How should cruise tourism be governed?

A study into the Governance of Cruise Tourism in Greenland

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Abstract

The cruise industry is the fastest growing component of tourism in Greenland. Cruise passengers constituted close to half of all tourists visiting Greenland in 2019 and have experience a dramatic growth of 86% between 2015 and 2019. However, despite the growth of cruise tourism and its potential positive and negative impacts, it is a policy area that has received little attention. This thesis examines the current governance structures of cruise tourism and how it should be governed from the perspective of relevant stakeholders. The primary data for this inquiry were gathered through 10 semi-structured interviews, one e-mail interview and one phone interview with cruise tourism stakeholders. A literature review of Arctic cruise tourism and Greenlandic cruise tourism was conducted as a theoretical basis in other to better understand the topic. A theoretical framework was built upon the concept of the marine community (Van Bets et al., 2017a) and a typology of governance (Hall, 2011) for the analysis of the current governance structures and the relationships of actors within the marine community of Greenland. Research on policy instruments was similarly brought into the theoretical framework to better understand the impact of governance on policy instruments and perspectives on policy problems related to cruise tourism. The findings from the preliminary analysis disclosed that both hierarchy, market, network- and community-based governance structures were encompassed in cruise governance, however, the four types of governance were exerted within distinct policy areas. It exposed the disparity between the governance structures expedition and conventional cruises operate under. A concern for the impacts of conventional cruises was likewise a returning theme in the interviews, which was reflected in the perspectives on policy problems related to cruise tourism. Conventional cruises were thus seen as the primary reason for negative impacts of cruise tourism by the interviewed participants. This led to a final discussion of the challenges of the existing governance structures. The significance of this thesis is that it extends our understanding of the role of governance structures on cruise tourism and highlights the policy problems and tensions in cruise governance. Specifically, it draws our attention to the crossroad cruise tourism governance stands before and leads us to consider the current governance structures of cruise tourism. The thesis concludes that policymakers need to take a stance on the future direction of cruise tourism and the governance hereof.

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List of abbreviations

AECO   The Association of Arctic Expedition Cruise Operators

CLIA   Cruise Lines International Association

DMOs   Destination Management Organizations

GRT   Gross registered tonnage

IMO   International Maritime Organization

PAX   Passengers

1 Introduction

Most articles on cruise tourism begins by stating that cruise tourism has been growing tremendously over the past decades and on these grounds argue for its relevancy. The expansion of cruise tourism is likewise ongoing in the Arctic region (Fridriksson, Wise, & Scott, 2020). In 2019, cruise passengers counted for 44,6% of the total number of tourists in Greenland thus representing a substantial amount of the tourists visiting Greenland (Statistics Greenland, 2022). The COVID-19 pandemic meant a dramatic full stop to cruise tourism, yet the season of 2022 indicates that the number of cruise calls and passenger numbers will be higher than ever (Visit Greenland, 2022). However, growth is not the only aspect that makes cruise tourism an interesting subject of research. Arctic cruise tourism is faced with a variety of dilemmas where multiple aspects need to be taken into consideration (Maher, 2011; Lück, Maher, & Stewart, 2010).

A general dilemma is between boosterism and sustainability. In the tourism industry, boosterism refers to the enthusiastic promotion of a destination to increase visitor numbers (Hall, 2008), sometimes at the expense of sustainability (Van Bets, Lamers, & van Tatenhove, 2017b; Fridriksson et al., 2020). Growth is not without concern as the risk of negative impacts likewise rises. Much attention has been given to the environmental impacts like the risk of vegetation trampling, disturbance of wildlife or ship strikes on marine mammals (Wilson, et al., 2017; Sherman, Unc, Doniger, Ehrlich, & Steinberger, 2019; Rawat, Jägerbrand, Molau, Bai, & Alatalo, 2021). In addition, rubbish and waste are difficult to handle for many destinations (Butt, 2007), oil release through accidental or illegal discharge and air and noise pollutions have also been proven to have negative impacts (Klein, 2010). Cruise tourism is said to present new financial opportunities and aid in diversifying the economy. Yet, in the literature there is little proof of how cruise tourism has a positive impact on the local economy and bring money to the community (MacNeill & Wozniak, 2018; Paoli, et al., 2017). Cruise visits can put strains on small communities in multiple aspects like crowding, supplies and infrastructure (Klein, 2010; Klein, 2011).

Adding to the complexity is the multiple stakeholders within and outside the destinations. Local stakeholders within in the destination hold a variety of opinions related to cruise tourism influenced by their involvement and interests in the industry. Cruise visits affect stakeholders differently, for some it is their livelihoods and for others an intrusion to their privacy. Many tourist corporations are headquartered outside the Arctic but operating within the region. They do not experience the cruise visits firsthand however are financial invested in the various destinations and number of cruise visits. This presents the third dilemma: The unequal power relation between cruise lines and local communities. Local communities

are place-based entities that can only do so much to attract cruises. The number of cruise visits can have a significant impact on a small destination (Adams, 2010). The cruise lines are not space bound and can freely move about. Their mobility and independence allow them to choose between destinations, leaving the destinations at the cruise lines' mercy.

In the attempt to manage cruise tourism and maybe limit the power relations, we are faced with two dilemmas concerning regulation and governance. One predicament stands between the self-regulation vs compulsory measures to regulate the industry and another between local governance or governance on a regional or international level. It is possible to find examples of several approaches across the world and each approach has its pros and cons. The Arctic cruise tourism industry is characterized by a division between non-intervention, undue regulatory complexity and collective self-governance (Dawson, Johnston, & Stewart, 2017; Pashkevich, Dawson, & Stewart, 2015; Van Bets, Lamers, & van Tatenhove, 2017a; Van Bets et al., 2017b).

Despite the multiple aspects mentioned above, Arctic cruise tourism is not well-researched, and no studies seems to have investigated the implications of governance structures and regulations on the cruise tourism industry thus exposing a gap in the understanding of governance structures and its significance on cruise tourism.

1.1 Problem formulation

In November 2021, a seminar and workshop on Arctic cruise tourism was held in Nuuk as part of the research project Sustainable Arctic Cruise Tourism. Various stakeholders from the tourism and cruise tourism industry gathered to discuss challenges and controversies caused by cruise tourism in Arctic coastal communities. Two questions were left unanswered: who controls the cruise calls and is it possible to press a "STOP-button"? Despite the general agreement amount participates of the seminar to put a cap on the number of cruise ships, this is not necessarily the view held by all stakeholders. A comparative study of two Arctic destinations in respectively Greenland and Iceland illustrates the complexity of the management of cruise tourism (James, Olsen, & Karlsdóttir, 2020). In Iceland, the concerns related to overcrowding due to high numbers of cruise calls during the summer months, whilst in Greenland the lack of full-time employment troubled stakeholders due to the short season and low numbers of cruises. Still, local stakeholders had various opinions on the level of cruises and had different perspectives on the management of cruise tourism and its future were expressed by the stakeholders and in neither case was there agreement between the local stakeholders on how to manage cruise tourism. The study

demonstrates that stakeholders within a destination as well as between destination might hold different views on both the current level of cruise tourism and also its future direction.

This raises the question how should cruise tourism be governed in Greenland? This thesis sets out to examine and understand the governance and regulations of cruise tourism in Greenland from the perspective of relevant stakeholders. More specifically, the concept of the marine community as described by Van Bets et al. (2017a) will be applied paired with the typology of governance by Hall (2011) in the attempt to answer the overall question.

This thesis contributes to the literature by investigating how the governance of cruise tourism influences related policy problems and how cruise tourism is regulated in Greenland. The findings show that the governance of cruise tourism is approached by different types of governance depending on the policy area and involved actors, and there is an imbalance between the regulations of expedition cruises and conventional cruises that negatively affects the ability of local stakeholders to minimize impacts of cruise tourism. I also argue that the current governance structure is insufficient to address the negative impacts of cruise tourism and necessitates a changed perspective on the future direction of cruise tourism or a restructuring of the governance approach.

The structure of the Master's thesis is as follows. The introduction above introduces the scope of the thesis and the problem formulation is presented. This is followed by a literature review that presents the knowledge gap the thesis aim to fulfill. Hereafter, a section on theory will build the theoretical framework of the thesis. Next, a section on methodology elaborates on the philosophy of sciences that I ascribe to and what implications this will have for the thesis. Subsequently, key concepts and issues in qualitative research are explained and methodical choices and considerations are presented. This is followed by the main body of the thesis as the analysis and findings are presented in five sub-sections. The first sub-section presents the traits of the cruise industry in Greenland. Hereafter follow a section on the current governance of cruise tourism in Greenland and the related governance structures. Next, the roles and relations of actors in the marine community are analyzed. This is followed by a section that discusses the complexity of policy problems from the perspectives of actors in the marine community. The leads to the final section of the analysis, where the challenges of the existing governance arrangements are discussed. The fifth section finishes the thesis by presenting the main conclusions.

2 Theoretical framework

2.1 Literature review

The literature on cruise tourism has been gradually growing while the cruise tourism industry itself has experienced an explosive growth over the last 40 years (. A sizeable amount of literature has been written on cruise tourism in the last decade including the majority of the publications on Arctic cruise tourism with only few earlier dated publications (Stewart & Draper, 2009; Adams, 2010; Marsh & Staple, 1995). Arctic cruise tourism is mentioned in a lesser extent in recent publications on Arctic tourism referring to passenger numbers or future potentials rather than addressing wider aspects or implications of the industry (Lee, Weaver, & Prebensen, 2017; Maher, et al., 2014; Rantala, et al., 2019). The vast landscapes and pristine nature have become the central products in Arctic tourism, yet it is a fragile environment threaten by climate change and increased temperatures (Jóhannesson, et al., 2022). Tourism in Arctic regions is of high significance for many local communities because it presents an opportunity to diversify the economy outside the traditional economic activities like fishing and hunting (Rasmussen, 2009). Nonetheless, the hindrances to realize growth and a diversification of the economy are also what separate Arctic tourism from other regions. The remoteness creates challenges of accessibility and infrastructure, high seasonality leads to high concentrations and uneven distribution of tourists and employment challenges and few resources and limited capacities in relation to tourism in small communities (Rantala, et al., 2019). Despite the modest number of tourists compared to European standards, overtourism has become a risk in the Arctic (Jóhannesson, et al., 2022).

The main body of literature approaches cruise tourism outside the Arctic region through case studies thus offering context-dependent knowledge (Flyvbjerg, 2006). Based on research in the Caribbean and the Mediterranean, Rodrigue & Notteboom (2013) propose a functional typology of cruise ports after approaching what they call the geography of cruises in their investigation of the significance of itineraries in the choice of destination. Likewise, Esteve-Perez & Garcia-Sanchez (2015) examine the Spanish port system and the attractiveness of ports and tourist hinterlands to determine what influences the choice of port. Both papers expand our knowledge of the decisions and choices behind cruise calls and itineraries however one may call in question the transferability to Greenland. In Greenland, the tourist hinterlands do not stretch out much further than the town limits and it is questionable if a distinction between destination based on the attractiveness of hinterlands and port facilities can be made. Well suited to produce context-dependent knowledge, the case study as a method does not provide us with general, predictive theories or

universals (Flyvbjerg, 2006), which calls for further research conducted in the Arctic region. Nevertheless, interesting recommendations are added in another study (Satta, Parola, Penco, & Persico, 2015) where public policymakers are urged to play a more significant role as coordinators to facilitate the dialogue between various relevant stakeholders for the destination to succeed long-term, implying that a total neglection of case studies outside the Arctic region is ill-advised. Zooming in on the literature on Arctic and Polar cruise tourism, the body of literature diminishes significantly. Reviewing the literature from a geographical approach exposes the distortion of the distribution of the research contributions. The highest quantity research on Arctic cruise tourism is done in the Canadian Arctic (Maher, 2012; Lasserre & Têtu, 2015). A cluster of researchers, which I like to refer to as *The Canadian Cluster*, has contributed immensely to this research (e.g., Dawson, Johnston, & Stewart, 2014, Dawson, Stewart, Johnston, & Lemieux, 2016). Moving away from Arctic Canada, studies based in other Arctic regions lessens considerably.

Arctic cruise tourism is faced with a variety of dilemmas as earlier mentioned. These dilemmas are highly interrelated and are not easily separated. The cruise tourism sector consists of a complex web of relations between cruise destinations stakeholders, policymakers, interest groups and the cruise industry. This is reflected in the literature where questions of perceptions and stakeholder interests often turn into questions of governance and policy issues (James et al., 2020; Johnston, Johnston, Stewart, Dawson, & Lemelin, 2012). The governance is a well-represented topic in the literature however most articles on Arctic cruise tourism are empirically rather than theoretically founded with a few exceptions (Adams, 2010; Pashkevich et al., 2015). Cruise governance can be divided into three different levels – international, national and local governance measurements and regulations. The international regulations are set by the International Maritime Organization (IMO) that establish standards for safety, security, ship design and environmental practices. In addition, ships operating in Polar Waters need to comply to the Polar Code which is intended to cover further shipping-related matters and protection of the environment and eco-systems of the polar regions. Cruise ships also need to apply to national laws and regulations of the port states which is any country whose ports or waters are visited by a cruise ship. The regulations vary greatly across the Arctic, and the complexity of the regulation system in both Canadian and Russian Arctic impacts the cruise tourism development and introduces otherwise avoidable barriers for the industry (Dawson et al., 2017; Pashkevich et al., 2015). Pashkevich et al. (2015) concluded that the lack of central authority to govern the growth of the industry in both the Canadian and the Russian Arctic presented a barrier that could otherwise support the development of expedition cruises. Dawson et al. (2017) supported these findings and observed that the complexity in the permitting and regulatory process in Canada hinders

development and diminishes the potential of cruise tourism as an economic contributor to the economy. Correspondingly, the case of Haines, Alaska illustrates how regulation and local governance can directly impact the development of local cruise tourism (Adams, 2010). In an attempt to govern cruise tourism, local town planners and policymakers introduced a cruise ship visitation cap and tourism tax. However, the interests of global stakeholders and the cruise lines were not considered and with the implementation of the new regulatory measurements, cruise ship visits declined dramatically thus giving an example of unintended consequences of regulations which simultaneously emphasizes the need for research-based decision making. The cruise line Royal Caribbean claimed that the reason for discontinued services to Haines was based on rising fuel cost and lucrative options in other ports. Another reason for the sudden cancellation of future stops by cruise lines in Haines is given by Klein (2002). Klein (2002) states that the cancellations were an economic decision rooted in a plea agreement with the US government in relation to illegal waste management. This exemplifies the difficulties in evaluating the effectiveness of regulative measurements because only the cruise lines can answer what event made them choose to drop Haines. Additionally, the case illustrates how external events can impact single destinations which emphasizes the need for adaptive strategies and the vulnerability of the destinations to decisions made by cruise lines. Haines is also an example of how rules made by local, regional and international authorities affect the decisions of where cruises find it the most profitable to call to port and new rules or policies introduced in other states or regions might result in a sudden boom or decline in cruise calls. This adds to the complexity of governing cruise tourism and underlines the placelessness of cruises.

Contributing to the regulations set by port states and local policymakers, industry associations set guidelines and regulatory frameworks for their members. As shown by Van Bets et al. (2017a) collective self-governance has been introduced to the Arctic cruise tourism industry prompt by the Association of Arctic Expedition Cruise Operators (AECO). All AECO members ascribe to specific standards and operational guidelines in the Arctic region that supplement the regulation of the nation states or in some cases exceed them, yet only a portion of cruise ships operating in the Arctic are AECO members. In the past, the size of the industry allowed for effective self-regulation as remarked by Pashkevich et al. (2015), but as the industry grows so does the need for a stronger management. Self-regulation and collective self-governance are the subject of Van Bets et al. (2017a) study conducted in Svalbard. The study sets out to investigate the internal and external dynamics of collective self-governance. Some of the advantages of collective self-governance practiced by AECO is the international outreach and a reach that goes beyond sovereign territories thus applying a transnational approach to governing. It was found that collective self-governance

should preferably complement the state-governance in attaining sustainable cruise tourism rather than replacing or repeating the existing governance regulations (Van Bets et al., 2017a), and collective self-governance contributes by increasing "access to knowledge, conflict resolution and rule compliance based on disclosure, traceability and trust" (Van Bets et al., 2017a, p. 1595). Yet, the findings also suggested issues related to the growing self-regulatory power of AECO that challenged the internal and external relationships and the blurred the line between industry and state responsibility.

Yet, the cruise tourism industry is influenced by a variety of local and global factors where some related directly to tourism and others are related to broader political, economic, and environmental contexts (Stewart, Dawson & Johnston, 2015). In an attempt to prepare both communities and policymakers, Stewart et al. (2015) explore the risk and opportunities of change in the cruise tourism sector. They list future actions and strategies related to cruise tourism identified by three Canadian communities which imply the need to address regulation and governance issues both from a community and regional perspective as some issues can be solved locally and other necessitate regional actions. It has been repeatedly claimed that a global and transnational approach is required to fully address issues related to cruise tourism (James et al., 2020; Weaver & Duva, 2008). Except the comparison of governance in cruise tourism between the Canadian and Russian Arctic (Pashkevich et al., 2015), no study examines the question of governance from a transnational or Arctic perspective and research is needed within this area.

In discussing issues of sustainability vs boosterism, it is difficult not also to address policy and governance considerations. A perspective paper from Iceland (Fridriksson et al., 2020) illustrates the interrelatedness. It is argued that economic gains should be considered alongside environmental costs and social consequences thus placing boosterism opposite to sustainability and pointing to policy intervention as the solution forward-looking. Policy interventions and regulations that often slow or limit economic development is commonly what is recommended by researchers to obtain sustainable and resilient cruise tourism in the Arctic (Adams, 2010; Fridriksson et al., 2020; James et al., 2020; Pashkevich et al., 2015).

Beside governance, other reoccurring themes has been identified in the literature. In their overview of Arctic cruise tourism research, Ren et al. (2021) divide the literature into three themes: impacts and stakeholder attitudes; climate change, sustainability and resilience; governance and management. The impacts and stakeholder attitudes are covered by research that focus their attention to the various impacts, perspectives and views on cruise tourism held by cruise tourism stakeholders and local communities (James et al., 2020; Stewart, Dawson, & Draper, 2011). Despite the differences between

individual communities, Ren et al. (2021) detect commonalities across the literature and encapsulate the perceived positive impacts which are economic growth through extra income and employment, showcasing of local culture and heritage and improved infrastructure and transportation. On the negative size are environmental impacts such as disturbance of wildlife, disposal of waste and air and noise pollution. Social impacts concern intrusion to privacy and overcrowding, while economic impacts are worries of who eventually benefit economically from the cruise visits. A grouping of the impacts into the three pillars of sustainability – economic, social and environmental is observable here, and further research explore the themes of climate change, sustainability and resilience. The three areas are highly interlinked as climate change affects sea ice conditions opening up new areas of the Arctic thus presenting questions of both environmental, economic and social sustainability but also challenges for governments and other actors (Harris, 2019). Adams' (2010) study on resilience showcases how cruise tourism can aid in diversifying the local economy and bring in new economic opportunities but simultaneously introduced a new vulnerability as the destination focused solely on cruise tourism and did not consider resilience. In a wider context Bystrowska & Dawson (2017) demonstrate the power of cruise operators in making places. Various aspects are incorporated in the creation of itineraries however, no destinations are guaranteed cruise visits. In addition, climate change exposes Arctic communities' vulnerability as their livelihoods depend on nature-based activities and nature-based tourism (Rantala, et al., 2019). Ren et al. (2021) conclude by emphasizing the importance of including global networks and dynamic systems when studying cruise communities and the add that the literature suggests moving beyond single community case studies and managerial reactions to local impacts. This thesis therefore widens the scope by concentrating on a state rather than a single community in the attempt to address local as well as regional and national impacts of cruise tourism governance. Thus far, the interconnectedness of the cruise tourism industry must not be denied. Research has disclosed that cruise markets are not functioning independently but is part of a global system, which is visible through itineraries and repositioning of vessels (Rodrigue & Notteboom, 2013). Arctic cruise operators seldomly visit only one destination in a country, instead they visit multiple destinations (Bystrowska & Dawson, 2017) and it is therefore necessary to move beyond single community case studies and as an alternative incorporate a wider context of networks and flows.

2.1.1 Greenlandic cruise tourism research

The available research on cruise tourism within a Greenlandic context is scarce and can quickly be summarized. In 2012, research was done on cruise tourism and remote communities in Greenland by D.

Tommasini. Unfortunately, the article is written in French thus making it unavailable for the non-French speakers leaving only the abstract to give a hint of the contributions of the article. The article approaches cruise tourism from a community perspective by presenting the opinions of local residents to discuss the impacts and benefits of cruise tourism in four Greenlandic communities. The findings are sadly not disclosed in the abstract to further build on.

The second contribution is James et al. (2020) paper on sustainability and cruise tourism in the Arctic. Through their comparative study on stakeholders' perceptions of sustainability of cruise tourism in Qaqortoq, Greenland and Ísafjorður, Iceland, they address multiple dilemmas of Arctic cruise tourism. Primarily, the research is centered around the dilemma of multiple stakeholders within, and outside destinations coupled with concerns of sustainability. Sustainability is framed around Saarinen's (2006) three traditions and brings in the discussion of boosterism vs sustainability. In both destinations, stakeholders had concerns about the sustainability of cruise tourism. Economic concerns about the spending power of cruise tourists and over-reliance on cruise tourism were voiced. To the socio-cultural issues cruise passenger numbers were mentioned and overcrowding along with concerns about year-round employment opportunities and competition between Greenlandic and Danish workers. The perspective on environmental sustainability varied between the two destinations as Ísafjorður was worried about reaching the carrying capacity of the destination is regard to the accommodation of cruise passengers, while Qaqortoq did not consider environmental problems due to the low number of cruise calls. Secondly, they argue that "the imbalance of power between local communities and global cruise lines negatively affects the ability of local stakeholder to develop cruise destinations collaboratively" (James et al., 2020, p. 1426), thus referring to the dilemma of unequal power relations. Lastly, they conclude by suggesting a harmonization of fees and common guidelines to reduce the imbalance of power between local destinations and cruise lines implicating the dilemma of governance. This again evokes the question of how should cruise tourism be governed and suggests that coordination of stakeholders at national and international scale is required.

The Master Thesis of Vintila (2021) concludes the list of literature written on Greenlandic cruise tourism. The purpose of the thesis is to comprehend how cruise tourism sustainability is perceived by stakeholders of the industry utilizing a theoretical framework based on Saarinen's traditions of sustainability (Saarinen J. , 2006) and stakeholder theory through methods of interviews and

questionnaires. The thesis is hence comparable with the work of James et al. (2020) and does not contribute significantly to further knowledge in the area however collaborate earlier findings.

All three contributions utilize a community-based approach and do not illustrate a broad variation in addressing the concept of cruise tourism. This thesis therefore seeks to add to the literature by contributing to the research and knowledge on cruise tourism in Greenland that goes beyond the perspectives of stakeholders and local communities on sustainability of cruise tourism and instead addresses questions of governance and regulations. The perspective of the thesis is to build an understanding of how governance structures influence and affect cruise tourism. It adds a theoretical approach that ease the comparison of cruise tourism governance between cruise destinations and can be related to other policy areas.

2.2   The concept of the marine community

To answer the question of how cruise tourism in Greenland should be governed, it is necessary to present a framework which enable us to capture the multiple levels and complex web of stakeholders and various policymakers of cruise tourism. McCarthy (2018), who investigated how to maximize cruise tourism outcomes, interviewed a variety of stakeholders involved in the practices surrounding cruise tourism, but no framework was presented for further research. To account for the diversity of contexts in which cruise tourism activities takes place Lamers, Eijgelaar, and Amelung (2015) propose a conceptual framework that divides cruise tourism into three interdependent domains: on-board, on-the-move and onshore aspects of cruise tourism. The framework is centralized around the vessels and the connected activities whereas the thesis aim is to investigate the governance structures and regulation aspect of cruise tourism from the perspective of the destinations and to exclude aspects of on-board activities thus is the framework ill-suited for the purpose of the thesis. Van Bets and colleagues (e.g., Van Bets, van Tatenhove, & Lamers, 2016a) introduce the concept of the marine community which presents an interpretation of the complex web of stakeholders and policymakers involved in cruise tourism and how to organize them.

The concept of a marine community originates in ecological sciences and refers to a group of interacting organisms sharing an inhabited marine environment (Bertness, Gaines, & Hay, 2000). The conceptual framework as presented by Van Bets et al. (2017a) derives from the advancement of the community concept in the literature which historically concentrates on "a small-sized and territorially defined community" (p. 1586). Instead, the marine community presents a transnational community of users and policymakers that correspond to the diverse interests of actors within a community. The marine community is defined out of social scientific definitions and insights as: "A marine community is a community of socio-

economic and policy actors and institutions organized around a certain maritime activity that influences or will be affected by the (marine) ecosystem in which the activity occurs" (Van Bets et al., 2017a, p. 1586). A social-ecological system and the marine community concept differentiate in two aspects. First, only when maritime activities are preformed is the marine ecosystem taken into consideration. Central is how the marine community reacts and governs changes to the ecosystem. Secondly, the concept highlights the agency of users and policymakers and their interaction in addressing issues of the marine ecosystem (Van Bets et al., 2016b).

A marine community contains an interdependent state, market and civil society, who interact with each other within the marine community. The marine community model (Figure 1) simplistically illustrates the actors of the marine community by grouping them in either a user community or a policy community.
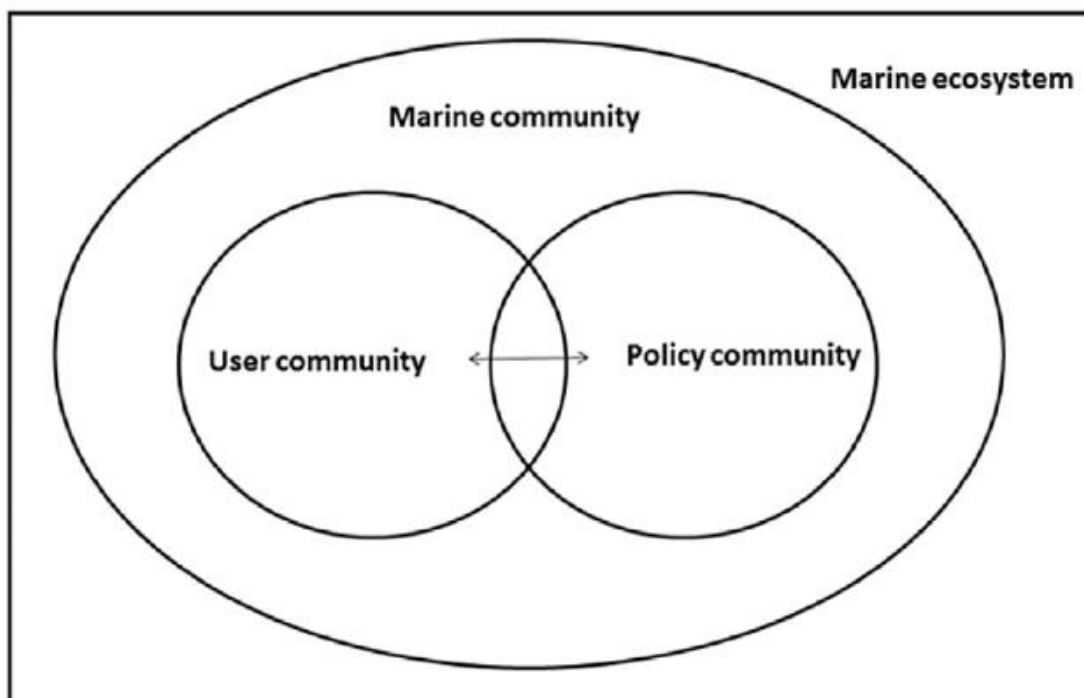
Figure 1: The relation between user and policy communities within a marine community
Source: Van Bets et al. (2016b)

In accordance with earlier works by (Crow & Allan, 1994; Smith, 2001), a user community should be understood as "a community of interdependent actors that executes and is affected by the maritime activity and that makes use of the goods and services marine ecosystems provide" (Van Bets et al., 2017a, p. 1586). In this thesis, the maritime activity is centered around cruise tourism and the user community

consists of port authorities, port agents, service providers, cruise lines, local residents and tour operators. A policy community entails actors of (in)formal institutions and governance arrangements which regulate maritime activities (Van Bets et al., 2017a). In this thesis, the policy community refers to national and local government, policymakers and the national tourism board. The user and policy communities are highly interdependent and interwoven, and actors can be part of both communities or change between them depending on their role although each community has a distinct purpose and rationality (Van Bets et al., 2017b). The policy community manages the maritime activity utilizing public policy to govern, while the user community trusts private policy to organize themselves.

The concept of a marine community is not restricted to cruise tourism and permits a dynamic view of the community surrounding marine activities. The concept has been applied before in terms of networks and flow theories (Van Bets et al., 2017b) and collective self-governance (Van Bets et al., 2017a) within cruise tourism but also in relation to coalition building (Van Bets et al., 2016a) and power relations (Van Bets et al., 2016b) within the context of oil and gas industries. Thus, the concept offers a conceptual framework that encourage studies of various marine activities but also unify easily with other theories and concepts.

Van Bets and colleagues have previously applied the concept of a marine community to smaller island communities however, the mobile nature of cruise tourism calls for a more holistic approach that considers local, regional and national differences to a further extent than what has earlier been done. As Lamers, et al. (2015) remark: "Cruise tourism clearly is a complex and transnational mobility system governed at multiple levels and by multiple actors, including non-state actors" (p. 431). Impacts of cruise tourism from cruise visits occur locally, but CO_2 emissions and marine discharges is not limited to a local impact it affects nationally, transnationally and globally. Similarly, by introducing local regulation and restrictions one risks transferring problems to elsewhere. Regulation should therefore not solely focus on local aspects but apply a more holistic approach that take into consideration the national implications, national governance arrangements, network of ports, cruise companies and NGOs. The cruise industry operates at a transnational and global level and the port states should strive to reach the same levels when making decisions on cruise governance. This is one of the strengths of the model, it does not differentiate between whether it is a local or national actor just as there is no differentiation of the operational levels of the actors. This is an advantage in a mobile activity like cruise tourism, where all actors in various degrees have an impact on the activity. Instead, it is their interrelationship that influence how power distribution is between actors in each of the communities and across the communities. The model may however be too

simple to illustrate a complex reality by excluding international actors. It is possible to imagine that there are actors placed outside the two communities or at an international scale that still contribute to the marine community. In their study from Bonaire, Van Bets et al. (2017b) place international actors outside of the marine community, despite that they influence cruise tourism in Bonaire in various ways and some more peripheral than others, it can be argued that they belong in the marine community because of their influence and impact on the marine activity.

2.3   Governance – a conceptual framework

In the attempt to understand how cruise tourism should be governed, it is necessary to clarify what is meant by governance as governance has numerous dimensions (Givens, 2013). There is no overall accepted definition of governance (Hall, A typology of governance and its implications for tourism policy analysis, 2011). Fukuyama (2013) defines governance as "a government's ability to make and enforce rules, and to deliver services, regardless of whether that government is democratic or not" (p. 350). A more ambitious definition is offered by Lynn, Heinrich, and Hill (2000), "regimes of laws, administrative rules, judicial rulings, and practices that constrain, prescribe, and enable government activity, where such activity is broadly defined as the production and delivery of publicly supported goods and services" (p. 235). In contrast, Hall (2011) describes governance to be the system for which countries are managed at the highest level, and it is how the state act to resolve contemporary policy problems and is how governance is understood in the thesis.

Hall (2011) notes that among the totality of theoretical conceptions on governance, two broad meanings of governance can be recognized (see Figure 2). The first broad meaning of governance is what is often referred to as "new governance". It explains the contemporary state adaption to its economic and political environment. Hall (2011) brings forward Yee's (2004) definition which defines new modes of governance as "new governing activities that do not occur solely through governments" (p. 487 as quoted in Hall, 2011, p. 439). Second, the meaning of governance is also referred to as a more conceptual and theoretical representation of the role of the state in the coordination of socio-economic systems. The two meanings of governance may overlap and are not mutually exclusive. A division of the second meaning into two further categories is added by Hall (2011). The first category is centered around the state capacity to "steer" the socio-economic system and therefore the relationship between the state and other policy actors. The second category concentrates on coordination and self-government, especially with respect to network relationships and public-private partnerships (Hall, 2011).

The meaning of governance in this thesis is based on a combination of the two broad meanings and recognizes that governance does not solely occur through governments but also other institutional arrangements. Yet, the role of the state must not be overseen as it influences various

Figure 2: The meanings of governance
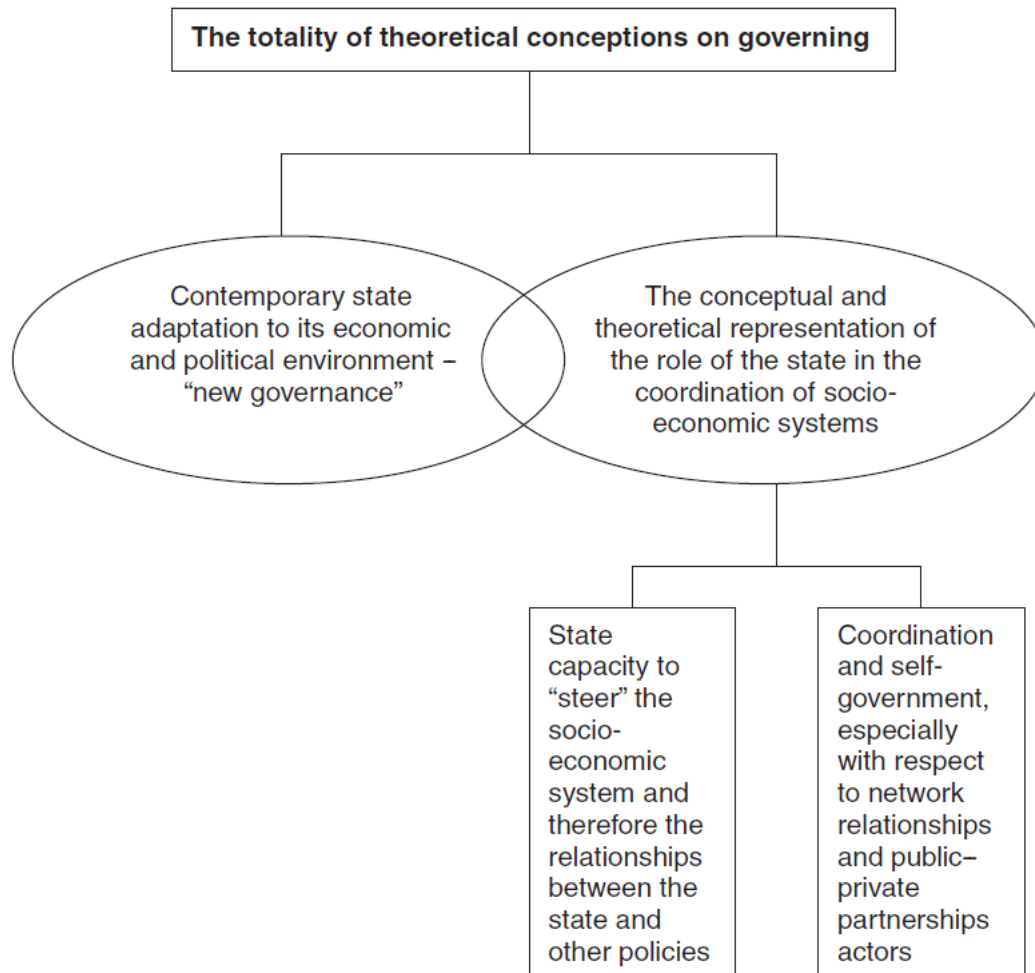Source: Hall (2011)

mechanisms in society, it being as a steering capacity or coordinator.

Hall (2011) stresses that

"understanding how the institutional arrangements of governance are conceptualied is important as it determines the ways in which the state acts in the tourism policy arena and therefore selects instruments and indicators that are used to achieve policy goals" (p. 441).

This thesis therefore seeks to understand the institutional arrangements of governance in Greenland around cruise tourism to adequately comment on the governance system and its policies. In addition, Hall (2011) comments that the utilization and effects of policy instruments are most often discussed rather than what led such instruments to be selected based on the understandings of governance. This thesis attempts to cover both and as a minimum question the background for the chosen policy instruments. For this I

Actors

Public actors | Private actors

Hierarchical

HIERARCHIES

Nation state and
supranational
institutions

MARKETS

Marketisation and
privatisation of state
instruments

Steering
modes

NETWORKS

Public–private
partnerships

COMMUNITIES

Private–private
partnerships
communities

Non-
hierarchical
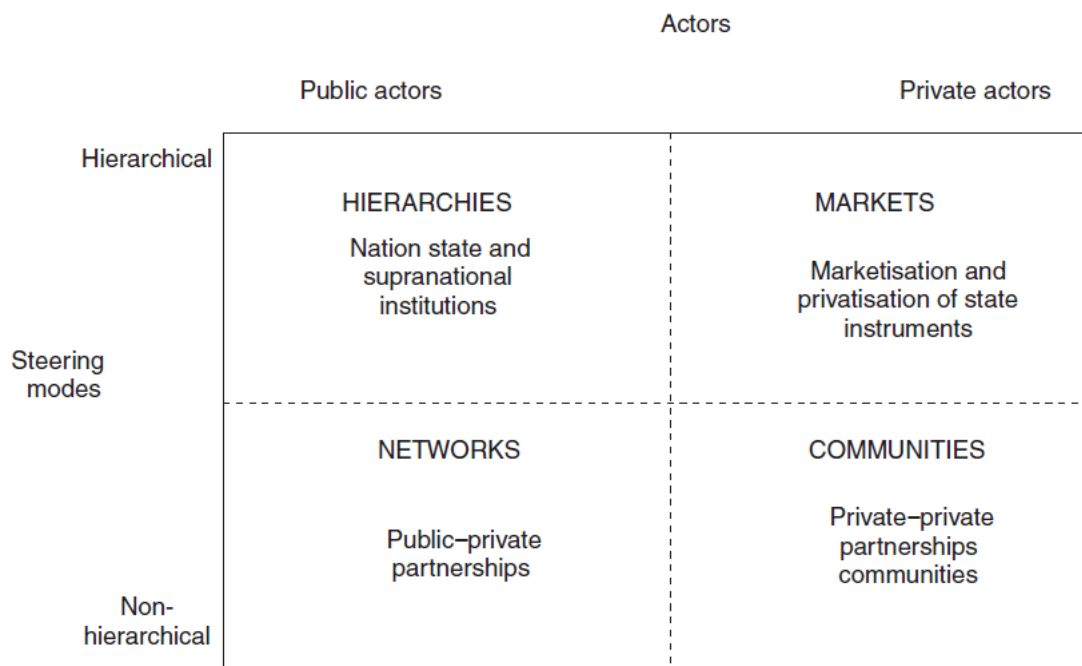
Figure 3: Frameworks of governance typology
Source: Hall (2011)

introduce Hall's (2011) frameworks of governance that offers a typology of governance to discuss the relationship between steering modes of the state and different actors (Figure 3). On this background, I will discuss the different kinds of governance associated with policy instruments thus addressing the relationship between public authority (state intervention) and self-regulation (societal autonomy). The frameworks of governance illustrated in a matrix refers to the relative use of hierarchical and non-hierarchical steering modes in comparison with the relative power balance between public and private actors as categorical variables (see Figure 3). These categorical variables are conceptualized into four governance types: hierarchies, markets, networks and community. The categories are useful both in a national political context but also in analyzing and comparing governance structures between states or policy areas. The categories exemplify types of coordination that help conceptualize abstract characteristics for later analytical work. Yet, the frameworks of governance is just one way of conceptualizing the

numerous dimensions of governance. New governance structures that combine roles of the state and private actors are growing (Brown, 2017), these are in many cases what Hall (2011) classifies as networks but can also be juxtaposed with other governance arrangements as done by Van Bets et al. (2017a) with collective self-governance. In their study on local tourism governance, Beaumont and Dredge (2010) places network governance structures as something that occur under specific market forms and do therefore not distinguish markets and networks. Furthermore, they present six parameters of good local tourism governance to address the comparative effectiveness of different governance arrangements. There parameters are well-suited to compare the effectiveness of governance arrangements but require an extensive and targeted data collection to be applicable.

Halls (2011) framework for governance is in multiple aspects simplistic compared with the toolkit framework devised by Policy Lab (2020), a team servicing the British government in its policy processes. The toolkit was developed to help policymakers and others in developing new ideas and thinking. A continued revising of the tool demonstrates the constant social changes as new perspectives emerge and further knowledge is found. Instead of looking at governance through only two dimensions (steering-mode and actors), Policy Lab has created "Government as a system" that takes in the complexity of policy making and the multifaceted actions of governance (Figure 4). The actions in the toolkit cross
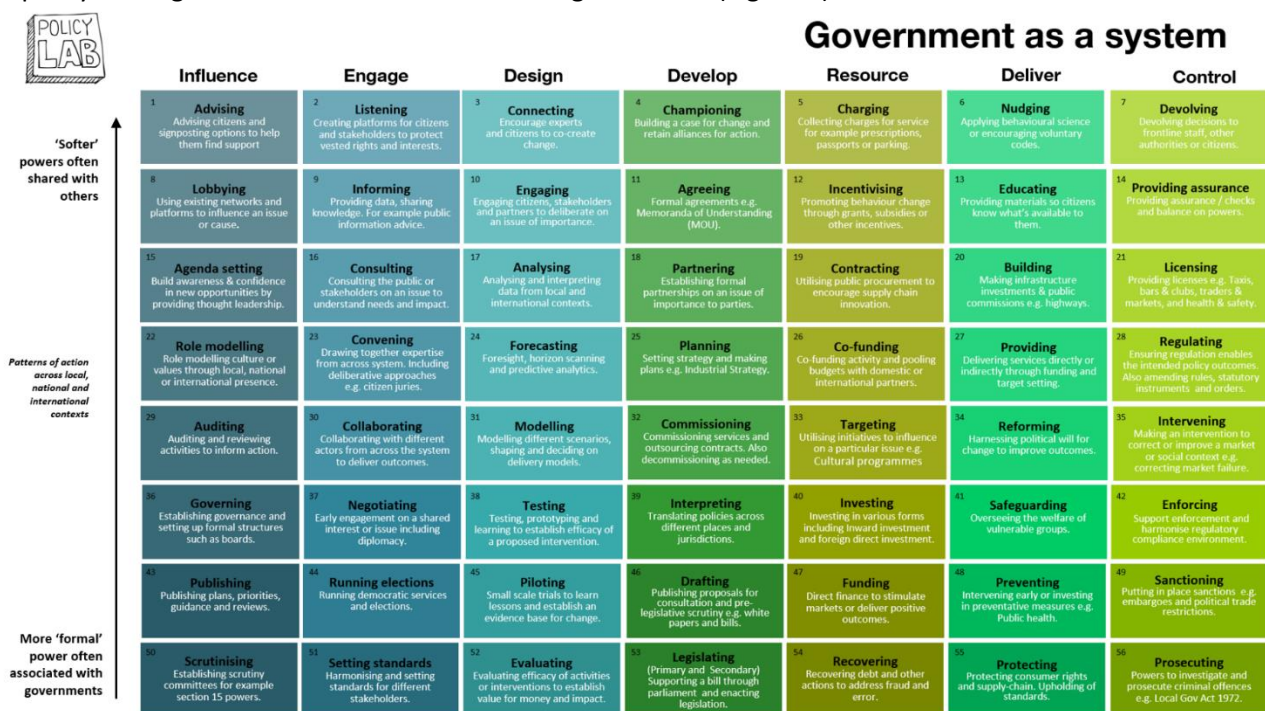

Figure 4: Government as a system
Source: Policy Lab (2020)

between local government, central government and international thus covering the whole system of governance so to speak. The toolkit is a matrix consisting of 56 distinct patterns of actions. The vertical axis indicates the level of power from "soft" collaborative power at the top to formal government power at the bottom. Seven categories of the way government work in practice are down the horizontal axis. These categories are influence, engage, design, develop, resource, deliver and control. It is added that this is not an exhaustive list as it is always more complexity and nuance in government. The different actions help to understand the complexity of governance and whether the chosen actions are within or out of scope. Complex policy issues may require multiple parts of the system to be used and one action does not preclude others to be used simultaneously as a combination of actions is needed. In addition, the sequence of the horizontal axis reflects the sequential process behind government action. Influence is thus the starting point before actions like develop and deliver. The success factor can be said to lay in the process when following this framework as the process is of uttermost importance in creating successful policy. A bad process is seen as something that "can reinforce barriers to collaboration, solidify hierarchies and hamper adaptiveness" (Policy Lab, 2020). Opposite, good process that energizes people, "creates spaces for different ideas to emerge, build trust and collective capacity" (Policy Lab, 2020). Combining the frameworks of governance with the government as a system allows me to conceptualize the governance structures benefiting the analysis and later comparison to other governance structures and policy areas while the pattern of actions aid to identify actions of governance that might not otherwise qualify as a policy instrument. The four governance structures and their characteristics will be elaborated below based on Hall's (2011) definition of the four and lastly accumulated in Table 1.

2.3.1   Hierarchies

Hierarchical governance can be seen as the traditional model of state governance. Governance is organized through vertically incorporated state structures with top-down decision making and clear hierarchical relations between various levels of the state (Hall, 2011). It has been described as an "idealized model of democratic governance and the public bureaucracy" (Pierre & Peters, 2000, p. 15 as quoted in Hall, 2011, p. 446). There is a division between public and private policy space and a general focus on the public or general good. New tendencies like globalization and changes to the state environment in general have diminished this approach (Hall, 2011). Notwithstanding the outmoded principles of hierarchical governances in some governance arenas, hierarchical governance continues to be relevant in for example international relations due to the continued role of the state and when developing institutions that enforce

international and supranational law. The top-down approach of hierarchies means that policies are made by the top and implemented by the bottom emphasizing a clear distinction between policy formulation and implementation. This underlines the characteristic of this mode of governance that is structured around hierarchy, control and compliance. The primary focus is on effectiveness and the central question is to what extent policy goals are met. The criterion of success is when outcomes are consistent with the suggested likely effects of a policy instrument, and implementation gaps occur when outcomes fall short of the suggested probable effects of a known cause (Hall, 2011). The reason for implementation gaps should be found in the execution and not by questioning the quality of the original idea. The solution to implementation gaps in hierarchical governance is the simplification of the implementation structure or employing inducements and sanctions. Primary policy instruments are law, regulation, clear allocation and transfers of power between different levels of the state, development of a clear set of institutional arrangements, licensing, permits, consents and standards and the removal of property rights (Hall, 2011).

2.3.2 Markets

Governance structured around the market is characterized by the belief in the market as the most efficient and just resource allocative mechanism. Since the 1970s, market forms of organization have been in focus and emphasized economic growth, increased competitiveness and increased capacity of the market (Beaumont & Dredge, 2010). The central element is thus markets and their efficiency, which is simultaneously the criterion of success. The success is measured through monetary criteria. Implementation gaps occur when markets are not able to function proper, and the reasons can be either market failure or inappropriate selection of indicators to measure the efficiency (Hall, 2011). The implementation gaps can be resolved by increasing the capacity of the market. Markets has been a popular governance mechanism since the mid-1980s, although, it is progressively recognized that this form of governance has its confinements due to the failure in achieving desirable outcomes because of self-regulation, market failure and the limits of the market, particularly regarding the equity of policy outcomes and sustainability aspects in mind (Hall, 2011).

Hall (2011) point to the belief that citizens are empowered through their role as consumers, which is related to the underlying model of democracy. Market participants are viewed to be the best suited to "solve" policy problems. The government nevertheless does not cease to influence the market but allows the market to act as a form of governance. Still, the government may employ financial incentives, education and potential future intervention in encouraging the tourism industry to grow in specific

directions. The preferred policy instruments involve corporatization and privatization of state bodies, voluntary instruments, use of pricing, subsidies and tax incentives to encourage desired behaviors as well as the use of regulatory and legal instruments to encourage market efficiencies and finally, non-intervention which may allow the marked to self-regulate (Hall, 2011).

2.3.3   Communities

Characteristic for community-based governance is the notion that communities should resolve their common problems with a minimum of state involvement and preference of governance without government (Hall, 2011). Decision processes are consensus-seeking and builds on the positive involvement of its members in collective concerns (Hall, 2011). Opposite to hierarchical governance, communities approach governance bottom-up with what Hall (2011) calls "street-level bureaucrats", implementers and local officials. The absence of a government leads to a focus on decentralized problem-solving as well as local autonomy, devolved power and complexity as policy themes. Problem-solving takes places in the communities or smaller units of government that are close to the community rather than in national government institutions and the involvement of public actors are avoided. The role of the citizens and level of participation demands for more direct citizen involvement in governance and public participation is of the highest importance in the public policymaking. The primary focus and central question in communities are what influences action in an issue area. The achievement of local goals is considered a criterion of success according to Hall (2011). Deficits or implementation gaps are inevitable as policy change and are therefore deemed a failure (Hall, 2011). Implementation gaps are instead what Hall (2011) calls "bad ideas faithfully executed" (p. 445), and there is thus no fixed solution for implementation gaps as they are unavoidable. The primary policy instruments commonly employed by communities are self-regulation, public meetings and town hall meetings, public participation, non-intervention, information and education, voluntary instruments and volunteer associations (Hall, 2011). Overly idealistic and exaggerating the benefits of perceived consensus are among the criticism towards this mode of governance (Hall, 2011). Yet, community participation and involvement in planning and decision making within tourism related issues are considered of high importance by numerous tourism researchers as the communities are given a more significant role in tourism.

2.3.4   Networks

The fourth governance form is the concept of networks. The existing research suggests that networks is the favored governance form at present (Dredge, 2004). Networks are regard as sets of formal and informal

social relationships that outline collaborative actions between public and private actors. The networks can be formed for single solution coalitions or for a more coherent policy community and therefore vary in size, cohesion and duration. They are hybrid in their form and consists of various stakeholders, interest groups, government officials and industry associations. Policy areas are coordinated and regulated according to the preferences of network actors and thereafter public policy considerations. Networks have therefore also been critiqued for the dilemmas of interest as networks may act to serve self-interest rather than the collective interests which represent challenges when utilized as a policy instrument (Dredge, 2006). Examples can be given from studies where economic aspects took precedence over considerations of environmental sustainability (Fridriksson et al., 2020; Erkuş-Öztürk & Eraydin, 2010). Here the composition and diversity of the network actors come into play. Hall (2011) describes the mutual dependence between network and state. The state can thus be utilized to represent the collective interest, while private actors are a means to potentially integrate various perspectives, although this depends on the inclusiveness of planning processes and actors' perspectives on participation. To facilitate the coordination of public-private interests and resource allocation is the main purpose of networks and is seen to enhance efficiency of policy implementations (Hall, 2011). Because of the multiple perspectives and interests of the networks, bargaining because a central element and internal power structures might also influence the planning processes. This also challenges the assessment of success as there is no set criterion of success that can be objectively assessed, instead success depends on actor's perspectives. Implementation deficits are seen rather different from the other forms of governance as all policies are modified as a result of negotiation and no benchmark is thus set (Hall, 2011). Implementation deficits are unavoidable, when abstract policy ideas are concretized and therefore no direct solution to implementation gaps (Hall, 2011). The primary employed policy instruments are self-regulation, accreditation schemes, codes of conduct, industry associations and non-government organizations. Like community-based approaches to governance is network-based approaches not without its worth in tourism planning due to the way facilitate coordination of public and private interests and resources and networks has been referred to as the "middle way" between hierarchical and market approaches to tourism governance (Hall, 2011).

	Hierarchies	Communities	Networks	Markets
Notions and characteristics	Idealized model of democratic government and public administration Distinguishes between public and private policy space Focus on public or common good "Top-down" decision making	Notion that communities should resolve their common problems with minimum of state involvement Builds on a consensual image of community and the positive involvement of its members in collective concerns Governance without government	Facilitate coordination of public and private interests and resource allocation thus enhancing efficiency of policy implementation Regulate and coordinate policy areas according to the preferences of network actors than public considerations Range from coherent policy to single issue coalitions Mutual dependence between network and state	Belief in the market as the most efficient and just resource allocative mechanism Belief in the empowerment of citizens via their role as consumers Employment of monetary criteria to measure efficiency Policy arena for economic actors where they cooperate to resolve common problems
Governance/ policy themes	Hierarchy, control, compliance	Complexity, local autonomy, devolved power, decentralized problem-solving	Networks, multi-level governance, steering, bargaining, exchange and negotiation	Markets, bargaining, exchange and negotiation
Underlying model of democracy	Elitist	Participatory	Hybrid/stakeholder, significant role given to interest groups	Consumer-determined; citizen empowerment
Criterion of success	When outcomes are consistent with a priori objectives	Achievement of actor (often local) goals	Difficult to assess objectively, success depends on actor's perspectives	Market efficiency
Implementation gaps/deficits	Occur when outcomes fall short of a priori objectives	Deficits are inevitable as policy change, not a sign of failure.	All policies are modified because of negotiation. There is no benchmark	Occur when markets are not able to function
Reasons for implementation gaps/deficits	Good ideas poorly executed	Bad ideas faithfully executed	Deficits are inevitable as abstract policy ideas are concretized	Market failure; inappropriate indicator selection
Solution to implementation gaps/deficits	Apply inducements and sanctions	Deficits are inevitable	Deficits are inevitable	Increase the capacity of the market
Primary policy instruments	- Law - Regulation - Licensing, permits, consents and standards - Removal of property rights - Quid pro quos	- Self-regulation - Public participation (Public meetings & town hall meetings) - Non-intervention (deliberate) - Voluntary instruments & associations - Information & education	- Self-regulation - Accreditation schemes - Codes of conduct - Industry associations - NGOs	- Corporatization and/or privatization of state bodies - Pricing, subsidies and tax incentives - Regulatory and legal instruments to encourage market efficiencies - Non-intervention (deliberate)

Table 1: Frameworks of governance and their characteristics
Source: adapted from Hall, 2008, p. 444-445

2.4   Connecting governance and the marine community

Combining the marine community with the typology of governance benefits the understanding of the role of actors and relationship between state and private actors. "The overarching concept in governance in public policy terms is the relationship between state intervention/public authority and societal autonomy or self-regulation" (Hall, 2011, p. 450). The concept of the marine community and the relationships existing between actors are utilized to illustrate the relationships between public and private actors. The marine community thus contributes by defining who are the relevant actors when discussing the governance of cruise tourism. This is likewise one of the challenges of tourism planning. Multiple stakeholders partake in tourism activities in a web of global-local networks and tourism has turn into a politically important and influential activity that shapes and is influenced by these networks and power issues (Saarinen, Rogerson, & Hall, 2017). The global tourism industry is a social and political process of change, which highlights the role of the markets instead of the state in tourism development and planning (Saarinen, et al. 2017). In addition, all actors within either the user or policy community do not necessarily subscribe to the same governance arrangements because they are in different industries like shipping and tourism which may employ different governance frameworks or policy instruments. The governance arrangements differ in their steering modes and to which extent public or private actors are involved in governing. It is the marine activity, in this case cruise tourism, that distinguish the users and policymakers of relevance to this thesis and frame the governance under examination and accordingly unifies the actors. Furthermore, the policy community includes policymakers with legislative power, yet the special knowledge of the activity will be found among the user community. As asserted by Beaumont and Dredge (2010):

> "[L]ocal tourism policy making is characterised by structures and discursive practices that are embedded with values and meanings that over time become regimes of power and knowledge that operate to filter, prioritise and promote particular local tourism policy actions and initiatives […]. Therefore, an appreciation of the way local policy governance networks operate is crucial to the design of more targeted and effective tourism management structures and practices" (p. 2).

In the end, it is the internal relationships and characteristics of the marine community that will determine how cruise tourism is governed.

Hall (2011) brings forward the significance of the typology in assisting in the analysis of governance and policies between different institutions, policy domains and scales. It contributes with a framework that

allows for comparison between different policy choices and governance systems and arrangements. The thesis will analyze the local, regional and international governance arrangements and regulatory systems present in a national context that involves state actors, local stakeholders and international organizations. In this marine community, users partake in the decision making which affects the sustainable development of the resource system and its use (Van Bets et al., 2017a). Decisions taken by local, regional and international authorities in the policy community may affect the entire marine community as cruise ships are mobile entities. A national approach better takes the mobility aspect of cruise tourism into account as local and regional differences are integrated in the analysis. Research has disclosed that cruise markets are not functioning independently but is part of a global system, which is visible through itineraries and repositioning of vessels (Rodrigue & Notteboom, 2013). Arctic cruise operators seldomly visit only one destination in a country, instead they visit multiple destinations (Bystrowska & Dawson, 2017) and it is therefore essential to move beyond single community case studies and as an alternative apply a wider scope for investigating cruise tourism. It is important to examine multiple local opinions as these too provide learning and insights of relevance to governance. Approaching a local community gives an understanding of the preferences of the single community, however, the diversity and complexity of the tourism governance landscape in its entirety is not disclosed. The paper by Weaver and Duval (2008) nicely tributes to the understanding of the transnationalization and globalization of the cruise industry and why transnational approaches are necessary to fully comprehend the industry. The regulative framework that international cruise corporations are obliged to follow results in the cruise lines being largely accountable only to themselves. As a counteract, it is necessary that cruise destinations present a collective front through meaningful and comprehensive regulations that is not limited to a single destination but preferably draws lines across regions and state boarders.

In this context, I will analyze how governance structures impact how policy problems are defined and addressed within the marine community and how the relationships between the actors of the community play into cruise tourism governance in Greenland.

2.5   Policy instruments

Policy instruments are a range of actions available to governments to give effect to their policies and objectives (Hall, 2008). Bridgman and Davis (2004) defines policy instruments as: "Policy instruments are the means by which governments achieve their ends" (p. 69). Typically, these ends are utilized in tourism policy to either develop the industry and maximize the benefits of tourism or address the negative impacts

of tourism. As policy instruments are means or actions there a no sharp lines to what policy instruments are or are not. The actions that we have just considered in government as a system can in the right aspects be implemented instruments (Policy Lab, 2020). Alternatively, Hall (2008) lists 22 policy instruments that are grouped into five categories: regulatory instruments, voluntary instruments, expenditure, financial incentives and non-intervention. Hall's list does not elaborate on softer policy instruments and is thus not comprehensive. "However, there is no one 'perfect' instrument or measure to solve a problem" (Hall, 2008, p. 249), which gives room for endless possibilities to rethinking policy instruments and ways to achieve policy aims. Another way to categorize policy instruments than that presented by Hall (2008) and Policy Lab (2020) is according to the different types of government resources they use, types of control and level of state involvement (Bridgman & Davis, 2004). This categorization easily ties policy instruments with the modes of governance. Policy instruments as government resources refers to four different elements: advocacy through information and education; money through financial incentives, spending and taxes; law through legislation, regulation and compulsory; and government action through delivering services directly (Bridgman & Davis, 2004). The type of control refers to who controls the instruments under the different forms of governance. In a hierarchy it is the elite and the state that has the control primarily through regulation. The control lies in the market forces under market governance and only by changing free market pricing can control be expressed. Community and network governance both rely on so called clans to self-regulate through communities of interest. The level of state involvement is best described as a scale between high and low involvement. The level of state involvement in communities is minimal as it is voluntary and relies on incentives and social pressure. Markets has ideally similarly a low level of state involvement as it is the market forces that control the markets and not the state itself. Higher involvement will be seen in networks where the level of state involvement is conditional of the accreditation schemes and industry associations. The highest level of state involvement is found in hierarchies with compulsory policy instruments like laws, licenses and permits. Voluntary policy instruments are often cheaper than compulsory instruments however they rely on buy in and altruism from the public and businesses. In the other end are compulsory policy instruments that require bureaucracy and resources for enforcement and can be regarded as inflexible compared to more voluntary or conditional instruments.

The implementation of the policy instrument is as important as the policy instrument itself as there are many challenges to successful implementation. Firstly, a policy problem is to be defined and who defines it influence thus how the policy problem will be tackled. Implementation thus becomes a result of negotiation, conflict and bargaining between the state and other stakeholders. Secondly, the definition of

the policy problem is an expression of underlying assumptions and presupposition. These assumptions might derive from orientations of the stakeholder and decision-makers but also from underlying policy paradigms. Thirdly, the governance structures within the policy instruments are implement also effect the criterion of success. The effectiveness of policy instruments can be measure utilizing a variety of indicators and several methods of measuring the effectiveness of policy instruments have been suggested. In his book, Hall (2009) lists a number of criteria to evaluated policy instruments. These include the capability of an instrument to attain its objective, cost-efficiency compared to other possible instruments, equitably in its impact across the targeted actors, compliance costs, the political acceptability and lastly the compatibility with other policy approaches. The list is however not an easily transferable method for measuring the effectiveness of policy instruments. In her study, Logar (2010) sets up three criteria to assess policy instruments:

- "Effectiveness, i.e. how effective would the instrument be in mitigating negative tourism impacts – does it attain its objective?
- Acceptability, i.e. is the instrument well received by the relevant stakeholders?
- Feasibility, i.e. would it be economically and technically possible to implement the instrument in practice?" (p. 126)

Logar utilizes a mix method approach combining qualitative methods and qualitative information in the assessment of implemented policy instruments. The three questions of effectiveness, acceptability and feasibility are applicable and compatible with other methods than utilized in her study due to the simplicity and relative ease the questions can be answered. Therefore, effectiveness, acceptability and feasibility will be utilized to assess already implemented policy instrument and suggested solutions in the analysis of the thesis.

Policy instruments should be understood within the set governance structure but also from underlying planning traditions and policy paradigms that influence the aim and direction of policies. In 1993, Peter Hall examined the nature of social learning whereby policies change with led to the concept of policy paradigm which is the "framework of ideas and standards that specifies not only the goals of policy and the kind of instruments used to attain them, but also the very nature of the problems they are meant to be addressing" (Hall, 1993, p. 279). Hall (1993) argues that policies change due to responses to evolving societal debates and not as a result of autonomous action by the state. Policy tendencies will be reflected based on experience, key themes in a global aspects and general societal movements. Policy paradigms

evolve around a web of ideas that acknowledge some social interest as more legitimate than others and rank some lines of policy over others (Hall, 1993). The trajectory of ideas might not all lead to fully elaborated policy paradigms but are instead looser and subject to more frequent variation.

The four tourism planning approaches or policy paradigms boosterism, economic planning, spatial and environmental tourism planning and community-based tourism planning were identified in 1987 (Saarinen et al., 2017), since then sustainable and integrated tourism planning and new public tourism planning have been added and it has been a recurring topic in the work of C. M. Hall. (e.g., Hall & Page, 1997, Hall, 2008; Hall, 2015, Saarinen et al., 2017). Boosterism is characteristic for its emphasis on development and exploitation of cultural and natural resources (Hall, 2008). The economic planning tradition equals tourism with other industries and is used to create employment, create economic revenue and growth (Hall, 2008). In contrast to the first paradigms, the spatial and environmental tradition sees tourism as a resource user and emphasizes the environmental preservation and physical carrying capacity of destinations (Hall, 2008). The community-based paradigm search for a balanced development and the focus is centered around the community (Hall, 2018). The most prominent planning tradition is sustainability. Integration of economic, environmental and socio-cultural values are the main focal points, combined with a holistic approach to development and planning processes (Hall, 2008).

Dredge and Jamal (2015) summarize how the identification of issues and the language utilized to convey it, narrows possible understandings of the problem and reduces the way a policy problem can be studied and understood. "Therefore, problematisation, itself a social construction, has a powerful role in limiting or creating thresholds to our understanding of tourism planning and policy" (Dredge & Jamal, 2015, p. 293). Similarly, governance structures and policy paradigms shape and limited what policy instruments are considered acceptable and feasible in relation to a given policy problem.

3 Methodology

3.1 Philosophy of Science

The underlying beliefs of how reality is constructed and what science is effect how a problem is approached. The choices taken relates to the underlying belief system which is broadly conceived as research methodologies or philosophy of science (Creswell, 2013). The belief system effects the question of method and guides the researcher in choices throughout the project as it defines the nature of the world and the researchers place in it (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Belief systems thus form and structure the research

and there is no one collective philosophy of science, but rather a row of different perspectives on the same problems (Holm, 2011). It is therefore relevant to establish that I perceive myself as a constructionist and how this effects the choices taken throughout the thesis process.

Social constructivism leads back to notions originating from Thomas Kuhn and Ludwig Wittgenstein (Holm, 2011). Kuhn believed that it was not possible for the scientist to be an objective observer. Science is first and foremost a social activity which is neither more nor less rational than other social activities which are defined by conventions and not by a stated method (Holm, 2011). Science is thus a social construction. Inspired by Wittgenstein, language is seen as a social construction. Words and sentences get their meaning from the way they are used and not from their (true or false) reference to reality (Holm, 2011). This boils down to the core notion of constructivism: reality is something we construct together through our interactions and the way we speak about reality. Gergen (2009) elaborates on this notion and presents five assumptions of social constructivism.

1) "The way in which we understand the world is not required by 'what there is'" (p. 5). There is no necessary connection between the world and our concept of the world in other words (Holm, 2011). It is through words and our language that we construct the world, and they also possess the power to construct alternative worlds. This leads to the second assumption.

2) "The ways in which we describe and explain the world are the outcomes of relationship" (p. 6). We describe and explain the world through the use of words. This relates to the notions introduced by Wittgenstein, where the language is believed to be a social convention rather than a true image of reality in contrast to the beliefs of the positivists (Holm, 2011). We utilize the tool (the language) that is available to tell something about ourselves, our experiences and the world we see. No understanding of the world is more or less true. Instead, they might be more or less informed or sophisticated, and realities are alterable constructions that depend on their form and content held by individuals or groups (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). What we believe to be true about the world is not simply imprinted on the individual but formed and negotiated through social interaction and impacted by historical and cultural norms present in the individuals' lives (Creswell, 2013).

3) "Constructions gain their significance from their social utility" (p. 9). The various constructions offer a set of conventions of what is acceptable and unacceptable in the social settings, and it

is here they get their significance. Constructions are, furthermore, constructed around the needs and necessities of the community and will develop and change if necessary (Gergen, 2009).

4) "As we describe and explain, so do we fashion our future" (p. 11). Everyone is born into a world of meaning passed on by our culture and traditions. It is based on these meanings that we engage with the world and make sense of it (Creswell, 2013). In other words, it is through our understanding of the world that we determine what we can and cannot do and thus shape our own future.

5) "Reflection on our taken-for-granted worlds is vital to our future well-being" (p. 12). By a problematization of oppressing understandings of one another we have the opportunity to alter them and thus create alternative futures (Holm, 2011). This is only possible if we recognize that what is held to be good and true is always from within a tradition that has accepted specific constructions as true and good thus implicit rejecting alternatives (Gergen, 2009). Consequently, we must recognize that we are also part of a tradition and must attempt to conceptualize our own understanding of reality. This is where *reflexivity* ought to be introduced. Researcher objectifies society in their attempt to understand it. They should however also make their own social and personal background the object of investigation and make clear how this background influences their research and thus avoiding prejudices (Holm, 2011).

3.2   Being critical towards social constructivism

The differentiation between the various paradigms and diverse positioning on sciences have naturally led to criticism among the various philosophies of science. The criticism towards social constructivism is multi-faceted, and I will touch upon some points of criticism and how they are addressed and defended by constructionists in the following.

The ontological position is what differentiates the constructionists the most form other paradigms (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). It is the relationship between abstract and concrete objects and issues. Therefore, a common opposition is centered around the main notion of constructivism – the socially constructed. The criticism can be separated into two: the question of the fundamentally real and the issue of the self-contradictory of constructionism. If everything is constructed as the constructionist believes, how is there then room for the material world and real-life problems like hunger and climate change? Gergen (2009) considers such objections as misunderstandings of constructionist arguments. There are no denials of the material world or real-life problems in constructionism. Whatever truly or objectively is, simply is. Instead, it is the moment we address and articulate what there is that the construction begins, and a world of

discourse is entered. Rather than unquestionably committing to what is real, constructionists see the possibilities found in questioning the real and thereby search for alternative discourses.

In addition, the self-contradictory of constructionism ties down to the criticism: if all realities are socially constructed, is constructionism itself not a construction and how can it then be true? (Gergen, 2009). Constructionists do not claim to have found the truth. Instead, constructionism should be seen as presenting a possibly different practice. The constructionist ideas and arguments are one way to portray the world but not necessarily true or objective. They are part of a narrative which is historically and culturally bounded, and only within certain traditions will they have merit. As Gergen (2009) states: "science cannot make claims to universal truth, as all truth claims are specific to particular traditions – lodged in culture and history" (p. 8).

By choosing social constructivism for this Master's thesis, a choice has been made on how the problem of the thesis will be addressed which presents specific implications and consequences. A selected amount of criticism from other authors have been dealt with but needs further amplification. When comparing the different philosophy of sciences, it becomes clear that there is no undeniable truth about the world in general or the subject of research. This implies that there are multiple ways to succeed and thus multiple choices of method to be made throughout the project process. It is up to me as a researcher to be aware of the different choices that exist during the project process and consider the consequences of alternative choices and their influence on the knowledge production (Andersen, 2013). These aspects need to be taken into consideration throughout the thesis writing process and especially in relation to the analysis where the methodological choices are the most evident.

3.3   Research Design

Creswell (2013) articulates that "if a concept or phenomenon needs to be explored and understood because little research has been done on it, then it merits a qualitative approach" (p. 20), which applies for thesis project. Furthermore, a qualitative approach is considered suitable for the nature of the problem formulation along with the above-mentioned constructivist perspective on knowledge. Qualitative research is often considered messy, particularly with issues which are especially context-dependent (Jamal & Hollinshead, 2001). Yet, social sciences have not triumphed in delivering general, context-independent theories and offer instead concrete, context-dependent knowledge (Flyvbjerg, 2006). The aim of the thesis is to gain concrete and context-dependent knowledge and seeing that the thesis attempts to capture

stakeholder perspectives and opinions, the qualitative approach is thus considered the most applicable and a case study approach was chosen – despite of the messiness of qualitative research.

The semi-structured interview was chosen as the primary research method for data collection as it gives the researcher the opportunity to obtain rich insights into the research topic and the participants' perspectives and opinions (Flyvbjerg, 2006). The semi-structure interview allows for a mixture of formality and informality. The formality of the utilization of an interview guide aided in making sure that all relevant themes were discussed, and no important questions forgotten. The informality of the interview allowed the interviewer to abandon the interview guide when new knowledge emerged or needed further elaboration. Furthermore, the nature of social constructions suggests that individual constructions can be obtained and improved only through interaction between and among researcher and participants (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). The informality of the interview and interaction with the participant thus become particularly relevant which was also the experience from the conducted interviews. In an inquiry process, there are no such thing as an "innocent" question – the participant will automatically start reflecting on the given topic implying that both the line of inquiry and interaction with the researcher will influence findings (Guba & Lincoln, 1994), the order of the questions were therefore carefully considered to influence the perspectives of the participants as little as possible. Furthermore, open-ended questions contrary to closed questions that might be found in a questionnaire allowed the researcher to get a better understanding of what people said and how they understood the topic in question (Creswell, 2013).

The data collection design has been influenced by the marine community model and the actors that make up this community. The primary goal has been to reach key actors of the marine community to gain access to the people who works within the current governance structures and has influence on future policy processes. This is considered important to obtain knowledge and understanding of what affects cruise tourism governance and the relating policy problems. Based on the contributions from multiple actors, it will be possible to juxtapose viewpoint and perspectives from across the marine community, thereby gaining a thorough insight into the cruise governance structures and its implications.

10 interviews were conducted with actors of the marine community via Zoom or Teams, one phone-interview and one e-mail interview. The online format allowed the coverage of a bigger geographical spread of the participants than otherwise possible. For all its negative, COVID-19 has made online meetings a normality and thus made this project possible. All interviews were recorded and afterwards transcribed in Danish, and quotes were later translated into English with a primary focus on meaning which meant

skipping empty words and non-understandable phrases. The interviews lasted between 25-105 minutes and took place in March and April 2022. Three rounds of interviews were conducted. The first round consisted of participants that were, accordingly, selected on the basis of expectations of the knowledge they possessed and the information they could give, in addition to being perceived as key actors. The objective of the first round of interviews were to zoom in and acquire a deeper knowledge of the topic and thus confirm or reject presumptions. This led to a more focused and concise second round of interviews that followed a revised interview guide (see Appendix 1). The design of the interview guide was aimed at exploring perspectives on the current governance of cruise tourism and the opportunities for future forms of governance. A third round of interviews was conducted to follow up on questions and perspectives brought forward of other participants thus confirming their statements. To protect the participants' anonymity, I refrain from detailed descriptions of the participants and refer to them utilizing a numbering system (See Table 2). The distribution of the participants was as follows one representative from the national tourism board, two representatives from AECO, two port masters, two port agents and few destination managers.

Coding	Interviews
I-G-1	Interview with government officials from - The national tourism board
I-M-1 to 9	Interviews with market parties - DMOs - Ports - Port agents
I-CS-1 to 2	Interviews with non-governmental organization representatives - AECO

Note: CS = Civil Society, G = government, I = Interview, M = Market

Table 2: Reference coding of interviews

The method of analysis along with the applied research techniques determine the reliability and validity of the deductions made thus affecting how the findings might be perceived. The theoretical framework of this thesis was derived from a literature review on tourism related research, linking to the way of analyzing and evaluating governance structures and policy instruments. The theories and contributions within this area are considerable and elements from a variety of theories can arguable be applied to the analysis of cruise

governance tourism. It is in my choices of method and theoretical framework that I as a researcher need to be conscious of the implications of those choices for my research.

To decipher the data, the interviews were transcribed and coded. Two coding techniques was utilized. The first round of coding consisted of structural coding which applies a content-based phrase representing the topic of inquiry (Saldaña, 2009). This coding technique was used because of its ability to both code and initially categorize the data corpus in the search for repeated themes and topics. Hereafter, a more in-depth analysis of the data and the initial categories was conducted. A second round of coding followed. This time the data was approached "as for the first time" and initial coding was applied to create first impressions and notice otherwise contained elements of interest within the data (Saldaña, 2009). Hereafter followed a policy analysis of the viewpoints expressed in the data. Similarly, the laws and regulations set by IMO and Naalakkersuisut on shipping and cruising were scrutinized. The coding and following analyzes led to the creation of multiple tables in the attempt to illustrate the perspectives brought forward by the participants.

3.4   Limitations

A concept such as the marine community confine and define who are the relevant actors when discussing the governance of cruise tourism. Still, the concept consists of a wide range of actors and to include all would be impossible within the time of scope of the thesis. Therefore, a prioritization of representatives of the marine community was necessary. Participants were thus selected that would represent and bring forward the view of multiple actors in the marine community, however, I was unsuccessful in arranging interviews with key actors like government officials and industry associations that might have contributed with more diverse perspectives on cruise governance in Greenland. Consequently, few government officials participated in interviews as well as just one side of the cruise industry thus presenting a limitation of the thesis. The national tourism strategy of Greenland was studied to balance the missing perspectives from government officials, however, the superficial perspectives on cruise tourism did not contribute with no material to the analysis. Books and websites were equally studied to contribute with perspectives of the conventional cruise industry. Further research into the perspective on governance in Greenland held by government officials of all levels is thus called for a long with the perspective held by conventional cruise operators. Similarly, it is possible to go further in-depth with the viewpoints and perspectives of the individual actors included in the thesis and incorporate more participants to see whether this could affect the findings and the perspectives on governance and policy problems broad forward in the thesis.

3.5 Quality criteria of the research

To judge the quality of a qualitative research inquiry certain criteria are appropriate. The recommended criterion for qualitative research is an evaluation of the trustworthiness of the project which relate to credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Lund, 2011).

The above clarification and substantiation of the applied methods for the data collection contribute to the credibility and of the thesis. Similarly, transferability of the project relates to which degree the project findings can be transferred to other contexts. It is therefore important that the researcher explicitly clarifies the context-dependency by describing the context in which the data appear (Lund, 2011), which is done by "setting the scenes" thus describing the political history of Greenland and the development of tourism, more specifically cruise tourism, in Greenland. Dependability refers to the reliability of the project. It is based on the cohesion and stringency of the project. With other words, it should be possible for other people to follow the project process which will illustrate the cohesion between problem formulation, method, analysis, findings and conclusions (Lund, 2011) which I can only hope is evident from the finished product of has been handed in. Confirmability addresses the objectivity of the project, which is problematic in social, qualitative research (Lund, 2011). The researcher will never be completely neutral and will have to use her pre-understanding to interpret the collected data. As a researcher, I therefore acknowledge my personal prejudices or theoretic tendencies that might influence the research thus avoiding researcher bias (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2007). Reflexivity can similarly aid the understanding of what leads to the different interpretation by reflecting on the habitus of the researcher.

A brief description of my pre-assumptions and experience is relevant for multiple purpose. It aids in obtaining trustworthiness and as a constructionist, I recognize that my habitus influences my worldview and therefore how I interpret the findings. It is, therefore, necessary to generate an overview of the assumptions that I have and which significance they might have. It is through this understanding that I can control my biases and avoid that they will corrupt my research (Holm, 2011). I am a Danish woman and come as an outsider to the community and society that I am examining. Despite the fact that I have lived and worked in Greenland do not make me an expert in the feelings and understandings of the Greenlanders, and I must not lead my personal views and opinions affect the data collection. The interviews will be conducted utilizing an interview guide to avoid biased questions and I will reflect on how I will respond to the interviewee beforehand as it is my intent to make sense of and interpret the meanings others have of the research subject (Creswell, 2013) and not my own. In addition, my personal experience

and knowledge of Greenland and the different communities will be an advantage as I not only *know of* these places but *know* them.

3.6   Setting the scene

The history of Greenland, Kalaallit Nunaat and its location in the Arctic region are some of the reasons that makes Greenland an interesting destination to research. Greenland became a colony under Danish rule in 1721. In 1953 after more than 200 years as a colony, Greenland was incorporated into the Danish realm after a referendum taken in Denmark (Sørensen, 2007). This meant that the Greenlanders had equal rights and status as Danes and a rapid modernization of the nation and its people began (Rud, 2017). The modernization aspired new political movements and the wish to obtain self-control resulted in the Greenland Home Rule Act in 1979, which gave Greenland the autonomy to administer most of its domestic matters. The Home Rule marks a political shift. The wish for further political independence led to a referendum in 2008. The result was Self-Rule and Greenland was now recognized as a nation with the inherent right to obtain political independence if they should choose it (Nuttall, 2018). Since 2009, Greenland has been responsible for most domestic matters except 32 political areas like foreign affairs, defense and security policy. Especially the right to obtain political independence have occupied the political scene and a great emphasis on economic autonomy has been a driver behind political decisions over the years (Østergaard, 2017). The transformations of the political arrangement have meant gradual changes and new perspectives on political areas such as tourism. In the beginning of the 1980s, a political focus on the development of the tourism industries started to emerge and new initiatives like cooperation with the Danish Tourism Board were carried out (Tommasini, 2014). In the following years, the potential of tourism was increasingly recognized, and tourism was seen as a tool for economic diversification, and in 1990 was the first general Tourism Development Plan approved (Tommasini, 2014). This marks a significant turn in Greenlandic tourism and the political attention given to the area. A direction for the national tourism development was set. Greenland had nonetheless not found the right formula which the reorganizations of the National Tourism Board of Greenland is a good indication of. Greenland Tourism has since its foundation in 1992 had different focuses and tasks varying from tour operation, marketing agency, business council and tourism board (Travel trade, Greenland, 2022: Tommasini, 2014). Since 2012, the name changed to Visit Greenland and a new exclusive focus on tourism development primarily through external marketing, although more attention has been given to the internal development the last couple of

years. Today, tourism is one of the four columns of Greenland's economy which should contribute to increased economic independence together with fishery, mining and land-based "business".

Greenland has been a popular destination among explorers in many centuries but as a regular tourist destination must Greenland be considered a late comer (Kae, 2006). Up until the 1990s, the tourist numbers were insignificant and first in the beginning of the 2000s did tourist numbers begin to rise (See Figure 5). The last two years have meant a decrease in tourists due to COVID-19 restrictions, but expectations are that the numbers will soon be back to the pre-pandemic standards. The majority of tourists come from Denmark, and the subsequent tourists are from Germany, United Kingdom, USA and France (Statistics Greenland, 2022). The peak season is in July and August and thus highly seasonal and strongly influenced by weather and ice conditions that also effect the length of the shoulder seasons throughout Greenland (Statistics Greenland, 2022). Visit Greenland divides Greenland into seven tourist destination which are all represented by some form of DMO. The destinations correspond more or less to the municipalities and are North Greenland, Disko Bay, Destination Arctic Circle, Capital Region, South Greenland, East Greenland and the National Park. Besides the vast nature and relating activities each tourist destination has its own unique attractions like the Icefjord in Ilulissat or the remains and ruins in South Greenland. Ilulissat and the Disko Bay area receive the most land-based tourists, while Nuuk as a
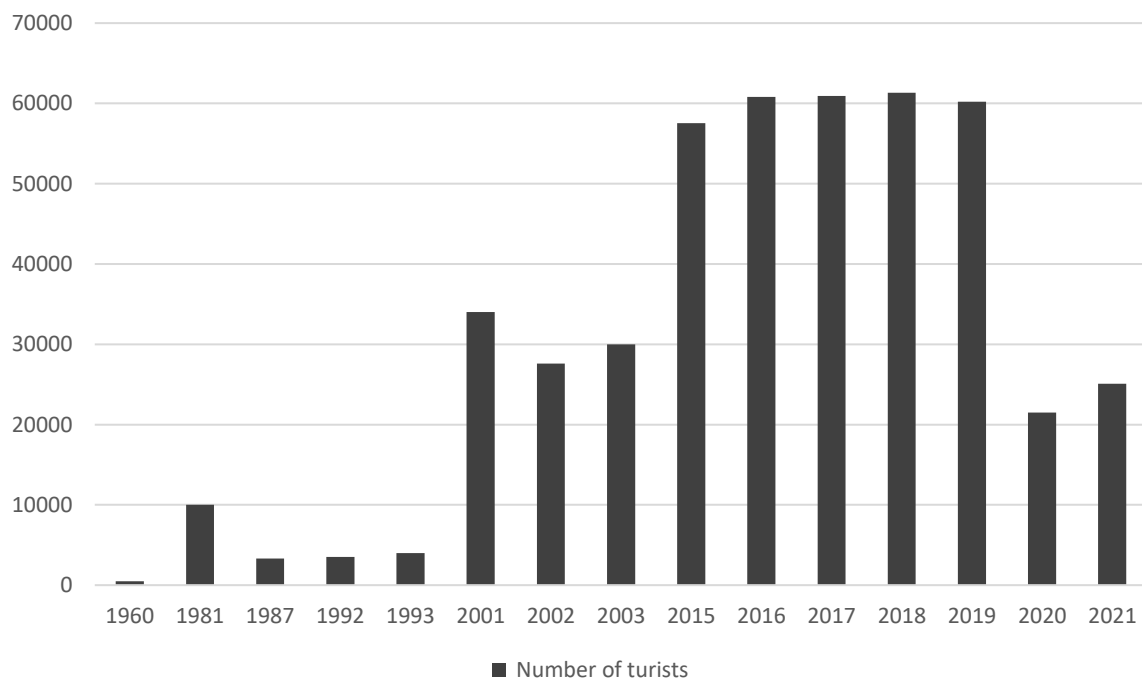

Figure 5: Tourist numbers in Greenland
Source: Ioannides (2018); Kae (2006); Statistics Greenland (2022)

Population in Greenland by january 1st, 2020

KOMMUNE KUJALLEQ	
Narsaq	1,346
Igaliku	21
Qassiarsuk	34
Narsarsuaq	123
Qaqortoq	3,050
Saarloq	21
Eqalugaarsuit	49
Qassimiut	20
Nanortalik	1,185
Aappilattoq	100
Narsarmijit	66
Tasiusaq	53
Ammassivik	32
Alluitsup Paa	202

KOMMUNEQARFIK SERMERSOOQ	
Nuuk	18,326
Qeqertarsuatsiaat	169
Kapisillit	52
Paamiut	1,308
Arsuk	73
Tasiilaq	1,985
Sermiligaaq	209
Isertoq	64
Kulusuk	241
Tiilleqilaaq	96
Kuummiut	248
Ittoqqortoormiit	345

QEQQATA KOMMUNIA	
Sisimiut	5,582
Itilleq	89
Sarfannguit	96
Kangerlussuaq	508
Maniitsoq	2,534
Atammik	196
Napasoq	80
Kangaamiut	293

KOMMUNE QEQERTALIK	
Aasiaat	3,069
Akunnaaq	66
Kitsissuarsuit	50
Qasigiannguit	1,081
Ikamiut	86
Qeqertarsuaq	839
Kangerluk	11
Kangaatsiaq	520
Attu	203
Iginniarfik	76
Niaqornaarsuk	249
Ikerasaarsuk	90

AVANNAATA KOMMUNIA	
Qaanaaq	646
Savissivik	55
Siorapaluk	43
Qeqertat	23
Upernavik	1,092
Upernavik Kujalleq	201
Kangersuatsiaq	130
Aappilattoq	149
Tasiusaq	252
Nuussuaq	181
Kullorsuaq	453
Naajaat	49
Innaarsuit	180
Nutaarmiut	43
Ikerasaarsuk	2
Uummannaq	1,407
Niaqornat	35
Qaarsut	174
Ikerasak	233
Saattut	226
Ukkusissat	154
Illorsuit	0
Nuugaatsiaq	0
Ilulissat	4,670
Oqaatsut	29
Qeqertaq	114
Saqqaq	132
Ilimanaq	53

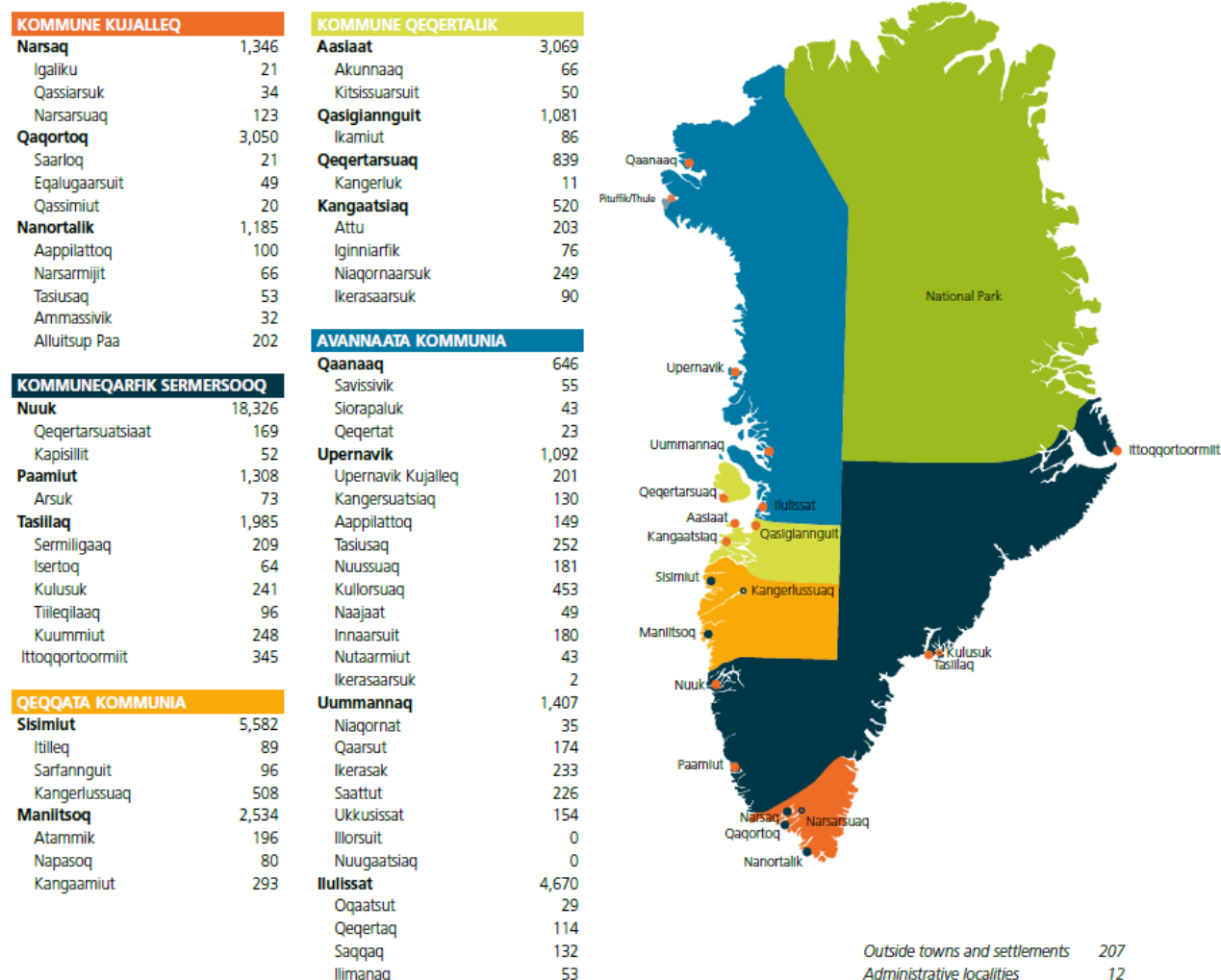|	
Outside towns and settlements	*207*
Administrative localities	*12*

Figure 6: Map of Greenland & population in Greenland
Source: Statistics Greenland, 2020

capital receive relatively few overnight tourists that are vacationers and not in Nuuk on business. South Greenland receives the majority of their tourist from cruise tourism due to its close location to Iceland and America. Only few tourists come to the scarcely populated parts of East Greenland and most tourist arrive by cruise ships or by plane from Iceland. The National Park and North Greenland are hardly visited by any tourists.

In terms of cruises, Greenland has been a developing cruise destination since the 1990s (Cartwright & Baird, 1999). The number of passengers has grown from just under 10,000 in 2003 to a high of 46,633 in 2019 (see Figure 7). The statistic on number of cruises goes back only to 2015 but has similarly grown from 90 to 125 cruises. The number of passengers on cruises varies greatly but after the government changed

the taxation of port calls from a passenger fee to a tonnage fee in 2016, there has been a significant rise in the number of large ships (over 1200 passengers) (Statistics Greenland, 2022). The expectations for the coming season are an all-time high with 53 vessels with a capacity of over 43,500 passengers and a total of 456 port calls exceeding the 396 port calls in 2019 (Visit Greenland, 2022). The preferences of the ships to
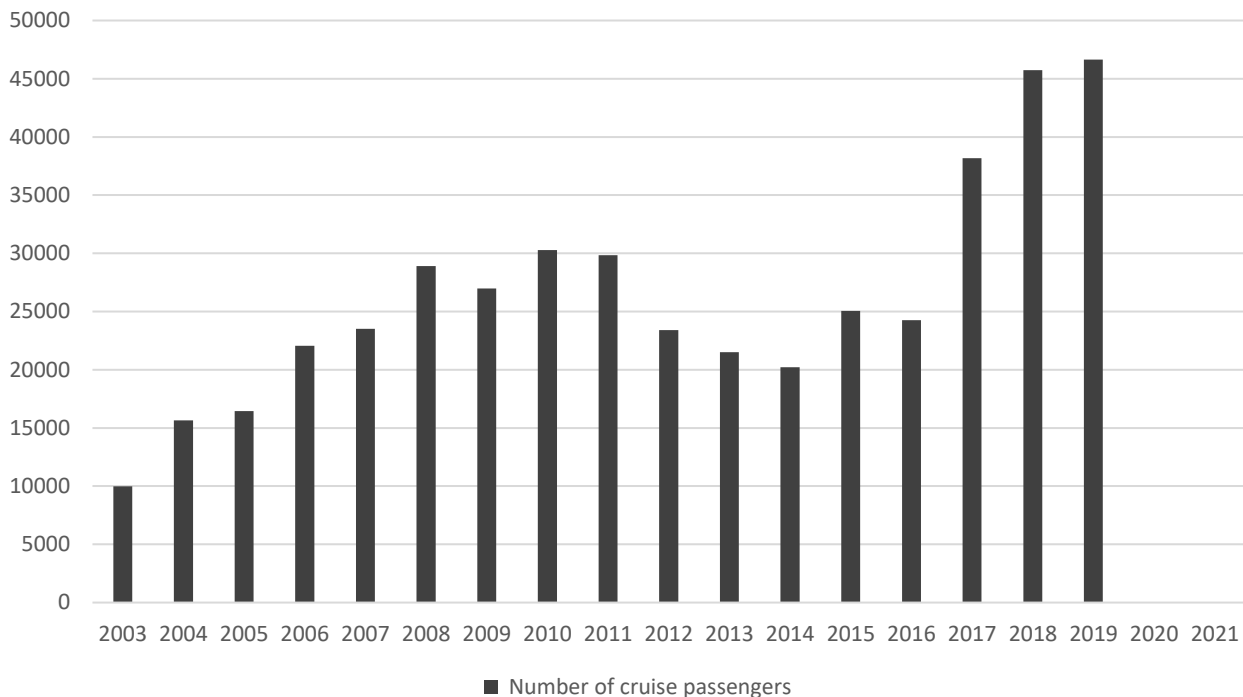

Figure 7: Cruise passengers in Greenland
Source: Statistics Greenland (2022)

call to port in smaller settlements and towns or favoring unpopulated landings vary greatly. The smaller ships have a higher flexibility and tend to favor nature landings, whereas some of the bigger ships require more assistances from ports and the use of their facilities and services. The most visited destinations are Ilulissat, Sisimiut, Kangerlussuaq, Nuuk and Qaqortoq with between 31 and 49 planned cruise calls in the coming season. The majority of all ports are too small for cruises to moor to quay and instead they will anchor of shore and use zodiacs to get passengers to shore. Nuuk and Sisimiut are the only harbors that offer services like deposit of waste, fueling and delivery of supplies. Kangerlussuaq is turnover port where passengers are exchanged and fly in or out of the international airport.

For the time being, Greenland cannot be described as a mass tourist destination from the visitor numbers alone and over-tourism sounds absurd on the world's largest island covering over 2 million km^2 with population of 57.000 and a population density of 0.3/km^2 (Statistics Greenland, 2022). 1.7 million km^2 are cover with ice year-round and most people live in coastal settlements along the western coast. Although,

the vast amount of land, the tourists are concentrated in the small coastal settlements. There are no inland-roads connecting the settlements and they can only be reached by air and sea depending on season and weather conditions and are effectively like small island destinations (Ioannides, 2019). Accessibility and infrastructure are lingering issues which are complicated by the geographical distances, challenging weather conditions and vast Greenlandic landscape. International travel options are limited and expensive. Flights are offered from Copenhagen to Kangerlussuaq or from Reykjavík to either Nuuk, Kulusuk, Ilulissat or Narsarsuaq. New airports are under constructions in both Ilulissat and Nuuk which will enable flights over the Atlantic. Much hope is placed in the airport to bring change and tourists to the destinations.

4 Analysis

4.1 Traits of the cruise industry in Greenland

Cruising is the defining maritime activity for this marine community and the central actors and primary users are the cruise lines. As one participant pointed out, there is a tendency among especially researchers to presume "that cruise tourism is cruise tourism" (I-CS-2). However, it would be wrong to assume that

Characteristics	Small	Expedition	Conventional
PAX	Up to 12	Mostly up to 500	500 or more
GRT	Under 10,000	10,000-20,000	Over 20,000
Individual spending power	High	High	Low
Port calls	Various	Many	Few
Engagement level	Various	High	Low
Association	None	AECO	CLIA
Infrastructure & harbor needs	Low	Low	High
Itineraries	Highly flexible	Highly flexible	Fixed
Primary destinations	Nature landings and local communities	Nature landings and local communities	Towns and populated areas
Product focus	Various	Destination immersion and learning experience	Vessel experience, onboard entertainment, destination highlights

Table 3: Cruise categories and their characteristics
Sources: modified table from material acquired from AECO.

they are all the same. Firstly, the cruises can be separated based on the size of the vessel. The industry operates with multiple ways of defining size. In Greenland, the vessels are divided into three categories

based on passenger numbers and type of cruise operation which deviates from the general categorization of the industry (Mancini, 2004). Table 3 lists the three categories and their general characteristics.

Small cruises or passenger ships with up to 12 passengers are typically yachts or private chartered cruises and fall into a separate category when it comes to legislation than cruises with more than 12 passengers, and for this reason is there also no records of the number of small cruises in Greenland. The cruise industry consists thus primarily of expedition and conventional cruises. Expedition cruises are a medium sized category with typically up to 500 passengers. Conventional cruises make out the last category of cruises and are big vessels with 500 or more passengers. In the coming season, there are 53 ships in total close to evenly divided between conventional and expedition cruises. They will make a total of 456 cruise calls throughout Greenland. 322 of these calls are considered expedition cruises with under 500 passengers and 134 cruise calls will be made by conventional cruises with more than 500 passengers. The number of passengers varies from 120 to 3840 passengers. Secondly, these different types of vessels offer diverse products and attract very different tourist segments with different spending power, levels of engagement, nationalities, demographic characteristic. Culture immersion is not a primary focus on conventional cruises (Cartwright & Baird, 1999). In contrast is the destination immersion and learning experience focal points of most expedition cruises (AECO, 2022). An in-depth elaboration of the tourist segments in each of the categories is out of the scope of the thesis (see e.g., Dickinson, 1997; Brida, Bukstein, Garrido, & Tealde, 2012). Thirdly, different regulation and standards are set for the cruises by industry associations and national and international authorities. The Association of Arctic Expedition Cruise Operators (AECO) is and NGO and represents the interest of Arctic expedition cruise operators in the Arctic region, and the majority of all expedition cruises operating in Greenland are members of AECO (I-CS-1) and constitute half of the ships in Greenland. The second half are conventional cruises which are mostly represented by the Cruise Lines International Association (CLIA). CLIA is the world's largest cruise industry trade association which brings together ocean cruise lines operators and travel agents. There is no association for small vessels under 12 passengers, but few are members of AECO (I-CS-1). In addition to complying to the regulations set by their respective association, cruise operators must comply with the international regulations of IMO as well as domestic laws and regulations. Cruise operators are not obliged to be a member of any association and there are therefore operators and thus vessels without an association membership that only needs to follow the laws and regulations set by IMO and port nations. AECO encourages a strict set of standards and guidelines from their members to minimize negative impacts and secure a sustainable industry (AECO, 2022). The guidelines consider both environmental and socio-cultural sustainability of places and the

communities they visit. CLIA has similarly industry policies however these are not relating to the destinations or communities they visit but are concerning areas like operation, management of the ship and passenger safety and health. Where AECO are focused outwardly, CLIA is concentrated inwardly.

To summarize, cruise ships diverse in size, types of tourists and membership obligations. The findings imply that distinguishing between the different types of cruise tourism is important. The nuances of the cruise industry are not necessarily visible for land-based actors and other people ashore. The nuances are nonetheless important in relation to governance of cruise tourism for the development of efficient policies and future strategies. The data suggests that the cruise categories cause different kinds of policy problems and require different forms of governance and policy instruments, which will be the continual theme of the analysis.

4.2 The governance of cruise tourism in Greenland today

Hall's (2011) governance typology is utilized to improve the understanding of the dominating forms of governance in the area of cruise tourism and the aims of the policies adopted.

4.2.1 Hierarchies

Hierarchical regulatory instruments draw an overall line for the international cruise industry. Authorities like the IMO provide a legislative framework for safe, secure and environmental practices of shipping for which the governments of its member states are responsible for implementing and agreeing to include in their own state law. In addition to the international framework for shipping, IMO has enforced the International Code for Ships Operating in Polar Waters – the Polar Code. The Polar Code applies to ships operating in Arctic and Antarctic Waters and covers the full range of ship design and construction, operations and manning, (safety) equipment and environmental protection matters. The environmental matters include issues such as oil, garbage, sewage, chemicals and invasive species. The aim is to provide for safe ship operation and the protection of the polar environment by addressing risks present in polar waters and not covered by other instruments (IMO, 2022). The requirements set by IMO are extensive yet there is still room for improvement. Ship emission is not part of the Polar Code and ships in the Arctic are only encouraged not to use or carry heavy fuel while it is completely banned in Antarctic.

Under international law, the port states may have specific requirements and laws, ships need to follow when calling to port or sail in the given state's waters. Greenland is no exception and has a range of laws addressing operation and environmental matters for ships sailing in the Greenlandic Waters. Similar to the

Polar Code, Inatsisartut (Greenland's Parliament) has issued a law regarding the protection of the marine environment. The Danish Maritime Authority has issued a statutory instrument of Ships Safe Navigation which among other things require all ships with more than 250 passengers onboard to employ a pilot to assist the captain navigating on inner and outer territorial waters of the coast of Greenland. The national park in North and East Greenland is under special protection and all ships must obtain an authorization before sailing in the adjacent sea. These instruments are all hierarchical measurements with a top-down approach that apply all vessels in Greenlandic waters and are not exclusive to cruise vessels.

4.2.2   Markets

The most significant law when it comes to cruising in Greenland is the port taxation. In 1992, a tonnage tax was introduced. Based on the size of the ship measured in gross registered tonnage (GRT) all passenger ships had to pay 0.70 DKK/GRT per port call per day to Landskassen (The National Treasury) when calling to port in Greenland. The tax was altered to a passenger tax of 300 DKK per passenger in 2002. The intention was that the tax revenue collected from cruise ships should go to improve the landing conditions and thus would the cruise industry indirectly pay for the improvements however the money never reached the intended areas (Pedersen, 2014). Yet more ships called to port in Greenland after the amendment, and the national tourism board and two directorates saw the opportunity to increase the passenger tax to 450 DKK per passenger and concurrently introduced a 450 DKK tax on passengers in combined travel arrangements in 2006 (Inatsisartut, 2006). Two years later the price rose to 525 DKK. The latest amendment occurred in 2015, when the passenger tax was changed back to a tonnage tax but with a higher rate by Naalakkersuisut (the Government of Greenland). The tourism industry had encouraged an amendment because of the high passenger tax and recommended a reduction of the passenger tax. Yet, the amendment was not, what they had expected.

> "Yes, back then we worked to get it altered – we had the world's highest tax pax on 525-550, yes, then it was eliminated and came down to 1 DKK/tonnage. There was many that was so uncomprehending from the cruise lines and industry" (I-G-1).

"It favors actually the bigger ships instead of the smaller ships" (I-CS-1). The financial benefit of the change is limited for smaller ships as their weight per passenger is usually higher than that of bigger ships (I-CS-2). The presupposition was that the more passengers, the more money would be spent in the local communities.

"I remember it well, when they changed it to a tonnage tax which was something the Self-Rule decided actually to attract more bigger ships. To make it more interesting for the bigger ships to come here because they thought: 'okay, more people onboard, it means more money into the local area. More tours booked, more souvenirs bought, etc. etc. etc.' but it is not reality" (I-M-2).

I-M-2 refers to the underlying presupposition of the taxation being wrong. Research from around the world has proven that more passengers do not equal more individual spending (Larsen, Wolff, Marnburg, & Øgaard, 2013; Marksel, Tominc, & Bozicnik, 2017), which points to the importance of knowledge of the industry and its segments. A survey from Svalbard showed that the higher number of passengers of conventional cruises could not compensate for higher purchases of cruise expedition operators. The total economic contribution by expedition cruises was more than double the number of conventional cruises despite the passenger numbers being 62% lower than conventional cruises (AECO, 2019). Evidence from Svalbard suggests that the presupposition upon with the taxation was based may be false, though no quantitative evidence from Greenland exists that can support either claim. What is equally interesting is that it could have been avoided. Sufficient knowledge of the industry and its segments would have allowed the policymakers to make a decision based on a true presupposition and thus implement a policy instrument that supported the desired outcome of more money in the local communities.

The many amendments of the port taxation give an impression of the complexity of the policy problem and how intent and strategy not necessarily result in an effective policy. The acceptability of the tonnage tax is low among the participants:

"I could maybe imagine going back to a passenger tax, a people tax, because we maybe then could get rid of those huge cruises that would not want to call into port any longer" (I-M-2).

A similar opinion is held by another participant that addresses whether "the passenger tax again really, instead of the tonnage tax if it could aid that we get these tourists that actually will spend some more money and actually also had more time" (I-M-3). The two quotes not only show the dissatisfaction with the taxation but also exemplify how the port taxation can be utilized as a policy instrument to change the demographic of the cruises. They both see a passenger tax as the solution to attract expedition cruises and avoid cruise calls from conventional cruises. The many increases in the amount per passenger reflect a focus on economic gain. The latest amendment favoring bigger ships could be interpreted as belonging to the economic policy tradition with the prospects of higher revenue (Hall, 2008). The port taxation is essentially payment for utilization of harbor facilities, yet functions as a market influencer. The current

form of the taxation is not well received by multiple actors in the marine community indication a low level of acceptability. It is questionable how effective the instrument is in attaining its objective. More cruises have arrived after the latest amendment although the revenue does not end in the local communities. The many amendments demonstrate a high feasibility of the instrument and potential amendments would similarly be feasible.

It appears that there has been a shift in the perspective on the policy objective among the actors in tourism industry. The original aim was to lower the taxation to get more passengers. Naalakkersuisut altered the passenger tax to a tonnage tax which has resulted in more passengers and bigger ships. But now many of the actors in the tourism industry do not want more passengers, instead they want to shift towards expedition cruises as exemplified above.

In addition to the government introduced regulation of cruise tourism, the regulation of the industry is limited. "Yes, if there were some rules instead of it is just like 'free for all'" (I-M-1) is one participant's perspective on the current level of regulation which is supported by I-G-1:

> "It is sadly not controlled or regulated. There are no rules, nothing else than that of tonnage. So that is… Yes, everybody can come as long as they follow the rules of IMO for sailing in Arctic nations or icy polar waters".

Pricing through taxation is a preferred policy instrument in markets. The implemented policy instrument and the non-intervention indicate that a market-based approached is emphasized in the governance of cruise tourism by the state.

4.2.3   Networks and communities

The non-intervention by the state on cruise tourism has led to self-regulation in parts of the marine community. In their objective to achieve sustainable cruise tourism, AECO has implemented sets of guidelines and standards to self-regulate (AECO, 2022). Compared to the public law set by Naalakkersuisut, AECO's guidelines are more operational and detailed on how to handle wildlife encounters, protect biodiversity or limits on cruise passengers per guide which is not accounted for in the national laws. Their tools have spread to other parts of the marine community which has resulted in collaborations between AECO and multiple DMOs (I-M-1, I-M-2, I-M-4). The community specific guidelines are the most widespread tool and a voluntary instrument that is feasible for communities of all sizes. This initiative has come from the user community and is now being further developed to include land-based tourists in parts of the policy community (I-M-1, I-M-4). The community specific guidelines are a way for the local communities to inform

cruise ships and their passengers how they would like to be approached thus addressing tourist encounters. One participant refers to it as a "low hanging fruit" (I-M-2) as it is rather easy to realize suggesting that the feasibility is high. The community specific guidelines are created by the communities themselves. The local residents are invited to participate in a community meeting or workshop facilitated by AECO and the regional DMO, where they formulate guidelines like "Please ask before photographing locals; some of us are camera shy and please show respect for our homes" (Appendix 2). An example of the guidelines can be found in Appendix 2. The guidelines are a help to visitors for them to know what to see and experience but more importantly they attempt to educate the visitors and encourage certain behavior to avoid incidents where "they end up in someone's home" and have been a success the places they have been implemented (I-M-1). It is not forced upon the industry by higher level of government institutions and compliance with the guidelines are not enforced with fines or similar. Instead, the guidelines have been initiated by expedition cruise operators thus from an international network and is implemented by the local communities. There appears to be a high acceptability of the voluntary instrument among the local communities, DMOs and AECO members. Still, the instrument is voluntary meaning that it is not a requirement for the entire industry to follow these guidelines. Non-AECO members are not obliged to follow the AECO guidelines and standards and are thus not under the same regulation. The acceptability of the different guidelines and standards is expected to differ depending on the requirements of non-AECO members to comply with the guidelines and standards. This also calls in question the effectiveness of the different instruments. An instrument like the community guidelines is expected to have a high acceptability among all actors because it is easy to implement and simple to follow. Other standards like fuel requirements are more extensive thus lowering the feasibility, and the acceptability by non-AECO members is presumed to be low. The effectiveness of the policy instruments is thus fluctuating.

The nature of the instruments, bottom-up approach and level of participation indicate a community-based governance structure. Yet, the role of AECO and the DMOs together with the level of negotiation and bargaining that takes place in the formulation of the community guidelines point to networks, and it is therefore possibly a mixture of the two forms of governance. The self-regulation can be interpreted as are response to the deliberate non-intervention by the state or out of a necessity due to a "black spot" not covered by the current tourism policies.

4.2.4 Sub-conclusion

Multiple modes of governances are present in cruise governance in Greenland. Table 4 sums up the governance structures and the hereunder implemented policy instruments and the policy areas they address. In reference to Halls (2011) typology of governance, it is evident that instruments of governance occur within particular frames of governance. Only public actors on national and international levels are involved with the regulative instruments. The instruments addresses operation and ship handling to procure safety and security of shipping. Environmental protection is equally addressed by these laws in relation to the environmental impacts of shipping. One policy instrument implemented by the state is specifically targeting passenger ships hence cruises. The minimal intervention by the state in the market of cruise tourism has led to a disparity between the regulations expedition and conventional cruises operate under. Conventional cruises do not respond to other problems than those addressed under hierarchical governance structures and problems relating to their own vessels. The form of governance practiced by the state is not sufficient to address the negative impacts of cruise tourism in the opinion of the participants. The expedition cruises have entered into local networks that have turned to self-regulation to address problems that goes beyond the ones addressed under the hierarchical governance structures. The local network addresses socio-local problems related to tourist encounters through voluntary instruments. Because the instruments are voluntary, non-AECO members are not obliged to comply with them. The instruments are thus only effective within one cruise category.

Governance approach	Implemented policy instruments	Policy area
Hierarchy	General laws under IMO	Safety standards for ships (design & materials) Security of shipping Prevention of pollution by ships
	The Polar Code	Environmental protection (oil, invasive species, sewage, garbage and chemicals) Ship safety (equipment, design & construction, operations & manning)
	Law (Protection of the marine environment)	Environmental protection (oil, invasive species, sewage, garbage and chemicals) Safe navigation

	Law (Ships Safe Navigation)	Environmental protection of vulnerable areas (The National Park)
	Law (Environmental preservation)	
	Licensing & permits	
Market	Pricing through taxation	Payment for utilization of harbor facilities
Network	AECO guidelines	Tourist encounters (behavior of visitors)
		Wildlife encounters
		Protection of cultural heritage
		Environmental protection (biosecurity)
		Marine plastic pollution
	AECO mandatory guidelines	Fuel
		Incident reporting
		Vessel tracking
	Community specific guidelines	Tourist encounters (behavior of visitors)
	CLIA industry polices	Operational safety
		Shipboard security
		Fire protection
		Environmental protection (waste)
		Passenger health and rights
Community	Community specific guidelines	Tourist encounters (behavior of visitors)

Table 4: Approaches to governance

4.3   The roles and relations of actors in the marine community

The marine community and the relationship between the various actors frame how governance of cruise tourism is approached and which measurements are chosen. An understanding of the interrelations of the actors in the marine community benefits the decision making process and an exposition of these aid in understanding the power balance between actors. Different engagement levels in the marine community effect the perception of cruise tourism and multiple characteristics of the marine community is assumed of importance to the governance within this area (Van Bets et al., 2017a). Figure 6 shows the distribution of actors between the user and policy community.
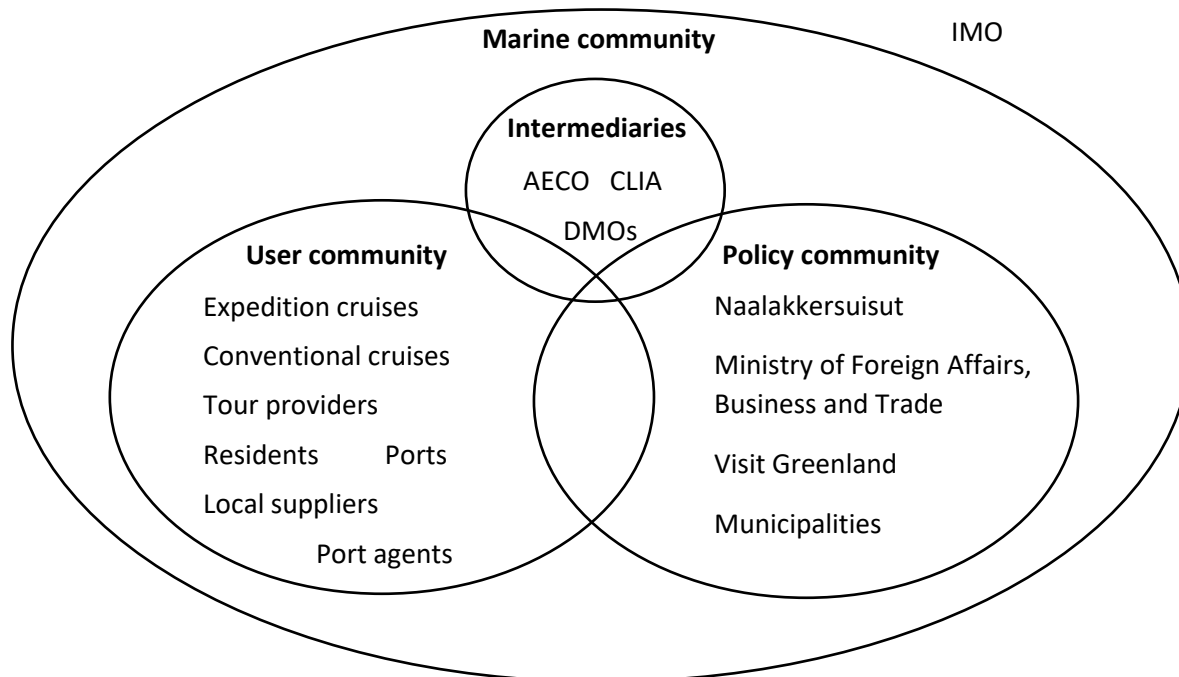
Figure 8: The marine community around cruise tourism in Greenland

The user community is composed of the cruise lines, port agents and service providers, ports, local tour operators and residents. The policy community comprises Naalakkersuisut, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Business and Trade, Visit Greenland and the five municipalities. Somewhere in in between are the regional DMOs and the two associations CLIA and AECO. Here it can be questioned if the marine community model too simplified a lens to cover the situation in Greenland. The user community executes the policy and is affected by the maritime activity. Neither the DMOs, CLIA and AECO execute or are directly affected by the cruising. Instead, they rather affect the marine community. The policy community is different government institutions and governance arrangements which regulate maritime activities. This might apply to the DMOs that are lead organization-governed networks but the NGO-led DMOs do not fit well under this description.

> "We have a service contract with the municipality, but we are actually a non-profit NGO. So, we also have – in contrast to what I know of the other DMO groups – we have a little more freedom, because we are not governed by the municipality specifically. So, it gives us a little more latitude to also be able to comment on some things and such" (I-M-1).

Similarly, the industry associations might regulate cruising, but their main purposes are not regulation of the activity. Their role is

"[p]artly to secure that this organization of the operators that wants it occurs but also to function as contact between operators and the local, the local authorities. Well, listen to what it is there is being talk about. What is it that occupies people? What is it that worries people? What are the challenges locally? What are challenging for the operators? And then take part in assisting in bringing these different people and different units together so you can find a solution" (I-CS-2).

The role described by I-CS-2 is one of an intermediary and facilitator which is similarly described by I-M-1:

"Then we become the intermediary between what happens at the overall level and what the locals need. I also believe that we become the contact point in regard to if there is anybody that experiences some challenges" (I-M-1).

This points to an adaptation of the marine community model by adding another group of actors – the intermediaries (Figure 8). They partake in both communities but they neither execute the maritime activity nor are part of the government institutions that regulate it. Instead, they partake in policy processes on the behalf of the user community, and they bring their views of the opinions forward to the policy community. Likewise, the intermediaries assist the policy community in implementing regulations and influence the user community. By placing them in a separate community their role as intermediary and facilitator is acknowledged and simultaneously addresses the hitherto ambiguity of their role that Van Bets et al., (2017a) found to be challenging for the governance of cruise tourism.

The involvement and engagement of the intermediaries vary greatly. CLIA and AECO do not share many common characteristics. CLIA represents the vast majority of conventional cruise companies and is a promotional association highly involved in connecting travel agents and cruise companies (Dickinson, 1997). The promotion of growth of the cruise industry and positioning as a dynamic, growing and profitable business is the primary responsibility of CLIA's president (Dickinson, 1997). In addition, CLIA works with various regulatory and policy development processes concerning the environment, medical facilities, passenger protection, safety and security (Mancini, 2004). Opposite to CLIA, AECO is a non-profit organization and approaches the interests of the industry differently. AECO represents the concerns and views of Arctic expedition cruise operators and focuses on safe, sustainable cruise tourism and strive to set the highest possible operating standards for cruises in the Arctic (AECO, 2022). CLIA is no research institute in contrast to AECO that receives funds for and conducts research projects. AECO geographical area of interest is the Arctic region (Greenland, Iceland, Svalbard, Jan Mayen, Arctic Canada and Arctic Russia (Franz Josef Land and Novaya Zemlya) and they are present throughout the region. CLIA is spread out

worldwide with regional offices that attend to the regional interests, yet there is not anyone who are directly responsible for the Arctic. They are absent in Greenland and their interests are badly represented. The association has regional offices around the world that attend to the regional interests, yet there is not anyone who are directly responsible for the Arctic. This means that they are not partaking in any meetings within the marine community where matters concerning cruise tourism are discussed. They are left out of the conversation, so to say, and actors in the community have either little or no knowledge of CLIA (I-M-2, I-CS-1). CLIA does therefore not fulfill the role as intermediary and have no influence on the governance of cruise tourism in Greenland. On the contrary is AECO well-represented in Greenland and partake in multiple forums where their engagement level is high.

> "It has, you see, been a boost, […] that we have gotten an assistant executive director […] who sits in Nuuk. It has clearly helped this dialogue with different stakeholders in Greenland without doubt" (I-CS-1).

Not only do they have someone physically placed in Greenland, but they have gone into strong collaborations with the regional DMOs, Visit Greenland, local communities and the ministries (I-CS-2, I-G-1, I-M-4, I-M-1). Their influence on the marine community is evident as their core values is echoed by multiple actors (I-M-1, I-M-2, I-M-4). It is necessary to stress that the values of AECO and the direction of cruise tourism that Visit Greenland has initiated are very similar and there has not been collected any data to collaborate which came first, however, it is assumed that they originated from AECO as it is first within the last couple of years Visit Greenland has begun focusing more on sustainable aspects of cruise tourism. Various statements like the following quote from actors indicate that the perception of cruise tourism and the future direction of cruise tourism in Greenland is heavily influenced by AECO. "We emphasize that we collaborate with AECO, which exactly have some really good values they work according to" (I-M-1). This only stresses the absent of CLIA. AECO are promoting self-interests in the marine community, though the interests seem to align with the collective interests, but it is a fine balance that might present future challenges as experienced in Svalbard (Van Bets et al., 2017a).

The DMOs are highly engaged in the marine community and the network structure of the organizations is advantageous in their role as intermediator. Characteristic for the DMOs are the few employees and the low level of seniority in their jobs and a limited experience with cruise tourism and knowledge of the cruise industry which were pointed out in the interviews (I-M-1, I-M-3, I-M-4). This affects the power relation between the actors. The DMOs are highly influenced by both AECO and Visit Greenland. Their experience is minimal in comparison with other actors in the marine community that have worked

with cruises for 10-20 years (I-G-1, I-M-6, I-M-7, I-M-8, I-CS-1, I-CS-2). This might compromise their role as intermediary, and they are considered receptive for the opinions of other actors as they have not yet formed their own.

In the policy community, the municipalities play a small role and do not involve themselves much in the governance of cruise tourism based on the conducted interviews. The local governance and management of tourism including cruise tourism is typically outsourced by the municipalities to the DMOs. The municipalities have legislative power but have not made use of it in relation to cruise tourism, which Visit Greenland would like to change: "We are working on the municipalities that they should also make their own rules" (I-G-1). This perspective what shared with other participants (I-M-1, I-M-2). Naalakkersuisut and its ministries have a varying degree of involvement. During the pandemic for example, the Ministry of Health placed restrictions on the cruise industry and became a central actor but after the restrictions were lifted their involvement diminished (I-G-1). The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Business and Trade's role is more consistent and government officers partake in meeting and similar activities in the marine community.

Visit Greenland is the most engaged actor in the policy community. They have taken upon them a role of facilitator and also act as advisory authority for Naalakkersuisut and function as a corporatization (I-G-1). Despite the close ties to Naalakkersuisut, Visit Greenland is an advisory authority with no power to introduce legislation, yet is in a strong position to affect the national policymakers. The relational ties to Naalakkersuisut manifests itself through the actions of governance Visit Greenland practices like engaging on different levels with the tourism community and Visit Greenland can be seen as a policy instrument in itself. The relationship between Visit Greenland and the regional DMOs expresses the level of influence held by Visit Greenland. The DMOs lean against Visit Greenland in regard to both advice and experience but also concerning strategy and the future direction of cruise tourism and positions within this area and the DMOs are also referred to as the extended arm of Visit Greenland (I-G-1).

Local communities have taken different roles upon themselves in the user community. Some communities have chosen to participate in cruise activities and arrange "open-town", kayaking shows or perform Greenlandic polka (I-G-1, I-CS-1), while other communities do not involve themselves and it is either up to individual tour operators or the cruises to create activities for the cruise passengers. The communities and their residents are first in line to experience both the positive and negative impacts of cruise tourism. Tour operators are in many cases the pulling factor of the destinations. They offer various products and activities

that contribute positively to the tourist experience. In many cases, they are the decisive factor whether a cruise chooses to call to port in a specific community (I-CS-1). The operators therefore have a dominant role in regard to the movements of the cruises and which communities are visited but they do not possess the same dominant role in policy community.

Suppliers or local service providers play a rather small part in the user community. Conventional cruises are not in need of additional supplies, and it is mainly the expedition cruises that require extra services which is primarily provided by the port or port agents. Most cruise destinations do not have the capacity for either selling goods and supplies or the necessary equipment. An example can be given from Nuuk. Nuuk is the capital and cruise destination to receive the biggest vessels, despite of this there is only one tourist bus available to cruise passengers in the capital, when a cruise of more than 2,000 call to port.

The numerous ports throughout Greenland play a small role in the marine community. They accept the cruises calling to port and takes care of practicalities like where the cruise can anker and spaces for zodiacs to moor. The majority of administrative and operational aspects are taken care of by the port agents, still the port masters approve the suggested cruise calls which is primarily based on the physical conditions and limitations of the harbor facilities (I-M-6). I-M-7 describes the role of the ports:

> "Well, we are primarily a freight company, so I do not mean that we have a wider role in tourism itself. Of cause do we help the cruise industry a lot, but it is then specifically the ships and not so much the tourists themselves".

The ports are thus essential in regards to the marine aspects of cruising but do not involve themselves in matters concerning tourism. This is criticized by I-M-8 that sees a challenge in the emphasis on business and revenue held by the ports without considering the underlying aspects and points to it being a short-sided strategy if cruise tourism is to flourish in Greenland.

Royal Arctic Line and Blue Water Greenland are the two port agents in Greenland. They are the controlling actors in the marine community when it comes to mobility of the cruises. They authorize cruise calls and manage both the administrative and operational issues involving cruise calls. They have the power to distribute the cruises and affect their movements when cruises request a port call. The two port agents share information of port calls for the coming season but do not share information about port calls planned further out in the future (I-G-10). In distributing the cruises, the port agents elaborated on how

they try to avoid ships calling to port at the same time in smaller destinations, but they cannot see the calls registered by the other port agent (I-G-10), which can sometimes lead to three or four cruises at one destination within the same day (I-M-7). The port agent underlined that their decisions were based on availability and physical space for the cruises in the ports (I-G-10). The two port agents approach the ships differently. One of the agents pointed out that they have a minimum of financial incentive when it comes to the sizes of the ships. Their rates are the same for all ships and might deviate for ships with multiple port calls and loyal customers (I-G-10). Contrary to the other agent that favors the smaller cruises because they earn more on added services, and the smaller cruises are less hassle (I-M-8). The company has found their own way to "regulate" which ships to represent: "We have not dropped them, I would say, but we have probably chosen to place us so high [pricewise] that they have found other agents" (I-M-8). The agents' role in the cruise tourism is as distributers of cruises that act out the decisions taken by Naalakkersuisut and do not take an opinion of which cruises call to port and where (I-G-10), yet they contact the cruise lines if they see clashes in the schedules (I-M-8). If the decision was taken to e.g., limit calls, the port agents would presumably be involved in the implementation.

The limited experience and minimal knowledge of the industry among actors are multiple times pointed to as a challenge in the marine community. High job rotation is one of the reasons for the limited experience which leads to challenges especially in relation to communication. "Suddenly is there, you see, a breach in this communication and then you have to build up relations again and you have to build up the communication again" (I-CS-2). This leads to challenges, and two of the participants nicely illustrate the problems that it can cause. "It is not always easy to know, who you need to get in contact within some little community for instant", and the participant elaborated on the problems for the cruise operations when they want to come earlier than planned or arrange the church to be open for instant (I-CS-1). "It is not necessarily that easy" (I-CS-1). One community had a different perception on such a situation:

> "We have used so much energy and resources on planning some call for a ship and then they do not come. They come either a day early, and then everybody is surprised, and we cannot deliver the experience that we otherwise would have, or then they do not come at all" (I-M-2).

This is an example that of a challenge both because of job rotations and new inexperience people which leads to tasks falling between two chairs, but also a general communicational challenge in Greenland.

Furthermore, "it is not everybody that have the same understanding of the tourism like the rest of us" (I-G-1). This statement expresses the power held by actors with knowledge of cruise tourism over those without it.

> "I see it as our role that we should come with recommendations to the politicians because they sit in the big chairs with a lot of power, you can say, but it is not them that ordinarily sits in the areas and ordinarily with the industry" (I-M-2).

The quote underlines a point made multiple times by the participants that lack of knowledge and inexperience impact the interrelations in the marine community. It becomes the most experience actors that possesses the highest influential power and dominate the marine community. This is not necessarily good or bad, but the opinions and interests of the actors take precedence over the interests of other actors. This is supported by earlier work and "governance within the tourism sector is a challenging task as it involves a variety of stakeholders who are sometimes only weakly aware of what tourism is" (Scott & Marzano, 2015, s. 181). An understanding of the cruise industry and its segmentation are relevant in approaching policy problems as

> "it is entirely different ways they operate; it is different size of volume; it is different possibilities and limitations which is due these different types of... and maybe also different principle of how you operate" (I-CS-2).

A lack of knowledge of the industry might cause regulation and policies based on perceptions rather than knowledge. As market representatives, the participants sit with the most knowledge of the industry, they see a need for more regulation but do not have the power to implement the most efficient policy instruments. Yet, different perspectives on policy problems or interests will also influence policy processes and how a policy problem is defined and addressed. The different stakeholders might not agree on what the actual problem is or how to solve it. The actors with legislative power are less engaged and involved in the marine community. This set boundaries for the governance of cruise tourism and leave little room for the most engaged actors to maneuver. Furthermore, the policymakers are influenced by a variety of stakeholders with different levels of access and power. The dominating actors in the marine community will likely be the ones defining the policy problems in the marine community and therethrough controlling the direction of the future governance.

4.4 The perspectives on policy problems and policy instruments

A variety of policy problems emerged from the coding process of the interviews. These led to an additional analysis that grouped the different perspectives held by participants on cruise tourism related policy problems. In addition, the National Tourism Strategy was utilized to incorporate the perspectives of Naalakkersuisut. The perspectives are grouped after the overall policy problem they relate to and presented in the following sub-sections.

4.4.1 Economic gain

Economic gain or contribution of cruise tourism was mentioned multiple times by the participants and sometimes in connection with other policy problems. The perspectives that are brought forward in this sub-section are the perspectives where the main aim is economic gain. Economic contributions typically come from cruise expenditures. These consist of e.g., port charges, servicing arrangements, supplies, berthing, excursions and individual passenger spendings.

Multiple participants favored local economic gain when talking about economic contributions of cruise tourism (I-M-1, I-M-2, I-M-3, I-CS-1). The view held by AECO encapsulates how economic gain is foremost something that should benefit the local communities and not the state:

> "We would like to have something productive, when we come and visit, that stay in the local community and is not just diverted into some […] big chest somewhere that the locals see nothing of anyway" (I-CS-1).

This was supported by a destination manager that presented their objectives for cruise tourism in the region of which one considered the economic benefits of cruise tourism.

> "The local ports ought to have economic benefits from each port call including nature landings like for example Uunartoq Hot Springs or the UNESCO-places, because […] it is the Self-Rule that receive all the money from the tonnage tax right now and the local area, the local ports, the municipality, the settlements and the residents they do not receive economic benefits from the cruise calls, which we would like to change" (I-M-2).

This perspective is shared in other parts of Greenland that are far away from the political center of Nuuk and feel the money is not evenly distributed among the regions but stay in the capital (I-CS-1, I-M-3).

Economic concerns related to the spending power of cruise passengers was a topic among the participants similar to the findings of James et al. (2020). Here the favoritism of expedition cruises among the participant was evident. The perspective of the participants was that expedition cruises spend the most

money locally, while conventional cruises spend close to no money while ashore. Both Visit Greenland and AECO referred to studies endorsing their view. A survey from 2015 for Visit Greenland showed that passengers spend an average of 49,37 € /passenger on expenditures while ashore (G. P. Wild, 2015). The survey does not differentiate between expedition and conventional cruises. A survey by AECO (2019) in Svalbard makes this differentiation and found that spendings vary greatly from passengers of expedition cruises and conventional cruises. Expedition cruise passengers spent 960 NOK/passenger on goods and services ashore in Svalbard while conventional cruise passengers spent 425 NOK/passenger. The survey from Svalbard covers cruise operators purchases ashore in Svalbard and here is the difference in purchases much higher. The expedition cruise operators spend on average 3,275 NOK per passenger whereas the conventional cruise operators spend 380 NOK in comparison. This is collaborated by the port agent that preferred expedition cruises over conventional cruises due to the extra services the operators would buy (I-M-8). I-G-1 refers to studies that shows that adventure tourists spend 65% of their revenue locally, "while conventional cruise passenger, they spend only 15%. So, what we would like to show is that we would like to reduce the big [ships]". The perspectives suggest that there is a difference to the cruise categories thus implying that the problem lies with the conventional cruises and their low spending power. This is contradicted by CLIAs annual outlook report which states that cruises spend an average of 750 USD/passenger in port cities over a typical seven-days cruise (CLIA, 2022).

Aside from the favoritism of expedition cruises, land-based tourists were favored over any cruise passenger. Despite that they received much more cruise passengers than land-based tourists, they would like to change the distribution in the future (I-M-2). This might be related to the perspective on tourists expressed by another destination manager:

> "We are pleased with tourists, but it also shows that cruise tourists do not spend very much money in the local community, when they come in. They put the money onboard the ship after all" (I-M-3).

A favoring of expedition cruises among the participants suggests that a future direction would be to attract expedition cruises and avoid conventional cruises. Visit Greenland works towards attracting expedition cruises through a close collaboration with AECO and simultaneous have stopped initiatives that would attract conventional cruises like non-participation in the annual sea trade show in Miami and they try to signal that it is not conventional cruises they prefer working with (I-G-1). Suggestions of a strategical focus and policy instruments favoring expedition cruises was voiced (I-G-1, I-M-1, I-M-2). In this connection, a

return to a passenger tax favorable to cruises with fewer passengers, hence expedition cruises, was seen as a possible policy instrument as outlined previously (I-M-2, I-M-3, I-G-1).

Economic development of tourism was the overriding interest of Naalakkersuisut in relation to both tourism in general and cruise tourism. The vision stated in the National Tourism Strategy is a textbook example of the underlying assumptions and related attitudes of the economic planning tradition as defined by Hall (2008). This correlated with the intention of the tonnage tax to generate a higher revenue. The perspective that more tourists, equal higher revenue was not shared among the participants.

4.4.2 Cruise capacity

The carrying capacity of a destination is a contested area within tourism research (KILDER). The thesis will not go into this debate but states that multiple aspects impact the carrying capacity of a destination. In the analysis carrying capacity is described as the cruise capacity of the local communities referring to the number of cruises and passengers a community can handle per day. It is thus the participants' perspectives on cruise capacity that are central in the analysis and not how cruise capacity is defined. The problem of cruise capacity is closely related with problems like product offers and overcrowding as well as its impacts on economic gain. The relatedness of the problems complicates a sharp separation between perspectives on cruise capacity and other problems, the perspectives in this sub-section are centered around cruise capacity but nevertheless touches upon perspectives that relate to other problem areas.

In the National Tourism Strategy, cruise tourism is addressed directly once under the section "Make Greenland ready for the tourist" (Naalakkersuisut, 2020, p. 17). There are otherwise no initiatives or recommendations directed at cruise tourism. Naalakkersuisut foresees that more cruise ships will call to port in Greenland and there is therefore a need to strengthen facilities of the "receiving system" (Naalakkersuisut, 2020). The strengthening of the facilities should lead cruise passengers to attractions and shops thus positively influencing the local earning potentials. What the receiving system refers to and how this should lead cruise passengers in specific directions are not elaborated.

I-M-3 would also like to see better facilities and pointed to it being a better selling point towards cruise ships that they have the necessary facilities to accommodate the ships, when they arrive. The harbor facilities equally put a limit to the cruise capacity in Nuuk. Trawlers and cruises utilize the same quay which has meant that two days a week are thus locked in for trawlers coming in to unload (I-M-6).

Similar to the perspective of Naalakkersuisut, a destination manager found that better landing facilities would improve the cruise capacity. She declares: "The simple fundamental things are not even in place to be able to develop and improve the cruise industry" (I-M-2). Yet, her perspective on a potential solution differed from Naalakkersuisut. The suggested solution was allocating of the tax revenue to the local communities earmarked improvement and expansion of landing facilities. The line of argument was that instead of the tonnage tax revenue going to the National Treasury, the money could go directly to the local government or harbors and would stay in the local communities so that communities with many cruise calls receive money for tourism development (I-M-2). This perspective was supported by I-G-1. This approach originates from a lack of financial support locally to an upgrade of an essential pontoon bridge (I-M-2), yet the problem of harbor and landing facilities is a well-known issue which has been lacking financial backing for years (Pedersen, 2014). The destination manager elaborated:

> "And just this thing, if they could just call to this harbor then it could really lift the first impression you have when you come ashore for instant and lift the tourist experience you have in this town" (I-M-2).

The bad landing facilities influence the tourist experience and instead of thinking isolated on taxation of a means to increase revenue, the taxation offers opportunities to improve harbor facilities and the tourist experience, if the revenue is allocated to the right places. This perspective seems to be rooted in the sustainable planning tradition where the tourism planning meets local needs and trades successfully in a competitive market (Hall, 2008). Even though, Naalakkersuisut and the destination manager share the same objective (infrastructural improvement) their respective policy paradigm transfers this into two different approaches.

The balance between tourist operators and passengers ashore in reference to cruise capacity was mentioned by participants at multiple occasions (I-M-1, I-M-2, I-M-3). Highly related to product offers, a destination manager spoke of the capacity of tour operators hence cruise handling as a limitation of the cruise capacity and likewise touched upon the impact on economic contributions locally:

> "It does not function optimally. We would of course like that the money… that some money is placed locally. They do not really do that if there is 2,000 people that need tours and there is nobody that can take that capacity" (I-M-1).

This was supported by a port agent: "When they come such 3,000 passengers, it is the fewest place we can handle it for instance in Greenland" (I-M-8). The port agent continued and explained how it is not the number of passengers as much as the set-up that determines the capacity:

> "Well, if you take Qaqortoq and Nanortalik for instant which are some relatively small harbors then they can easily handle a cruise of 3,000 pax. There are no problems there. Even though it is three times the size of the inhabitants of Nanortalik, then they have their set-up, their system with open town, it just functions. If you send 3,000 pax into Maniitsoq then it will end in disaster. It will it almost if you send 500 in there" (I-M-8).

The comments of the two participants suggest a perspective that more products and tour operators equal higher capacity. The destination manager added the difficulty in accommodating conventional cruises because of the many passengers whereas the fewer passengers of expedition cruises made it more manageable (I-M-1). In relation to this another destination manager contributed:

> "I hope […] that we can prioritize quality over quantity. That we, well, have a smaller ship but a ship that stays longer in a destination, that corporates closer with the local operators, guides and involvement like that, but I also think that we have a duty as local tourism industry to give more and better possibilities to have a better relationship with cruise passengers that being economically or socially."

The perspective presented in the quote appears to favor expedition cruises but highlight the responsibility of the local tourism industry to create attractive destinations.

There have been talks on presenting a set number per destination with the maximum number of people ashore at a time which should be estimated based on tour operators and their capacity (I-M-2). In the opinion of Visit Greenland, such a capacity estimate should be set by the individual municipalities (I-G-1).

Other product offers that could increase the cruise capacity were also mentioned. I-M-3 would like to see "a bus for the walking-impaired and get them guided around and then get a proper sightseeing tour", and have the cruises stay longer in port and expressed hopes of getting cruises to lay over a few days at the destination. I-M-2 similarly talked of the possibilities associated with the cruises staying longer in port: "Then they actually have more time to come to some of the remote areas where it takes a little extra time to get to". I-M-2 continued and elaborated on the possible attractions and experiences of the hinterland that is currently inaccessible to them. Destination hinterlands are typically an

element of attractiveness to cruises (Esteve-Perez & Garcia-Sanchez, 2015). Yet, the accessibility of the hinterland in Greenland is limited with few roads and vehicle for transportation.

Remarkably, the physical carrying capacity was not addressed by the participants. Instead of focusing solely on the improvement of harbor facilities and expanding product offers to spread the passengers, an alternative would be to consider the spatial carrying capacity. Incorporating tourist movement in urban planning, recreational areas or wilderness management could increase the carrying capacity of a community thus spreading tourists and therethrough avoid clustering. This would require resources to establish but would allow visitors to experience the destination utilizing a minimum of resources. Yet, mobile place management is an area in which Greenland is struggling and the perception of overtourism is a potential risk despite the modest visitor numbers (Eskildsen, 2021).

4.4.3   Product offers

Product offers should be understood in a broad sense and relates to excursions, shops, attractions, experiences and other offers available to cruise passengers. Products become important as they are central elements in the attractiveness of a destination and the most preferred destinations by expedition cruises are communities with unique offers for the cruise passengers (Bystrowska & Dawson, 2017; I-CS-1).

Naalakkersuisut presents two approaches in the National Tourism Strategy in connection with product offers. Firstly, Naalakkersuisut emphasizes the quality of products in the tourism industry suggesting that an increased quality of the services and products offered will enhance the competitiveness compared to other markets. It is pointed out that the increased number of passengers and visitors will enhance the number of tourist operators and product offers. The policy aim is to optimize the level of service and tourist experiences thus enhancing the trustworthiness of products. The suggested policy instruments are both a labelling system for products and counselling and competency development for businesses. Secondly, Naalakkersuisut sees an unexploited potential in the unique areas featured in each region and the connecting stories of interest for tourists. The perspective is that these places need to convey and visualize both the locations and connecting stories. They therefore recommend the establishment of national attractions and visitor centers in all regions in Greenland. These two recommendations are interdepended as the national attractions are embedded in the individual visitor centers. The improvement of local earning potentials is mentioned as one of the primary drivers and likewise support a desirable tourist flow thus directing tourists to the places of interest (shops) and regional attractions. Furthermore, the establishment of visitor centers will lead more tourists to vulnerable areas and these areas should be protected. Paths and

signs are to guide the tourists around the area and present the stories of the region and area, while a souvenir shop located in the visitor center gives an opportunity for local handcrafters to sell their things. The governance actions of creating national attractions and visitor centers are interpreted as measurements to increase the capacity of the market in the pursuit of higher economic revenue rather than accommodating issues like overcrowding. Most of the perspectives are better described as actions of governance rather than actual policy instruments.

In line with Naalakkersuisut, Visit Greenland expressed the importance of good service and high quality: "The dream scenario is that firstly, the locals get really good money out of cruise handling while they deliver good service and good quality" (I-G-1). In this regard, Visit Greenland spoke of a previous policy instrument called The Port Readiness Program instigated by Naalakkersuisut and implemented by Visit Greenland. The program focused on finding products the local residents could offer the tourists (I-G-1). The program description draws on the economic planning tradition with a focus on revenue and development:

> "The Port Readiness Program has been compiled to inform cruise destinations about the opportunities for local revenue, higher employment and planning of tours in relation to the development of the industry" (Visit Greenland, 2019).

The actions of governance in the program are educating and informing. Education helps providing materials, so citizens know what's available to them, and information provides the communities with data and knowledge (Policy Lab, 2020). This articulates a change in the implemented policy instruments and new approach to the same problem. Importantly, product development is neither considered a policy instrument or an act of governance (Policy Lab, 2020). Instead, other acts of governance and policy instruments can be utilized to improve existing products and inspire product development.

The engagement level of the residents and the local community is likewise perceived as a problem by a destination manager:

> "If you take a random check on each cruise day and walk around and look how many sellers were there actually that was out selling handcrafts – okay, there was maybe two. Okay, but you are 50 people in town that sit and make handcrafts, where were the other 48 people, right? We can also be there and do something to get more money out of them" (I-M-2).

The destination manager pointed to the problem being with the local community that did not utilize opportunities to increase local revenue. It appears that her perspective is that the engagement level of the

local residents influences the available products and they do not take advantage of the economic opportunities available to them. The destination manager did not suggest how to tackle the problem of getting local sellers of crafts and other actors in the communities to participate and engage more on cruise days. It is however interesting to highlight as this a rather different perspective than held by Naalakkersuisut and other participants.

Cruise operators have been experienced to hold power over destinations as they can choose between destinations and drop them after their liking (Van Bets et al., 2017b), and one destination manager expressed concerns about the negative impacts of cruise tourism and concurrently believed that they would be abandoned as cruise destination if they began making demands regarding the ships that came in. Instead, he thought they should open to cruise tourism no matter what, because they could not control it anyway (I-M-3). Interestingly, Visit Greenland dismissed this position:

> "I do not think that is quite the case because we have so few resources in Greenland and destinations that can deliver the experiences. There are some customers that come the same place every year because they know that there is reliability of delivery. It is also incredibly difficult to choose to drop [a destination], what is the alternative? There is not any. This [to be dropped] we have not experienced in this way" (I-G-1).

This perspective was shared with AECO that elaborated by adding that it is what the destinations have to offer which will affect the decision of which destinations are visited along with the relationship between the operator and local communities (I-CS-1). AECO and Visit Greenland both meant that "where the cruise ships discontinue and choose another destination, it is if an operator retire, and you cannot be sure that there will be delivered some products to experiences or their customers" (I-G-1). Product offers and the attractiveness of a destination is not only a problem in Greenland. After conducting an extensive study into seasonality in the Arctic that addressed the restrains of product development to actualize growth potentials, Rantala et al. (2019) found that a shortage of interesting products to attract visitors was perceived a problem.

4.4.4 Tourist encounters

Tourist encounters or the perception of cruise passengers and their behavior when visiting the local communities was brought up multiple times by the participants.

Collective among the DMOs, there was a rather negative perspective on the behavior of cruise passengers. A destination manager described it as an unconscious power the passengers have, when

"[…] they just gather in hundreds of people and then being in the way like it is a closed museum area or something like that. They should have a little more sense of propriety. That it is a living town, there are people that drive around in their cars. They are on their way to work, and they should also have room to buy something in the shop" (I-M-2).

They gather in crowds, walk into people's homes, take photos of children etc. (I-M-1, I-M-2, I-M-4). It was underlined that the higher the number of passengers the more negatively they behaved (I-M-1). The participants therefore spoke of ways to get the passengers to exercise the right behavior – a process that has already been initiated in collaboration with AECO. The community specific guidelines are the central instrument in this process with the objective of behavioral adjustment of the passengers:

"Exactly to give cruises some guidelines to how do I behave in this area I arrive at. What should I not do, but what am I allowed to do? And it has been a huge success. […] Yes, just these small guidelines do a huge difference sometimes" (I-M-1).

Despite the success of the community specific guidelines, the "cruise tiredness" was experience of a port master at the end of a season (I-M-7) and likewise something that Visit Greenland could detect in satisfaction surveys (I-G-1). Part of the cruise tiredness seems to be connected to the numbers of cruise passengers.

4.4.5 Overcrowding

Clustering, overcrowding and many tourists at once are some of the phrases utilized to describe the experience when cruise passenger come ashore. In a small society like Greenland, it is not uncommon to see passenger numbers that exceeds the number of inhabitants.

"It is not fun to see 1,000 pax ships in a small settlement with 75 inhabitants, and we do not really think that is correlates. Despite the individual actors maybe make good money in this way, but experience wise it is not fun for most tourists to experience billions of people or many people in such a tiny community" (I-G-1).

"So again, flooding of the local community with several thousand tourists a week that can also have a negative impact" (I-M-4).

"It is a short period – relatively – where it is rather intensive, but it has a rather high impact, when there arrive so many to such small communities also" (I-M-1).

In the examples, they speak of the masses of cruise tourists. Words like invasion, a necessary evil and intensive were used to describe the experience of passengers ashore (I-M-2, I-M-4, I-M-5, I-M-8). The

rhetoric was rather dramatic and suggests that the perspective on cruise tourism could rapidly change for the worse. Terms like "people pollution" have previously be used to describe cruise visitation peaks and very well sums up the perception of the participants (Klein, 2011). In addition, the interviewed participants were aware of damaging effect if the communities reached a stage of antagonism as described by Doxey, (1975), and multiple perspectives were brought up that addressed the problem. A destination manager intended to utilize principles of environmental sustainability as an instrument to decrease the number of cruises.

> "We have actually written that only port calls by vessels with a proven sustainability principle in regard to especially waste disposal at sea should be permitted. In other words, if a vessel does not have this in place or does not manage it in a sustainable way then we will be fine by saying that you cannot call to port in South Greenland. It is something completely different, if it is politically possible or not, but it is what we would recommend at any rate" (I-M-2).

Again, the destination manager has thought the solution into a bigger perspective addressing multiple problems at a time. Few other concrete solutions were voiced by the participants, yet two destination managers directly said that they would not like to have cruises with 2,000 passengers (I-M-1, I-M-3). Visit Greenland saw the future development of cruise tourism to be an increase in cruises – but only expedition cruises – as the right direction, and a reduction of the number of conventional cruises (I-G-1). A wish was to utilize taxation to differentiate, partly to create better terms for expedition cruises than conventional cruises (I-G-1). The preference of expedition cruises is thus evident.

4.4.6 Sub-conclusion

The perspectives presented above have led to an interpretation of the underlying assumptions and policy aims visualized in Table 5. The table outlines the policy problems and related perspectives held by actors in the marine community.

From the Table 5, it appears that the perspectives on conventional and expedition cruises differ among the interview participants and the National Tourism Strategy hence Naalakkersuisut. Naalakkersuisut does not differentiate between the cruise categories, and the socio-cultural aspects like cruise passenger behavior and overcrowding is not addressed. Instead, this is dominating the perspectives of the interviewed participants and a concern for the impacts of conventional cruises was a returning theme in the interviews. There is a prevailing preference for the expedition cruises as passenger numbers, behavior and spending pattern of conventional cruises are seen as problematic. The perspective of the participants is thus that

Main impact / policy problem	Actors' perspective	Underlying assumption	Identified perspectives and challenges	Aim of policy	Suggested solutions
Economic gain	Naalakkersuisut	More tourists equal a higher revenue		Attracting more cruises for an increased tax revenue	Taxating ship tonnage
	AECO Visit Greenland DMOs	The highest economic gain is reached locally	Expedition cruises spend the most money locally	Bringing economic contributions to the local communities	Attracting expedition cruises
			Conventional cruises do not contribute to higher economic gain		Avoiding conventional cruises
					Taxating passengers
Cruise capacity	Naalakkersuisut	Better facilities equal higher capacity	Facilities (e.g., harbor) limit the capacity	Leading passengers towards desired places (e.g., shops & attractions)	Improving the "receive-system", infrastructure
	I-M-2	Better facilities equal higher capacity	Fundamental things are missing for the development of cruise tourism	Improving landing facilities → improving tourist experience	Allocating tax revenue to local communities
	DMOs	More tour operators equal higher capacity	Conventional cruises call for a higher capacity than expedition cruises	Minimazing negative impacts from cruise visits	Setting capacity limit
					Increasing product offers
Product offers	Naalakkersuisut	Higher quality in the tourism industry equal higher competitiveness	Increased number of passengers means more tourist operators and product offers	Optimizing level of service and tourist experience → enhancing the trustworthiness of products	Counselling and competency development
			More offers makes it difficult to choose between products		Labelling system for products
		New tourism initiatives equal a higher revenue		Increasing possibilities for earning potentials	Establishing visitor centers
				Protecting attractions	Establishing national attractions

Policy problem	Participant			
	I-M-2	Engagement level equal product availability		Increasing the engagement level Increasing economic contributions
The behavior of cruise passengers	DMOs AECO	Bad behavior equal bad perception of cruise passengers	Higher number of passengers negatively affect how they behave Expedition cruises focus on the right behavior of passengers "Cruise tiredness" because of intensive season	Getting cruise passengers to exercise the desired behavior	Formulating community specific guidelines
Overcrowding Many people at once	DMOs Visit Greenland	Smaller cruises equal fewer people at once	Conventional cruises are never small in passenger numbers	Minimizing the impacts of overcrowding	Introducing sustiability principle Decreasing the number of conventional cruises

Table 5: Policy problems addressed by participants

expedition cruises positively impact the communities with minimal negative impacts in contrast to the conventional cruises. The point of view is thus that conventional cruises do not contribute positively, and many issues can be resolved by avoiding conventional cruises.

Earlier research has observed that in areas with little tradition of major tourism and an inadequate infrastructure to support an enormous boost in visitor, the potential of negative social impacts of cruise is the biggest (Cartwright & Baird, 1999). The approaches by Naalakkersuisut and the destination managers are thus meaningful to prevent or minimize potential negative social impacts. Yet, the findings indicate than more initiatives than infrastructural improvements are necessary to address social impacts.

From Table 5, it can be deduced that the policy aims of Naalakkersuisut and the participants do not differ much. Instead, the underlying assumptions and related perspectives deviate from each other and result in different solutions in accordance with the inherent governance structure. The suggested or implemented policy instruments of Naalakkersuisut are examples of how to increase the capacity of the market (Hall, 2011). In line with what Hall (2011) classifies as characteristic for markets, the policy instruments are consumer-determined and there is a curtain belief in the market forces which can be seen in relation to product offers where the perspective is that a higher demand leads to a higher supply. The suggested solutions and policy instruments of the participants are not solely characteristic of one form of governance. The regulation and coordination of policy problems according to the preferences of network actors followed by public policy considerations is characteristic for networks (Hall, 2011). Though, the suggestions include instruments of a more hierarchical character or simply different approaches to the market influencing instruments like the port taxation.

The participants had very different approaches to the policy problems and how they should be tackled. The different seniority of the stakeholders and their understanding and knowledge of the industry affected their approach to policy problems with more or less pragmatic suggestions. Similarly, the different interests of the market are also evident despite not all actors were represented among the participants. This implicates the significance of who is defining the policy problem but also who is involved in the policy process as a whole. The lack of knowledge of the industry and tourism in general is a challenge when it comes to effective governance and management of a destination. Developing knowledge, learning and sharing expertise is a parameter of effective governance set by Beaumont and Dredge (2010). Without sufficient knowledge of the industry and the tourism system, it becomes challenging to achieve good knowledge development and sharing of expertise. Instead of seeing the possibilities and options to

maximize the benefits of cruise tourism and minimize the negative impacts, the risk is that it seems chaotic and impossible. Proposing policy instruments that are inacceptable, infeasible and/or ineffective are likewise a potential risk which will lead to poor governance in all probability. The knowledge pool available during policy processes will impact policies and governance equal to policy paradigms and governance structures.

4.5   Challenges of the existing governance structures and policies

In the National Tourism Strategy, Naalakkersuisut states that the mission of tourism is "to secure a sustainable tourism development (Naalakkersuisut, 2020, p. 4, own translation). The question is whether the existing governance structures and policies support a sustainable development or neglects sustainable aspects.

The findings from the analysis reveal a devision of the policy areas addressed under the different governance structures by both the government and other actors of the marine community. Environmental issues were thus addressed under the hierachical governance structure through the Polar Code as well as the two laws *Protection of the marine environment* and *Environmental presevation*. Environmental issues were similarly addressed by networks. The environmental issues covered by policies by CLIA were confined to waste, whereas the environmental issues covered by guidelines and standards by AECO went beyond the environmental issues already covered by international and national law to address issues of wildlife and biodiversity. Economic issues are the only policy area tackled in the marked-based approach. The analyses of governance approaches and policy problems illustrated that multiple actions have been taken to increase the capacity of the market while pricing through taxation was implemented to attract more cruises and generate more revenue. No other implemented policy instrument directly addressed economic issues based on the findings summarized in Table 4. The state does thus not address socio-cultural issues. These issues are instead the responsibility of the industry and communities which can be problematic, might lead to what Van Bets et al. (2017a) blurry lines between the industry and state responsibility. There is a mutual dependence between network and state (Van Bets et al., 2017a) which manifests itself here as the networks are less powerful without the back-up from the state. Without a government official with legislative power, the networks have limited options regarding possible policy instruments and their activities are centralized around the local communities and thus lowering the effectiveness of the governance networks (Beaumont & Dredge, 2010). Networks between AECO, the DMOs, Visit Greenland and other actors of the marine community are focused on minimizing the negative socio-cultural impacts of

cruise tourism though they are challenged by one part of the industry – the conventional cruises. Based on the statements and perspectives of the interviewed participants multiple socio-cultural issues are connected to conventional cruises and within a network-based approach there is limitations to the extent and effectiveness of the policy instruments implemented by networks. Looking to the neighboring Nunavut, a previous study recognized the need for a collaborative approach to managing the cruise tourism industry as well as an enhancement and extension of territorial legislation to ensure a safe and coordinated cruise industry aimed at benefiting the communities (Johnston, et al., 2012). The findings are comparable to the findings of the thesis.

In a wider sense, the findings of the thesis are similar to those of other studies, such as Van Bets et al. (2017a), Dawson et al. (2016) and James et al. (2020), which also found that collaborative governance arrangements seem to be a crucial factor in the management of cruise tourism. Here the collective governance arrangements attend to socio-cultural issues of cruise tourism that would otherwise not have been managed. Yet, as Van Bets et al. (2017a) points out, "collective self-governance does not replace state-governance" (p. xx) and industry networks does similarly not replace state-governance. For the networks to effective they require engagement from not only the industry community but also public officials (Beaumont & Dredge, 2010).

The findings from James et al. (2020) suggest that a holistic orientation on sustainability is not common and the uneven distribution of policy areas across both the governance structures and actors likewise suggest that this transfers to the governance and regulation of a policy area. The act of conceptualizing challenges to be dealt with also requires a conceptualization of the industry which speaks of a maturity of the destination. This allows policymakers to make strategic decisions that move and support the tourism development in a desired direction. Network-based and community-based governance arrangements in a tourism context have the possibility to foster forums for information sharing, learning, discussion and negotiation which can aid a holistic and balanced approach to sustainable tourism (Beaumont & Dredge, 2010), if they are thought into the state governance arrangements and not constrained by lack of participation and engagement of representatives of higher governance institutions.

In addition to a holistic approach to sustainable cruise tourism development, another article concluded that a phenomenon such as cruise tourism should be managed with a long-term perspective, integrating cruise tourism into a local context and establishing strategies from impact reduction and moderation despite the economically promising short-term prospects of cruise tourism (Paoli, et al., 2017).

A pro-growth rhetoric is how Ioannides (2018) describes the policy environment in Greenland which is thought in alignment with the perspectives formulated in the National Tourism Strategy. Yet, the capability of large cruise tourism projects to benefit local population is called in question by MacNeill & Wozniak (2017). Their results showed that in low taxation and regulation environments with an absence of community development and involvement initiatives – a description which fits on multiple cruise destinations in Greenland – large cruise tourism project might fail to provide benefits for the local community.

The findings therefore suggest that the existing governance structure appears insufficient to reach a sustainable development. It is therefore crucial to evaluate how cruise tourism should be governed and the cruise tourism governance stands thus before a crossroad. There needs to be taken a stance on the future direction of cruise tourism. It is estimated to be improbable that representatives of the conventional cruise industry will begin to engage in the current networks and policy processes and take upon them the same responsibility as other networks actors and change their practices. Therefore, the change must come within the current governance structures and government institutions.

The future direction of cruise tourism is recommended to go one of two ways. The first option is to follow the perspective of the interview participants and abandon conventional cruises. This would reduce the negative socio-cultural impacts experienced in relation to cruise tourism. The second option is to hold on to the conventional cruises. The conventional cruises contribute economically and changes that would lead to bigger ships refraining from sailing in Greenland altogether could mean a reduction of 30% in cruise calls. Conventional cruises are thus a significant part of cruise tourism – in good and bad. Policy intervention is required in both cases, but the extent of the intervention varies. The first option will require little policy intervention and is feasible through an amendment of the port taxation or another regulative instrument that would not allow cruises with more than 500 passengers. This is possible within the current governance structures and require that Naalakkersuisut changes its economic perspective of the market. The second option necessitates a policy framework that increases positive impacts and minimize negatives impacts of conventional cruises. In this regard, the market-based approach has turned out to be insufficient and it is questionable if policy instruments typically associated with market-based governance will be adequate to secure sustainability (Hall, 2011). Instead, it is suggested that initiatives and policy instruments that addressed socio-cultural impacts are strengthened by regulations set by Naalakkersuisut or local government. In the end, it will however always be a political decision.

5   Conclusion

The thesis investigated how cruise tourism should be governed in Greenland. By applying the marine community concept and Hall's (2011) typology of governance to the case of cruise tourism governance in Greenland, it examined the modes of governance, the relational power between actors and both implemented and suggested policy instruments for addressing policy problems within cruise tourism. The thesis has contributed with practical understandings about cruise governance in Greenland and contributions to the marine community model. The thesis found that the cruise industry was dominated by two cruise categories: expedition cruises and conventional cruises. An analysis of the governance structures disclosed that both hierarchy, market, network- and community-based governance structures were encompassed in cruise governance, however, the four types of governance were exerted within distinct policy areas. The types of governance were illustrated as well as the range of policy instruments implemented to address various policy problems. It exposed the disparity between the governance structures expedition and conventional cruises operate under. The thesis continued by further examining the relationships within the marine community and influence on governance. It found that actors from the two cruise categories were not equally represented. The interests of expedition cruises were dominating whereas the absence of conventional cruise representatives led them to be alienated and without influence on governance and policy processes in the marine community. Different perspectives on policy problems in the marine community was brought forward and followed by policy problems and the underlying assumptions were analyzed along with the possible implications of different policy instruments. Here the overall approach to governance and underlying policy paradigms could be detected in the perspectives on the policy problems. Economic contribution and increasing the capacity of the market were focal points in the perspective held by the government. A concern for the impacts of conventional cruises was a returning theme in the interviews, which was reflected in the perspectives on policy problems related to cruise tourism. Sustainability concerns and especially socio-cultural sustainability was the dominating the perspectives of the interviewed participants. A clear preference for expedition cruises impacted the perspectives.

At a theoretical level, the thesis contributed to the marine community model by adding an additional group of actors: intermediaries. Whilst the user and policy community respectively execute and regulate, one group of actors stands in the middle of the two. These actors are typically DMOs and NGOs that are highly engaged in both user and policy community though not fully belonging to any of the two. By placing them

in a separate community their role as intermediary and facilitator is acknowledged and simultaneously addresses the hitherto ambiguity of their role that Van Bets et al., (2017a) found to be challenging for the governance of cruise tourism.

At a practical level, the value of this paper is the highlight the policy problems and the tension in cruise governance and to bring them into greater focus when devising policy instruments for cruise tourism. The purpose is not to state which instruments should be implemented in the future but to present the complexity of the policy area and reveal the influential power of approaches to governance and planning traditions on policy processes and decisions. The thesis does not answer how cruise tourism should be governed. Instead, the thesis highlights that cruise tourism governance is at a crossroad where conventional cruises are deemed in or out. There needs to be taken a stance on the future direction of cruise tourism which is recommended to go one of two ways. One option is to abandon conventional cruises because of their negative impacts that far overshadows the positive contributions according to the interview participants. The second option is to hold on to conventional cruises because they still contribute economically, and it would be a significant decrease in cruise arrivals. Policy intervention is required in both cases, but the extent of the intervention varies. The first option will require little policy intervention and is feasible through an amendment of the port taxation or a regulative instrument that would not allow cruises with more than 500 passengers. The second option necessitates a policy framework that increases positive impacts and minimize negatives impacts of conventional cruises. In this regard, the market-based approach has turned out to be insufficient and questions whether an alternative type of governance is required. If the policymakers deviate from acting, the current situation will only worsen with the prospects of more conventional cruises in the future. Situations in Iceland has shown how tourism growth negatively impacts the perspective of the tourism industry and tourism management and Greenland stands to experience the same challenges if the growth continues (Helgadóttir, Einarsdóttir, Burns, Gunnarsdóttir, & Matthíasdóttir, 2019).

In contrast to earlier findings from Svalbard, Canadian and Russian Arctic, the governance of cruise tourism in Greenland is not characterized by institutional complexity (Dawson et al., 2017; Pashkevich et al., 2015; Van Bets et al., 2017a) due to the non-intervention by state and local governments. The collective self-governance instigated by AECO challenged the internal and external dynamics of collective self-governance in Svalbard (Van Bets et al., 2017a). Such a challenge was not found in the case of Greenland yet, this thesis opens up for future research into the effect of the growing self-regulatory power and the power relations

of actors in the marine community. Comparable to the findings of Pashkevich et al. (2015), a more effective governance structure for the cruise tourism sector in Greenland is vital in order to support economic opportunities and sustainable development while minimizing negative socio-cultural and environmental impacts. This implies that the most optimal and effective governance structure of cruise tourism in the Arctic is yet to be found and suggests that further research is needed to find the effective governance structure of a highly mobile and transnational sector like cruise tourism. In addition, the thesis does not go in-depth with the influence of policy paradigms on the governance and implemented instruments, though, the data suggested that policy paradigms are significant for governance decisions and selected actions. Future research into the influence and significance of policy paradigms on governance decision could bring forward new knowledge that could disclose how to navigate between different paradigms to achieve sustainability.

Furthermore, this thesis advances our understanding of cruise tourism governance in Greenland by emphasizing the importance of having a clear understanding of the industry in order to contribute to a sustainable development of cruise tourism through forms of governance and policies. Importantly, it has underlined that the instruments of governance need to be understood as occurring within particular frames of governance (Hall, 2011). It emphasizes the critical importance of considering governance and policies into a bigger picture that not only focuses on individual areas but the spillover effects of both governance structures and policies.

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7   Appendices

7.1   Appendix 1 – Interview guide

Introduction and presentation
*Jeg læser turisme ved Aalborg Universitet, hvor jeg i øjeblikket er ved at skrive mit speciale. Mit mål med
specialet er at undersøge, hvordan krydstogtturisme er struktureret og reguleret i Grønland. Det vil jeg gøre
gennem interviews med interessenter og repræsentanter fra det maritime samfund, som knytter sig til
krydstogtturismen i Grønland, samt gennem et litteratur review, hvor jeg diskuterer eksisterende viden på
området. I forhold til at kunne undersøge den grønlandske krydstogtturisme vil jeg lave 15-20 interviews
med interessenter fra krydstogtindustrien, DMO'er og havneautoriteter.*

*Inden interviewet har du modtaget en samtykkeerklæring på mail, som bedes sendt retur til mig inden
interviewets afslutning, ellers kan samtykke også gives under interviewet.*

Questions

Presentation
Overview and comfort

Vil du starte med at præsentere dig selv og den organisation, du repræsenterer?

Knowledge establishment
The questions should give an indication of the participant's knowledge of cruise tourism and simultaneously establish a foundation of knowledge for the interviewer.

Hvad er din erfaring med krydstogtsturisme?

Er der nogle specielle forhold netop her, som gør sig gældende i relation til krydstogtturisme?
- Adskiller det sig fra andre steder, som du har kendskab til?

Strategy toward cruise tourism
The purpose of these questions is to investigate whether the company/organization has done something organized towards cruise tourism

Har I en strategi for krydstogtturisme?
- Hvis ja, hvordan arbejder I med den strategi?

Hvordan ser du jeres rolle i krydstogtindustrien?

Governance of cruise tourism
These questions should provide knowledge of how cruise tourism is governed and the opinions of the participant regarding governance.

I dag skal krydstogtskibe betale en tonnageafgift til Selvstyret, og der er nogle overordnede regler og krav til skibene igennem international lovgivning.

Hvor ser du nogle mangler eller muligheder, sådan som krydstogtturismen er struktureret og reguleret i dag?
- Hvorfor?

Hvordan skulle krydstogtturismen være reguleret og styret, hvis det stod til dig?
- Hvorfor?
- Og hvem synes du skulle være involveret i styringen og regulering af krydstogtturismen?
- Hvorfor?

Skal beslutninger omkring krydstogtturismen træffes lokalt eller nationalt, mener du?
- Hvorfor?
- Er der nogle beslutninger, som altid bør træffes lokalt eller nationalt?

Hvad ville I sige til, hvis man begyndte at begrænse antallet af skibe? Så man f.eks. ikke tog imod mere end tre skibe om ugen, eller havde en fast kvote for skibe, som måtte ligge til per sæson.

Ville det være det samme, hvis man i stedet begrænsede antallet af passagerer per skib til f.eks. maksimalt 800 pax?

Tror du, det ville kunne lade sig gøre?
- Hvorfor, hvorfor ikke?

Collaboration and communication in the marine community
These questions should provide an understanding of the current level of collaboration and communication present in the marine community from the participant's perspective.

Samarbejder I med nogen omkring krydstogtturismen?
- Har du eksempler på, hvordan I samarbejder?

Oplever du, at der er udfordringer i forhold til samarbejdet omkring krydstogtturisme?
- Hvis ja, hvilke?
- Hvis nej, hvad tror du, at der er årsag til dette?

Hvad kunne gøre jeres arbejde nemmere i forhold til krydstogtturisme?

Ønsker I mere dialog om krydstogtturisme med bestemte interessenter i branchen/industrien?
- Hvorfor?

I litteraturen bliver krydstogtindustrien tilskrevet stor magt over destinationer ved, at de relativt nemt og hurtigt kan fra- og tilvælge destinationer.

Er det noget, du kan genkende, eller hvad er din mening omkring det?

Oplever du generelt, at der er mange fordomme omkring krydstogtturisme?

Reflections on the future
These questions provide knowledge on the participant's perspective on the future of cruise tourism.

Hvordan ser du den fremtidige udvikling af krydstogtturismen i Grønland?
- Hvad synes du om det?
- Hvilke udfordringer ser du?
- Og muligheder?

Hvad ville ønskescenariet for fremtiden se ud for krydstogtturismen?
- Hvorfor?

Finishing comments

Er der noget, som du gerne vil tilføje, inden vi ender interviewet?

Er det ok, at jeg kontakter dig igen via telefon eller e-mail med uddybende spørgsmål, hvis der skulle opstå behov for det?

Er der nogle personer, som du synes, jeg bør snakke med i forbindelse med mit speciale?

7.2   Appendix 2 – AECO, Maniitsoq Community Guidelines

See separate file or access the guidelines online: https://www.aeco.no/guidelines/community-guidelines/maniitsoq/

7.3   Appendix 3 – Transcription of interviews

See separate file with the transcription of each interview.