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GREENLAND AS 'GREEN' VS. A MINING FRONTIER

NAALAKKERSUISUT'S ARTICULATIONS OF SUSTAINABILITY IN RELATION TO
BRANDING GREENLAND AS BOTH A MINING FRONTIER AND A 'GREEN'
NATION

NIELSENLAILA9@GMAIL.COM

Student name: Laila Anja Nielsen

Student no: 20201268

Supervisor: Jesper Willaing Zeuthen

Characters (with space): 99.631

Development and International Relations

Specialization: Arctic Studies

Aalborg University

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Abstract

The decision of the government of Greenland (Naalakkersuisut) to join the Paris Agreement is symbolic of Naalakkersuisut's increased focus on the environmental aspects of sustainability. Climate change is melting the Greenlandic ice sheet at an alarming rate and while that creating a number of challenges, it is also opening up possibilities for the development of industries such as natural resource extractions. Resource extraction is often promoted as the foundation for future development of plans in Greenland, who is home to some of the world's biggest untapped reserves of rare earth minerals – elements vital for green technologies and thus the global green transition. Concurrently, mining is one of the largest sources of CO₂ emissions in the world and does not use renewable energy. On the basis of these contradictions and Naalakkersuisut's ambitions to pursue the global climate change agenda as well as the development of the mining sector, this dissertation seeks to examine the narratives Naalakkersuisut uses in its advancement of Greenland on the global stage as a mining frontier and as a 'green' nation. Through a critical discourse analysis with the theoretical framework of Simon Anholt's nation branding, the dissertation investigates Naalakkersuisut's sustainability discourses and their implications in their nation branding. The main analysis uses two minister speeches: Prime Minister Mute B. Egede's speech at COP26 and Mineral Resources Minister Naaja Nathanielsen's speech at the 2021 Arctic Future Symposium. Additionally, the analysis examines sustainability discourses in Prime Minister Egede's new year's speech and in a magazine from the Greenlandic business sector, to hold those two up against the two speeches make an assessment of Naalakkersuisut's credibility in its nation branding. The analysis finds that in contrast to previous sustainability discourses in Greenlandic politics, the current Naalakkersuisut has not only shifted its sustainability focus towards environmental aspects, but has committed to both the global agenda to fight climate change and the local agenda to prevent environmental pollution from extractive industries. It also finds that Naalakkersuisut uses the concept of sustainability in ways that are in favor of portraying Greenland as an attractive country to invest in, both in mining and renewable energy. The many parallels between Naalakkersuisut's sustainability discourses on the national and international stage as well as the discourse within the business sector, suggests a level of credibility in Greenland's outward image implying an effective nation branding of Greenland as both a mining nation and a 'green' nation.

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INTRODUCTION

At the 2021 United Nations Climate Change Conference, Prime Minister of Greenland, Muté B. Egede, announced in his speech with the title ‘a greener Greenland’, that Greenland was to join the 2015 Paris Agreement. A previous government made a decision in 2015 that Greenland – a territorial country under the Danish realm – would be exempt from the agreement with the argument that abiding by the carbon pollution goals set by Denmark would come at a cost too high for Greenland’s industrial and economic development (Vidal 2016). The decision of Egede’s government is symbolic of an increased focus on the environmental aspects of sustainability. According to a 2021 report by the Arctic Council, the Arctic is warming due to climate change at a rate three times faster than the rest of the world (Arctic Monitoring & Assessment Programme 2021, p. 4). While the melting sea ice is creating a number of challenges, it is also opening up possibilities for tourism, natural resource extractions, new sea routes and other infrastructural developments, for which Greenland has enjoyed increased worldwide attention. As a former colony of Denmark and present-day territory within the Kingdom of Denmark (KoD), Greenland’s political landscape has centered largely around the ambitions for increased self-determination since its first official step in this direction in 1953 when Greenland’s status changed from colony to KoD constituency (Naalakkersuisut n.d). Since receiving greater autonomy in 2009 – and gaining sovereignty and administration over additional areas including mineral resources – the development of the mining industry in Greenland has been an on-going and disputed debate. Natural resource extraction has often been promoted as the foundation for economic growth in Greenland, that is home to some of the world’s biggest untapped reserves of rare earth minerals – elements that are deemed vital for the global green transition (Kalvig & Lucht 2021). Consequently, Greenland is one of the places the global community is increasingly looking at as a potential alternative supplier for rare earth minerals in the effort to discontinue China’s current world domination of the mineral supply (ibid.). Whether it is through the development of its mining industry or in the participation in global environmental agendas, Greenland is actively working on taking its place on the world stage. In his 2022 new year’s speech, Prime Minister Muté B. Egede said the following:

“Let us participate in the global ambitions for a more sustainable life through trade. Let us show the world the sustainable way of living that characterizes the people of the Arctic [...] We have the opportunity to show the world that we, in the future, can become an independent state that can collaborate with them [...] through embracing, and making good use of our environment, fishing and tourism, energy, and natural resources, and develop these areas in accordance with international agreements.” (Egede, 2022)

There is evidently a wish to shape a certain image of Greenland towards the global community. In the above, Prime Minister articulates how his government intends to represent Greenland in regard to sustainability. However, the concept of sustainability is also a highly contested one. It is one that is abstract, has many interpretations depending on *what* is to be sustained, and has, according to scholars (Gad et al 2017), become a ‘buzzword’ in the Arctic region and not least in Greenland (p. 14). Furthermore, as an industry that needs non-renewable materials to operate and can leave many social and environmental scars in large-scale cases, mining has been argued to be inherently unsustainable (Wang, 2015). The contradictions around environmental sustainability pose questions about which narratives Naalakkersuisut projects to the world in its advancement of Greenland on the global stage.

Problem formulation

On the basis of the above articulations, the research question the thesis will seek to answer is the following:

How does Naalakkersuisut use the sustainability concept when branding itself as both a mining nation and a ‘green’ nation?

Objective

The topic and research question present a unique opportunity to conduct research within a highly relevant and emerging topic in a geographical area that experiences an increasing level of global attention due to both the challenges and the opportunities that arise from climate change.

Through a qualitative, critical discourse analysis of two different presentations by Greenlandic ministers – one at the 2021 UN Climate Change Conference (COP26) and the other at the 2021 Arctic Futures Symposium – sustainability narratives will be investigated with a theoretical point of departure in Simon Anholt's nation branding theory 'Competitive Identity'. The dissertation will further provide an examination of sustainability discourses within Greenland in order to offer reflections on the credibility of its nation branding. The data and analysis take root in the Greenlandic government's perspective and in the context of international audiences.

Specifically, the relevant audience for the COP26 speech consists of government representatives in various levels, representatives of civil society, and media. The Arctic Futures Symposium audience consists of leaders and representatives from other Arctic states and other countries individuals with interest in doing business in Greenland. Common for both speeches are target audiences of global stakeholders who might have interests in doing business with Greenland, through investment and trade.

SETTING THE SCENE

In order to conduct a thorough analysis, it is important to provide the relevant contextual information on the subject. Therefore, this section aims to briefly lay out the contextual background for the significance of the mining industry to Greenland and Greenland's relations to the concept of sustainability.

Sustainable development – a shift in priorities

In Ulrik Pram Gad & Jeppe Strandsbjerg's (2019) book *The Politics of Sustainability in the Arctic*, they theorize of the sustainability concept as a political concept for which they argue there is no agreement on a definition. According to the authors, the difficulties in "prioritizing or combining sustainability of a community, of Indigenous ways of life, of the global climate, and of a prospective nation state", makes the concept highly political (p. 1). Moreover, they consider sustainability a political concept because it defines and shapes different discourses about future developments. The combination of a desire to change while keeping something stable is what fuels the political character of the concept (p. 2-3). They use the 2013 overturn of the 1988 ban on the mining of radioactive materials as an example of a decision that clearly exhibits the political character of the concept of sustainability (p. 1). Proponents of the ban argued that the decision would contribute to the sustainable development of Greenland – where sustainable, in this case, meant that the country would be able to sustain itself economically (ibid.). Furthermore, there is an argument for sustaining a way of (Indigenous) life in producing energy from uranium rather than oil because unsustainable global levels of CO2 emission devastate the ecosystem, the natural habitat of the polar bear, and makes seal hunting more difficult (ibid.).

In the coalition agreement between Inuit Ataqatigiit and Naleraq, the parties making up the coalition government that was created following the 2021 election, it is clear from just the introductory text that sustainability and sustainable development plays a central role. Specifically, it is articulated as an important aspect in the development of "the business sector, innovation, tourism, and job creation" (Inuit Ataqatigiit 2021, p. 1). Their political view on mineral mining states, that they have ambitions to develop the industry – but with the exclusion of any uranium mining (p. 11). The agreement further speaks to environmental responsibility as it states that the coalition government acknowledges the political responsibility to address both

the challenges and the opportunities of climate changes and wishes to increase the green energy production (p. 12).

The shift in priorities with regards to sustainability and sustainable development with the sitting government, is characterized not only by the decision to join the Paris Agreement but also a historic decision to halt all oil exploration and production in the country – a decision that the Minister for Fisheries and Hunting stated “emphasizes that Greenland manages its natural resources sustainably” and sends a strong signal that Greenland “puts sustainable management of our natural resources high on the agenda” (Naalakkersuisut, 2021). This policy change allowed Greenland to become one of the core members of a new global alliance that seeks to end oil and gas production. An elaboration on sustainability discourses in Greenlandic politics will be provided in a later chapter as part of the analysis.

The mining industry – the road to independence

Since Greenland officially seized to be a colony of Denmark in 1953, it has enjoyed gradual self-autonomy over the decades since. In the most recent leap, Greenland gained self-government in 2009 and became recognized as a people, pursuant to international law with the right to self-determination and was granted control over its mineral and oil activities (Act on Greenland Self-Government 2009). Since 1980, Greenland has received an annual block grant from the Danish state, which in 2018 amounted to 3,6 billion DKK, or 55% of Greenland’s national income (Bianco 2019, p. 29). Additionally, Greenland receives an annual grant from the European Union to the educational sector, which makes up 5% of Greenland’s overall income. Therefore, other types of income will have to increase exponentially in order for Greenland to reduce it the block grant and eventually become independent from Denmark (ibid.). A defining element in Greenlandic politics is thus the focus on economic development and the pursuit of developing industries that can act as prerequisites for more self-determination.

In 2013, four years after Greenland gained jurisdiction over its natural resources, the parliament voted in favor to repeal Greenland’s zero-tolerance policy against uranium mining and other radioactive minerals (Nuttall 2013, p. 368). The reasons for the initial ban were the risks related to the environment and the local communities and their health. During the debate on the zero-tolerance policy prior to the vote, sitting Premier Aleqa Hammond had stressed the importance of lifting the ban for the development of the Greenlandic economy, highlighting that

low living standards and unemployment were pressing challenges “that could only be dealt with by bringing in revenue from mining” (p. 369). There was a broad political agreement, reinforced by the national strategy for minerals and petroleum at the time, that the mineral sector should form the basis for long-term development and for this reason, considerable effort was being put into attracting international mining companies and increase knowledge and awareness about the mineral-rich geological environments in Greenland (ibid). However, the mining industry in Greenland is still considered to be in the very early development process today. A handful of mineral exploitation activities have been undertaken, two of which are active today (Mineral Resources Authority n.d). According to the government’s mineral strategy, which was presented in 2020, the main challenge Greenland faces in attracting investors is the lack of infrastructure (The Ministry of Mineral Resources 2020). The industry is not fully developed and it is therefore not yet competitive compared to other countries with developed mining industries (Naalakkersuisut 2020). Nevertheless, Greenland is endowed with some of the world’s largest mineral deposits and the Geological Survey of Denmark and Greenland (2018) has assessed that Greenland has the possibility of becoming a major exporter of rare earth elements (p. 2, 11). Rare earth elements (REEs) – a group of 17 minerals that are particularly important to the overall green energy transition and defense technologies – are the reason other countries are increasingly looking to the Arctic and Greenlandic undergrounds as alternative sources to reduce the global reliance on China’s current mineral monopoly (Kalvig & Lucht 2021). However, due to environmental concerns, the current government, elected in April 2021, re-instated the zero-tolerance policy on uranium mining. It has been debated, locally and globally, whether this decision was a smart in regards to the message it was sending investors and thus what the consequences for the Greenlandic mining sector would be. However, Inuit Ataqatigiit, whose election campaign was dominated by debate surrounding the uranium zero-tolerance policy, won the election, in large part due to the voters who wanted the uranium ban.

METHODOLOGY

An appropriate design for research is essential, as it forms the framework for the collection and analysis of data. To have a unified approach to methods and methodology, methodological frameworks and analytical tools have been selected carefully in agreement with the relevance of the research question. This section lays out the philosophical reflections, justifications for the case and theory selections, and the research design.

Methodological considerations

The philosophical considerations – the ontological and epistemological beliefs – of a study are important as they influence how the research is framed. The ontological perspective shapes the epistemological and methodological aspects of the research (Moon & Blackman 2017). In this dissertation, the ontological perspective – what exists that one can acquire knowledge about – lies within constructivism, which assumes a subjective perspective on the world in which assumptions, hypothesis, and concepts are constructed rather than given (Moon & Blackman 2017; Bunge 2001, p. 13010). The epistemological position – how knowledge is created and what one can know – that this research takes upon is interpretivism, which focuses on understanding social meanings embedded within international politics (Moon & Blackman 2017). Research agendas within this perspective often seek to “understand identities, ideas, norms, and culture in international politics” (Lamont 2020, p. 19). Interpretivism questions the underlying social and power structures, which international relations scholars have previously criticized other common epistemological perspectives – empiricism or positivism – for failing to incorporate (p. 20). Both epistemological and ontological considerations are taken into account in the study, which, at its core, intends to analyze the constructed actions, sustainability discourses, developed by the social actor in question, Naalakkersuisut, and to interpret those interactions correspondingly to the wider context of nation branding. This research can therefore also be placed among scholars such as Ulrik Pram Gad (2019), Jeppe Strandsbjerg (2019), and Lill Rastad Bjørst (2017; 2019) who all have written contributions to sustainability as a political concept in Arctic and Greenlandic contexts.

This study is concerned with a qualitative research method as it is examining Naalakkersuisut’s articulations of sustainability and sustainable development in relation to

speeches and presentations about the mining industry in Greenland and the current Naalakkersuisut's environmental sustainability agenda – which, in essence, is an analysis of the “quality” of data. Qualitative research is commonly conducted through an inductive approach, as is the case here. The inductive approach implies that the research process has a starting point in the data, or specific observations, developing broader generalizations and theories in the process.

Case selection

Politically, there has never been as much focus on environmental aspects of sustainability from the government of Greenland as there is today. Simultaneously, the desire to develop the mining industry and attract mining investors is also relevant as ever. The inherent contradiction on an environmental sustainability level creates an appealing case for this research. Greenland's participation in global climate change agendas has shifted over the years and valuable conclusions can be drawn from examining the motivations behind the current government's focus on climate change and transition to renewable energies. Moreover, the mining sector is still considered a promising sector to develop with regards to the economic development of Greenland. It is expected to have high potential, but it is also a sector that has been the center of disputed debate in relation to the question of environmental sustainability. In contrast to Greenland's other large industries, tourism and fisheries, mining remains in a less developed phase. This premature stage is however a fitting stage for this research as the research relies on the debate about the advancement of the industry in Greenland.

Although there is a vast amount of scholarly contributions within the domains of sustainability in Greenlandic politics and mining in Greenland, a gap has been observed in the existing literature, which covers an overlap with nation branding. This dissertation therefore covers a case of sustainability discourses in Greenlandic politics in relation to branding Greenland to the world. Although this case study of Naalakkersuisut's sustainability articulations in relation to how they would like to be perceived by other countries, with a particular focus on environmental policies and the mining industry, is a quite specific context, it says something about the impact the concept of sustainability has in Greenlandic politics and how the government balances environmental priorities between participating in global climate agendas and protecting the environment on a local level.

Choice of Theory

The theoretical framework for this analysis is based on Simon Anholt's nation branding theory, Competitive Identity, which is a term that describes the synthesis of brand management with public diplomacy and with trade, investment, tourism, and export promotion (Anholt 2007, p. 3). This section outlines the reflections behind the choice of Anholt's theory. Nation branding is concerned with the development and management of the outward perception of countries, in the interest of enhancing their reputation in foreign affairs. For Anholt, nation branding is interchangeable in meaning to how effectively countries 'compete' with each other for favorable perceptions. As Greenland seeks to become an active participant on the global scene in areas such as mining and climate agendas, nation branding, or Competitive Identity, is an appropriate theory to apply in the study of how the sustainability concept is used in Naalakkersuisut's branding as environmentally committed and as a mining nation, in their advancements of Greenland on the international stage in relation to their environmental sustainability agendas – reducing fossil fuels emissions and protecting the local environment from pollution from extractive industries. The theory allows for an investigation into the motivations behind the narratives Naalakkersuisut project when they are represented at international events and can also help explain why the discourses on sustainability are the way that they are. An effective, or credible, Competitive Identity includes both a good outward image and an overall strategy that reflects fundamentally true things about the country and its people (Anholt 2007, p. 75). This importance of the embodiment of values in the brand also being inscribed in the citizens and across all aspects of society, emphasizes the significance of the relationship between domestic and foreign relations when it comes to nation branding. The theory thus provides an added value in the analysis by providing a framework to examine the credibility of Naalakkersuisut's branding of Greenland.

Critical Discourse Analysis

Language can be a powerful tool in any form of communication and can be a bearer of change. In the examination of the ways in which Naalakkersuisut uses the concept of sustainability in relation to its branding, a discourse analysis will thus be the method of analysis. The empirical data subject to analysis consists of texts, making a discourse analysis highly appropriate.

Discourse can produce storytelling and narratives, which is what nation branding in its core is concerned with. So, while discourse can be a representation of political debates about sustainability in Greenland, it also can indicate the ways in which Greenland brands itself. In the analysis, a discourse analysis following Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) framework will be applied in the analysis of two minister speeches. CDA is a method applied by qualitative scholars to investigate texts as discourses to "uncover the patterns and connections of knowledge and power in the social structure that produced the texts" (Benoit 2020, p. 461). It will allow for an in-depth examination of the discourses in the speeches and provide valuable discussion upon the research question set forth.

In political science and international relations, scholars are interested not so much on the text itself as in what it tells them about the more fundamental latent implications of the authors (Benoit 2020, p. 462). This is because CDA is highly concerned with social problems, power-relations, and the general societal and cultural context of the text and authors in question. Texts are also powerful tools for shaping and transforming social practices and social structures and CDA can therefore be considered a method to analyze societal changes based on a text. As stated by Normal Fairclough (2003), "texts as elements of social events have causal effects – i.e. they bring about changes" (p. 8).

The 3-dimensional framework

Fairclough's CDA framework is made up of three levels of analysis: the textual level, the discursive practice, and the social practice. Each level of analysis serve specific purposes although there can easily, as in any text or qualitative analysis, be overlaps in interpretations. The analysis will apply this framework, however not in any strict structure of the three levels.

Firstly, at the textual level, content and textual organization are analyzed. More specifically, it focuses on phonology, vocabulary, grammar, semantics, and sentence structures. Fairclough emphasizes that the two focal aspects in question – content and textual organization – are inseparable and intertwined as they have mutual impact on each other (Titscher et al. 2000, p. 150). While this level of analysis is valuable to parts of the analysis in this dissertation, it is not sufficient in itself to analyze discourse. Secondly, at the discursive practice level, an examination of the link between text and social practice is applied. Fairclough determines discursive practice as processes of production, distribution and interpretation of texts. The examination at this level

includes both an explanation of how the participants in an interaction interpret and produce texts as well as of interdiscursivity – the combination of genres and discourses in a text, or simply “the bridging between text and context” (Titscher et al. 2000, p. 150). The social context plays an important role when examining the production and interpretation of texts, which may reveal implicit rules or routines the text has been subject to, such as particular economic, political or institutional settings. Therefore, those who conduct the analysis are more dependent on social and cultural insight and it makes this level of analysis more strongly interpretative (Titscher et al. 2000, p. 150). Finally, the third level of analysis – social practice – relates to the wider social context. The social practices include activities such as means of production, social relations, social identities, cultural values, consciousness, and semiosis. Moreover, this level of analysis considers the different levels of social organization, power relations, hegemony, and ideologies, so in summary, it deals with the social structures in effect (Titscher et al. 2000, p. 151). Titscher et al. point out at this level, that there is an essential link between discourses and hegemony and that the control over discursive practices is a struggle over the orders of discourse (ibid.).

Data collection

The data subject to analysis in this dissertation consists of both primary and secondary sources that have been selected carefully and accordingly to the subject and research question put forth. Firstly, various secondary sources on the form of academic articles are applied in the first section of the analysis, which aims to reflect over previous use of the sustainability concept in Greenlandic politics. Secondly, to conduct an analysis of the Greenlandic government’s sustainability discourses in relation to how it presents itself on the world stage, two pieces of textual and visual data in the form of minister speeches at international conferences have been selected. The two speeches by Naalakkersuisut ministers have been selected on the basis of their topic relevance and audience. In other words, the speeches have been selected as appropriate for this analysis because their contents and contexts concern Greenland’s environmental ambitions and mining developments, and because the receiver end consists of broad international audiences, which will be specified further below. Prepared and more formal speeches can be considered more strategic presentations than more casual presentations or talks that require less preparation. Therefore, the formal presentations at the conferences can be considered appropriate data in the analysis of Greenland’s nation branding.

Firstly, the analysis will cover a speech about the Greenlandic mining industry by the current Minister of Housing, Infrastructure, Minerals, Justice and Gender Equality, Naaja Nathanielsen. The presentation was held virtually at the 2021 Arctic Futures Symposium – an annual conference that “brings together local and national policy makers, Arctic Indigenous peoples, natural and social scientists, academics, and representatives of industries in or with interest in the Arctic” (Arctic Futures Symposium, n.d.). Minister Nathanielsen’s presentation was part of a panel discussion, which had the subject ‘The Arctic as a more sustainable place to do business’. Nathanielsen’s speech touches upon the general business sector of Greenland but spends a significant section of her speech on the mining industry specifically. The entire virtual Arctic Futures Symposium 2021 conference is publicly available on YouTube, where Nathanielsen’s speech has been transcribed from. The Arctic Futures Symposium is a business conference that appeals mostly to other Arctic stakeholders, including government representatives and representatives of various organization. On the receiving end of Nathanielsen’s speech are therefore a variety of actors and stakeholders in or with an interest in doing business in the Arctic region, including in Greenland. Nathanielsen’s speech is used in the analysis of how Naalakkersuisut articulates sustainability in relation to presenting Greenland as a mining nation.

The second piece of empirical data is the presentation by Naalakkersuisut at COP26 in November 2021, where a speech by Prime Minister Egede on ‘a greener Greenland’ was made following the presentation of a short film about the ways in which Greenland is experiencing the consequences of climate change and the renewable energy possibilities that exist in Greenland. The entire presentation, including both the video and the speech, is also publicly available on YouTube and has been transcribed. The COP is the largest and most high-profile climate conference in the world, attended by government representatives to the 197 parties to the UNFCCC, representatives of civil society, and a range of organizations (Atkinson 2022). The people on the receiving end of Egede’s presentation is therefore a broad range of international actors from all societal levels. As it appears in Egede’s speech, however, it can be assumed that his target audience are other governments.

Two additional textual data pieces are subject to analysis, although in less depth and not through a critical discourse analysis. Firstly, Prime Minister Egede’s 2022 new year’s address to the people of Greenland will be analyzed for the purpose of examining Naalakkersuisut’s

national sustainability discourse. A Danish transcription of the speech has been found and is translated to English in the analysis (see appendix C). Secondly, a 2021 magazine by the Greenland Business Association will be examined to assess the sustainability discourses within the business sector. The analysis of these two data will be done to reflect on the parallels or discrepancies between the sustainability discourses in these and the discourses in the ministers' speeches to the international community, to produce arguments in light of the theory in question for this dissertation, Nation Branding.

Data processing – coding

Processing the data that is subject to CDA has been done through *coding*. Coding the texts is a highly appropriate part of any discourse analysis process as it helps identify themes within the text for analysis. Coding is also useful because brings order to what is often an overwhelming amount of empirical data and thus helps develops an overview (Delve n.d.). The two texts subject to CDA in this analysis were coded by being arranged in columns, in which the first column contained the text and the next column contained the identified codes. The processed data can be found in the appendices.

Limitations

The empirical data subject to analysis have been selected based on subjective assessment, which concern the data's content and ability to provide sufficient foundation for analysis in accordance with the research topic in question. On a similar note, it should also be noted that the interpretative nature of discourse analysis leaves space for personal bias. As Fairclough (2003) states, textual analysis is “*inevitably selective*” and based on the subjective perceptions of the researcher, meaning that objective text analysis essentially is not possible (p. 14). A last limitation to data availability for the research is the relatively short amount of time that has passed since the most recent election in April 2021. The current Naalakkersuisut has been the governing body for approximately one year and although many political activities have taken place, more time would naturally mean more data.

THEORY

The nation as a brand – Anholt’s Competitive Identity

The thesis works with one theory on nation branding. This chapter lays out the theoretical framework for the analysis. Although it is still a developing field, nation branding has been theorized and conceptualized by a number of scholars over the past decades. Simon Anholt’s work in the field is extensive and his theoretical framework of the branding of nations is what he has termed ‘Competitive Identity’ (CI) – a “model for enhanced national competitiveness in a global world, through public diplomacy, trade, investment, and export promotion” (Anholt 2007, p. 5). Branding as a concept, according to Anholt, refers to the process of designing, planning, and communicating the name and the identity, in order to build or manage the reputation of a nation (p. 4). He divides the idea of nation branding into six main subfields: tourism, exports, governance, people, culture and heritage, and investment and immigration. According to the subject of this research, the nation branding in question for this thesis can be classified as exports and investment. In differentiating nation branding with the branding of commercial brands, he emphasizes that a powerful and imaginative CI strategy is more the product of intellectual than of financial capital, which means that achieving a successful CI is not just a matter of monetary funds limited to countries who have the monetary means to brand their nation through media (p. 12). Moreover, differing from other type of theories working with communication, the context in which messages are received plays an especially important role in CI. Anholt argues that the image of the messenger, in fact, can be more important than the message itself (p. 7).

According to Anholt (2007), governments are on the forefront of nation branding on both levels as it is the government’s task to develop, support, defend, and oversee the nation brand (p. 6). The way a country and its government is represented and perceived to the outside world is highly importance and that is a fundamental motivation behind governments increasingly using nation branding strategies as a way to grow their ‘competitiveness’ (p. 7). The fundamental driver of CI is globalization and today, there is more collaboration and integration between embassies, cultural bodies, trade and tourist offices, etc. than ever. The reputation of a country has direct impact on just about every aspect of its engagement with other countries, and plays a critical role in its economic, social, political, and cultural progress (p. 9). Moreover, marking

strategies have been judged to have something useful to contribute to policy-making, economic and social development and international relations (p. 15). Nation branding theory therefore seeks to examine how and why a country tries to control and influence the ways in which it is represented to the outside world.

The importance of a unified brand

Nation branding theory works within the logic or reasoning of the global scene as a place for competition and emphasizes the need to represent a unified identity in all aspects of society in order to become an active and successful participant in the global market. It means that although nation branding is often associated with how a country is perceived and presented to the ‘outside’ world, its application on the local level is also important for good CI strategy. As mentioned earlier, nation branding is used most often on the global level as a means by governments to positively influence and benefit its diplomatic and political ties to other nations. On the local level, it seeks to positively influence the perceptions of and the relations between the nation and its citizen (Frig & Sorsa 2018, p. 4). If the overall strategy does not reflect fundamentally true things about the place and its people, there is little chance it will be endorsed by the population, let alone the rest of the world (Anholt 2007, p. 75). Therefore, although difficult to achieve, the aim of CI is for the embodiment of values in the brand also be inscribed in their citizens to get the brand across on all aspects of society (p. 12). This reflects the relationship between nation branding and national identity because as we have learned, nation brand is essentially a reflection of a nation’s national characteristics, stereotypes, cultural values, foreign policy values, etc. – and in other words, an embodiment of national identity.

Similarly, the overall reputation of a country is better positioned when all sectors of the country are aligned to a common strategy because conflicting brands of a country are presented by different groups often result in a conflicting image, rather than a wholesome one (p. 6). As Anholt puts it, if most people accept the same values and share the same goals, the group is far more likely to achieve its objectives (p. 6). So there is a degree of credibility required for good CI. The more wholesome of an image and thus the more credible the representations of a country are, the more effective the nation branding is.

The theoretical application

Competitive Identity provides a foundation to examine the explanations behind the ways in which Greenland represents itself in the global market and thus how Greenland aims or wishes to be portrayed externally. It is also concerned with overruling previous perceptions of the nation, and this can be considered especially relevant in light of the current government, the subject of this thesis, being ‘new’. In the analysis, CI will be used to investigate how Naalakkersuisut uses the international forum to brand Greenland. It will help examine Naalakkersuisut’s nation branding strategies and provide a framework for reflection on their credibility and ‘competitiveness’. Furthermore, the theory explains why Naalakkersuisut represents itself the way it does and thus the motivations behind their sustainability narratives.

Summary

Simon Anholt’s nation brand theory, Competitive Identity, emphasizes the ways in which countries’ use strategies to increase their competitiveness in our increasingly globalized world. Developed nations have been progressively focused on the global green transition in the fight against climate change. An analysis with a theoretical framework of CI can shine light on the role Naalakkersuisut appears to believe Greenland plays in the global fight against climate change and how it positions itself as both environmentally ambitious and competitive in the mining industry. Moreover, an aspect that plays an important role in determining how effective a country’s CI is, is the degree to which all other sectors of the country produce and project narratives that agree with each other. In other words, the more unified the branding is across different spheres within a country, the more effective the CI, or nation branding, is to the outside. When looking at the government of Greenland’s sustainability discourse, Anholt’s theory will be applied to reflect on the narratives and how wholesome the government’s branding it by looking firstly at Naalakkersuisut’s sustainability discourses on international stages and make a comparison to their sustainability discourses on a national stage and the discourses in the business sector.

ANALYSIS

Through the theoretical and methodological framework laid out above, the analysis will address the research question put forth: *How does Naalakkersuisut use the sustainability concept when branding itself as both a mining nation and a 'green' nation?*

The analysis begins with a section that provides an examination of the concept of sustainability in Greenlandic politics as laid in existing literature on the subject. The following two sections of the analysis are structured after the empirical data, the two presentations by the two Greenlandic ministers Naaja Nathanielsen and Mute B. Egede. Finally, a last section of the analysis will provide a look into the sustainability discourses across sectors. These two data materials consist of Prime Minister Egede's 2021 new year's speech and a 2021 magazine produced and published by the Greenlandic business community, respectively. In light of nation branding and in further assessment of Naalakkersuisut's Competitive Identity, the last section aims to extend on the analysis through data in which audience, sender, and sector differ from those of the speeches to assess parallels or discrepancies in sustainability narratives.

Sustainability in Greenlandic politics

This section aims to provide an overview of the role the concept of sustainability previously has played in Greenlandic politics, through secondary sources in the form of academic articles by scholars in the field such as Ulrik Pram Gad, Lill Rastad Bjørst, and Marc Jacobsen.

In an article about Greenland's climate policy, or perhaps lack thereof, Bjørst (2019) articulates the relationship between climate change and sustainability in Greenlandic political discourses, based on her observations at the 2015 Future Greenland business conference in Nuuk. These observations are pulled largely from the business community, which heightens their relevance to this analysis. Sustainability was primarily understood as a developmental doctrine and less an environmental one (p. 122). Bjørst relates this notion back to 2008 by stating that Greenlandic priorities concerning the climate similarly were not high on the agenda, while economic self-sustainability in Greenland as an "up-and-coming independent state" was at the top of the agenda. However, there has been an advocacy for stopping global warming and supporting CO2 reductions on a global scale, for which reason she argues, that Greenland has been following a double climate strategy – one that argues for economic growth and industrial

development in Greenland and advocates to stop global warming on the international stage (p. 127, 130). As observed by Bjørst, it seems Greenland expects to rely on being able to develop the extractive industries, which would demand the right to higher emissions. In 2015, then Foreign Minister of Greenland Vittus Qujaukitsoq stated that the economic situation gave them “no choice but to develop mining and oil” and that it would be too costly for Greenland to submit to the binding agreement that is the Paris Agreement (Vidal 2016). When it comes to sustainability in relation to resource extraction, the history of the uranium ban, which was touched upon earlier in the dissertation, encapsulates the political character of sustainability, as suggested by Gad et al. (2019) in their introductory chapter to *The Politics of Sustainability in the Arctic* (2019). Bjørst (2017) has covered sustainability discourses in relation to the highly politicized Kuannersuit mine in Narsaq – the mine in question to the uranium ban. She did a 2013-2015 case study on the political debates about the mine and the effects of those debates on the tolerance towards the mining of Greenland’s uranium. She posed the question of how the government of Greenland, in just a few weeks, was able to adopt a “pro-uranium” position, to which her conclusion is that the politicians see the mining of uranium as one of the important ways to grow Greenland’s economy and ensure “economic self-sustainability” (p. 26). Her overall conclusion is therefore that the concept of sustainability is largely a political one in Greenland and one that is achieved in a context of economic development and that both parallel and conflicting storylines about the Kuannersuit mine and uranium are constantly being produced among citizens and in politics (p. 31).

Marc Jacobsen (2019) dives into the sustainability discourse in the mining industries in Greenland and Nunavut. He does this in the contexts of their sovereignty ambitions to investigate what meanings are ascribed to the sustainability concept. Jacobsen observes that although the sustainability concept is to some level contested by Indigenous definitions, both Greenland and Nunavut use mainly the 1987 Brundtland Report description of the concept as point of reference in their mineral strategies, which Jacobsen sees as them “reproducing hegemonic perceptions” (p. 65). Jacobsen’s key conclusion is, however, that sovereignty plays a central role in both places in deciding what to sustain and that resource extraction generally is seen as a “potential core contributor” to increased self-determination (p. 65).

In summary, it can be said that economic development has weighted heavy in the developments in all sectors in Greenland, including the mining sector. In terms of environmental

sustainability and climate change focus, Greenland has been a supporter of the fight against climate change on a global scale but has not engaged in the global agenda or been willing to participate in the reduction of CO2 emissions due to that commitment contradicting its economic self-sustainability goals. Independence has played a central role in what is considered sustainable because sustainability is largely considered to be achieved through the context of economic development, which is a precedence for increased sovereignty and self-determination.

Greenland as a sustainable place to do business - Minister Nathanielsen

This section of the analysis will be a critical discourse analysis on the speech about business and mining in Greenland at the Arctic Futures Symposium 2021, in which Minister for Housing, Infrastructure, Minerals, Justice and Gender Equality, Naaja Nathanielsen, gave a presentation about doing business in Greenland, as part of a panel discussion titled ‘The Arctic as a more sustainable place to do business’. The Arctic Futures Symposium (AFS) is an annual conference that shines a light upon important developments in the Arctic region and has become an important venue for promoting dialogue between Arctic stakeholders and empowering the peoples that inhabit the different states in the Arctic. The conference brings together “*local and national policymakers, Arctic indigenous peoples, natural and social scientists, academics, and representatives of industries operating in or with interests in the Arctic*” (Arctic Futures Symposium, n.d.). The first half of Nathanielsen’s speech, which has been transcribed from the YouTube video and coded (see appendix A), is her introduction as a panelist in the ‘The Arctic as a more sustainable place to do business’ panel discussion. The second part of the speech subject to analysis is her lengthy answer to a question from the moderator: ‘*What are the solutions or possibilities around sustainable business in Greenland?*’. The two parts made up almost all of her contributions to the panel discussion, and additional brief inputs from her have been excluded as data. A significant part of her speech focuses on Greenland’s mining industry as it lays out updates from Naalakkersuisut for the mining industry and the government’s plans for further developments. This cannot be perceived as unusual considering she is minister for minerals. Considering the international audience of the conference, which includes various business interests, Nathanielsen’s presentation can be considered one that is meant to grow

Greenland's "competitiveness" as a place to do business, and in particular within the mining industry. Moreover, it should be noted that the audience of the AFS – national policymakers, local Arctic peoples, scientists, academics, representatives of businesses operating in the Arctic, and any other stakeholders with an interest in the Arctic in any capacity – indicates that it is possible that a large portion of listeners already have general knowledge about the Arctic and Greenland.

The following sections lay out the four discursive themes, which have been identified in Minister Nathanielsen's speech at AFS.

1. Committed and ambitious in sustainability

The first theme identified is the presentation of the government as a 'new' government with great sustainability ambitions. Naaja Nathanielsen begins her presentation with immediately inferring the new and more serious sustainability priorities of her government: "*since we assumed office, we have been taking sustainability quite seriously and have decided that we want to translate the word sustainability into real action*". The proclamation that *they* take sustainability seriously and their decision to *now* translate the word into action is an indication of a distancing from a sustainability agenda. While it is not immediately clear what she infers with the word 'sustainability', it becomes clearer in following statements. Nevertheless, there is an implication that there has or there will be a change in direction or priorities in relation to sustainability since they have assumed office. A certain ambition is expressed with deciding to "*translate the word sustainability into real action*", inferring a new and more serious attitude. Remembering Competitive Identity, a significant part of the motivations to portray certain images of the country to the world, is shifting or overruling previous images.

The sustainability ambitions of the government are stressed through the policy actions and developments the minister lays out. In connection to her earlier statement about translating sustainability into real action, she mentions that one of the government's "*first actions was to put a stop to future drilling of oil and gas*", followed by the mention of developing a new hydropower strategy, followed by another mention of "*working on a new strategy for carbon capture storage*". Laying out all the initiatives the government has taken or are developing is a display of commitment and acting on a sense of urgency. The amount of legislation related to environmental sustainability and preservation the government has passed, can be considered

significant in light of the fact that the coalition government assumed office just 8 months prior to the AFS conference. The legislation and policies highlighted throughout Nathanielsen's speech are positive contributions to a country's CI because a part of being portrayed as an attractive place to invest or become involved in other ways, is having the outward narratives match the actions and behaviors 'behind the scenes' such as through legislation and policies.

The government's sustainability ambitions are also portrayed through the talk about renewable energy and goals for green energy transition. There are numerous references to renewable energy in Nathanielsen's speech, representative of the heavy role the subject plays in the overall sustainability talk. In one of the first sentences, Nathanielsen states: "*we are right now developing a new strategy for our hydropower because we see some great potentials in the 'Power to X' movement, this new emerging technology, and we are taking that further along now*". The government has ambitions to develop its hydropower and Nathanielsen makes it clear they are committed to pursuing this direction towards more environmentally sustainable technology. Moreover, it is a statement about how they are already taking actions to achieve these goals. In relation to the mining industry, Nathanielsen also reiterates the ambition for the industry using renewable energy "*as far as they can*". As she puts it, Greenland has "*a lot of hydro power potential, solar power, and also wave potential*", optimistically laying out the possibilities for transition to green energy within the mining sector. The references to renewable energy also produce an image about innovation. It is an image of an innovative nation that can compete with other (developed) nations for green energy and technology. Nathanielsen further reinforces this as she speaks of carbon capture storage as something that "*no one [in Greenland] has really looked into the possibilities of*" but that it is a "*new path to follow that has not been tried before in Greenland*". The use of "new path" here, is representative of following the path the world goes in, in terms of technology and green transition, producing this narrative about being innovative and open-minded.

Finally, the ambitions of the government are also shown through the repeated statements or suggestions that Greenland is ready to "*take responsibility*". In her first phrase about this, Nathanielsen states that "*with responsibility comes some big decision-making*". She then continues to refer to the government's '*sustainability agenda*' possibly affecting some groups or people negatively but that this is an unavoidable situation to be faces with when "*you have to take some responsibility*" and "*have other needs to meet*". The latter quote is a reiteration of this

government having ‘*other*’ priorities than the previous. Taking responsibility can also be a reference to taking part in the global responsibility to the global agenda to fight climate change, which previous governments have not been ready to do.

This implication of bringing an agenda that has unavoidably had consequences for some business projects but that is nevertheless necessary for the sake of ‘sustainability’, is suggestive of a shift in the government’s ‘moral compass’. Nathanielsen puts emphasis on the sacrifices one has to make in order to be responsible and do the right thing.

2. Greenland is ready for business

Another narrative largely present in Nathanielsen’s speech is that Greenland has laid, or are laying, the groundwork and is ready to do business with the world. Although this may not be surprising considering the subject of the panel discussion revolving around the Arctic as a sustainable place to do business and that Nathanielsen’s speech in large part can be considered a pitch to other countries to come do business in Greenland – this narrative is manifested in various ways that are nevertheless revealing of her sustainability articulations and presentation of Greenland.

Firstly, there is a reiteration throughout her speech about ‘mainstreaming’ their government’s ‘agendas’ to other sectors of Greenland. Nathanielsen begins her response to the moderator’s question “What are the solutions or possibilities around sustainable business in Greenland?” with: “*First of all, I would like to say that an important thing if you want move forward with this is you need to mainstream sustainability in all of your areas of administration and that is what we are currently doing*”. Here, it is unclear what “*this*” refers to specifically, however one can assume it is in reference to ‘sustainable business’ in Greenland. It is, however, a straight-forward message about first laying the groundwork or foundation in the administration in order to obtain sustainability, and that the government is in the process of doing that. This is a projection that the government of Greenland values sustainability and realizes what it requires. The references to laying a ‘good foundation’ are many and are referenced in relation to operating sustainably. Furthermore, there is a projection that other sectors are already in agreement with the government’s goals: “*I think we have actually a quite good understanding with the business community on this*”, Nathanielsen states in reference to the strict regulations in the mining sector.

In the quest to make Greenland sound like an attractive place to do business, Nathanielsen also highlights the way in which Greenland is already operating sustainably. This is articulated from the beginning as the minister refers to the actions the government has already taken towards environmental sustainability: *“our first actions were to put a stop to future drilling after oil and gas”*. Furthermore, Nathanielsen emphasizes the mineral sector as an area in which they *“actually have been working very sustainably without knowing it”*. She emphasizes that they (the government) has always had “high environmental and social standards” with regard to the mining industry. This was said in relation to the government working closely with various stakeholders including project owners the local communities. A display of working closely with all the relevant stakeholders is a display of trustworthiness and credibility as is suggests a level of transparency and agreement between them and stakeholders.

Nathanielsen makes references to Naalakkersuisut’s already established connections with other states and stakeholders relevant to developing the mining industry. There is a projection of being serious and already in the works, when the minister refers to *“collaborating with the EU and USA”* with regard to exploiting Greenland’s critical minerals. Additionally, she states that the government has recently joined the European Raw Materials Alliance where they work with European partners on the critical minerals supply chain. These references imply the establishment of important and powerful connections, which legitimizes Greenland’s activities in relation to developing its mining industry and creates a level of credibility of its industry.

3. Despite the challenges

A third discursive theme in Nathanielsen’s presentation of Greenland as a place to do business, is the transparency about but also the justifications for all the challenges Greenland has when it comes to doing business in Greenland. The things that are identified as challenges throughout the speech include the education sector due to low education levels and infrastructure and remoteness, which are both challenges to accessibility. Here is a statement that articulates these:

“In Greenland, as you know, we live remotely, the population has low education levels, we have some costs that others do not have due to our geography where we are placed. We have very fair wages and good environmental standards and so on, so we are also not a cheap country to do business in” (Nathanielsen)

Here, Nathanielsen is listing some core challenges Greenland faces in relation to business and sustainable development. She justifies some of them with Greenland's geographical location, or in other words, with something that is out of their control. The latter challenge articulated – the high cost of doing business in Greenland – is actually prefaced with its justifications. So although the minister openly lays out the challenges investors can face, they are also completely justified, according to her. Moreover, the challenges are presented as non-obstacles to the government. Nathanielsen states twice, that the government focuses on using their disadvantages to their advantages, or *“trying to make the obstacles work for us instead of against us”*. Naalakkersuisut is thus adamant to find solutions or work around the obstacles they face due to uncontrollable factors such as geographical location. In connection to Greenland being an expensive place to do business, Nathanielsen states they are *“putting a lot of money into infrastructure to reduce costs for the business community and population and increase our accessibility”*. Again, there is a reassurance that the government is actively working to make Greenland more attractive as a place to do business. Nathanielsen also states the following in response to the high costs of doing business in Greenland:

“Yes, it is more expensive to do business in Greenland but we come with the right package, we are the real deal, we have the right resources, we do things right and this is the place if you want to be seen by the world because actually this is the hot spot for climate change” (Nathanielsen).

In this pitch, the minister argues for Greenland's credibility and its ethical strategies by saying they do things the correct way. She also references Greenland's role in climate change, which gives some relevance to Greenland for foreign investors that would like to “be seen”. Another challenge this government may face when it comes to the mining industry, is the uranium ban that was passed, and which brought some attention to Greenland's 2021 elections from across the globe. The Greenlandic parliament voted to adopt the law on November 9, 2021 and was entered into force on December 2, 2021 (Hofverberg, 2022). Minister Nathanielsen is on stage at the Arctic Futures Symposium a month after, on December 7, where she addresses the ban:

“As some of you may know, the parliament just passed a ban on uranium mining. I just want to touch upon that here because it has created some storm in some places. I just want to say that yes, this will affect some of the projects but the majority of projects are not affected and we are still able to mine critical minerals in Greenland and will be able to do so and are willing to do so. And I think we have a very good set up around it, when it comes to sustainability.”

Nathanielsen addresses the controversy although it is seemingly an awkward subject. Since the election, this issue got much attention on a global scale due to the controversy and sensitivity for mining companies and foreign investors in Greenlandic mining. She addresses this matter that she characterizes as a “storm”, but she mentions it with the purpose of offering reassurance of the consequences of the policy, which she says will not affect “the majority of projects”. She ends in an optimistic note reassuring the audience that the government’s ability and willingness to mine minerals is still there. The inclusion of the word ‘sustainability’ at the end is also a reminder to the listener that the uranium ban was done in name of sustainability. The reassurance about the consequences of the uranium ban is also done through “*we have been working very closely with the stakeholder and projects owners to engage with the local communities and find solutions locally on different approaches and obstacles*”. This reference to working closely with various stakeholders and local communities draws the image of unification, which, referring back to CI, can be an effective strategy for Naalakkersuisut, especially when addressing a controversial decision. The reoccurring message in the speech is that despite the infrastructural challenges and the expensive costs to do business in Greenland in comparison to other countries, and that their policies has negatively affected a few projects, Greenland is the most ethical place to do business and the policy decisions were done for sustainability reasons.

4. The mining is industry – doing it the ‘right’ way

The last theme observed in Nathanielsen’s speech especially concerns the mining industry, which makes up a large part of her speech about sustainable business in Greenland. Here, Nathanielsen articulates arguments for Greenland being a good place for mining activities:

“I think another point for us in Greenland is that it is not only money that is worth making. We do set the bar high and when it comes to safety and working conditions and wages. And therefore, we are more expensive to do business in than some parts in Africa for instance, where you can also mine the minerals that we have at hand, cheaper”.

In a similar notion to the discussion in the previous theme, there is reiteration here of Greenland ‘doing things right’. Firstly, there is a suggestion of caring about more than money and not being greedy but instead weights social factors like working conditions and wages, high. Greenland is, again, expensive but the social sustainability aspect makes up for it. It is also possible that this is a reference to economic development, which has been a focal point of political discourses throughout Greenlandic history, in which case this is Nathanielsen’s way of distancing the government’s priorities from economic development. This would be significant within the subject of the mining industry, the development of which was prioritized over environmental initiatives as evidenced with the 2013 lift of the uranium ban and decision to seek territorial reservation for the Paris Agreement in 2015.

In an elaboration of the risks associated with the government’s ‘sustainability agenda’, Nathanielsen says the following:

“Maybe we have to take a slower route than you anticipated in the beginning or you have to maybe sometimes put a stop to a project that might be good and reasonable but for some other reasons you cannot do this. So when you have to take some responsibility, you cannot do what you wish because you have other needs to meet.” (Nathanielsen).

This is also interesting because she is indirectly referring to the controversial uranium mining ban that had just passed, in which groups and people were “affected negatively”. This is suggestive of the notion that one must sacrifice things and cannot avoid upsetting some people in the process if one wants to be responsible and do the right thing. She suggests that Greenland made sacrifices and justifies the controversies with Greenland being responsible. According to Anholt (2007), a way to make markets see the country in a new and more productive way and

thus become more attractive, is luring their perceptions towards something more ambitious and perhaps even unfamiliar (p. 77), for which one could see the uranium ban as fitting/an example. The uranium ban is a policy that negatively affects some investors and mining companies, which in turn some have argued would have consequences for Greenland's reputation. However, it is a projection of a shift in priorities. The ban was passed for the sake of protecting the environment and local communities, which simultaneously puts Greenland in a positive light for environmental activists.

There is a link between the speaking of the development of the mining industry and simultaneously wanting to be a green nation. This is highlighted in her statement saying that the mining industry should be using renewable energy as much as possible. Naalakkersuisut wants to contribute to the global green transition by providing the critical minerals. It is ready to take advantage of its mineral deposits.

Minister Egede at COP26

Prime Minister Muté B. Egede attended the 26th Conference of the Parties (COP) in Glasgow, Scotland in November 2021. The annual COP is a high-profile international conference held in the framework of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change and gathers all of the world's leaders in the effort to accelerate action towards the Paris Agreement goals and to discuss ways to jointly address climate change through collaboration between governments, organizations, civil societies, and other entities (United Nations, n.d.). The high-profile nature of the conference provides presenters and attendees a platform with a broad international audience consisting of world leaders, ministers, and representatives from civil societies, and media – in short, a broad audience from all levels of society. The feature by Minister Egede, including the video, is organized by the government of Greenland and is titled within the conference program as “A greener Greenland – a briefing by the Premier of Greenland” (WeDontHaveTime, n.d.). As it appears in the YouTube video, a woman presents first the 5-minute video titled ‘Postcard from Greenland’, which is subsequently shown on a big screen. In the video – which appears as a well-produced, high-quality film – the narrator explains some of the ways in which Greenland is experiencing the consequences of climate change and lays out renewable energy possibilities in Greenland, namely hydropower, solar energy, and carbon capture storage. The video therefore is highly centered around renewable energy and how Greenland can contribute to the green

transition. The footage consist in large part of the subjects in question as the narrator speaks e.g. footage of a hydropower plant in Greenland, solar cells, people walking in the city streets, icebergs and other footage of the Greenlandic landscape. Following the video, a representative invites to the stage Scotland's Minister for Environment and Land Reform, Màiri MacAllan who offers a speech welcoming the audience to the conference and elaborates on Scotland's relations with the Arctic region, and their common goals in relation to climate change. She states that *"Greenland really is central in the fight to secure a sustainable future for our planet and everything living on it"*. Furthermore, she states that although much of the world's attention is paid to the big economies, smaller economies like Greenland and Scotland *"have an essential role to play"* in the fight against climate change.

Egede's announcement for Greenland to join the Paris Agreement is in large part what has driven attention to both his presence and his speech at COP26. It seems that a broader narrative about the Arctic and its significance in climate change played a role at the COP26. Climate scientists delivered a 4-ton block of ice from Greenland to the conference. The ice was put on display and was meant to send *"a strong message to the world's leaders that what happens in the Arctic doesn't stay there"* (University of Exeter, 2021). It cannot be assumed, however, that the COP audience, unlike the AFS audience, has any in-depth knowledge of the Arctic or Greenland in any capacity.

The following sections lay out the four discursive themes, identified in Minister Egede's speech.

1. 'Green' ambitions

In similar means to Naaja Nathanielsen's speech at Arctic Future Symposium, Prime Minister Egede makes Greenland's ambitions for increased use of green energy clear. Given that the purpose of Egede making a presentation at COP is laying out Greenland's green initiatives, it is no surprise. His statements are nevertheless worth diving into. Firstly, he lays out the policy actions the government has taken since assuming office, including putting a halt to all future drilling for oil and gas, the development of a new hydropower strategy, an adoption of Greenland's first ten-year biodiversity strategy and, of course, the decision to join the Paris Agreement. Emphasizing their government's accomplishment, or 'action taking', implies

seriousness in the work towards environmental sustainability and taking part in the global responsibility. The goals for renewable energy transition are states as such:

“Greenland’s parliament is in the process of adopting legislation for building new hydro power plants. In a few years from now, 90% of electricity produced in Greenland, will be from sustainable, renewable sources. And we will continue to develop sustainable energy sources until we are no longer depending upon fossil fuels for our public heat and electricity” (Egede).

Egede articulates Greenland’s motivations for initiating all the mentioned action point as wanting to *“lead by example”* and wanting to be known for their *“commitment to renewable resources and live up to our international name, Greenland”*. In a case of intertextuality, Egede uses Greenland’s name to create a

Similarly, the video ‘A Postcard from Greenland’, consists in large part of footage of Greenlandic landscapes and also technology for renewable energy such as the large hydropower plant in Buksefjorden. This reinforces the sustainability narrative about sustaining the environment and transitioning to green energy. Highlighting the nature and the vast Greenlandic landscapes reinforces a narrative about preserving the nature and is a way to visually emphasize the beautiful nature that the Paris Agreement aims to preserve.

Sustainability is, first and foremost, used by Minister Egede in relation to sustaining the environment. The environment is expressed specifically as the *“climate”*. Climate changes is a global challenge and Egede, through his presentation at COP26, proclaims that Greenland will also take part in the global agenda to fight climate change. This decision for participation is rationalized as a need to *“take responsibility”* and *“lead by example”*. However, he also remarks that Greenland is only a small emitter of CO₂ with its only 56.000 inhabitants and that he hopes the rest of the world will do its part like Greenland is. A deeper motivation to join the Paris Agreement is also revealed as he articulates the challenges the local hunters of Greenland are experiencing as a consequence of climate change. Sustaining the environment and stopping climate change thereby is also connected to sustaining a way of life. This notion will be elaborated on in a later section.

2. Greenland as innovative

Closely linked to the narrative of Greenland being serious about its sustainability work, there is a notion of innovation and modernity. This is manifested first and foremost through the video ‘Postcard from Greenland’ – a well-produced video in itself, with high quality footage. The visuals include numerous shots from the large Buksefjord hydropower plant, including within the grand machinery and the technology behind, producing an image of a well-established construction that uses sophisticated technology. The narrator is simultaneously speaking of Greenland’s developments of its hydropower resources, stating that “*Greenland has worked together with our Nordic neighbors for decades on renewable energy solutions*”, and that the energy company Nukissiorfiit “*is in an ongoing dialogue with utility companies in other Nordic countries to develop operations further*”. The references here to established connections with other countries reinforces a credibility within the field and a credibility to Greenland’s work towards developing the field. In addition to the Buksefjord hydropower plant, visual references to renewable energy and innovation the video also include shots of solar cells. It appears that his aerial footage is taken in a village in South Greenland during the summer, which produces an image of the solar cells that is surrounded by green landscape and again, reinforcing the ‘green’ narrative. The overall image of innovation, through visuals of the technology and speech on the various green initiatives Greenland and Naalakkersuisut has taken towards the development of more renewable energy, reinforces Greenland’s ‘competitiveness’ in the international community by producing an appearance of a nation that has established strategies and technologies for renewable energy and can ‘level’ with other developed nations.

3. Greenland as exceptional – sustaining a way of life

Part of what makes a good Competitive Identity, is that the country stands a chance of being noticed in an increasingly noisy and crowded global market (Anholt 2007, p. 77). The narrative that Greenland is a special and exceptional place is manifested in several ways. Egede begins his whole speech by telling a familiar ‘story’ about Greenland: “*The Arctic and Greenland are two inseparable entities. When you think about the Arctic, you think about Greenland and when you think about Greenland, you think about the Arctic. We make our lives in the Arctic, but our home*

is changing". The association of Greenland with 'the Arctic' from the very beginning creates a narrative about Greenland that many are familiar with. There are, as any other place in the world, stereotypes and certain images people associate with Greenland and the Arctic. The use of stereotypes can, according to Anholt (2007), be a useful method of drawing an audience in and gain attention by presenting something to them that is familiar (p. 27). The association of Greenland with the Arctic is a way to associate it with something bigger and something that has had attention due to climate changes. The Arctic seems to be a significant part of the discourse on the climate at COP 26 as the place that is suffering the consequences. This is reinforced by the ice block from Greenland that was put on display at the COP26 as a visual reminder to world leaders about the urgency. While the association to the 'Arctic' is a way to draw listeners in, Egede also uses this to draw attention to its people, reminding listeners that 'environmental sustainability is not only important to the nature. In reference to the statistics about climate change, he states:

"In Greenland, global warming is visible right outside our doorstep. The sea and the ice sheet are retracting at an alarming base. And the effects of the climate change have a direct impact on our everyday lives to our way of lives and to our culture. Our environment is visibly changing. Hunters, fishermen, and sailors report about ice free waters to a degree never seen before." (Egede).

Here, he is drawing the listener in to the lives of the people of Greenland. He is using imagery to explain the intimate effect climate change has on not only the nature and animals but also to the people and their ways of life. There is also a message about the consequences that the Greenlandic people suffer first-hand. Egede follows that sentiment with stating that "*what our people are witnessing is backed by science*", before going on to cite climate change information from a recent report from the intergovernmental panel on climate change. The mention of support by Western science to what the people of Greenland are experiencing can be a way of emphasizing the urgency to the audience.

In a way to emphasize the exceptionality of Greenland, Egede distances Greenland from the rest of the world as he states: "*What happens in the industrialized part of the world does not stay in the industrialized part of the world but travels up to the Arctic, and what happens in the*

Arctic does not stay in the Arctic [...] Because of continued burning of fossil fuels, our island is melting". Through this intertextuality of using a known saying (what happens in x stays in x), Egede is putting some blame on the industrialized world for what their fossil fuel burning is causing "us", the people of Greenland or the Arctic.

A look into national discourses

To further analyze through the theoretical arguments in nation branding, this section will take point of departure in other texts and speeches. According to Anholt, the way countries get the biggest improvement in their overall reputation is when all the main sectors of a country are aligned to a common strategy. It means that conflicting narratives of a country presented by different groups or sectors can result in a conflicting image, which is not effective for the country's CI. Furthermore, the ultimate aim of CI of countries is for the embodiment of values in the brand, also be inscribed in their citizens to get the brand across on all aspects of society. This section of the analysis therefore aims examine Naalakkersuisut's Competitive Identity in light of the national sustainability discourse as well as on the discourse in the business sector of Greenland, to sideline those with Greenland's outward narratives about sustainability and mining. This segment is sectioned into the following two areas:

1. Naalakkersuisut's national sustainability discourse
2. The Greenlandic business sector's sustainability discourse

1. Minister Egede's new year's speech

This section aims to examine Naalakkersuisut's "internal" branding in relation to sustainability. For this purpose, Prime Minister Muté B. Egede's 2022 new year's address to the people of Greenland is the subject of analysis. This was Egede's first new year's speech as Prime Minister. It looks at the discourse on sustainability and mining on a national level. Nation branding on the local level, as mentioned earlier, seeks to influence the perceptions of and the relations between the nation or government and its citizens towards positive attitudes (Frig & Sorsa 2018, p. 4). Ultimately, the aim for the the citizens and the government to have common values and a common political direction. In his speech, Minister Egede highlights his government's goals for Greenland's development, which he summarizes as: "*we need to create more equality, and to*

create equality, it is absolutely necessary with change. Through more equality, we can create the foundation for a safer society”. The expression of the need to change resembles the attitude of the government as found in previous analysis. It is a reiteration of the new ‘generation’ in government changing policy directions. The focus on social sustainability throughout his speech generally weighs heavy. This is manifested through the ‘usually’ emphasized domestic political subjects such as education, social welfare, health care, and elder care. Although never directly referenced as ‘economic development’, Egede touches upon some development projects including the construction of the three new airports that are supposed to boost tourism, and the further development and prosperity of the fishing industry. He stresses the importance of the involvement of the local communities in connection to those developments and to make proper use of the competencies that exist among the local population. This is a similar tone to Naaja Nathanielsen’s reiterations about the inclusion of local communities within the mining sector. In relation to tourism specifically, he stresses the importance of using the local competencies to pave the way *“for as many people as possible can experience our extraordinary country in an environmentally responsible way”*. In reference to stating that in order to *“continue to benefit from fisheries, tourism, and our environment”*, he quotes a ‘Apollo from the settlement Saattut who had said the following: *“we all need to stop living as if we are the last generation here on earth”*. Here, sustainability is meant as in sustaining the people of Greenland and the environment it makes use of. In other words, it parallels Minister Egede’s references in his COP26 speech to sustaining a way of life.

Towards the end of his speech, Minister Egede directs the subject towards foreign relations and Greenland’s role in the world. It is in this relation he makes mention of climate change and renewable energy:

“The transition to renewable and clean energy, which the world community is focusing so much on these years, provides opportunities for development in our country. The world community is focusing on these things to ensure that future generations have enough food and places to live, and to mitigate the man-made climate change that has resulted in global warming”.

Here, he articulates the motivation for pursuing green transition in Greenland as an opportunity for development as it is a strong global focus today. This notion parallels the narratives about renewable energy transition observed on the international stage. The following quote also corresponds to earlier narratives, however, in a way that corresponds to the motivations of those narratives:

Let us participate in the global pursuit of a more sustainable life through action. Let us show the world the sustainable way of life that characterizes people living in the Arctic, and place Greenland as the cleanest country with a business community based on clean energy. We have the opportunity to show the world that in the future we can become an independent country that can cooperate with them. Let us show them that we, ourselves, are developing our country in a responsible way.”(Egede, 2022).

He touches upon the wish to take responsibility, clean energy, representation of an independent nation, and taking action, which are all narratives identified in his COP26 speech. When it comes to mineral resources and mining, the Prime Minister makes mention of it only once toward the end of his speech. He makes note of it in relation to expressing the wish to develop the country in a responsible way by “*caring for and make good use of our environment, fisheries and tourism, the energy sector and the natural resource sector and develop these sectors in agreement with international agreements*”. The mining sector therefore does not play any significant role in his new year’s speech.

2. Business sector sustainability discourse

At the end of 2021, the Business Association of Greenland published the annual magazine *Greenland*, which focuses on “the investments and developments in the Arctic region” (2021). The magazine consists of chapters written by various prominent individuals, such as CEOs and board chairs, from the Greenland’s business community. It is published in English, which assumes an international target audience. It appears from the website in which the magazine is available for download, that it has a connection to the mining conference Prospectors and

Developers Association of Canada (PDAC) 2022, taking place in Toronto in June (Business In Greenland 2022). It is one of the largest mining conferences in the world. The magazine is therefore material that will also reach the PDAC audience – stakeholders and actors with possible interests in engaging in business in Greenland. The 138-page magazine contains vast information, for which reason, as articulated earlier, only what was assessed as the most relevant for the analysis has been subject to analysis.

The cover page of the magazine (2021) includes a list of four points – understood as a summary of the contents of the magazine – including “Greenland is growing with its own energy” and “From vision to action – debate on Greenland’s future” (p. 1), the last one being a reference to the business conference Future Greenland, which was to be held in Nuuk in may 2022. The two other points listed on the cover page are about the tourism and shipping industry, which is suggestive of the space those industries take up in the Greenlandic business sector. Furthermore, the magazine projects a prominent narrative about environmental sustainability. On the cover page, the reader sees this in “*Greenland is growing with its own energy*”, suggestive of the shift towards renewable energy. Additionally, the cover picture can be argued to project an image about the environment. As an image in which a green landscape fills the foreground while the city of Nuuk, modern buildings, the surrounding blue ocean, and mountains in the far back make up the background, it depicts nature and modern life simultaneously, symbolic of environmental protection, innovation, and green energy.

In a title that sounds familiar from Egede and Nathanielsen’s speeches, the first chapter of the magazine is titled “*Greenland’s companies take responsibility*” (p. 2). The chapter is written by a Board Chair to Greenland Business Association, Henrik Leth. He uses the phrase in regard to sustainability but more specifically, the incorporation by Greenlandic businesses of the 17 UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs):

“In other words, the UN SDGs are an opportunity for us to combine social commitment with long-term commercial development – both for Greenland as an exporting nation, and for the companies and people who directly and indirectly make a living from fishing, tourism and other industries” (p. 3).

Sustainability is spoken of as a wholesome development here. Leth also relates it closer to environmental and climate aspects as he states: *"The UN SDGs are certainly relevant in Greenland, where we are also familiar with challenges such as climate change, the marine environment, social inequality and the need for better education"* (p. 2). The following chapter, 'Greenland is growing with its own energy', is also worth highlighting. It is written by the CEO of Nukissiorfiit, Greenland's national utility company, Kasper Mondrup. Renewable energy is the focal subject in this text. The large image linked to the chapter is of the Buksefjord hydropower station, which similarly received a lot of screen time in 'Postcard from Greenland'. In a similar manner to the presentation at COP26, Mondrup is clear that Greenland's green transition lies in hydropower. The subtitle of the chapter summarizes it: *"In a few years' time, Nukissiorfiit, Greenland's national utility company, will make the country self-sufficient in green energy, and in the long term there is even the potential to establish an export venture based on fuels produced from the country's own resources"* (p. 4). The expressions of sustainability differ across the chapters, and businesses, where some articulate the concept in detail, through specific strategic ambitions for social development or green initiatives, while others reference the word without elaborating on what is to be sustained. Nevertheless, it can be said that the concept is highly infiltrated in the business sector. This is also manifested through the SDG logos included in some company advertisements throughout the magazine.

The mining industry is not, at first look, a prominent sector represented in the magazine. Although the companies related to the industry are represented in later pages, the industry is not mentioned in the summary points on the cover page or even in the list of contents. It is therefore evident that it is not a highly advertised subject in the magazine. All the way on page 84 is the first feature on mining in Greenland written by Bluejay Mining, with the title "Moving ahead on the Arctic promise". They state: *"Bluejay Mining Plc currently has four projects in Greenland, which it is actively developing, as well as several projects in former Finnish mining districts - two countries with stable jurisdictions and high standards of environmental, social impact and governance practice"* (p. 84). This statement is in agreement with Minister of Minerals Nathanielsen's reiterations of Greenland's high standards within the industry.

DISCUSSION

After an analysis of sustainability discourses of the current government and across sectors, it is necessary to reflect upon the significance of the findings in Naalakkersuisut's branding as a 'green' nation and a mining nation, and the implications of their sustainability articulations in broader political perspectives.

According to literature about sustainability discourses in Greenlandic politics over the years, the significant role economic development has played cannot be ignored. Economic growth can be seen as important to Greenland in relation to its self-determination and its road to independence from Denmark. It has been an accentuated point of argument in relation to political and business developments, weighing heavier than arguments in favor of climate policies, usually because there was little willingness to compromise opportunities that would favor business developments. The lack of climate policies and its correlation with not seeing it fair to compromise economic growth to join a global agenda to 'fight' a climate challenge that Greenland contributes very little to, is in contrast to the approach of the current government who sees it fit pledge to join the Paris Agreement even though Greenland is only a small emitter of fossil fuels. The reason behind is the wish to lead by example, being the 'face' of climate change. It is also suggestive of other underlying motivations about the opportunities taking part in the global climate commitment brings. In the new year's address, clean energy and climate change are mentioned in the section of the speech that addresses Greenland's foreign relations. That makes it clear that the question of renewable energy is one that concerns the international community. Egede also himself mentions the wish to make use of Greenland's renewable energy for export.

Being a 'new' Naalakkersuisut, it seems the government is experiencing a momentum that they are using to their advantage of in their branding of Greenland. This is demonstrated through Nathanielsen and Egede's emphasis on the 'new' government and the projections of their ambitions that also distance them from policies from previous governments. Being compelling and motivating make for effective CI strategy. Anholt (2007) explains the 'motivation' part as "new and different behaviors within government, the private sector, and civil society that will lead to a changed image" (p. 77). It is a way for both existing and future markets see a country in a new and more productive way (ibid.), which one can argue is a clear

motivation for Naalakkersuisut. This is also manifested through the narratives about being a new government, being innovative, committed to taking part in the global agenda to fight climate change, and already taking actions toward making Greenland greener. This level of displayed commitment can put Greenland on a level playing field with the rest of the world, positioning Greenland as a legitimate and committed nation ready to do business with the world.

The mineral industry is portrayed in various ways as an ethical industry. This is observed in Nathanielsen's arguments that Greenland maintains high environmental and social standards, has banned uranium mining, that mineral mining contributes to the global green transition through green technologies, and in the government's wish for the industry to use renewable energy as much as possible in the future. What is worth noting is that all aforementioned initiatives are related to environmental aspects. Ethical is therefore equated, to a large extent, to environmental sustainability or responsibility. It can therefore be argued that the government is finding a balance in promoting the mining industry while maintaining values for environmental responsibility and clean energy transition. However, the narrative about mining is not recurring across sectors or in the national discourse. Egede's new year's speech did not touch upon the mining industry or uranium mining ban. This can be suggestive of the controversial nature of the topic among citizens, in which case it is not effective for Greenland's Competitive Identity as it counters credibility. Moreover, consequences of the uranium ban means inconsistency in mining policy, which can also have negative implications for Greenland's credibility in its nation branding.

Economic development has not played any significant role in any of the presentations, which is, again, telling of the shift in the political discourse. This is 'interesting' knowing how much economic development has weighted in Greenland's sustainability discourses in politics previously, where sustainable development was often equated with economic and social development. This is not to say that economic growth plays no role in Nathanielsen and Egede's nation branding, it is merely not directly referenced but surely manifested through their nation branding, for which one of the ultimate goals is economic growth through investment. An underlying motivation for Nathanielsen's and Egede's speech was to make Greenland an attractive place to do business and to invest, in mining and renewable energy. Furthermore, it was a display that Greenland is ready to engage and do business as an independent nation, with the world. The social aspect of sustainability does not weigh heavy in the discourses of the two

speeches. However, it is touched upon in the reiterations of the high social standards the mining industry in Greenland has, as well as in relation to sustaining the way of life for the Greenlanders as a motivation to fight climate change. As Minister Egede articulates the challenges the hunters and fishers in Greenland face with the melting ice, he supports these claims by mentioning that their experiences are backed by science.

A final observation is Naalakkersuisut's unification of global and local environmental challenges in their discourse on environmental sustainability. Sustainability that concerns climate change and sustainability about the environment are two different things, but the current Naalakkersuisut do not differentiate the two. The fight against climate change is a global challenge that does not impact the Greenland and the local population in the same way as the pollution from a uranium mine. Sustaining the environment is therefore a local challenge that the people of Greenland care deeply about as evidenced in the first section of the analysis, that seems to get blended in with the sustainability narratives about the climate.

The wish to present a narrative of a 'unified Greenland' behind Naalakkersuisut, is exhibited in both speeches. It can be argued that this narrative, to a large extent, is credible as it is supported by the national discourses. Renewable energy is mentioned in the section of the speech that addresses foreign relations, which is suggestive of the significance of the topic of renewable energy to the international connection. It reinforces the economic motivations behind Egede's COP26 speech and the general wish to become more connected with other countries on the foundation for investment within clean energy. Similarly, the Greenlandic business sector reinforces a strong renewable energy narrative. Furthermore, the lack of discourse on economic development in the new year's speech is in agreement with the identified narratives in the speeches.

CONCLUSIONS

This thesis has examined Naalakkersuisut's sustainability narratives and their implications in Greenland's nation branding. To make conclusions on the findings and discussion of the analysis, it is necessary to circle back to the research question put forth: *How does Naalakkersuisut use the sustainability concept when branding itself as both a mining nation and a 'green' nation?*

In contrast to previous political discourses, where actual participation in climate agendas was limited, the current one set by the current Naalakkersuisut is one that prioritizes taking part in the global green transition as evidenced by the pledge to join the Paris Agreement and renewable energy initiatives, as well as the protection of the Greenlandic environment as evidenced through policies such as the uranium ban and halt to future oil and gas exploration. While previous governments clearly separated global and local environmental responsibilities, Prime Minister Egede's government has combined the two under one roof. In other words, it is prioritizing environmental ambitions on both a local and global level, where the local level is based on concerns for pollution in Greenlandic nature and the global level is based on the global challenge that is climate change. The willingness to commit to the Paris Agreement although Greenland's CO₂ emissions are very low relative to other countries, can be explained by the government's motivation to put Greenland on the world map as a 'green' nation with an abundance of renewable energy sources because they wish to attract investors this sector.

The government argues for the sustainability of the mining industry contending that Greenland maintains high environmental and social standards, has banned uranium mining, that mineral mining contributes to the global green transition through green technologies, and through the government's wish for the industry to use renewable energy as much as possible in the future. This suggests a narrative that actually agrees with the green ambitions put forth by Egede at COP26. This shows that they can promote both green initiatives and its mining industry, without deep contradiction.

Although the government is clear about what needs to be sustained in the conversation on sustainability, the concept continues to be a highly political concept in Greenlandic politics evidenced most clearly in Nathanielsen's promotion of the mining industry, which does not translate to other sectors or the national discourse. This can be a consequences of the current

controversial nature of the mining sector stemming from the uranium ban, which has caused an inconsistency in mining policy. This is Naalakkersuisut's CI downfall as the inconsistency goes against its credibility. It can therefore be concluded that Naalakkersuisut uses the concept of sustainability in strategic ways that are in favor of portraying Greenland as an attractive country to invest in. The many parallels between Naalakkersuisut's sustainability discourses on the national and international stage as well as the discourse within the business sector, suggests a level of credibility in Greenland's outward image implying an effective Competitive Identity. Furthermore, the domestic discourses reveal sustainability narratives that are similar to Naalakkersuisut's outward narrative in relation to green transition and climate change, which is an indication that the government's nation branding as a 'green' nation is credible.

It is possible that the shifts in political sustainability discourses is more of a result of nation branding motivations rather than of local sustainability discourses or priorities. An investigation of sustainability discourses from the perspective of Greenland's citizens would provide more wholesome reflections on the credibility of Naalakkersuisut's nation brand.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Naaja Nathanielsen, Minister of Housing, Infrastructure, Minerals, Justice and Gender Equality.

At the Arctic Futures Symposium 2021 for a panel discussion on “The Arctic as a more sustainable place to do business”

Speech	Coding	Theme
<p><i>“It’s a pleasure to be here today with you and talk on an issue of great importance for the Greenlandic government. The Greenlandic coalition government was put in office in April this year. And since we assumed office, we have been taking sustainability quite seriously and have decided that we want to translate the word sustainability into real action. One of our first actions was to put a stop to future drilling after oil and gas, for both environmental reasons, political reasons.</i></p> <p><i>And also, we are right now developing a new strategy for our hydro power because we see some great potentials in the ‘Power to X’ movement this new technology emerging and we are taking that further along now.</i></p> <p><i>Also, in my own area, I’ve been very busy working on a new strategy for carbon capture storage, which we find very</i></p>	<p>Important topic to the government</p> <p>Takes sustainability seriously</p> <p>New government</p> <p>Committed to sustainability</p> <p>Policy action</p> <p>Policy action</p> <p>Renewable energy Technology</p> <p>Policy action, making plans</p> <p>Renewable energy</p>	<p>New government</p> <p>Committed</p> <p>Policy action</p> <p>Policy action</p> <p>Green energy Innovation</p> <p>Taking action</p> <p>Green energy</p>

<p>interesting. We have seen what they're doing in Iceland and we have sort of the same geology in Greenland and we're trying now to make this idea a real industry in Greenland because we think there's going to be a huge demand in the years to come.</p> <p>But what I want to say in the beginning now is that with responsibility comes some big decision-making. And when you do make decisions, you cannot make everybody happy so when you have a sustainability agenda, there will be groups and people who will be affected negatively and you have to be willing to take that discussion with them. Also, sometimes the right thing to do may not be possible for different reasons.</p> <p>So maybe we have to take a slower route than you anticipated in the beginning or you have to maybe sometimes put a stop to a project that might be good and reasonable but for some other reasons you cannot do this. So when you have to take some responsibility, you cannot do what you wish because you have other needs to meet.</p> <p>In Greenland, as you know, we live remotely, the population has low education levels, we have some costs that others do not</p>	<p>High demand for business in Greenland</p> <p>Reference to future</p> <p>Taking responsibility</p> <p>Comes with disappointing some people, there's a cost</p> <p>Reference to Kuannersuit</p> <p>Vague statement about not making everyone happy</p> <p>Sacrifices for sustainability</p> <p>Take responsibility</p> <p>Reference to/justifying uranium/oil ban</p> <p>Greenland is remote</p> <p>Education sector, challenges</p>	<p>Taking responsibility</p> <p>Risk to taking the sustainable route</p> <p>Reference to Kuannersuit</p> <p>Risks to taking the sustainable route</p> <p>Reference to bans</p> <p>Challenge, remoteness</p> <p>Challenge</p>
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<p>have due to our geography where we are placed. We have very fair wages and good environmental standards and so on, so we are also not a cheap country to do business in.</p>	<p>High wages, good welfare High environmental standards</p>	<p>High environmental standards</p>
<p>So we have these obstacles but we are trying to make them work for us instead of against us. By trying to push this agenda and saying yes, it is more expensive to do business in Greenland, but we come with the right package, we are the real deal, we have the right resources, we do things right and this is the place if you want to be seen by the world because actually this is the hot spot for climate change.</p>	<p>Expensive but good place to do business</p> <p>Using disadvantage to advantages</p> <p>Expensive but good to do business in Greenland</p> <p>Greenland does it the right way</p> <p>Appealing through reference to reputation</p>	<p>Risks to taking the sustainable route</p> <p>Expensive but good place to do business</p> <p>Ethical</p>
<p>So, we are trying to use our disadvantages to our advantages and it is not always easy and sometimes we make mistakes. But we are trying and we are quite adamant on making this a part of our political agenda as well. I think that's what I wanted to say in the beginning."</p>	<p>Using disadvantage to advantages</p> <p>Admitting mistakes, not perfect</p> <p>Committed, adamant</p>	<p>Risks to taking the sustainable route</p> <p>Committed</p>
<p>What are the solutions/possibilities around sustainable business in Greenland?</p> <p>"First of all, I would like to say that an important thing if want to move forward with this is you need to mainstream sustainability</p>	<p>Administrative support, creating good foundation</p>	<p>Mainstream in all areas</p>

<p><i>in all your areas of administration and that is what we are currently doing.</i></p> <p><i>I very much agree with Niels Fencker that one of the areas is education for instance, that you need to work with that sector if you want to obtain sustainability. We have it with the infrastructure area where right now is putting a lot of money into infrastructure to reduce costs for the business community and population and increase our accessibility.</i></p> <p><i>We also have an issue with the internet, where some areas are only covered by satellite but right now we are now trying some low orbit solutions, which would make it a lot easier and cheaper to do business in the Arctic if we are successful with that.</i></p> <p><i>So, we are trying in every sector to work with this sustainability trend and also trying to see how we can push the agenda in different areas.</i></p> <p><i>One area where we actually have been working very sustainably without knowing it is the mineral sector. We took over the responsibility from the danish state in 2010. We have always had quite high environmental standards and social standards. We have been working very</i></p>	<p>Taking action</p> <p>Social sustainability, education is important for sustainability</p> <p>Infrastructure improvement</p> <p>Will become cheaper and better accessibility to do business in GL</p> <p>Infrastructural challenge, internet</p> <p>Cheaper to do business in GL</p> <p>Working with others sector</p> <p>Sustainability commitment</p> <p>Here on down is about the mining industry</p> <p>Highlighting mining as especially sustainable</p> <p>Reference to Denmark</p>	<p>Taking action</p> <p>Social sustainability</p> <p>Solving challenges</p> <p>Challenge, infrastructure</p> <p>Solving challenges</p> <p>Mainstream to other sectors</p> <p>Committed</p> <p>Ownership</p>
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<p><i>closely with the stakeholders and project owners to engage with the local communities and find solutions locally on different approaches and obstacles.</i></p> <p><i>Tenures say that this is a sustainable way of working. But of course, we are very comfortable with that way of operating because projects will have an effect on the local communities in Greenland, them being so small that a bigger project will affect local communities quite a lot.</i></p> <p><i>So we already have the legislation at hand that are really making sure that the stakeholders and the communities are connecting throughout. Concretely, we are really trying to focus on the critical minerals for the green transition. We have quite a lot of those in Greenland. And as you know, the supply chain is in very much of interest of the USA and EU and we are in dialogue with both of those bodies and countries. I think what is important is that we do it in our terms but we do it with a great understanding for the need in the end of the line.</i></p> <p><i>So, we have a last critical mineral resource potential and we are already collaborating with the EU and USA in this respect.</i></p>	<p>High environmental and social standards</p> <p>Working with local communities, project owners, stakeholders</p> <p>Reference to Kuannersuit?</p> <p>Doing things sustainably, credibility</p> <p>Considering local communities</p> <p>Good legal foundation.</p> <p>Considering local communities</p> <p>Critical minerals Green transition</p> <p>Connected with powerful/relevant governments. No mention of China</p> <p>Doing things on our terms</p> <p>Unclear. What need?</p> <p>REE potential</p>	<p>High environmental standards</p> <p>Elephant in the room</p> <p>Committed to sustainability</p> <p>Local communities</p> <p>Good foundation</p> <p>Green energy</p> <p>Good foundation</p> <p>Ownership</p> <p>Good foundation</p>
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<p><i>And also, we just joined the European Raw Materials Alliance, where we collaborate with European partners on the supply chain, the whole of it.</i></p> <p><i>And I think that this is where you will see the greatest developments in the coming decades. I mean the fishing industry will always be a big factor in Greenland but I think the critical mineral industry will grow in the coming years.</i></p> <p><i>As some of you may know, the parliament just passed a ban on uranium mining. I just want to touch upon that here because it has created some storm in some places. I just want to say that yes, this will affect some of the projects but the majority of projects are not affected and we are still able to mine critical minerals in Greenland and will be able to do so and are willing to do so. And I think we have a very good set up around it, when it comes to sustainability. We do require that the companies make an EIA (environmental impact assessment), a social impact assessment, and also an impact benefit agreement with the municipality and the government. It's a lengthy process but it needs to be so. And I think we have actually a quite good understanding with the business community on this.</i></p>	<p>Collaboration with other states, credibility, already “popular”</p> <p>Already connected with other relevant stakeholders</p> <p>Mineral mining has potential Future</p> <p>Reference to fishing industry</p> <p>REEs Future</p> <p>Directly referencing uranium ban</p> <p>Addressing controversy</p> <p>Reassurance for projects, mining companies</p> <p>Reassurance that GL still wants to develop mining industry</p> <p>Has a good setup, foundation</p> <p>Requirements for mining companies</p> <p>Sustainability standards. Regulation</p>	<p>Good foundation</p> <p>Potential</p> <p>Elephant in the room</p> <p>Committed</p> <p>Good foundation</p> <p>Regulation</p>
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<p><i>We just launched a new mineral strategy last year, which was made very much with the stakeholders and where we listened to the different obstacles that they found annoying in there. Primarily case management they find slow sometimes, of course they do.</i></p> <p><i>So, we try to push that the projects and mining sector must use renewable energy as far as they can. We do have a lot of hydro power potential, solar power and also wave energy. So, I think we have great possibilities for this. And we just agreed upon making some new hydro power plants in the northern part of Greenland, which will be very beneficial to the local business community up there.</i></p> <p><i>Another thing I would like to mention, is in regards to the mining sector. It is the sector that is very much used to rule of regulation, they adhere to the rules and regulation and they don't question it. For them, the stability is key. They need stable ground for their licenses to grow and I think that's very important, so they are not opposed to rules and regulations. I think you can have high environmental standards and they will adhere to them.</i></p>	<p>Agreement with the business community</p> <p>Policy action, support</p> <p>Working with other stakeholders</p> <p>Listens to stakeholders</p> <p>Renewable energy in mining</p> <p>Renewable energy possibilities</p> <p>Taking action</p> <p>Local community</p> <p>Regulation. Mining is especially regulated</p> <p>Stability</p> <p>Agreement and support from the sector</p>	<p>Agreement with other sectors</p> <p>Good foundation</p> <p>Committed</p> <p>Taking action</p> <p>Local communities</p> <p>Regulation Good foundation</p>
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<p>I think another point for us in Greenland is that it is not only money that is worth making. We do set the bar high and when it comes to safety and working conditions and wages. And therefore, we are more expensive to do business in than some parts in Africa for instance, where you can also mine the minerals that we have at hand, cheaper. But we do not want to cross that line, we do want fair wages in Greenland and also because we find it socially sustainable.</p> <p>So, it is a balance of course, always. But we do have incidents in Greenland because of this and therefore we are quite a safe country to operate in. And finally for a concrete project that is going on, as I mention before the carbon capture project. This is actually a dilemma for us, I agree what Mads said, it should be the private sector that is pushing this project, but we do not always have that possibility in Greenland and no one has really looked into the possibilities of carbon capture storage, so now we are doing it from the governments side. And trying to make all the data available to do the first drilling to make sure that is this a possible scenario or not, and hopefully we hope that business will come eventually. So, we are doing the</p>	<p>High environmental standards</p> <p>Cares about more than money</p> <p>Sets the bar high. Regulation. Social sustainability</p> <p>Expensive to do business. But for good reason</p> <p>Fair wages is a priority</p> <p>Social sustainability</p> <p>Advantage of mining in GL, safety</p> <p>CCS, renewable energy</p> <p>Challenge</p> <p>Taking action</p>	<p>Ethical</p> <p>Ethical</p> <p>Ethical</p> <p>Safe</p>
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<p><i>ground work because we realize it is a new path to follow and it has not been tried before in Greenland.</i></p> <p><i>So sometimes because of us being so remote, we have to go ahead and do some of the work to attract investors and the business community, and we are willing to do that. It is one of the obstacles of being in a remote place.”</i></p>	<p>Promising, optimistic</p> <p>Taking action. Renewable energy</p> <p>Greenland is innovative</p> <p>Remoteness</p> <p>Taking action, committed to work with the world</p> <p>Challenges</p>	<p>Good foundation</p> <p>Innovation</p> <p>Taking action</p> <p>Committed</p>
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APPENDIX B

COP 26 November 1st 2021 - “A greener Greenland – a briefing by Premier of Greenland”

Mute Bourup Egede, Prime Minister & Minister for Foreign Affairs speech

Speech	Coding
<p><i>Welcome, it is a privilege to address you today on behalf of the government of Greenland. Greenland attends the COP26 with a strong commitment to counter climate change and with ambitious political action points. But before I elaborate upon the steps that we are undertaking, allow me to talk shortly about the ongoing changes in our climate.</i></p> <p><i>The Arctic and Greenland are two inseparable entities. When you think about the Arctic, you think about Greenland and when you think about Greenland, you think about the Arctic. We make our lives in the Arctic, but our home is changing. You have all read the alarming climate reports. In the Arctic, we are experiencing the warming three times faster than the rest of the world.</i></p> <p><i>For Greenland, this is not only numbers and statistics. In Greenland, global warming is visible right outside our doorstep. The sea and the ice sheet are retracting at an alarming base. And the effects of the climate change have a direct impact on our everyday lives to our way of lives and to our culture. Our environment is visibly changing. Hunters, fishermen, and sailors report about ice free waters to a degree</i></p>	<p>The government as one</p> <p>Commitment</p> <p>Ambitious</p> <p>Greenland as part of the Arctic</p> <p>Reference to GL as an inhabited place.</p> <p>Supporting with statistics. Reference</p> <p>Experience climate change close up</p> <p>Impact on the people and everyday lives</p> <p>Reference to the Indigenous people of Greenland Culture</p>

never seen before. This summer, it was raining and not snowing on the summit of the Greenlandic ice sheet. What our people are witnessing is backed by science. The intergovernmental panel on climate change, IPCC, wrote in their latest report *Climate Change 2021, the physical science basis* that last summer, the Arctic sea ice area was more than any time ... past [inaudible 13:05] than the past 1000 years. Dramatic shifts between warm and cold creates ice engagement damage, threatening gracing animals, domestic as well as wild animals is alarming to us in Greenland. Our unique biodiversity is threatened as nature is transformed and the habitat for both land and sea animals are worsening. Climate change is one of the greatest global threats towards biodiversity and we all need to work together to mitigate the pressure applied to nature.

Allow me to share with you a secret. What happens in the industrialized part of the world does not stay in the industrialized part of the world but travels up to the Arctic, and what then happens in the Arctic does not stay in the Arctic. Over 80% of Greenland, which is the largest island in the world, is covered by ice. And because of continued burning of fossil fuels, our island is melting. The melting of the Greenland ice sheet and our glaciers will have severe consequences for sea level rising elsewhere in the world. We need urgent and ambitious actions and we need the big emitters on board to stand a chance. Even though Greenland, with our just over 56,000 inhabitants, only has small discharge of CO2, we want to do our part, to lead by example. We want to be

Reference to shocking statistic

Backed by Western science

Reference to statistic, another source

Environmental impact

Wild animals. Reference to hunting culture

Environment, nature, animals

Positioning himself as the one who knows more, as someone who lives in the Arctic

Reference to a known saying. Intertext

Statistic

Fossil fuels

“Our” ice is melting

Need global support

Takes responsibility, do our part

Renewable energy

known for our commitment to renewable resources and live up to **our** international name, Greenland.

Our new comment has initiated a number of action point to this effect. First and foremost, I am happy to announce that last week, **our** government decided that Greenland should join the Paris agreement. Today, Greenland has [inaudible 15:34] reservation. This summer, Greenland announced an immediate halt to all oil exploration licenses. **We** have just adapted Greenland's first ten-year strategy on biodiversity, which sets the framework on sustainable management on biodiversity and natural resources. Greenland's parliament is in the process of adopting legislation for building new hydro power plants. In a few years from now, 90% of electricity produced in Greenland, will be from sustainable, renewable sources. And **we** will continue to develop sustainable energy sources until **we** are no longer depending upon fossil fuels for our public heat and electricity.

Greenland has huge untapped hydro power resources, which exceed **our** domestic demands multiplied times. **We** are right now in the process of opening up for investors who can develop these areas. **Our** ambition and vision is to become the next exporter of renewable energy within one or two decades. These large hydro power resources can be utilized in collaboration with national and international investors who need vast amount of cheap and renewable energy, for example data centers or as import to power to X processes. One of the major CO2 dischargers in Greenland and

Announcement to join Paris Agreement
Taking responsibility, do our part

Policy action, doing our part

Policy action

Biodiversity and natural resources

Policy action

Sustainable energy, renewable energy

Fossil fuels

Renewable energy possibility in GL

Open for business

Ambition

Collaboration with other stakeholders

<p><i>the summit of Greenland’s ice cap for the first time on record.</i></p> <p><i>The transition towards carbon neutral societies requires innovation, investments, and commitments.</i></p> <p><i>Greenland has worked together with our Nordic neighbors for decades on renewable energy solutions. E.g. Norwegian expertise and technology have been used to develop our major hydropower plants. Our energy company Nukissiorfiit is in an ongoing dialogue with utility companies in other Nordic countries to develop operations further.</i></p> <p><i>Research in developing and implementing e-fuels is important for Greenland. A good example is The Nordic Maritime Transport and Energy Research Program. The program is an important step towards zero-emission shipping and making Greenland a CO2 neutral society.</i></p> <p><i>While Greenland is developing its hydropower resources for domestic use and expects to cover more than 90% of the electricity production by renewable energy in just a few years, Greenland still has huge untapped hydropower resources.</i></p> <p><i>While Greenland can produce electricity to some of the lowest prices globally, it is today difficult to utilize this surplus</i></p>	<p><i>Inland ice footage from the plane</i></p> <p><i>The solar panels in Igaliku. Green landscape</i></p> <p><i>Inside the Bukseffjorden hydro power plant with two workers walking around (showing around, giving a tour?)</i></p> <p><i>The two workers in front of computers. ‘Behind the scenes’</i></p> <p><i>A big freight ship ‘SeaCod’ in the Greenlandic ocean</i></p> <p><i>A worker inside Nukissiorfiit OR the hydro power plant</i></p> <p><i>Moving drone footage from Cirkussøen</i></p> <p><i>Inside the hydro power plant again</i></p> <p><i>The inland ice, a glacier? And mountains</i></p>	<p>Technology</p> <p>Technology.</p> <p>Technology. High-tech. Greenland is with the times. Developed.</p>
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<p><i>power due to Greenland's geographical location.</i></p> <p><i>Carbon neutrality must be leapfrogged beyond what our technology and transition towards green energy systems can deliver today.</i></p> <p><i>One solution is to store CO2 in the underground. So-called carbon capture storage. In short CCS.</i></p> <p>We are now investigating where we have geological formations suitable for CO2 storage. Greenland is a vast country with a very diverse geology, offering several possibilities.</p> <p><i>CCS requires energy and Greenland can use some of its large potential for green energy in the form of hydropower. Some of the locations to be investigated are situated in West Greenland. Among these is an area in the vicinity of the Nuuk region where ample hydro power potential exists.”</i></p>	<p><i>Cirkussøen area, mountain, nature</i></p> <p><i>Inside a small tunnel in the hydro power plant</i></p> <p><i>The side/front of a mountain</i></p> <p><i>When drone reaches the top, it reveals a vast landscape with mountains and ocean behind it.</i></p> <p><i>A river.</i></p> <p><i>Colorful footage of mountains and lakes in different shades of blue.</i></p> <p><i>A fjord. More mountains and ocean.</i></p> <p><i>Same iceberg footage as the opening footage. Rolling credits.</i></p>	<p>Nature. During summer. Green landscape. The clean, beautiful nature that needs to be sustained.</p> <p>Ice</p> <p>High-tech</p>
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APPENDIX C

Muté Bourup Egede, Prime Minister of Greenland 2022 New year's speech – Danish translation

”Kære ærede landsmænd. Jeg ønsker jer af hjertet et godt nytår.

Vi har nu passeret den mørkeste tid af året. Måtte vi ved fejringen af vintersolhverv og juledagene have oplevet kærlighed og sammenhold i familien og i samfundet som helhed. Og måtte den kærlighed og det sammenhold vi har oplevet, udmønte sig i fornyet styrke for dagene der kommer – og for vor fremtid. Vi har nu passeret et begivenhedsrigt år 2021, og vi står på tærsklen af det nye, og byder velkommen til år 2022.

Fra den mørkeste tid af året, er vi i overgangen mod lysere tider. Lyset og nytåret bringer håb. Nytåret 2022, giver båd dig og mig – og os alle sammen – en mulighed for at forme vor tilværelse på ny.

Vore kulturaktører, idrætsfolkene og foreningerne bidrager i høj grad til den følelse af sammenhold vi har som samfund. I det forgangne år har mange af vore sportsfolk præsteret mange enestående og gode resultater, som vi har god grund til at være stolte over. Jeg vil her særskilt nævne en begivenhed.. I løbet af sommeren stod vi sammen som nation og så vore kvindelige håndboldspillere dyste i det amerikanske kontinent for at kvalificere sig til verdensmesterskaberne i håndbold. Selvom vi ikke nåede helt frem, så var vi alle meget stolte over at se, hvordan de kæmpede mod store og folkerige nationer – og sågar vandt over flere af dem. Blandt vore kulturaktører var vort land også godt med for at vi kunne holde sammen udadtil, da der blev sat ord på forhold, der flyttede tingenes tilstand.

Den unge forfatter Niviaq Korneliussen blev den første grønlandsk, der for første gang vandt den nordiske litteraturpris. En udnævnelse som vi alle skal være stolte over.

Udover den stolthed vi følte over hendes udnævnelse, er det også nødvendigt at bide mærke i at hendes roman 'Naasuliardarpi – Blomsterdalen', gav anledning til at forholde sig til hendes budskab, en kendsgerning som er vor store udfordring som nation, nemlig det at bekæmpe og overkomme selvmord.

Vi kan først komme over denne udfordring ved at stå sammen og støtte hinanden som nation. For det er når vi står sammen og støtter hinanden, at vi opnår den umådelige styrke der kan overvinde alt.

Gennem de sidste par år er mange familier blevet ramt af at blive smittet af Covid-19.

Det er vigtigt for alle familier, og specielt for børnene, at sætte ord på hvordan de oplever dette overfor mor, far eller til en de er tæt knyttet til. For det er mor og far eller en nært knyttet slægtning som ved hvad man skal gøre for at undgå at blive smittet, og hvis du er bange, så tal med en voksen om dette.

Det er ved denne pandemi vi bliver mindet om, hvor vigtigt det er at hjælpe hinanden.

At hjælpes ad som medborgere og familie giver både styrke og sammenhold. Dette minder os også om, at hvis vi skal hjælpes ad landet over og handle, for det er dig og mig der er de eneste som kan gøre det. Pandemien er stadig et reelt faktum, og myndighedernes anbefalinger er stadig gældende. Der er flere steder i vort land hvor der ikke er læger, og hvis de steder skal beskyttes, må vi udvise stor forsigtighed.

Vi følger med i pandemiens udvikling verden over, og de tiltag der er blevet lavet for at forhindre smittespredning over hele landet og som skal forhindre, at vores sundhedsvæsen bliver belastet, skal køre videre.

Lad os som samfund bekæmpe covid-19, og hver især tage ansvar for at forhindre smittespredning så godt som vi kan.

Det sidste år førte til en politisk ændring. Gennem valget skete der et politisk skift, og borgerne valgte ved deres stemme en retning der fører til mere lighed, hvor det klare ønske var, at der skulle være mere sammenhold.

Vi vil fra Naalakkersuisuts side respektere og handle på dette ønske. Inddragelse og samhørighed skal være nøgleord i denne sammenhæng, og vi skal respektere, at der kan være forskellige holdninger til tingene, og det er i denne ånd hvormed Naalakkersuisut vil føre udviklingen videre. Dette afspejler sig allerede i Finansloven. Det økonomiske grundlag er færdigbehandlet og formelt godkendt af et flertal, således at vi med støtte fra alle kan udføre de målsætninger vi har sat os for at realisere.

Samhørighed styrker, og i den sammenhæng vil jeg gerne udtrykke min tak til alle partierne i Inatsisartut for det gode og åbne samarbejde vi har haft, og jeg ser frem til, og glæder mig til de opgaver vi sammen skal løse i den kommende tid.

For vi har store udfordringer foran os. Det centrale er, at vi skal skabe mere lighed, og for at skabe lighed er det absolut nødvendigt med forandring. Gennem mere lighed skaber vi grundlaget for et mere trygt samfund.

At skabe et trygt familieliv er også et yderst centralt område. Hvis vi som et samfund skal opnå dette, er det særdeles vigtigt at vi med gensidig respekt skaber udvikling på boligområdet og det sociale område. Det er også yderst vigtigt at højne det brede uddannelsesniveau. Det er nødvendigt at vi løser de behov for kompetence samfundet har gennem uddannelse. Derved kan vi skabe større tryghed på arbejdsmarkedet med kvalificeret arbejdskraft og skabe større muligheder for at individet og familierne for at forsørge sig selv – både i hverdagen og på boligområdet.

Større lighed udtrykkes på forskellige måder. Større lighed betyder, at vi alle, uanset baggrund får muligheden for at være med til at leve i et trygt samfund. Vi kan ikke alle bidrage med de samme ting. Der er mennesker iblandt os der har behov for støtte og opbakning. Der er også mennesker iblandt os, som efter et langt og aktivt liv skal leve en tryk alderdom. Hvis vi alle i samfundet bidrager og arbejder sammen, vil vi i Naalakkersuisut være med til at lede i denne process.

Og vi er allerede begyndt. Naalakkersuisuts mål med at forbedre forholdene for de ældre får opbakning fra alle partierne. Men det er kun det første skridt.

Vi må tage de næste skridt for at skabe fremgang i samfundet i det nye år. Reform på boligområdet er nogle af de vigtigste skridt vi må tage. For det er hjemmet der er et af de vigtigste grundlag for et trygt liv.

Udredningsarbejdet er allerede foretaget, og vi står nu på tærsklen af det næste skridt, nemlig at foretage en velforberedt boligreform.

Vi skal skabe mere smidige muligheder for at man selv kan eje en bolig. Vi må arbejde sammen om at alle, uanset baggrund, kan have et hjem. Vi skal på en sammenhængende måde arbejde sammen for at forhindre, at borgere ender i en situation hvor de bliver hjemløse.

Jeg vil gerne benytte denne anledning for af hjertet at takke de mennesker, foreninger, arbejdspladser og samarbejdsorganer der ihærdigt arbejder for at støtte og hjælpe de svage og de boligsøgende iblandt os.

Det er jer der viser, hvor stor en styrke der kan iværksættes når man arbejder i samhørighed.

Hjemmet skal være det sted hvor børnene skal vokse op i tryghed. Barnet har behov for sine forældre, for det er forældrene, som skal bane vejen for barnets videre færd i livet og det er forældrene der er de vigtigste kilder for kærligheden.

Hvis alle skal tage del i dette, skal psykisk og fysisk vold ikke være til stede – for ingen af delene er acceptabelt. Mange forskellige tiltag for at bekæmpe både psykisk og fysisk vold har været iværksat i årenes løb, og heldigvis har dette arbejde blandt frivillige og professionelle for at hjælpe, båret frugt for en del mennesker. Jeg vil derfor også gerne benytte denne anledning til at takke de sagsbehandlere og frivillige støttepersoner, der er med i denne væsentlige indsats, og ønsker for dem alle gode og fornyede kræfter til at varetage dette vigtige arbejde i det nye år. Såfremt psykisk og fysisk vold markant skal mindskes, er det yderst vigtigt at italesætte dette fænomen.

Desværre er vi ikke altid gode til at sætte ord på det der gør ondt i livet. Desværre forholder det sig for ofte også sådan, at det synes at være nemmere at gemme og begrave tingene, i stedet for at takle dem. Det ligger i os alle. Det er nemmere for os at henlede opmærksomheden på andres problemer og nedgøre andre mennesker. Dette resulterer ofte i forøget tilsløring, skam, sorg og vrede.

Vi kan alle deltage og bidrage til at bekæmpe psykisk og fysisk vold. I stedet for at bebrejde og kritisere de der beder om hjælp, kan vi bistå dem og være med til at hjælpe dem på vej. Uanset hvor gamle vi er, må vi lære at tilkendegive og sætte ord på, at vi har brug for hjælp og erkende, at det er det vigtigste redskab vi ejer, såfremt vi vil videre i livet.

Fra Naalakkersuisut er vi rede til at være med i front for at arbejde sammen om at komme over denne udfordring, og det skal ske på en nuanceret og en kollektiv facon. Vi er åbne for at forøge og udvikle de eksisterende hjælpemidler der er til rådighed, og specielt også i at være med til at afsøge nye veje og nye muligheder. Vi i Naalakkersuisut tror på, at vi sammen med befolkningen kan nå målet. I Naalakkersuisut tror vi på, at vi alle, uanset hvor vi befinder os, kan bidrage med det som vil være til gavn for os alle.

Vi må rette blikket mod os selv, når vi som samfund og individer i vore liv kan se mulighed for fremskridt.

Alle borgere hver især har evner. Vi har alle forskellige kompetencer. Hvis mor og far skal på arbejde, er det barnehjælperne og lærere og personale i fritidsklubberne der skal arbejde.

Vi skal drage omsorg for vore ældre.

Hvis vi skal have føde, er det fangerne og fiskerne der må tilvejebringe dem, og der skal folk til for at bearbejde deres fangst.

Butikspersonalet arbejder, for at vi kan dække fornødenhederne i vore hjem. Varetagelse af affaldshåndtering og elektricitet har brug for folk med kompetencer. Sundhedspersonalet arbejder dag og nat for at sikre, at vi kan leve et sundt og trygt liv.

Alle som høj og lav kan i lighed bidrage til fremskridtet i vort land – Hver dag er mange mennesker rollemodeller på dette felt i kraft af deres arbejde, for arbejdet er vort største aktiv. Hvis der er en iblandt os der oplever fremgang og succes, vil dette have en gavnlig effekt for os alle.

Vi kan alle opleve at komme ud for uforudsete hændelser, og kan derved blive nødsaget til at måtte modtage hjælp fra det offentlige for at kunne komme videre i livet.

På dette område er kommunerne væsentligt placeret, for det er kommunerne der er de nærmeste til at understøtte borgerne i hverdagen.

De ansatte i kommunen og de folkevalgte varetager, og hjælper med de personlige forhold på borgernes vegne. Sagsbehandlerne gør en stor indsats og laver et umådeligt, og ofte ensomt, arbejde på det område.

Det er sagsbehandlerne vi skal takke for det arbejde de udfører til hverdag. De arbejder indenfor nogle rammer, som ofte gør det vanskeligt for dem at udføre deres hverv, og det må ændres. Fra Naalakkersuisut skal vi i det nye år påbegynde arbejdet for at forny det sociale område. Vi skal forstærke koordineringen af de sociale myndigheders arbejde. Der skal fokuseres på de enkeltes eksisterende kompetencer under reformarbejdet.

Nogle af de områder vi skal arbejde på, er arbejdsmarkedsområdet og en skattereform. En reform på det sociale område, arbejdsmarkedsområdet og skatteområdet berører os alle i samfundet.

Reformarbejdet kan kun lykkes, hvis det sker med bred politisk opbakning. Vi vil i Naalakkersuisut fastholde den brede politiske opbakning for at sikre, at alle borgerne bliver inddraget, således at borgernes levevilkår markant forbedres.

Jeg er ikke i tvivl om, at vi kan finde løsninger på borgernes vegne. Lad os forene vore kræfter for et godt formål. For et samarbejde blandt de folkevalgte og samfundet vil sikre fremgang for vort land og for vor befolkning.

Vi har alle en vision om vort land. Det centrale i denne vision er, at vi vil forbedre livsvilkårene for alle der bor her i landet.

Denne tanke i sig selv er en styrke, selvom vi kan være uenige om hvilken kurs vi vil tage for at nå dertil.

Vi har en opgave som vi må løse sammen i den kommende tid. Lufthavnsbyggeriet er igangsat baseret på beslutningerne i Inatsisartut, og der skal bygges en lufthavn i Qaqortoq. Rejsemønstret vil ændre sig radikalt når lufthavnene er bygget færdige og det vil skabe mange nye muligheder. Vi skal samarbejde om kursen og de nye muligheder i alle beboede områder i det nye år – det er ikke kun i de byer hvor der etableres lufthavne, at der vil ske en udvikling, det er vigtigt at hele samfundet har gavn af denne udvikling.

Det vigtigste er, at skabe grobund for initiativer i lokalsamfundene, således at man kan gøre god brug af de eksisterende kompetencer der findes i lokalsamfundene og inddrage dem i udviklingen.

Vi vil arbejde for at de kræfter i samfundet, den viden og uddannelse og pengeomsætningen forøges, således at vi lever i et mere lige samfund.

I de fleste steder over hele landet forefindes kompetencerne på turistområdet allerede. Vi må påbegynde og samarbejde om at gøre vort land tiltrækkende ved at gøre brug af lokale kræfter, således at vi kan bane vejen for, at så mange som muligt kan opleve vort enestående land på en ansvarlig måde overfor miljøet.

Vi skal samarbejde for at vor erfaring bliver til gavn for os alle, således at vi som samfund bliver endnu mere selv bærende.

Vi er gode til det vi kan indenfor fangst og fiskeriområdet. Det er nødvendigt at vi udbygger indenfor dette største aktiv som vi har. Hvis vi skal opnå gode resultater indenfor de mål vi har sat os, så er det nødvendigt at vi udvikler på det vi er bedst til, nemlig fiskeriområdet.

I efteråret mødtes de parter der har en interesse i vores vigtigste erhvervsområde for at diskutere hvordan fremtiden skal forme sig for området og udgav en betænkning. Det er vigtigt at diskutere og vurdere betænkningen og sikre, at der sker et bredt samarbejde som muligt i denne proces.

I det nye år skal der afholdes fiskeriseminarer, således at borgerne deltager i debatten omkring vort vigtigste erhverv.

Hvordan reformen på dette område vil se ud, vil vi se, når så mange som muligt har tilkendegivet deres mening omkring den kommende fiskerilov. Det vigtigste er dog at vi ikke alene fokuserer på den nuværende situation, men også tager de kommende generationers muligheder for fiskerierhvervet i betragtning.

Hvis vi fremover fortsat skal have gavn af fiskeriet, turismen og vort miljø, vil jeg sige som Apollo fra bygden Saattut der kort og kontant udtrykte kernen af den vej vi skal følge, således:

“ Kingullertut inuusutut piunnaartariaqarpugut. - Vi må alle holde op med at leve som om vi er den sidste generation her på jorden. ”

Vi er et lille samfund der lever i et kæmpe udstrakt område. Det ved vi alle. Men vort land kan have stor indflydelse og bidrage med meget overfor verdenssamfundet, og det gør vi jo allerede på mange felter.

Lad os rette blikket på de muligheder vort miljø giver os, og på hvad klimaet byder os.

På energiområdet kan vi være selvforsynende og være i stand til at stå alene. Vi har et overskud af energi der kan gavne vort lands erhverv. Vi kan bidrage til klimamålene med vores omstilling til vedvarende energi gennem vandkraft som også kan eksporteres.

Omstilling til vedvarende og ren energi som verdenssamfundet fokuserer så meget på i disse år, giver muligheder for udvikling i vort land. Verdenssamfundet fokuserer på disse ting for at sikre, at de kommende generationer har nok føde og steder at bo i, og for at mindske de menneskeskabte klimaændringer, der har resulteret i global opvarmning.

Lad os deltage i de globale bestræbelser på et mere bæredygtigt liv med at handle. Lad os vise verden den bæredygtige levevis der kendetegner folk der lever i Arktis, og placere Grønland som det rene land der har et erhvervsliv baseret på ren energi.

Vi har mulighed for at vise verden, at vi i fremtiden kan blive et selvstændigt land der kan samarbejde med dem. Lad os vise, at vi selv udvikler vort land på en ansvarlig måde. Ved at værne om, og gøre god brug af vort miljø, fiskeriet og turismen, energiområdet og råstofområdet og udvikle disse områder i overensstemmelse med internationale aftaler.

At kunne give et bidrag til og påvirke verdenssamfundet ligger ikke i vores antal, men i graden i vor evne til at handle.

Til slut vil jeg opfordre jer alle, lad os bestræbe os på at opmuntre og drage styrke fra hinanden. Vi har som et samfund mulighed for fællesskab, lad os fokusere på enhed, der vil danne grundlaget for et mere styrket samfund.

Det har aldrig før været så vigtigt som nu at være forenede som et samfund, at bistå hinanden og styrke hinanden.

Det er kun når vi er forenede og støtter hinanden, at vi som samfund kan stå sammen overfor den store bevågenhed og den magtkamp stormagterne er begyndt på overfor vort land og det arktiske område og finde løsninger der gavner os alle.

Positive karakteregenskaber går i arv. Hvis vi som mor, far og andre voksne viser overfor vore børn, at vi opmuntrer og støtter hinanden, så vil kvaliteter som opmuntring og ros overfor andre mennesker blive til samfundsværdier.

Lad os opmuntre de individer i samfundet der fysisk, psykisk og åndeligt inspirerer og styrker os, og rose de mennesker der har de egenskaber vi ikke selv har. Lad os give plads til de kræfter og styrker som vi hver især kan bidrage med.

Lad os takke de mennesker der arbejder i børnehaverne, lærerne, fritidshjemmene, og de mennesker der drager omsorg for de ældre i alderdomshjemmene og for de syge.

Fiskerne og fangerne der følger vore lokale værdier og sørger for at tilvejebringe fødevarer til os, og som tager på daglange fangstrejser for at vi kan bestå som et samfund.

Vi er taknemmelige for de organisationer, der bidrager til at vore samfund kan være aktive, også I der arbejder for vort land, tak for jeres værdifulde bidrag.

Ikke mindst tak til de mange frivillige rundt omkring på kysten: Tak fordi I arbejder på vores vegne, jeres bidrag er med at give stor styrke til vort samfund.

Måtte året 2022 være til gavn for jer alle.

Jeg ønsker jer alle et godt nytår.

Gud bevare vort land”

APPENDIX D

Greenland: Greenland Business – Investment and Development in the Arctic Region (2021-2022). *Greenland Business Association & UpFront Communication ApS*, Vol. 12.

Link: <https://www.e-pages.dk/plb/132/>