study and document analysis

A vast amount of literature was addressed to firstly superficially check for relevance and since selected literature have been read with a critical approach and studied in depth. The literature studied for the present project have been in the form of academic articles and books, and also newspaper articles have been studied to gain a general knowledge of the place and the use of it. The academic articles and the books were selected with a focus on the liability of the webpage and

acknowledged authors. The subjects of the literature have been relating to both economy, business, anthropology, psychology and environments, and have been implemented in to the project based on the respective piece of literature's relation to urban planning.

To gain a deeper understanding of the place and to gather both qualitative and quantitative data, analysis on relevant plans and other documents have been conducted. This analysis of documents is not necessarily present or visible in the general analysis, but have formed unconscious cognitions which might have had an impact on the direction of the research or have contributed by supporting certain conclusions. The plans and documents analyzed are;

- Municipal Plan Addendum no. (Kommuneplantillæg) 1C14-3, Nuutoqaq, Nuuk. The municipal detailed plan for the area Nuutoqaq
- Sermersooq Municipality Municipal Plan 2028 (Kommuneplan 2028 for Kommuniqarfik Sermersooq). The municipal plan was analyzed with emphasis on Nuuk and the Colonial Harbor
- the winning proposal of the idea competition for the area, performed by architect Thomas Riis
- document containing the considerations of the judging committee on choosing of the winning proposal, provided by a member of the committee.

2.3 Observations

To gain general knowledge about the physical environment, the public life and utilization of the Colonial Harbor, observations were conducted through various walking trips through the area, some conducted in relation to performing interviews with residents and visitors. These observations were used to support the understanding of the respondents' sense of the place and for the researcher to gain a general sense of the place and how it is used. During the walks pictures and notes were taken, to document the observations.

2.4 Interviews

To gain quantitative data on the residents and visitors reflections, feelings and opinions on the Colonial Harbor 31 short interviews were conducted in site. The interviews were performed in the period between the 14th and 30th of March 2017, in the afternoons. The respondents were randomly selected and approached as they came in sight of the interviewer.

The interviews were semi-structured, which meant that the below interviewguide loosely set the frames and direction for the interviews. The frames were loosely set to allow room for the respondent's personal experiences to come forward, keeping in mind that personal reflections, feeling and opinions cannot be categorized beforehand, like quantitative data can. This flexibility made room to adapt the conversation to the situation and still deduce the answers to the research

questions. The interview guides (see table 1 and 2 below) forms a guideline for asking the certain questions leading to the answers to the connected research questions. The questions were rephrased in case the original question was not understood by the respondent, but were generally asked chronologically and consistently as formulated in the interviewguide.

Table 1: Residents	
Interview questions	Research questions
Male/female Age	Background information
Are you born in Greenland?	Do natives have a different relationship to cultural heritage than the “new Greenlanders”?
Do you live in Nuuk, Nuusuaq or Qinngorput?	Does the place of residence, in city center nearby the Colonial Harbor or in the suburbs away from the Colonial Harbor, have an influence on the personal attachment to the place?
How would you characterize Nuuk? What do you think makes Nuuk special?	Which aspects of the city form the identity? Is the cultural heritage a part of the place identity of Nuuk?
*How do you use the city in your leisure time? E.g. Leisure activities, places you like to be etc.	Which role does the city play in the residents’ everyday life and which activities and places are popular in Nuuk? What can Nuuk offer?
Do you feel/think that the Colonial Harbor reflects the Greenlandic cultural heritage and history? (Why/why not?)	Is there a personal attachment to the place? And does it play a role in the “place identity” experienced by the person?
To which degree does the Colonial Harbor play a role in the identity of Nuuk as a city? (why/why not?)	To which degree does the built cultural heritage area play a role in the identity of Nuuk?
What do you use the Colonial harbor for? Which functions does it fulfill for you?	Is there a “Functional place attachment” and what characterize it?
How many times have you been here? How often do you come here?	Frequent visits strengthen the “place attachment” and thus, add to defining the strength of the “place attachment”.

Table 2: Visitors	
Interview questions	Research questions
Female/Male Age	Background information
Where do you come from?	Is there a difference in Danish and other nationalities relations to the Colonial Harbor?
How will you characterize Nuuk? What do you think makes Nuuk special?	Is the cultural heritage a part of the place identity of Nuuk?
Why have you chosen to visit Nuuk?	What attracts visitors to Nuuk?
What have you been doing while you were here?	Which activities and places are popular among visitors?
Why are you here in the Colonial Harbor now?	What does tourists find attractive in the Colonial Harbor and which functions does it fulfill for visitors?

The length and thereby depth of the answers were in some interviews highly biased by the cold weather (minus 5 to minus 10 degrees Celsius). The interviews were performed outdoors because of the importance of being in situ when researching place identity (Davis, 2016).

Another bias related to the interviews is the language. The interviews were held in Danish with residents in Nuuk. For native Greenlanders, Danish is the second language which can complicate the understanding of questions and formulation of answers. When speaking to respondents whom did not understand Danish, the language was English, which is the second language to the interviewer and therefore also relates to the before mentioned complications. The language was a clear barrier during two interviews.

The below tables 3 to 8 illustrates the diversity in respondent's background information. The diversity of responders ensures a result that covers a wide spectrum of the diverse backgrounds and opinions, feelings and thoughts attached to the questions and the issues they face.

Residents:

Table 3: Resident Gender	
Female	Male
15	6

Table 4: Resident Age								
0-10	11-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61-70	71-80	81+
	2	9	5	1	2	1		1

Table 5: Resident Birth place	
Greenland	Another country
15	6

Visitors:

Table 6: Visitor Gender	
Female	Male
6	4

Table 7: Visitor Age								
0-10	11-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61-70	71-80	81+
		3	4			2	1	

Table 8: Visitor Birth place	
Greenland	Another country
2	8

Since the interviews were performed with the target of gaining qualitative information, statistics might be seen as irrelevant. But because some general background information tells a lot about a person's perspective and can verify a certain degree of representation for the general resident and the general visitor, some statistics on the background information of the respondents are conducted.

The above statistics shows that there is an overweight of female respondents and of respondents under the age of 40. Further there are more Greenlandic born respondents than respondents born in another country. These distortions might be picturing the average resident and visitor in the Colonial Harbor and are in that case legitimate. But they might also be representing a bias of the researcher, being a young female, whom might have felt younger persons and females more approachable.

2.5 Expert interviews

The format of the expert interviews was semi-structured, which implies the possibility to follow an interesting stream of thoughts to the end, but still ensures asking of the questions leading to the answers for the research questions. The interviews lasted approximately an hour and took place at the respective respondents' work office. The interviews were as follows:

- Runa Mathiesen, Urban Planner, Sermersooq Municipality, 2nd March 2017
- Stine Selmer Andersen, Project Manager, Sermersooq Business Council, 16th March 2017
- Ivik Knudsen-Ostermann, Owner and director, Greenland Cruises, 31st March 2017
- Claus Christoffersen, Vice president of Nuuk Chamber of Commerce, 7th April 2017
- Nauja Brøns, General Manager of Kittat Economusee, 10th April 2017
- Inge Bisgaard, Curator with specialization in preserving buildings, 16th May 2017

Transcriptions and notes from the interviews providing information utilized in the analysis, are placed in Appendix D.

3 Analysis

3.1 Planning in Greenland

To gain further knowledge and understanding of the context in which the Colonial Harbor has been developed and which conditions that serve in relation to planning, the concept of planning in Greenland is presented and further explored in the current chapter.

3.1.1 The planning system and planning in Nuuk

The Greenlandic planning system has its starting point in the Danish planning system combined with an area managing system, particular to Greenland. In the Greenlandic planning hierarchy, the top consists of Naalakkersuisut (the government) and the management related to it. The National Planning Department, under the Ministry of Finances and Taxes, oversee several initiatives related to national planning. Among others, the department are responsible for a publication every fourth year on Government Interests in the Municipal Planning, which sets a framework for the municipal plans and secures coherence in planning across municipal borders and on a national level. Further the National Planning Department publishes a National Planning Report every year, which is a report on current conditions for the politicians in Naalakkersuisut to decide policies on. The National Planning Department is head of a project digitizing basic data in a GIS system. This system is set up to ease municipal planning and communication between departments, both municipal and inter-organizational. On the level below the national planning, the municipal councils are setting the policies for the respective municipalities, and the municipal management related to it. The municipal management in relation to planning, are the area administration and the planning department. The area administration manages all grounds in the municipality. It is a system built from the perspective that all grounds are commonly owned by all Greenlanders, or put in other words, that no one can own land in Greenland. Therefore, a person or company that wish to build something or use an area for a particular purpose, must apply for it at the respective municipality. These area applications are managed by the area administrations in the municipalities. The planning department is responsible for the Municipal plan, which contains both main municipal strategies and visions, general stipulation for all cities and settlements, and also detailed stipulations fitted to the locality. The detailed stipulations are similar to the Danish local plans.

The two municipal departments, area administration and planning, should work together in regards of coherent physical planning. But in case of Sermersooq Municipality there is a miscommunication between the two departments, which the planning department is aware of (Madsen, et al., 2017). Such a miscommunication can lead to unorganized physical planning, for example when an area administrator gives permission for an applicant to use an area for a specific purpose that might conflict with the planned objectives of the area.

With the inauguration of mayor Asii Chemnitz Narup in 2008, a political focus rose concerning the link between physical environment and societal growth. Asii Chemnitz Narup has worked intentionally towards improving the architecture and urban environment in Nuuk, both politically and in cooperation with various Heads of planning. The City Council have since allocated funds (including employment of an architect with specializing in historical buildings) for the registration and preservation of built cultural heritage and acknowledges that built cultural heritage, and architecture in general, plays a role in creating a good city to live in. This is enforced in the City Councils Planning Strategy 2014, where architecture were applied as a focus area and in the municipal Architecture policy from 2016 (Sermersooq Municipality, 2016). The Architecture policy is based on citizen involvement and focus on identity, local values and serves as a guidance for planners, owners of builders, authorities, and teachers and supervisors (Ibid.). The planning department has a professional interest in the preservation of sites like the Colonial Harbor and the Mosquito Valley (Myggedalen), which are acknowledged as important places of the visitors' image of the city, and constitutes the so-called "postcard Nuuk". When addressing the task of preserving the built cultural heritage of Nuuk, the planning department of Sermersooq Municipality has close cooperation with the National Planning Department (whom protects the national interests in built cultural heritage and supervise the municipalities) and the National Museum and Archive (whom are responsible for protected buildings and advisor for the municipalities when it comes to managing the built cultural heritage. (Mathiesen, 2017)

In Greenland, the management of cultural heritage buildings and areas is separated in two parts; protected buildings and areas, and landmark buildings and areas (worthy of preservation). The protected buildings are managed by the National Museum and Archive, which responds to the Department of Culture and Church under the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research and Churches. The landmark buildings are managed by the respective municipality in which the respective building is placed. When a municipality has a case about a landmark building, it must seek advice and confer with the National Planning Department in Naalakkersuisut (The Government of Greenland) before the decision is made, as stated in the declaration *Hjemmestyrets bekendtgørelse nr. 31 af 30. oktober 1991 om varetagelse af bevaringshensyn i kommuneplanlægningen*.

In 1991, the Directorate of Economics (Økonomidirektoratet) published The Yellow City papers, the work of a Danish architect, whom travelled to all cities in Greenland and prepared a document for each city, containing information on the local landmark buildings. The Yellow City Papers were put in to force as a national planning directive, forcing the municipalities to implement the buildings as worthy of preservation in their respective municipal plans. These papers and their extensions in the municipal plans are the current foundation for decision making on the landmark buildings in the cities.

The key actors in general planning, and planning and management of cultural heritage in Nuuk and their responsibilities relevant to the case are illustrated in table 9 below. The list is excluding political organs.

Table 9

Actors	Responsibilities and actions
The National Planning Department (under the Ministry of Finances and Taxes)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Publishing the National Planning Report and the “Governments interests in Municipal Planning”, to guide politicians and municipalities. - Appeal body for complaints about municipal planning. - Cooperation with municipalities on decisions about landmark buildings. - Cooperation on built cultural heritage and national strategies related to it, with the National Museum and Archive and the department of Culture and churches, under the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research and Churches. - Creating a planning tool on basic data integrated in a GIS system.
The National Museum and Archive (under the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research and Churches)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Managing protected buildings - Advisor in restoring protected buildings - Advisor in restoring landmark buildings (informal) - Advisor for the National Planning Department in relation to responses to applications for changing landmark buildings. - Advisor in projects of restoring protected public buildings.
The Planning Department, Sermersooq Municipality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Publishing the Municipal Plan every fourth year, including detailed plans (local plans). - Managing landmark buildings within the municipality, in cooperation with the National Planning Department
The Area Administration, Sermersooq Municipality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Securing that the utilization of areas is in line with current legislation on the matter. - Cooperating with the Planning Department on future strategies for land use
Iserit housing association	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Administrating and maintaining municipal owned buildings, including cultural heritage buildings.
Owners of buildings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Maintaining their buildings by the correct architectural and historical craftsman methods - Applying for approval of changes to, including additions to and demolitions of, the cultural heritage buildings. - Have interests in keeping the bureaucracy, processes and communications with authorities simple.
Owners of businesses	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Responsibilities for their respective businesses - Interested in more customers and customer experiences, leading to profit
The public	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Interested in an attractive public area

The effort of the planning department is focused on the preservation of cultural heritage, to a degree where it is at least not destroyed. The planning department and the National Museum and Archives are aware of the importance of the expression of history in the townscape and have a professional wish to preserve it, both the individual buildings and the coherence between buildings. But at the same time the authorities know many of the original houses are very small (for example 38 square meters) and outdated for a modern family, which makes the owners want to expand them (Mathiesen, 2017). This

calls for attention to the balance between use and protection, and form and function. The housing association Iserit is a stakeholder in the management of built cultural heritage in Nuuk. They oversee the physical maintenance of the municipal owned buildings (which can be family houses rented to citizens), including the landmark building.

3.1.2 Balancing preservation and development

The two aspects of planning, urban growth and the preservation of cultural buildings, are currently balanced in Nuuk, according to urban planner at Sermersooq Municipality, Runa Mathiesen. But she also sees that in the rural cities and settlements of the municipality there is a need to focus on societal growth, rather than preservation (Mathiesen, 2017). This is in contrast with the Ilimanaq project, where a trio of stakeholders, including Qaasuitsup Kommunia, Real Dania and World of Greenland, regenerates the whole settlement, and other initiatives for restoring and reusing built cultural heritage. If the project succeeds, it is a statement that preservation of built cultural heritage and societal growth is possible in rural settlements, outside of the capital. Runa Mathiesen also states that she has a professional interest in preserving for example an area in Tasiilaq, at the east coast of Greenland (Ibid.). The area contains many colorful, fabricated houses, significant to Greenlandic building culture, which forms a unique coherence with the surrounding landscape of exceptional mountain formations. But Runa Mathiesen also acknowledges that societal growth is prioritized in these villages and therefore the preservation would be downsized if, for example somebody applied for building a big hotel in the area, which would thereby ruin the beforementioned coherence (Ibid.). This is a sign of a conflict in planning between the neo-liberal planning approach and the utilization of place qualities, here in the form of cultural heritage and its coherence with local landscape. Because of the troubled economy in Greenland, the economy is always prioritized higher in situations like the above.

3.1.3 Issues concerning managing and planning for built cultural heritage

The municipal planning could be accused of a certain degree of shortsightedness and passive planning. Shortsightedness and passive planning is visible in the way planners have a focus on solving the concrete problems right here, right now, instead of looking forward and trying to control the future developments of the city. A specific example of this is that a planner claims that she cannot plan for future hotels (expected to be built in relation to a new airport in an area experiencing growth in tourism), because there were no developers or investors proposing any hotel projects. This is passive planning, because she could have anticipated the events by beforehand outlaying an area specific for hotels and tourism businesses, instead of waiting for other actors to take initiative.

The administration of landmark buildings suffers from a lack of procedures and methods to handle the cultural heritage buildings in a systematic way (Madsen, et al., 2017). This issue is acknowledged by all three key administrative actors of cultural heritage in Nuuk; the National Museum and Archive, Sermersooq Municipality and the National Planning Department (Ibid.). The cases are often handled ad hoc, which leads to imbalance and inequality in the decision making,

because similar cases might be treated different. Further it creates a lack of overview over the cases and what is generally happening with the built cultural heritage in Greenland. The lack of overview is further strengthened by the shortcoming of data on and information about the preserved buildings. For example, there are generally holes in the information about why the respective building is preserved, which architectural values it contains, what urban area context it is a part of and which role it plays in it, are (Ibid.). These issues of lack of procedures and lack of information, causes a waste of resources and time in the bureaucratic system, because the staff must start from scratch with each case, which is very time consuming and therefore leads to massive waiting times for each case. Some cases fall through, because of this pressure on the system and lack of overview, which is a great loss for the Greenlandic cultural heritage, because when something is lost, it cannot be undone.

The Yellow City Notes, and their extensions in the municipal plans, are essential to consult when regenerating an area containing protected buildings and/or buildings worth of preservation. But the information in the papers is outdated, leaving the authorities, politicians and private owners of built cultural heritage in uncertainty. To address this issue, the National Planning Department is working on the creation of a building register containing geocodes and information on, among others, cultural heritage buildings (Madsen, et al., 2017). In this register the information can be continuously updated, which secure the quality of the data (Ibid.). As mentioned, some methods and solutions are invented ad hoc in the management of landmark buildings, due to lack of resources. This means that the municipalities must prioritize their efforts and thus the utilized methods and solutions comes in many shapes and sized. Sermersooq have prioritized creating a “City Atlas”, which based on the SAVE-method, documents the cultural heritage buildings in Nuuk, including the reasons or values behind the preservation status. They have prioritized this work to keep a practical and functional overview of the built cultural heritage in the city, since the current data from the Yellow City Papers are outdated, as described in 3.1.1 The planning system and planning in Nuuk.

The planning department of Nuuk experience two types of issues regarding the management and protection of built cultural heritage. The first is ignorance concerning the values of cultural heritage and methods to preserve it and the second is the lack of workflow and procedures internally between the authorities. In general, the ignorance contributes to a need for more professional specialized competences when it comes to advising house owners and craftsmen in methods for restoring and maintaining the landmark buildings. This lack of practical competences also becomes present in the fact that all questions of practical character, e.g. Material choice and colors, are directed at the National Museum and Archives, even though it is the municipality that have the authority and responsibility for landmark buildings, and the museum only the protected buildings. For example, the housing union, Iserit is informally advised by the curator specialized in preserving historical buildings, at the National Museum and Archives, because she has specialized competences in, and knowledge about, how to physical and architectural preserve the buildings (Mathiesen, 2017). The general lack of professional competences has led to an increased workflow on the curator, whom have been off work sick with stress.

Among the house owners, the understanding of the values of the cultural heritage that they own, comes in variations. Some do not know that their house is protected or a landmark building, and others buy their houses exactly because it is

cultural heritage. To address the issue of ignorance, the National Museum and Archive sends a letter to each new owner of a protected, congratulating them being owners of national cultural heritage, explaining what it means and the known history of the house. This is done in a congratulating manner to add a positive discourse to being the owner of a protected building, which also means extra regulations and costs. (Mathiesen, 2017). Concerning the lack of workflow and procedures among the authorities, there is currently a process of dialog between Sermersooq Municipality, The National Museum and Archives and the National Planning Department towards establishing concrete procedures, for example through a digital register of landmark buildings and protected buildings that can be added as a layer in a GIS system, that all authorities can address. Internally in the municipality there is a lack of communication between the area authority and the planning department, which the new digital solution also can remedy. A challenge for this system is a general lack of data, concerning the built cultural heritage.

The future planning for cultural heritage in Nuuk, will concern five specific areas, including the Colonial Harbor. The perspective will be on the areas as wholes, meaning both the landmark buildings as single units and the architectural coherence of the whole area.

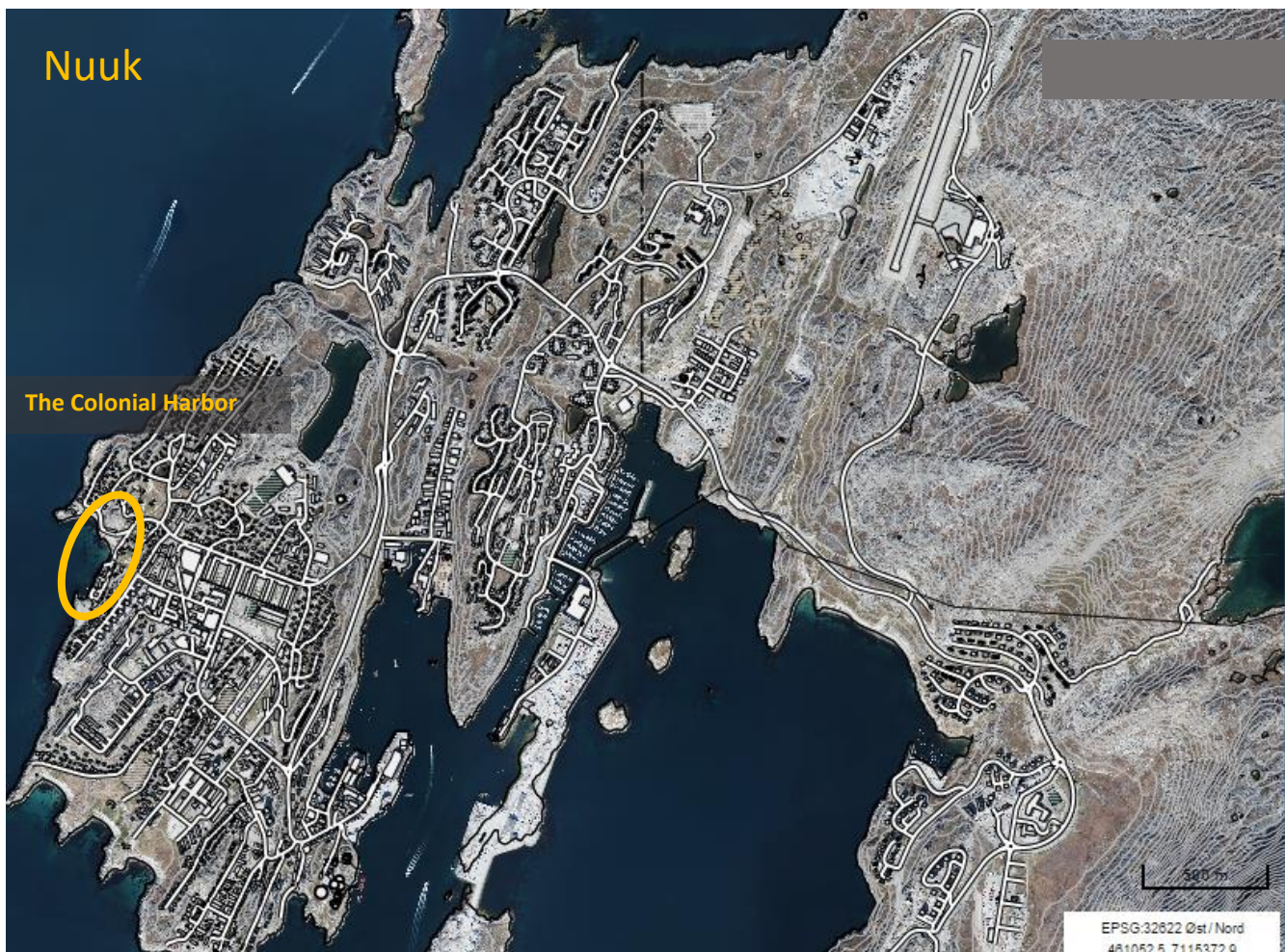
3.2 The Colonial Harbor

Nuuk is the capital of Greenland with 17851 inhabitants in 2017 (Statistics Greenland, 2017). The city has expanded significantly during the last century, from around 3500 inhabitants in 1900 to 17.600 inhabitants in 2017 (Ibid.). About a quarter of the residents in Nuuk are Danish born. There is 53 % male and 47 % female in the total population of Greenland, and the small overweight of men might be due to the amount of Danish born men whom have settled in Greenland due to occupational circumstances (Ibid.).

Nuuk is placed in Sermersooq Municipality, as illustrated in map 1, which is one of four municipalities in Greenland. Sermersooq Municipality is a wealthy municipality in a Greenlandic perspective, partly due to the placement of most academic jobs in Nuuk and the following high tax incomes.



Map 2 Nuuk in Sermersooq Municipality (NunaGIS, 2017)



Map 1 Nuuk and the Colonial Harbor. Base layer: (Google, 2017)

It is Sermersooq Business Council (SBC) whom is managing the branding of the city and they focus on the brand “Colorful Nuuk” (Stine Selmer Andersen, 2017). In the marketing of Nuuk, through the brand “Colorful Nuuk”, SBC and VisitGreenland have a focus on the local identity of Nuuk and the national identity of Greenland as strong branding opportunities. In the webpage www.colourfulnuuk.gl there is a whole subpage, “Colorful Culture”, which contains stories about the history of Nuuk, shared pictures containing built cultural heritage (see figure 3), and cultural events related to place identity, like the National Day of Greenland, Nuuk Nordic Culture Festival and guided tours through the Colonial Harbor. This approach to branding Nuuk as colorful is in line with the residents’ perception of the city as being full of contrasts, both physical and societal.

The business council, have published a guide booklet about the history and culture, leisure offers, attractions, events and practical information about Nuuk. The Greenlandic culture and identity clearly plays a central role in their branding strategy, manifested through the “Colourful Nuuk” campaign (Stine Selmer Andersen, 2017).

SBC is branding Nuuk internationally on different exhibitions and through social media, and experience an increased international focus. SBC puts their effort in to expanding the knowledge about Greenland and they experience that there is currently a low level of knowledge about the destination and its specific offers. The business council sees a potential in combining tourism and built cultural heritage, and in particular in the Colonial Harbor because there is already tourist offers assembled and it is where the cruise tourists lands from the ships. Further they see a potential in developing the businesses related to cultural heritage in the area, because it already attracts many citizens. (Stine Selmer Andersen, 2017)



Figure 3 Pictures from the website and Facebook page of Colourful Nuuk (Colourful Nuuk, u.d.; Facebook, 2017)

The Colonial Harbor is placed in the western part of Nuuk, between the fiord and the urban center of Nuuk, see map 2. The area contains a status as an area very worthy of preservation (Sermersooq Municipality, 2011). Most of the buildings in the

area are either worthy of preservation or protected (see map 3) and the built cultural heritage tells a story back from the very beginning of Nuuk, with the Harbor being the center of the first settlement of Nuuk, done by the Danish-Norwegian priest Hans Egede in 1721. The buildings are preserved in varying conditions and a majority are publicly owned (Ibid.).

The area is home to, among others; the National Museum and Archive, Nuutoqaq (the municipal local museum), Kittat (municipal sewing room for national costumes), Kuliki's Hudpleje (beauty shop), Peqatigiiffik Qajaq Nuuk (qajaq club), Nuuk winter bathing club, Cafe Toqqorfik, the House of Hans Egede (used for diplomatic events by the Government), the Embassy of Iceland, a closed restaurant and a closed tourist office. See Appendix A for an overview of the area and the placement of the actors.



Map 3 Protected buildings (red) and landmark buildings (green) in the Colonial Harbor (Sermersooq Municipality, 2011)

Geographically a high mountain slope east of the area, barriers the area from the city center of Nuuk and to the west the area is defined by the coastline, see pictures in Appendix B. To the south, the area points in between the mountain slope and the coastline and to the north it spreads out to a larger, flat area called Mosquito Valley (Myggedalen). The area is connected to the rest of the city by a road entering in the north and ending in a square/parking lot in the southern part. The Colonial Harbor is connected, internally and externally, by paths and staircases up the mountain slope, leading to the road Tuapannguit (Sermersooq Municipality, 2011), see map in Appendix A and pictures in Appendix B. Further the area contains a varied arctic flora which is the municipal aim to improve or preserve (Sermersooq Municipality, 2011).

3.2.1 Key actors and stakeholders

The key actors and stakeholders consists of local businesses and institutions, the general public, and public and private organizations with interests in either cultural heritage or business in the area. The following actors all have an interest in the public and business vitality of the Colonial Harbor. The actors marked with bold have a primary interest:

- **Sermersooq Municipality (Planning department and the City Council)**
- Sermersooq Business Council
- **The National Museum and Archive**
- **The local history Museum “Nuutoqaq”**
- **Kittat, a municipal sewing room for national costumes**
- **Local businesses and organizations: Kuliki’s Hudpleje, beauty shop, Cafe Toqqorfik, Peqatigiiffik Qajaq club and Nuuk Winter bathing club**

- **the Embassy of Iceland**
- Nuuk Chamber of Commerce
- **Residents of the Colonial Harbor**
- **Visiting tourists**
- Residents of Nuuk, and rest of Greenland
- Potential residents and tourists

The role of the municipality and how the planning of the area and the built cultural heritage in the area is unfolded above in chapter 3.1 Planning in Greenland.

Currently there is a small network between the municipal institutions Kittat and Nuutoqaq, the National Museum and Archive, and the qajak club, which is beginning to grow around the Childrens Day, June 1st, where they cooperate on an event for kindergarden children at the central plaza in the Colonial Harbor, with different cultural activities they can try out (Brøns, 2017). Further the tourism operators forum is Colourful Nuuk where they meet four times a year (Knudsen-Ostermann, 2017). Otherwise there are no formal networks among the stakeholders based on the interest derived from common location in the Colonial Harbor (Bisgaard, 2017).

3.2.2 Functions

The main functions of the Colonial Harbor, for the residents of Nuuk is; as a popular place for taking a relaxing walk; as a meeting spot for get-togethers with friends; opportunity for parking the car near the water and having lunch break; and in general, enjoying the view and presence in nature. Further the respondents use the area for its museums, sewing shop, qajaq-club, winter bathing club, church, and the old fish board. Several respondents mention that they used to visit the café that closed during winter, and that they miss such an offer in the Colonial Harbor. Most respondents mention the quietness and calmness of the area and the close relation to nature. A few respondents mention that the cars accessing the area as a negative element.

The respondents are asked how often they are in the Colonial Harbor, as an indication of how strongly they are connected to the area. The largely majority of the respondents are in the Colonial Harbor at least every week, which indicates that the Colonial Harbor is an active and appreciated neighborhood in Nuuk. This is further supported by that the residents agree that the Colonial Harbor plays a role in the identity of Nuuk, with the majority supporting that it plays a role to a high degree and a single respondent answered that it plays a role in a low degree. A respondent put her opinion on the role of the Colonial Harbor to the identity of Nuuk, which she shares with the general consensus among residents, in to the words;

“It is a big part of the identity of Nuuk. Everybody knows the place. One could discuss how good the history is, but... Everybody knows that it is a special area and that it should be cherished. A lot of people comes there in summer to hang out and relax.” (Resident 1)

On many special occasions, the Colonial Harbor is used for celebrating: the national day on the 21st of June (Sermitsiaq AG, 2016) (figure 4), when the Queen of Denmark lands Nuuk from her ship Dannebrog, the Queen’s birthday (Sermitsiaq AG, 2017) (figure 5) and the lighting of the Christmas tree (Sermitsiaq AG, 2015) (figure 6).

As described in chapter 1.2.2 Place branding, accessibility is a key factor in attracting people to the area. This means that the physical infrastructure must be sufficient, but also that mental barriers needs to be overcome. In the case of the Colonial Harbor, the place is internationally accessible through the Airport of Nuuk. But the mental barriers in relation to this are that the flight must go via Kangerlussuaq in the winter season and that tickets are very expensive for an average tourist. Locally, the Colonial Harbor is connected with Nuuk by roads, paths and stairways. Locally there are no physical barriers, but mentally the area is a little bit hidden by the terrain level and dysconnectivity to the center area of Nuuk, which is underlined by multiple respondents.

Further the area functions as a center for tourism, with the museums, the statue of Hans Egede (which is a sight) and the cruise ship landing spot, which fills with market stalls with local produce whenever a cruise ship lands. Currently the cruise ships landing is threatened by the fact that the pontoon bridges that the tourists use get from the ships to solid grounds, are in poor conditions. This have made cruise companies evaluate whether it would be safer to land in the industrial harbor. But the aesthetic value of landing in the Colonial Harbor plays a big part in choosing landing spot.



Figure 4 Celebration of the Greenlandic National Day in the Colonial Harbor. (Sermitsiaq AG, 2016)



Figure 5 Celebrating Queen Magrethe's birthday in the Colonial Harbor (Sermitsiaq AG, 2017)



Figure 6 Lighting the Christmas tree in the Colonial Harbor. (Sermitsiaq AG, 2015)

3.2.3 Place identity

In general, there are positive place identities attached to Nuuk, both among residents and visitors. The respondents perceive the city as being a big city, in regards of what the city can offer, and in comparison, to other Greenlandic cities, but still a small city in regards of the physical size and sense of community. The respondents explain this by addressing Nuuk as a “miniput metropolis” and that it is “a big city without being a big city”. Another aspect of the city is the history, which several respondents mention, both in regards of Danish colonial history and native Inuit culture. Several respondents mention the historical buildings and their colors and contrast to the modern buildings in Nuuk. A Danish born resident mentions the hybrid society and identity that has emerged from the Danish and native Inuit cultures, and his perspective on this matter is;

“...it is a memory of the things that has happened, both on the Danish side and that things didn’t always work out so well. We can agree on that. But there is a common cultural heritage. And maybe also that, well, that is what happened. Now we have moved on, but things are not forgotten and does not have to be forgotten. But, well, then find a new and common identity or separate identities. Whatever people feel like. Whatever comes out of it at some time...” (Resident 15b)

According to several respondents, there is a strong sense of unity and community in the city and multiple respondents mention that everybody knows each other. In contrary, an elderly respondent, whom have lived in the city in many years, mentions that earlier, people used to greet each other in the street and know each other, where today many people do not even know their neighbors. This could be a consequence of the huge increase in inhabitants and size in the past 100 years. Several respondents perceive Nuuk as a place of contrasts. The contrasts that the respondents highlight are; the old Greenland vs. the urbanized, rich vs. poor, the Inuit culture vs. Danish culture, city life vs. magnificent nature, and societal growth and development vs. preservation of the cultural heritage.

Further the city is perceived as colorful and diverse, both physically, in shape of the old wooden houses, and mentally in the shape of diversity in culture. The physical diversity in buildings is commented by a respondent (no. 6) as “ugliness” and “messy” which is a sign of her having a negative place identity. And further a Greenlandic born man expresses a neutral place identity, according to his answer when asked if the Colonial Harbor represented the Greenlandic history and cultural heritage;

“Well... It is from the Colonial times. I think... Yes... It doesn’t mean a lot to me. The colonialization, it is from the whole country, from the beginning of 1900. And I haven’t felt like, that I am a part of that colonialization. But the Colonial Harbor, well it is called the Colonial Harbor. I am always in the area” (Resident 5).

The Colonial Harbor plays a significant role in the place identity of Nuuk. It represents the historic aspect of the city, the Colonial Harbor being the oldest part of Nuuk, and that Nuuk was founded in this area. Several respondents mention that the buildings are from the days of Danish colonialization, and agree that it contains a dark history. But the main focus is on

the present daily use, which is both as being a place for relaxation and enjoying the landscape and a place for celebration and events related to the Greenlandic nationality.

The characteristic of the events taking place in the Colonial Harbor (unfolded in chapter 3.2.2 Functions), combined with the fact that the Colonial Harbor is a must-see sight when residents have foreign visitors, that foreign national delegations are greeted welcome in the house of Hans Egede, and that many tourists land from cruise ships and are greeted by market stalls with local handcrafts and produce, can be seen as a symbol of the degree of pride that the Greenlandic people takes in the Colonial Harbor.

Further the place identity is formed by that the area, and its history, has been accepted as part of the Greenlandic history. This to a degree where the Colonial Harbor a place where the Greenlandic culture is both celebrated internally among Greenlanders, and forms the face that Greenland wants to express externally. One Greenlandic born, retired, female respondent (Resident 8) mentions that *“we connect it with something old, with our history”*. This is an expression of the residents' deep place attachment to the area.

The largely majority of residents, both Greenlandic born and Danish born, answered that the Colonial Harbor represents the Greenlandic history and culture. This is a sign of the Greenlandic people having integrated and accepted the Danish colonialization as part of their history, not distancing themselves from the Danish influence, but integrating it in the Greenlandic self-perception. But the Greenlandic identity is complex, because it is distinct, but have been under Danish influence for almost 300 years. One, Danish born, respondent express this complexity in stating

“It (the Colonial Harbor red.) is a part of the Greenlandic history and the Greenlandic culture. Because Denmark is a part of the Greenlandic history and culture in many ways. It is obvious that the truly old does not reflect that much. Like, traditional Inuit culture, is there not so much of. But... So, both yes and no.” (Resident 3)

That said, a Greenlandic born woman did not feel comfortable discussing it and claimed that

“Of course, it is a part of history. But whether it is part of the identity, I do not know if is appropriate to say”

and

“...one of those things, not that I am against it, but I try to embrace it as far as I can. But there is also some truth in that it is not all the rosiest history. A part of that history. So, I would rather not elaborate that answer. It is still a taboo.” (Resident 4)

These statements, combined with that the majority accepts the Colonial Harbor as a reflection of Greenlandic history and cultural heritage, are an indication of that some have an accepting attitude towards the Danish colonialization and wish to move on, while others still have strong feelings about the Danish influence, and even calls it a taboo, which is a strong word.

3.2.4 Planning perspectives

Several respondents mention that the area seems drained for life. One respondent says;

"I think that it is a shame that the rooms down here haven't been opened. That is has become so difficult and that it is expensive and that there it is much. So, I think that's a shame. If the museum wasn't here it would be a very dead area. It is not a place people go, well people parks here and stares, and people stop to light a smoke, but there could be, it could need more life. And, precisely, that the rooms available are being used. I think it is a shame" (respondent 7)

The municipal planner has the impression that the public has the opinion that there is a lack of public life in the Colonial Harbor and that the activity could be lifted with a café or restaurant. Further, the municipal has a sense of the identity connected to the area and that many citizens has a personal attachment to the area. (Mathiesen, 2017)

The department is aware that the planning of the city will be higher influenced by the need for place staging, in relations to the promotions of tourism in Greenland. There is currently a focus on cultural heritage and the safeguarding of it within the municipality and the municipality works for creating a location attractive to residents and tourists. The municipality wish to pay attention to place identity in planning, through respect to existing values and the distinctiveness of the area, according to the municipal plan:

"The purpose of this municipal plan insert is that the Colonial Harbor, over time, is developed with respect for the existing values and at the same time in a way, local residents and tourists will get the best possible experience of a coherent neighborhood. A neighborhood that, based on the distinctiveness of the place, adds and unite new values and experience for the benefit of the area" p.10 (Sermersooq Municipality, 2011)

At the same time the municipality acknowledges the very different uses of the area; as landing place for cruise tourists, as a recreative area for resident, and as an attraction for 10-15.000 tourists each year (Sermersooq Municipality, 2011). These different uses are also an expression of different target groups for the branding of the place, and should be taken in to account when branding the area.

In 2010, the city council launched an idea competition for the future development of the Colonial Harbor, where five local design offices joined. The winning proposal contained a series of new construction fields to support the concept of dense-low plot structure, in the northern part of the area. In addition, space is reserved for a large outdoor amphitheater in the northern part of



Figure 7 Market stalls designed as igloos at the central plaza. From the winning proposal of the idea competition. (Sermersooq Municipality, 2011)

the area and the central plaza in the south end is designed with market stalls as igloos, see figure 7. New construction fields were also applied for a future expansion of the National Museum and Archive and a hotel with sea-view. Further the municipality has planned a landfilling of the current breakwater, to create space for more parking lot and building plots with sea-view, see figure 8. The point of these initiatives, according to the municipality itself, is to support an increase in public life and urban spaces in the area. (Sermersooq Municipality, 2011)

The plan also contains regulations for an extended and improved path and road system, where the current roads are to be made in to walking streets with driving permitted (Sermersooq Municipality, 2011). This initiative is in line with the wishes of the residents who mentions the cars as disturbing.



Figure 8 Overview of the Colonial Harbor, from the south. In front is the central plaza and in the left back is the church. From the winning proposal. (Sermersooq Municipality, 2011)

Several respondents mention the municipal plan of building a new hotel building near the central square, which they are quite resistant to. They fear it will ruin the area which will possibly challenge the place identity and place attachment of both residents and visitors. Such resistance and discontent could be a sign of a need of further citizen involvement, since the executive order does not seem to have fulfilled its purpose to incorporate the voices of citizens in to the plan, or at least make the citizens feel they have been heard.

3.2.5 Future development of the area, the “0-alternative”

A “0-alternative” is usually used in environmental impact assessments in Danish environmental planning, but is also a useful perspective in urban planning. It is a scenario of what happens if the current development continues.

Despite the idea competition in 2010, the detailed municipal plan in 2011 it leads to, and the recent focus on built cultural heritage, both politically and in the planning department, there does not seem to be taken any physical actions on it in the Colonial Harbor. Runa Mathiesen mentions that that the municipality is not currently focused on the Colonial Harbor, because they made a plan in 2011 and implies that therefore the area does not need further attention (Mathiesen, 2017). It is a situation where the political strategy is set and the detailed plans are made, but there is not taken any actions. It could be interpreted as a political prestige project that the administration must manage best they can, but without resources to

really implement it. One could state that it is a waste of time and money to push through projects that “stays on the paper”, but the fact that the intentions, solutions and ideas are manifested and documented is the first step towards development of the area. Even though the project seems to be on standby right now, it is possible for the planning department to revive it when the time is appropriate for it. Such time could come if for example the necessary municipal resources are put in to the planning department and/or mobilization of political, public or investors interest in the area.

Despite the lack of engagement in implementing the detailed municipal plan from the planning department, some measures are taken by some of the private actors in the Colonial Harbor. For example, The National Museum and Archive are working on their expansion (Bisgaard, 2017). Some initiatives to create public life, not mentioned in the plans are the “Children’s Day” organized by Kittat sewing room and Visit Greenland, at the plaza/parking lot in the southern part of the area. Such an interorganizational network contains a good chance of creating synergies among organizations and businesses in the area and thereby improve the character and degree of public life in the Colonial Harbor. Currently there are no other cooperation or networks among the organizations and businesses in the Colonial Harbor.

3.3 Planning tools and solutions

There are several possibilities to mobilize public life and economic development in the Colonial Harbor, by utilizing the unique qualities and identity the place contains. During the interviews, several respondents mentions issues in the area. There will always be someone whom will have negative things to say about an area, no matter how perfectly planned. But it is important that planners take the stakeholders opinions seriously, and respond to them. Planners cannot rest after a plan is made and implemented, they should continuously keep an eye on and improve the area. In the Colonial Harbor, there are several adjustments and ideas that could benefit the area and its users.

First, the built cultural heritage in the area plays a significant role in the place identity, and this could be utilized to a higher degree than the current. The built cultural heritage should be renovated and the future maintenance should be secured. The municipality does not own all the cultural heritage buildings in the Colonial Harbor, but the municipality could begin with their own and then try to affect the owners of the other buildings. If the buildings are renovated it would not only preserve them for a longer period in the future, but it would also send a signal that the Greenlandic people takes pride in the historic buildings and that they are taken care of. The knowledge of local history and the specific buildings could be unfolded in information boards about historic events and persons, stories about the buildings and the area, and information and data about the cultural heritage buildings, which could be placed on different locations in the Colonial Harbor.

Several respondents mention that the area seems dead. There must be activities offered to attract people, and offices does not create activity, except for employees going to and from work. Therefore, it could improve the activity level in the area if the office for Visit Greenland were moved to an alternative place in the city and the rooms were used for business with direct, physical customer contact. Further it would benefit the area if the unused potentials of the empty tourist office box (figure 9) and the closed restaurant is utilized. The tourist office box has unique qualities of a great placement and a grand view of the fiord and the closed restaurant was placed in the former shipyard which adds a historic value to the building. The winter bathing club has been permitted to change clothes in the old hospital, but wish for a place on their own and a sauna, which could be fitted in to the tourist office box or the former shipyard. If it is not possible to find permanent businesses or activities to fill the empty rooms, the planners could consider different types of temporary use or experiment with different uses.



Figure 9 The closed tourism office (Authors own picture)

The obvious theme of the Colonial Harbor is the historic aspect of the times when Greenland was colonized by Denmark. Many of the buildings date back a long time, creating a unique environment that attracts many of the respondents. The theme of history could be underlined by the urban furniture and installations, like benches, lamp posts, trash cans and signs having a historic design similar to the colonial times. In case that there was no urban furniture in the Colonial Harbor during the colonial period, European design from the same period should not be implemented, because it will create an unauthentic experience.

It is observed that there is a lack of benches and trash cans in the area, which could be facilitated to meet the needs of the users, and thereby making it a more pleasant experience to be in the area. To further improve the experiences aesthetics like plants in summer time or ice sculptures during winter could be implemented. Further, the stairways to the former shipyard (see figure 10) could be replaced by more aesthetic, or historic stairways, and the big red container in front of the Qajaq club should be removed. Another aspect of experience that could be improved is the ability to navigate in the area. Two respondents mention without being asked that they wanted to visit the National Museum and Archive, but could not find it. Signs to the different attractions could improve this.



Figure 10 Stairways to the former restaurant and shipyard. (Authors own picture)

Many residents use the Colonial Harbor for recreative purposes, the grand nature and good views. In addition, many tourists choose Greenland because of the nature (Stine Selmer Andersen, 2017). Therefore, the area could benefit of better opportunities to enjoy the nature in the area. Such opportunities could be to put up binoculars for

eagle and whale spotting. An information board about the animals and landscape seen, could be put up next to it, to inform spectators. Such an installation providing knowledge about the locality and its wildlife could be an excursion spot for schools and an attraction on the guided tours in the Colonial Harbor, that are provided by local tourist offices.

Several respondents mention that the cars are a disturbing element and that the area should be car free. Such a regulation would support the recreative use of the area by slowing down the pace on the street, making it more secure and relaxing to walk in the area. Further it will support the identity aspect of quietness and stillness in the area. The down side to such a regulation is that the residents of Nuuk would no longer be able to drive in their car all the way to the edge of the water and enjoy the landscape view from inside the car, some while eating their lunch. It is observed that this is a very popular way to visit the Colonial Harbor, especially during winter where the temperatures drop. The people in the cars would probably not walk to the area and enjoy the view if the regulation were enforced, which would mean that the area would lose its main value to some residents in Nuuk.

During the expert interviews, it became clear that there is a limited degree of co-operation and networking between the stakeholders in the Colonial Harbor. Such networks are vital to create place based local development. Through interviews with Sermersooq Business Council it became clear that the municipal support and network are vital to the success of an entrepreneur and business owner. SBC offers advising and help to search funding and education in the various aspects of starting and maintaining a business, to new, local entrepreneurs, which creates a good business environment. The local business environment in the Colonial Harbor could benefit of synergies created by an increased effort in networking, between the businesses and institutions in the area. An inspiration to such a network could be a Business Improvement District. A Business Improvement District consists of a network between businesses and/or property owners in a geographically determined area. The network is led by a board which can consist of some local businesses and property owners, local leaders and/or municipal representatives, and can employ staff. The members of the BID pay a tax to the municipality, but the money is administrated by the BID board. The purpose and main task of the board is to provide certain service functions to make the geographically defined area more attractive to customers and residents, and thereby increase sales, property values and quality of public life. Such service functions could be marketing, maintenance and improvements of the common physical environment, lobbyism, economic and place development. BIDs are spread all over the world and are an acknowledged tool of managing and planning for development of local business life, physical improvements and creating more public life in in urban centers. It is an applicable tool to many places because it can be fitted to different and changing conditions, depending on which services are in higher demand in the particular area. (Dudek, 2012)

A small-scale BID could be an appropriate tool to use in the Colonial Harbor, since the area contains many place qualities that could be activated and utilize to the benefit of residents, visitors, and local businesses and institutions. For example, improvement of the public environment and collective marketing could be possible tasks and functions for a BID in the Colonial Harbor. In Denmark, the financial model of charging businesses and property owners within a certain geographical defined area and reinvesting the taxes in the same specific area is not possible under the current Danish law. It is a subject

to be researched further if it is possible under Greenlandic law, but nonetheless, the concept has value as inspiration for planners as well as business networks. A possible placement and anchoring of a business network in the Colonial Harbor could be under the initiative “tourism-boost” of Sermersooq Business Council. Such an anchoring could secure the continuity and formalities of the network.

3.4 Sub conclusions

The planning system in Greenland is based on the principles of the Danish planning system, with a hierarchy of local plans, municipal plans and strategies, and national strategies. But the system is fitted to the Greenlandic context of fewer resources, large municipalities with small populations and the perspective that the land cannot be owned, which demands a special area administration. Unfortunately, the planning system, including the management of cultural heritage, suffers from several challenges, which all sums up to lack of resources and procedures. But in Sermersooq Municipality the built cultural heritage seems to be in the focus of politicians and the planning department. The planning department seeks to balance preservation of cultural heritage buildings and areas, with the development of the new area, Siorarsiorfik, or at least the planners try to ensure that the impact on built cultural heritage is not irreversible.

In the Colonial Harbor the stakeholders are of very different characters: Local businesses, municipal institutions, museums, residents of both the Colonial Harbor and the rest of Nuuk and visitors from other cities and countries. Though there is some cooperation between them, there is no formal network among them.

The Colonial Harbor contains possibilities for very differentiated utilization and provides different functions. It is both a meeting place for the citizens of Nuuk, a place for recreation, nature and calmness, a must-see for tourists, and a place for big events, such as the National Day, with its open plazas and squares.

The respondents are aware that the history of the buildings have negative aspects, but they seem to have moved on and accepted the Danish colonialization as a part of the Greenlandic history, though, a dark period of it. But, some respondents did feel uncomfortable speaking about it or distanced themselves to the Danish colonial times. This is paradoxical, since many of the events representing the Greenlandic identity and nationality takes place in the Colonial Harbor, as mentioned above. The historical aspect of the Colonial Harbor also provides a contrast to the modern architecture in the center of Nuuk. This condition supports the reflections of several respondents that Nuuk is a place of many contrasts, both physical in architecture, the many colors of the houses, and societally in the evident differences between social classes and contrasts between the western culture and the native Inuit culture. Despite these contrasts, several respondents mention the sense of unity and community among locals. The respondents also notice that there is a low degree of public life in the Colonial Harbor. On one side, it is not necessarily a problem, since many people enjoy the stillness of the area. But if it is regarded as a problem, the municipality is trying to face it with the idea competition and following detailed plan, in 2010. The municipality has focus on public life by implementing an amphitheater, market stalls and a hotel in the area, as well as expanding the buildings of the National Museum and Archive. Unfortunately, these initiatives are only focus on certain focus

groups (hotel and museum guests) or only creates public life in relation to events (theater shows, cruise ship landings and National Day etc.). Staging a place that contains different functions and different utilizations, with an intention to create public life demands that several target groups are considered. Thus, the initiatives must be attractive to several public target groups (residents and tourists and businesses) and be continuously for longer periods of time. The hotel and other new buildings and installations, which might be built as modern architecture, could underline the contrasts that plays a big role in the identity of Nuuk and branding of Colourful Nuuk. But the respondents are not fond about the hotel, which could either mean that it is just not in their interest or that they do not feel heard and listened to during citizen involvement, which could be because they were not heard and there therefore is a need for extended citizen involvement to create a public debate or that the citizens were heard, but with a vague response. The point is that citizens should be heard and that if they are still dissatisfied with the outcome, they should at least feel like they have been heard and taken serious, which might dim their opposition to and increase the acceptance of the project.

Despite the good intentions and ideas of the winning proposal in the idea competition and their implementation in the detailed plan for the area, there has been no obvious development of the area the past 6 years since the plan was published. Neither the extended path-system, the amphitheater, the hotel, the landfilling of the dock or buildings upon it has been realized. New development takes investors and initiative to be realized, and attracting such takes time. But 6 years should be plenty of time to at least realizing the path- and road system, which is a municipal task. But, 6 years have passed and that should have been plenty of time for the municipality to install the path- and road system. If the municipality acted as first movers in developing the area, it would increase the chance of investors seeing the potentials for investment. Actions needs to be taken, to maintain the news value of the project and keep the interest in the area going, if it is not already too late.

There are several planning tools and possible solutions to the issues emerged in the analysis. For example, the buildings could be managed differently, by for example an effort to move the offices to an alternative spot in the city or utilizing the empty rooms in new or temporary ways. Further the place qualities of the nature, could be mobilized by installing for example eagle and whale binoculars and an animal information board. The historic theme used in place staging could be underlined by the design of urban furniture having a historic expression. The aesthetics of the area could be improved with plants in summer time and ice sculptures in winter. Further the red container in front of the Qajaq club should be removed and the stairways to the former shipyard replaced by stairways with a higher aesthetic, historic or design value. In relation to the opinions of several respondents that the cars are a disturbing element, there are both pro and cons to making the area a car-free zone, but it should be considered further. Lastly, synergies could be made among the local businesses and institutions, through the creation of a formal network. Such could benefit of being anchored in for example Sermersooq Business Council.

4 Discussion

The present paper is built upon the hypothesis that built cultural heritage contains values and qualities in relation to environment, identity and economy. This hypothesis states why the Colonial Harbor is worth protecting and regenerating. But is the hypothesis true? The literature on Place identity states that the experience of place affects the personal identity. The findings of this project support the statements that cultural heritage plays a role in the identity of the individual and the identity of the place, and that the experience of place identity has a relation to the local economy. But, still urban regeneration and development projects around the world are planned without regards to local identity. It seems like the link between an attractive urban environment and local economy is underestimated in the larger scale projects – or the large scale of the projects makes it hard to plan for place identity, which contains many detailed and specific information. It is not enough hire a fancy landscape architect to design the public spaces with many fancy solutions, though they have probably put a lot of thought and knowledge in to it and may propose many good solutions. The aspect of place identity should be researched and considered in every urban regeneration project, because it is a unique quality of an area and can generate local economy, if mobilized in the right way. If place identity and residents are left out of the project, it could lead to gentrification, which is a vast problematic world-wide tendency.

Another hypothesis that the current project is based upon is that growth is good and that planners must relate the plans and strategies to growth. The importance of growth is a political subject, but it is also a global tendency that cities compete on. But, it is one of the primary tasks of a planner to delimit growth and set the framework for growth to happen towards the strategic targets set by politicians. In the (neo-)liberal utopia economic growth should probably be unlimited, but in that case planners would be out of work.

4.1 Planning issues in Greenland

In Greenland, the planners face many issues, which is unfolded in the analysis, that grounds in a larger planning system fail of lack of communications and procedures. The issues concern among others; outdated data on built cultural heritage, basic data spread out over many organizations and institutions without a shared platform to collect it, misunderstandings of resort distributions and interests internally in the government administration, lack of knowledge among owners of cultural heritage buildings and lack of professional practical skills in restoring cultural heritage. These issues can mean that some questions are not answered the same way or that some things are done twice. To overcome these issues the planners must either be creative, accept the circumstances and the flaws they bring, or try to change the issues that leads to the planning problems. Planning for the Colonial Harbor also demands creativity and innovation. Which is probably why the City Council called for inputs from five local architectural design offices. One way a planner can be creative is in the physical design of the area, another is in the regulations on and the communication with the local stakeholders. Formal networks of businesses and organizations, cooperating to create a better experience for their customers, are often successful in the way that synergy

emerge, which benefits both the businesses/organizations, the customers and the public life in general. Business Improvement Districts are a form of such formal networks.

4.2 New urban development or regeneration of city centers

As stated in chapter 3.1.2 Balancing preservation and development, planners and politicians need to balance regeneration of urban centers and new urban developments. It is two different perspectives of urban growth, since the former is focused on utilizing existent qualities and physical structures, where the latter is focused on creating new. Though, it is not that simple, because regeneration projects often also include building new. In Nuuk, the new development project, Siorarsiorfik, is a high profiled political prestige project. The project is profiled and almost advertised for in local newspaper and the citizen meeting where the plans were presented, was held in the shopping mall, Nuuk Center, which is a place that many citizens gather in. In comparison, the municipal effort to restore and preserve built cultural heritage and cultural heritage environments is almost happening under cover. In line with this is that the winner proposal to the idea competition for the Colonial Harbor in 2010, also had several new modern physical structures, such as the igloo-stalls at the central square, the new hotel and the wooden pathways. But on the other hand, the idea competition in the Colonial Harbor in 2010, was presented in the public forum and the winners were announced at a public event, which indicates that it is not because cultural heritage is an unpopular subject, it is more because modern architectural solutions is prestige and draws attention. But a city cannot only consist of fancy new architecture without attention to local conditions, because it will be a boring, uninteresting city, without identity. Such an experiment has already been done in the Ørestad project in Copenhagen, Denmark, which has resulted in it becoming an area with low public livability. But apparently planners still have a lesson to learn on this matter, since newly developed harbor fronts still is planned as a collection of individual architectural prestige buildings without any relation to each other or the existing identity of the area. Planners keeps using the good examples, like Bilbao and Aalborg, as reasons and inspiration for developing harbor fronts, but it seems like the planners are underestimating or underprioritizing the perspective of public life, and focus more on the branding effect of fancy architecture. This might be because they are responding to politicians focused on reputation and reelection. For example, the development of Aarhus Ø, Denmark. In this case the building plots were laid out first, then came the architectural competition for the individual plots and last the public areas were planned. Though, in the Aarhus Ø project planning for public life was also made in to an individual prestige project, because an architectural competition was held for a part of the public areas, including a harbor bath.

4.3 Place branding as a planning concept

In this niche of place-branding in the experience economy, many small cities see their chance for growth. In the industrial and knowledge economies, companies tend to gather in large cities or metropolises, because of the increased connection to markets or goods and/or labor etc.). But with the experience economy, the geographic balance of economies is shifting

from concentration in urban areas to peripheral places, which is a move towards evening out the distribution of economic centers, geographically (Lorentzen, 2009). This tendency is based on the globalization, which has implied that the consumers of experience products are not restricted to a certain area – they have the funds, time, possibility, and will to travel to destinations far away, to get a unique experience (Ibid.). As mentioned in the chapter 1.2.1 The Experience Economy, the income and leisure time per person has increased in the last 100 years. The possibility for the consumer to travel to experience destinations is founded in the close interrelation between mobility and the experience producers. The will to travel longer distances derives from the expected quality and uniqueness of the experience. This is relevant to the branding of Nuuk as a destination, because tourists often must travel long distances with several stops and high ticket prices, which means that the experience must be branded in a way that is so attractive and authentic that such challenges seems worth it.

Branding of a place in, or aspect of, a city is not always corresponding to what locals perceive as authentic. The official image of a city is sometimes distinguished and branded by local authorities, with support from private investors and consultant firms, thus leading to a top-down process, partly leaving out the local, informal place identity. But despite this, place branding can also be conducted through a non-planned process by local cultural agencies, whom manages to decentralize the branding idea out through cultural networks, creating a snow ball effect. A negative effect of the top-down approach can be that an overweight of focus is put on to the external needs. Rather than looking in to the needs of the place, residents and local businesses, the effort is put in to what the visitors or tourists needs. The emerging tendency of top-down planned branding processes is answered with a strengthened emphasis on local culture and identity through the local communities, which aims at telling the alternative narratives of the city, as response to the official branding strategy. (Ulldemolins, 2014)

Further there is a tendency among cities to brand the same themes, containing the same values and symbols (Ulldemolins, 2014), with small variations caused by adaptation to local circumstances. For example, is the bronze statue or plaque that one must touch in a particular spot to get lucky, or the focus on young, backpacking hipsters as target group which causes re-identifications of former industrial or historic buildings, places and neighborhoods, in to being modernized and branded as modern or hip, which put them in risk of being gentrified.

5 Conclusions and perspectives

The theoretic framework provides the knowledge that the physical environment makes us reflect, feel and think and that the sense of place affects our behavior and identity. The identity we link to a place can create a feeling of belonging, purpose and meaning, and in- or decrease a certain behavior. We can feel attached to certain places, because of personal relations, special events etc. Such feelings and reflections on place is highly relevant in understanding the connection between people and environment in a post-colonial hybrid society, where the colonial times are represented through the cultural heritage buildings in the Colonial Harbor in central Nuuk. To activate the values of the built cultural heritage, the Colonial Harbor can be staged and branded as a place of certain experiences, to attract public life. More public life would not only benefit the experience for the residents and visitors, but would also profit the local businesses, if they understand how to utilize and link the experience to their business. Thereby the concept of place based experience is central to both place identity and local economy.

To research the functions and place identity that constitutes the experience in the Colonial Harbor several interviews with residents and visitors are performed. To gain deeper insight in to the actions, plans and strategies that stages the experience interviews are conducted with among other a municipal planner, a curator with specialty in cultural heritage, a representant from the municipal business council and the head of the local sewing room. To support the interviews and to gain a deeper understanding of the place, observations are made and documented by pictures and notes.

Place identity is relevant in urban regeneration projects because it is closely linked to the individual identity of people living there and the attachment that both residents and visitors have to the place. The identity and qualities of the Colonial Harbor is mobilized though the functions it provides and the way people use it. For residents it is a place of both recreation and activities. They use the location daily for meeting, relaxing and enjoying the views, and special national occasions like the National Day is also celebrated by locals in the Colonial Harbor. Visitors also find the area recreative and visit it for the museums and historic buildings, and cruise tourists often land in the Colonial Harbor from the ships, when they have a stop-over in Nuuk. The majority of residents have a positive place identity connected to the Colonial Harbor, but still recognize the history of Danish oppression that the buildings bear witness of. Two respondents felt uncomfortable talking about it or had negative reflections upon the colonialization, which dominated the relation to the cultural heritage buildings. The fact that the paradox of using the buildings and areas of former suppressor for celebrating national events and as a face outwards to delegations, does not seem to bother the Greenlandic people, indicates that the society has evolved in to post-colonial hybridity, putting the former duality behind it, at least in relation to place identity.

The municipality enforced a detailed plan, based on an idea competition, in 2011. The initiatives in the plan seeks to support the place identity, for example through a hotel and permanent market stalls enforcing the identity as a tourism area, a new path and road system, supporting the identity as a recreative area and an amphitheater enforcing the place identity as an area for special events. But unfortunately, none of these initiatives have been realized through the past six years. To mobilize

the identity attached to the Colonial Harbor a political and professional focus on the area must be regained. There are several planning tools and solutions that could be enforced to ignite public life and local economy in the area. For example, emphasis could be put on restoring cultural heritage buildings, underlining the historic theme through the design of urban furniture, creating activity by replacing the office with a company with direct customer contact and temporary use of empty rooms, create interaction with the beautiful scenery by eagle and whale spotting binoculars and animal information board. Further, several respondents find the cars being a disturbing element, but it is observed that many people visit the area by car and sit in it while enjoying the view. This is a complex issue, where planners need to mediate the way to a solution that pleases the majority, if possible. In addition to the physical tools and solutions to improve the public life and local economy, networking tools could be implemented among local businesses and institutions. Such a network could be formalized and funded through a Business Improvement District and/or anchored in Sermersooq Business Council or Nuuk Chamber of Commerce.

The target of the present project is to gain an understanding of the Colonial Harbor as place, and the qualities and resources it contains, in order to research what is possible to do to improve the place by utilizing these qualities and resources. This case gives rise and inspiration to urban regeneration projects in how to mobilize place identity and place based qualities and resources. Further the project can serve as a qualified contribution to the debate on local development and input to politics, strategies and planning in Greenland.

5.1 Perspectives

Neo-liberal planning has gained ground in Europe, through the tendency of harbor developments, which is typically done through cooperation between public authorities and private investors. A way to realize and fund such larger scale projects is through Public-Private Partnerships (PPP). In the Greenlandic context where markets are under pressure by low demand due to the small population, and there are limited public resources, Public Private Partnerships are a way to join forces of private investors and municipal or government administrations. Though PPP's are mainly seen in new developments and larger scale projects, the mentality of cooperating with private investors could be used as inspiration for the development in the Colonial Harbor and initiatives to attract investors could be launched. PPP constellations have gained ground worldwide since the 1990'ies (OECD, 2008), and the neo-liberal trend has also reached Greenland, exemplified here by two cases. In the case of Siorarsiorfik, Sermersooq Municipality wishes to cooperate with a private investor in developing the new urban district in Nuuk, which is the biggest urban development project in Greenland to this date. The new district will contain 2500 new residences, two public schools, three daycare institutions, 20.000 square meters commercial premises, an art museum and a national indoor stadium. The goal is to have private investors build the apartments and rent them to citizens, and have private investors build the schools, institutions and the tunnel connecting the area to the city, and rent them to the municipality. The private investors constitute a consortium of private pension funds. The Municipality of

Sermersooq calls it *“a win-win situation, where several stakeholders benefits of yield, while Nuuk and Greenland creates growth”* (Sermersooq Municipality, 2017).

The second case of the new tendency of PPP's emerging in Greenland, is the Ilimanaq project, which is focusing on tourism and local development. The project is a cooperation between Qaasuitsup Municipality, the Danish pension fund Real Dania and the tourist agency World of Greenland. Real Dania contributes to the project by restoring two 18th century buildings and reusing them for visitor center, restaurant and shop. The municipality contributes by improving the settlement infrastructure in terms of roads and sewers etc., and World of Greenland builds 15 new accommodation huts for tourists (Realdania, 2017). What distances this project from the former two is that it not only focuses on new development but also on the redevelopment and usage of local qualities, by restoring the two old buildings and upgrading the infrastructure in the already existing settlement.

These PPP's are formed with the intention of igniting economic growth in Ilimanaq and Nuuk. But the question is if it will catch fire and direct or indirectly affect the investments, initiatives and economy, or merely stand as single projects because the interest or resource flow will decrease. It is a realistic scenario that such projects will be underprioritized by politicians because Greenland is under political pressure to become independent from the Danish block grants, combined with a general shortsighted culture. Further, it is hard for private investors and companies to compete on the market for certain service functions in Greenland, such as energy provision, telecommunication and internet, mail, grocery shops in the settlements, aviation, transportation of goods etc. because of government-owned and -funded companies, which leads to uneven competition on these markets. But it is important to note that in some of the cases on these markets there are no profits to gain, but the Government is still responsible for these services being provided to the inhabitants and must therefore financially support or cover losses of companies which are willing and able to provide the services. This is particularly relevant in small settlements where the government is obliged to provide for example energy and a grocery store, but where the population number is so low that there is no foundation for a regular business case. This leads to the question if there is a lower limit of how many people can live in a country, combined with an upper limit of distances, and still being able to maintain a modern society and keep up with tendencies in Denmark, the rest of Europe and the world? Is it enough to have the will power and spirit or is there a natural boundary for the size of independent communities? This also relates to another smaller scale planning debate, about maintaining villages that are not economically profitably. This debate is a result of the global tendency of urbanization, leaving the small villages emptier and with local businesses and municipal services like schools closing.

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