

The “wounds” of a colonial past

- A study on the represented history and identification of Greenlanders and Danes



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Abstract

When the Lutheran mission, led by the Norwegian priest Hans Egede, was established in Greenland in 1721, the relationship between Greenland and Denmark came to take shape through what subsequently has been defined as colonization. Through the G-50 policy, the implementation of Home Rule in 1979, and the Self-Governance Act in 2009, the colonial relationship faced its extinction, and progressions have been made towards Greenlandic independence. However, the representations of Greenlanders and Danes, stemming from the period of the Danish colonization of Greenland, continue to constitute challenges in the present-day relationship between the two nations.

Through the notions of Serge Moscovici's Theory of Social Representations and Henri Tajfel's Social Identity, combined with Frederic Bartlett's methodological approach, the present study seeks to understand how participants' social representations and social identities are dialectically co-constructed in the context of the relationship between Greenland and Denmark. The study's data is comprised of 24 participants' responses collected from an earlier pilot-study, which were obtained through an online questionnaire shared internally in the Greenlandic organization GUX Sisimiut.

It was found that 62,5% of the participants represented the Danish-Greenlandic historical relationship through colonization and its associated aftermaths. However, each participant's social representations and social identities were arguably mediated uniquely and congruently by the individual's orientation to the future intergroup relation as well as personal needs. It is discussed that there exist contemporary representations of Greenlandic social identity by means of culturally traditional Greenlandic practices, which implies references to the colonial period. In this sense, it is argued that the conflictual international relationship between Greenland and Denmark can be changed through altered representations. This process is argued to be on the rise from Greenlandic youth.

Lastly, it is recommended that future research applies alternative methodic frameworks, such as focus group interviews, to widen the possibilities of academic insights into the complex interconnectedness between representations and identities in the Danish-Greenlandic context. This approach would enable an analysis of how participants negotiate, transform, and/or reject existing representations, which would broaden the present study's limitative framework.

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1. Introduction

Last year I moved to the second-largest city in Greenland, Sisimiut, where I have lived with my wife and our newborn daughter since. What initially started as a professional adventure, working abroad in a foreign country far away from home, soon altered itself to an experience of living in a country, where we, as Danes, suddenly found ourselves implicated in a complex web of prejudice, power relations and constant confrontations with the historical past between Greenland and Denmark.

Walking around the local site “The Dog Town” – a geographical area established for keeping sled dogs – on one of the first days upon arrival, my wife and I were taking pictures of sled dog puppies. Suddenly, the owner of the puppies appeared, approached us, and put one of the puppies in my lap. Having just arrived a few days before, I remember the sense of happiness overwhelming me by *already* experiencing what Greenland had to offer. However, after a few minutes of conversation, we were confronted with the owner’s question: “Have your prejudices of Greenlanders been fulfilled yet?” Looking back, I would term it an *ambiguous* emotional experience being asked that question, and afterwards I have found that this question ignited an academic, and personal interest, in grasping what was contextually at stake. The academic interest has since expressed itself in a pilot study, conducted last year, leading up to the present master’s thesis. Accordingly, the academic interest has provided valuable insight into how Greenlanders’ and Danes’ social representations and social identities are interrelated, which will be expanded on in the present thesis.

1.1 Exhibition at the museum of Sisimiut

Walking into the exhibition held in the old blue church in the museum of Sisimiut, one will immediately notice the two digital interactive screens representing what in Greenlandic is called an *angakktut* (figure 1) (eng: Shaman), and a Danish priest (figure 2). Inarguably, the two screens serve to represent how Greenlandic society functioned before and after the Christianization in 1721 led by the missionary Hans Egede. One noteworthy aspect of the exhibition resides in the physical placement of the two screens, which is comprised of the screen of the *angakktut* far to the left, and the screen of the Danish priest far to the right thus establishing a physically long “distance” between the two. Personally, this spatial distance functions to create a perception of the *angakktut* and the priest as delineated incompatible, dichotomized and contrasting representations of the respective cultures and people.



Figure 1: Private photo, 16th of May, 2021, Sisimiut Museum

In interacting with the respective screens, the interactor is presented with the possibility of asking a series of questions and receiving acted-out answers. The questions available concern an explicatory answer to who the two digital persons represent, information about faith and beliefs, and family- and moral complexes (i.e., “*My wife can’t be with children, what do I do?*” and “*My father has been killed, how do I revenge*



Figure 2: Private photo, 16th of May, 2021, Sisimiut Museum

him?”. Arguably, the screens establish representations of the two respective historical cultures, which indirectly confronts the interactor with the historical meeting between Greenland and Denmark. Experiencing this exhibition as a self-perceived Dane, I couldn’t help but feel associated with cultural intrusion, dominance, and essentially colonization. Thus, besides being historically informative and exciting, I reflected upon how these interactive screens, as an example amongst other objects, serve to reinforce and maintain an incompatibility between the representations of Greenlandic and Danish culture, which lies at the concerns of the present thesis. Therefore, to map out the study’s academic foundation, a brief historical overview will be presented to then be followed by the study’s methodological considerations and a theoretical operationalization of social identity and social representations.

1.2 Brief historical overview of the Danish colonization of Greenland

1.2.1 The re-colonization of Greenland

In the year 1721, Hans Egede, a Norwegian¹ priest, set out to bring the “true” Lutheran faith to the descendants of the Norse people, who had settled in the southern part of Greenland – namely the areas of Qaqortoq and Nuuk – in year 982 (Sørensen, 2007). However, Hans Egede was unable to find Norse descendants, and instead, he found what was termed as “wild” people (Sørensen, 2007; Rud, 2017), the Eskimos, which was by Europeans portrayed almost “animal-like” (Rud, 2017). Due to the territory being regarded as Danish, the non-white- and non-Christian Eskimos, who Hans Egede found, were considered as the Danish King’s subjects, and were therefore sought Christianized

¹ Norway belonged to the kingdom of Denmark at this time in history

(Sørensen, 2007). The Christian Mission's primary aim was to root out paganism, and therefore didn't tolerate *shamanism*, which was personalized through the *angakut* (section 1.1), resulting in the destruction of a sense of authority in the Greenlandic societies (Sørensen, 2007; Rud, 2017). This *re-colonization* turned out to profoundly impact Greenland and its inhabitants for many years to come resulting in the clearance of paganism, conservation of Greenlandic language, and conversion from spoken to written words (due to the praxis of sharing Lutheran faith in mother tongue) as well as racial mixture between Europeans and Greenlanders (Sørensen, 2007). Therefore, in the late nineteenth century, there was no longer distinguished between genuine Greenlanders and crossbreeds – “*All were counted as Greenlanders*” (Sørensen, 2007, p. 19).

However, the colonial trade, which was established in Nuuk in relation to Hans Egede's Lutheran Mission, came to negatively affect the representations of *true Greenlandicness* (Rud, 2017). Hunters sold off their equipment and tools, which were essential for survival and seal-hunting, to buy colonially introduced goods such as coffee and tobacco thus resulting in an erosion of the traditional Greenlandic lifestyle (Rud, 2017). In this sense, the representation of a *true* Greenlander was intimately connected with the lifestyle of a hunter and was based on traditional aspects of the pre-colonized Greenlandic society. This established an early judgmental stance towards the colonized Greenlanders, which often were from the west coast (Rud, 2017). Those represented as “true” traditional Greenlanders often lived in the east – specifically *Ammassalik*² –, which was relatively unaffected by the colonial project from its outset (Rud, 2017). The colonization of Greenland thus soon came to result in a paradox by introducing Western elements and ways of living, worsening the conditions and effective hunting practices for traditional Greenlanders, combined with an aim to reinforce, and represent, “true” Greenlandicness in terms of a traditional hunter lifestyle. Amongst other aspects, such as mapping and discussions from Danish expeditions to Greenland, the understanding and representations of traditional Greenlandic living came to play a crucial role in the colonial administration and policies in the latter half of the nineteenth century (Rud, 2017). Arguably, the latter half of the nineteenth century revolved around balancing the conservation of tradition and the process of modernization (Rud, 2017).

² A town today called Tasiilaq

1.2.2 Greenland in the 1950s

Throughout the centuries the North Atlantic areas – Iceland, the Faroe Islands, and Greenland – have experienced differentiation. While the Faroes were represented in the Danish parliament on an equal basis with Danes from the mainland in the middle of the nineteenth century, Icelanders sought independence, which was given to them by the Danish king in 1918, to afterwards become an independent republic in 1944 (Sørensen, 2007). However, the nation of Greenland didn't experience this sort of development, rather, the rule of the Danish state continued, and reaching the end of WWII Greenland's colonial status was still obvious to the outside (Sørensen, 2007). In this sense, the nation of Denmark singlehandedly enacted laws concerning Greenland – with no Greenlandic representation in the parliament – and the Danish constitution wasn't covering Greenland convincingly (Sørensen, 2007). One could argue that Greenland's label as a *colony* was emphasized in 1947, when Denmark reported Greenland to the United Nations as a “[..] *non-self-governing territory* [..]”, alongside seventy-four other territories referred to as colonies (Sørensen, 2007, p. 108). Denmark acknowledged the pressure from the United Nations towards colonial powers and therefore sought to incorporate an act in the Danish constitution which was to represent Greenland equally in Danish politics. The act was formulated and presented multiple times to the Greenlandic provincial council throughout 1947-1952 (Sørensen, 2007). The process of equal representation was, however, stagnating due to a lack of Greenlandic involvement (Sørensen, 2007). Reaching the year 1952, the question of Greenlandic political representation was this time raised by the Greenlanders, and with an outside rising critical tone from the United Nations towards Denmark and its colonial affairs, a Danish referendum in 1953 implemented an act in the Danish constitution, which from then on integrated Greenland into Denmark on an equal footing (Sørensen, 2007). Denmark was no longer considered to be a colonial power, and “[..] *a new era in which Greenland would be on an equal footing with the rest of the realm was about to begin*” (Sørensen, 2007, p. 109f).

In the years following the constitutional act, also called the *G50*-policy, the Danish effort of trying to raise Greenland's societal standards to those of Denmark ended up being characteristic (Sørensen, 2007). Through the headlines of equality and colonial dissolve, the Greenlandic society should be aided in reaching the Danish societal level in terms of economy, civil rights, and standards of living, and as Sørensen argues: “*Never in the past had so much Danish been introduced in so short time*” (2007, p. 111). Inevitably, this afforded a rapid development, which gave rise to especially two challenges: 1) Greenlandic spectating rather than participation, and 2) equality for Greenlanders was

understood as having the same benefits as Danes, which was not the case for occupational wages (Sørensen, 2007). In the Danish effort to raise the Greenlandic societal standard, many Danish construction workers were shipped to Greenland. They were being paid higher salaries to motivate Danes to move to Greenland (Sørensen, 2007). In the years after the constitutional act, The Committee for Social Science Research in Greenland studied cooperation difficulties between Greenlanders and Danes in West Greenland and found interesting results (Sørensen, 2007). Without digging into the specific descriptions of themselves and the Other, the study concluded that “[..] *ordinary Greenlanders felt themselves ignored and disadvantaged*” (Sørensen, 2007, p. 120). In a sense, the modernization process required people with education and qualifications, which the Greenlanders had a hard time obtaining (Sørensen, 2007). By developing the Greenlandic society rapidly, there was no time to educate the Greenlanders to obtain the necessary qualifications for the positions occupied by Danes, which largely resulted in the Greenlandic development program being considered a Danish enterprise (Sørensen, 2007; Rud, 2017). Conclusively, a major implication was that “[..] *the obstacle for rapid development in Greenland was that the Greenlanders were too much Greenlandic*” (Sørensen, 2007, p. 120f).

1.2.3 The implementation of Home Rule

Forwarding to the 1970s an altered relationship between Greenland and Denmark was on the rise – Greenlanders sought greater responsibility in running Greenlandic affairs (Sørensen, 2007). However, the implementation of the Faroese *Home Rule Model* in Greenland came under serious consideration in 1972, when Denmark joined the Common Market, which Greenland voted against (Sørensen, 2007). Due to the Danish constitution, Greenland had to join the Common Market since the referendum about joining the Common Market had a Danish majority voting for it. Greenlanders feared a common fishery policy, which most likely would make it harder for Greenlanders to sustain the national economy, which largely relied on the fishing enterprise (Sørensen, 2007). Therefore, a Home Rule Committee was established in the early 1970s, which gave rise to the establishment of several upcoming political parties – one of them being *Siumut* (meaning “*forward*”) (Sørensen, 2007). In a report from the Home Rule Committee in 1975, the tone from *Siumut* was clear: “[..] *and the Greenlanders do not want to give up their language. On the contrary, they wish to maintain and strengthen it as a clear precondition for maintaining Greenlandic identity and culture. Once the Greenlandic language has been lost as the mother tongue and everyday language we are very much on our own way to extinction as a minority group*” (Sørensen, 2007, p. 147). The desire to stop being

spectators and start being *actors* in the Greenlandic development program was explicated (Rud, 2017). Home Rule was implemented in Greenland in 1979 as a system of governance, and Greenland left the Common Market in 1985 without any major conflict (Sørensen, 2007).

An important feature of the Home Rule was making Greenland more Greenlandic, which inevitably implied a reduction of the Danish guest workers and administrators, who had traveled to Greenland in the 1950s to aid in the Greenlandic societal development (Sørensen, 2007). Therefore, the large (Danish) state company – Royal Greenland Trade Department –, which managed all trade in and out of Greenland, had its responsibility transferred to the Home Rule Authority (Sørensen, 2007). Furthermore, Denmark was still financially aiding Greenland, however, the economic aid – the *block grants* – increased in terms of the amount of political and administrative responsibility the Home Rule authorities would take upon themselves (Sørensen, 2007). However, “*The idea was that the Danish treasury should neither loose nor gain by the transfer*” (Sørensen, 2007, p. 161). The aim of making Greenland more Greenlandic also implied building a stronger national pride and cultural differentiation from Denmark, which resulted in the Greenlandic newspaper, A/G³, inviting their readers to suggest national flags in 1978 (Sørensen, 2007). A new flag was implemented in 1985 on what came to be Greenland’s national day, the 21st of June. The Greenlandic national flag is a red/white flag (Danish colors) with a circle symbolizing a rising sun over the permanent ice and an iceberg in the reflected red water (Sørensen, 2007). The transfer of Danish political and administrative functions to Greenlandic responsibility had been a success, and by the year 2000 the Danish authorities’ role were largely supervisory, except for security policy (military and defense affairs) (Sørensen, 2007). It could be said that “*Legislation for Greenland is no longer a matter for Danish politics*” (Sørensen, 2007, p. 168).

1.2.4 The present-day situation

Sørensen (2007) argues that the relationship between Denmark and Greenland around 1900, irrespective of the character of the relationship since the Middle Ages, was perceived as colonial, which at the time enhanced Danish national prestige. By having been a non-European, non-Christian arctic hunter society the colony of Greenland, from 1721, was treated differently than Iceland and the Faroes – the policies were different and were more associated with other colonized countries’ policies (Sørensen, 2007). In a sense, from around 1900, the westernized Greenlanders (the elite) sought

³ Today called *Sermitsiaq AG*

equality with the Danes in Greenland – “*Their vision was to create a Danish-Greenlandic society as Danish as possible and as Greenlandic as necessary*” (Sørensen, 2007, p. 169). The effort to get rid of the “colonizers” through mass mobilization began ultimately in the 1970s (Sørensen, 2007).

Writing 2009, Greenland accomplished a higher degree of autonomy due to the implementation of the *Self-Government Act*, which has ignited debate over the past as well as the future relationship between Greenland and Denmark (Rud, 2017). As an example, the debate increased in intensity when the Greenlandic self-government (*Naalakkersuisut*) established a Reconciliation Commission in 2013, which was to investigate the effects and legacy of Danish colonization in Greenland (Rud, 2017). Rud (2017, p. 129) argues that “*The image of the modernization period as emblematic of destructive colonialism in Greenland has the capacity to evoke strong emotions*”, whereas shame could be considered one. In this sense, shame arguably plays a role in dealing with the colonial past, and one example stems from public statements of the then Greenlandic Prime Minister, Aleqa Hammond. In 2014 she acknowledged Greenlandic responsibility in some societal challenges and ascribed direct responsibility to Denmark’s colonization of Greenland in terms of other societal challenges (Rud, 2017). Another important historical event was the Danish deportation of twenty-two Greenlandic children to Denmark in 1951, which has haunted the represented relationship between Denmark and Greenland in newer times (Rud, 2017). The aim for “modernizing” those children was a Danish effort to create Greenland’s future leaders, however, the initiative had major consequences for the children resulting in the loss of familial ties and sense of culture, which arguably forced the involved Danish humanitarian organizations, Save The Children and Red Cross, to apologize publicly in 2010 (Rud, 2017). In this sense, the fate of the twenty-two deported Greenlandic children came to be (in Rud’s words) a strong *symbol* (or perhaps in terms of the present study: *representation*) of the shameful destructive Danish colonialism, which Denmark at times seeks to hide away (Rud, 2017). Likewise, Denmark has, through political statements, been able to mobilize the colonial past in two argued forms of nation-building: 1) utilizing iconic events (such as the deportation of the Greenlandic children in 1951) to build a community gathered around the recognition of the shameful colonial past, and 2) using the Danish-Greenlandic past as a source for national pride by considering Denmark as a role model colonizer (Rud, 2017). Furthermore, Rud (2017) argues that Greenlanders, in contrast, appear to have lesser opportunities to mobilize shame and pride.

Today stands a monument in one of Copenhagen’s city squares, celebrating Greenlandic culture through the depiction of three Inuit (two women and one man) with traditional tools (a kayak and an *Uluu* – a sharp kitchen tool) executing traditional activities (cleaning Greenlandic fish and

slaughtering a seal) (Rud, 2017). The monument represents an idealized Greenlandic culture, which was endorsed by colonial policies in the nineteenth century (Rud, 2017). On the other hand, the square with the monument also happens to be a hangout spot for socially marginalized Greenlanders, which symbolically raises the issue of the relationship between tradition and modernization in a present-day Greenlandic context (Rud, 2017). Importantly, throughout the 1960s and 1970s, amidst a rapid modernization process, the ethnographic descriptions (from hundred years earlier) became an important resource for Greenlandic identity and element in the Greenlandic striving for recognition and rights (Rud, 2017). In a sense, “*The modernization policies of the postcolonial phase became emblematic symbols of the colonial destruction of the Greenlandic culture*” (Rud, 2017, p. 147). Furthermore, Rud argues, the traditional image of Greenlandic identity, combined with hostility towards the modernization, has the risk of limiting the space for Greenlandic identity, why “*A more nuanced understanding of the colonial project in Greenland is a precondition for the opening of representations and self-representations in Greenland as well as Denmark*” (Rud, 2017, p. 147).

In line with the historical overview above, it is argued that the notions of representations and identity are paramount in defining the past, present, and future characteristics of the Danish-Greenlandic relationship. These two notions are considered important features in the process of mass mobilization, political agendas, potential reconciliation, and/or potential continuing incompatibilities between Danish and Greenlandic identity and representations. Therefore, the present study’s methodology will be founded on these notions. However, before operationalizing these, the next sections will touch upon the main methodological considerations of the study before operationalizing the notions of social representations and social identity.

1.4 Methodological foundations

1.4.1 Social constructionism

The main methodological aspect of the social constructionist ontology, which this study’s ontology descends from, is that individuals’ understanding, and perception of their world and its objects don’t reflect the nature of the world, rather, it reflects how the world is represented or constructed linguistically varying culturally and historically over time (Burr & Dick, 2017). Essentially, when people refer to themselves in circumstances as “*I feel..*” or “*I think..*” language is not merely describing the inner and external world, rather, language *constructs* these worlds (Burr & Dick, 2017). Conducting a study, which subscribes to the constructionist approach, inevitably entails the acceptance of multiple

perspectives, or utterances, on any given event at any given time, or as John Shotter (2008, p. 14) eloquently puts it: “*Different people in different positions at different moments will live in what they formulate as different realities*”. Therefore, the question of inter-individual representational variation isn’t a matter of correctness, rather, the variations are a matter of power relations and politics (Burr & Dick, 2017). This is at the core of the present study’s understanding in relation to the social representations of self-represented Danish and/or Greenlandic subjects.

Furthermore, the social constructionist ontology further dictates a constant awareness of the researcher’s own position and particular location in this exact study. In reflecting upon how this methodology can be canalized into a methodical procedure, it could be said that social constructionism’s research agenda is oriented towards “[...] *how language is used to build accounts and representations of people and events, and the implications of these*” (Burr & Dick, 2017, p. 78), which is why the methodological and methods approach will originate from this ontology.

1.4.2 The Bartlettian input

The present study’s methodology also inevitably subscribes to the methodology that Bartlett promoted due to the incorporation of Bartlettian methodical principles in the questionnaire – i.e., the *incomplete story* method (Wagoner, 2017). Bartlett aimed at creating insight over prediction by not stripping human responses down to simple elements (Wagoner, 2017). This can often be seen in the analysis (section 3), which tries to incorporate multiple aspects of the participants’ answers (i.e. social representation AND identification). Furthermore, through the notion of *conventionalization* – “[...] *the process by which foreign cultural elements are transformed toward familiar patterns when they enter a recipient group*” (Wagoner, 2017, p. 50) – the concept of *thinking* ought to differentiate according to an individual’s self-represented group membership, which is perceived to be of major importance in the present study’s investigative focus.

Bartlett advocated methodological holism meaning that he acknowledged the non-separable relationship between individual and environment (Wagoner, 2017). In this sense, Bartlett “[...] *aimed to show how a situated person actively responds to a meaningful situation with the help of previous experience*” (Wagoner, 2017, p. 47). This is also what Bartlett termed as *an effort after meaning*, implying that individuals try to connect presented elements at hand with something not present thus being *constructive* in their thinking in the attempt to comprehend unfamiliar material (Wagoner, 2017). This is also at the core of Bartlett’s notion of *everyday thinking*, which is defined as “*those activities by which most people, when they are not making any particular attempt to be logical or scientific, try to*

fill up gaps in information available to them” (Bartlett, 1958, p. 164, if. Wagoner, 2017, p. 181). Essentially, the present study seeks to find out what resources its participants draw on in their everyday thinking and how they respond to undetermined circumstances (identificatory and historical representations) in *open* rather than *closed* systems of questions (Wagoner, 2017).

The analytical process will furthermore pay respect to Bartlett’s concept of *attitude*, which perceives a subject’s respective response in a “[..] *holistic orientation and thus an unquantifiable psychological quality*” (Wagoner, 2017, p. 62). Thus, the concept of attitude makes an appeal to understand research subjects as idiographic interpreters of the same situation implicating a sensitivity to individual contributions and uniqueness (Wagoner, 2017).

Bartlett’s methodology accounts for a great part of the present study’s methodology, however, it wouldn’t be in the Bartlettian spirit to merely replicate a methodology, which is why the methodological considerations will be further explicated, expanded, and in a sense *reconstructed* for this specific project.

1.4.3 Moscovici’s Social Representations Theory

Besides being inspired by the social constructionist ontology and Bartlett’s experimental methodology, the present study’s analysis will also partly have its origins in Serge Moscovici’s *Theory of Social Representations*. This methodological leap is arguably an appropriate one due to Serge Moscovici’s theory of social representations owing a great deal to Bartlett’s thinking; and Bartlett’s concept of *conventionalization* has helped Moscovici to grasp his own notion of *anchoring* more clearly (Moscovici & Markova, 1998, p. 389, if. Wagoner, 2017).

Originating from Emile Durkheim’s concepts of *collective* and *individual representations*, social representations were introduced in 1961 by Serge Moscovici (Sammut & Howarth, 2014) and is defined as “[..] *systems of ideas, values, and practices constructed by social groups with the twofold function of enabling orientation to the world and providing a code of communication for its members*” (Moscovici, 1973, if. Wagoner, 2017, p. 107). Inspired by Bartlett, Moscovici argued that social representations’ function is the transformation of unfamiliarity to something familiar (Moscovici, 1984, p. 25, if. Wagoner, 2017; Sammut & Howarth, 2014). The notion of social representation involves the processes of *objectification* and *anchoring* (Wagoner, 2017; Sammut & Howarth, 2014), where objectification is defined as a projection of what is in the mind into the world thus resulting in making the abstract concrete (Wagoner, 2017) often through images and propositions (Moscovici, 1984, if.

Sammut & Howarth, 2014). Anchoring on the other hand is a biased tool, which groups use to bring the unfamiliar material into its own symbolic universe through processes of classification (Wagoner, 2017; Sammut & Howarth, 2014) or, as Bartlett argued through the concept of conventionalization – transforming foreign cultural elements into familiar patterns.

Sammut and Howarth (2014) argue that through the notions of anchoring and objectification people “[.] take on particular “presentations” of socially significant objects and reinterpret them to fit with what we know “already”” (p. 1800). In this process, the social representation thus has a transformative nature, which implies that a social representation isn’t merely a “template”, rather, as Jodelet argues: it provides the individual with agency and can be “used for acting in the world and on others” (1991, p. 44, if. Sammut & Howarth, 2014, p. 1800). Thus, the individual can react to, reject or reform presentations of the world conflicting with the individual’s self-concepts such as identity and position (Sammut & Howarth, 2014).

The present study’s methodology resides in the hypothesis that there exists a relation between social representations and social identity, where we shall now turn to the latter.

1.4.4 Social Identity Theory

Social Identity Theory (SIT) is a theoretical perspective, which rose from the early work of Henri Tajfel on applying cognitive grouping and gestalt phenomena to social groups (Islam, 2014). Tajfel defined social identity as “*the individual’s knowledge that he belongs to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance to him of the group membership*” (Tajfel, 1972a, p. 31, if. Abrams & Hogg, 1990, p. 7), where a social group is “*two or more individuals who share a common social identification of themselves or, which is nearly the same thing, perceive themselves to be members of the same social category*” (Turner, 1982, p. 15, if. Abrams & Hogg, 1990, p. 7). In its essence SIT tries to explain intergroup conflict as a result of an individual’s group-based self-definitions (Islam, 2014). The individual’s sense of group-belongingness is considered psychological and is perceived by Abrams & Hogg (1990) as “[.] phenomenologically real and has important self-evaluative consequences” (p. 7). Thus, individuals tend to not merely describe themselves through group-belonging, rather, social identity is in a sense agentic, which, amongst other processes, involves the *categorization* of in-group and out-group characteristics with an argued individual tendency to perceive one’s in-group in a positive manner vis-à-vis out-groups (Islam, 2014). As Jenkins puts it: “*Who we think we are is intimately related to who we think others are, and vice versa*” (Jenkins, 2008, p. 12), which inevitably implies biased and affording representations of both in- and out-group.

Following SIT, an individual's categorization arguably affords *positive in-group bias*, which has its roots in the idea that “[...] *the in-group comes to take on a self-relevant role, where the person defines him/herself through the group*” (Islam, 2014, p. 1781f), ultimately resulting in perceiving group threats as threats to the self. Therefore, one would argue from a theoretical standpoint of SIT, that an individual's treatment of out-group members is directed by the motive to protect or positively raise the sense of self (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, if. Islam, 2014) through social identification – or group-belongingness – arguably affording in-group favoritism and out-group discrimination (Jenkins, 2008).

Lastly, great resonance can be found between the study's methodology and Jenkins' (2008) understanding of identity as a *process* rather than a settled or fixed matter. In this sense, “*Identity can only be understood as a process of “being” or “becoming”*” (Jenkins, 2008, p. 17), which is a constant process intermingled with, and made of, collectives, similarities and differences, negotiations, agreements and disagreements, and reciprocity of individuals (Jenkins, 2008). Therefore, great importance must also be ascribed to the argument that individuals self-categorize (identify) differently across contexts and associated contingencies (Jenkins, 2008).

The next section will briefly present the possible connections between social representations and social identity to create a foundational understanding of how this connection is utilized throughout the analysis.

1.4.5 Social Representations and Social Identity

In a summary of Tajfel's SIT, Jenkins (2008) explains that group membership is “[...] *a shared representation of who one is and the appropriate behavior attached to who one is*” (p. 112f). In this manner, the notion of *representation* seems paramount in the process of categorization (who one is), which is perceived to be one of the foundational aspects of SIT. Likewise, Breakwell (1993) argues that the two theoretical perspectives can supplement each other due to SIT having been too narrowly focused on conflict and differentiation between groups (Tajfel & Turner, 1986, if. Breakwell, 1993). In this sense, combining SIT with Social Representations Theory would provide a broader scope for identity processes instead of restricting them to being mainly related to intergroup conflicts. On the contrary, Breakwell (1993) also argues that SIT can provide Social Representations Theory with valuable insights in terms of understanding processes giving shape to uttered representations as well as what *function* social representations have beyond conventionalizing new knowledge (Breakwell, 1993).

Perhaps, one could argue, SIT provides Social Representations Theory with an understanding of the human motivation behind representations, while Social Representations Theory offers SIT the opportunity to look beyond intergroup conflict and investigate how identities (as processes) are constructed, negotiated, and established through other functions than the self-motivating aspects of SIT.

Conclusively, it's important to acknowledge that social representations and (the becoming of) identities are perceived in a processual manner, thus having a dialectic relationship by the processes happening simultaneously and influencing each other. In this sense, representations and identities are operationalized as co-constituting and the one would not be possible without the other as the one always entails the other. These considerations create the premise for which the following research question can be posed:

How are identities and representations of history dialectically co-constructed in the context of the relationship between Greenland and Denmark?

2. Method

The coming sections will provide an insight into the present study's methods, inspired by Uwe Flick & Juliet Foster's (2017) ten-step model for studying social representations in qualitative research, to map out on which premises the study's data were collected and approached.

2.1 Establishing the methodic foundations

Initially, it's crucial to acknowledge that the present study perceives an individual's (process of) social identity and social representations as unfolding simultaneously. However, by perceiving social representations as the mediator for social identity, social representations will be the main focus of the methods. Therefore, the coming sections will be oriented towards methodologically applying the concept of social representations. Conclusively, it's noteworthy to pay attention to Flick & Foster's (2017, p. 336) argument that "*Social representations is neither a label for a methodological approach nor for a particular method*", which illuminates the modificatory and open aspect of qualitative research utilizing the concept of social representations.

2.1.1 Setting up the study (step 1-4)

Flick & Foster (2017) describe the first four steps of using qualitative methods for studying social representations in the following way: "*1) identify an issue for your study, 2) develop a research question for your study, 3) define the issue of the social representations of which you want to study, 4) consider who or what are expected to be the carriers of the social representations*" (p. 344).

Approaching the steps sequentially and bearing in mind that the present thesis is a continuation of an explorative pilot study, the identification of an academic issue arose (in accordance with the introduction) when the researcher personally experienced being confronted with expected prejudice from a local. In this sense, this ignited an academic focus on the potential intergroup conflict between Greenlanders and Danes, which was expressed in the pilot study's research question as: "*How do Greenlanders and Danes construct national identification and how does this influence their interpretations of stories containing ethnic categories*". The pilot study's collected data were gathered through an online questionnaire⁴, produced through SurveyXact with AAU-access, which was comprised by three parts: 1) self-perceived identification, 2) representation of the historical relationship between Greenland and Denmark, and 3) interpretation of unfinished stories with Greenlandic and

⁴ The questionnaire is available in Appendix A

Danish characters. The analysis was carried out with a discourse-analytical approach focusing on the discursive constructs and functions of one participant. However, a major alteration has been implemented in the transition from the pilot study to the present master's thesis. In expanding the utilized data from one participant to the full dataset ($N = 24$) it was possible to conduct a more varied and in-depth analysis. Therefore, section 3 of the questionnaire (interpretation of unfinished stories) is not attended to in the present study due to the argument that potential intergroup conflicts and prejudices, which arguably were found, is perceived to be stemming from the historical representations, which the participants provided in section 2 of the questionnaire. At the core of the present study is the focus on individual differentiation in identification and representations, which is why data from sections 1 (identification) and 2 (historical representations of the Greenlandic-Danish relationship) is conserved and analyzed.

This alteration thus afforded a changed research question, which in the present study is composed in the following manner: *“How are identities and representations of history dialectically co-constructed in the context of the relationship between Greenland and Denmark?”*. In this sense, the aim, following Flick & Foster's (2017) point three, was to investigate the functions of representations of identity and history, how these were carried out, and whether said representations about the nations or people, of Greenland and Denmark, gave rise to potential present-day conflicts. The *carriers* of relevant potentially different representations were/are perceived to be self-represented Greenlanders/Danes, and there was put no emphasis on demands in terms of age, gender, socioeconomic status, and occupation. In this sense, the characteristics of the study's sample can thus be seen as a result of the available platforms (the high school – GUX – in Sisimiut) for data collection.

2.1.2 Collecting data (step 5-7)

Next, Flick & Foster describe the following steps as: *“5) create a research design which adopts a comparative perspective (on different groups for example), 6) choose a sampling strategy, which should aim to find members of the groups mentioned above, 7) select a method, or a combination of methods, for data collection which is able to address the parts of a social representation to be studied”* (2017, p. 344f).

Retrospectively, the procedure of the initial pilot-study, and its data collection, arguably follows the step-by-step guide posed by Flick & Foster (2017). In this sense, the utilized online questionnaire was designed in a way that enabled the opportunity of a relatively “open” identification in regard to the identity categories of *Greenlandic* and *Danish* thus increasing the possibility of comparison

between subjects (and groups). The questionnaire's identification part consisted of four questions comprised of the two questions "*I feel Danish, because:*" and "*I feel Greenlandic, because:*", as well as their negating versions: "*I feel Danish, but:*" and "*I feel Greenlandic, but:*". These boxes arguably gave rise to a nuanced identificatory pattern for the study's participants.

The sampling of the participants was executed through the organizational e-mail at GUX Sisimiut, where the researcher worked. Furthermore, the questionnaire was also shared in a collective message on the online scheduling platform, Lectio, which the high school students and teachers (both geographically in Greenland and Denmark), who were/are associated with GUX Sisimiut, could access. To clarify: sampled participants residing in Denmark are thus still associated with GUX Sisimiut entailing having been in Sisimiut, Greenland, at least once or multiple times, and/or having worked with Greenlanders/Danes residing in Greenland.

Lastly, in relation to Flick & Foster's (2017) point seven, the utilization of an open-ended electronic qualitative questionnaire stressed the importance of having no structured *closed* questions. Therefore, the frame for answering was considered broad due to participants having to write out answers in text boxes instead of checking different pre-made answers. Arguably, one must acknowledge and recognize that the questionnaire was produced before the acquaintance with the present study's utilization of social representations, which thus implies a reversed process in relation to Flick and Foster's steps – namely that the initial research design, and data, enabled the succeeding focus on social representations and the employment of Flick and Foster's (2017) approach to studying social representations.

2.1.3 Writing the analysis (step 8-9)

When the data collection ended, the foundation for the analysis constituted a total number of 24 responses, spread across 16 women and 8 men with the mean age of 33,16 (SD = 13,1 years). Following Flick & Foster, the analytical process contains the following: "8) *choose a method for analysing the data which is able to encompass the analytic attitude of social representations, or modify an existing technique for that purpose, 9) write up your analysis with the focus on showing the differences in the representations among the groups*" (2017, p. 344f).

Great analytical inspiration has to be paid to Flick & Foster, who, besides arguing that academic methods must be modified to fit Social Representations Theory, argue that in utilizing the concept of social representations "[...] *the intention is to examine any differences between social groups in what they know about a specific issue – in the representations of this issue they hold*" (2017, p. 343). The

analysis finds great inspiration from this; however, an essential modificatory aspect resides in the stressing of the comparative analysis of single cases in light of represented Danish/Greenlandic social identities rather than comparing the two groups in a generalized and non-idiographic way. In a sense, the analytical stance is a step from group comparison to the comparison of individuals on behalf of group belongingness.

Flick (2014, if. Flick & Foster, 2017) suggests using thematic coding as a *multistage* variant. In the present study, the thematic coding in a multistage approach will be interpreted, and executed, in a condensed way as following:

- 1) *Address each response as single cases containing a short description, central topics, and relevant participant information.* This step was executed by systematizing participant responses in an Excel spreadsheet followed by processing each response as a single case in a separate Word document. This initial process implied writing down initial thoughts, important descriptive aspects of a participant's whole answer, and potential ideas appearing.
- 2) *Development of themes for each case constituted by data excerpts.* This analytic step involved the process of open coding of the responses thus serving to establish the foundation of a potential thematic structure. The themes were established by the researcher with the analytic interest of social identity and social representations and their theoretical implications as operationalized in the present study.
- 3) *Cross-check themes across the dataset in the search of creating a thematic structure.* This process involved a focus on themes across participants containing elements of represented conflict through either social representations or social identity as well as the degree of comparability. Arguably, this part of the analytic process was largely guided by reading the historical material from Rud (2017) and Sørensen (2007), which laid the foundation for understanding the history between Greenland and Denmark as conflictual. Therefore, there resides a thematic focus of conflict in the analysis, however, in a hope to achieve a nuanced analysis, responses concerning "non-conflict" (though still containing potentially conflicting elements) are also incorporated.
- 4) *Establishment of a thematic structure enabling participant comparability in terms of social representations and social identity.* The themes of the single cases were read and re-read multiple times in the search of establishing a thematic structure. It was purposefully sought to create relatively broad and open superordinate themes, which would have the potential to encapsulate potentially incomparable single case themes in the hope of ensuring a nuanced and varied analysis of the data. On behalf of the thematic structure, participants were compared to each other in terms

of individual representations with identity functioning as a foundation of comparison, rather than a focus on group comparison, which would entail treating some participants as belonging to a certain group even though they perhaps would distance themselves from said group. The thematic structure was categorized in the following way (figure 3):

<i>First part of the questionnaire concerning identification</i>	<i>Second part of the questionnaire concerning social representations of the historical relationship between Greenland and Denmark</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The social representation of being “Greenlandic” and “Danish” • Cognitive polyphasia as discrepancy in representations of “Greenlandic” and “Danish” • Contesting hegemonic social representations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Representations of oppression and colonization • Representations of a nuanced relationship • Representations of Danish depreciation and collective guilt

Figure 3: Established thematic structure guiding the analysis

The analysis was thus conducted in the lights of the established thematic structure serving to provide a frame of inter-individual comparison across the dataset. In a sense, it could be argued that the considerations above are the explicatory elements of the analysis, which in a sense arguably neglect the latent elements guiding the analytic work. Hopefully, the aim of bringing those to the fore in the next section will succeed.

2.1.4 The role of the researcher (step 10)

Conducting a study based on methodological aspects of social representations, Flick & Foster (2017) argue that the researcher’s representations should be acknowledged and explored as an important element in the analysis of participants’ representations. Flick & Foster argue: “*Given the multiplicity of perspectives within society, and the way that our representations shape our identities (Duveen, 2001), it is impossible for the researcher to step outside his or her own representations when engaging in any research*” (2017, p. 344). Therefore, one argument resides in the impossibility of “stepping” out of one’s own representations, furthermore, Flick & Foster (2017) argue that these representations could serve as an important tool in understanding the analytical perspectives. We shall therefore next turn to a brief paragraph attempting to explicate the researcher’s relevant representations,

where the writing style will shortly shift from the academic third-person style of writing (e.g., “the researcher”) to that of a first-person perspective (“I”).

Initially, it could be important to explicate that I represent myself as exclusively Danish in Greenland. This representation has largely been afforded by acts done to me by what I represent as ethnic Greenlanders – people who biologically look different from myself (skin-color, dark-haired, eyes of traditionally depicted Inuit), and who have a specific Danish accent, which I associate with being Greenlandic. I have been interrogated, as I have felt it, multiple times concerning my presence in Greenland, and at times I have felt that I needed to justify being here. However, I do also understand the relationship between “Danish” and “Greenlandic” as conflictual and it has appeared to me that there exist important effects of the aftermath of Danish colonization. These unfold in the everyday life of the present-day Greenlander, who doesn’t speak Danish sufficiently. If one experiences challenges with speaking Danish in Greenland, an interpreter will be offered when consulting the doctor, a psychologist, a physiotherapist, and sometimes it can even be difficult to get help at the local clothing store due to the clerk not speaking Greenlandic. In a sense, I get to think of how this can give rise to the feeling of being a stranger in one’s own nation. Arguably, I thus take a position of understanding discriminative acts taken against me on behalf of my looks and language, and I feel the urge to socially recognize, and acknowledge, how my label of identity potentially awakes historical wounds of the past associated with oppression and inequality. However, I am also of the understanding that I am, as a unique individual, not deducible to the past wrongdoings of my historical countrymen, which is why I experience personal ambivalence by residing in Greenland as a Dane.

Concluding, I hope that these considerations give rise to understand the inevitable intertwining between my own representations and the participants’ representations. The reader should therefore acknowledge, as the study’s methodological section inspired by John Shotter (2008) argues, that I, as the researcher, conduct research from a specific position of complex power relations intertwined in historical and ethnic structures, which influences the way I represent the participants’ representations.

3. Analysis

The following analytical sections will examine the data obtained from the two elected parts of the questionnaire, which entails an analysis of two major themes being 1) constituent social representation(s) – interchangeably termed as “social identities” – of “Danish” and “Greenlandic” and 2) social representation(s) of the historical relationship between Greenland and Denmark. By utilizing methods and methodological aspects from Frederic Bartlett’s work, it seemed appropriate to also follow in the footsteps of his analytic strategy by bringing the reader of this study close to the appointed analyzed phenomena (Wagoner, 2017) by presenting participants’ full answer. In this sense, multiple elements of participants’ answers, from their completed questionnaire, are at times incorporated into the analysis. As the analysis pays respect to the ideography of participants’ responses, there will be incorporated different theoretic perspectives, which inevitably serves to combine elements of analysis and discussion.

3.1 The social representation(s) of “Greenlandic” and “Danish”

In this part of the analysis, it’s paramount to distinguish between theoretical approaches in relation to analyzing the data. Probing an answer to the “unfinished” sentence of for example “*I feel Greenlandic, because:*” entails an analytical interest in identification- and/or identity processes. However, with the present study’s methods and methodological background the analytical focus will examine social identities as mediated through social representations. In this sense, social identities become examinable through representations. In analyzing the 24 participants’ responses to the first part of the questionnaire (concerned with nationality), especially two major aspects show. Firstly, the data will be interpreted in accordance with the social representations at face value – *how* the social identities are represented –, and secondly, these social representations will be analyzed in terms of understanding potential constituting hegemonic representational structures, discrepancies, and contestations.

3.1.1 The social representation of being “Greenlandic” and “Danish”

Analyzing the participants’ responses and perceiving these at face value, it appears that the social representation of “Greenlandic” and “Danish” is largely oriented towards ethnic and national markers. These markers are mainly, though varying, constituted of 1) *being born and raised in Greenland/Denmark* (18 participants), 2) *having family belonging to that ethnic category* (8 participants), 3) *speaking the language* (8 participants) and 4) *looking Greenlandic/Danish* (3 participants). One

example could be found in participant 1's answer, who solely answered one out of the four boxes (I feel Greenlandic/Danish because/but:). In response to "*I feel Greenlandic, because:*", she answered:

Jeg er født og opvokset i Grønland.

Woman, 50 y/o, residing in Greenland

Answering the box "*I feel Greenlandic, because:*" while leaving the others blank, could be analyzed in terms of representational means. Of course, extended meaning can't be ascribed to the fact that the participant left out three answers, however, it could be interesting to consider potential meaning in relation to Ivana Marková's (2012) discussion on *figures* in social representations. Markova (2012) refers to a study by Arruda & Uulup (2007) on represented mental maps of Brazil and the associated discussion concerning the presence of depicted blank spaces in the center or center-west region of Brazil. As the blank spaces surely could be considered as lack of knowledge, the authors hold that "[...] it is more likely that these distant places in the center of Brazil express strangeness from which subjects wish to dissociate" (Marková, 2012, p. 501). The blank spaces could likewise serve as occupational reminders of the past leading to the argument that "[...] emptiness does not always mean nonexistence but a choice or a defense" (Arruda, Gonçalves & Mululo, 2008, if. Marková, 2012, p. 501). While paying respect to and acknowledging that textually written answers in the questionnaire aren't represented on the same terms as drawn mental maps of Brazil, while also acknowledging the historical variations of Brazil and Greenland, the argument of emptiness as not equivalating nonexistence remains fruitful. In this excerpt "Greenlandic" is represented as constituted of being born and having grown up in Greenland while excluding "Danish" representational means.

Another participant, number 14, who also answers one out of four boxes, illustrates the representational importance of ethnically familial ties in relation to feeling Greenlandic:

Mine forældre er grønlandere, også fordi jeg er opvokset i Grønland blandt grønlandske mennesker.

Woman, 24 y/o, residing in Greenland

The excerpts and the majority of the data set convey the emphasis of representing "Greenlandic" and "Danish" in terms of markers that categorically link, in whatever form it takes, the participants to the national country. However, as will be analyzed later, the data also shows that this representation, when confronted with the "*I feel Greenlandic/Danish, but:*"-option, don't suffice, since social representations contain complexities, and even discrepancies (Marková, 2012; Sammut & Howarth, 2014).

For good measure, the following will be an example of a “Danish” representation from participant 18, who also solely answered the Danish identifying box while leaving the others blank:

Jeg primært taler dansk og er født og opvokset i en del af Danmark.

Man, 62 y/o, residing in Denmark

In accordance with the beforementioned second theme, it could be argued that the part of the questionnaire, in its investigation of how “Greenlandic” and “Danish” are socially represented, in fact, investigates an underlying structural social representation of *nationality* as well. This is largely due to the reason that the general consensus across the dataset, though with exception of one participant’s response, centers around the same premises in representing the categories of “Greenlandic” and “Danish”. 23 out of 24 participants utilize one, or multiple, marker(s) in the representation of the national categories, namely that of 1) *being born and raised*, 2) *having family belonging to that ethnic category*, 3) *speaking the language* and 4) *looking Greenlandic/Danish*. In large, it seems as if the participants represent a generic notion of nationality. In this sense, it’s not clarified what having a Greenlandic family and looking like a Greenlander entails. It seems as if the notion of “Greenlandic” and “Danish” in these contexts are used as a discriminatory entity rather than an explication of the category’s constituents. Below is another example of this thought from a Danish participant – number 12. In relation to “*I feel Danish, because:*” he answers:

Jeg er vokset op med dansk kultur og taler dansk

Male, 43 y/o, residing in Greenland

By referring to Gerard Duveen (Moscovici et al., 2013) the notion of *culture* can sometimes be used in a hindering way. In the Danish example above, the notion of culture could be considered as a discriminating entity entailing that all members of Danish culture would share the same sets of beliefs, values, and practices – social representations –, while being different from other communities or cultures (Greenlandic as an example), which have their own social representations (Moscovici et al., 2013). Essentially, this defines culture as a categorical phenomenon emphasizing differences between cultures while minimizing intracultural variation. Again, it could be argued that this excerpt represents nationality as having grown up with a certain culture, however, doesn’t explicate a representation of the actual category. This discussion, however, could of course also be perceived as a crucial critique of the questionnaire in the lack of probing explicated representations of the categories.

The utilized excerpts do in some way convey important insights into the understanding of social representations of “Greenlandic” and “Danish”. In this sense, the social representation of either category largely entails being born and raised in X, speaking X, looking X, and having a family belonging to X. Therefore, the categorical social representations explicate an amount of exclusivity. Being born and raised in X thus implies not being born and raised in Y. This representational and categorical logic also applies to the other beforementioned signifiers (family, language, and looks). The concept of what one might call the social representation of exclusive nationality (social identity), which is common ground for many of the participants, provides valuable explanatory information in terms of the coming analysis of discrepancy, or perhaps more correctly termed in the following as *cognitive polyphasia*.

3.1.2 Cognitive polyphasia as discrepancy in representations of “Greenlandic” and “Danish”

Serge Moscovici’s notion of *cognitive polyphasia* (Sammut & Howarth, 2014) becomes relevant in the sense that each probe in the questionnaire’s section on nationality (“I feel Greenlandic, because:” and “I feel Danish, because:”) contains a negating version (“I feel Greenlandic, but:” and “I feel Danish, but:”). Cognitive polyphasia implies “[...] *that different and potentially incompatible systems of knowledge can coexist within one social group and can be employed by one and the same individual*” (Sammut & Howarth, 2014, p. 1800; Moscovici et al., 2013). In a sense, cognitive polyphasia is considered the “[...] *co-existence of distinct modalities of thinking and communication in common sense knowledge*” (Moscovici, 2008, if. Marková, 2012, p. 498f). Utilizing the notion of cognitive polyphasia, this analytical section will thus occupy itself with investigating represented incompatible modalities of thinking by individuals to consider the implications of these. Informatively, the coming excerpts will be presented with multiple of the participants’ answers which is why the questionnaire’s probes are marked “Q”, while the participants’ answers are marked “P”.

One of the most explicative examples of cognitive polyphasia in the study’s dataset arises in the dividing intersection between how participants represent themselves while at the same time incorporating the relational (termed the “Alter”, as the entity in the Ego-Alter relation (Marková, 2012)) modalities of thinking. In the following example, the participant draws upon several modalities of thinking (social representations) which conflict in relation to how participant 2 identifies.

Q: Jeg føler mig grønlandsk, fordi:

P: Fordi min mor er grønlander og jeg har boet her hele mit liv

Q: Jeg føler mig grønlandsk, men:
P: Føler at folk ser mig som dansk fordi jeg er halvt dansk
Q: Jeg føler mig dansk, fordi:
P: Fordi min far er dansk
Q: Jeg føler mig dansk, men:
P: Bliver set som grønlander i Danmark
 Male, 19 y/o, residing in Greenland

In the excerpt above it is illuminated how the social representation of nationality (and of Greenlandic and Danish respectively) bears conflict with it due to the intra-representational variance. The participant contextually draws on a commonly shared social representation of nationality consisting of specific markers in the “enabling” versions of the probes. In this sense, the participant utilizes the geographical location of growing up and familial ties as representational elements in feeling Greenlandic and Danish. However, reaching the negating probes, the participant experiences permissive self-categorical challenges due to the implications of cognitive polyphasia in aligning the two national categories. This could be analyzed as acknowledging how “people” (dansk: *folk*) represent Greenlandic and Danish as mutually exclusive.

However, the excerpt also affords important meta-representational knowledge. In this sense, the participant represents *people*, arbitrary national groups distinct from the participant himself, in Greenland and Denmark as relatively rigid in terms of national apprehension. Essentially, the possibility of belonging to both national categories is relationally not a possibility due to hegemonic exclusive social representations of nationality. In this sense, Kay Deaux and Shaun Wiley (2007, p. 11) define hegemonic representations, in reference to Moscovici (1988), as representations that are “[..] *consensually shared by all members of a society and constitute the collective reality about a given social topic*”. Therefore, it could be argued that the participant shares the hegemonic social representation of nationality (and thus the representations of Greenlandic and Danish), while also representing the vast majority of people in Denmark and Greenland as rigid or inflexible in terms of acknowledging a “mix” of national categories, which has historically been the situation in Greenland (Rud, 2017). Arguably, the participant represents himself in terms of hegemonic social representations thus not rejecting or transforming these on any level. This intersection between utilizing and rejecting and/or transforming private (not individual) hegemonic representations in terms of what the participants perceive themselves as also become relevant in participant 23’s response:

Q: Jeg føler mig grønlandsk, fordi:

P: Jeg føler mig grønlandsk fordi at jeg er født og opvokset i GL og lever med den grønlandske kultur

Q: Jeg føler mig grønlandsk, men:

P: Da jeg gik på folkeskole kan jeg huske at jeg blev drillet fordi jeg talte mest dansk, hvor jeg blev kaldt "dansker". Men det har aldrig påvirket mig så jeg har altid følt mig grønlandsk.

Woman, 18 y/o, residing in Greenland

The participant abstains from filling out the probes regarding feeling Danish thus indicating that she doesn't represent herself as adhering to this social identity. In this sense, the answer conveys an interesting insight into a person being confronted with exclusive hegemonic nationality social representations, which even lead to her being teased in elementary school (dansk: *folkeskole*). Due to speaking primarily Danish, she was represented (teased) as a "Dane" (dansk: *dansker*). This answer provides an example of an individual confronted with the hegemonic social representation of the national group, who, however, still manages to privately reject to adhere to others' representation of her based on her speech. This differentiates from participant 2, who representationally positions himself in, not a passive, but perhaps a more conform stance by solely describing how others represent him without rejecting, transforming, or somehow provide alteration to the representation.

Relationally, the connotation of "Dane" in participant 23's answer is represented as negatively laden in the sense that it is something the participant was teased with. Therefore, this excerpt provides further detail to the excerpt of participant 2 described above. Participant 2 represents the vast majority of people as representing him as Danish due to having Danish familial ties. However, participant 2's representation of "people" seeing him as Danish/Greenlandic is worded in an arbitrary way, which is supported nicely by participant 23's response. In this sense, the arbitrary ("*Føler at folk ser mig som dansk fordi jeg er halv dansk*") is supported by a clear-cut behavioral manifest of being teased due to speaking Danish. This provides valuable information about the social representations of either group, which manifests itself in everyday interactions excluding people from both groups due to them being unconnectable. This exact theme culminates in participant 13's answer, which includes the political-historical relationship of Denmark and Greenland in relation to representing oneself as either Greenlandic and/or Danish.

Q: Jeg føler mig grønlandsk, fordi:

P: Jeg har opvokset her i Grønland

Q: Jeg føler mig grønlandsk, men:

P: Jeg tror ikke det er uhyrligt vigtigt hvor man kommer fra i virkeligheden

Q: Jeg føler mig dansk, fordi:

P: Vi har rigsfællesskab

Q: Jeg føler mig dansk, men:

P: Jeg føler ikke danskerne tillader mig fordi jeg kommer fra Grønland og ikke i Danmark

Male, 21 y/o, residing in Greenland

At the essence of this excerpt is the discrepancy between not feeling “allowed” (dansk: *tillader*) to feel Danish while Greenland constitutes part of the Danish Commonwealth (dansk: *rigsfællesskab*). The participant utilizes the representational national marker of growing up in the country in his representation of being Greenlandic. However, great importance must be ascribed to the, one might call, representational work of the participant in relation to acknowledging and utilizing hegemonic nationality representations in an effort to transform these. He utilizes it to represent himself in association with the hegemonic representation of being Greenlandic while proceeding to contest the very social representation from which he represents himself. This transformational attempt could be an expression of microgenesis (Duveen & Lloyd, 1986 if. Moscovici et al., 2013) – a process through which individuals re-construct social representations (not sociogenetically on a societal level) as well as elaborate and negotiate social identities in interaction with others. In this sense, the other (an arbitrary Alter) should be recognized as the researcher posing the question thus taking the form of interaction instead of a monologue. Duveen & Lloyd (1986, if. Moscovici et al., 2013) argue that “*It is as social identities that social representations become psychologically active for individuals*” (Moscovici et al., 2013, p. 178). Arguably, Duveen & Lloyd thus imply that asserting a particular social identity entails drawing on resources available through social representations (Moscovici et al., 2013). Applying the connection between social identity and social representations to the present excerpt the participant thus draws on the hegemonic social representation of being Greenlandic to identify himself as adherent to this ethnic category while also contesting the identity thus also criticizing the very premises of that social representation. Relationally, this representational work could be seen as a tool of attempted cooperation in transforming a manifested social representation into a more flexible and including, rather than excluding, one. This would essentially entail the possibility of letting others represent themselves as Greenlandic without drawing on the national marker of growing up in a specific geographical location.

However, a dilemma of unequal (power) relations arises when the participant then proceeds to represent himself in a political-historical sense as Danish due to the Danish Commonwealth, which he feels that Danish people don't allow him to. In this sense, through alteration of his social identity (social representation of feeling Greenlandic) he "opens" the possibility of a looser Greenlandic representation, yet still being denied the possibility of representing himself as Danish while actually representing a sense of community due to the *Commonwealth*. "Common" is emphasized due to the stressing of *community*, which the participant perceives himself as excluded from. This is the only answer which utilizes a social representation associated with the representation of the Danish Commonwealth. In this sense, the Danish Commonwealth isn't a hegemonic, nor popular, symbol in terms of representing oneself as belonging to multiple national categories or social identities. Therefore, this carries symbolic value in the way that a self-represented Greenlandic young male tries to transform the acknowledged hegemonic rigid national representation of being Greenlandic simultaneously with being denied the possibility of representing himself as Danish despite Greenland and Denmark's common history through the Danish Commonwealth.

So far this part of the analysis has concerned itself with the social representations of Greenlandic and Danish at face value as well as discrepant representational elements. The next part will briefly touch upon the contestation of hegemonic social representations in terms of self-representing as Greenlandic and Danish to then move on to the social representation(s) of the historical relationship between Greenland and Denmark.

3.1.3 Contesting hegemonic social representations

In the investigation of participants' contestation of hegemonic social representations of nationality (contextually Greenlandic and Danish), it is noteworthy to draw attention to the tendency that Greenlandic and Danish social identities are represented in terms of markers in regard to what could be perceived as a widely socially shared underlying social representational structure of nationality. In this sense, when contestation of either category appears, it is thus not necessarily a contestation of the representations of Greenlandic and/or Danish, which perhaps would arise in the interaction between self-represented Greenlanders and Danes. Rather, it serves as a contestation of the representation of nationality mediated through the categories of Greenlandic and Danish. In line with this, Deaux & Wiley (2007) refers to Clémence (2001), who argues that "[...] *social representations are a "network of variations" in which meanings are anchored in the existing knowledge and experience of different groups*" (Clémence, 2001, if. Deaux & Wiley, p. 11). Therefore, social representations mobilize

group thinking by being *shared*, however, social representations are not consensual in the sense that all groups don't share the same view of an object (nationality for example) despite what Deaux & Wiley (2007, p. 11), term a "[...] *common categorization scheme*." Rather, to utilize metaphorical speech: groups apply paint to the canvas.

By taking this theoretical position we can thus perceive contestation of the hegemonic nationality social representation, and how it is mediated in representations of being Greenlandic and Danish, as an expression of group-belonging and what this implies of historical, political, communicative, and practical properties. Following this thought, however, the questionnaire reaches its limits in the sense that it doesn't gather knowledge in regard to *where* (from other groups/social identities than Danish and Greenlandic) contesting individuals socially receive the social representation of nationality, rather, it shows *how* they re-represent the categories of Greenlandic and Danish through the social representation of nationality. One example is participant 6:

Q: Jeg føler mig grønlandsk, fordi:

P: ... jeg bor i Grønland og tager aktiv del i det Grønlandske samfund.

Q: Jeg føler mig grønlandsk, men:

P: ... er klar over, at de fleste mennesker her i landet, mig selv inklusive, betragter mig som primært dansk.

Q: Jeg føler mig dansk, fordi:

P: ... jeg er opvokset i Danmark og har boet det meste af mit liv i Danmark.

Q: Jeg føler mig dansk, men:

P: ... min nationale identitet er på ingen måde den vigtigste del af min identitet. Jeg identificerer mig i højere grad ud fra mit livs- og verdenssyn, mit job, min uddannelse og mine hobbyer.

Male, 36 y/o, residing in Greenland

By utilizing theory from above we can thus understand the participant's response as establishing a social identity as both Greenlandic and Danish based on a rejection of the hegemonic social representation of nationality. In this sense, the participant represents Greenlandic national identity as constituted by *societal contribution* (dansk: *tager aktiv del i samfundet*) while thinking that this representation isn't shared among the majority in the country (Greenland). An interesting point of discussion arises: how come this participant represents the Greenlandic national identity as constituted of societal contribution in relation to Danish national identity, which he represents as constituted by growing up and having lived mostly in Denmark? There are other participants across the dataset, who

solely self-represent as Danish and/or Greenlandic through the means of national markers. The participant is in a position, it seems, to have “easier” claims regarding self-representation of Danish in contrast to Greenlandic. This thought is based on the representation of feeling Greenlandic as something *active* (contributing to society) in relation to the *passive* Danish representation (having grown up and lived in Denmark). Essentially, this could be perceived as a paradox in the sense that claiming both social identities (representations) when living in one of the two countries thus implies only being able to contribute to either the Greenlandic or Danish society. Therefore, the chosen core of this excerpt centers around trying to grasp what is at stake in the differentiating and contested representations of each social identity.

One answer in terms of the hegemonic intra-representational variance, deducted from the dataset, could be that societal contribution isn't a commonly shared representation of national identity among the majority of the participants. Therefore, this social representation might be indicative of an effort of legitimizing the claiming of social identity. Tying the links together we are thus presented with a participant who resides in Greenland, who rejects the hegemonic social representation of nationality in alteration to a representation of paradoxical societal contribution, and who also recognizes that the majority might not represent him as Greenlandic. In essence, it could be argued that what is at stake is the participant constituting a minority in a battle of symbolic value (permission to socially identify with a nationality) with the majority group. Whereas other participants, for example, participant 13, who represented himself as Danish due to the Danish Commonwealth, conformed to what one might call representational hegemonism, the two participants (6 and 9) engage in social representational conflict with the majority. Here's the other example of participant 9 self-representing as Greenlandic through contribution:

Q: Jeg føler mig grønlandsk, fordi:

P: jeg bor her, jeg har valgt at bidrage til det grønlandske samfund.

Q: Jeg føler mig grønlandsk, men:

P: jeg taler ikke sproget, jeg mangler grønlandske venner, jeg har ikke den samme virkelighed som de grønlandere, jeg møder.

Q: Jeg føler mig dansk, fordi:

P: jeg taler sproget, har en sarkastisk tilgang til Danmark og velfærdsstaten, kender landets historie, kender de danske sange, jeg tænker på dansk

Q: Jeg føler mig dansk, men:

P: Jeg føler sympati med alle nationaliteter, og er tit mere lig folk, der kommer fra andre lande end

Danmark

Woman, 30 y/o, residing in Greenland

There doesn't exist other than two examples of direct contestation, as seen in these two excerpts, across the dataset, where the self-representation of a national category is "claimed". Furthermore, what is especially noteworthy is that the two responses have the element in common that they both claim Greenlandic national identity. In contrast, when the claim of Danish national identity is expressed in the dataset, these claims are often followed by a representation of not having the legitimacy to claim Danish national identity. This analysis of social representations of social identities across the participants, and how they utilize these social representations, affords an analytical interest in the aspect of intergroup conflict, which could arguably rise out from the suggested analysis so far. The next step is thus to consider: how come social representations of the national categories of "Greenlandic" and "Danish" differ and are represented in different ways with different aims? In relation to these questions, Marková (2012, p. 489) argues that: "[...] *the way citizens think, feel, and act (or represent) democracy depends on their historical and cultural experience as well as on their knowledge of, beliefs, and images about contemporary socio-political circumstances as well as of their expectations of the future*". This quote thus conveys the importance of investigating how historical experience is represented among the study's participants, which is why the next thematic analytical section will occupy itself with how the historical relationship is represented between self-represented Greenlandic and Danish people.

3.1.4 Brief summary of representations of nationality

It was argued that social representations in line with participants' self-representations as Greenlandic and/or Danish were built on an underlying representational structure, a hegemonic exclusive nationality representation, of specific ethnic and nationality markers (speaking Greenlandic/Danish, looking Greenlandic/Danish, having Greenlandic/Danish family, and living in as well as having grown up in Greenland/Denmark). In this sense, the identities of Greenlandic/Danish seemed largely mediated by this hegemonic representation thus affording that these social identities, or categories, appeared incompatible. However, across the dataset, there were found examples of cognitive polyphasia in terms of participants claiming both social identities, intra-representational variance in terms of the hegemonic nationality representations, as well as rejections/transformations and acceptance of the hegemonic nationality representation.

Contestation of the hegemonic nationality representation was exercised by two individuals, which gave rise to an analytical interest in the functions and potential implications of these contestations. It is argued that by contesting the representation of being Greenlandic, the two participants create the foundation for potential intergroup conflict in terms of a battle for symbolic resources – essentially: who is in the position to claim what. Continuing, it is perceived to be a necessity to grasp the impact of history in regards to the above-mentioned social representations, which is why the next part will utilize data from the second part of the questionnaire concerned with the historical relationship between Greenland and Denmark.

3.2 The social representation(s) of the historical relationship between Greenland and Denmark

In their study, *Social Representations of Latin American History and (Post)Colonial Relations in Brazil, Chile and Mexico*, Brasil and Cabecinhas (2017) wished to “[..] better understand the role of this colonial experience on participants’ remembrances about Latin American history” (p. 538). In other words, the authors sought to investigate, through participants’ social representations of history, intra- and inter-group dynamics, and functions of collective memories in relation to the countries’ colonial past. It remains a necessity to explicate the acknowledgment of differences between the colonial history in Latin America and Greenland, however, great inspiration and theoretical foundations can be collected from the colonial past of other nations in understanding the relationship between Greenland and Denmark. Paying respect to the theories of Serge Moscovici’s Theory of Social Representations and Frederic Bartlett’s work on remembering, the authors Brasil and Cabecinhas (2017) utilized Maurice Halbwachs’s notion of *collective memory* and the notion of *social representation of history*, building on Moscovici’s ideas, interchangeably throughout the study. By defining collective memories as involving “[..] an active process of permanent interpretation, selection and (re)construction by individuals and groups, considering their different belongings, their social interactions, relations with the media, and the present-day context” (Cabecinhas, Lima & Chaves, 2006, if. Brasil & Cabecinhas, 2017, p. 540) the study aligns well with the present study’s methodology, which also largely builds on Bartlett’s ideas of the human mind as reconstructive (Wagoner, 2017). Therefore, the proceeding analysis will occupy itself with mapping out how social representations of the historical relationship between Greenland and Denmark are represented while examining what functions the representations exert.

For the sake of the present study's reader, the analysis will utilize the notion of *social representation* while bearing in mind that it covers the utilization of *collective memories/social representations of history* as operationalized by Brasil and Cabecinhas (2017).

3.2.1 Representations of oppression and colonization

6 out of the 24 participants directly use a variation on the word *colonization* in terms of describing the historical relationship between Greenland and Denmark. However, what is also significant is that it could be argued that another 9 participants implicitly refer to the historical representation of colonization by referring to contemporary outcomes of the colonial period. In this sense, 15 participants represent the historical relationship in terms of the countries' colonial period, thus equating to 62,5% of the sample utilizing this representation. Therefore, the social representation of colonization will be perceived as dominant based on the sample's responses. Furthermore, the ascribed meaning to the thematized "implicit" responses is also based on the often-appearing Greenlandic media coverage referring to contemporary issues regarding the historical past between Greenland and Denmark⁵. On this behalf, the social representation of the historical relationship between Greenland and Denmark thus seems to be widely represented in terms of colonization, which is generally reinforced in contemporary times.

One response, which supports the above argumentation, is from participant 14, a 24 y/o female, who solely represents herself as Greenlandic through ethnic, familial, and national markers while leaving self-representational boxes as Danish blank. She represents the historical relationship in this manner:

Danmark har udnyttet Grønland fra starten, også har man stadig lidt forskelle på løn osv.

Woman, 24 y/o, residing in Greenland

As seen in the excerpt, the participant represents Denmark as exploitative in its historical relation to Greenland. What is important to grasp in this representation is that the participant represents Denmark and Greenland in a past context (Denmark has been exploitative from the start), while simultaneously orienting herself to the present by explicating that colonial issues are still relevant today (differences in wages) thus utilizing the past to orient herself to the future as in alignment with Bartlett's perception of human thinking (Wagoner, 2017). In this sense, it's represented that the properties of inequality associated with the colonial past extend into present-day society. Therefore, this participant's

⁵ <https://sermitsiaq.ag/danmark-beskyldes-urent-trav-i-fastholdelse-groenland>

response conveys an important insight into the temporal dimension of the social representation of colonization, which will also be paid attention to in the coming excerpts. An excerpt, from participant 21, supports the importance of representational temporality in relation to the hegemonic social representation of a colonial past between the two nations:

Grønland har jo været koloniseret af Danmark. De har helt forskellige kulturer og daniseringen har skabt identitetskrise for grønlændere, men grønlændere har integreret sig

Woman, 18 y/o, residing in Greenland

In this excerpt, the historical relationship is represented in terms of the countries' colonial past. This participant also represented herself as Greenlandic in the first section of the questionnaire, while leaving the Danish boxes blank. By taking the self-representation into concern, the participant thus "does" something with her representation, or in other words: she makes her world (Moscovici, 1998, if. Sammut & Howarth, 2014) - keeping in mind that once social representations are established, they influence social behavior and negotiation of social identities amongst other functions (Sammut & Howarth, 2014). In the excerpt, it's temporally hegemonically represented that Denmark colonized Greenland, which resulted in the danification (dansk: *danisering*) of Greenlanders with the result of identity crises for the generally represented Greenlander. However, the social representation has a *function* when the participant proceeds to argue that the present-day Greenlanders have integrated themselves. It might be argued that the excerpt occupies itself with the notion of adaptation rather than integration, which is due to the negation "[...] *men grønlændere har integreret sig*" in relation to the colonial period's consequences resulting in identity crises for Greenlanders. Following this thought of adaptation rather than integration, the participant's representation thus affords a temporal development of victimization through colonization and oppression, with its associated issues – identity crises –, to that of adaptation thus implying empowerment. In relation to the participant's self-representation as Greenlandic, the excerpt could be viewed as negotiating social identities associated with the two nationalities. In this sense, the representation of Danes remains relatively fixed mainly being that of colonizers and oppressors, while the representation of Greenlanders implies a social identity shift from a national people having been oppressed to then being ascribed the ability to adapt. Thus, the participant represents the historical relationship in terms of the hegemonic representation of colonization and oppression. However, the exerted function is not to victimize Greenlanders in contemporary times but rather to establish a social identity for Greenlanders, and arguably herself,

that is associated with adaptation with the result of empowering the social identity (representation) and self-esteem associated with being Greenlandic.

The two participants above (14 and 21) self-represented solely as Greenlandic while leaving the Danish boxes blank. The response of the next participant (number 8) therefore comprises an interesting nuance to the analysis due to her self-representation as Danish based on nationality markers, while contesting the hegemonic representation of nationality thus representing herself as feeling more Greenlandic than Danish. In relation to her self-representation she explicates:

Q: Jeg føler mig dansk, men:

P: Jeg har valgt at bosætte mig, stifte familie og lægge mit livsværk i Grønland og på mange måder identificerer jeg mig politisk og i relationer mellem Danmark og Grønland som grønlænder. Man kan vel sige at min nationalitet i Germansk Blut og Boden forstand er dansk, men i en borgerlig nationalitetsforståelse er jeg mere grønlandsk

Woman, 47 y/o, residing in Greenland

Shortly put: the participant acknowledges the representation of herself as Danish due to the hegemonic representation of nationality, as constituted by nationality markers, being shared across group membership while representing herself as feeling more Greenlandic due to placing her life's work (dansk: *livsværk*) in Greenland, establishing a family in Greenland and identifying with Greenlandic politics in relations between Greenland and Denmark. This excerpt arguably provides an important contextual frame in relation to her representation of the historical relationship between Greenland and Denmark:

Grønland har været en dansk koloni i næsten 300 år. Det bærer relationen mellem de to lande præg af, fordi der til stadighed er en skæv magtrelation mellem de to lande både på institutionelt niveau og på et individuelt mellemmenneskeligt niveau. På det institutionelle plan manifesteres det ved at Danmark stadig har magten på visse områder f.eks. udenrigs og sikkerhedspolitik og retsvæsenet. På det individuelle plan manifesteres det mere subtilt i de måder dansktalende og danskudseende personer har og tager sig privilegier i forhold til grønlændere. F.eks. gennem forventninger om sprogsift til eget sprog. Samtidig er der blandt danskere både i Danmark og Grønland ofte en manglende bevidst om det kulturelle hegemoni Danmark både før og nu har udøvet i Grønland. Det fører til stor frustration blandt nogle grønlændere, mens andre netop har internaliseret den danske fortælling om forholdet og derfor ikke opfatter det som problematisk.

The participant arguably utilizes the hegemonic historical representation of colonization in her orientation to the present-day challenges and provides a fruitful example of Bartlett's notion of *conventionalization*. In this sense, "[...] the everyday thinker makes the evidence and steps fit a conclusion already reached at the start of the process. The gap is here typically filled by using a conventional principle which has been picked up from some earlier social environment, such as the home or school [...]" (Wagoner, 2017, p. 186). As Bartlett's perception of everyday thinking implies a pre-made conclusion and a subsequent adaptation of evidence and "steps" to said conclusion, perhaps it would be most logical to employ this structure in understanding the present excerpt. Therefore, the participant's conclusion (following Wagoner's (2017) words on Bartlett) could arguably be that the colonial history of Greenland and Denmark has had an impact on contemporary life in Greenland. Therefore, this conclusion is "evidenced" in the present-day challenges on two societal levels, namely: 1) institutionally (foreign- and security policies as well as jurisdictional aspects) and 2) interpersonally (Danish speaking and Danish looking people are privileged, they expect a shift of language from Greenlandic to Danish and some are unaware of the cultural hegemony, which Denmark has exerted). Importantly, the present study doesn't occupy itself with potential correlations and/or perceived causalities between present-day Greenlandic societal challenges and the colonial period. Rather, the analysis orients itself towards how people utilize social representations in present-day intergroup relations. Therefore, what is at stake in the excerpt seems to concern that the historical relationship of Greenland and Denmark is represented through colonization thus resulting in said representation affording an explanatory quality in the orientation to present-day societal challenges.

Lastly, to understand the above participants' representation of the historical relationship, and in regard to their self-representations, it is fruitful to attach the notion of identity in relation to their answers. One might wonder: what function do these representations exert? In the words of Gerard Duveen who argues that "*Identity, then, is not some thing, like a particular attitude or belief, it is the force or power which attaches a person or a group to an attitude or a belief, in a word, to a representation*" (Moscovici et al., 2013, p. 192), we can thus seek to understand the included excerpts, and their representations, as ways of signifying/seeking group-belonging in terms of social identity. Furthermore, Brasil & Cabecinhas (2017) likewise argue that "[...] the social representations that individuals share about their reality play an essential role in the formation and maintenance of their identities, as well as distinct action intentions" (p. 539), while social identity on the other hand also

influence the individual's perspective and use of social representations. Therefore, utilizing the thoughts of Duveen and Brasil & Cabecinhas, social representations and (social) identities are inseparable and co-constructive thus affording different outcomes in individuals' representations due to their identities and vice versa.

Applying this knowledge to the presented excerpts, we are confronted with three participants whereas two of them (participants 14 and 21) self-represent solely as Greenlandic and leave the Danish boxes blank. The last participant (number 8) acknowledges being represented by others as Danish yet feels more Greenlandic. Concerning participants 14 and 21, it could be argued that they socially represent the historical relationship between Denmark and Greenland in accordance with their self-representations/social identities. In this sense, their self-representations appear congruent with the representation of Denmark (the Other) as colonizers and oppressors thus victimizing the "group" (nation/ethnic category/self-representation) to which they belong while also representing Greenlanders in an adaptive way to afford a sense of empowerment. Arguably, the social identities play a role in how they represent the history between Greenland and Denmark (identity → social representation). These representations are in line with Brasil and Cabecinhas (2017) argument regarding how social representations/collective memories help define and protect social identities. Participants 14 and 21 are thus seen as maintaining identity through their representations. In contrast, participant 8, who acknowledges herself being represented as Danish by others due to nationality markers, exerts another function in her representation of the historical relationship. In contrast to participants 14 and 21, participant 8's representation could be understood as a way of formatting, defining or making an effort to claim her social identity in terms of her representation (social representation → identity).

One might ask: how is this argued difference between the participants valid? Participants 14 and 21 could be perceived as incontestably belonging to the ethnic group of Greenlanders based on their self-representations due to the lack of a represented unacknowledging Alter. In this sense, it could be argued that they are invested in maintaining social representations of the historical relationship that secures intragroup coherence and a sense of identity thus resulting in securing the group's survival. Therefore, it could be considered, by group members who self-represents as Greenlanders, as antagonistic to represent the historical relationship as harmonic and fruitful, which is why participants 14 and 21 exert identity congruence in relation to their social representations.

On the other hand, participant 8 doesn't receive the social recognition of others as being represented as Greenlandic. However, as she mentions in the questionnaire, she has invested her life's work in

Greenland and has established a family in Greenland. In this sense, by socially representing the historical relationship between Greenland and Denmark via the hegemonic representation of Denmark through colonization and oppression, she actively seeks to define herself as Greenlandic. This conclusion might lead to the consideration: couldn't this be a faulty explanation? Indeed, it could. However, great importance must be ascribed to the aspect of *congruence* implying that "battling" for a Greenlandic identity, while being represented as Danish by others, the social representation of colonization becomes paramount in establishing the recognition from others in the sense that participant 8 is representing Denmark (her own group) in oppressive and critical ways. Shortly, by representing Denmark as colonizers and oppressors she actively optimizes the possibility of being socially recognized as Greenlandic due to the hegemonic representations concerning the distinction between Danish oppression and Greenlandic victimization. As seen in participants 14 and 21's representations of the historical relationship, the representation of victimization (Brasil & Cabecinhas, 2017) due to colonization is coherent with the self-representation as Greenlandic, which is thus considered as an effective social representational function to construct Greenlandic identification in the case of participant 8.

The relationship between identity $\leftarrow \rightarrow$ social representation and the aspect of congruence applies to the following two analytical sections (3.2.2 and 3.2.3), which will seek to create nuance to the representation of the historical relationship as constituted by colonization.

3.2.2 Representations of a nuanced relationship

Brasil and Cabecinhas (2017) argue that collective memories/social representations are intimately connected with present-day intergroup relations in the sense that they 1) can help define and protect social identities 2) are associated with group-based emotions 3) are related to victimization 4) can afford reconciliation and 5) concern acculturation processes. This brief section (3.2.2) will be utilized to give voice to participants' social representations, which are constituted by nuance. Arguably, this section serves to stay true to the data in a sense, since it would be a point of critique to solely include the social representations of the historical relationship between Greenland and Denmark as constituted by colonization, oppression, and victimization. Participant 3 expresses a nuance of the historical relationship between Greenland and Denmark by answering:

Det har været meget turbulent. Mange har stadig ondt over det, men den nye generation har ikke nogen grund til had.

Woman, 34 y/o, residing in Greenland

This excerpt assumedly represents the historical relationship in terms of colonization in reference to the participant's expression of "*Det har været meget turbulent*" indicating a challenging historical relationship between the nations. However, she proceeds then to represent the colonial aftermath as affecting a lot of people while simultaneously arguing that the younger Greenlandic generation doesn't have a reason to hate Denmark/Danes. In this sense, this is arguably how she represents the relationship, and the next step is thus to understand the function of the representation. Therefore, we must take her identificatory answers into account:

Q: Jeg føler mig grønlandsk, fordi:

P: Fordi jeg er født og opvokser her.

Q: Jeg føler mig grønlandsk, men:

P: Jeg er også dansk da min far er dansk og jeg taler flydende dansk. Jeg føler mig dansk i Grønland

Q: Jeg føler mig dansk, fordi:

P: Min far er dansk. Og forstår begge kulturer (grønlandsk og dansk)

Q: Jeg føler mig dansk, men:

P: Jeg føler mig f.eks. mest grønlandsk i Danmark. Så dansk i Grønland og grønlandsk i Danmark.

Woman, 34 y/o, residing in Greenland

Following the argumentation so far, participant 3's context of socially representing the historical relationship is affected by a complex of potentially antagonistic properties. In this sense, she self-represents as both Danish and Greenlandic due to having parents represented as belonging to Greenlandic and Danish nationalities. In this sense, if she were to represent the historical relationship between Denmark and Greenland in a way which only favored one of the nations, she would arguably experience intraindividual psychological tension due to creating group distinction between two represented ethnic categories, with herself being the very result of a romantic relationship between these two categories. In this sense, her representation of the historical relationship functions as a way of recognizing what has been done to the Greenlandic people (her mother) by Denmark (her father), while representing the historical relationship as having a generational end ("*men den nye generation har ikke grund til had*"). Arguably, this participant represents the historical relationship in a way that

constructs the possibility for national reconciliation, which potentially would create a coherent representation of herself/identity. Again, this could be seen as an example of social representation → identity, where the representation of reconciliation affords a stable social identity instead of experiencing the tension, which arguably could be associated with feeling Greenlandic in Denmark and Danish in Greenland. In this sense, in representing a national reconciliation she wouldn't experience tension in terms of having parents from both nations thus feeling a non-coherent identity in relation to how others (the Alter) represent nationalities of Greenlandic and Danish (in terms of nationality markers). To provide a sense of this excerpt not being the only answer with the representational function of establishing nuance, another excerpt (participant 16) will be included. In relation to the historical relationship between Greenland and Denmark, she writes:

Det er en lang tung historie. For nogle er det den gode historie, mens det for andre er en historie med en masse smerte og uretfærdighed forbundet hertil.

Woman, 28 y/o, residing in Greenland

However, what is interesting is the resemblance between participant 16 and participant 3, since participant 16 has a similar way of answering the questions regarding self-representations:

Q: Jeg føler mig grønlandsk, men:

P: ,når jeg er i Danmark

Q: Jeg føler mig dansk, men:

P: ,når jeg er i Grønland

Woman, 28 y/o, residing in Greenland

Both participants assumedly represent the historical relationship in terms of an implicit reference to colonization, while simultaneously bringing nuance to the aftermath of colonization. In participant 16's case, by acknowledging that to some people the common history is a "good" story, and to others it's the story of pain and injustice, she represents the historical relationship in a nuanced way. Though being arbitrary it seems coherent with the way she represents herself in terms of not maintaining an either/or identity, rather, she acknowledges the Greenlandic victimization and oppression while also acknowledging how "others" historically potentially could have had an easier existence. This arguably affords a coherent identity with her feeling Greenlandic in Denmark and Danish in Greenland. If she were to represent either actor (Denmark and Greenland) in a more/less favorable way, she would

arguably seek to represent (identify) herself exclusively, which could create psychological tension with how she is represented by others when being in either Denmark or Greenland.

3.2.3 Representations of Danish depreciation and collective guilt

So far, the analytical section of historical representations (section 3.2) has occupied itself with establishing arguments of the hegemonic social representation of colonization and oppression, investigated how this hegemonic representation varies across participants due to different elements being at stake in terms of social identity, and what function the hitherto representations have exerted. Finally, the analysis on the historical relationship between Greenland and Denmark will seek to understand the representations of *depreciation* and *collective guilt*, and what these representations afford.

Firstly, the present section (3.2.3) will illuminate the argued representation of depreciation, or in other words: an argued lack of recognition, from participant 5, who self-represents in the following way:

Q: Jeg føler mig dansk, fordi:

P: det er der, hvor jeg er født. Mit pas er dansk.

Q: Jeg føler mig dansk, men:

P: er også europæer.

Male, 45 y/o, residing in Greenland

In terms of the representation of the historical relationship between Greenland and Denmark, he answers:

Historisk betinget. Gennem snart 300 år har landene været nært tilknyttede, hvilket også har medført en masse familiære forbindelser

Male, 45 y/o, residing in Greenland

Significantly, the participant acknowledges the hegemonic social representation of colonization due to referring to the temporal aspect of colonization (300 years, dansk: *300 år*), which was established in 1721. However, the participant represents Greenland and Denmark as having been intimately related (dansk: *nært tilknyttede*), which arguably resulted in familial connections. In a sense, the participant's representation could seem paradoxical in relation to representing the history of a colonial relationship, yet not acknowledging what generally is associated with these types of relationships/connotations. Rather, he represents the historical relationship as based on a relatively neutral outcome regarding the establishment of familial connections. Therefore, importance must be ascribed

to the representation of the colonial past and the lack of recognized associated power dynamics. In line with this, the self-representation could serve as a foundation for an understanding, which could explicate the function of representing the historical relationship in this way.

In the socially comparative identification (self-representation) between Greenlandic and Danish, each identity affords an associated representation of the individual with implied power relations regarding the colonial past. Liu & Hilton (2005) argue that “[..] *events with enduring significance like colonization and war create content that enables mobilization of social identities in particular directions that shape the perception of the situational context*” (Liu & Hilton, 2005, p. 545). This quote is understood in the present study as: hegemonic historical representations enable particular social identities that shape individuals’ situational understanding. Thus, when participant 5 represents himself as solely Danish, but also European (which we shall touch upon), this represented identity is shaping the situational perception, hence, the social representation of the historical relationship. Inspiration can be drawn from Liu and Hilton’s (2005) reference to a study by Dresler-Hawke (2000), which reported that Germans felt more shame when visiting Holocaust monuments accompanied by Jewish and foreign people than with countrymen. Additionally, the study also argued that shame of the Nazi past was correlated with lesser national attachment (Dresler-Hawke, 2000, if. Liu & Hilton, 2005). Establishing a connection, perhaps vague, between the referenced study by Dresler-Hawke (2000, if. Liu & Hilton, 2005) and the present excerpt, it could be argued that being asked to describe the historical relationship between Greenland and Denmark, as self-represented Dane, is a way of revisiting the colonial past and its associations. However, not being physically present with people of the Other (Greenlanders in this scenario), the theory of Social Identity posits that the Other is somehow present, due to the identification happening based on social comparison (Liu & Hilton, 2005). Essentially, ruling out who one is not contributes to the person’s identification. Following this line of argumentation, the present study will provide two possible understandings of the excerpt above.

Firstly, the arguably depreciative historical representation could be perceived as a symbol of the participant being defined as a *high identifier* (Liu & Hilton, 2005). In this sense, Liu & Hilton (2005) refer to a study by Doosje et al. (1998 if. Liu & Hilton, 2005), which concluded that collective guilt could be induced for a group’s past behaviors for both minimal and national groups. Furthermore, the study found that “*High identifiers were less likely to experience collective guilt than low identifiers under conditions when the historical interpretations were ambiguous*” (Liu & Hilton, 2005, p. 547). Much in line with this, the colonial history of Greenland and Denmark inevitably resulted in familial

connections, and with reference to the study by Doosje et al. (1998, if. Liu & Hilton, 2005) the historical relationship could then be termed ambiguous. This line of thought is presented due to the colonial past being associated with strongly unequal power dynamics while simultaneously having resulted in familial relations. Therefore, consideration must be appointed to the representation's missing elements of the oppressive/victimized roles in the colonial past, which hitherto has followed the representation of the historical relationship between Denmark and Greenland. One possible answer could be found in the self-representation (social identity), which the participant exerts. By leaving boxes blank, which are associated with representing oneself as Greenlandic, the participant could be seen as a high identifier. However, the element of considering the participant as a high identifier must be understood in the coherence between self-representation (identifying solely as Danish in terms of the two options: Greenlandic/Danish) and representation of the historical relationship (as establishing familial connections). If either aspect were non-coherent, if the participant represented the historical relationship as that of oppressor/oppressed, the answer could be analyzed in a different way. Ultimately, what is significant in this perception of the participant as a high identifier concerns the question of taking upon oneself the collective guilt associated with a group's past behavior (Liu & Hilton, 2005). With reference to Doosje et al. (1998) “[..] *collective guilt was found to mediate desire to make compensation for the group's past misdeeds*” (Liu & Hilton, 2005, p. 547). In this sense, “[..] *high identifiers are less likely to experience negative emotions about the group's past misdeeds to the extent that they are able to successfully employ strategies to deflect collective guilt*” (Liu & Hilton, 2005, p. 547). Therefore, due to the participant's self-representation and depreciative representation of the colonial past, he could be defined as a high identifier seeking to distance himself from collective guilt bound to the representation of being Danish (in this social context) through representing other elements (familial connections) of the ambiguous colonial past, which mainly associates Danish national identity with collective guilt and the role of being an oppressor.

Secondly, the above analysis, of the participant's arguably sought distance to the collective guilt associated with a Danish self-representation, could be supported by the participant's self-representation as European. Turning to Dresler-Hawke's (2000, if. Liu & Hilton, 2005) study once more – concerning the feeling of shame associated with Germans visiting Holocaust monuments with Jewish people – it was argued that shame about the historical past of Nazism was associated with a lower attachment to the national unit (Liu & Hilton, 2005), which this study perceives as national *identity*. In regards to the example with German and Jewish visitors at the Holocaust monuments, “*one solution to the negative positioning imposed by their national history is to seek a higher level of identification, to*

identify as Europeans instead of as Germans” (Liu & Hilton, 2005, p. 545). Therefore, by seeking a supranational identity (self-representation) as European, the Danish-associated collective guilt of the colonial past can be alleviated on the personal level thus resulting in not experiencing psychological tension and the desire to compensate for the group’s (Danish) past misdeeds, as noted by Doosje et al. (1998, if. Liu & Hilton, 2005).

Concluding the above, Liu & Hilton (2005, p. 545) argue that “*Identity positioning is a give and take between groups that can be instantiated using history as a resource that may result in acceptance of collective guilt and consequent reparations by a dominant group*”. In relation to alleviating collective guilt, it is thus possible to seek distance from said guilt by identifying supranationally. Likewise, an individual can also utilize a self-categorization at a lower level (regional for example) to exert the same function. Therefore, we shall turn to participant 4, who arguably illuminate another nuance of the aspect of collective guilt. In relation to representing the historical relationship she answers:

Kompliceret. Det største problem er det narrativ, der er om det historiske forhold, både i Grønland og DK. DK er lidt i fornægtelse, og burde generelt undervise mere i dets eget kolonihistorie og in-formere om det, da de fleste danskere faktisk er ekstremt uvidende om det, og den politiske funde-rede historiekanon viser tydeligt, at der ikke er en politisk vilje bag yderligere informationer om dansk kolonihistorie. I Grønland, er narrativet ofte mere racistisk funderet, da alting, der går galt, er DKs skyld, også hvis DK aldrig har været involveret i det. Der er også en generel tendens til at misforstå historien i et forsøg på at pege fingre af DK.

Woman, 31 y/o, residing in Greenland

To map out the foundations of this excerpt, the participant arguably represents the historical relationship in terms of the structural hegemonic representation of colonization. However, what distinguishes this excerpt from the other participants’ responses is its meta-representational concern. In this sense, the participant represents the historical relationship as extending into present-day challenges and she represents the *narratives* (representations) of the said historical relationship as problematic, hence the wording of *meta-representational*. The participant’s answer has important (national) group representations, being: *Danish denial* and *Greenlandic blaming*.

In terms of the first representational function, the participant represents “Denmark” as in denial. The quotations serve a function in this context – they indicate cautious attention paid to who, and what, might constitute Denmark. Furthermore, the participant represents the general Dane as unknowingly

about the colonial past between Greenland and Denmark. These are two important considerations; however, the analysis will engage in just one direction, namely the representation of “Denmark” in denial.

One way of analyzing the participant’s representation of the problematic representations (narratives) from either “side” could be interpreted in terms of *national power* – operationalized in the present study as the *ability to influence the behavior of others to obtain a desired outcome*. Azhar Ahmad argues that “*The highest quality power comes from the application of knowledge*” (Ahmad, 2012, p. 83); however, the present study will, with inspiration from Poul Klitgaard’s (2017) dissertation, argue that the retention of knowledge likewise can serve as an exertion of power. In this sense, it’s important to recognize that this argumentation doesn’t build on the idea that Denmark withholds knowledge regarding their colonial past in Greenland, rather, the *retention* of knowledge can be perceived in terms of the changed historical focus in schoolbooks. Klitgaard (2017) found that geography- and social studies books, made for Danish elementary school curriculums, shifted focus through three different periods (1953-1960, 1960-1975, and 1975-2013). Klitgaard argued through his discourse-analytical analysis that Greenland is largely referred to through the description of a development process, which is largely explicated through an emphasis on the help from Denmark, cooperation between Greenland-Denmark and Greenlandic co-responsibility (Klitgaard, 2017). Thus, by turning back to the argument by Ahmad (2012), Denmark arguably resides in a dominant position in terms of controlling the shared knowledge regarding their common colonial past. This idea largely resides in the argument that in terms of power “*A large population is a key prerequisite, but not an absolute guarantee for national strength*” (Ahmad, 2012, p. 86). Thus, by having a Danish population roughly one hundred times larger than the Greenlandic, with schoolbooks simultaneously emphasizing the Greenlandic development – with the aid from Denmark –, and not an emphasis on the oppressive aspects of the colonial past, the result will arguably be that of a hegemonic Danish (positive) representation of the Greenlandic-Danish relationship. Therefore, considerations must be ascribed to the participant’s representation of Denmark in denial. Analytically, Denmark could be perceived as not necessarily in denial, rather, “Denmark” could be seen as in a dominant power position to alter the hegemonic national understanding of the two nations’ roles and relationships, and ultimately being able to affect how Denmark is represented in the historical relationship. In conclusion, following the argumentation of Liu & Hilton (2005) “*History provides us with narratives that tell us who we are, where we come from, and where we should be going*” (p. 537), “Denmark” (an arbitrary entity, most likely covering politicians and the educational system in this context) might depict, due to various

reasons, the historical Greenlandic development towards independence, and as a bi-product end up emphasizing the collaborative international aspect (block grants as an example) thus leading to a detained focus on the colonial past and Denmark's misdeeds, and a shifted focus to that of cooperation instead. Unfortunately, it's thus clear that an oppressive element could arise in the Danish attempt to depict and inform about the Greenlandic process towards independence, which is why the participant might represent Denmark as being in denial and the general Dane as being unaware of the Greenlandic colonial past.

Finally, the analysis will be turning to the representation of "Greenland" as racist, blameful, and historically misinterpretative in their (as represented by the participant) representation/narrative of the historical relationship. To grasp the dynamics at work in this context, it would be fruitful to incorporate participant 4's identificatory answers:

Q: Jeg føler mig dansk, fordi:

P: Jeg er dansk. Jeg er født og opvokset der, og det samme er min forældre, bedsteforældre m.m. Jeg ved heller ikke, hvad alternativet skulle være, så det kan jo ikke være anderledes så. Jeg er ikke nationalist, da jeg synes, at det er et ret ulækkert koncept, men jeg har aldrig følt mig så dansk som nu, hvor jeg bor i Grønland, og jeg hele tiden får at vide, at jeg er dansker, og så er der de ubehagelige episoder, hvor man bliver diskrimineret imod og udsat for racisme pga. min nationalitet.

Q: Jeg føler mig dansk, men:

P: Jeg er som sagt ikke nationalist, og finder ikke meget stolthed i min danske nationalitet, da nationalitet ikke er noget særligt for mig. Jeg skammer mig også tit, når jeg føler med i nyheder fra DK, og læser ting skrevet af danskere på internettet, så på en eller anden måde må jeg jo alligevel synes at ting fra DK reflektere tilbage på mig, negativt som positivt. Hvis det er relevant, så ser jeg mig selv mere som en jøde end en dansker, og jeg finder meget mere stolthed i at være jøde end at være dansker, og faktisk har jeg aldrig skammet mig over at være jøde, hvorimod jeg ofte skammer mig over at være dansker.

Woman, 31 y/o, residing in Greenland

Initially, this excerpt opens the possibility of a more thorough analysis – i.e., the self-representation as *Jyde* rather than Danish as lower-level categorization to alleviate collective Danish shame -, however, the excerpt will be used in terms of understanding the representation of Greenland as blaming Denmark and being racist. The excerpt will be used to illuminate the participant's representational function (representing "Greenland" as explicating racist/blaming narratives of historical past) in

combining social representations and social identity. Lastly, there will be presented an idea as to why Greenlanders might blame Denmark and Danes thus resulting in a Danish experience of racism.

Breakwell (1993) distinguishes between two levels of social representations – the function of *the process of representation*, and the function of a *specific representation*. By the former being centered around the functions of the anchoring and objectification of novel experiences, the latter is oriented towards the idea that “*Group dynamics and individual needs determine the function of the specific representation and consequently its actual structure*” (Breakwell, 1993, p. 5). In this sense, the contextual social identity (or in Breakwell’s terms – identity process), which the participant exerts, could be argued to be founded in the *distinctiveness principle*, ultimately contributing towards self-esteem in the participant’s social identity (Breakwell, 1993). Firstly, Breakwell (1993) argues that in the identity process the individual contextually utilizes different principles in the goal of obtaining/maintaining self-esteem. Through the *distinctiveness-principle* – “*the individual will strive to optimize distinctiveness from other people; pinpointing unique elements of identity*” (Breakwell, 1993, p. 8) – the participant represents herself in a manner which distinguishes her from Danish national identity, and its associated contextual oppressing elements, to self-represent in terms of regional identity (Jyde) to finally obtain self-esteem. Furthermore, this same dynamic arguably manifests itself in the representation of Greenlanders as blameful and racist. However, as Breakwell argued, group dynamics and individual needs determined the function of specific representations, which leads to the idea of perceiving the participant’s experienced discrimination as a means of representing the historical narrative of Greenlanders as racist towards Danes. Having experienced discrimination, while residing in Greenland thus not being able to remove oneself from the meeting with *the Other*, imaginably forces the participant to utilize strategies to work against said experienced discrimination. In this sense, it could be argued that representing Greenlanders as racist would serve the function of creating a negative out-group depiction which might give rise to negative affect (as not wishing to be identified with racists) and sympathy towards herself, imaginably alleviating the discriminative aspect of her everyday life and establishing positive social identificatory distinctiveness.

Finally, turning to the study’s proposal of why Greenlanders potentially blame Denmark and appear racist towards Danes, as represented by the participant, will be considered in terms of the notion of *victimization* (Devine-Wright, 2003). In this sense, theoretical importance has been ascribed to the argument that “[...] *social memory processes are shaped by the structure of societies and the relative status enjoyed by different social and ethnic groups*” (Devine-Wright, 2003, p. 15). Continuing this

line of argument, it is thus important to acknowledge Breakwell's (1993) argument concerning that the relationship between *social identity* and *social representations* is dialectical: they are in a sense interdependent. As social identities and social representations are interdependent, Breakwell argues that "*The implications of the need to consider inter-group power relations for those studying social representations are significant*" (Breakwell, 1993, p. 3f). Arguably, by relying on economic aid from Denmark, Greenland can be considered as existing in a subordinate power position. Therefore, to pose an understanding of the represented discrimination (racism) and blaming from Greenlanders, one has to acknowledge the power relations associated with the colonial past and present-day circumstances. Thus, when a people (self-represented Greenlanders for example) collectively remembers/represent their historical past in oppressive terms, which is dialectically interdependent with social identity, the past's power relations are reinforced in present-day inter-group relations. However, the representation of oppression can't account for a complete explanation, which is why Devine-Wright's (2003) ideas can be utilized. According to Devine-Wright (2003), there are several factors, which could motivate a person belonging to one group to take action against an out-group member (Mack, 1983, if. Devine-Wright, 2003). One factor, perceived significant in this study, is the sense of belonging with the people who actually suffered (Devine-Wright, 2003), which might be the foundation of potential Greenlandic racism or discrimination against Danes. In this sense, by experiencing a sense of belonging with Greenlandic people of the past through social identity and social representations, as a self-represented Greenlandic person, a person arguably takes upon themselves the suffering and oppression experienced by ancestors. Following Devine-Wright: "*The 'wounds' of the past were conceptualized as attacks upon the esteem of national citizens*" (2003, p. 17), which arguably affords that group members, who feel these "wounds" of the past, are most likely to be motivated to engage in violent actions of revenge (Devine-Wright, 2003).

Thus, we are left with the proposal of understanding represented Greenlandic racism and discrimination as a means of self-represented Greenlanders experiencing a sense of belonging with oppressed ancestors thus establishing an unequal power relation between Danes and Greenlanders, which extends into present-day circumstances. By experiencing the "wounds" of the past (arguably perceived as a social representation of colonization), the self-represented Greenlanders could be more motivated to engage in violent actions of revenge against Danes thus making the participant's representation of racism and discrimination meaningful.

3.2.4 Brief summary of representations of Greenland and Denmark's historical relationship

The analysis (3.2.3) sought to investigate how the historical relationship was represented, and in particular what functions the representations exerted. The analysis provides valuable support in illuminating the important interdependent relationship between social identity and social representations. It was argued that 62,5% of the sample utilized the perceived hegemonic social representation of colonization in representing the historical relationship between Greenland and Denmark.

In the representations of colonization and oppression, different representational functions were analyzed. Firstly, some of the study's self-represented Greenlanders represented Denmark as exploitative and as having exerted behavior in the colonial past, which extends into present-day circumstances. This stressed the analytical attention to the representational temporality, which aligns with Bartlett's notion of everyday thinking, where the "thinker" utilizes the past in one's orientation to the future. Furthermore, in contrast to the representation of Denmark as exploitative and oppressive, it was analyzed that the representation of oppression and colonization also had the possibility to function as empowering the Greenlandic social identity in terms of Greenlanders' capacity to adapt. Self-represented Greenlanders arguably represented the historical relationship in terms of colonization and oppression to avoid being antagonists regarding the social representation of Greenlandic social identity to thus sustain congruency. This was nuanced by a participant, who acknowledged being recognized as Danish, yet identified more with Greenlandic identity, who arguably represented the historical relationship in hegemonic terms (the representation of colonization) to seek social recognition in her effort to claim Greenlandic social identity.

In representations of nuance, it was found that participants represented the historical relationship in a nuanced manner – the colonial past brought pain and suffering to some, and to others, it was a "good" story – due to their self-representations and conflicting social identities. These answers were argued to be nuanced due to their self-representations based on geographical contextuality (feeling Greenlandic in Denmark and feeling Danish in Greenland), which is arguably due to having parents belonging to both nations thus not being able to self-represent exclusively in terms of one social identity.

Lastly, in representations of Danish depreciation and collective guilt, two self-represented Danes' answers were analyzed. It was argued that the social representational functions of 1) depreciation, 2) supra- and subnational identification, 3) represented Danish denial, and 4) representation of

Greenlanders as racist and blameful were exerted due to collective guilt associated with the representation of the Danish social identity in the context of Greenland/Denmark in the utilized questionnaire. Importantly, the representation of Greenlanders as racist and blameful was arguably associated with the notion of "power", and the "wounds" of the past, felt by self-represented Greenlanders, and an associated heightened motivation to violent revengeful actions. These aspects could afford a possible explanation to an underlying dynamic, which might result in the representation of Greenlanders as racist and blameful.

3.3 Conclusion of the analysis

The analysis found that Danish and Greenlandic identities were largely represented through what is perceived as a hegemonic social representational structure of nationality. Thus, the analysis doesn't provide clear distinctiveness of the representations of Danish and Greenlandic through other means than, what one could term as, "generic" facets of nationality - namely: 1) being born and raised in X, 2) having family belonging to the specific ethnic category, 3) speaking the language, and 4) looking X/Y. However, the majority of participants illuminated a tendency to not self-represent in terms of both social identities, rather, often the responses would consist of answers identifying with one of the identities while leaving the other boxes blank. This was analyzed as a choice, which exemplifies the incompatibility of the two social identities. Furthermore, this aspect is perceived to be one reason for potential intraindividual psychological tension when being a "cross-breed" (Rud, 2017). In continuation, the notion of cognitive polyphasia afforded the opportunity to understand how participants' conflicting identification processes could be considered as the utilization of multiple existing discrepant and conflictual modalities of thinking (representations). These processes often involved an emphasis on how arbitrary others represent the participant. Significantly, it appeared that self-represented Greenlandic participants represented a more limited possibility of (also) claiming Danish social identity than some Danes, who claimed Greenlandic claimable due to societal contribution. This could arguably create the foundation for intergroup conflict based on a battle for symbolic resources – essentially the question of: who can claim what?

Through representations of the historical relationship between Denmark and Greenland, it was argued that 62,5% of the sample (15 participants) represented the relationship by means of colonization and oppression. However, the representations were not necessarily conveying the same social reality, which is why the functions of these representations spanned from representing Denmark as exploitative to Greenlandic empowerment due to Greenlandic adaptation to "danification" as a result of

colonization. Furthermore, a self-recognized Danish participant's response, which represented the historical relationship between Denmark and Greenland through colonization, was analyzed as functioning to establish and seek Greenlandic identity. In this sense, the interconnectedness between social representations of history and social identity appeared through congruency - i.e., identifying as solely Greenlandic implied a biased, rather than an antagonistic, representation of the historical relationship. This argument was also employed in the section called "representations of nuance", which illuminated participants' nuanced historical representations in congruence with potentially conflicting identity patterns. These participants exerted a tendency to identify through both social identities, which arguably could give rise to intraindividual psychological tension due to the perceived hegemonic representation of the Danish and Greenlandic identity as incompatible.

Lastly, it was argued that the Danish social identity is comprised of collective guilt when put in relation to the Greenlandic social identity. This led to understanding a Danish participant's answer as Danish depreciation of the challenging aspects of the historical relationship between the nations. In continuation, it was analyzed that seeking higher or lower levels of identification could serve as a strategy of alleviating the collective guilt associated with the Danish social identity.

Finally, it was exemplified how a self-represented Danish participant had experienced racism, and it was thus argued how this experience served as an individual need to exert the function of positive group-distinctiveness by representing Greenlanders as historically blameful and racist, while simultaneously alleviating collective guilt by identifying sub-nationally and representing Danes, and Denmark, as in denial and also unaware of their colonial past. It was proposed that the Danish participant's experienced racism from Greenlanders happened due to present-day Greenlanders feeling a sense of belonging to their oppressed ancestors, which arguably enables a heightened motivation for vengeful actions, group differentiation, and ultimately intergroup conflict.

Combining the analytic sections, it could be argued that a pattern emerges through the interconnectedness of social representations and social identity. Congruently, the self-representation as solely Greenlandic often implied representing the Danish-Greenlandic history as conflictual, whereas "cross-breeds" represented history in a conciliative aspect, and lastly, self-represented Danes appeared to have a wider spectrum of representational functions in contesting and seeking to claim Greenlandic social identity as well as alleviating collective guilt. Therefore, the analysis arguably presented how social identity and social representations (of history) functioned dialectically in maintaining group- and representational coherence thus serving to reinforce incompatibility between the

representations of Danish and Greenlandic due to group-specific representational means founded in social representations of history.

4. Discussion

In relation to the study's posed research question: "*How are identities and representations of history dialectically co-constructed in the context of the relationship between Greenland and Denmark?*", one major theme of discussion arises – namely the complex interconnectedness between the representations of Danish and Greenlandic social identity, and the adhering representations of history. Therefore, prior to discussing what these results potentially afford, it would make sense to explicate the initial limitations of the study.

4.1 What the study can't illuminate

From the analysis of the results, it wouldn't be ethical to broaden the scope of the presented perspectives beyond the study's context. In this sense, it's important to acknowledge that the results unfolded in a specific setting (questionnaire) mediated through a specific categorical context (Greenland and Denmark). Therefore, due to the study's procedure, great nuances of the study's potential are limited. For example, it could be argued that the narrow distinction between Danish and Greenlandic social identity could be further explicated amongst the participants instead of arguably being constituted by hegemonic social representations of nationality. Though not as restrictive as closed identificatory questions, the questions of the study's questionnaire can come to result in what Rogoff (2003) terms as the "box problem" indicating that: "*When identifying people's connections with communities, there is a widespread tendency to use a single category, often ethnic or racial, to categorize an individual*" (Rogoff, 2003, p. 77). Although the promoted methodological aspect of SIT emphasizes the categorical element of social identity, a look into Rogoff's alternative proposals could provide depth to the understanding of social identity. Rogoff argues that instead of a categorical approach, the researcher could employ a focus on cultural participation concerning which cultural practices are familiar to the participant, and which have been used in their everyday life (Rogoff, 2003). In this sense, the challenge of restricted intra-group variability – the "box problem", where adhering to a specific "box"/category implies sameness – could be resolved, and argued overlapping practices, which constitute the Danish and Greenlandic categorical social identity, would be possible to explicate. Of course, it would be possible to expand the questions in the utilized questionnaire, however, one would still lack the

empirical aspect of “the social” element through how identities and representations are negotiated and made sense of between subjects. The study’s analysis shows that the lack of recognition from others (Danes, Greenlanders, and arbitrary non-categorical others) determines participants’ identification, however, this aspect of lacking recognition can’t be expanded on due to the study’s format. In relation to this, Howarth (2002) argues that focus group interviews receive increased recognition as valuable resources in studying communities due to their possibility of moving beyond individualistic frameworks. Therefore, if focus group interviews were implemented in the present study, as Howarth (2002) utilized in her study on social identity and representations of youth in Brixton, South London, there would be an increased chance to examine the social identification and representation at an inter-subjective level amongst the participants and how they unfold through negotiations and conflicting representations. In Howarth’s understanding identities are always the result of continuous inter-subjective negotiations, and “[..] *identities are always constructed through and against representations*” (Howarth, 2002, p. 159). Therefore, Howarth argues, “*To theorise social identity, therefore, we need to highlight the dialectic between how we see ourselves and how others see us*” (2002, p. 159), and ultimately ask: “[..] *“identity in whose eyes?”*” (2002, p. 159). In this sense, Howarth (2002) argues that examination of identity should be approached through the dynamic of how an individual is represented by Other(s), and how the individual then proceeds to represent him-/herself.

Thus, the study is constrained to concern isolated non-processual representations, which is perceived to account for the participants’ finalized transformed and negotiated identities and representations, however, the study can’t illuminate the inter-subjective aspect of the analyzed representations and identities, which is a crucial methodological and theoretical aspect of the utilized notions. To clarify: the study can trace the identities and representations unfolded in the context of Danish and Greenland and analyze these, however, the study can’t move beyond this scope. This limitation, and the question of the before-mentioned lack of recognition in social identification for some participants, however, arguably affords a curiosity of the question posed by Howarth (2002) – “*Identity in whose eyes?*” (p. 159). This question ignites curiosity to pose several considerations: which social representations do the participants transform and negotiate in their answers, and where and how are these established? Therefore, while referring to the methodological assumption that representations and identities are co-constructive and dialectical, it will be attempted to briefly touch upon this in the following section.

4.2 Visiting the Ilulissat City Museum

During a short holiday from the 10th of July to the 16th of July 2021, I traveled to the Greenlandic town Ilulissat with my family. We had been advised to experience the ice fjord of Ilulissat multiple times by people in our social circle. Whilst visiting Ilulissat we also chose to pay Ilulissat City Museum⁶ a visit. The museum opened in 1973 and exhibits Greenlandic prehistoric life, urban history, and fishing practices, as well as works and photographs of important Greenlandic historical figures. However, a printed document (figure 4) hung up in one of the exhibitions (of fishing practices) struck my eyes, when we walked around the museum's ground floor.

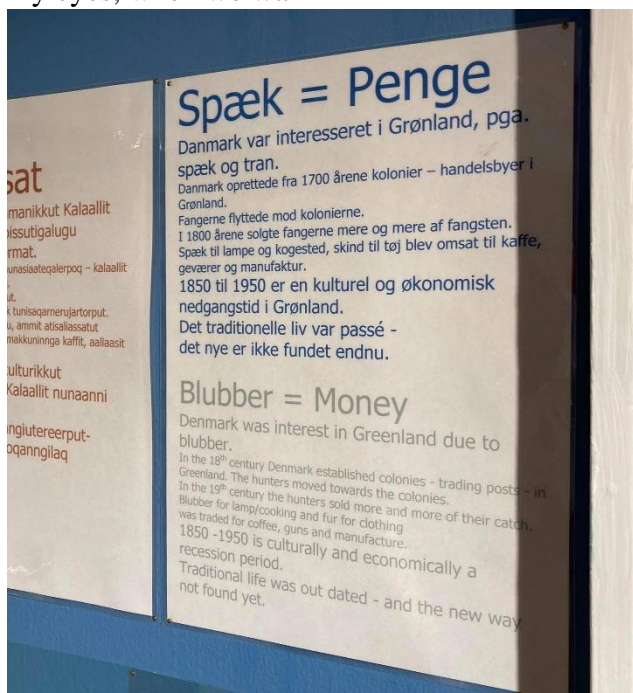


Figure 4: Private photo, 13th of July, 2021, Ilulissat City Museum

There are multiple points of discussion that could be raised in reading this piece of paper, however, the main concern will be the three first lines of text: “*Spæk = Penge*” and “*Danmark var interesseret i Grønland, pga. spæk og tran*”. The lines are translated to English in the grey text below, however, for the reader's sake it states: “*Denmark was interest in Greenland due to blubber*”.

Being guided by Howarth's (2002) question of “identity in whose eyes?”, this piece of paper at a Greenlandic museum represents, and dialectically

identifies, Danes as exploitative colonizers, who were solely interested in Greenland due to the possible economic benefits.

Thus, by investigating the printed paper more closely: in the representation of Danes as exploitative colonizers, Greenland is implicitly likewise represented, however, in a dichotomized way. In this sense, the representation and identification of Danes as exploitative colonizers entails an implicit representation of the Greenlanders as having been exploited and colonized.

One might wonder: isn't this merely a repetition of the foundational argument throughout the study? And yes, it is. However, what is perceived to be important is the context of figure 4 – namely the fact that it's a representation available at an exhibition visited in July 2021. It's thus seen as one of the

⁶ <https://visitgreenland.com/da/udbydere/ilulissat-city-museum/>

representational resources available to the people visiting the museum. Following this argument, and the dialectic of social representations and social identity, Greenland and Greenlanders are thus represented in newer times through their oppressed history. However, what is then at stake for the Greenlanders, like the youths in Howarth's (2002) study about young people from Brixton? If Greenland is to reach increased independence, as arguably is the present aim understood from the historical overview, a demand is put on Greenlanders to actively transform and negotiate present representations and identities. Essentially, it would imply contesting the representation of what Greenland and Greenlanders *were*, to transform and negotiate this representation in relation to what they have become *today*. In that sense, if the Greenlanders thus accept, rather than negotiate and transform, the representation from figure 4, the representation of an oppressed people will continuously be reinforced. Potentially, these representations could afford to reinforce unequal power dynamics in the context of Denmark and Greenland, which ultimately serves to preserve intergroup conflict. The analysis in the present study indicates that the representations are in some instances transformed, and in some instances, the unequal power aspect is preserved as an extension into the present day. Therefore, when ultimately asking: "identity in whose eyes?", it could be argued that part of the Greenlandic tourist enterprise continues to represent Greenlanders as oppressed. Finally, one must therefore question: what might be the consequences of this representation? As a last point of discussion, this question will be briefly discussed in the next section before concluding the study.

4.3 Air Greenland's instructional video and Rud's paradox of represented Greenlandic identity

Rud (2017) argues that Danish media often depicts Greenland and Greenlanders through two stereotypes: 1) noble and primitive people, or 2) lost individuals in the modern world. Following Rud's (2017) argumentation, these stereotypes are rooted in the representation of Greenlandic culture as a result of the colonial period. The representation of the "true" Greenlander was based upon cultural practices such as hunting, sealing, and rowing kayak (Rud, 2017). However, these aspects of Greenlandic cultural practice were arguably emphasized under the Danish colonization of Greenland, which came to constitute how Danes represented the "true" Greenlander. Thus, the present-day representation of Greenlanders through the traditional, or "true", Greenlandic practices implicitly entails the oppressive element of being robbed the opportunity of practicing those due to the modernization of Greenland. Ultimately, the representation of Greenlandic identity constituted by Greenlandic traditional practices arguably implies oppressive elements. Therefore, challenges inevitably arise, when

for example Air Greenland utilizes representations of traditional Greenlandic practices (kayaking and dogsledding) in present-day instructional videos in Greenlandic airplanes⁷ (figure 5 and 6).

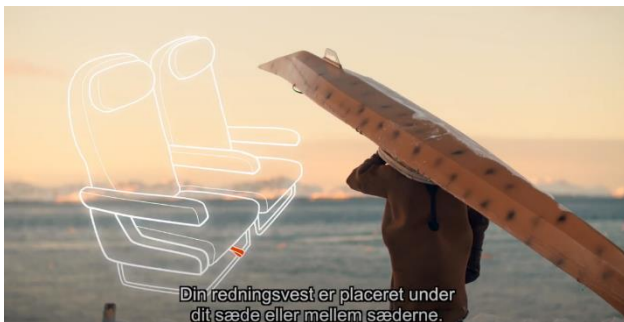


Figure 5: Still-picture from Air Greenland's "Safety on board"-video on YouTube



Figure 6: Still-picture from Air Greenland's "Safety on board"-video on YouTube

Therefore, following Howarth's (2002) idea, it could be argued that Greenlanders are, in the eyes of public institutions (museums and Air Greenland), represented through traditional cultural practices which entail the oppressive elements of colonization. Furthermore, the oppressive aspects will inevitably cease to exist, as well as an ascribed Danish collective guilt, as long as traditional cultural practices are associated with the representation of Greenland and Greenlanders. If the representation of Greenlandic social identity, as comprised by traditional cultural practices, persists, it could be argued that it leaves scarce space for individuals' representational opportunities, if one doesn't practice the traditional cultural practices associated with the representation of being Greenlandic. As Rud (2017, p. 147) eloquently puts it: "[...] *the cultural image based on tradition combined with hostile attitude toward modernization entails the risk of establishing identities that confine Greenlanders to a limited space*". Therefore, representations of "Greenlandicness" ought to be transformed or negotiated to alter the representation of Greenlandic identity, which ultimately could afford to overcome the conflicting relationship between the former colonizer and colonized. However, this representational "transformation" of "Greenlandicness" is arguably on the rise as noted by Kirsten Thisted (Rud, 2017). She argues that Greenlandic youth appears to be partaking in representing Greenland in a novel manner, and "*In their version, Greenlandic identity is not oriented toward a stereotypical version of Greenlandic tradition but rather toward an open global identity*" (Rud, 2017, p. 146). In this sense, by emphasizing other aspects than traditional cultural practices, Thisted argues that the re-representations of "Greenlandicness" works both inwards and outwards, thus altering Greenlandic self-

⁷ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q6QJfCSrUt0&ab_channel=AirGreenland

representations as well as Danish images of Greenlanders (Rud, 2017). In this sense, by affecting the “eyes” of the Other (Danes) by re-representing Greenlandic social identity through altered means, the Greenlandic social identity will span wider and include diversity among Greenlanders simultaneously as letting go of the oppressive past, which extends into today’s representation of Greenland on occasion.

4.4 The study’s possibilities

Arguably, the analysis of this study contributes to illuminate how self-represented Greenlanders and/or Danes represent themselves as well as the international history of the two nations. Metaphorically speaking, the present study shows the final result of the painting, however, it doesn’t provide us with the knowledge about how the painting was applied and the process of application. Therefore, this study can serve as valuable insight into how history and social identity are represented in contemporary times through a questionnaire’s answers constituted by a specific sample of participants. Furthermore, the study also enables the possibility of examining the participants’ representations in terms of functional aspects such as: the ascription of collective guilt, contestation of identities, depreciation, and reconciliation. Thus, the present study’s findings lay out the foundation of a research interest, which paves the way for future directions. These will be explicated in the following.

5. Future research

Upon having acknowledged the limitations of the present study, it could be retrospectively argued that applying the combination of social identity and social representations, as dialectical and co-constructive, in the understanding of present-day intergroup relations has worked in beneficial ways. Thus, future research in this field could benefit from these methodological approaches, as well as Howarth’s (2002) model of investigating social representations and identity through focus groups interview.

If the quality of the present study were to be raised, one could find benefits in applying focus groups interviews with a sample constituted by individuals with varying demographics and geographical locations. Furthermore, these implementations would expand the investigative possibilities to sketch out the dynamics of negotiating and transforming the representations of either categorical identity, as well as whose “eyes” represent those categories. In conclusion, inspiration can be drawn from Karen Thisted (Rud, 2017), who poses three questions concerning future research. It could be argued that

these questions can secure the focus on an explicated inter-subjective “process” of transforming and negotiating the contextualized Greenlandic and Danish identity, which the present study lacks. Therefore, future research could expand the present state of research in the field of relations between Denmark and Greenland through focus group interviews with demographic and geographically varying participants, while including Thisted’s questions (Rud, 2017, p. 146):

- *To what degree does the unattainable ideal of an authentic, traditional and static Greenlandic culture, as symbolized by the monument on the square, still play a role as a resource for identity?* The described square refers to the one in Copenhagen, which was mentioned in the introduction.
- *How are images of Danish and Greenlandic pasts evoked in relation to present-day identity?*
- *How can a more nuanced understanding of the colonial past contribute to the opening of identities?*

6. Conclusion

The answer to the research question – “*How are identities and representations of history dialectically co-constructed in the context of the relationship between Greenland and Denmark?*” – must illustrate both the study’s findings and limitations to hopefully convey the possibilities of widening the methodic framework, which has been discussed above.

Briefly put: in the study, it was found that social identities and social representations functioned dialectically in congruence with one another. Arguably, this co-constitutive dynamic appeared to be mediated by three aspects – namely 1) the participant’s transformed representations concerning the inter-group relations of the Greenlandic and Danish identities, 2) the inter-group dynamics in the represented historical relationship between the nations, and 3) the orientation towards what one could term as: outlooks of the future (reconciliation, alleviation of collective guilt, establishment of nuanced representations and contestation). Importantly, one must remember and reflect upon each participant’s response as uniquely modified by their representation of representations from the socially Other. In this sense, especially the answers of identification appeared to be mediated in relation to representations of how others represent the participant. However, this creates a bridge to the aspect of the study’s limitations.

Looking towards the future, it stands clear that an altered methodical approach could enrich and widen the data, which has formed the foundation for the present study. Being concerned with the notions of social identity and social representations, the present study could benefit greatly from incorporating methods that stress the inter-subjective dynamic between participants concerning social identification and social representation in the context of Greenland and Denmark. An altered methodical approach could arguably provide results in line with the one's collected from the study's questionnaire, however, in addition also provide insights into how social representations and identities are intersubjectively transformed and negotiated, which would paint a clearer picture of the inter-group relations, which have been touched upon in this study.

Finally, whilst subscribing to the methodology presented in this study, it could be argued that challenging relational aspects between Greenland and Denmark will continue to exist, as long as Greenlandic identity is represented through culturally traditional practices. This representation arguably reinforces implicit references to the colonial history of Greenland and Denmark thus limiting the empowerment of the Greenlandic identity in relation to Danes and Denmark. However, changes to these challenges seem to be on the rise from the Greenlandic youth who seeks to re-define Greenlandic identity. Therefore, it will be interesting to experience how the relationship between Greenland and Denmark develops in the future, and whether this development entails finding common ground or a turn to complete Greenlandic independence with the result of an even larger dissolve of the Danish Commonwealth.

Metaphorically speaking, one can hope that the wounds of the past eventually will heal and be taken care of.

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The total amount of pages equivalates to: 1386 pages

Appendix (questionnaire)

Samtykkeerklæring

Formålet med denne undersøgelse er, at undersøge hvordan deltagere skaber mening ud fra historier. Ønsket er at opnå en indsigt i processen mod en meningsfuld historieskabelse. Det er vigtigt at du svarer dét, du har lyst til at svare. Undersøgelsen vil tage ca. 15 minutter.

Besvarelsen vil være anonym og vil under ingen omstændigheder indeholde navn eller andre identificerbare karakteristika. Deltagelse i dette projekt og besvarelsen af spørgeskemaet er frivillig, og du kan altid stoppe besvarelsen uden yderligere konsekvenser. Besvarelsen vil udelukkende blive brugt i forbindelse med et semesterprojekt på kandidatuddannelsen i Psykologi på Aalborg Universitet.

Hvis du har spørgsmål vedrørende projektet, kan du kontakte Christian på følgende mailadresse: cfma15@student.aau.dk

Til deltageren:

Jeg er indforstået med, at mine besvarelser registreres, at disse data slettes når projektet er færdigt og at de opbevares sikkert indtil da. Jeg har forstået, at min anonymitet vil blive beskyttet, og at alle informationer, jeg stiller til rådighed, vil være fortrolige.



Jeg har både læst og er indforstået med samtykkeerklæringen.

Deltagerinformationer

Der bliver spurgt ind til anonymiserede data om dig som deltager, da disse kan hjælpe med at undersøge, om der er forskel på studiets fokusområde på tværs af demografiske data.

1. Baggrundsinformation

Alder

Køn

Jeg er bosiddende i følgende land:

2. Nationalitet

Svar på de bokse, der giver mening for dig.

Jeg føler mig grønlandsk, fordi:

Jeg føler mig grønlandsk, men:

Jeg føler mig dansk, fordi:

Jeg føler mig dansk, men:

3. Hvordan vil du beskrive det historiske forhold mellem Grønland og Danmark?

Indtast dit svar her

På de kommende sider

På de kommende sider vil du få vist historier, hvor du bliver bedt om at give et svar på hvad historierne slutter med.

Tak for din deltagelse.

Klik venligst i et af felterne

☐ A

☐ B

4. Tag den tid, du har brug for, til at læse nedenstående

Tre venner, Malik, Inunnguaq og Brian har besluttet sig for at grille i den lokale park efter arbejde. De aftaler over messenger, at de kan mødes kl. 17:30 ved busstoppestedet tæt på parken, og at Malik tager grill med. Inunnguaq og Brian tager kul og mad med. Solen skinner og flere folk er ude for at nyde det gode vejr. Da de mødes ved banegården, og går mod parken, hilser de tre venner på hinanden. Inunnguaq siger: "Det var godt nok dejligt at vi kunne mødes. Jeg trænger til at slappe af!". Da de ankommer til parken krydser de tværs over græsplænen, da de har udset sig et godt sted at grille. Mens de går og snakker lægger Malik, som arbejder i renovationsafdelingen i kommunen, mærke til at to danske mænd passerer dem. Lige da de to grupper går forbi hinanden smider den ene dansker en tom coladåse på plænen. Malik råber efter ham, der smed dåsen. Manden vender sig om og går hen mod Malik.

1. Hvad tror du der sker nu?

2. Hvad synes du om den danske mands opførsel?

3. Hvordan tror du, at de tre venner efterfølgende snakker om situationen med coladåsen?

4. Hvordan synes du Malik skulle have handlet over for manden, der smed dåsen?

5. Tag den tid, du har brug for, til at læse nedenstående historie. Du må gerne læse historien flere gange.

Malik og Inunnguaq, to unge venner, går en tur i deres middagspause fra arbejdet. De har fundet ud af, at de kan nå at spise en sandwich fra den lokale café, og drikke en kop kaffe, mens de går en tur rundt om kvarteret, hvor de arbejder. Især Malik sætter

historie. Du må gerne læse historien flere gange.

Tre venner, Thorbjørn, Palle og Lasse har besluttet sig for at grille i den lokale park efter arbejde. De aftaler over messenger, at de kan mødes kl. 17:30 ved busstoppestedet tæt på parken, og at Thorbjørn tager grill med. Palle og Lasse tager kul og mad med. Solen skinner og flere folk er ude for at nyde det gode vejr. Da de mødes ved banegården, og går mod parken, hilser de tre venner på hinanden. Lasse siger: "Det var godt nok dejligt at vi kunne mødes. Jeg trænger til at slappe af!". Da de ankommer til parken krydser de tværs over græsplænen, da de har udset sig et godt sted at grille. Mens de går og snakker lægger Lasse, som arbejder i renovationsafdelingen i kommunen, mærke til at to grønlandske mænd passerer dem. Lige da de to grupper går forbi hinanden smider den ene grønlander en tom coladåse på plænen. Lasse råber efter ham, der smed dåsen. Manden vender sig om og går hen mod Lasse.

1. Hvad tror du der sker nu?

2. Hvad synes du om den grønlandske mands opførsel?

3. Hvordan tror du, at de tre venner efterfølgende snakker om situationen med coladåsen?

4. Hvordan synes du Lasse skulle have handlet over for manden, der smed dåsen?

4. Tag den tid, du har brug for, til at læse nedenstående historie. Du må gerne læse historien flere gange.

rigtig stor pris på at komme ud i den friske luft, og det gør ham ikke noget, at sneen er begyndt at blive til is kl. 12:03 på en mandag i november måned. På deres gåture plejer Malik og Inunnguaq at vende både stort og småt, og de smiler altid til forbigående, som de møder på deres vej. På vej ned til caféen for at købe en sandwich ser de en dansk mand komme gående. Malik nikker til manden, søger øjenkontakt, og siger "Kutaa". Inunnguaq hilser med et smil. Der er ingen reaktion fra den danske mand, som bare går forbi dem. De to venner synes det var mærkeligt, og begynder at tale om situationen.

1. Hvad taler Malik og Inunnguaq om?

2. Hvad tror du Malik og Inunnguaq føler efter situationen?

3. Hvad tror du er grunden til, at den danske mand ikke hilser tilbage?

4. Tror du at Malik og Inunnguaq i fremtiden vil hilse, når de ser en dansk mand?

5. Tag den tid, du har brug for, til at læse nedenstående historie. Du må gerne læse historien flere gange.

Thorbjørn og Lasse, to unge venner, går en tur i deres middagspause fra arbejdet. De har fundet ud af, at de kan nå at spise en sandwich fra den lokale café, og drikke en kop kaffe, mens de går en tur rundt om kvarteret, hvor de arbejder. Især Thorbjørn sætter rigtig stor pris på at komme ud i den friske luft, og det gør ham ikke noget, at sneen er begyndt at blive til is kl. 12:03 på en mandag i november måned. På deres gåture plejer Thorbjørn og Lasse at vende både stort og småt, og de smiler altid til forbigående, som de møder på deres vej. På vej ned til caféen for at købe en sandwich ser de en grønlandsk mand komme gående. Thorbjørn nikker til manden, søger

øjeblikkontakt, og siger "Goddag". Lasse hilser med et smil. Der er ingen reaktion fra den grønlandske mand, som bare går forbi dem. De to venner synes det var mærkeligt, og begynder at tale om situationen.

1. Hvad taler Thorbjørn og Lasse om?

2. Hvad tror du Thorbjørn og Lasse føler efter situationen?

3. Hvad tror du er grunden til, at den grønlandske mand ikke hilser tilbage?

4. Tror du at Thorbjørn og Lasse i fremtiden vil hilse, når de ser en grønlandsk mand?

Du har nu gennemført spørgeundersøgelsen

Skulle der være noget, du har brug for at tilbagemelde, så skriv da gerne hvad end der falder dig ind i boksen nedenunder.

Skriv gerne eventuelle kommentarer, tanker eller lignende i boksen nedenfor.

Mange tak for din deltagelse i mit spørgeskema omkring meningsskabelsen ud fra historier!

Skulle der være nogle spørgsmål omkring projektet eller til spørgeskemaundersøgelsen, kan jeg kontaktes på mail: cfma15@student.aau.dk.

Slutteligt vil jeg blot sige mange tak for din deltagelse.

Mvh. Christian