CONTEMPORARY CULTURAL TOURISM IN GREENLAND: THE ROLE OF THE CULTURAL CENTRE

A Master's thesis by Elizabeth Ann Cooper
MA Tourism
Aalborg University Copenhagen
Supervised by Lill Rastad Bjørst
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AALBORG UNIVERSITY
DENMARK

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Elizabeth Ann Cooper: 20161570

Abstract

One of the perpetual dilemmas of tourism studies is how to generate natural interaction between hosts and guests. Cultural centres, often being used simultaneously as community meeting spaces and as tourist attractions, have the potential to be spaces that foster these meetings and provide cultural tourists with the more personal and 'everyday' experiences that they arguably increasingly seek.

This thesis is a case study of Katuaq Cultural Centre in Nuuk, Greenland. Combining theories of cultural contact, cultural hybridity and placemaking, the study examines how locals and tourists make use of and experience the centre, and how it responds to the expectations of different cultural groups in a context of colonialism and increasing tourism.

A series of anthropological research methods are used, including participant observation in the cultural centre itself, and informal and semi-structured interviews with local residents, users of the centre, local artists and employees and management at the centre.

Concluding that, from various perspectives, Katuaq fails to perform as a 'centre of culture', the project offers innovative insights into how cultural centres can be operated more inclusively and as spaces in which members of different cultural groups can reach more profound levels of understanding.

The study highlights the value of cultural centre case studies to tourism scholarship, arguing that they provide tangible and localised cases through which scholars can explore the meeting of cultural groups and tourism dichotomies in action.

Acknowledgements

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Introduction

The inspiration for this research project came from a personal curiosity about Nuuk's cultural centre, Katuaq, that developed when I spent time in Greenland in summer 2017. The concept of a 'cultural centre' was relatively new to me, and I was intrigued as to what the site would offer. Having been told by locals that I absolutely had to go, I imagined a place that was very accessible to tourists: a 'must go' for visitors to Nuuk. I suppose I was expecting some kind of modern twist on a museum.

On entering the centre, I was surprised to be met with relative emptiness: a large, light foyer with a reception desk in the middle and a café at one end. Most of what I could see was space - apparently unused apart from a gathering of chairs and tables at the end, where groups of people were eating and chatting. Contrary to my expectations, this was not a place that was 'presenting' things to me. There was nothing really for me to look at, and no clear direction on what to do. It seemed instead to be a blank space which allowed people to meet and perform everyday culture, in whatever way it had meaning for them.

This intrigued me; as someone new to the city, I was open to being *told* what culture meant in Nuuk, but instead I was introduced to a space in which local people were essentially going about their daily lives - daily lives which I felt, to some extent, that I could simply take a coffee and sit down and be a part of. Maybe the message here, I thought, is that local culture is best characterised by the everyday, the routine, and by social interactions between people.

My first impressions of Katuaq brought to mind a quote from Iain Sinclair's book *Ghost Milk* (2011), which reads:

> "The political classes imagine that all an economically dysfunctional area requires
> is a new museum: content unimportant, style paramount. Institutes of pop music,
> eco-parks. They were launched with millennial seed funds, and lottery loot. And
> they failed, withering away at the first nip of fiscal reality. What the promoters

never grasped is that culture is what happens between museums, on the street, in markets and pubs."

(Sinclair, 2011: 250-1)

Although Sinclair's quote is very much grounded in the social and historical context of the UK, it brings to light an interesting idea. It exposes the manufactured nature of museums and visitor attractions - the inevitable obstacles to consciously constructing a space which overtly claims to represent culture. Sinclair implies that places of tourism can never be places of culture, because 'real' culture will always 'slip through the gaps', and occur in places that fall under the sphere of the local community: the pub, the market, even simply on the street.

This notion of cultural sites that are inaccessible to tourists encouraged me to wonder how it is possible to construct a 'between place' that is used equally by and with cultural benefit to both locals and tourists. And Katuaq, on my first impression, seemed to be one of these. I saw locals using the space as part of their daily routine, but equally, as an outsider, I felt welcome to partake in the everyday happenings at the centre, and even that, by doing so, I was likely to fall into an interaction with a local, and thereby become part of the performance of local culture myself. I was inspired to investigate to what extent this really was the case in Katuaq, and whether the centre had achieved the mythical status of becoming a 'between place'.

There are two main reasons for incorporating tourism as central to this study. The first comes from a large amount of statistical data that I gathered while working for Visit Greenland as part of their Greenland Mapping Project (GMP) in summer 2017. The GMP used face to face interviews with tourists to uncover detailed information about their travel motivations and experiences of the country, and revealed an imbalance between the amount of tourists looking for cultural experiences, and the amount of cultural experiences on offer. In other words, there is a shortage of cultural activities for tourists, and a market for cultural tourism experiences in Nuuk (Visit Greenland, 2018).

The second reason for incorporating tourism relates to the kind of cultural experiences that tourists look for today. It is a well established argument within tourism scholarship that tourists seek a combination of familiarity and 'Otherness' (Richards, 2007), and this concept can be applied specifically to cultural tourism experiences: "the [cultural] tourist [seeks] an experience of the 'Other' that does not produce culture shock or go as far as a reversal of the home culture" (ibid., 7). Richards argues that cultural tourists, to some extent, seek an experience that reflects the banalities of their everyday life. He continues: "Cultural tourism … is not so much a process of reversal, but is in fact an extension of everyday life" (ibid., 7). If cultural tourists increasingly crave access to the everyday happenings of the local community, then it follows that a venue in which tourists can be witness to or even participants in these activities would be a successful tourism product. Cultural centres, being both community spaces and cultural sites that attract tourists, have the potential to become tourist attractions that are less overtly constructed than, for example, museums, but are 'between places', in which tourists are welcome to simply 'be' among the local community who are living out their daily lives.

This project is a case study of the cultural centre Katuaq, as part of a wider discussion of the performance and experience of culture by tourists and locals. By examining the perspectives of different stakeholders in Katuaq, I aim to answer the following research questions:

1)   *How is culture performed and experienced within the cultural centre, Katuaq?*

2)   *What role do tourists and tourism play in the operation of the cultural centre, Katuaq?*

3)   *How can cultural centres be used more inclusively as spaces that benefit both tourists and the local community?*

The research questions are structured so that I first analyse locals' use of and views on Katuaq, and then analyse how tourists interact with the space. The third research question examines interactions between the two groups in Katuaq, and whether it can be considered a 'between place'. Finally, I offer some innovative insights on how cultural centres can be operated more

inclusively. Prior to this analysis, however, I outline my methodology and the theoretical foundations of the project.

1. Methodology

Before discussing my specific data collection methods, I outline the understanding of knowledge creation and the social world which underlines my research.

1.1 Social Constructionism

The primary concept shaping my research approach is social constructionism. Social constructionism is said to stem from the twentieth century turn in the philosophy of science (Kuhn, 1962; Bachelard, 1934; Canguilhem, 1966; Foucault, 1969; Hacking, 1990). This movement rejected the notion that there are universal scientific methods and rules and an objectively observable 'real' world (Detel, 2015: 228-9; Feldman 2014: 2).

The theory postulates that knowledge, rather than being transmitted from an authoritative source, is *constructed* by people through social interactions and processes (Detel, 2015: 228). According to Hollinshead (2006), "realities exist in the form of multiple mental constructions - socially and experientially based, local and specific, dependent for their form and content on the persons who hold them" (Hollinshead, 2006: 45). Hollinshead argues that there is no single, objective 'reality', but realities instead are multiple; each individual's experience of a social process constitutes a valid 'reality' that, along with other interpretations, contributes to an informed commentary on the world. Crotty (1998) explains: "What constructionism drives home unambiguously is that there is no true or valid interpretation … 'Useful', 'liberating', 'fulfilling', 'rewarding' interpretations, yes. 'True' or 'valid' interpretations, no" (Crotty, 1998: 47-8). A social constructionist approach defines reality as an ongoing, dynamic process which is continually reproduced, rather than something which objectively exists.

1.1.1 Constructionism or constructivism?

Although many scholars use the terms interchangeably, it is generally accepted that *constructionism* is concerned with the creation of knowledge through social context and shared production, whilst, with *constructivism,* meaning is created in the mind of the individual (Talja et

al., 2005: 81). In other words, *constructionism* can be considered to be sociological, while *constructivism* can be considered psychological. Throughout this thesis I use the term *constructionism,* since my research relates primarily to groups of people, the interactions between them, and the ways in which they participate in their perceived social reality. The validity of this approach is addressed in section 1.4.

1.1.2 How is social constructionism relevant to tourism research?

Despite often being considered the domain of business, tourism is an area of research that is concerned primarily with the movement and interactions of people. Hollinshead (2006) argues that tourism deals with the differences between constructions of groups of people (Hollinshead, 2006: 49-50). The importance of people to the practice of tourism suggests that meaning in the tourism experience is created by the understandings and perceptions of groups of people.

Hollinshead also highlights the element of difference that is central to the practice of tourism, arguing that it is predicated upon "significant affectations of 'self' and 'the Other'" (Hollinshead, 2006: 54). If tourism relies on the division and subsequent meeting of groups of people, then it follows that academic research on tourism should take into account the significance of the interactions between and perspectives of these different groups. Social constructionism, with its emphasis on the creation of meaning through social interactions, is therefore an appropriate method to analyse the human side of tourism.

Hollinshead points out that these articulations of difference extend beyond simply the environment being studied. During fieldwork, "inquirer and inquired are fused into a singular (monistic) entity. Findings are the creation of a process of interaction between the two" (Hollinshead, 2006: 45). There is, therefore, another interaction to take into account in tourism research - that of the researcher and the informants - and these meetings are similarly subject to the individual perspectives and interpretations that permeate the world in general. In other words, as a researcher with a social constructionist outlook, I must constantly be aware of my contribution to the social processes that I examine.

1.1.3 'The West and the Rest'

Social constructionism is also relevant to my study due to the issues of indigeneity which inform the research process. The dichotomy of 'the self and the Other', when applied to studies of indigenous cultures, manifests as a dichotomy between the 'West and the Rest' (Trouillot, 1991: 34-5): "On the one hand there is the observer, armed with 'culture' writ large and history, known and recorded. On the other hand is the Other, living somehow within 'Nature' writ large and holding onto the past through stories" (Jolles, 2006: 44). Here, Jolles identifies two contrasting epistemologies: the 'Self' - observant Western knowledge which is recorded and distributed via literature - and the 'Other' - an indigenous form of knowledge which is passed down through generations orally. These contrasting epistemologies reflect the social constructionist view that there are multiple truths to consider.

This highlights a prominent theoretical and methodological quandary for those who study indigenous peoples. Fixico (1998) argues that the practice of studying indigenous cultures has been formed by Western scholars: that the epistemology itself has been defined by Westerners (Fixico, 1998: 86). If this is the case, it follows that non-Western epistemologies are sometimes marginalised, despite the fact that they are equally as valid. This was a consideration that permeated my research process, and that was sometimes observed by my informants themselves:

> "The people who are working in the government, most of them are Danish … and they got their university degree in Denmark, or in England, or Harvard, whatever. They learn through reading books about how Europe became, and how this machine was built up. And then they come here, and they say, of course the system would also work perfectly here. No - think! You're not a book, you're a human being. You're able to see things, you're able to feel!"
>
> (Interview with Miké Thomsen)

Although Miké does not speak specifically about research, he illustrates this conflict passionately. In describing a situation in which, from his perspective, Western politicians blindly

apply their political system to a Greenlandic context, Miké demonstrates how Western learning can dominate indigenous learning.

From a social constructionist view, however, it is limiting to assert that there are only two streams of knowledge in this situation. The differentiation of Western knowledge and non-Western knowledge support the claim that there are multiple 'realities' operating simultaneously, yet it is simplistic to assert that all Westerners construct meaning according to one particular epistemology, while all non-Westerners construct meaning in a single contrasting way. Rather, researchers should recognise multiple epistemologies and not take a particular one for granted, or assume that one is more valid than the other.

As a Western researcher, I must accept that the methodology I employ is not the only way of conducting this research, and that using only one way of learning about and researching indigenous peoples limits my findings and is not comprehensively representative. I must even acknowledge that I as a researcher, being non-indigenous, may never truly be in a position to fully understand the worldview of the indigenous cultures I am studying.

1.2 Phronesis

A social constructionist approach to research raises the question of which of the infinite interpretations is the most valid to investigate. In the face of this, Flyvbjerg's (2006) concept of phronesis gives some direction to my methodology.

Phronesis is defined as "the intellectual virtue used to deliberate about which social actions are good or bad for humans" (Flyvbjerg, 2006: 39). In other words, it is an epistemology which is concerned with determining the most ethical social actions, and which thereby promotes social and economic development. This can be used in the social sciences to give meaning and direction to research by encouraging academics to follow paths of learning which make the practical world a more virtuous one. According to Flyvbjerg, one should give meaning to research by not producing knowledge for the sake of it, but producing knowledge that can better the real world for all involved (ibid., 38). Approaching social science research in this manner gives it a direct and consequential link to the practical world.

Applying this concept to my own epistemology, I aim for my research to improve both the local environment and tourism processes for all stakeholders. In conversation with my informants, it was often suggested that my research represents a topical and ongoing dilemma:

> Elizabeth: How long do you think there's been this feeling among stage artists?
> Naleraq: Since last year. It's a very new thing but you could just feel it right away.
>
> (Interview with Naleraq Eugenius)

As a researcher, it is invaluable to know that my research is current and meaningful for my informants, and that this phronetic quality means it contributes to a more virtuous social world. However, if one sees social processes as an ongoing dialogue, researchers will not produce a definitive 'answer' that provides an end to the discussion and a solution to the problem once and

for all. Rather, research should be seen as informed 'ideas' which are presented for discussion, and which can change, be accepted, or be rejected by relevant stakeholders. My thesis does not present a perfect solution to the performance of culture in cultural centres, but identifies problems and possibilities, and uses original data and analysis to suggest improvement.

1.3 Qualitative & Quantitative Research

The rather abstract concepts of social constructionism and phronesis lead naturally to my methodology employing a qualitative approach. Although both quantitative and qualitative methods have their uses in tourism research, it is generally accepted that studies which deal with social phenomena and the human condition can be more thoroughly investigated using qualitative methods (Goodson & Phillimore, 2002; Hollinshead, 2006; Hannam & Knox, 2011). In qualitative research, the emphasis is placed upon studying things in their natural setting, and interpreting phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them (Goodson & Phillimore, 2002: 4).

Much of the justification presented by social scientists for their use of qualitative research methods relies on the criticism of quantitative methods (Hannam & Knox, 2011: 175). I argue, however, that the two approaches are simply good for different things, and that there are many areas of tourism research that can be well informed using quantitative methods.

Indeed, the idea for this thesis evolved from a research project that relied primarily on quantitative methods. During my time as an interviewer and data analyst on the Greenland Mapping Project (Visit Greenland, 2018), it became clear to me that there is a lack of options for cultural tourists in Nuuk, as explained in my Introduction. The statistical findings from the GMP support the practical need for research into cultural tourism in Nuuk, while the qualitative methods employed primarily throughout this thesis bring out the relevant subtleties and subjectivities apparent in the processes of culture and placemaking. This blending of both quantitative and qualitative data lends my research validity, credibility and practical applicability.

1.4 Validity

Validity goes hand in hand with justifications of qualitative research, since there is often a perceived need to justify methods that do not produce statistical, routinely testable results. In response to any doubts regarding the validity of a qualitative, social constructionist approach to research, I argue that a reframing of the concept of validity is required. A 'valid' claim or perspective typically comes from the voice that is considered to have the most authority, and qualitative research can be problematised in that it transmits subjective interpretations and struggles to conclude with a definitive 'answer'. However, just as social constructionism dispels the myth of objectivity, so should it dispel the notion that there exists a single voice with final authority which is qualified to make valid conclusions. Following a phronetic approach to research, deliberation is equally in the hands of everyone affected, and there can never be a single voice of authority, or a final answer to dynamic, societal, and fundamentally human issues. Flyvbjerg explains: "if a new interpretation appears to better explain a given phenomenon, that new interpretation will replace the old one, until it, too, is replaced by a new and even better interpretation" (Flyvbjerg, 2006: 41). In this way, the validity of a conclusion is determined by its acceptance by relevant stakeholders, and knowledge is built up gradually through the addition of more and more perspectives on an issue (Nietzsche, 1969: 119). This view of validity pervades my research process and applies particularly to the upcoming discussions of positioning, the use of a case study, and my specific data collection methods.

1.5 Positioning

When conducting qualitative research that acknowledges multiple interpretations, the personal subjectivity of the researcher is just as important. Characteristics such as race, class, age, ethnicity and social roles can both limit and enable researchers' access to particular organisations and cultural groups (Hannam & Knox, 2011: 184). My social positioning would also have had an impact on the way informants behaved in my presence, and on the way in which I interpreted informants' responses and behaviour. This should not be seen as negative, or as something that invalidates my data, but as something that is inevitable and simply should be acknowledged. Hannam and Knox explain:

> "It is not possible to make research entirely objective…and so it is, instead, necessary for researchers to embrace their own bias and take account of their own mental worlds, their own ideas, their influence on the research process…and their own understandings of what they are seeing and doing."
>
> (Hannam & Knox, 2011: 184)

By declaring my social positioning, my natural bias, and the subjectivities and interpretations inherent in my data, the validity of my research is enhanced.

One of the most crucial elements of positioning in relation to this project is that I am a white Westerner studying a community which is largely indigenous. It is argued that articulating indigenous perspectives is easier for indigenous researchers (Hinch & Butler, 2007: 2). It is certainly conceivable that my position as someone removed from the community I was studying inhibited my ability to relate completely to the lifeworld of its members, and simultaneously inhibited their ability to be completely open with me. However, although I am a white Westerner, I am also not Danish, which seemed to make things easier at times when my informants exhibited animosity towards their Danish colonisers.

From a linguistic perspective, Ashcroft et al. (2003) question "the 'appropriateness' of an imported language to describe the experience of place in post-colonial societies" (Ashcroft et al., 2003: 23). In other words, it may not be possible to accurately relate the experiences of a culture if one cannot do so in its native language, since linguistic nuances are not necessarily accurately translated. My informants sometimes acknowledged the difficulty of translating their perspectives from Greenlandic to English, sometimes even failing to translate words at all: "Katuaq is so far away from the performing artists, that it's somehow *ittoornartoq* [something that makes you shy]" (Interview with Miké Thomsen). In instances like this, I was required to ask another Greenlander for a translation, but I still could not be sure of how the word's use was originally intended. I even had similar problems with informants whose first language was Danish: "I need a word in English. In Danish it's called *dannelse*, cultivation, I don't know, mental cultivation… It doesn't translate into English" (Interview with Mads Lumholt).

Although these examples are specific, they illustrate some of the difficulties related to my positioning as a researcher. However, these complications do not have to be seen as negative. Hinch and Butler argue that non-indigenous contributions in tourism research should not be seen as limiting, since they reflect the reality of the social landscape under study, and the fact that these cross-cultural encounters are actively occurring (Hinch & Butler, 2007: 2). A firsthand understanding of these encounters certainly betters my understanding of my study setting, particularly with regard to the topic of contact zones and cultural hybridity - subjects which themselves are based around a meeting or clash of cultures.

1.6 The Use of a Case Study

Although my thesis tackles broad questions relating to cultural tourism and placemaking, it does so through the use of a specific case study. Case studies are particularly useful when the research is focused on a current social phenomenon which unfolds on an everyday basis (Kohlbacher, 2006: 5). This allows the researcher to conduct a detailed and holistic analysis of a specific case (Jorgensen, 2011: 20).

Bonda (2014) argues that case studies are particularly helpful when a phenomenon in a particular setting or context appears to be incongruous (Bonda, 2014: 3-4). The case of Katuaq as a cultural centre is arguably unique, both because of the nature of the local culture in which it operates and because of its design as a space. A case study is therefore appropriate here.

Case studies in turn are often criticised for their inability to produce generalisations across the field (Flyvbjerg, 2006). Jorgensen (2011) argues that this contention should be approached through an understanding of the difference between explanatory theory and interpretative theory: "Interpretative theory differs from conceptions of theory aimed at explanation, prediction, and control of human phenomena. Explanatory theories…contain lawlike propositions providing causal explanations" (Jorgensen, 2011: 17). According to Jorgensen, theory does not necessarily have to constitute direct and causal hypotheses, as it does in the natural sciences, but can in fact be interpretative - open to contestation, and dependent upon the relevant real-life context (Jorgensen, 2011; Chenitz and Swanson, 1986). If interpretative theory is context-dependent, then case studies are crucial to the formation of interpretative theory.

Similarly, Flyvbjerg argues that the inability to generalise from a case study does not mean that it is invalid knowledge (Flyvbjerg, 2006: 227). Indeed, science for Flyvbjerg is made richer by its ambiguity, and case studies should be embraced as methods of revealing deeper insight into social phenomena (ibid., 237). Although they cannot be extrapolated to generate laws about the social world, they produce revealing and informative examples for other scholars in the field.

There are two advantages of using a case study for this research. Firstly, it allows in-depth examination of a social phenomenon which has not been researched on this level before. Secondly, the conclusions provide new insights that can be used to develop interpretative theories of culture and placemaking and to make them more comprehensive. While these theories are applicable to practical, real-life situations, conclusions drawn from this case study cannot be indiscriminately applied to other cases, but should be adjusted according to the specific context of each case.

1.7 Inductive & Deductive Research

Social constructionism naturally lends itself to an inductive approach to research, a method in which research is directed by the researcher's experiences in the field (Hannam & Knox, 2011: 179). Deductive research, on the other hand, is guided by preformed assessments and theories, which the collected data is then manipulated to fit (ibid., 179).

Although it is assumed that inductive research produces knowledge that is most representative of the social world in action, and although I aspired to be as inductive as possible throughout my research process, I found that it was impossible to be completely inductive. For Hannam and Knox, "most research projects combine elements of the two in an iterative manner" (Hannam & Knox, 2011: 179). This 'iterative manner' is something to which I can relate, since my research process went in cycles between being inductive and deductive. The initial idea for the project was inspired by experiences had in the field during summer 2017. I then returned home, conducted desk research and developed theories and predictions about my subject area. Upon re-entering the field and collecting data, however, I found that they were misplaced. During the analysis process, I used my data to build a detailed theoretical framework (introduced in section 3.3), which I then imposed on my data in a deductive manner. Developing the framework using theories alone was straightforward, but when applying the theories to my data, they did not fit together in as structured a way. I found myself in my analysis consistently moving between different parts of the framework. Although all parts of the framework were relevant to my data, the data could not be analysed in as orderly a way as the framework suggests. This explains why the analysis section is not structured in the same way as the theory section.

Nevertheless, the theories that make up the theoretical model provide valuable insight into the performance and experience of culture in Katuaq, and the projection encouraged in the discussion chapter offers innovative solutions. This process made it clear to me that there will always be an element of deductiveness to research when applying theories, even to research that employs a social constructionist approach.

1.8 Participant Observation

One of the main methods employed during data collection was participant observation. This is a method in which the researcher attempts to understand informants' everyday lives from their perspective, by both participating in the informants' activities and observing them while doing so (Hannam & Knox, 2011; Bernard, 2011). Participant observation was particularly appropriate for my research since the topic of study is an ongoing, everyday social process. When the research problem relies on the understanding of human perspectives and meanings, this method is argued to be particularly relevant (Jorgensen, 2011: 13-4), and it was, therefore, necessary to involve myself in my study environment in order to be able to understand those meanings.

Most of my participant observation took the form of attending events at Katuaq and spending time in the café area observing everyday happenings at the venue. I also attended social events with my informants, in an effort to develop more trusting relationships with them prior to conducting formal interviews. The aim was that my informants would feel more comfortable with me during the interview, and, as a result, provide me with more open and honest responses.

There are, however, ethical considerations to take into account when acting simultaneously as a participant and as an observer. Since researchers switch between the two roles when using this method (Hannam & Knox, 2011: 181), and, in my case, my informants were aware that I was simultaneously studying them and socialising with them, I was sometimes conscious that there was a degree of discomfort present in both me and my informants, as there was sometimes uncertainty about my role and our relationship. Although there were no clear instances in which this became a problem for me or my informants, it is certainly possible that my informants were not as open with me in social situations as they normally would be, as they were aware that I was continually researching. On the whole, however, my informants seemed open and eager to aid my research by inviting me to social events and relevant cultural happenings. Although I generally felt that I was accepted into social circles by my informants, successful participant

observation does not automatically equal complete understanding of an informant's lifeworld (Jorgensen, 2011: 15). Even after being a participant observer for one month, I cannot consider myself to have truly become 'one of' the social group that I was studying.

I recorded my observations in a fieldwork diary which I updated daily. I tried to include as much detail as possible so that I could later read through it from a more removed standpoint and determine what data was useful. During social situations that lasted for an extended period of time, I made jottings (Bernard, 2011: 292-293) on my phone, in order to remember as many of my observations as possible. Using my phone for jottings instead of pen and paper brought less attention to me as a researcher. The advantage of creating a fieldwork diary was that, when analysing my data, I could draw from my own impressions as well as the impressions of my informants recorded during interviews (Hannam & Knox, 2011: 181). The data in a fieldwork diary is inevitably subject to bias - the observations have already been interpreted by me before being written down. However, this is not a limitation when approaching data analysis from a social constructionist viewpoint, since from this perspective, every piece of data is a subjective interpretation anyway.

1.9 Informants

My selection of informants influences the data collected. As an example, Lisa Stevenson questions the influence of perceptions of 'Inuitness' on the selection of informants. She argues that "how we (ethnographers) define being Inuit can affect whom we consider good interview subjects, which in turn affects the outcome of our research" (Stern & Stevenson, 2006: 11). Although my choice of interviewees was not guided by perceptions of measures of 'Inuitness', the point is relevant in that I made a subjective decision about which informants would be most relevant for my thesis. The preconceptions that informed these decisions will have affected the data I gathered. This is inevitable, but important to acknowledge.

I had spent three months traveling around Greenland in summer 2017 (conducting the Greenland Mapping Project), and this provided me with some previous personal knowledge about the country and many local contacts. Some of these people I deemed relevant to interview for my study, and having that existing relationship made interviews comfortable, relaxed and open.

During the process of conducting interviews, I received a number of recommendations from interviewees for other interviewees. Many of them put me in touch with acquaintances who they thought would be relevant informants. This gave me access to many valuable respondents who I am unlikely to have made contact with otherwise. It does, however, make me question the breadth of my data, since interviewees from the same social circles are likely to provide me with similar opinions on many issues. It is possible that by using informants who recommended each other, I actually narrowed the potential scope of attitudes I could attain. However, although I often did take informants up on their recommendations, the different networks I used started from different places, and I reached out to stakeholders across different sections of society in order to get as broad a range of informants as possible.

My experience of getting caught up in social networks in Nuuk is likely related to the social context of the setting, since the city's provincial atmosphere usually means that information gets passed on by word of mouth, rather than through more formal channels (Fieldwork Diary).

Exclusivity was a common topic in my conversations with informants, and in particular concern about the perceived exclusion from Katuaq of working class members of society. However, the interviewees who expressed this concern were actually members of a higher social class (although perhaps in some cases they were born into a lower class). It would be interesting to hear what the working class people think about their access to Katuaq, or whether they actually have an interest in being a part of the space. However, making contact with these people was harder for me during fieldwork, since they generally lack English language skills, and I was circulating in networks that never naturally introduced me to these people. Therefore, in some cases, my data presents the perspective of a particular societal group from the perspective of another societal group.

It is notable that none of the informants with whom I conducted in-depth interviews are actually tourists in the classic sense - that is, international visitors staying in Nuuk for a short period of time. This is because tourists are rare in Greenland during the months of February and March, and particularly in the capital, which is one of the least frequently visited regions of Greenland (Visit Greenland, 2018). However, I do have a lot of existing data from summer tourists in 2017 (from the Greenland Mapping Project) which, although I was not able to ask the tourists I met directly about the topic of my thesis, does give an indication of how Katuaq as a tourist attraction is received among tourists. I also have recorded participant observations from summer 2017, when I attended events at Katuaq and met tourists.

The advantages of conducting my fieldwork in low tourist season are that my informants tended to have a lot of spare time, since businesses were not too busy, and they were therefore happy to sit and talk with me for periods of up to two hours in some cases. This provided interviews that were relaxed, detailed and free from time constraints. Visiting in this period also allowed me to

gain an overview of how Katuaq functions for most of the year. Since the tourist season in Greenland is relatively short - June to September - for the majority of the year Katuaq is actually operating without tourists. Analysing the space in low season arguably gives, therefore, a more accurate impression of its everyday workings. By leaving my selection of interviewees open to who was actually there at the time and interested in talking about Katuaq, the data I gathered is relevant and representative.

Although it is important to include some input from tourists in developing a general overview of Katuaq, the majority of my project is situated from the perspective of the local community, and it is therefore unnecessary for me to have in-depth qualitative interviews with tourists. The perspective of local host communities is too often missing from studies of tourism development, and in the presentation of local culture to visitors, cooperation with those who feel part of that culture is vital. This is why I place more emphasis on understanding the perspectives of the local community than that of tourists.

1.10 Interviews

1.10.1 Informal Interviews

Informal, or unstructured, interviews establish only a broad topic prior to interview, rather than planning individual questions: "the intention here is to allow the research subject to set the agenda and to tailor each interview to the interviewee" (Hannam & Knox, 2011: 182). Throughout my fieldwork, I conducted these informal interviews in conjunction with participant observation, as a method of building closer and more trusting relationships with my informants, in the hope that this would make them more relaxed during a recorded, semi-structured interview. These interviews were not necessarily guided by my research topic, and were open to informants steering the conversation in whichever way they wanted.

1.10.2 Semi-structured Interviews

These interviews, along with participant observation, were how I collected the bulk of my data. They are "relatively informal, open to the input and direction of both the researcher and research subject, and are partially structured through the use of a one-page or so interview checklist or schedule" (Hannam & Knox, 2011: 182). This means that the interview can adapt to unexpected material, and that knowledge developed through the process is socially constructed between both researcher and interviewee (ibid., 182). In conducting my semi-structured interviews, I outlined some topics beforehand, but largely let my respondents guide the conversation. This was intended to empower informants to present their own worldview, and to enable me to understand this as comprehensively as possible.

I audio-recorded my semi-structured interviews, as being able to quote informants directly adds validity to the research; however, I was sometimes aware that respondents might have been holding back as a result of being aware that they were being recorded. For example, in an interview with actress Connie Kristoffersen, she said, "sometimes it seems like [Katuaq is] too

fine. I don't know why. I shouldn't say that [laughs] I don't know." (Interview with Connie Kristoffersen). Here, Connie seems to regret being critical of Katuaq. Although she did initially speak her mind in this case, it makes me wonder how many other times she held back when she was being recorded. It is useful in these instances to also have informal interviews and participant observation experiences with Connie, so that this data can inform the recorded interview data and give me a more comprehensive indication of her views.

In total, I recorded 16 semi-structured interviews. Although all interviewees contributed to my general understanding of the perspectives on Katuaq, there are two interviewees whom I did not directly quote. A list of all interviewees can be seen in Appendix A.

1.11 Analysis and Coding

After concluding my fieldwork in Nuuk, I left my data alone for a few weeks to gain some distance from it so that I could analyse from a more removed standpoint. I spent time reading through the transcriptions of my interviews before coding them in order to familiarise myself with the content; according to Hannam and Knox (2011), this results in more discursive analysis (Hannam & Knox, 2011: 183). I then employed a coding method to analyse my data, which Bernard (2011) defines as the highlighting of important quotes, which will eventually form the themes that structure the research (Bernard, 2011: 430). Although I already had ideas about the final themes of my research, I kept an open mind when coding so that prominent themes defined by the respondents could come out. Whilst coding, I used memoing to expand on these important quotes. This is the noting down of observations and thoughts that come to mind when coding data (Bernard, 2011: 435). This method was particularly helpful in bringing out points for discussion and in beginning to provide a structure to my thesis, as it allowed me to expand and develop crucial points which would eventually evolve into the answers to my research questions.

2. Assumptions

A Note on Authenticity and Cultural Consumption

Before I begin my theoretical critique and analysis, it is useful to outline my views on two theoretical issues that are relevant to my field of study but are not explored in my thesis. I clarify where I stand on these issues since they are central to scholarly debates about culture and tourism.

Authenticity in tourism has been debated since the beginnings of tourism scholarship. The concept assumes that tourists continually seek more 'authentic' experiences, with 'authentic' objects of the tourist experience being those that are seemingly unaffected by modernity or by the tourism industry (Cole, 2007: 944). The argument then follows that, once a culture or society becomes exposed to tourism and potentially develops or modernises as a result, its authenticity is reduced and it, therefore, loses its appeal for tourists (Taylor, 2001: 15).

This argument has been heavily criticised in tourism literature and it is now the view of many scholars that the notion of authenticity is in fact a myth. This is because it is socially constructed (Cole, 2007: 945) - there is no objectively 'authentic' example which can be used as a foundation. Bruner (2005) makes this point well: "My position is that authenticity is a red herring … There is no simulacrum because there is no original … all performances are 'new' in that the context, the audience, and the times are continually changing" (Bruner, 2005: 5). It is not relevant for this project to consider to what extent representations of culture are 'authentic'; rather, it simply analyses the different understandings and perceptions of culture that are experienced by my informants.

Closely linked to theories of authenticity in tourism is the topic of culture being consumed as a product and, thereby, commodified. Davydd Greenwood (1989) argues that, as culture becomes

an object for tourists, it is packaged into a commodity and thereby loses its authenticity. From this perspective, cultural commodification is viewed negatively, ''as a kind of institutionalised racism that celebrates primitiveness'' (Mowforth and Munt, 1998: 270). However, it is generally accepted nowadays that this is a rather simplistic view of cultural commodification, and that it is in fact often actively adopted by locals as a process of empowerment (Cole, 2007: 946). It must also be noted that cultural commodification to some extent is unavoidable in any tourism experience, since all tourist activity is in some way a business transaction and involves the exchange of something cultural for currency.

Since my study concerns the performance of culture for tourists, it is inevitable that local culture is commodified to some extent in my case. However, as with the concept of authenticity, it is not the purpose of this project to discuss the moral or ethical concerns surrounding this commodification.

3. Theoretical Foundations

This chapter begins by deconstructing the term 'cultural centre' and analysing how these spaces already appear in the literature. I then use these findings to select relevant theories that will make up the theoretical foundation of my analysis.

3.1 The 'Culture' in Cultural Centres

What exactly *is* a cultural centre? According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, it is "a public building or site for the exhibition or promotion of arts and culture, especially of a particular region or people" (Oxford Dictionaries, 2018). Other sources define it as "an organisation, building or complex that promotes culture and arts" (Wikipedia.org, 2018), with the objective of "promot[ing] cultural values among the members of its community" (Vimeo, 2018). These definitions, at first glance, appear fairly straightforward. The real curiosity for me about cultural centres, however, is the term 'culture' that it encompasses. 'Culture' is far from a term that is concretely and universally understood. These definitions of cultural centres do not truly define the institutions, since they use the term 'culture' within their definitions. The question of *what is the 'culture' in cultural centres* remains.

Returning to the dictionary to look at definitions of the word culture, one can argue that there are two levels of meaning to the term: firstly, "the arts and other manifestations of human intellectual achievement regarded collectively" (Oxford Dictionaries, 2018), and secondly, and more abstractly, "the ideas, customs, and social behaviour of a particular people or society" (ibid.). These two 'layers' can be visualised using Gary Weaver's 'cultural iceberg' model (1986). According to this model, the 'tip' of the cultural iceberg represents those elements of culture that are visible and accessible to everyone - the manifestations of culture that are physically available for us to see, hear and touch - while the much larger, submerged part of the iceberg is made up of more complex and abstract features such as beliefs, values and thought patterns (Weaver, 1986). In this model, tangible elements of culture - art, music and theatre, for

example - are simply an expression of the underlying issues and themes present in the culture of the artist.

Applying this model to the case of cultural centres, the arts promoted and showcased within them are intrinsically connected to and inseparable from more sophisticated and profound aspects of the specific local culture in which they are produced. From this understanding, cultural centres are more than just exhibition centres for cultural products, but are sites for the expression, interpretation and negotiation of complex cultural concerns and controversies.

Since this understanding of culture is, as I have argued, complex and abstract, it is necessary to outline my understanding of the theoretical side of culture. This study is based on the understanding that culture is not static, timeless and 'pure', yet is dynamic and constantly evolving. Perhaps the most relevant way to comprehend this conception of culture, and the one that is most compatible with my social constructionist approach, is to frame it using practice theory. Associated with Pierre Bourdieu, practice theory "seeks to explain the relationship(s) that obtain between human action, on the one hand, and some global entity which we call 'the system' on the other" (Ortner, 2006: 12). From this perspective, viewing social phenomena as intrinsically linked to human action, one can perceive culture as not something that 'exists' objectively in the world, but "something that happens, that occurs day in and day out, wherever and whenever human beings interact" (Stern & Stevenson, 2006: 12). Understanding culture as a social process in this way, it follows that it should be considered to be fluid, constantly developing and understood differently from different perspectives.

James Clifford (1988) highlights the relevance of practice theory to tourism, explaining that "this century has seen a drastic expansion of mobility, including tourism, migrant labour, immigration, urban sprawl … there seem no distant places left on the planet where the presence of 'modern' products, media, and power cannot be felt" (Clifford, 1988: Introduction). With increasing mobility and globalisation, then, contemporary society is characterised by increasingly frequent and intense cultural encounters in all parts of the world. Therefore, twentieth-century identities

are never complete or continuous 'finished products', but are constantly (re)produced through dialogues and interactions. This way of thinking also influences the wording of my first research question, which questions how culture is 'performed', not necessarily in the sense of explicit performances that are staged, but in the sense that all visitors to the centre are continually engaged in enactments and negotiations of culture, regardless of their activity in the cultural centre, but simply by their presence there.

Understanding the 'culture' in cultural centres as something which is open to interpretation, and which is *performed* by all users of the space, opens up the topic for in-depth academic analysis and renders these spaces relevant to broader discussions of contemporary cultural processes and interactions.

3.2 Cultural Centres: A Review of the Literature

I now give a brief overview of the existing literature relating to cultural centres, in order to develop an understanding of their aims and purposes as they are currently perceived. There is little academic literature on the topic, but it is valuable to review what there is. I will critically analyse three academic case studies of cultural centres and try to identify some consensus on what it means to be a cultural centre.

3.2.1 Igloolik Cultural Centre

In Igloolik in Nunavut, Arctic Canada, a cultural centre was constructed in 1972. It took the form of a cement igloo that was used essentially as a museum space for hunting implements and tools that local Inuit had stopped using when they moved into the settlement. The centre was a place for non-Inuit visitors to learn about Inuit culture; elders held workshops for visitors and for locals, during which they would tell stories and explain past Inuit practices (Wachowich, 2006). The Igloolik Cultural Centre was a place for the education of tourists and outsiders, and for the preservation of local Inuit culture. In this sense, it was reminiscent of a museum, and begs the question of what differentiates it as a cultural centre, rather than a museum.

Wachowich points out some of the ironies inherent in the space:

> "Museums, permanent cement structures, and the valuation and display of material goods are extrinsic to this formerly semi-nomadic people; they conform more to western historical visions of the Inuit as a museum culture than they do to contemporary social realities in arctic communities."
>
> (Wachowich, 2006: 128)

Here, a contrast is drawn between the nomadic nature of Inuit communities and the freezing of their cultural symbols in a museum-like environment. This conflict was partly blamed for the demise of the Igloolik Cultural Centre, which was not used by the local community and not

enjoyed by tourists, and eventually failed. In this case, the museum-like medium of the Igloolik Cultural Centre, which endeavours to preserve artefacts and stories in place and time, can never represent the culture of the local Inuit, since they are characterised by their nomadic nature.

This highlights the difficulty of representing abstract and dynamic culture in a concrete space, and expands the paradox hinted at in section 3.1: if culture is not static and fixed, yet is continually redefined by social practice, then how is it possible to situate it in a fixed place - a 'centre' of culture?

3.2.2 Nk'Mip Desert Cultural Centre

The Nk'Mip Desert Cultural Centre is located in British Columbia, Canada. Katie Bresner (2014) offers a comprehensive and in-depth case study of the centre, in which she discusses the obligations of a 'cultural centre':

> "Unlike a museum, the assumed proprietor is not a federal, provincial, municipal or academic body but a tribal or band council … Cultural centres occupy a hybrid space where communities are able to represent themselves and challenge popular cultural stereotypes."

> (Bresner, 2014: 139)

Here, Bresner highlights the issue of ownership and authority within cultural centres; for her, a cultural centre is defined by its ownership by a local tribe or indigenous community. She argues that institutions operated by a municipal body cannot be considered cultural centres. This raises questions of who has the authority to define or present a particular culture. The simple label of 'cultural centre', and the declaration that this place is where culture occurs, automatically assigns some cultural authority to those managing the centre. This contradicts the image of culture as a social process produced equally by all members of society.

Bresner's description of a cultural centre as a 'hybrid space' is interesting in the context of my study. She talks of the different binaries involved in the representation of local indigenous

culture: "Traditional and modern, Aboriginal and European, the contemporary OIB [Osoyoos Indian Band] represented at the Centre is not one or the other, but values the influence of both to the contemporary collective self" (Bresner, 2014: 148). Here, Bresner emphasises the multifaceted nature of indigenous culture. She identifies a temporal binary - traditional or modern - and a spatial binary - Aboriginal or European, but insists that the limits of these are also presented as inseparable from each other. This is perhaps what she refers to when she describes cultural centres as a hybrid space, as they are spaces in which the limits of these binaries both meet but also depend upon each other. Another central issue to the operation of cultural centres, then, can be the exploration and negotiation of cultural dichotomies.

3.2.3 Vanuatu Cultural Centre

The Vanuatu Cultural Centre in the country's capital of Port Vila, as described by Marilena Alivizatou (2011), seems to be a space that is directed more at the local indigenous community than at generally disseminating local culture. The centre focuses primarily on 'traditional' local culture, with the intention of 'reviving' it (Alivizatou, 2011: 128-9). It is felt by the operators that increased contact with modern European civilisation and Christianity has alienated local people from their traditions (ibid., 129).

In a context of colonisation and/or increased mobility and globalisation, then, cultural centres can gain significance as spaces that aid marginalised communities in learning and practising their 'traditional' ceremonies and lifestyles. In this way, the Vanuatu Cultural Centre becomes a space that is designed primarily for members of the culture that it presents, rather than for outsiders or tourists. It is described by Alivizatou as a 'meeting-house', "rather than a storehouse for old objects" (Alivizatou, 2011: 136). By pitting the concept of a meeting house against the concept of a museum, Alivizatou suggests that making a cultural centre a place for the community lends the space more dynamism and more contemporary relevance. This echoes Bresner's binaries, suggesting that both past and present forms of the culture presented are necessary in the context of a cultural centre.

This overview of existing literature on cultural centres suggests that there is no consensus on what the general aims of these institutions should be. Each individual cultural centre defines its own aims and purposes. A case study method is therefore appropriate, since it appears that cultural centres cannot be generalised about.

The literature review so far has identified four tensions relevant to the operation of cultural centres:

a) Is it really possible to present abstract (particularly nomadic, Inuit) culture in a fixed space?

b) Who owns and manages the centre, and thereby has the authority to determine how culture is presented within it?

c) How does the centre negotiate the various dichotomies existent within culture - dichotomies made up of values that, although apparently conflicting, are in fact dependent on each other?

d) Who is the cultural centre for? Is it a space for the local community to strengthen their cultural identity in an insular way, or is it a place for disseminating local culture to outsiders?

These tensions identify central issues faced by cultural centres generally. By incorporating them into the theoretical basis that I use to analyse my case study, my research becomes relevant on a broader level than simply my research context. Before defining my theoretical foundations, therefore, I will analyse how Katuaq presents itself through its publications and personnel, in order to determine where it positions itself in relation to these four areas of contention.

3.2.4 Katuaq Cultural Centre

My introduction to Katuaq is structured using the four tensions previously identified, in order to situate it clearly in the broader cultural centre landscape.

a) Culture in place:

The interior physical space of Katuaq is rather complicated because there are a number of different areas used for different purposes. The large foyer acts as a café and restaurant, an exhibition space, and as a concert hall for live music. There are two other auditoria, the larger one of which is used as a cinema and theatre space, and there are numerous conference and meeting rooms, rehearsal rooms, and offices within the building. This variety of different spaces potentially gives Katuaq the opportunity to present culture in many different ways.

b) Ownership:

Katuaq Cultural Centre was opened in February 1997 and was constructed as a joint project of the Greenland Home Rule Government, the Nuuk Municipal Council and the Nordic Council of Ministers (Katuaq, 2017). It receives a contribution from the Home Rule Government of 9.8 million Danish Kroner per year, and has an annual turnover of around 38 million Danish Kroner. In terms of ownership, then, Katuaq was constructed with public money, and, therefore, in a sense belongs to the community, yet now receives its income partly from the public and partly from private profit. Ownership and management is the joint responsibility of these two sectors.

c) Cultural dichotomies:

Arnakkuluk Kleist, current Managing Director of Katuaq, described the building as a "melting pot" (Interview with Arnakkuluk Kleist). This brings to mind the cultural dichotomies highlighted by previous scholars. According to Arnakkuluk, Katuaq is somewhere that different cultures can clash and mix.

d) Audience:

Katuaq is often portrayed as a place for everyone: "It's a house where everyone feels welcome … It's one that is able to attract many different kinds of people" (Interview with Julia Pars, former Managing Director of Katuaq). This is echoed in publications produced by Katuaq: "It's extremely important for our city as the nation's capital to have a cultural centre, because it's

everyone's centre. Culture belongs to everyone" (Katuaq, 2017: 83). The phrase 'culture is for everyone' takes ownership and authority regarding culture away from the managers of the centre and places it in the hands of people collectively. It suggests that everyone, regardless of social group, has the right to experience culture through a cultural centre. This inclusive discourse implies that Katuaq is a place that has an obligation to the public, and to members of all social groups - since culture 'belongs to everyone', and the centre is compelled to serve culture, this phrase makes it seem almost as if the people are in control of the centre.

Simultaneously, however, Katuaq aims to present itself as a community space: "Katuaq is the equivalent to my childhood local hall" (Katuaq, 2017: 18), and as having an international outlook as well: "A stage in Greenland for the presentation of artistic activities from other countries, and a place from which artistic activities can be helped further out in Greenland and possibly further internationally" (Katuaq, 2017: 15).

There is also evidence that the centre wants to present itself as a place specifically for tourism: "It's a place for people coming from other countries visiting Nuuk. Everyone who visits Nuuk comes to the place, or should at least come to the place" (Interview with Arnakkuluk Kleist, current Managing Director of Katuaq). These quotes imply that Katuaq, as well as being a space for the strengthening of the local community, also wants to be a place for international participation and an international audience. According to Arnakkuluk Kleist, it is also a 'must-visit' site for tourists. In this way, Katuaq portrays itself as somewhere that is not just for everyone, but that appeals specifically to each different audience simultaneously, for different reasons.

This analysis of the public face of Katuaq identifies that Katuaq is working with many different aims and purposes simultaneously. It aims to be a public space, a private space, and a space that physically plays many different roles. It claims to be a space that is used by the community, by tourists, and also a platform for the playing out of intercultural meetings. In developing a

theoretical basis for the analysis of Katuaq, then, I will use theories that include all of these themes.

3.3 The 'Between Place'

Since Katuaq relates to all four of the tensions identified from cultural centre literature, these four themes make up my theoretical basis. In analysing cultural dichotomies and the presentation of abstract culture in a fixed space, I am working broadly with themes of culture and place. These connect well with my first research question, which asks how culture is performed and experienced within Katuaq. The contentions of ownership and audience also raised in the cultural centre literature relate to the inclusivity and exclusivity of certain groups, namely the local community and tourists. This connects to my second research question, which asks about the role of tourists in the operation of Katuaq. My third and final research question - *How can cultural centres be used more inclusively as spaces that benefit both tourists and the local community?* - investigates how culture is presented in a fixed space in a way that benefits both locals and tourists. In order to answer this, whilst simultaneously producing knowledge that is relevant to the general operation of cultural centres, it is appropriate to bring together the themes of culture, place, tourists and the local community.

In the literature there are numerous theories connecting combinations of the four concepts, but no theories that connect all four together in a way that is relevant to my topic. Therefore, I have developed a theoretical model, built out of existing theories, that appropriately connects my four main themes. The model is depicted below:
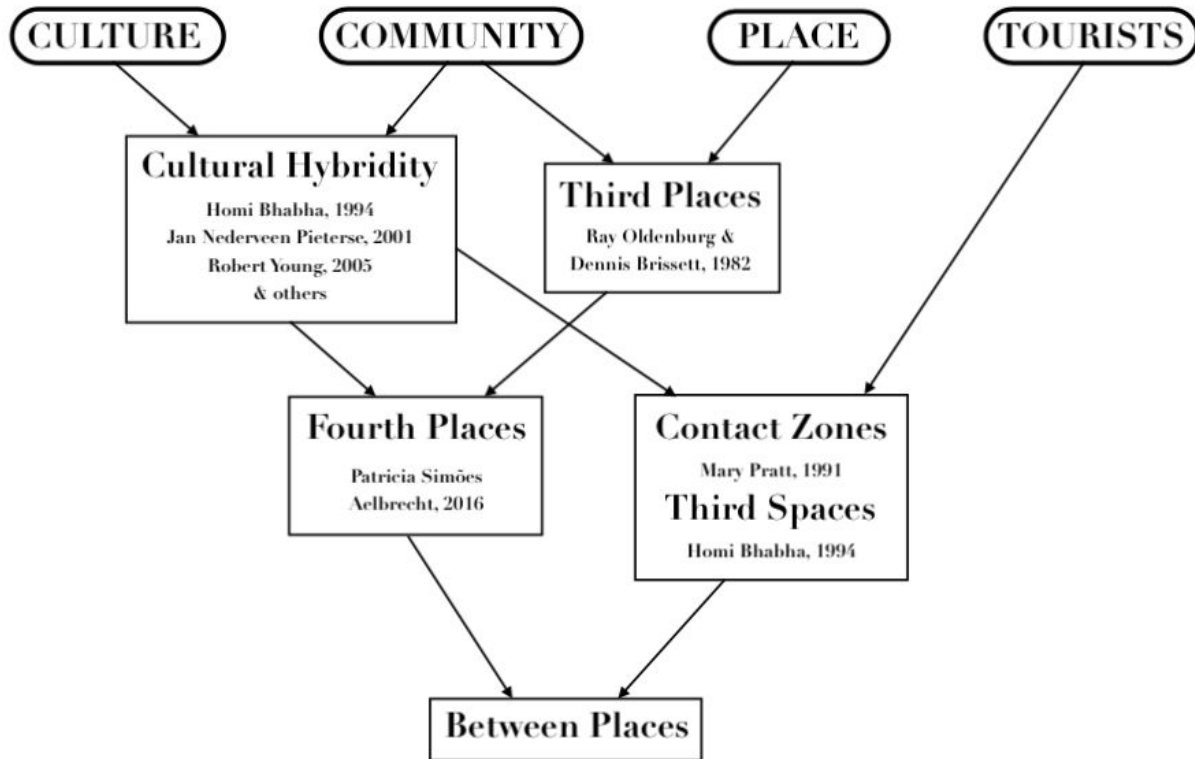
The 'Between Place' model.

Beginning by looking at culture and the local community in Nuuk, I used theories of Cultural Hybridity to understand local culture in my research context. I then looked into theories of Placemaking, in order to determine whether this cultural hybridity had previously been connected to concrete spaces. I used the theory of third places to connect community and place. Aelbrecht's theory of Fourth Places (2016) connects Cultural Hybridity and Third Places, thereby connecting culture, community and place. In order to include tourists, I used theories of Contact Zones/Third Spaces to connect Cultural Hybridity and tourists. This, however, was the closest I could get to finding a theory which situates cultural renegotiation between locals and tourists in a concrete space. As a result, I connected theories of Fourth Places and Contact Zones/Third Spaces to coin the term 'Between Places'. The wording of this term is inspired by the notion of in-betweenness that permeates all the theories I have used, as well the quote by Sinclair (2011) which aligned with my first impressions of Katuaq. In the quote, Sinclair asserts

that "culture is what happens *between* museums, on the street, in markets and pubs" (Sinclair, 2011: 251; my emphasis).

These concepts could have been connected using other theories. Identity, for example, is a theme which could relevantly connect culture and community. If cultural centres are spaces for the performance of cultures, then it follows that they are also spaces for the construction of cultural identity. I have not included theories of identity in my project. Firstly, this is because identity in itself is such an extensive topic that I would need to centre the research project around constructions of identity. Secondly, I do not consider the application of theories of identity construction to be necessary to answer my research questions. My questions relate to the use of Katuaq by different groups, and the interactions between these groups that result from this use, and, therefore, do not require detailed analysis of the identity construction of a specific group in order to be answered.

Katuaq claims to be a space in which the four concepts of culture, place, community and tourists combine successfully. The 'between place', then, is a theoretical ideal, or a model, of how a space can work to provide constructive cultural encounters for both the local community and for visitors from elsewhere. My thesis analyses to what extent Katuaq meets this ideal, and, if it doesn't, what steps Katuaq (and other cultural centres) could take towards becoming a between place. Linking my research questions to these aims, research questions one and two can be seen to answer the extent to which Katuaq is a between place, by analysing how culture, place and different users combine within Katuaq. Research question three tackles what Katuaq and other cultural centres could do to be more inclusive - or to become, essentially, a between place.

3.4 The 'Between Place' Deconstructed

This section deconstructs my model of between places, discussing in detail the theories that comprise the model.

3.4.1 Culture & Community: Cultural Hybridity

The theory of cultural hybridity connects culture and community, in an effort to understand how culture is constructed in my specific research context. Cultural hybridity is commonly applied to colonial/post-colonial nations. In an extension of the Self/'Other' dichotomy that historically underlines much tourism scholarship, Robert Young (2005) argues that hybridity challenges and even reverses the traditional cultural dichotomy found in colonial nations (Young, 2005: 21). He complicates the rather simplistic bicultural notion of the 'modern' Western colonial culture in opposition to a perceived 'traditional' indigenous culture, arguing that hybridity opens up opportunities for new cultures to be produced and disrupts the power structure in these contexts. Homi Bhabha (1994) agrees, defining hybridity as ''a problematic of colonial representation . . . that reverses the effects of the colonialist disavowal, so that other ''denied'' knowledges enter upon the dominant discourse and estrange the basis of its authority'' (Bhabha, 1994: 156).

I argue that framing hybridity as a 'reversal' of colonial power structures, however, rather misses the point. If hybridity, as a theory, aims to dispel boundaries, then viewing it as an approach that simply inverts power relations rather perpetuates the boundaries in another structure. From this perspective, any new identities produced are likely to be based on a framework which promotes the existence of essentialised identities. Perhaps it is the term 'hybridity' itself which makes it so difficult for the theory to avoid criticism, since hybridity in a biological sense denotes the cross-breeding or blending of two distinct varieties.

Keith Hollinshead argues that "it is *not* the *negation* of the Other that counts, but the negotiation and the renegotiation of spaces and temporality between Others" (Hollinshead, 1998: 129). Here,

by shifting the focus from the interpretation of the opposing 'Others' themselves onto the area *between* 'Others', Hollinshead highlights that hybridity as a theory more effectively focuses on 'betweenness' rather than identities created by outdated and essentialised boundaries. As Young puts it, hybridity "becomes a third term which can never in fact *be* third because, as a monstrous inversion, a miscreated perversion of its progenitors, it exhausts the differences between [the two sides]" (Young, 2005: 21-2).

However, boundaries are not always negative, and cultural studies should not necessarily seek to break down all lines of definition. Indeed, in some cases a more distinct bounding of identity, particularly within marginalised groups, empowers these groups (Amoamo, 2011). Additionally, it should be noted that boundaries will always be present, and that the successful dispulsion of one constricting limit does not preclude the fresh arisal of another (Pieterse, 2001: 239). Rather than condemning completely the notion of boundaries, then, the point that should be taken from this discussion of cultural hybridity is that the theory highlights the *contingency* of boundaries. Pieterse (2001) argues that "hybridity is a terminology and sensibility of our time in that boundary and border-crossing mark our times" (Pieterse, 2001: 238). Contemporary cultural scholars should focus on the nature of the opportunities created by border-crossing, rather than on the restrictive nature of the borders themselves.

Another key criticism of cultural hybridity is that it is a ubiquitous concept. If it is accepted that cultures are always developing, then it follows that "cultures are always already hybrid forms" (Stern & Stevenson, 2006: 19), and that hybridity is, therefore, inevitable and rather ordinary (Pieterse, 2001: 221). In this sense, as Pieterse explains, hybridity "becomes increasingly meaningless … if everything is hybrid, what does hybridity mean?" (Pieterse, 2001: 236). However, it is not the novelty of hybridity as a phenomenon that should be the focus of studies in this area, and that should underline this thesis. Rather, the concept should be applied as an analytical tool or as a means of understanding context where relevant. Pieterse explains that although hybridity is ever-present, its pace and scope changes as social contexts change (Pieterse, 2001: 222), and so in specific research contexts, hybridity becomes particularly worthy

of application. Its relevance to my study is justified by the context and subject matter of my research, since it requires understanding and analysis of a local context which I argue is characterised to some extent by cultural hybridity. Hybridity as a notion demonstrates the fragility and irrelevance of certain dichotomies which are often falsely taken for granted in tourism and cultural studies. In short, the concept of cultural hybridity is used as a tool to offer insight into emerging identities, and "to distill the ambivalences and ambiguities of the new in-between forms of culture, difference, and affiliation that are cultivated through the presentations and performances of tourism" (Hollinshead, 1998: 150). I apply it in this research project in order to generate deep understanding of the context of my case, and of the local culture that is performed and experienced in the cultural centre that is the object of my case study. It also connects to concepts of placemaking, as will be touched on later in this chapter.

The 'Urban Inuit' Reimagined

The notion of cultural hybridity is commonly applied to modern indigenous societies, or to colonial/post-colonial nations, casting, according to Maximilian C. Forte (2010), "ways of being and becoming indigenous in a new light" (Forte, 2010: 2). These new ways of being and becoming are interpreted by Maria Amoamo (2011) as cultural hybridity. She argues that the disruption of a rural/urban dichotomy in New Zealand has resulted in 'urban Māori' integrating existing and tribal identities to create contemporary, 'restless', hybrid identities (Amoamo, 2011: 1267).

This urban/rural dichotomy is similarly applied to modern Arctic societies, in the study of which the label of the 'urban Inuit' is common (Patrick & Tomiak, 2008). This term distinctly expresses the notion of cultural hybridity; it is, however, problematic in that it encourages the entertainment of stereotypes by contrasting two (assumed to be conflicting) terms with each other. By suggesting that to dwell in an urban environment is an act of being 'un-Inuit', the phrase creates a dichotomy between the two modes of living that is perhaps more distinct than is beneficial for a scholar who discusses the spaces in-between cultural boundaries. Forte prefers the term 'indigenous cosmopolitans', which he explains is more flexible:

"Understanding that there are multiple cosmopolitanisms and cosmopolitanisations is a crucial point for anthropology … Indigenous cosmopolitans can be both rooted and routed, nonelite yet nonparochial, provincial without being isolated, internationalised without being de-localised."

(Forte, 2010: 6)

Here, the notion of being a cosmopolitan - a 'citizen of the world' - does not so audaciously clash with indigeneity and is perhaps a more constructive term to use in the discussion of the blurring of cultural boundaries.

The Case of Nuuk

Nuuk, in some ways a very 'Westernised' city, has been examined in terms of cultural hybridity before. Andreas Otte (2015), in his analysis of the contemporary cultural scene in Nuuk, in particular the 'underground' music scene, attributes what he calls 'cosmopolitan nationalism' to young Greenlanders in Nuuk. He describes this as "a position of nationalism with a cosmopolitan outlook" (Otte, 2015: 113), and argues that these 'cosmopolitan nationalists' aim to establish Greenland "as a modern nation-state, an owner of universal modernity" (ibid., 113). This concept accurately depicts an understanding of hybridity that focuses on 'in-betweenness', or crossings over, suggesting a double allegiance to the local and the global (Holton, 2009: 4). Perceiving nationalism as something which can be 'outward-oriented' in this way is particularly beneficial to understanding cultural hybridity as something which is a taken for granted aspect of many people's identity, and as something which does not necessarily primarily constitute an internal personal conflict.

Although I agree with the concept behind cosmopolitan nationalism, the term nationalism, especially in today's political context, has rather negative connotations of extreme and aggressive patriotism, and for this reason I prefer not to use it to describe my informants. I prefer to use Forte's term, 'indigenous cosmopolitans', with the understanding that it also refers to Otte's perception of young Greenlanders in Nuuk. In section 4.1.1, I use my own data to analyse

how this indigenous cosmopolitanism is manifested in Nuuk, and to link the concepts of culture and community more directly to my research.

3.4.2 Community & Place: Third Places

Continuing a focus on the local community, the theory of third places creates a strong link between the concept of community and a concrete space.

The term 'third place' was coined by Ray Oldenburg and Dennis Brissett (1982). They define third places in contrast to the 'first place' - the home - and the 'second place' - the formal setting of the workplace, school or university (Oldenburg & Brissett, 1982). As such, then, third places are informal spaces that provide opportunities for local people to mix socially - "places where people gather primarily to enjoy each other's company" (ibid., 269).

Third places are described as welcoming spaces, where users are "psychologically comfortable" (Slater & Koo, 2010: 107), where people from all walks of life are welcome and treated as equals, and are free to come and go without obligation (Oldenburg & Brissett, 1982). They are spaces that are seen as 'enabling' for users, and as offering opportunities for active participation that members of society cannot receive elsewhere; "they are a forum for 'play' in a society interfused with a stubborn commitment to work and purposiveness." (Oldenburg & Brissett, 1982: 282-3). Typical examples of third places might include a library, a community garden, or a café.

Can a third place be constructed?

This understanding of third places becomes problematic in the context of placemaking. That third places, according to Oldenburg and Brissett, are characterised as being controlled by the users, and as reaching their 'third place status' "independently of any particular actions of the owner or employees" (Crick, 2015: 66), suggests that it is not actually possible to consciously construct a third place, or to 'make' this kind of 'place'.

Oldenburg and Brissett argue that third places can only be planned to a certain extent, and that, more often than not, public places in society fail to become third places - the 'ingredients' of a

third place, they claim, are elusive (Oldenburg & Brissett, 1982: 269). This suggests that a third place is not something that can be consciously constructed by its owners, its management or the local authorities. Rather, a space naturally evolves into a third place for reasons which are not completely within the grasp of external actors. This presents an obstacle when studying third places in relation to a space which is potentially used for tourism purposes. If a space or building is operated with at least some kind of business agenda, then the way that it is used is not something that can be left completely to chance.

Can a third place be a cultural space?

In further connecting the concepts that underlie my research, it is necessary to explore the relationship between culture and third places. Oldenburg and Brissett characterise third places as places of "pure sociability" (Oldenburg & Brissett, 1982: 271). Pure sociability is defined in contrast to other forms of sociability, in which people are said to interact primarily for the realisation of a particular purpose (ibid., 271). In the absence of a purpose related to work or family, the pure sociability that occurs in third places promotes individuality (ibid., 271). In other words, the main aim of the social gathering in a third place *is* sociability, and therefore participants are encouraged to express their individuality completely.

In the context of a cultural centre, this raises more questions. If a third place is a space that promotes pure individuality, can it simultaneously be a setting labelled as 'cultural', if culture is generally assumed to apply to the collective characteristics of a group of people? It is simplistic to assert that, because cultures group people, people cannot be considered to be individuals within their culture; however, it is certainly possible that the labelling of a space as a 'cultural centre' leads users to view it more as a space for collective association rather than individual association.

However, Oldenburg and Brissett contradict themselves with the claim that, at least within conversation in third places, excessive attention on the individual is taboo: "people [visit third places] to participate, not to enjoy monologues" (Oldenburg & Brissett, 1982: 272). The authors

suggest that a third place is not a platform for individuals to exhibit themselves, yet is somewhere in which people are encouraged to be themselves. Understanding a third place in this detail, one can certainly imagine a cultural centre being simultaneously a third place.

Third places can also be linked to previously discussed definitions of culture and of the socially constructed nature of reality. Oldenburg and Brissett claim that social interaction is a fundamental aspect of socially constructing our realities (Oldenburg & Brissett, 1982: 280), suggesting that third places are vital to the maintenance of social realities. Working from the understanding argued for in section 3.1, that culture is constantly changing and is something that is practiced rather than that simply exists, a third place with a cultural focus could in a similar way be vital to the maintenance of cultural understanding within a local community.

The connection between third places and culture is explored more thoroughly in section 3.4.4.

Can a third place be a tourist space?

This is perhaps the most significant question to arise out of the application of the theory of third places to my research. Much of the existing scholarship relating to third places makes explicit distinctions between third places and elements which are characteristic of tourist spaces.

Oldenburg and Brissett argue that third places are not places that "outsiders find necessarily interesting or notable" (Oldenburg & Brissett, 1982: 270). By not appealing to outsiders, it would seem that, by this definition, third places actually are prone to repelling tourists rather than attracting them.

Other authors make similar distinctions: "a 'Third Place' is not, however, a permanent state, places can lose their character if a particular group dominate with a single purpose or a place changes, for example becomes touristic" (Slater & Koo, 2010: 101). For Slater and Koo, the influx of tourists is directly responsible for a third place losing its 'third place' quality, suggesting that it is impossible for a space to simultaneously be a third place and a tourist space.

The connection between third places and tourists is explored in more detail in section 3.4.5.

3.4.3 Culture, Community & Tourists: Contact Zones

To incorporate tourists into my theoretical framework, I use the theory of contact zones to connect cultural hybridity (culture and community) with tourists. Although the term 'zone' suggests that the theory of contact zones would fit into the category of placemaking, and thereby also incorporate place, I found no literature that situates contact zones in a physical place. Therefore, the theory of contact zones is used to connect all of my theoretical concepts with the exception of place.

Contact zones are defined by Mary Pratt (1991) as: "social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths" (Pratt, 1991: 34). The author, as a language scholar, uses a text as her primary example of a contact zone. She describes Guaman Poma's *New Chronicle,* a letter addressed to King Philip III of Spain in 1613, as "an example of a conquered subject using the conqueror's language to construct a parodic, oppositional representation of the conqueror's own speech" (Pratt, 1991: 35). In this example, it is two different languages that clash in order to bring to light and question relationships of power in a context of colonialism.

Pratt, in contrast to the collaborative and progressive atmosphere of third places, does not describe the contact zone as a very pleasant process. In using a course that she taught as an example of a contact zone, she recalls that "the sufferings and revelations were, at different moments to be sure, experienced by every student. No one was excluded, and no one was safe" (Pratt, 1991: 39). It seems, therefore, that contact zones are not so much places of leisure, as is the case with third places, but are in fact arduous and intense sites of contestation and debate that potentially end in dissatisfaction for some participants.

Pratt certainly sees contact zones as places of progress and ultimate positivity, however: "along with rage, incomprehension, and pain, there were exhilarating moments of wonder and revelation, mutual understanding, and new wisdom - the joys of the contact zone" (Pratt, 1991:

39). The dramas of the contact zone are a means to an end for Pratt; the ultimate and most important purpose of the contact zone is the meeting of cultures and the tackling and readjustment of power relations usually resulting from historic subjugation.

The cultural conflicts and negotiations that occur in contact zones echo the meeting of cultures enabled by cultural hybridity. What differentiates contact zones from cultural hybridity is that, while cultural hybridity is a permanent state of being or identity that develops over an extended period of time, contact zones refer to a process that occurs in a bounded context, which, although it usually results in heightened understanding, does not necessarily fundamentally alter a participant's identity.

Stephen Selka (2013) places the concept of contact zones into the context of tourism. He uses an event - the festival of Boa Morte in Cachoeira, Brazil - as an example of a contact zone, explaining that the festival creates a contact zone between povo de santo, Catholics, evangelicals, Afro-Brazilians and African Americans. For Selka, "the festival provides an excellent opportunity to explore the correspondences and connections between these diverse groups but also the tensions and misunderstandings that vex encounters between them" (Selka, 2013: 410). Despite the huge number of potential tensions and struggles created by this event, Selka sees it as an opportunity to progress understanding between cultural groups and look deeper into the connections or disconnections between them.

Contact between locals and tourists is explored further by Edward Bruner (2005). Bruner defines the 'touristic borderzone' as a "distinct meeting place between the tourists who come forth from their hotels and the local performers, the 'natives', who leave their homes to engage the tourists in structured ways in predetermined localities for defined periods of time" (Bruner, 2005: 17). Bruner's borderzone occurs in a fixed place at a fixed time, but can occur anywhere and at any time. Similarly to Selka's contact zone, it is usually the result of an event which brings locals and tourists together in close proximity. Bruner's borderzone seems to be more deliberately

orchestrated, however, being arranged in advance by tourism practitioners; Selka's meetings simply come to be during the chaotic mingling of the festival.

Bruner attempts to differentiate his borderzone from Pratt's contact zone by depicting contact zones as facilitating a more aggressive and critical form of conflict than the borderzone (Bruner, 2005: 18). I argue, however, that since Bruner's borderzones are consciously constructed by tourism practitioners, they are simply a more actively inclusive form of the contact zone. While Pratt's contact zone focuses very much on the contestation of subject matter such as slavery and colonialism, Bruner asserts that a borderzone can also occur in a context in which power relations are not necessarily imbalanced or do not necessarily need to be approached. Ultimately, the aim of both contact zones and borderzones is the same - to foster interactions and connections between cultures, with the hope that this will encourage some degree of understanding: "the final meaning for the tourists, locals, and producers is not given a priori but emerges in dialogic interplay during their interactions in the borderzone" (Bruner, 2005: 17).

Homi Bhabha's (1994) theory of Third Spaces also connects cultural hybridity and tourists, and would have been a useful theory to use instead of the theory of contact zones. Bhabha writes about the location of cultural hybridity, describing this location as liminal, 'in-between' spaces (third spaces) that allow for the contestation of cultural identities (Bhabha, 1994: 2). The theory has been related specifically to tourism by Keith Hollinshead (1998) and Mario Amoamo (2011), who both 'locate' third spaces within a tourism process but not within a physical place.

Although there is a lot of value in all of these papers, there is not enough distinction between the theories of third spaces and contact zones to warrant the discussion of both of them in detail. Both theories argue for an in-between space, which can be physical or abstract, but is not fixed. This space is for the meeting of different cultures and the renegotiation of and production of new forms of cultural identity. My choice to feature contact zones more heavily than third places simply intends to avoid any potential confusion between 'third spaces' and 'third places'.

3.4.4 Culture, Community & Place: Fourth Places

A connection between culture, community and place is made by combining the theories of cultural hybridity (culture and community) with third places (community and place). Patricia Simões Aelbrecht (2016) makes a connection between public spaces and the meeting of diverse cultures with her theory of Fourth Places. She argues that public spaces can play an important role in accepting difference in society (Aelbrecht, 2016: 125). According to Aelbrecht, "'Fourth places' are more mixed relational locales, more socially diverse in terms of user groups and social relations and realms, than 'third places' that mainly cater for parochial life among socially homogeneous groups" (Aelbrecht, 2016: 134-5). Here, Aelbrecht takes the theory of third places and expands the social reach of them to facilitate cultural encounters between more diverse social groups. In this way, the third place incorporates cultural hybridity.

Aelbrecht argues that a tension between public and private ownership also characterises fourth places. She talks of scholars and planners previously theorising "public and private as two different realms connected to different kinds of spaces" (Aelbrecht, 2016: 127), and, as a result, assuming that spaces which are co-owned or co-managed by both public and private organisations are "not only bland and placeless but also socially alienating and highly exclusionary, due to their excessive reliance on privatisation, control or themed designs" (Aelbrecht, 2016: 125). Aelbrecht, however, argues that this is not the case with fourth places, which are often publicly-privately managed. She claims that this element offers "a plurality of social arenas and thus more freedom of choice" (ibid., 127). According to Aelbrecht, we should speak instead "of blurred public-private realms, multiple publics and various degrees of publicness" (ibid., 128). The blurring of these two kinds of organisations, according to the author, does not restrict but instead creates opportunities for creativity and increased social participation in placemaking.

The opportunity envisaged in the 'in-between' space between the public and the private realm ties in with much of my theoretical discussion so far in this research, which focuses on the space

between boundaries or traditionally defined borders. The theory of fourth places takes this further to create a productive space that is located between cultures, between public and private management, but rooted in a physical place. Although Katuaq fulfils some of the criteria of fourth places, such as being situated between public and private management, the only reason that I cannot apply the fourth places theory completely to Katuaq, is that it does not simultaneously represent a space for tourists.

3.4.5 Culture, Community, Place & Tourists: 'Between Places'

Finally, I can connect all of my four fundamental concepts by combining fourth places (culture, community and place) with contact zones (culture, community and tourists).

Perhaps the closest a scholar has come to physically rooting a touristic contact zone is Philipp Schorch (2013), who situates cultural interpretation in the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. Schorch argues that the museum itself, through providing a guided tour experience, acts as a contact zone in which cultural understandings are reframed (Schorch, 2013: 77). The author names this a 'pluralist cosmopolitan space' which he describes as a "discursive terrain [which] represents the 'common sphere' that potentially transforms cross-cultural translation and dialogue into understandings" (ibid., 77). Scorch's 'pluralist cosmopolitan space' aligns with my previous discussion on this topic since it is a space where cultural encounters result in the fostering of cosmopolitanism among participants. However, it is nevertheless a space which is not physically rooted and, although the case takes place in a specific museum, the encounter that forges the space is the tour - an event which is transient and could occur anywhere.

There is no literature I have found that discusses the contact zone in the context of a concrete place, or a fourth place that is also a tourist space. My first impressions of Katuaq - initially imagining it as a tourist site and expecting a 'cultural centre' to put me in touch with members of the local culture - but then entering and having the experience that it was regularly in use more as a third place - made me wonder if all of these concepts could be combined, in order to create a contact zone that is not as staged as the events constructed by tourism operators which until now have been used as examples of contact zones in tourism. Can a contact zone in fact be a physical place that is used as a third place by both locals and tourists, and which, therefore, enables more natural and free-flowing re-interpretative interactions between the two cultural groups? Can a cultural centre be a 'between place'?

My analysis of the everyday use of Katuaq, and of the performance and experience of culture within it, will combine the theoretical framework of 'between places' with my own original data, in an effort to explore to what extent Katuaq is used as a 'between place'. Not only is this investigation interesting because such places have apparently not been written about before, but, looking at how the theories combine, there is potential for these kinds of spaces to offer fixed places that tourists can regularly 'drop into' to experience a translational cultural encounter - this could create invaluable experiences for both the local community and tourists alike.

4. Analysis

RQ.1: *"How is culture performed and experienced within the cultural centre, Katuaq?"*

When collecting and analysing my data, I observed a clear separation in the playing out of contemporary culture and 'traditional' culture in Katuaq - they were performed and experienced separately. For this reason, I analyse them separately in this section. I first discuss the contemporary local culture that is performed and experienced in Katuaq, and then analyse the 'traditional' local culture that is performed and experienced in Katuaq. These discussions contribute to the formulation of an answer to research question one, which essentially aims to determine how Katuaq is currently used by the local community. The other central purpose of research question one is to understand in detail what 'culture' means in the context of the cultural centre Katuaq, before I make suggestions about how it would be better represented. I then analyse the use of Katuaq by tourists, in order to reach an answer to research question two. In chapter 5, I bring these findings together to discuss an answer to research question three.

4.1 Contemporary Local Culture

In formulating an answer to research question one, it is first useful to develop a deeper understanding of the local context surrounding the cultural centre Katuaq. In other words, in order to determine how culture is performed and experienced within Katuaq, I must first answer the question, what *is* local culture?

4.1.1 Cultural Hybridity in Nuuk

Drawing from the theoretical discussions of cultural hybridity in section 3.4.1, I use my original data to determine to what extent residents of Nuuk can be considered to be 'indigenous cosmopolitans'. The purpose of this is to examine whether cultural hybridity is an integral part of local culture in Nuuk, and therefore something that is performed and experienced within Katuaq.

In conversation with my informants, the conversation often naturally turned to a discussion of what constitutes local culture in Nuuk, and the different influences and integrations involved. In many cases it seemed instinctive for informants to frame local culture in terms of some form of hybridity and/or clash of cultures.

Many local residents of Nuuk speak of it as a city of contrasts, or as somewhere that is a kind of 'melting pot' for many different cultures. Rosa Flügge, who grew up in Nuuk, talks of how 'exposed' Nuuk is to Western lifestyles. She exemplifies this with language use: "When you're speaking in Nuuk, you speak in Danish and Greenlandic, and in English, and in any other kind of language you use, all in one sentence" (Interview with Rosa Flügge). It seems that, for Rosa, languages blend in Nuuk in a way that works and is taken for granted in everyday life. In this way, it is possible that she also sees cultural hybridity, or at least cultural multiplicity, as an accepted and functional practice in Nuuk.

Local actor Miké Thomsen also speaks of this multiplicity: "Nuuk is a very diverse city … A lot of Danes, a lot of Asian, Philippines, Thai… a lot of confusion of identity" (Interview with Miké Thomsen). However, for Miké, this amalgam of nationalities is confusing; this suggests that he sees it as negative, and that, for him, the different cultures do not fit together as naturally as Rosa suggested.

Many informants naturally tend to define Nuuk by its difference to other towns and cities in Greenland. Rosa describes Nuuk as a busy and bustling city: "There's always something happening, and there are so many people - it's almost as if the 24 hours are always being used" (Interview with Rosa Flügge). She then contrasts Nuuk with Narsaq, a small town in the south of Greenland: "I was in Narsaq this summer … and the first couple of days I was so stressed out because Narsaq is so quiet ... Nuuk is just more buzzing" (Interview with Rosa Flügge). As someone from Nuuk, Rosa actually finds it distressing to be in other parts of Greenland. For Rosa, it seems that being from Nuuk does not mean that she automatically identifies with all places in Greenland, as she does not classify Nuuk in the same way as other parts of the country.

Insuk Kim, who is originally Korean but has lived in Greenland for three years, takes this difference so far, that she declares, "there's no real Greenlandic place in Nuuk. It's too modern compared to other towns" (Interview with Insuk Kim). Insuk sees Nuuk as 'too modern' to be Greenlandic, demonstrating a clear divide in her mind between Greenlandic culture and 'modern' culture. For Insuk, it seems that these two forms of culture clash and cannot become hybrid.

Miké Thomsen seems to perceive a similar discord: "You can't really compare Danish culture with Greenlandic. We're so far from each other … It's totally different life premises" (Interview with Miké Thomsen). Miké suggests that Danish and Greenlandic culture are so fundamentally different that they can never be combined; it seems that he does not see any process of cultural hybridity at work in Nuuk. This does not mean, however, that he necessarily denies a Western influence in Nuuk - like Insuk, perhaps he sees Nuuk as chiefly representative of Western culture. If Greenlandic culture does not have much of an influence in Nuuk, then there is no need for cultures to blend and become hybrid.

Despite the clear division that Miké perceives, I know from my interview with him that he does identify as Greenlandic, but also that Nuuk is his home, and he feels comfortable there. In this sense, he can be considered an indigenous cosmopolitan, simply through the fact that he identifies as a Greenlander yet feels home in a place that, in his view, represents Western culture. It is notable that, in this way, it seems possible for someone to be perceived as an indigenous cosmopolitan without themselves recognising cultural hybridity where they live.

Other informants also express difficulty in understanding their own identity as a result of different cultures being brought together. AneMarie Ottesen explains:

> "What defines the Greenlandic people is that we're all gonna be OK. Some things take time. Just relax. And I hate that. Because I grew up [in Nuuk], where

everything is so fast. So I'm very Danish in that way. I really don't have a lot of patience … a lot of people say that I'm very Danish in my way."

(Interview with AneMarie Ottesen)

This quote is revealing in that AneMarie begins by defining Greenlandic people, and includes herself in this group, by using 'we'. She then proceeds to situate herself in direct opposition to that definition, however, by insisting that she is considered Danish, because she does not align with the laid-back Greenlandic mindset, as she sees it. I know from my conversations with her that she also identifies as Greenlandic, but here she seems to compartmentalise her personality into Danish aspects and Greenlandic aspects. It is almost as though there are Danish parts of her identity and Greenlandic parts of her identity.

Analysing the perspectives of Miké and AneMarie suggests that cultural hybridity does not equal harmony; even within a context or identity in which cultural hybridity is accepted, there remain divisions, tensions and conflicts.

Other informants seem perfectly at peace with the society in which they live and seem to have few qualms with identifying as Westerners. Julia Pars, former Managing Director of Katuaq and now Managing Director of Visit Greenland, refers to Nuuk as a 'modern Arctic society', which for her signifies "Getting modernised … being a society with people who expect the modern way of living" (Interview with Julia Pars). For Julia, it is perhaps not so much a deep cultural change that she identifies in her 'modern Arctic society', but a matter of convenience and of simply benefiting from the amenities of the rest of the Western world. However, there is an element of cultural hybridity in the way that Julia describes Nuuk. By suggesting that Arctic societies could benefit from Western influence, she creates, with the phrase 'modern Arctic society' in itself, a kind of blending of cultures that is reminiscent of the term indigenous cosmopolitanism (Forte, 2010; Otte, 2015).

Despite sometimes expressing some fragmentation of their identity, most of my informants recognise and embrace a perception of Greenlandic culture as dynamic and changing. Angu

Motzfeldt, a local musician and photographer, described Greenlandic culture as a mix of the different historical settlers in the country, and mentioned how iconic Greenlandic symbols like the *ulu* knife have changed over time. For AneMarie, it is "important that we remember our culture, but that we also develop our culture … I think our forefathers only survived because they were good at adapting. So our culture should adapt, and it's not supposed to be in a museum" (Interview with AneMarie Ottesen). Both AneMarie and Angu recognise the malleability of culture, and do not perceive 'Greenlandic culture' as a distinct and unchanging set of traits or symbols. Indeed, they actually characterise their culture by its flexibility. For AneMarie, this evolutionary quality is so fundamental to her culture that her ancestors' survival can be attributed to it.

Angu's description of Greenlandic culture as 'a mix' suggests that cultural hybridity has always been inherent in the culture, even before it met with contemporary Danish culture to create the specific hybridity that is discussed in this research. This aligns with Pieterse's view on hybridity (section 3.4.1), which claims that hybridity should be considered inherent in all cultures, and that cultural hybridity does not merge cultures that begin the process as 'pure', but which are already hybrids or mixtures themselves. What is important to note from these quotes is that both informants see cultural hybridity as something which is progressive, allowing for adaptation. It is notable that AneMarie insists that her culture should not be in a museum, as this connects to the thoughts that inspired this research, that local culture within tourism spaces could be presented more dynamically.

Analysis of these examples of perspectives on cultural identity in Nuuk reveals that the issue is complex. It is generally accepted by my informants that Nuuk is to a large extent a Westernised city, but the complexity arises in the extent to which they personally identify with the Western society in which they accept that they live. Some informants feel clear divisions between Western and Inuit aspects of their identity, while some feel that the two synthesise quite well. Most informants accept that there is somehow a merging of different cultures in Nuuk, but for some this creates conflict while for others it creates opportunity. These informants acknowledge

the practical use of incorporating Westernisms into their society, without the suggestion that it alters the more profound aspects of their culture in any way. It is impossible to generalise about the way that local people experience cultural hybridity in Nuuk. Most of my informants, however, accept the dynamism of their culture, and speak with ease about how it has changed dramatically in the past and continues to change rapidly today.

This complexity and confusion between cultures reflects the theories of indigenous cosmopolitans (Forte, 2010) and cosmopolitan nationalists (Otte, 2015). All of my informants speak of both Western and Greenlandic culture having some influence on their everyday lives, and all of them identify to some extent with these ostensibly contrasting cultures. These findings are reminiscent of Forte's depiction of indigenous cosmopolitans as grounded in their local culture yet possessing a universal outlook. I argue, therefore, that there are forces of indigenous cosmopolitanism at work in Nuuk, and that it is an inherent and accepted aspect of everyday life in Greenland's capital; Nuuk is a city that is globally connected and influenced not just by Danish culture but by all Western cultures. It is too simplistic, however, to assert that culture in Nuuk is merely hybrid - i.e. a combination of two differing cultures; my informants have suggested that it is more complex than this. Since, as indicated by the differing perspectives of my informants, culture is experienced on a subjective and individual level, I cannot generalise about how culture 'is' in Nuuk. For all of my informants, however, cultural hybridity, and indigenous cosmopolitanism, is something that permeates their everyday lives.

This section has shown that cultural hybridity is a relevant way to connect the concepts of culture and community in my research context, since the local community, in general, perceives local culture as hybrid. To relate these findings to my first research question - the discussion of the performance and experience of culture in Katuaq - one would expect Nuuk's cultural centre to reflect this cultural hybridity, since it appears to be a key aspect of local culture.

4.1.2 Cultural Hybridity in Katuaq

Having determined that local culture in Nuuk can to some extent be characterised by indigenous cosmopolitanism, I now look at how this concept is evident in the use of Katuaq as a space. This section focuses specifically on the *performance* of local culture in Katuaq, and on how it relates to the contemporary local context of Nuuk.

One of the ways that this concept is expressed in Katuaq that stood out to me from my data was through the young people producing cultural content for the space: "We have a lot of newcomers, cultural entrepreneurs, creating projects … That's one of the things that a physical building can create. You can actually nurture entrepreneurism through it" (Interview with Julia Pars). The notion of 'cultural entrepreneurs' suggests that young Greenlanders are becoming pioneers in the cultural industries, and producing innovative new culture. This can be connected to the theory of cultural hybridity, which argues that, in the space 'between cultures', new forms of culture are produced (Hollinshead, 1998). By claiming that Katuaq nurtures these cultural entrepreneurs, Julia presents Katuaq as a physical site for this production of new culture, or as a place for the playing out of the process of cultural hybridity.

Those informants involved in the cultural industries do describe their work with a potential 'indigenous cosmopolitan' element to it. Miké Thomsen, a local actor, explains why he does not make a habit of incorporating "traditional Inuit-ish stuff" into his plays: "It's *our* brains, *our* hearts that are working. It's *us*, so we don't necessarily have to put drum dancing into a piece just to say that this is Greenlandic" (Interview with Miké Thomsen). Miké uses the terms 'our', 'us' and 'we' to imply that 'Inuitness' is defined on a personal level, rather than by 'traditional' symbols and practices. For Miké, if the performers identify as Greenlandic, this is enough to qualify the piece as Greenlandic. This lack of reliance on 'traditional' cultural motifs echoes the international and modern outlook that characterises indigenous cosmopolitanism in Nuuk - the cultural content is rooted in its locality by the producers' cultural identity alone, which allows the the producers to add a more global or cosmopolitan angle to the content.

Naleraq Eugenius, a local lighting technician, speaks of his work as "original creations": "I wanted to show something that had never been shown before" (Interview with Naleraq Eugenius), and he spoke about taking his most recent production on tour in the Nordic countries and eventually Japan. When questioned about how this play would fare internationally, given that it is in Greenlandic, Naleraq insisted that the play is built on global themes and issues, and, therefore, would be understood in any country (ibid.). This ambition to create cultural content that translates to audiences in other countries is reflective of an indigenous cosmopolitan mindset; Naleraq does not see the Greenlandic language as a barrier, because he believes that, on some issues, he shares a global outlook with others around the world.

He does mention, however, that this cosmopolitan outlook, at least to the cultural industries in Greenland, is relatively new, describing it as a 'movement': "It's the beginning of a movement of stage art. We're getting more into abstract stage art and going away from traditional ones. In Europe, they're very used to watching abstract theatre productions … We're getting a little bit towards it, but in our own way" (Interview with Naleraq Eugenius). Here, Naleraq contrasts 'traditional' Greenlandic theatre with European theatre, which perpetuates the conflict in culture I have seen throughout my analysis so far. However, his assertion that Greenlandic cultural content is becoming more like European, but 'in its own way', reinforces the local grounding but international outlook that characterises indigenous cosmopolitanism.

One of my informants almost specifically names this concept when discussing users of Katuaq: "[Katuaq is] designed for an international audience, but that includes the local people as well" (Interview with Malik Chemnitz). For Malik, then, local people can also constitute an international audience - they can be 'local internationals', in a sense. Malik blends two ostensibly contrasting themes and uses the space 'in-between' them to forge the new concept of 'local internationals', which reflects the themes I have been working with so far in this project. The concept of 'local internationals' is comparable to indigenous cosmopolitans in that it suggests

someone with a local grounding yet an international outlook. This conversation on the users of Katuaq is continued in the next section.

From this analysis of some of the performance of culture within Katuaq, I can argue that the culture performed in Katuaq is to some extent representative of the indigenous cosmopolitanism that has been argued to characterise contemporary local culture in Nuuk. This is because some of the cultural content is produced by pioneering 'cultural entrepreneurs' who feel rooted in local Greenlandic culture by their personal identification with it, yet transmit global themes in their work which are aimed at an international audience. Since Katuaq is also advocated by its management as a space that supports this kind of work, I can argue that to some extent it is a space for the cultivation of an indigenous cosmopolitan mindset. In this way, Katuaq is a space that transmits cultural hybridity.

4.1.3 Katuaq as a Third Place

Having examined how local culture is performed, I will now analyse how it is *experienced* in Katuaq, by looking at the perspectives of users of the space.

It has previously been argued that Katuaq appeals to indigenous cosmopolitans, or 'local internationals', as a result of the kind of culture that it performs. But who are these indigenous cosmopolitans? The term certainly does not represent the entirety of the local community. Indeed, many of my informants, specifically local residents and those involved in the cultural industries, associated a kind of exclusivity with Katuaq. As Rosa Flügge explained:

> "There was actually talk about it right before Katuaq turned 20 [in 2017]. This part about, is it too snobby now, and how is it supposed to be? … I was invited to go to the 20 year celebration in Katuaq. It was wonderful … But I just met the people Katuaq always invites. It's always the same people."
>
> (Interview with Rosa Flügge)

Rosa describes a kind of 'inner circle' relating to the users of Katuaq. This is a feeling that is shared by many of my other informants - that Katuaq is a place for the higher social echelons. Users of Katuaq are described as "the Caffé Latte segment", "better educated" and "more resourceful" (Interview with Mads Lumholt). My informants seem to feel that there are standards in place which make Katuaq as a space inaccessible to working class people: "People who have money usually go to Katuaq … Working class people, they don't go into Katuaq often. And they should also have their place. They're also our culture, so where are they?" (Interview with Connie Kristoffersen). For Connie, culture denotes everyone; it seems like she almost equates culture with society. A culture house, then, from Connie's perspective, is somewhere that, much like a third place (Oldenburg & Brissett, 1982), welcomes all members of society. However, Connie and Mads both argue that access to Katuaq is determined by wealth, rather than simply by membership of local society, or membership of local culture.

This exclusivity, according to many of my informants, also extends to those who are offered the opportunity to perform their culture in Katuaq. Rosa Flügge describes the artistic environment within Katuaq as a "hierarchy", and argues that newer generations of artists are not given the opportunity to transmit their perception of Greenlandic art (Interview with Rosa Flügge). While Rosa observes the exclusion of new artists, AneMarie Ottesen observes the exclusion of artists with a lower social status:

> "I [asked] the head people in Katuaq … Who can do an exhibition here? They were like, everyone … What about the guy in front of Brugsen [a local street market] who does a lot of art and it's good? Can he do an exhibition? Yeah. Does he know that? He's supposed to know… Have you told him? No. OK, so you're supposed to have a last name that people know, and you'll be asked by Katuaq if you want to do an exhibition here."
>
> (Interview with AneMarie Ottesen)

It is interesting that in this last quote AneMarie mentions the street market outside Brugsen, a supermarket in town. This is a principal gathering point for many local people, and almost acts as a third place that developed somewhat naturally as a result of people beginning to sell things there. The situation that AneMarie observes here, whereby 'culture', as she sees it, actually avoids Katuaq and ends up on the street, echoes Sinclair's (2011) quote, in which he claims that 'real' culture 'slips through the gaps' between places that are constructed to represent culture, such as Katuaq. AneMarie's perspective seems to support Sinclair's view that 'true' culture will never be found in spaces that are labelled as cultural.

For these informants, it appears that the culture performed and experienced in Katuaq is not representative of local culture as they see it. If this 'elitism' is present both in terms of who feels welcome to visit Katuaq, and in terms of who is able to put on an exhibition, or perform their culture there, then it follows that the culture performed and experienced in Katuaq is restrictive. In this way, Katuaq cannot be considered a third place, since these spaces are characterised by their use by a large proportion of the local community (Oldenburg & Brissett, 1982).

When considering the reasoning for this apparent exclusivity, some of my informants did not see it as a conscious effort by management to present a limited image of local culture, but rather as a result of the cultural hybridity that occurs in the centre. Laila Kreutzmann, a user and ex-employee of Katuaq, explained: "it's a lot of the same people that go … It could use more elderly people in there … I think they're a big part of the culture … It's maybe something they're not used to growing up with" (Interview with Laila Kreutzmann). For Laila, the limitation in the representation of societal groups in Katuaq has something to do with generational cultures. For younger local residents, or indigenous cosmopolitans, it is perhaps quite natural to visit a Westernised institution like Katuaq; however, for those who might naturally align with a more 'traditional' local culture, Katuaq may not fit into the routine that they are used to. It is possible that visiting a building like Katuaq is new to Greenlandic culture, and that, therefore, younger residents with more cosmopolitan outlooks are more likely to use it.

Mads Lumholt, a Greenlandic-Danish musician, expands on this point:

> "The tradition [of playing music in Greenlandic culture] is very very informal. It's not based on routines and the method of teaching and a rhythm of rehearsing, like you have to rehearse one hour a day or half an hour a day … Greenlandic language kids, they generally don't rehearse at all, and they're not supported by the parents to do so … So these cultural centres, they appeal more to the Scandinavian-minded people, or the more Western-minded people, the non-Inuit-culture-minded people. So it's a dilemma. Because in a perfect world they should primarily serve the ones that need this kind of inspiration and personal development the most, but they are not the group that tends to use these facilities … the Greenlandic language population, some of them maybe get overwhelmed by the poshness or the formality of the place, and yeah it's intimidating."
>
> (Interview with Mads Lumholt)

Here, Mads identifies a conflict that results from the meeting of different cultures in Katuaq. He acknowledges that 'traditional' Greenlandic culture and Western culture meet in Katuaq, but he does not see them as merging or as somehow triggering a process for the negotiation of a new,

hybrid culture. Rather, he suggests that the clash in cultures results in the exclusion of one of them. This is of course rather simplistic, since, as has been previously argued, the population of Nuuk does not consist simply of Inuit-minded people and non-Inuit-minded people; however, it is possible that those without a formal tradition of practising music in the way that Mads describes feel alienated from Katuaq.

To expand on my findings from the previous section, that indigenous cosmopolitanism is to some extent performed in Katuaq, I can now argue that the concept of indigenous cosmopolitanism also governs the experience of culture in Katuaq. The indigenous cosmopolitanism performed in Katuaq, for some, creates an exclusive environment in which some members of the cultures that meet to form indigenous cosmopolitanism are no longer welcome. This has the effect of rendering the cultural centre (which claims in its publications to be a centre for everyone) not a third place, since some members of the local community feel excluded from it. This is notable on a broader theoretical level, in the sense that cultural hybridity, which is usually considered a process of merging or joining, can potentially result in new productions of culture which are more exclusive than those used to form them. In this case, the kind of culture that is performed in Katuaq, from the perspective of my informants, becomes more and more specific as it is molded by the process of cultural hybridity.

4.1.4 Katuaq as a Fourth Place

The visual structure of my theoretical model suggests that a space cannot be a fourth place unless it is a third place. Therefore, my previous argument that Katuaq is not a third place should preclude the possibility of it acting as a fourth place. However, in practice the concepts do not interact as simplistically as suggested by my model, since there are aspects of Katuaq that are reminiscent of the theory of fourth places: primarily, its placement 'in-between' the public and the private realm.

One of the main reasons that was repeatedly cited by my informants for the exclusion of some members of local society was a tension between the public and private intentions of Katuaq. Although Katuaq is, financially, co-owned by the public and the private sector, managers of Katuaq spoke of this relationship as a 'balance' that is, on the whole, well met. Arnakkuluk Kleist, in interview acknowledged the commercial interests of Katuaq but claimed that it is also a place for making new projects and collaborations happen (Interview with Arnakkuluk Kleist, current Managing Director of Katuaq). Julia Pars, former Managing Director of Katuaq, admitted that, financially, the centre is "very independent", but that there are events that are only intended to break even, and, therefore, are more of a public service (Interview with Julia Pars). According to Arnakkuluk and Julia, then, Katuaq is somewhere that fulfils both public aims and private aims successfully. This should not be considered a particularly revealing finding, since this is the impression that management of Katuaq would be obligated to give, regardless of whether or not they believed it. In financial terms, as Julia alluded to with her description of Katuaq as "very independent", Katuaq makes more revenue from its commercial arms than it receives from the government, so in this sense it is more private than public. The tension arises, then, when users and local residents have different expectations.

Many of my informants view Katuaq as being mainly responsible as a public service. Mads Lumholt spoke of Katuaq as having 'standards' and 'responsibilities' to support local culture and the needy in society (Interview with Mads Lumholt), and other informants directly questioned

the cultural aspect of Katuaq: "It's more commercialised because it's much more like a movie theatre or a conference centre, and where's the cultural part?" (Interview with Naleraq Eugenius). For Miké Thomsen, "the business part is heavier. It's very hard to call it 'the cultural centre of Greenland'" (Interview with Miké Thomsen). These interviewees explicitly connect the concept of culture with a public service, or a responsibility to the public; for them, as a cultural centre, Katuaq is expected to provide opportunities and social development to all members of local society equally. My informants also create a clear division between commercialisation and culture, implying that a place of culture cannot simultaneously be a place of commerce, or at least be primarily profit-driven. This is an apt illustration of the ambiguity surrounding the concept of culture. Since the term is so open to interpretation, it is inevitable that not everyone who has a stake in a cultural centre will have the same expectations from it.

There are, however, those who see even Katuaq's commercial offerings as representing culture: "[The cinema] is commercially driven of course, but it's still cultural. Even though it's a *Marvel* movie, it's still culture in some sense" (Interview with Mads Lumholt). Of course, Mads is not wrong in asserting that mainstream cinema can fall under the umbrella of culture; however, it is perhaps the intention behind showing the films that does not sit well with some local residents. It is perhaps their view that culture that is displayed primarily for profit does not belong in a cultural centre.

Much of the tension surrounding this issue relates to concerns of ownership and power relations, and this topic was approached by many of the artists and actors I spoke to. Naleraq Eugenius explains that "[Katuaq's vision is] to support the locals and people from the coast who work with culture. As stage artists we work with culture all the time" (Interview with Naleraq Eugenius), and Angu Motzfeldt appealed for management to "Reform this building. Return it to the artists" (Interview with Angu Motzfeldt). These quotes reveal a conflict in understandings of authority regarding the space. Since Katuaq is a cultural centre, those involved in the cultural industries believe that they should have control over the space. Angu's comment, 'return it to the artists', expresses a kind of default or natural claim over the space.

In further conversation with artists, I realised that a lot of this resentment is connected to a perceived change in the purpose of the different areas within Katuaq which occurred after the building was built. Angu told me that the cinema was built as a concert stage, with a symphony pit which is now sealed off, and that the kitchen was originally a photo studio, with a specially built dark room (Interview with Angu Motzfeldt). Naleraq summed it up thus: "The whole [original] purpose was thrown in the bin … I think it's because of the economy … That's why they commercialised it" (Interview with Naleraq Eugenius). There is a clear feeling among cultural professionals that, in the conceptualisation of Katuaq, they were promised a space which would support their work and involve them in its operations. From the perspective of these informants, the original creative purpose and intended 'artistic house' was sacrificed in aid of more commercially profitable efforts, such as conferences and a cinema. These directions do not represent culture for my artist informants. This raises questions about who has more authority in a 'cultural' environment; since culture is open to interpretation, is it inevitable that in labelling a space as cultural, some groups will always feel excluded or underrepresented?

The tension between the public and private responsibilities of Katuaq is a tangible illustration of the ongoing tension between local society's variable understandings of how a cultural centre should function and what it should offer. This straddling of the public and the private realm is reminiscent of Aelbrecht's theory of fourth places (2016), which are characterised by being co-managed by the two domains. While Aelbrecht's theory describes a space in which this merging creates opportunity and freedom, however, in the case of Katuaq it seems to create more of a conflict and to divide its users. It seems that, in this case, the in-betweenness present in the management of Katuaq creates controversy rather than progression.

My analysis of the performance and experience of contemporary local culture in Katuaq has revealed it to be a space of conflicts. Although, for some residents of Nuuk, cultural hybridity is an advantage to everyday life, it appears that trying to present this culture in a concrete space presents difficulties for some informants. For my informants, constructing a culture of

indigenous cosmopolitanism in Katuaq results in an exclusivity regarding who can perform and who can experience culture in the space. This is accentuated by a tension between public and private ownership that results in different users having different expectations for the space, and many users being dissatisfied.

4.2 'Traditional' Local Culture

In this section I analyse how 'traditional' local culture is performed and experienced within Katuaq, and discuss how it connects to the contemporary local culture already discussed, in order to answer research question one.

My use of the term 'traditional' in this section and throughout this research project is not intended to suggest that there is a definitive and quintessential form of 'traditional' Greenlandic culture which should be used as a reference point for those discussing culture in Greenland. Rather, it is closely linked to contemporary understandings of authenticity and the concept of culture, outlined in chapter 2 and in section 3.1 respectively. If the evolutionary nature of culture means that there is no such thing as an 'authentic' one (Bruner, 2005), in the same way there can be no such thing as a 'traditional' culture, or a past version of a culture which can somehow claim authority as 'original' or as a benchmark. My informants often used the term 'traditional' to refer to historic versions of Greenlandic culture, and so I use this term simply to reference the forms of culture that my informants discuss.

4.2.1 'Traditional' Third Places

The concept of a third place, or a kind of neutral social gathering space, is something that has so far been discussed only in a contemporary context - with its beginnings as a theory posited by Oldenburg and Brissett in 1982. However, it is also something that was mentioned by some of my informants as characteristic of 'traditional' Greenlandic culture: "[Our culture is] very different today, but there are some traces left, some things we inherit from previous generations, in our way of being. And that's the social gatherings" (Interview with Julia Pars). Julia asserts that it comes naturally to Greenlanders to gather in a social context, and even that it is one of the most central and lasting aspects of Greenlandic culture throughout the generations. This suggests that the construction of a third place in a Greenlandic context should be straightforward. The Managing Director of Sisimiut's cultural centre, Taseralik, told me that the name for the centre

was taken from the name for a summer gathering place, where people from the area would historically meet: "I think the café will have a base in that story, being this gathering place for many different people coming from many different places" (Interview with Arnajaraq Støvlbæk). In Sisimiut, the cultural centre itself has been named after a gathering place, which underlines the importance of the concept to the building. It is also notable that this concept is woven into the strategy of the café, which is an aspect of Katuaq which was commonly classified by my informants as one of the building's more commercial elements and, therefore, not cultural. By advocating the meeting of different people from different places, Arnajaraq also frames Taseralik as a contact zone and a fourth place.

It would seem, then, that in this way at least, 'traditional' Greenlandic culture combines well with my theoretical foundations in suggesting that a cultural centre that works as a 'between place' would fit naturally into the local context.

4.2.2 The 'Inuit cultural renaissance'

One of the most distinct ways in which 'traditional' culture is performed and experienced within Katuaq is through the explicit staging of 'traditional' Greenlandic practices. Colonisation and the influence of Western society and Christianity in Greenland had the effect of rendering many 'traditional' Inuit practices a taboo. This is something that many of my informants addressed. Arnajaraq Støvlbæk spoke of "200 years of being afraid of touching the drum on the western coast of Greenland … It was banned so hard that we forgot it" (Interview with Arnajaraq Støvlbæk). AneMarie Ottesen related this prohibition specifically to Nuuk. She recalled being told that the drum dance was not a part of 'her culture' because she was from Nuuk; only people from East and North Greenland were allowed to perform the drum dance (Interview with AneMarie Ottesen). It is notable that, although their 'claim' to this kind of culture has not always been secure, all of my informants spoke inclusively about and with ownership of a 'traditional' Greenlandic culture. Despite being told for most of her life that she had no right to perform the drum dance, AneMarie still considers it a part of her 'traditional' culture. This suggests that, for my informants, traditions are not connected to personal rituals or even to historical family rituals, but can be shared across a national culture by individuals without any personal experience of them. This is encouraging when considering the operation of a national cultural centre like Katuaq; if a somewhat common perception of 'traditional' culture can be shared across a country without personal experience of it necessary, then it is conceivable that a building that transmits a common 'traditional' culture may be successful in connecting with a wide local audience.

Many informants spoke of an 'Inuit cultural renaissance' which has developed in the last few years in response to many young Greenlanders feeling out of touch with practices that are expected to be an innate part of their 'traditional' culture. According to Malik Chemnitz, "the nationalistic part recently had a renaissance … Everyone's trying so hard to be Greenlandic now" (Interview with Malik Chemnitz). Malik suggests that one can only truly 'be Greenlandic' by getting in touch with their 'traditional' culture, which emphasises the importance of these past versions of culture to the identity of today's Greenlanders.

Miké Thomsen explains:

> "The traditional Inuit-ish drumming and chanting has had its renaissance these last 5 to 10 years, in being more aware that we are a certain group of people. We are the Inuits and we have our own traditions. And also a lot of talk about, release yourself from Denmark - independence."
>
> (Interview with Miké Thomsen)

Miké sees this renaissance as a sort of reclaiming of identity - a way of building a stronger national identity which is further removed from Western culture and which, therefore, can be used as a lever in political battles.

This renaissance is manifested tangibly within Katuaq. During my fieldwork in Nuuk in February, an 'Inuit traditions' event had recently begun, which was essentially a showcase of 'traditional' Greenlandic practices that was free and open to everyone. Angunnguaq Kristoffersen, a technician in Katuaq, explained: "It's called *Ileqquvut* in Greenlandic – 'our cultures', 'our ways' - which is concentrated on how Greenlandic culture used to be, still is" (Interview with Angunnguaq Kristoffersen). Upon hearing about this event, I initially expected it to be aimed at an international audience, as I assumed that locals would already be familiar with their own cultural traditions. However, I was surprised upon attending the event that it was entirely in Greenlandic language, and full of Greenlanders learning about their own traditions (Fieldwork Diary). Rosa Flügge spoke of these events as crucial to strengthening cultural pride, in a context in which a lot of the Greenlandic 'traditions' have "gone missing" (Interview with Rosa Flügge). In this case, the cultural centre is a crucial element in the performance of 'traditional' culture, and in strengthening a cultural identity among local residents. This aligns with the purposes of some of the cultural centres discussed in section 3.2, which focused on the preservation of 'traditional' elements of local culture, and were operated mainly for an audience of locals.

In this example, then, local 'traditional' culture is performed by locals, and experienced by locals. During this event, Katuaq can be seen as an example of a fourth place; by making the event free, the audience is inclusive of all members of the public and potentially of diverse societal groups. Additionally, it has been suggested by my informants that all Greenlanders, even the most 'Westernised', have to some extent an alignment with 'traditional' Greenlandic culture (section 4.1.1); this makes the event inclusive for residents and potentially allows meeting and interaction between different social groups. However, this inclusivity for locals can be seen to create an exclusivity for internationals. The fact that the events are presented solely in Greenlandic precludes the involvement of anyone who is not a Greenlander, and for this reason I can argue that Katuaq, in this example, does not constitute a contact zone or a space of cultural re-negotiation between tourists and locals.

It is notable that, in Angunnguaq's quote above, he describes Inuit traditions as "how Greenlandic culture used to be", and then interrupts himself to say "still is". There is a clear connection, or hybridity, for Angunnguaq, between his culture as it was manifested at different times; the way it used to be is also the way it still is. This suggests that, although they readily discuss them distinctly, my informants do not necessarily perceive a clear division between 'traditional' local culture and contemporary local culture; for Angunnguaq, at least, the two are intertwined. This is explored further in the following section, in which I present an 'answer' to my first research question.

4.3 Answering Research Question One

"How is culture performed and experienced within the cultural centre, Katuaq?"

This analysis does not represent an exhaustive examination of the different kinds of culture performed and experienced within Katuaq - that would be a project far beyond the scope of this study. However, I have analysed the principal presentations of culture as they appeared to me during my fieldwork. Bearing in mind my understanding of culture and cultural hybridity as difficult to categorise and label, it may seem rather arbitrary to have structured my analysis according to distinct 'types' of culture such as 'traditional' and contemporary; however, I hope also that my analysis of Katuaq's presentations of culture according to these groupings goes some way towards reinforcing the argument for the fluidity of cultural boundaries.

My discussions with informants show that, although it was common to speak about their local culture in terms of a division between 'traditional' and contemporary, there is nevertheless a constant connection in their minds between the two. Angunnguaq Kristoffersen spoke of Greenlandic culture as a mixture between "the old way of traditional living and also the new ways" (Interview with Angunnguaq Kristoffersen), and for Angu Motzfeldt, 'traditional' culture is "a foundation that we have. If you take that away, you wouldn't have anything to start from. You wouldn't have a platform" (Interview with Angu Motzfeldt). For my informants, 'traditional' Greenlandic culture acts as a basis for contemporary Greenlandic culture to be built upon. This adds another layer of cultural hybridity to my research context. As well as the indigenous cosmopolitanism that is argued to characterise contemporary culture in Nuuk, a hybridity between 'traditional' and contemporary Greenlandic cultures is alluded to by my informants.

What has comes to light through my analysis so far is that there are clear divisions made in the performance and experience of culture in Katuaq. Although there is evidence of indigenous

cosmopolitanism being performed in Katuaq, as with Naleraq Eugenius' recent play, this has been revealed to be relatively new and rare, and not to extend to other aspects of the cultural centre. There are aspects of the operation of the centre (the café, the cinema) which are viewed as purely commercial and not representative of culture at all, and then there are specific events organised to focus on 'traditional' Greenlandic culture with an almost nostalgic approach. The centre seems to be compartmentalised and, although it may in parts address all aspects of local culture, past and present, the hybridity that is so central to locals' lifestyles is not an obvious component of its operation. I argue, therefore, that, although local culture might in parts be accurately performed and experienced within Katuaq, its failure to transmit the hybridity of local culture means that, to many local residents, it simply does not make sense as a 'centre of culture'.

For many of my informants, and as claimed in Katuaq's publications themselves, culture is closely tied to inclusivity, and local culture is understood to involve all members of local society. This is where theories of third places and fourth places are relevant. Many of my informants observe an exclusivity within Katuaq which suggests that it cannot be considered a third place. This exclusivity arguably results from a tension between public and private ownership and responsibilities of the centre, which means that the public expect it to be answerable to them, while it is actually mainly financially independent and has the freedom to pursue more profitable activities. What distinguishes a fourth place from a third place, as explained in detail in section 3.4.4, is its public/private co-management and its visitation by more diverse social groups. Interestingly, in the case of Katuaq, it is argued that the public/private co-management results in a more prestigious space which results in the exclusion of some social groups. In other words, the aspect that qualifies it as a fourth place actually denies its classification as a third place, and these two labels become mutually exclusive. In this sense, then, if Katuaq cannot be classified as a third place, it cannot be said to be representatively performing culture in an environment in which culture is understood to be inclusive of everyone. Certainly, it represents a part of the local culture in Nuuk, but is not wholly representative.

For some members of local society, Katuaq does not represent culture at all:

> "Elizabeth: What's the most important place for you, culturally, in Nuuk?
> Miké: Mutten [a dive bar in town].
> E: [laughs] Why?
> M: Things happen there … Actually I could start a café and make it into a better culture house than Katuaq will ever be."
>
> (Interview with Miké Thomsen)

Here, Miké goes so far as to predict that Katuaq will never be worthy of its title as a cultural centre. He implies that Katuaq is 'dead' - things don't happen there, and that a simple environment such as a café or bar can represent local culture more satisfactorily. This echoes the quote that inspired this research, and which suggests that places overtly representing culture inevitably become stale and misrepresentative (Sinclair, 2011). This first section of my analysis has suggested that there is a fine art to representing hybrid culture in a space in a way that will be satisfactory for everyone. After all, if, as my informants argue, culture is for everyone, then a successful cultural centre should meet everyone's expectations.

To provide a concise answer to research question one - *How is culture performed and experienced within the cultural centre, Katuaq?* - I can conclude that culture is performed and experienced within Katuaq in a compartmentalised fashion. This compartmentalisation happens in two different ways. The first is by making a division between contemporary local culture and 'traditional' local culture, which does not represent the cultural hybridity that characterises culture in Nuuk. The second is by having defined elements of the centre which are purely commercial, and defined elements which aim to fulfil some kind of a public service. Since the purely commercial efforts are on the whole not considered by the community to represent culture at all, many members of society believe that Katuaq fails to perform culture.

To relate these findings to my theoretical framework, there is evidence of Katuaq representing cultural hybridity, but only at particular events and to a particular group of visitors. There is little evidence of Katuaq operating as a third place, although there is some evidence of Katuaq

operating as a fourth place - but again, this is only at particular times or during particular events. My findings so far somewhat contradict the simplicity of my theoretical framework, which suggests that there is a causal flow to the evolution of places. Just because Katuaq can be seen as a fourth place, it does not mean that it automatically can be considered a third place. The compartmentalised performance and experience of culture in Katuaq suggests also that a particular place cannot be classified in the same way at all times - rather, a place can continually move between different types and purposes of place.

4.4 Nuuk: The Current Tourism Landscape

RQ.2: *"What role do tourists and tourism play in the operation of the cultural centre, Katuaq?"*

My analysis so far of the performance and experience of culture in Katuaq has focused on the cultural centre's use by the local residents of Nuuk. This section analyses the role of tourists in the operation of Katuaq, in order to gain a comprehensive understanding of its use.

Firstly, it is useful to outline the general tourism landscape in Nuuk. Tourism is relatively new to Greenland, with approximately 90,000 tourist arrivals registered in 2017 (Tourismstat.gl, 2018). Perhaps surprisingly, Nuuk, as the capital city, is not one of the most frequently visited destinations, with tourists preferring destinations such as Ilulissat and Kangerlussuaq, where they can enjoy nature-focused experiences (ibid.). However, the city does get a lot of calls from cruise ships during the short summer season which lasts from the end of June to mid-September. As tourism grows in Greenland, and as tourists begin to travel more independently, the city receives an increasing number of visitors (ibid.).

Julia Pars explains of tourism in Nuuk, "It's only in the past years when tourism has become more visible in the capital … Nuuk has never been known for a lot of tourism" (Interview with Julia Pars). It seems that tourism is not a main priority for the city, which does not offer an abundance of activities for tourists: "For example, the food: there's no real Greenlandic restaurant in Nuuk. You can only taste it in local people's houses" (Interview with Insuk Kim).

This is something that is also noticed by tourists: "The cities don't look like they are made for tourists. They have a mixture of industry, old houses … and new buildings" (Tourist quoted in Visit Greenland, 2018). Perhaps because of this, though, Nuuk is often perceived by tourists as somewhere that is a window onto ordinary life in Greenland, and where impromptu contact with locals is often named as the most memorable experience: "Nuuk is perceived more as a city of

the people, constructed around a daily life which only offers a few options specifically set up for tourists" (Visit Greenland, 2018). This data bodes well for the future of cultural tourism in Nuuk. If it is a destination that is appreciated by tourists for its portrayal of the everyday life of Greenlanders, then places such as Katuaq, which claims through its publications to offer both cultural events and to be a part of locals' everyday lives (Katuaq, 2017), should be popular among tourists.

4.5 Katuaq as a Contact Zone

My analysis of how tourists use Katuaq focuses on the extent to which the space acts as a contact zone (Pratt, 1991), in order to continue the exploration of my theoretical framework in relation to Katuaq.

4.5.1 Initial Impressions

Despite the fact that the image that Katuaq presents aligns well with many tourists' perceptions of Nuuk, it is not somewhere that is particularly well visited by tourists. Tourists I spoke to reported not going in because it looked shut (Sarah Murray, personal communication), and, when they did go in, only spending time at the café (Lisa Germany, personal communication). During my participant observation in Katuaq during the high season in summer 2017, I also observed that the building is mainly used by tourists for the café; the 'cultural' events, such as concerts, were attended almost entirely by locals, although there was undoubtedly a large number of tourists in town (Fieldwork Diary). Personally, I found out about these 'cultural' events through word of mouth from locals, rather than through any tourist information or marketing channel, so it is not surprising if it was the case that tourists simply were not aware of them (ibid.). It was also noted by my tourist informants that exposure, specifically that targeted at tourists, is lacking (Sarah Murray, personal communication); this suggests that it is still mainly used as a space for locals.

Some of my informants who work within the tourism industry do not see Katuaq as offering much more to tourists than as somewhere to get food and drinks:

"I work in tourism as well. I tell [tourists] that they can go in and eat Greenlandic food. But normally when they go in, oh there's the movies. What else do they have? Nobody really knows. So I have to tell them it's the cultural centre, oh what kind of culture la la la. So, I have to crunch my toes and say, there's some art exhibition, I think…"

(Interview with AneMarie Ottesen)

AneMarie, as a tour guide, here describes a common situation in which she finds it difficult to express to tourists exactly what Katuaq stands for and what it offers as a cultural centre. This may largely be due to her belief (shared with informants quoted in section 4.1.4) that Katuaq's offerings are not truly cultural. This quote is revealing in that it exposes the different possible layers of interpretation at play during a tourist experience. Being guided by a local, tourists are led to believe that they are receiving an 'authentic' perspective on the city; on the contrary, however, AneMarie does not give them her genuine view. Instead, she gives them the impression that she believes she is expected to give. Katuaq declares itself a cultural centre, and her tour must, therefore, align with this claim, regardless of whether or not she personally sees it as a centre of culture. This is somewhat unconstructive for all stakeholders. It is likely that tourists are confused by AneMarie's claim that Katuaq is a centre for culture and her subsequent inability to justify this label, and it is revealed in the quote above that AneMarie is not satisfied by feeling compelled to provide an insincere service to her guests. On a broader scale, it is possible that this experience raises questions for tourists on the nature of Greenlandic culture, since neither the cultural centre itself or the local guides presenting it are able to offer a cogent account of what it stands for and what it can offer.

This analysis of tourists' impressions of Katuaq reveals that Katuaq is not used very frequently by tourists - at least not for much other than the café. It also suggests that Katuaq is on the whole not marketed specifically to tourists, and when it is presented, is sometimes presented unconvincingly. These findings make it difficult to imagine Katuaq as a contact zone - as somewhere that brings tourists and locals together. The following analysis of how Katuaq constructs its audience according to its stakeholders will help in drawing conclusions on the extent to which it functions as a contact zone.

4.5.2 The Role of Tourists

Views on who Katuaq primarily is for are varied across different stakeholders. In publications, it is portrayed just as much as a tourist site as it is a local gathering space: "Katuaq has become one of the city's landmarks and a place you must experience as a guest … Katuaq is Nuuk's emblem" (Katuaq, 2017: 28). This kind of communication suggests that Katuaq is a sort of icon for visitors to Nuuk - that it is one of the absolute must-sees. Some of my informants agreed with this perspective, calling Katuaq "an architectural marvel … You can't imagine Nuuk without Katuaq." (Interview with Angu Motzfeldt). According to Angunnguaq Kristoffersen, "If you look at all the other places, the building is different. You can't miss it … People get this, what's in there?" (Interview with Angunnguaq Kristoffersen). These quotes suggest that, with its dramatic and intriguing architecture, Katuaq functions almost as a hub for tourism. However, the theories of placemaking and cultural interactions that are central to this thesis rely on much more than simply an impressive façade; although the architecture may act as a draw to attract tourists to the building, it does not guarantee the fulfilment of any deeper demands of cultural tourists.

In terms of what occurs inside the centre, many informants saw the local audience as taking priority: "When this was built, there wasn't much tourism. I think there was like one or two cruise ships annually … So I don't think they really put it up like a tourism place. But it's a cultural house so they do attract tourists" (Interview with Angunnguaq Kristoffersen). Katuaq was built at a time when tourism was a minor industry in Greenland (and in particular in Nuuk) and it follows that its central focus at this time was in strengthening the local community and in encouraging pride in Greenlandic culture. However, Angunnguaq makes the point that cultural centres naturally attract tourists (even simply by their self-declaration as a centre of culture), and as tourism has grown in Nuuk, the audience for Katuaq has potentially diversified and this has created different expectations among visitors.

There is a general consensus among my informants that Katuaq consciously makes its events accessible to Greenlandic speakers; this is an effort which creates inclusivity in the local

community, since Greenlandic is the first language spoken in Greenland, but that simultaneously works to exclude tourists, since there are very few international tourists who are likely to speak Greenlandic. Connie Kristoffersen spoke of the themes of the plays that take place in Katuaq: "The plays, they can be very different. In Europe it's like, Shakespeare, but here they are about, I would say Greenlandic culture. Indigenous or colonisation themes" (Interview with Connie Kristoffersen). Although Connie implies that these are themes that are specific to Greenlandic culture, they are in fact topics that would potentially appeal to an international audience. Colonisation and indigeneity are by no means peculiar to Greenland. However, the language in which they are presented renders these events inaccessible to internationals.

These findings align with the suggestion in my answer to research question one, that Katuaq presents culture in a compartmentalised fashion: here, the Greenlandic language events can be seen to be accessible only to locals, while the more 'Westernised' parts of the building, such as the café, are where tourists feel welcome. Arnakkuluk Kleist, Katuaq's current director, reinforces this suggestion: "The events that happen, the concerts and things like that, they're made for local people … Tourists will come to have dinner or a cup of coffee" (Interview with Arnakkuluk Kleist). Organising Katuaq's programme and the use of its space in this way makes interaction between tourists and locals difficult, despite the fact that both groups use the space. This suggests that Katuaq does not function as a contact zone, in the sense that it does not actively promote cultural meetings and re-negotiations. Constructing a contact zone is about more than simply encouraging different cultural groups to use the same space at the same time; they must both be engaging in the same activity in order for interactions to be fostered. In fact, only one of my informants, Rosa, could recall ever having seen locals and tourists interacting within Katuaq, and that was because she personally makes an active effort to speak to tourists:

> "Elizabeth: Do you ever see locals and tourists interacting in there?
> Rosa: No. I do [laughs] But I'm one of those people who just talks to everyone."
>
> (Interview with Rosa Flügge)

Perhaps this compartmentalisation is inevitable because locals and tourists expect different things from the cultural centre, or use it for different purposes. If the original intention of Katuaq was to strengthen local pride in Greenlandic culture, then these kind of 'cultural renaissance' activities are perhaps something that outsiders to the culture can never be a part of. As Mads Lumholt explains, "[Greenlanders] want to perform. But I think they want to perform for their peers. Because they want to feel this common cultural root, this sense of unity" (Interview with Mads Lumholt). Mads suggests that the strengthening of cultural identity is something that can only be experienced with an audience of members of the same culture. He even implies that, in this context, a Greenlander would not be willing to perform his/her culture in front of non-members of the culture. This creates an obstacle in constructing a cultural centre that is aimed at both locals and tourists, but that simultaneously aims to strengthen local cultural identity.

This analysis suggests that there is confusion and disagreement over who exactly Katuaq is for. Some informants see it mainly as a local space and some primarily as a tourist space, but it is uncommon for my informants to view these two things in combination. It is recognised that both tourists and locals use Katuaq, but it seems to be the general consensus that they use different parts of the building and for different purposes. Given that my informants so naturally identify cultural hybridity in their personal cultural identity, expressing local culture as being influenced by both Western and Greenlandic culture, it is notable that they appear not to perceive any room for hybridity between the cultures of tourists and their own culture.

4.5.3 A Different Kind of Tourist

Despite this uncertainty regarding who Katuaq is for, there does seem to be a particular kind of international audience that is important to the building's management. These are the business tourists, or those coming from overseas to attend conferences in Nuuk. Arnakkuluk Kleist tells me that Katuaq hosts many conferences and is often hired out exclusively for business events: "If the government has a big event or there is a conference, it's in Katuaq you go to those. So it's for representing the country, or being the place that the big events happen" (Interview with Arnakkuluk Kleist). In this way, then, Arnakkuluk does see Katuaq as somewhere that represents Greenland to an international audience, and that is geared towards international visitors, but mainly in a business context rather than a leisure context. This echoes the tension identified in section 4.1.4, between public and private responsibilities. Informants who were critical of Katuaq often mentioned conferences as one of the aspects of the centre which is too commercial to represent culture. From this perspective, then, it is interesting to consider that Katuaq's potentially most important international audience is not attracted based on its status as a centre of culture - rather, they are attracted by the facilities that Katuaq can offer as a business event venue. If this is the case, it follows that Katuaq may establish its international presence based on what works well as an event venue and conference centre, rather than on considerations of how local culture should be presented. Rosa Flügge argues that:

> "Originally, [Katuaq] was for everyone … And now it seems like it has begun to
> want to be more posh … I think it's about wanting to be more global, wanting to
> be more luxurious, and wanting to be seen as serious on a global scale."
>
> (Interview with Rosa Flügge)

For Rosa, there is a connection between Katuaq wanting to appeal to an international business audience and the exclusivity in Katuaq that was discussed in section 4.1.3. According to her observations, a space that is inclusive of all aspects of local culture is not seen as 'serious' enough for a global audience. She continues:

> "There was an incident in Katuaq. There's a lady who serves, who's got Greenlandic facial tattoos, and she was asked to cover them up. And the reason was they had to stand by international standards, to cover up the tattoos or something. But this was in the *cultural* centre, with *Inuit* tattoos … The main point here is, they don't want their guests, who come here to experience Greenland, to see a Greenlandic thing."
>
> (Interview with Rosa Flügge)

Here, Rosa describes a situation in which what she sees as an inherent aspect of Greenlandic culture is actually regulated against for the sake of international visitors. For Rosa, management's focus on an international business audience is directly to blame for Katuaq not truly representing Greenlandic culture. Viewing Katuaq from this perspective, as focused on securing custom from 'business tourists', who hire out spaces and sometimes even the whole venue, and therefore provide a lot of revenue, explains many of the tensions previously discussed in this chapter. Being largely financially independent, and, therefore, being tempted to invest in efforts that turn a higher profit, such as conferences and event hosting, it is possible that Katuaq has turned its attention to providing a presentation of local culture which emphasises only the more prestigious aspects of Greenlandic society. This is not to assert that it does not present local culture, but rather to suggest that it is selective in the elements of local culture that it presents. From this perspective, international visitors are privy to the everyday lives of the more wealthy residents of Nuuk, as this image is conducive to securing the custom that offers the most profit for Katuaq.

Despite Katuaq's popularity among business tourists, I would argue that it still does not qualify as a contact zone for two reasons. Firstly, the business tourists often use the space on a private-hire basis, meaning that they are unlikely to come into contact with locals within it (Interview with Arnakkuluk Kleist; Fieldwork Diary). Secondly, as argued by Rosa Flügge, the prestigious culture presented to business tourists is not wholly representative of local culture, and so does not necessarily provide the contrast in cultures that characterises a contact zone.

4.6 Answering Research Question Two

"What role do tourists and tourism play in the operation of the cultural centre, Katuaq?"

To add to the findings from answering research question one, that culture is performed and experienced within Katuaq in a compartmentalised fashion, by dividing contemporary and 'traditional' culture, and dividing commercial and public efforts, there is a third division which appears to be at play in the operation of Katuaq. This is the division between locals' experiences and tourists' experiences.

Tourists seem to find access difficult to the explicitly 'cultural' occurrences in Katuaq - namely music concerts, theatre pieces and events which aim to strengthen local cultural identity. As a result of this, tourists, when they do use Katuaq, use mainly the café space, which is notably modern and 'Westernised'. This area is one of the areas named by locals as being overly commercialised and not evenly representative of local culture. 'Café culture' is a valid part of local culture in Nuuk, but my informants are concerned that it is solely the more wealthy and prestigious parts of local culture that are presented in this environment. For this reason, I can argue that most tourists who use Katuaq do not receive a representation of local culture with which many local residents align.

Without conducting an in-depth study into the motivations of cultural tourists visiting Nuuk, it is impossible for me to say exactly what visitors to Katuaq seek. However, based on the theoretical claim that cultural tourists seek 'Otherness' combined with an 'authentic' representation of everyday life (Richards, 2007), a cultural representation for tourists should be sufficiently different, and should offer a representation of everyday life that residents align with. From my data, it would appear that Katuaq, because of its primarily commercial aims, offers tourists an experience that is Westernised and familiar, and which does not connect them with locals, or with an everyday lifestyle to which many locals can relate. It is not surprising that many tourists

are disappointed with their experience of Katuaq, if they do not come away with a clear idea of what actually constitutes Greenlandic culture, or culture in Nuuk.

Add to this Katuaq's focus on international business customers: visitors who are not primarily coming for culture at all. These visitors are, of course, still tourists, but they have markedly different motivations to leisure tourists. Concentrating the international image it presents on pleasing these, more profitable, customers, arguably encourages the exclusivity and compartmentalisation that is apparent in Katuaq.

This is certainly confusing and unfulfilling for tourists who visit seeking culture. It also makes it difficult to foster interaction between locals and tourists, which as argued in section 4.4 is one of the most memorable experiences for cultural tourists. Although it has been argued that Katuaq, at times, can be described as a site for cultural hybridity and a fourth place (a contact zone within Greenlandic society), there is little evidence of it acting as a contact zone between tourists and locals.

This is not to say, however, that there is no potential for Katuaq to live up to this ideal. The following chapter brings my findings together to discuss how Katuaq could be used more inclusively to foster these intercultural relationships.

5. Discussion

RQ.3: *"How can cultural centres be used more inclusively as spaces that benefit both tourists and the local community?"*

In answering research questions one and two, I have analysed how Katuaq is currently used and perceived, as a cultural space, from the perspectives of both the local community and tourists. In this chapter, I bring these findings together to answer research question three, and discuss ways in which Katuaq (and perhaps other cultural centres across Greenland and the world) can be used more inclusively as spaces that benefit both tourists and the local community. While, so far, my research questions have focused on analysing Katuaq as it currently operates, this chapter focuses on innovation and projection, suggesting potential ways in which Katuaq could be used in the future to foster interaction, transculturation, learning and understanding.

5.1 Katuaq as a 'Between Place'

My research has been built on the theoretical foundation of 'between places'. The between place is a theoretical model which I argue would meet both expectations from locals and expectations from tourists if it were constructed successfully. The theory of the between place encompasses all of the theories that have so far shaped my research: cultural hybridity, third places, fourth places and contact zones. The first stage of my discussion, therefore, is to assess to what extent Katuaq can currently be considered a between place.

My analysis of the operation of Katuaq reveals various tensions at work within the building. Firstly, there is a conflict in cultural identity among local residents in Nuuk, since contemporary culture in Nuuk is argued to be, to some extent, a merging of western European culture and Inuit culture. Secondly, there is a temporal cultural conflict at play, as residents find common ground between a 'traditional' Greenlandic culture that was recently 'banned', and the modern culture

which manifests today. The third and final dichotomy which is brought out by my analysis is the conflict between locals and tourists, who both use Katuaq.

Given my theoretical foundation, the model of between places and its focus on the potential of 'in-betweenness' to dispel boundaries, these dichotomies theoretically present opportunities, giving Katuaq the potential to act as a between place. The first conflict is in some cases seen to be resolved, with some of Katuaq's cultural output reflecting the local mindset of indigenous cosmopolitanism. This performance of cultural hybridity potentially provides locals and tourists some common ground on which to forge contact and build interactions and understanding. However, within Katuaq one does not see resolution of the second and third dichotomies. Rather, the in-betweenness present here creates a division between locals and tourists, and does not appear to reach the learning and progression that a between place is characterised as fostering.

As a result, I conclude that Katuaq cannot be considered a between place; although it is seen to reflect cultural hybridity and in some ways to be a fourth place, my data has shown that it cannot be considered a third place or a contact zone. Therefore, it does not fulfil the aims it presents as a cultural centre. For the local community, it is not representative of local culture, since it is viewed as inaccessible by some, both in terms of who can perform culture and who can experience culture there. For tourists, it is unfulfilling in terms of cultural representation, since much of the internationally-focused areas seem to be established on commercial aims rather than cultural immersion. It is uncommon for the two groups to make contact with each other inside the space, since it is constructed in such a way that tourists and locals use the space for different purposes at different times.

Although my data has shown that Katuaq, at different times, acts as many different kinds of places - a place for identity formation, a place for cultural production, a place for the elite, a place of business, and a place of tourism - it does not succeed in fulfilling these purposes in a way in which they intertwine smoothly with one another, and this is why tensions arise.

5.2 Practical Steps

Is it actually possible to construct a between place? Can the model be successfully put into practice? Despite my criticism of Katuaq, my data does suggest some practical steps towards making Katuaq more inclusive for both the local community and for tourists.

It is apparent that management are aware of the exclusivity and divisiveness that is present in Katuaq, and feel it needs approaching: "That will be interesting for me to dig more into: who are the people who don't come? Why do they not feel that it's a place for them to go?" (Interview with Arnakkuluk Kleist, current Managing Director of Katuaq). This suggests that management are already beginning to think about how to foster more inclusivity in Katuaq, and that these practical suggestions can have some impact.

5.2.1 Exercising Inclusivity

Inclusivity can happen in Katuaq. Some of my informants identify certain events which appear to be attended by a majority of the local community. These take the form of free events: "If there are events for free, then people come" (Interview with Connie Kristoffersen), or events featuring a widely known artist: "If it's Greenlandic artists, especially if they've been singing for decades and are popular all over the country, then people crowd the place" (Interview with Mads Lumholt). This suggests that Katuaq can be a place for everyone - but that there are certain conditions. Events must be free and appeal to everyone. Continually organising free events, however, does not sit well with the private arm of Katuaq, and finding events that will appeal to both the majority of the local community and to the majority of tourists could prove difficult. The dilemma of appealing to both groups is discussed in more detail in section 5.2.4.

5.2.2 Reframing the 'Tourist'

The second practical suggestion towards fostering inclusivity in Katuaq depends on the reframing of understandings of what constitutes a tourist in the context of my study.

As a result of the 'Inuit cultural renaissance' which was described in section 4.2.2, many young Greenlanders feel like strangers to their 'traditional' culture. Rosa Flügge explains, "we're able to speak our language, but we don't know our traditions that much. The drumming and singing and tattooing … Even though it's ancient, it's still so very new" (Interview with Rosa Flügge). This illustrates that many Greenlanders are still learning about past traditions and about the lifestyles of their ancestors - that many Greenlanders, potentially, are tourists to their own 'traditional' culture. Insuk Kim, talking about Katuaq's regular Inuit Traditions event, recalls:

> "Last week, there was an Inuit Traditions event in Katuaq. I wanted to go there but I saw that the event will be in Greenlandic. I thought, if this is Inuit culture, why don't you want to show more people? … They could bring more audiences from outside, but they're only doing it in Greenlandic. Why are they showing Greenlandic traditions to Greenlandic people?"
>
> (Interview with Insuk Kim)

Although Insuk demonstrates some naivety regarding why Greenlanders would want to see their own culture performed, she makes an interesting point. Tourists have an interest in the same traditions that are being presented exclusively to a local audience. Making these Inuit Traditions events accessible to international visitors as well could be a way to encourage a contact zone between tourists and locals, since both groups would be approaching the event from similar perspectives, or at least from similar levels of previous knowledge.

In this way, then, cultural hybridity works not only to dispel boundaries between different cultures, but also to dispel the somewhat arbitrary dichotomy between 'tourists' and 'locals'. In creating a space which is used by both tourists and locals, it is beneficial if both groups have some points of comparison with each other, and the fact that both groups can be seen as tourists, at least if they are learning about 'traditional' Inuit cultural practices, could possibly be this basis. If cultural centres are to be seen as a space in which both tourists and locals can gather, there must be some fluidity between the two groups: the 'tourist-local' binary must be envisaged more as a continuum along which it is easy to move.

However, this suggestion may be difficult to put into practice considering the arguments by informants in section 4.5.2, that Greenlanders are motivated to perform only to members of their own cultural group, as a result of a will to strengthen their own culture. Locals may be unwilling to perform 'traditional' cultural practices for the benefit of tourists, if the aim behind the performance is in cultivating a renaissance of 'traditional' Greenlandic culture.

5.2.3 Constructing a Creative Space

Much of the dissatisfaction with Katuaq, from my informants who work in the creative industries, comes from a perceived lack of creativity within the centre. Many of my informants imagine that constructing spaces in which visitors can watch artists create will generate interest for both locals and tourists.

> "The tourists love this building. But if it worked as it should be working, it would be even more popular. People … could look into Greenlandic artists being creative. Doors should be opening - not just a conference hall, not just a cinema. It could be so much more."
>
> (Interview with Angu Motzfeldt)

> "I would love to be able to say, I'm going to Katuaq tomorrow at 8. I want to see these guys printing photography, inside what used to be a kitchen. And I would like to see a local artist paint her paintings, have a cup of coffee with her, it's open to the public - she opens her studio. She welcomes visitors from 7 to 8 … Without the integration you wouldn't have any dialogue or feedback … If I had the photo studio, I would be happy to invite school kids: would you like to see how I develop a film roll? It should be that kind of place."
>
> (Interview with Angu Motzfeldt)

Here, Angu envisages a situation in which Katuaq's rooms are used for their original purposes - as studios and workshops, and rented out to local artists for them to create in. Visitors to Katuaq would be invited into the studios to interact with the artists and watch them work. For Angu, this setup would be beneficial for the artists themselves, since they would receive input on their work

from visitors, and for the visitors, as they can witness culture being created, learn about artistic processes, and have dialogue with local artists. This could certainly be an effective way to appeal to both locals and tourists, and to encourage natural interaction between different cultural and social groups, and thereby a contact zone and between place.

5.2.4 Doing Cultural Tourism Differently

Some of the difficulty of seeing Katuaq as somewhere that can cater for both locals and tourists simultaneously originates from an assumption that tourists are only interested in events which are designed specifically for them: "If you're going in for a local cultural experience as the locals would do, you have all these. But if you expect an event that is for you as a foreigner coming to Greenland, it's not" (Interview with Arnakkuluk Kleist). It seems from this quote that Arnakkuluk views events for foreigners as having to be specifically tailored towards foreigners. However, as is argued in the Introduction, it is not necessarily the case today that cultural tourists need products that are specifically targeted at them. On the contrary, it is argued that cultural tourists are increasingly seeking opportunities to experience locals' everyday life play out in front of them (Richards, 2007). Rosa Flügge seems to agree with this theory:

> "I think they have to stick to the part that's actually their name, a 'cultural house', and not try to be so global. Because the culture house is not supposed to be global, it's supposed to be cultural … They should celebrate the cultural parts. Not the global services … And I think that that would make Katuaq much more appealing for other people, like, everyone."
>
> (Interview with Rosa Flügge)

Rosa sees a division between representing culture and adopting a global mindset. To her mind, Katuaq's focus on an international audience removes some of its cultural element. Conversely, she sees a more local focus as attracting a global audience; by actively focusing on the local culture, she argues that those outside the local culture would be attracted to Katuaq. In this sense, if it is an attraction for tourists simply to witness local people going about their everyday life, then Katuaq does not need to be a place that is overtly constructed for tourism. It simply needs to

be a place that is used on an everyday basis by the local community, but which also welcomes international visitors and is promoted to them. If Katuaq's management are able to change their attitude towards what constitutes a cultural tourism offering, and accept that it is enough for cultural tourists to have access to a space in which locals live out their everyday lives, then Katuaq can certainly be aimed towards a local audience yet simultaneously attract a global audience.

However, this potentially raises issues with 'gazing'. If Katuaq becomes a place in which locals enact their everyday lives but which tourists are also welcome to visit, it potentially becomes a place in which tourists simply 'gaze' on locals doing things. This is why activities within Katuaq need to involve both locals and tourists simultaneously and on the same level.

5.3 Summing Up

The field of tourism studies is riddled with dichotomies and conflicts; after all, the concept of tourism itself is based on the meeting of a person with a strange place, or the meeting of two people from cultures and places alien to each other (Hollinshead, 2006). What the case of Katuaq teaches us about developing and constructing places for tourism is that the simple placing together of two things that are somehow in conflict with one another does not create interaction and understanding. Much of the theory I have cited regarding cultural hybridity, identity renegotiation and placemaking in contexts of cultural conflict, suggests that it is this simple; however, in the case of Katuaq, different groups and purposes have found a way to work around each other in a fashion that infinitely avoids the kinds of meetings that many expect the centre to provide.

In Greenland, the development of cultural centres is an ongoing and extended process, and goes hand in hand with the development of tourism. It began 21 years ago with Katuaq promising more self-confidence and pride in Greenlandic culture - acting perhaps primarily as a third place. As tourism has grown in Greenland, attention has slowly been turning on to how cultural centres can be leveraged for tourism and cultural encounters as well, but there is a long way to go. In this sense, one can see the journey of Katuaq reflecting the evolution of spaces illustrated in my theoretical framework: from a third place, to a contact zone, to a between place.

It could be that this journey is simply taking a long time, and that Katuaq's development is as yet unfinished. As the two spheres of local community and tourism meet each other, currently Katuaq is struggling with the possibility of becoming a contact zone, and in the future, learning and understanding will result. Once this stage has been reached, Katuaq may operate successfully as a between place for people from all over the world - an environment in which, on an individual level, these conflicts can occur and reach the understanding phase in a much shorter period of time.

Cultural centres are an underrepresented topic in tourism scholarship, but this does not mean that they are unworthy of study. On the contrary, they provide tangible and localised cases through which one can explore the meeting of cultural groups and tourism dichotomies in action. Because of the abstract nature of the term 'culture', and its ability to be interpreted in many different ways, cultural centres do not have a single, definitive purpose. They do many different things for many different people, and this is why it is difficult to describe categorically the optimal way for them to be operated. However, in an increasingly globalised world, it is certain that cultural centres can no longer avoid being places of tourism. The case of Katuaq has shown that, even if you build a cultural centre in a location with minimal tourism, and do not market it to tourists, the tourists will eventually come anyway. For this reason, I argue that it is always necessary to consider tourists in the construction of cultural centres as spaces. The practical steps above can go some way towards inspiring thought about how they can be places for both tourists and locals.

Conclusion

This research was inspired by a visit to Nuuk's cultural centre, Katuaq. As an academic tourist in the centre, I relished the feeling that local culture was not being imposed upon me, but that I was able to use this apparent meeting space simultaneously with local people, and become a part of the city's ongoing 'everyday'. I wondered if the centre was a space which allowed tourists naturally to participate in everyday local culture.

I decided to examine Katuaq as a case study - the ways in which it is used by locals as a 'centre of culture', the role it plays for tourists, and, ultimately, whether or not it is in fact a space that is used inclusively to the benefit of both tourists and locals. My three research questions were as follows:

1)   How is culture performed and experienced within the cultural centre, Katuaq?

2)   What role do tourists and tourism play in the operation of the cultural centre, Katuaq?

3)   How can cultural centres be used more inclusively as spaces that benefit both tourists and the local community?

Existing literature on cultural centres identified four tensions at work in their operation, and I translated these into four theoretical themes that link to achieve a space that, as Katuaq claims to, meets the needs of both tourists and locals in an inclusive and interactive way. These were place, community, culture and tourists. I then linked these with relevant theories from the academic fields of tourism, placemaking and cultural studies, in the hope that they would eventually converge. Cultural hybridity (Bhabha, 1994), third places (Oldenburg & Brissett, 1982), fourth places (Aelbrecht, 2016) and contact zones (Pratt, 1991) all worked to combine these themes in different ways, but failing to find a theory which relevantly linked all four, I developed the theoretical model of the between place. Between places are contact zones that are fixed in a concrete place - physical buildings that are visited regularly by members of different cultural groups, and which foster cultural hybridity and increased understanding between locals and

tourists. They are places which I imagine to be an ideal for a cultural centre which, like Katuaq, claims to be both a space for community gathering and a tourist attraction.

My analysis section was structured around my three research questions, and tried to work methodically through my theoretical framework, although this proved difficult in practice. I first analysed contemporary local culture in Nuuk, and concluded that cultural hybridity, or indigenous cosmopolitanism (Forte, 2010), can be seen to characterise it. Looking specifically at my case, I found that this indigenous cosmopolitanism is to some extent performed within Katuaq. I then analysed how local culture is experienced in Katuaq and found that, for many informants, there is an elitism present in Katuaq which denies its qualification as a third place. This was argued to some extent to be a result of the cultural hybridity which characterises the space. Another reason for exclusivity in Katuaq was revealed to be its straddling of the public and private realm, which creates a division in the minds of my informants between cultural and commercial activities. Although public/private co-management is a characteristic of fourth places, it works to create exclusivity and thereby deny the space classification as a third place. I then analysed my informants' performance and experience of 'traditional' local culture in Katuaq, and discussed the 'Inuit cultural renaissance', which encourages inclusive events which strengthen local cultural identity and lend the space a 'fourth place' quality. To answer research question one, I concluded that culture is performed and experienced within Katuaq in a compartmentalised manner. A division is made between contemporary local culture and 'traditional' local culture, which does not represent the cultural hybridity that characterises culture in Nuuk. A second division occurs between commercial and public elements. Since the commercial elements are not considered by my informants to represent culture at all, many locals believe that Katuaq fails to perform culture.

I then examined the relationship between tourists and Katuaq. I argued that Katuaq is not used frequently by tourists and that many visitors are unimpressed or confused by the space. My analysis revealed another compartmentalisation in the operation of Katuaq: that of tourist events and local events. Although the space is perceived by some to be a tourist space, it is rarely seen

to represent a tourist space and a local space simultaneously. My analysis revealed international business tourists to be an important audience for Katuaq. However, for some of my informants this creates further tension, as they perceive Katuaq as altering its performance of local culture to make it more familiar for business visitors. From these findings I argued that Katuaq does not qualify as a contact zone, since tourist and local interaction rarely occurs there. To answer research question two, I concluded that tourists, when they do visit Katuaq, tend to use its commercial and Westernised aspects, and are therefore unlikely to receive a clear idea of what local culture is in Nuuk. Additionally, Katuaq's focus on business tourists is argued to encourage the exclusivity observed in previous analysis.

The discussion chapter began by concluding that my first impressions of Katuaq were wrong; it does not act as a between place, although elements of it reflect the theories used to develop the concept of between places. The success of the between place relies on contrasting limits meeting to foster progression in the space in-between them; within Katuaq, my analysis reveals contrasting limits, but these currently prevail as conflicts rather than meeting to encourage understanding. I answered research question three by positing innovative ideas as to how cultural centres could be more inclusive. The chapter concluded by arguing that cultural centres can no longer avoid being places of tourism, and that scholars should consider them localised cases to study tourism dichotomies in action.

Perspectives

My analysis raises broader questions which are central to tourism studies, but which are beyond the scope of my thesis to answer. Two interesting issues for further investigation are:

- The question of who has more authority in a cultural environment: Since culture is open to interpretation, is it inevitable that in labelling a space as cultural, some groups will always feel excluded or underrepresented?
- Between places are a response to a perpetual dilemma in tourism studies: how to generate natural interaction between hosts and guests. Why should culture for tourists necessarily

be different to culture for locals? Do tourists and locals really have to experience culture separately?

The original data I collected during fieldwork was very extensive and raised many issues which could have taken my thesis in completely different directions. Some interesting avenues of exploration include:

- Cultural centres, networks and mobility: What is the relationship between different cultural centres across Greenland? How do they operate as a network in a geographical context of incredibly limited mobility and distinctive local cultures?
- Cultural centres, individuality and identity: Is the creation of 'Westernised' spaces for cultural production contributing to more individuality and less nationalism in Greenlandic art and identity?
- Place, indigeneity and cultural centres: What is the relationship between the historic relocation of indigenous peoples into cities, and the cultural centres that are subsequently built to revive 'lost' cultural identity? Are cultural centres, particularly those that are built to reflect or merge into the natural landscape, an attempt to physically reconnect to a culture that places much importance on connection to the land? How can placemaking interact with culture to heal a separation between indigenous peoples and their land?

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Original Data

Chemnitz, Malik (2018) 'Semi-structured Interview with Malik Chemnitz'. Interview on 01 March 2018. Appendix H.

Cooper, Elizabeth (2018) 'Fieldwork Diary'. Relevant extracts of Fieldwork Diary pasted into Appendix R.

Eugenius, Naleraq (2018) 'Semi-structured Interview with Naleraq Eugenius'. Interview on 09 March 2018. Appendix M.

Flügge, Rosa (2018) 'Semi-structured Interview with Rosa Flügge'. Interview on 01 March 2018. Appendix G.

Germany, Lisa (2018) 'Facebook Conversation with Lisa Germany'. Conversation on 05 March 2018. Appendix Q.

Kim, Insuk (2018) 'Semi-structured Interview with Insuk Kim'. Interview on 26 February 2018. Appendix D.

Kleist, Arnakkuluk (2018) 'Semi-structured Interview with Arnakkuluk Kleist'. Interview on 02 March 2018. Appendix I.

Kreutzmann, Laila (2018) 'Semi-structured Interview with Laila Kreutzmann'. Interview on 08 March 2018. Appendix J.

Kristoffersen, Angunnguaq (2018) 'Semi-structured Interview with Angunnguaq Kristoffersen'. Interview on 26 February 2018. Appendix C.

Kristoffersen, Connie (2018) 'Semi-structured Interview with Connie Kristoffersen'. Interview on 28 February 2018. Appendix E.

Lumholt, Mads (2018) 'Semi-structured Interview with Mads Lumholt'. Interview on 16 March 2018. Appendix N.

Motzfeldt, Angu (2018) 'Semi-structured Interview with Angu Motzfeldt'. Interview on 01 March 2018. Appendix I.

Murray, Sarah (2018) 'Email Communication with Sarah Murray'. Email on 03 March 2018. Appendix P.

Ottesen, AneMarie (2018) 'Semi-structured Interview with AneMarie Ottesen'. Interview on 05 March 2018. Appendix K.

Pars, Julia (2018) 'Semi-structured Interview with Julia Pars'. Interview on 01 March 2018. Appendix F.

Støvlbæk, Arnajaraq (2018) 'Semi-structured Interview with Arnajaraq Støvlbæl'. Interview on 22 March 2018. Appendix O.

Thomsen, Miké (2018) 'Semi-structured Interview with Miké Thomsen'. Interview on 23 February 2018. Appendix B.