

Destination images as tools to form expectations in Greenland

Hannah Imogen Patterson (s1005853)
MSc Human Geography: Cultural Geography and Tourism
Radboud University, Nijmegen, the Netherlands
Tutor: Prof. Dr Huib Ernste
Contact: hannahimogenpatterson@gmail.com
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In collaboration with Visit Greenland and *Ilisimatusarfik (Grønlands
Universitet)*



**Radboud
University
Nijmegen**

Abstract

The overarching theme of this study is to reveal the relationship between the tourist's expectations of their trip to Greenland and their actual experiences. I intended to reveal how a tourist's expectations of their visit to Greenland was influenced by destination images they observed prior to their trip and how these expectations moulded their performativity once they arrived. The study looks at the extent to which these images created a natural 'frame' of Greenland in which the tourist seeks to organise or locate their experience. It also investigates how the tourist performs throughout their trip to best marry their expectations and their experience.

Preface

The overarching theme of the project has been to question the relationship between our expectations and actual experiences. This is a phenomenon that exists everywhere and while it may have been a great deal easier to conduct this study in a well photographed, weathered tourist destination like Paris or Barcelona I chose Greenland.

“Does anyone actually live there? Don’t they all live in igloos on Greenland? Will *you* have to live in an igloo with the Eskimos!?”

This was the response I got from peers and family members when I announced my plan.

It does not suffice to say that the average person is ignorant towards learning about Greenland. Accurate accounts of life throughout this vast land are sparse. Save for snippets of *Frozen Planet* documenting the hardship of hungry Polar bears and worrying accounts of the rapidly melting ice sheet, the average person knows little about the world’s largest island and its people. Accounts of Greenland in news, documentaries, or other forms of visual media such as the destination image frame it as a place of wicked, wild, impenetrable *nature*.



Introduction to Greenland

– how to make your dream trip a reality

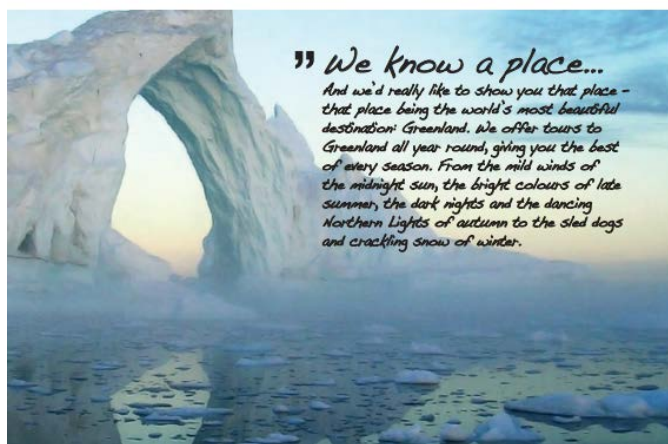


Figure 1: Tourist guide to Greenland. Source: Greenland.travel.com

For those tourists fortunate enough to spare the funds for a trip to Greenland, tour operators, travel agents and Visit Greenland work hard to create a natural frame in which their dream trip to Greenland will take place (Figure 1). Snow-capped mountains, the midnight sun, floating icebergs, fjords, icicles the size of your body and the linchpin of all northern nature holidays: guaranteed sighting of the northern lights. The tourists gorge themselves on these images, convinced that the images they see are teasers of the real thing.

This study will reveal how reality might challenge the natural frame in which Greenland is placed throughout destination images.

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Chapter One - Introduction

As the largest island in the world Greenland is seven times larger than the United Kingdom and is made up of approximately 2.2 million square kilometres, of which just 410,000 square kilometres is not covered with the second thickest ice sheet on Earth (Fothergill and Berlowitz, 2011). It is a largely uninhabitable frozen habitat so existing in a place such as Greenland is exceptionally difficult and its sturdy 56,000 inhabitants are largely Inuit peoples making up 89% of the population (CIA, 2018). Greenland's most northern point lies only 740 km from the North pole and with limited airline connectivity to the rest of the world it appears remote and isolated. It is an important time for Greenland approaching its 40th year of independence in May 2018, as tourism becomes increasingly valuable, striving to be one of the largest industries in the country by 2025 (Visit Greenland, 2013). Simultaneously tourists are becoming increasingly demanding in their pursuit of a holiday as we depart from the era of 'mass' tourism towards more nuanced experiences revolving around cultural, natural or adventure activities.

In an era where we can so easily consume destinations visually via images that are filtered and processed, a craving for an 'authentic' experience might emerge. In response tourism bodies like Visit Greenland and holiday makers group together connecting a tourist's demand for a holiday with Greenland's abundant supply of 'unspoiled' nature. This has led me to wonder how images consumed of Greenland on Visit Greenland's website may shape tourists' expectations of the destination. What happens when tourists visit Greenland where reality might challenge preconceived ideas of the destination? This had also led me to ponder how might behaviour of tourists and locals be shaped by socially constructed interpretations of the other? This is what the study seeks to explore; the *potential* relationship between consumption of destination images and the performativity of tourists and Greenlanders during their encounter in Nuuk as they each frame their experiences.

1.1 Why is tourism in Greenland important to study?

Until 1953 access to Greenland was highly limited. Under forces of colonisation Copenhagen held all control of who was able to enter and who could leave. 1959 marked the real beginning of Greenland's tourism industry with the introduction of charter flights to Kulusuk airport, Eastern Greenland (Tomassini, 2011) which expanded following home rule in 1979 with Greenland becoming a self-governing body within the Danish realm. The cruise tourism era also contributed to Greenland's tourism industry: between 2005-2008 cruise ship port calls

increased from 56 to 375 in which the total number of tourists in that time was actually more than half the population of Greenland itself (Stonehouse and Snyder, 2010).

Visit Greenland's goal for the tourism industry to be a leading economic driver for the country by 2025 is not entirely new. In 1990 the Greenlandic Parliament, *Lansting*, approved the very first Tourism Development Plan, set to attract 33,000 tourists per year, each spending DKK 15,000 between 1991-2005 which would generate a total revenue of DKK 500 million each year (Tomassini, 2011). In addition this plan aimed to generate 3,000-4,500 tourism based jobs which would counter the loss of jobs due to the decline of the fishing industry. The overarching goal was for tourism to become the driver of Greenland's economy, being profitable enough to survive without Danish public subsidies (ibid). The plan was thwarted by great investment costs and insufficient transport links connecting tourists to Greenland. Limitations due to seasonality and little awareness of tourism among the locals resulted in too few tourism facilities. Greenland's current tourism plan, led by Visit Greenland, places its focus on appealing towards the correct market segment and directing the product of Greenland in various ways towards those various segments. Whereas other tourism plans focused upon where tourists are coming from the current plan focuses upon the expectations these tourists have in mind and how to ensure they translate into experiences.

1.2 Escape to the periphery

It is difficult to reach Greenland. Located 3,645km from Denmark yet 740 km from the North Pole it is not stumbled upon by mistake (Egede, 2014). It is fair to suggest that Greenland is 'peripheral' as defined by Brown and Hall (2010) to be the outermost boundary of any area since it is located towards the edge of the North American continent. Peripherality can incur bountiful connotations both negative and positive. Negative themes associated with periphery include geographical isolation; being distant from spheres of economic activity often results in poor or restricted access to markets in addition to fewer education opportunities and extreme poverty (Lovell and Bull, 2018). On the other hand peripherality signifies untouched nature which is usually considered to be spared of a fast paced lifestyle often associated with consumer societies or core, more central areas. It is not whether peripherality is positive or negative but the perception of the destination as peripheral which is important. Language is a useful tool for guiding tourists' perception of a destination's location. Depending on what the tourist seeks tourism organisations such as Visit Greenland use language accordingly to steer tourists' perception of a peripheral destination. Commonly used words are: wilderness, remote, off the beaten track, unspoilt and draws upon a destination's quaintness or otherness (Brown and Hall,

2010). It is thus the perception of the destination that is the key to tourism development in peripheral areas (Blomgren and Sorenson, 1998). However the application of the term 'peripheral' to destinations implies a certain hierarchy between core versus peripheral areas which might see that places where large scale economic activity occurs are favoured over agrarian or Inuit communities.

1.3 Issues with tourism to peripheral destinations

Wanhill (1997) notes common tourism related issues which peripheral places suffer from. Notably the area may lack coherent tourism infrastructure. This was noted in Visit Greenland's 2013 Visitor Report Survey as tourists were dissatisfied with services on offer throughout Greenland including availability of general information about the destination itself. Further still the impact of tourism upon traditional communities is likely to be great which has been noted in studies covering tourist visits to Inuit villages throughout Greenland (Shakel, 2011; Huebner, 2015). This is a problem also located in Nunavut, Canada where certain groups of Inuit are interested in tourism as a form of economic development, seeing it as a tool to enhance employment. Other groups however may remain concerned by the intrusive nature of strangers entering their social network, introducing potentially damaging values.

It is important that remote destinations don't become a spectacle to be 'ticked off' which appears to have been the case in neighbouring Iceland marketed under the slogan 'Iceland Naturally' towards North American tourists from 2000 (Saethorsdottir, 2004). Neither the Icelandic tourism industry nor the government outlined a specific target audience for the destination to appeal towards. From a marketing perspective Iceland appeals to as many tourists as possible rather than pigeonhole campaigns to one audience. This is exactly what Visit Greenland aims to avoid by carefully identifying market segments of tourists whom they wish to attract, and those whom they do not.

1.4 The search for purity

Throughout the present day post-modern society a paradox can be seen to emerge; in the hamster wheel of everyday contemporary western life people might feel plagued by the monotonous cycle of production and consumption. They may begin to crave the traditional past of nature and subsistence which sees taste for holidays change from the mass to the more sophisticated and diverse (Urry, 1990). Recent increases in tourism figures towards Arctic destinations may partly be explained by a postmodern re-enchantment of the world in which we live (Jacobsen, 1997). So the positive characteristics of periphery are realised as it becomes

appealing to go 'off the grid'. Isolation and remoteness indicate peace, difference and even exoticism. Being immersed in a rural environment could indicate mental contemplation.

The construction of Arctic destination images as places which appear underdeveloped makes it an attractive destination for those seeking nature, as the focus lies not upon interactions with people but the environment itself. This is likely to engender one's own contemplation of the self in the wider universe, perhaps contributing to thoughts of purity (Viken, 1995) upon which many images of the Arctic revolve. Paradoxically, being isolated creates an antidote to the problems originally associated with the geographical isolation. It might be that tourism to these areas brings significant amounts of jobs to the destination, combating high rates of unemployment accredited due to its peripheral location. This is a rather utopian vision, however, as often conflicts occur between locals about how invasive tourism becomes in peripheral areas as is the case in Kulusuk, an Inuit village in Eastern Greenland (Shakel, 2011).

1.5 Contribution

Tourism as a sociological concept has only fairly recently been studied throughout the works of scholars such as Boorstin (1964) MacCannell (1973) Cohen (1979) and Urry (1990; 1992). Their work enabled tourism to be seen as a process which seeks to reflect broader societal trends and relationships with the self. This study will adopt a similar approach, looking at tourism from a sociological perspective. This study will address three current debates located in the field of sociological studies of tourism.

The first is *motivation*; namely what drives people to 'go on holiday'. A long debated topic, several studies from leisure scholars to psychologists aim to deconstruct a tourist's motivation behind travel. Some of which question the role that society plays in pushing people from their daily routine, pulling them towards the idea of relaxation, playing on attractive features of destination image like history, adventure and culture (Crompton, 1979; Mannel and Iso-Ahola, 1987). From a psychological standpoint scholars have looked at tourism as a *need* or an event that society tells us we need. These studies see holidays as a reflection of one's individual needs at a certain moment in time which is what drives us to travel (Pearce and Lee, 2005; Cohen, 1979).

Alternatively, the search for an authentic experience may drive us to travel as we feel isolated from original experiences throughout everyday life (MacCannell, 1973). This study will contribute to this debate by extracting data on tourist motivation from Visit Greenland's 2013

visitor survey report. The data outlines what tourists visiting Greenland during 2012 were looking to get out of their experience and which factors drove their decision making process towards Greenland. Subsequently the study will investigate how Visit Greenland have tailored the photographs, or specifically the destination images, on their website since 2013 to tailor the destination according to what motivates the tourist.

Therefore the second debate this study will contribute to is the role *photographs* play in constructing preconceived notions of destinations. How might photographs of Greenland enable tourists to construct an idea of what they expect the destination to look like? What they are gazing upon might be a blurred picture of reality and ideal representations of the destination which are internalised and reconstructed. The outcome of this might be that local culture, subject to the tourist's gaze, becomes commoditised to suit the idealised vision of a destination that is readily available for consumption. This sees that destinations shape themselves by supplying what the tourists wish to gaze upon (Urry, 1990). Therefore this study will contribute to existing knowledge surrounding how destination images are used as tools to form preconceptions of Greenland and how these preconceptions steer behaviour during host/guest encounters.

Performativity between place and people is the third debate addressed in the study as looked at through the lens of Butler and Goffman's theories. Within Goffman's (1959) framework of performativity the self is only realised in the event that there is somebody to perform to. Thus our activity in front of 'the other' is defined by emphasising some traits while suppressing others. The study will assess how tourists and Greenlanders perform in the presence of the other, thereby solidifying their own identities. It might be possible then to outline how certain objects or characteristics are accentuated or suppressed in front of tourists in Greenland to match tourist expectations which have been generated by destination images. Likewise the study considers the performativity of the tourist, investigating how they may express or suppress certain characteristics in the presence of the Greenlander.

Going beyond this is Goffman's concept of social framing (1974) which seeks to deconstruct and understand what is going on in a given social experience. When applied to tourist events it is a concept that enables the tourist to structure their experience and perception of a given scenario. Tourists may filter information, discarding certain elements of their surroundings while prioritising others and organising them into *frames*. These frames enable tourists to organise their understanding of the experience in Greenland. Crucially it might be that the use

of destination images employed by Visit Greenland actually serves to create a nature oriented frame. Therefore - perhaps unknowingly - tourists who absorb destination images on the Visit Greenland website might interpret and categorise their experience in Greenland within that nature frame which has been generated by destination images.

1.6 Scientific relevance

There are studies which have investigated the performativity of Greenlanders and tourists in their interactions (Shakel, 2011, Huebner, 2015). These both focus upon tourism to Kulusuk, a small village in Eastern Greenland, for four hours as part of a wider trip to Iceland. My study however focuses on tourists who visit only Greenland for trips longer than 4 hours. This is based on my own idea that tourists who visit Greenland as a sole destination are more likely to have their own motivations and expectations surrounding visiting Greenland. These motivations to visit a remote destination paired with expectations of the destination created by looking at images may influence performativity in the presence of the Greenlanders, which, I hope, will make for interesting results.

The work of Tommasini (2011) sheds light upon how Greenland tends to be marketed as a nature destination and how this broadly tends to attract nature seeking tourists. However I have not been able to locate studies which explore how destination images consumed of Greenland create a preconceived idea of the destination and moreover how preconceptions of a destination shape behaviour during interactions. Whereas Visit Greenland have investigated the marriage between a tourists' expectations and experiences they have not yet looked directly at the role destination images may play in contributing to expectations. Nuuk was the chosen location for this study as it appeared that tourism based studies addressing the impact of Visit Greenland framing the country as a 'nature' destination above other factors such as culture were lacking. This study therefore attempts to fill that very gap. Taking into consideration convenience factors, such as accessibility and reliable access to food and the internet for four months also encouraged me to choose the capital region. However it is possible to suggest that Nuuk is not an accurate reflection of Greenland as demonstrated by the widespread use of Danish and English throughout signage and casual interactions with locals in shops and cultural venues.

1.7 Societal relevance

Usually when we hear of Greenland it is within the context of climate change and the danger posed by the melting of the northern hemisphere's greatest ice sheet. The impact of this is widely believed to threaten the existence of traditional Inuit culture as it would gradually thwart the availability of whale, seal and other animals crucial for their livelihood. Climate change in

Greenland has some rather unusual outcomes which open up avenues for expansion of industries that have never been possible before. In southern Greenland a milder climate enables the growth of potatoes, cabbage, lettuce, tomatoes and cucumbers (Scherer, 2013). It is therefore important to shift focus away from immediate impacts of global climate change in Greenland but to zoom out and take a look into alternative industries which could arise.

With the threatened survival of Inuit culture it is important to explore the expansion of other industries, such as tourism. Visit Greenland believes that tourism has the potential to transform Greenland's economy as shown with their 10 year plan stating that by 2025 tourism will be one of the country's leading industries. Greenland's most valuable tourist commodity is nature: mountains, spectacular landscapes, guaranteed sightings of the northern lights, harsh weather, and icebergs all of which cannot be 'owned' by tourists. After all, natural attractions may be trodden upon, meandered through and photographed but fundamentally they remain stationary and available for the next group of tourists to visit (Coleman and Crang, 2002).

1.8 Outline

Having located Greenland's tourism industry in the wider frame of importance throughout this introductory chapter, this study will continue with Chapter two in which the research objectives and leading questions will be laid out. Following that is the presentation of various methods used to collect data in Chapter three. Chapter four will then outline the relationship between expectations and experiences of a tourist visiting Greenland in relation to destination images. The fifth Chapter will address the performativity between the Greenlander and the tourists during their interactions. Finally the sixth Chapter will present conclusive remarks and suggest further avenues of research.

Chapter Two - What's the problem?

Now that we have positioned this thesis within the wider sphere of sociological importance let us move on to acknowledge the literary foundations which inspired this study. Research questions which guide this study will also be posed. By addressing outstanding literature and theory this Chapter aims to introduce the reader to the relationship between destination images and consequent fostering of expectations in the mind of the tourist. The Chapter will also outline why the expectations held by the tourist might shape their behaviour and thus their performativity while in Greenland and the impact that may have upon the destination's inhabitants.

2.1 The invasion of the destination image

It might appear that the tourism industry has lost some of its power; previously it was the role of the tour operators and holiday companies to put together a holiday package, polished off with professional photos that deliberately captured certain elements of a destination. Now however we find images of destinations have become readily available to be stored, filtered, posted and distorted by just about anybody. A potential outcome of this is that tourists are free to gaze upon

“ideal representations of the view in question” rather than being critical about the images they look at (Urry, 1990, p86). A potential outcome of this is that real experiences and photographic images of destinations become blurred in tourists' minds, diverting attention towards photogenic sights and away from not so picturesque social problems. The post-modern gaze that emerges in an era of saturation of images distorts the tourist's gaze as we share an idealised version of our experiences which serve to represent multiple versions of reality. As stated by Nicoletta and Servidio (2012, p20) “positive images generate a good impression of the perceived destination in the tourist's mind, predisposing their behavioural intentions and future activities”. Such behaviour may be positive or negative: if a tourist believes they already know everything about a destination prior to their travels they might be partial to engage in “premature cognitive commitment” and risk exercising mindless touristic behaviour (Moscardo, 1996). Equally the destination might suffer from the commoditisation of culture to suit the present trends of the tourist which have been tailored to meet their ever changing demands.

Perhaps more worrying is the subsequent exoticism and romanticism of non-western cultures that emerges as a result of the western tourist gaze. By treating non-western cultures as a

commodity to be consumed and gazed upon, tourists might be reproducing notions of superiority of western culture over simplified non-western civilizations. It is in this way that non-western cultures are vulnerable to being framed as the hosts of 'the simple life' in which typically rural areas, isolated from areas of significant economic influence, are idealised as being idyllic and traditional. These are the type of destinations which play on tourist's desire for nature, tranquil scenery and unpolluted air. However what these overly idealised images usually do is neglect the reality of life in these remote settlements that are characterised by fewer educational opportunities and extreme poverty (Lovell and Bull, 2018). This is certainly relevant to Greenland; distanced from spheres of economic activity it is largely dependent upon Denmark for imports, employment opportunities and social welfare (Lyck and Taagholt, 1987). High rates of unemployment and seasonal depression are two causes of critical levels of alcoholism and domestic violence in a place where alcohol consumption per capita is double that of Denmark (Nuttall, 1994).

These kind of social problems however are not observed on Visit Greenland's website or other platforms that offer once-in-a-lifetime trips to Greenland. It is not within the scope of this research project to modify the tourism discourses which see reproductions of the postmodern tourist gaze and subsequent saturation of images that enable visual consumption of destinations. I do however wish to draw attention to the fact that destination images do not necessarily reflect an accurate representation of a destination but serve as idealised versions of reality. Moreover the research intends to demonstrate how the power of images is strong enough to shape tourist perception of a destination and create preconceived ideas of how a place will be.

2.2 Research objectives and questions

This study aims to answer the following questions which are elaborated further below:

- 1) How have the motivations for tourists visiting Greenland in 2012 since shaped Visit Greenland's choice of online destination image?
- 2) What role might destination images play in forming a tourist's expectation of a place?
- 3) How might Visit Greenland be seen to create a nature oriented frame of the destination through its display of destination images?
 - Sub question 3.1) To what extent did tourists actually engage in/ experience this frame?

4) How do perceptions of tourists shape the performativity of a Greenlander in the presence of tourists?

- Sub question 4.1) How might locals frame their interactions with the tourist?

5) How might expectations, generated by destination image, shape the performativity of a tourist?

- Sub question 5.1) How can tourists be seen to make use of social frames to understand their experience in Greenland?

The methodological research aims to discover how the images consumed of Greenland -- from the Visit Greenland website -- might shape expectations of the destination. Specifically the study will address whether Visit Greenland's use of destination images creates a nature oriented frame upon which the tourist builds their expectations of the destination. Goffman's frame analysis (1974) helps to understand how Visit Greenland may have (un)intentionally created an ideal frame of Greenland appealing directly towards a specific group of tourists who are looking for a nature oriented holiday. It will also document how the destination experience compares in reality to the images and how the experience challenges preconceived impressions of the destination. For example, perhaps tourists were drawn towards Greenland as a nature destination based on the images consumed on the Visit Greenland website, yet their experience became more focused on culture consumption or vice versa.

The study also hopes to outline how expectations formed from destination images might shape the behaviour of tourists. For example it might be that tourists are drawn towards Greenland as a natural destination, rather than a cultural one, and wish to match their experience with the expectations created by the natural frame. As a result they might behave dismissively towards locals or with a great deal of curiosity as they did not expect to find local interaction within the natural frame of the destination. Goffman's concept of 'performativity' of the tourists during their interaction with the Greenlanders will be interwoven throughout the encounters between locals and tourists. By looking at the degree to which tourists immerse themselves into Greenland's nature and culture during their trip we can unveil how tourists might situate their experience in Visit Greenland's 'Pioneer tourist' frame. Likewise I also wish to address how the Greenlanders' prior conceptions of a tourist influence *their* behaviour towards the tourist, shedding light into how the local frames their encounter with visitors.

2.3 Outstanding literature in the field

This section will present a variety of literature which has formed the basis of understanding and interest which guides this study. To clearly display how various theories and previous findings have influenced this study, literature on a range of topics is categorised into four sections: motivational factors, destination images, performativity and social framing. At the end of each section I will address how this guiding literature relates to this study, in specific relation to each of the above outlined research questions.

2.3.1 Literature on Motivational factors

Tommasini (2011) investigated motivational factors driving tourists towards Greenland. She found that while scenery itself isn't capable of physically attracting tourists it is the projection of destination images which attracts tourists. A destination becomes a construction of an image generated by tour operators and tourists. The image of a destination is shaped by organisations like Visit Greenland and absorbed and rearranged by the holidaymaker who interprets the images however they wish. As she suggests, the tourist wishes to travel to the destination that they have forged in their minds tending to neglect other possible visions of how the destination might look. The image then must be neither too ordinary (as this would risk being banal) and yet not too incomprehensible for the tourist to relate to. Destination images then serve to identify yet mythologise a place. To visit a remote destination like Greenland, Tommasini suggests that tourists must be motivated by the desire to surpass existing achievements. This is achieved for example by hiking through what appears to be pure scenery, unscathed by mass tourists generating the idea that it is the final frontier of civilisation. This can be likened to Pearce and Lee's travel career model (2005) in which travel motivations develop throughout travel experience. Another factor which may motivate tourists to visit Greenland is the constructed idea that Arctic destinations are underdeveloped. This suggests Arctic destinations appear 'natural' and untouched by forces of Western consumer society. The relationship between motivation and destination image Tommasini makes in her study will be built upon in this study, acknowledging how Visit Greenland capitalises upon natural scenery in their destination images to attract nature seeking tourists since 2013.

As Tommasini argues the Arctic environment's apparent purity also stirs emotions in tourists which enables contemplation. This may attract tourists of Cohen's *experimental* category who dabble in the unknown ways of life in an attempt to locate ones spiritual centre (Cohen, 1979). On the other hand Tommasini suggests that the relatively unknown natives play a role in attracting curious tourists wishing to discover their culture and way of life. It might be that

tourists desire to get to know the locals, seeing life as it is lived and therefore access the ‘back region’ (MacCannell, 1976). As one of the first scholars to situate tourism studies in the field of Sociology, MacCannell illustrates how the tourist travels to seek ‘authenticity’. This is his driving force, yet the quest for authenticity is seldom granted. Not to the fault of the tourist, but rather the establishment’s environment itself. This is the ‘tourism space’, manipulated to be so. He suggests that tourists want to enter Goffman’s ‘back region’ of places since they are linked with the intimacy of the relationships which form the basis of an authentic experience. As is usually the case however, tourists are led through a region which is arranged in such a way to make them believe they are entering the back region; perhaps being led to believe what they are experiencing is ‘authentic’. Despite MacCannell’s acclaimed argument, Visit Greenland’s 2013 Visitor Survey Report showed that the search for an authentic experience was the *least* popular motivating factor for visiting Greenland. Therefore tourists’ quest for ‘authenticity’ will not be researched in this study.

However MacCannell also argues that the act of sightseeing is a ritual in which tourism absorbs acute social functions of religion throughout modern society. He sees that pilgrimages are not so different to a tour undertaken by a tourist. Pilgrims attend places in which important religious events actually occurred which are considered to be important. Tourists, similarly, are drawn to places of social, cultural and historical importance which grants us with ambition and a certain feeling of self-fulfilment. This cannot be derived from our everyday existence in society due to feelings of alienation and isolation we are subject to in the inauthenticity of the everyday.

Alternatively Crompton (1979) developed the “push and pull” framework to explain tourist motivation. This model suggests that push factors are what sparks a tourist’s desire for travel, enabling an intrinsic motivation for travel. These factors include the ability to escape routine, enhance relationships with friends or family, gain knowledge of a particular culture and realise one’s spiritual needs. Pull factors on the other hand help to explain a tourist’s destination choice, including factors like affordability, culture, access, word of mouth and perhaps most importantly marketing. Crompton argues that it is these pull factors which the travel industry capitalises upon the most. Destination images rely upon a combination of subjective and socially constructed perceptions of the destination in question. The destination becomes moulded by the marketers as they use images to promote the destination. The outcome may well be that the more positive the image, the more positive the destination is perceived to be in the tourist’s mind, thus “predisposing their behavioural intentions and future activities” (Nicoletta and Servidio, 2012, p20). This study will take forward the idea that destination

images used by tourist organisations such as Visit Greenland construct a preconceived idea of a destination in the mind of the tourist which in turn influences performativity of the tourist. It is important to first outline how organisations like Visit Greenland choose particular images of the destination based on previous tourist motivations in order to keep attracting tourists. Thus the relationship between motivation for travel and destination image (a pull factor) will form a large part of the study, answering research question 1) How have the motivations for tourists visiting Greenland in 2012 since shaped Visit Greenland's choice of online destination image? It is not however within this study's scope to investigate push factors which encourage a tourist to escape their daily lives.

2.3.2 Literature on the use of photographs

Urry's tourist gaze (Urry, 1990; Urry and Larsen, 2011) highlights the importance of visual consumption and the social construction of a destination. Urry assumes that "when we 'go away' we look at the environment with interest and curiosity. It speaks to us in ways we appreciate, or at least we anticipate that it will do so. In other words we gaze at what we encounter" (Urry, 1990, p1). Consuming places visually sees that tourism becomes a process of organising places as 'sights' worth seeing. The sights upon which tourists gaze appear to be constructed by organisations, like Visit Greenland, which mould tourism discourses. Crucially, what defines the tourist gaze is how different the tourist setting is from one's normal surrounding. In other words the very definition of a tourist gaze implies a certain type of otherness when compared to one's daily life which is what enables notions of desire and anticipation.

As Urry highlights digitisation of photography has given further power to images as they live virtually and in abundance without any material existence. The digital photograph can be edited, filtered, shared and manipulated to serve several purposes depending on who wishes to use it. The digitisation of photographs enables a spatially boundless consumption of destination images which sees that the same destination can be consumed everywhere, by anybody. The desire to gaze upon digitally reconstituted images can be seen to represent a contemporary urge of the masses to bring 'things' closer and bring those visual representations of otherness towards us (Benjamin, 1973). Photographs put the power in the hands of the one who is taking or manipulating the photo; they may well zoom in on a particular feature worth photographing and overlook not so attractive features of a destination. A potential outcome is a blurred line between reality and photographs, the outcome of which might be that tourists gaze upon "ideal representations of the view in question" (Urry, 1990, p86).

In Urry and Larsen's reworked edition of the *Tourist Gaze 3.0* (2011) they turn attention to commercial photography in which images are used to play on people's imagination and ability to construct a destination in their minds. They liken the use of brochures to theatre, as the brochure stages a scene throughout which consumers may enter an imagined 'touristscape' and connect to a place by generating performances via mindsets that unite the consumer and the product. They suggest the creation of destination images is more theatrical than human vision itself; they are well lit, sharper, and often feature colour contrasts. Natural destinations are often framed as romantic and unspoiled, characterised by their 'timelessness' scenery. Such photographs are seen to neglect signs of modernity in which artefacts of contemporary human existence are covered up, frozen in time. If a local is to appear in the photograph it is to signify the authenticity of the destination and the expected encounter that the tourist and the local will have.

Critically Urry and Larsen suggest that promotional images of a destination stage the lives of the other as pre-modern and portray their culture to be readily available for visual consumption. This serves to 'exoticise' non-western bodies, perhaps unintentionally, making western culture appear superior. As they suggest often commercial tourist images are produced and consumed by well-off white holiday makers and feature relatively impoverished non-white bodies. Commercial photographs, such as destination images, might choose to include other tourists who are relatable to the target audience of the image itself, creating the fantasy feeling of 'that could be me!' The works of Urry and Larsen present relevant themes to be applied to the following study on how destination images of Greenland serve to create expectations of the destination. Application of their work contributes to answering research question: 2) What role do destination images play in forming a tourist's expectation of a place?

Looking at promotional materials for holidays to Greenland, Tommasini (2011) investigated how natural attractions were used as advertisement tools. The advertiser aims to present tourists with preformed visions of stereotypical 'Nordic' sights such as icebergs, the northern lights and the midnight sun which serve as the ingredients of Arctic tourist advertising. The images absorbed during the initial phases of investigating the destination during the booking, packing and anticipation accumulate to generate a metaphorical filter. As she suggests, upon arrival the tourist seeks those images to reproduce and confirm their expectations of the destination. The holiday then becomes an opportunity to confirm the environment already discovered via advertisements.

Moreover in an investigation into promotional materials (André, 1992) found there to be four elements of destination advertisements which Tommasini (2011, p39) summarises:

- The catch-phrase – a word or brief phrase that immediately grabs one’s attention and that is easily remembered;
- The image – the heart of the message and the key element to identify and interpret the symbols that underscore the myths (vastness, purity, power of nature);
- The text – emphasizes the symbolic messages evoked by the image, integrated with words that the image has offered to the sense of sight;
- The logo – to be found on all advertising messages of the same type.

These four elements are of significant interest for the following study as they provide a framework to be applied to Visit Greenland’s visual marketing campaigns on their website visitgreenland.com. This framework allows analysis to be carried out of the type of words used alongside certain nature oriented images. This may help to reveal how the organisation might try to foster certain preconceptions of Greenland and contribute to answering research question 3) how might Visit Greenland be seen to create a nature oriented frame of the destination through its display of destination images?

Coleman and Crang (2002) however are sceptical about Urry’s tourist gaze and the use of destination images deliberately produced to attract tourists. They maintain instead that tourism is more than just gazing at images, or ideal versions of reality, it is about storytelling; telling competitive tales among fellow travellers and the emotional value of observing ‘other’ cultures. Moreover it is important to consider that our gaze is filtered by various factors such as class, age, income, gender and nationality which suggests that not every tourist interprets the same commercial image equally. Critically Urry and Larsen see vision as the ‘master sense’ involved in constructing the tourist experience as ‘gazing’ becomes emblematic of tourism. However Veijola and Jokinen (1994) on the other hand argue that one’s other bodily senses are neglected by Urry’s focus on vision as the sense responsible for shaping the way we interpret destinations. What’s more, by focussing on the tourist gaze solely they neglect the mutual gaze, as the locals gaze upon tourists too, as outlined in the work of Maoz (2006).

In her study which documents Israeli tourists in India, Maoz (2006) discovered how tourists too can become the ‘mad’ behind bars, closely watched by the locals. Her study highlights ‘the local gaze’ comprised of images and stereotypes about the tourist. She suggests that while there

is a wealth of information on the tourist gaze, studies on how the tourists are perceived by the locals are not as common. During a tourist interaction the locals may well gaze upon the tourists enabling both gazes to interrelate which is termed 'the mutual gaze'. Whereas Urry's tourist gaze gives power to the, usually white western, traveller the mutual gaze turns that power structure upside down. Unlike the tourist gaze Maoz's study focuses on how "guests and hosts view, grasp, conceptualize, understand, imagine, and construct each other" (Maoz, 2006, p222). When referring to the native she discovered that they become some sort of entrepreneurs who latch onto the naïveté and keenness for tourists' pursuit of authenticity. She sees that the tourists are offered - and largely satisfied with - their helping of 'staged' authenticity in which natives sell their culture, customs and history while posing as primitive exotic others. According to Maoz the natives are preserving a version of reality which does not, nor has it ever, existed without the eager tourist willing to view culture in exchange for money.

Maoz's study however adopts MacCannell's supposition that authenticity is the end goal of the Israeli tourists' trip to India. While that might be true, it neglects other motivational factors such as culture or nature, which this study will focus on. Although Maoz's research addresses backpacker tourism to India the findings remain relevant to this study as she considered how the staged authenticity presented in the 'front region' to the locals, actually serves to distract tourists from seeking to investigate India's 'back region'. This is an interesting approach as it empowers the native, seeing them as not so much an exotic body but as an entrepreneur. Maoz's findings thus give an insight into the behaviour of the local in response to the tourist which contributes to answering research question 4) How do perceptions of tourists shape the performativity of a Greenlander in the presence of tourists?

And sub question 4.1) How might locals frame their interactions with the tourist?

2.3.3 Literature on Performativity

Crang and Coleman (2002) investigate the interrelation between performativity and place revealing how places are always in a fluid state defined and reformed via performance. They maintain that tourist activities are usually 'staged' to some degree, but that this staging does not necessarily indicate a false presentation of authenticity. By looking at the relationship between the tourist and the host, they highlight a notion of embodied and performed engagement between places and tourist activities. They consider performance to be relevant as it engages all the senses, perhaps most importantly but not exclusively sight but also smell and sound. This creates synthesis with Urry's impression of vision as the master sense in terms of destination consumption. Similarly they highlight the role of destination marketing which sees

natural attractions become essential commodities within travel capitalism. They find that natural destinations are promoted to tourists who are looking to escape urban environments. Their example is New Zealand which was presented in the earliest tourist brochures as a hugely desirable place characterised by rocky landscapes and lush dense forests. Such images are still used in their marketing campaigns indicating the timelessness and strength of nature as a visual tool. Recalling that destination images might shape tourists' perceptions of a destination "predisposing their behavioural intentions and future activities" (Nicoletta and Servidio, 2012, p20) it is useful to consider how Goffman's theory of performativity can be applied to the interaction between the host and the tourist.

In *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (1959) Goffman highlights how theatrical performances characterise our daily face to face interactions. This sees the self as a collaboration of performances taking place over a variety of locations. Each performance features props just as on the stage: the set, costumes, masks, an audience, facial expressions, speech and other expressive traits. Activity in the presence of the 'other' is defined by deliberate accentuation of certain traits and the temporary suppression of others. Accentuated facts belong in the 'front region' while those suppressed are summoned to 'back regions' where things are stowed away out of public view so onlookers cannot observe the parts of the performance which don't match their anticipated perceptions. It is in this back region where metaphorical 'costumes' are adjusted and mended to ensure they are capable of delivering the intended performance. This is also the space where the performer may loosen up, stepping out of the costume, taking off the mask reverting to a different character performing for a different audience; perhaps friends, family or lovers. A crucial characteristic for the performance occurring in the front region is that the passageway between both realities remains unseen by the audience.

A beautifully sinister example provided by Goffman suggests that if the bereaved are to be convinced that the dead lie merely in a peaceful sleep, the undertaker must make sure that the bereaved don't stumble upon the workroom in where corpses are "drained, stuff and painted in preparation for their final performance" (Goffman, 1959, p54). Goffman's indication that the back region contains ingredients crucial for authenticity unveils a tricky philosophical question about whether there is any such thing as the 'real' or 'authentic' self. As we are all uncertain about who and what we are in a continuous state of soul searching we are always in an evolving state of 'becoming'. This would suggest that we are always trying to reform ourselves and it is this reformation which steers our behaviour. Critically then the classification of back and front

regions ought to be less concerned with what is (un)authentic but rather what we consider the important characteristics to express or suppress. It is in this decision making process where we decide which traits should be hidden or expressed to our audience. Throughout social interactions it becomes vital to present oneself appropriately in order to meet possible expectations of the other, as it is self-presentation which forms other people's opinion of ourselves. Goffman sees that interaction between performers on the stage and members of the audience is a form of engagement in which each person interprets 'the other'. Thus the self is a character which is always in flux depending on location. Although it can be that we are always performing ourselves not only to 'the other' -- be it tourists or locals -- but to peers of the same group, seeking to reinforce our membership.

Although Goffman's performativity concept may not have been created for tourism studies its application to the encounter between the tourist and the local enables us to see how each group may express or suppress certain traits in front of each other. For example, it might be possible to observe how the performing Greenlander expresses certain traits which the tourist is expecting to observe in the frame they are buying into during their trip. Such expectations may have been generated by destination images presented on the Visit Greenland website. Thus the application of performativity theory will help answer: Research question 4) How do perceptions of tourists shape the performativity of a Greenlander in the presence of tourists? And sub-question -4.1) How might locals frame their interactions with the tourist? As well as Research question 5) How might expectations, generated by destination image, shape the performativity of a tourist?

Observing the villagers of Kulusuk (Eastern Greenland) before, during and after a group of tourists' 4 hour visit Shackel (2011) studied the interaction between tourists and the Greenlander and assessed the validity of their 'authentic' experience. His study applied Goffman's theory of performativity to the interaction and documents the process of how the 'back region' - depicting daily events in Kulusuk- is hastily packed away the moment the tourist plane starts its descent. He writes:

A few intoxicated men leaned on a building that served as the local bar. With the doors wide open I heard the jukebox blaring hard rock music, although I could not identify the tune. A woman retrieved water from the communal pump, and several men worked on repairing a sled, perhaps getting ready for a winter hunt. Several dozen huskies howled endlessly, until they finally tired. These seemed like the daily routines of the community. *I felt like I had entered the back region of this Inuit village* (italics for

emphasis added)... Then a Scandinavian Airlines propeller plane arrived from Iceland. I noticed the lady at the pump hurried back to her house and closed the door. Someone pulled the plug for the jukebox, and the men hanging outside the bar went inside. The men working on their sleds quickly disappeared and one changed into traditional clothing.

- (Shackel, 2011, p.83).

As the tourist steps off the plane it would appear they enter an arranged tourist space; characterised by tidy colourful houses and warm greetings from grinning locals adorned in colourful beads and seal skins. Led by the tour guide they weave their way through this front region, dressed up to look like a back region, which as MacCannell (1976) argues will never be a back region despite how well embellished it might be. The Greenlandic drum dance begins, appropriately dynamic, visually stimulating and accompanied with music from a seal skin drum. The interaction between tourists and the Greenlanders during the drum dance sees that Greenlanders are positioned as performers and tourists become the audience respectively. Once the tourists re-embark the plane the locals re-emerge, the juke box is plugged back in and the locals re-appear to continue their day's chores (Shackel, 2011). Shackel describes this type of one day tourism to Kulusuk as a form of ethnic tourism, in which guests gaze upon exotic people in order to consume alternative customs and rituals and purchase their slice of curiosity. Shackel's study provides relevant insight into the encounter between tourists and Greenlanders and his application of Goffman's theory will be mirrored in my own study. His method of observation is something I find particularly relevant, and will be adopted in my own study while investigating the performativity of the Greenlander in front of the tourist. However what is missing from this study is insight into how the locals gaze upon the tourists the same way that the tourists gaze upon their surroundings. Shackel's study appears to be a one sided account of the interaction by considering the tourists as the audience while the Greenlanders are framed as the performers.

To diversify the approaches taken when applying performativity theory we will observe performativity theory through the lens of gender theorist, Butler (1988). Her interpretation sees that acts of speech and nonverbal communication become equally important as performative methods of identity maintenance and expression. Although Butler's approach focuses on how performances are rehearsed and replicated in order to socially construct gender, her theory of performativity remains relevant to this study to better understand social interaction. Much like Goffman, Butler considers the theatrical notions of performativity. Notably that people behave

as actors who forge their own reality through means of creating scripts. These scripts are rehearsed, modified over time and fine tuned to produce a performance which becomes reality. For Butler this is how gender, as an act, has been socially constructed and engrained into various layers of society.

This study does not delve into the social construction of gender, but it does take inspiration from Butler in the sense that her vision of performativity sees that a person's behaviour and actions are not necessarily the source of a person's identity. Rather that their (non) verbal acts of communication contribute to the formation of their identity and are indeed the result of an individual expressing their identity in front of another.

2.3.4 The use of social frame application

In later works came Goffman's concept of social framing (1974) which serves as a tool to organise and understand people's performativity throughout social settings. Social frames allow the filtering of 'noise' or otherwise unnecessary information enabling an individual to perceive an event or experience as their own version of reality. The formation of these frames is not necessarily a conscious doing but occurs continually in social situations in order to make encounters meaningful and understandable. The creation of social frames is linked with Goffman's concept of performativity as it takes self-expression and interpretation as a central concept. In generating one's identity and understanding the identities of those in a given environment, we go through a process of impression management. This process sees that one deciphers how to project ourselves in order to resonate with those around us.

Theatrically, as is typical for Goffman, he suggests that people engaging in a social situation behave as actors with their interaction being a performance. The outcome of the performance then is to provide the audience with an impression in keeping with the goal of the actors, and potential expectations of the audience. Although a theory originally developed to provide greater depth within communication strategies, in a tourist setting we can interpret this theory to observe how tourists filter information they absorb during interactions with the Greenlander. Within this interaction tourists are likely to filter certain elements of information and organise them into social frames. Likewise they also discard certain pieces of information, perhaps those which don't quite match the expectations which had been generated in the mind of the tourist by destination images observed on the Visit Greenland website. Therefore Goffman's concept

of social framing will be applied to encounters between the tourist and the Greenlander to gain insight into how Visit Greenland's destination images might create a nature oriented frame, into which the tourist may categorise their experience.

Continuing the theatrical theme of stages and props, is Ren's (2012) recognition of two contrasting frames in which Greenland is presented as 'hot' or 'cool'. These frames demonstrate the importance of cultural and natural props in the projection of the destination to tourists. In both frames certain characteristics are sent to the front, displayed, whereas others are shifted towards the back. This shares a considerable likeness to Goffman's theory of performativity.

Ren outlines her version of 'cool' Greenland in which a stark, unliveable landscape is presented devoid of human infrastructure or interference. It is this reality of Greenland that is projected towards tourists via magazines and destination images characterised by solitude and silence. In this frame the tourist ironically requires an abundance of manmade, *cultural* components to perform their natural holiday in Greenland. Aeroplanes, hotel rooms and minibuses which transport tourists to the start of their nature trail are all by definition non-natural props necessary to create a *nature* based holiday. It is the relationship between these manmade components, essential to create a nature themed holiday, that frames the 'cool' vision of Greenland. In 'cool' Greenland then, cultural man made components are shifted to the background to make way for the natural highlights; skiing, ice fishing, whale watching, northern lights hunting, which occupies the foreground.

Increasingly, visions of 'hot' Greenland, i.e. images of industry and contemporary lifestyle, challenge 'cool' Greenland. 'Hot' Greenland is built on urbanisation with: entrepreneurship, airports and oil rigs as its most vital props. This vision focuses on the idea of man-made modernity. As opposed to 'cool' Greenland, 'hot' Greenland frames nature differently. Notably the role played by climate change that sees the melting of the increasingly ice free Northwest passage, opening up a passageway for container ships, enhancing trade routes and enabling greater connectivity between Greenland and the rest of the world. More immediately the melting of the ice sheet exposes areas of bedrock enabling easier extraction of natural resources, thus opening up further avenues of industrialisation opportunities that serve to reproduce the 'hot' Greenland frame. Accordingly, when 'hot' Greenland's oil rigs, foreign

investment and valuable natural resources receive international attention they are brought to the foreground, whereas traces of Inuit culture and heritage disappear into the background.

Quintana's (2014) study on the relationship between identity and tourist performance demonstrates how our identity evolves and goes through a process of change while we are 'away'. Throughout the evolution of the self, we tend to immerse ourselves in our new surroundings to different extents. Some may 'go native' while others observe from a safe distance. As we navigate our way through challenges in the foreign environment we *perform* as tourists, in the company of 'the other': the local. Immersion presents itself differently for every tourist depending on their skill set. Language proficiency is one such skill that enhances or deflates a touristic experience. On the one hand effective communication with locals assists the traveller in practical tasks such as buying a bus ticket or ordering from a menu. On the other, a degree of freedom and ignorant bliss may be derived by the traveller unaware of offensive language or sad truths involved with the doom and gloom of reality in any destination that juxtaposes their idealised vision of their holiday.

Further as Theroux (2001) outlines, venturing beyond the unknown is something which requires courage. To rely upon the kindness of strangers, unknown habits and a foreign language the traveller may become victim to over simplistic labels from the locals. Foreigners, particularly in places seldom visited by crowds of tourists, are likely to be mocked or distrusted. In Arabic Theroux points out the word for foreigner is "anjabi" which translates to "people to avoid" (Theroux, 2001, p12). Feelings of otherness, of 'what on earth am I doing here?' and 'what am I trying to prove by being here?' are likely to enter one's mind when faced with the sensation of otherness. It is these notions of instability which challenge the tourist to reform their own identity in the company of otherness which comes with being in a foreign environment. The feeling of otherness can manifest itself in a traveller like a form of madness; stripped of formal identity, social relations and other titles (friend, boss, and colleague) relevant to one's normal life, being a 'traveller' strips one down to just that. Bundled together with everybody else in that same, nomadic category. Not dissimilar to Maoz's (2004) finding about how Indians perceived Israeli tourists, Theroux (2011) suggests that generally tourists are branded with the label of ignorant, easy to deceive and commonly known among locals as 'the foreigner', a label that lacks power and doesn't consider this foreigner's social standing back at home.

Taking these studies as a departure point I seek to reveal how tourists perform during their immersion, to varying degrees, into Greenland's natural and cultural environment. We assess whether tourists adhere to labels being enforced upon them by the locals in a kind of self-fulfilling prophecy, or whether they break away from stereotypical labels and perform as 'pioneer' tourists. This may indicate tourists fitting into the 'Pioneer Nation' frame presented by Visit Greenland. These findings will contribute to answering research question 5.1: How can tourists be seen to make use of social frames to understand their experience in Greenland?

Chapter Three: Methods

Having provided the reader with an insight into the current state of affairs regarding relevant literature, we may now turn to this study's data collection process. With the intention of maintaining a coherent structure throughout this Chapter the methods used to gather data for individual research questions are displayed individually. This is because several data collection methods are used throughout the study to best capture certain phenomena.

3.1 Investigating Tourist motivation

Gathering data to answer research question: 1) How have the motivations for tourists visiting Greenland in 2012 since shaped Visit Greenland's choice of online destination image?

Initially an interview with Aviaja Lyberth, one of Visit Greenland's tourism consultants, was arranged to investigate how the organisation may have used the results of the survey when deciding which destination images to use on the website. This interview was to be semi structured as I had written a series of broad questions which would allow the respondent space to provide an open answer. After sending the respondent the list of questions the respondent decided to answer the questions independently without an interview. Although it was not the original plan I was grateful for the response, despite the fact that answering the questions directly made the interaction very closed and left no room for supplementary questions. The questions asked referred to the workings of the organisation and the decision making process in regards to choosing destination images on the website. This included questions such as whether the organisation chose nature themed images over cultural themed images because nature had been identified as the most significant motivating factor for tourists visiting Greenland.

Additionally I extracted data from Visit Greenland's tourism strategy, which outlines the organisation's decision making processes for enhancing tourism between 2016-2019 which contributed towards answering this research question. The strategy reflects how Visit Greenland responds to challenges faced by the country's tourism industry and documents the priorities of the national tourism board in order to promote growth of Greenland's tourism industry. Therefore the data in the strategy document enables a parallel to be drawn between tourist motivations and the use of destination images creating a certain frame of Greenland in the mind of the tourist.

3.2 Investigating the role of destination images

The creation of surveys was employed to answer several research questions:

- 2) What role do destination images play in forming a tourist's expectation of a place?
- 3) How might Visit Greenland be seen to create a nature oriented frame of the destination through its display of destination images?

- 3.1) To what extent did tourists actually engage in/ experience this frame?

I created a survey which included eight questions and was able to be filled in by tourists physically when I met them throughout Nuuk and virtually via contact with tourists online. Having found that a tourist's time in Nuuk tends to be around 3-5 days they are likely to not want to spend too much time doing an interview. For that reason I decided that surveys were a suitable way of getting information from the tourist without detracting from their holiday time. Moreover I considered that the use of surveys would enable me to capture greater amounts of tourist perception than interviews as they are easier to duplicate. I do believe that face to face communication is important when extracting information from somebody as a greater level of interest can be generated during a physical connection. Therefore wherever possible I approached tourists physically, engaged them in a discussion in which I introduced myself and gave them the survey to fill in. However this method proved rather precarious and time consuming, so throughout the month of April I decided to distribute my surveys in various tourist hotspots such as Tupilak travel and Inuk hostels.

3.2.1 The survey

The survey, consisting of eight questions, was generated with the assistance of *SurveyMonkey*. It first allowed tourists to select which of the nine market segments they associated with the most. They were free to select as many as they wished. This is the most important question in the survey as they selected activities that they were most hoping to experience during their time in Greenland. Five activities were nature themed, four were cultural. Based on how many nature or culture themed boxes were ticked sorted the tourists into two categories: nature tourist or culture tourist. I decided to sort tourists into these two broad categories in order to clearly present trends that appeared in the data collection.

Following that, the tourist could then provide insight into the extent to which their trip was motivated by images they had seen of Greenland's nature, regardless of whether they were a nature or culture seeking tourist. The survey inquired about the extent to which the tourists had

engaged in the nature as seen in the photographs and whether they could execute their expected activities. The survey also documented how tourists participated in activities they did not expect to engage in during their trip.

To capture as many impressions of the tourist as possible in some cases I have met up twice with a tourist; once at the start of their Greenland trip and once at the end. In those cases where I was not able to meet up with them at the end of their trip I sent them a follow up survey to fill out upon arrival home. By following up with the tourist once back in their home environment they could reflect on their experiences. This was necessary for those tourists who began their trip in Nuuk and continued onwards to other destinations throughout Greenland. A time gap between their trip to Nuuk and returning home may also enable a period of reflection for the tourist to consider their own behaviour during their encounters with the Greenlander. There is however an issue with retrospective travel accounts which is the process of selective memory bias, a cognitive process in which one enhances or impairs the recollection of particular experience. To overcome this problem I did not leave too great a time gap between meeting the tourist and sending them my follow up survey.

3.2.2 Reaching out to the targeted tourist population

In Greenland there are two main 'tourist' seasons; summer which is from June until September and according to the Visit Greenland website is defined by a lack of snow on the ground. The winter season occupies the rest of the year, but most winter tourism occurs between February and April (Visit Greenland, 2013). These two seasons are diverse in terms of activities on offer. Summer activities include whale watching, hot spring visits and kayak tours of icebergs. Winter activities on the other hand include northern lights hunting, dog sledding, igloo building and cross country skiing. As the activities vary by season, so do the tourists. By conducting research from March until June my stay in Greenland straddles these two seasons enabling me to locate a wide range of tourists who seek different activities and have different motivations for visiting.

There are several methods of physically locating tourists and I have categorised them as direct or indirect. Direct methods included approaching visitors in the lobby of the Hans Egede Hotel, the cultural centre, the National Museum or the airport. The direct method however was not guaranteed to be effective as it would involve approaching tourists when they were attempting to do something else (such as check in at the hotel, or collect their luggage from the conveyor belt) and risk being considered a nuisance. Over the course of three months it was possible to rely on indirect methods such as meeting tourists casually. This includes coincidentally sharing

a taxi with a tourist and striking up a conversation about the research project, about which the tourist had interest and offered to take part in answering questions upon arrival at home. Other indirect methods which I relied on were the snowball method. As fellow students enjoyed visits from guests; friends, family members, and colleagues I was able to use these connections and distribute my survey further. Another indirect method involves social media; a particular *Facebook* group called ‘Internationals in Nuuk’ allows upcoming tourists to post their desire to meet international locals or expats and engage in discussions about life in Nuuk over coffee. Responding to such posts creates an equal power balance between myself and the tourist as both parties reached out to each other. This proved to be highly successful.

While physically meeting all the tourists who filled in my survey was initially a requirement for the study I soon realised that it was impractical. Due to the harsh reality of a Greenlandic winter season there were periods of time, such as the drizzly month of March, in which there was a significant lack of tourists. Nuuk’s most popular hostel, Inuk Hostels was empty for the most of the month and the start of April. During this time I expanded my method of reaching out to tourists. I decided to distribute my surveys throughout the three largest hostels in Nuuk as well as in a local AirBnB accommodation and the local tour company, Tupilak Travel. In addition to that I also turned to *Tripadvisor*. Contacting tourists who had been to Greenland in the last 12 months proved an effective way to tap into the tourist scene and enhance the seasonality and geographic reach of the study. Limited to the time spent in Nuuk (March- May) contacting tourists online made it possible to gauge the tourist’s experience at other times in the year when there were a much larger volume of visitors such as the peak summer season. Similarly I reached out to bloggers who posted their experiences in Greenland through the internet and were interested in filling in the survey. Considering the study also involved the use of destination images I turned to *Instagram* to locate tourists as well who were using the hash tags ‘#VisitGreenland’ and ‘#Greenlandpioneer’.

3.2.3 Sample size and responses

This study is based upon a relatively modest sample size of fifty survey respondents. This sample size is the result of several parameters, namely; only three months spent in the field, conducting research independently, visiting the field in the time period between its main tourist seasons and being financially limited to visiting just one destination within Greenland. Admittedly this sample size would need to be enhanced if this thesis were to reflect a significant trend within the broader Greenlandic tourism scene. A discussion of alternative methodological considerations is presented in section 6.1.

Visit Greenland aim for a response rate of 80% when selecting survey participants, yet reduce this to 60% when taking various factors such as a language barrier into consideration. This is likewise a factor to be taken into consideration myself as I will be operating in a single language only. To enhance their response rate Visit Greenland researchers wore identification badges and ensured that data was only being shared with them. Interviewees were offered CDs of Greenlandic musicians as well as postcards of Greenlandic nature with prepaid stamps as incentives to participate. The scope of this project does not enable me such funds to provide participants with financial incentives. However by providing incentives such as merchandise which clearly displays their logo and natural attractions such as the Northern lights, Icebergs, and mountains, the natural frame which Visit Greenland appears to construct might be further confirmed. This may contribute to Visit Greenland's self-selection of tourists who are interested in engaging in the natural frame, perhaps aiming to trigger tourists' desire for nature, ultimately visiting the destination. As an independent researcher I was not concerned with deliberately reproducing such a frame however.

I distributed 34 surveys across what is considered three of the biggest 'tourist hotspots' in Nuuk: Tupilak Travel, Inuk Hostel and the Seamen's hostel. Sadly, but perhaps not entirely surprisingly, there were no responses. I also distributed 10 surveys throughout one AirBnB apartment which proved very successful with a response rate of 100%. Furthermore, to reach a wider audience than just Nuuk based tourists I reached out to 45 people on Tripadvisor with a response rate of 6%. This was fairly low, so I reached out on *Instagram* to 48 people with a response rate of 37% and also to 12 people who wrote travel blogs on Greenland with a response rate of 33%.

In terms of meeting tourists casually in Nuuk I gave out 15 surveys. The vast majority of people who I asked to fill in the survey agreed once it had been established and confirmed that they were tourists and not people who lived in Nuuk. I believe this to be due to the lack of competition for completing surveys as throughout my time in Nuuk I did not observe other researchers requesting tourists to fill in surveys. It might have also been due to the fact that there were so few tourists in Nuuk during my time there so tourists may have been more willing to assist me in the data gathering process.

Having gathered all the completed surveys I began to sort the data and look for trends. The benefit of using a survey was that I could use an online tool to visually display the results of

each question which showed the most popular responses. The starting point of sorting the data was to identify the market segment which the respondents associated themselves with. From there trends were identified based on the expectations and experiences of tourists in line with their relevant market segment.

3.3 Measuring the performativity of the Greenlander

In order to gain some perspective about the mutual gaze, as termed by Maoz (2006), it is important to shed light upon the foundations of Inuit heritage and culture which forms a lens through which 89% of Greenland's population see the world. From the basics of Inuit culture we can seek to investigate how the local might perceive the tourist in light of potential stereotypes or visions of the 'the other'.

3.3.1 Participant observation as a method

Situating myself in the field of Nuuk I decided that participant observation of my surroundings would be the best way to convey performativity of the Greenlander and the tourist. This is why I chose to follow a group of three Swedish tourists on their two week trip to Nuuk. Concerned primarily with the Greenlander's behaviour towards them I observed their interaction for 7 days in a variety of locations throughout the city at varying times in the day. I did not necessarily intend on using the method of participant observation. Initially I had planned to interview a variety of local Greenlanders about how they consciously perceive tourists. However once in the field I realised that performances were taking place all around me and the most natural way to document performance was to observe with my own eyes and turn those observations into words.

This type of observation aims to demonstrate how Greenlanders frame visions of visitors providing answers to the following research questions:

4) How do perceptions of tourists shape the performativity of a Greenlander in the presence of tourists?

-Sub question 4.1) How might locals frame their interactions with the tourist?

In order to document diverse encounters between the tourists and the locals I observed interactions over several days. This is intended to provide a broader picture of how tourists are perceived throughout different strata of Nuuk's population and how certain environments are deliberately created for staged performances in front of the tourist. Observing the interactions

of one group of tourists does not, by any means, represent the manner in which all Greenlandic people perceive all tourists.

3.3.2 The sample group of tourists

On location in Nuuk I met a trio of Swedish tourists while looking for visitors to fill in my survey which documented expectations and experiences (to answer research questions 1,2,3 and 5). They were interested in the study and were keen to interact with local Greenlanders, thus I categorised them as ‘ethnophiles’. With an interest for seeing the authentic side of Nuuk they agreed to let me follow them around throughout their trip to cafes, bars, restaurants and the local museum. With any method of data collection there lays a margin of error. In this case by conducting my own participant observation my results were limited to the locations where my observations took place. As I was researching alone I was unable to have assistance from other researchers. This is also why I was unable to follow around multiple groups of tourists, which would have enhanced the reliability of the study.

As I am not able to understand Greenlandic I relied primarily upon the visual interaction between the Greenlander and the tourist. This tended to be less problematic than anticipated as most tourists also had no understanding of Greenlandic. Additionally I came to realise that my role as a participant observer became blurred at times; looking like a tourist myself (or at least a non-ethnic Greenlander and non-Dane) locals treated me with just as much curiosity as the ‘tourists’ I was studying. This is likely to have biased my observations, as parts of my own experience are inextricably interwoven throughout the data collection.

That being said, I also decided to back up my observations by contacting local tourism entrepreneur Lasse Kyed. In answering a short series of structured questions he provided me with information which both proved and disproved assumptions that had been made from my own observations.

The data collected in the study is largely gathered in Nuuk but draws on previous tourists’ experiences throughout Greenland. I decided to only choose Greenland rather than make comparisons with tourism to other Nordic destinations such as the Faroe Islands or Iceland. It is possible that due to the location of this study there is some international bias. This may be particularly true in Chapter five where the Greenlander’s perception of the outside world and non domestic tourists is presented. Living in the capital region of Nuuk is likely to expose locals to increased encounters with foreigners, perhaps opening their eyes to the existence of

‘the other’ more than those living in less accessible regions of Greenland. The urbanised centre supplies residents with reliable internet connection since 1996, a large public library with books in other (European) languages, well equipped supermarkets selling internationally imported products and a Western looking shopping mall complete with an Italian coffee bar. More remote settlements, such as Kulusuk in Eastern Greenland, have none of these features highlighting regional fault lines in terms of urbanisation and modernisation. I would therefore like to make it clear that local respondents from Nuuk by no means represent all Greenlandic people.

3.4 Measuring the performativity of the tourist

Questions which revolve around actions and behaviour of the tourists were asked as part of the survey in order to gather information to answer the following research questions:

5) How might expectations, generated by destination image, shape the performativity of a tourist?

- Sub question 5.1) How can tourists be seen to make use of social frames to understand their experience in Greenland?

3.4.1 Gauging the interaction between the tourist and the Greenlander

Specifically this investigates the level of interaction between the tourist and the Greenlander. One way of doing this is to inquire about their accommodation: staying with local people will indicate immersion, staying in a hostel indicates interaction while staying in a hotel will indicate observation. I have borrowed this categorisation of interaction from Visit Greenland as they measured the level of interaction between locals and tourists throughout their mapping project by assessing chosen styles of accommodation. In order to collect the data in response to research question 5.1 How can tourists be seen to make use of social frames to understand their experience in Greenland? I asked tourists: “throughout your trip to Greenland did you feel more like a mass tourist (who follows current tourism trends) or a pioneer tourist (who sets their own tourism trends)?”

This is a direct question to which the tourist responds by situating themselves on a scale of 0 to 100 - in which 0 signifies feeling like a mass tourist, 100 as a pioneer tourist -. In order to boost the response rate I provided a brief definition of what it meant to be a pioneer or a mass tourist since many tourists may be unaware of the pioneer label.

I chose to emphasise the idea of being a pioneer tourist by contrasting it with the mass tourist. In Wickens' (2002) discussion of the mass tourist she draws upon the tourist's (lack of) participation in the lives of host communities throughout their stay in "tourism factories" (MacCannell, 1976). From a performativity perspective Goffman likens these factories to prisons, and refers to places of mass tourism as "total institutions" (Goffman, 1991). Total institutions ensure that inmates (or tourists) maintain minimal contact with people other than fellow peers or staff as the institution provides standardised food, activities, entertainment, and accommodation all under supervision of the institution. Goffman maintains that the everyday routines and experiences become dictated by the institution and become standardised for each inmate (or tourist). This is an entirely opposite scenario to the tourist scene in Greenland in which tourists are not provided with mass tourism infrastructure such as all inclusive holiday packages. It may however be that a negative bias is placed upon the notion of being a mass tourist as many people do have a general understanding of what it means to be a mass tourist and perhaps don't wish to associate themselves with such a label.

This Chapter has laid out how each research question will be answered and the method of data collection employed to appropriately gather the correct data. Limitations of data collection have been aired to inform the reader of the study's parameters in terms of the sample size. Now that the foundations for understanding methods of data collection, inspiring literature and research questions have been laid out we can move on to displaying the results which follow in Chapter four.

Chapter four - The Relationship Between Expectation and Experience

This Chapter will discuss the relationship that exists between a tourist's expectation of a destination, as formed by destination images, and their actual experiences in a place. This Chapter investigates how Visit Greenland have acknowledged the fact that the search for nature is the most common motivational factor for tourists to visit Greenland, and will discover how this influences their decision making process in terms of selecting destination images to display on the website and the nature 'frame' which may emerge as a result. This Chapter will also shed light into how tourists may have engaged in the natural frame by taking a look at the type of activities tourists engaged in. One of Visit Greenland's tourism consultants Aviaja Lyberth was able to shed some light onto how certain images of Greenland are projected towards certain market segments in order to present the destination most effectively. Her responses, and tourists' responses to my survey, are woven into this chapter to address the following research questions.

- 1) How have the motivations for tourists visiting Greenland in 2012 since shaped Visit Greenland's choice of online destination image?
- 2) What role might destination images play in forming a tourist's expectation of a place?
- 3) How might Visit Greenland be seen to create a nature oriented frame of the destination through its display of destination images?
 - 3.1) To what extent did tourists actually engage in/ experience this frame?

Visit Greenland is the selected organisation upon which this study focuses for two reasons. Firstly, it is the largest organisation responsible for tourism in Greenland. Secondly, 74% survey respondents consulted the Visit Greenland website for information about the destination. Other sources of information about Greenland included Trip Advisor (24%), personal or professional blogs (40%) and in some cases travel guides from organisations such as *Lonely Planet* (32%). Travel agents proved the least common source of information, with only (12%) choosing to consult a local travel agent for information about Greenland. For those who were visiting friends or relatives their source of information was commonly their host (14%) and for a very small portion of visitors (5%) they were inspired by previous trips they had done in the past and wished to repeat with other friends or family. While the vast majority

of tourists did seek information about Greenland prior to their trip others (4%) remarked that they chose not to search for information before the trip.

Perhaps one reason why tourists are so likely to consider Visit Greenland as the largest source of information is in part due to the lack of comprehensive updated travel guides. As one tourist pointed out:

“I ended up buying a used Greenland & The Arctic book on amazon.com for nearly \$50! Not sure why Lonely Planet pulled the publication, but it is a huge loss for Greenland tourism that they did—and very bizarre that they would do that while simultaneously declaring Greenland to be one of the best countries to visit!”.

4.1 Locating and attracting the ‘right’ tourists

Visit Greenland’s ‘Visitor Survey’ documents the psychographic nature of tourists to identify motivational factors influencing travel to the destination. Since formulation in 2012 this survey took place under various titles, most recently being named the ‘Greenland Mapping Project’. Despite the evolution of its name the goal of the surveys tended to stay the same, as have the results. One of the survey goals has been to monitor the relationship between expectation and experience for the visitor, so the results of the survey have been guiding tools to increase alignment between the two.

Visit Greenland’s 2013 visitor survey report states two alternative methods of destination marketing. One is a destination centred method where the destination is presented to the world via images and narratives. Tourism organisations in return have to hope that the images will be seen and trigger interest to book a trip to Greenland. Another method sees the organisation present these images and narratives of Greenland directly towards those market segments which are a ‘good fit’ for the destination (Visit Greenland, 2013). In order to establish which method is best for the organisation they seek to identify psychographic characteristics of the tourists. Based upon these characteristics tourists are sorted into market segments. Various narratives and realities of Greenland are projected towards those segments, to varying degrees, to demonstrate how Greenland offers what they are looking for. Crucially the visitor survey report enables tourists to rate their experience in Greenland and evaluate the extent to which it paired up with expectations. This type of data has been gathered by investigating the type of activities that tourists have taken part in, assessing whether their desires were satisfied. If the tourists, having been sorted into market segments, show an active engagement and fulfilment in activities this represents alignment between what Greenland offers through destination

images and what the tourist is looking for. For the survey to accurately capture the desires of tourists visiting Greenland, a distinction is made between land and cruise based tourists. The results of both categories are included in Visit Greenland's visitor survey reports but this study will only investigate the motivation of land based tourists, excluding cruise tourists as their motivations might be skewed by the temptation of other port calls on the cruise.

4.1.1 The projection of Greenland towards various Market Segments

In the 2013 Visitor Survey Report, which documents travel patterns from 2012, four of the most prominent tourist market segments were identified: the Globetrotter, the Sightseer, the Nature Lover and the Nature Appreciator (Visit Greenland, 2013). Crucially the report shows that irrespective of market segment, nature was the main motivational factor driving them towards Greenland. Natural phenomena such as the Northern Lights in particular are noted. The report revealed that experiencing Greenlandic culture was the least common motivational factor, while other factors included fulfilling one's dreams and experiencing an exotic destination. We will discover the extent to which this finding is replicated in my own survey results in Section 4.3.2.

As outlined in Visit Greenland's tourism statistics (<http://www.tourismstat.gl/>) 11 additional market segments have been identified from visiting tourists. These are: the Ethnophile, the Authenticity Seeker, the Wilderness Seeker, the Culture Lover, the Culture Appreciator, the Extreme Adventurer, the Special Interest Adventurer, the Globetrotter, the Sightseer, the Nature Lover and the Nature Appreciator with the latter four being the most popular on a nationwide scale. However throughout the data collection process one tourist notified me that the market segments did not accurately reflect every tourist's desires for visiting Greenland. He said:

I think that you are missing perhaps the largest reason why many are compelled to go so far out of their way to inconveniently visit Greenland (me included): because everyone grows up seeing this massive island, which on a Mercator map projection looks bigger than Africa, covered by ice, not knowing anyone who has ever been there, and then see that there are actual towns on the map, and really want to know what Greenland is like and what life is like living there!

Having identified the pursuit of nature as the biggest motivational factor for tourists to Greenland since 2012, a crucial element of Visit Greenland's marketing strategy is to project the destination towards nature seeking tourists. In light of this, campaigns focus upon experiences available to tourists that include varying levels of participation bringing tourists close to nature. The focus lies more on immersion and involvement between the tourists and

the locals, in which all experiences are deeply rooted within the culture and landscape of the destination. The idea behind this is to make the tourist expand their tourist 'career' by challenging their cultural, physical, spiritual and intellectual limits to generate the idea that they are 'pioneers'. To achieve this goal, Visit Greenland wishes to attract the pioneer tourists, as "you have to have an adventurous heart to be travelling to this destination - and that's the kind of tourist we are trying to attract on the website" (Personal interview, March 21, 2018).

As with all categorisations the use of market segmentation comes with its own limitations as it may shoehorn tourists into one category, discouraging a tourist from engaging in a variety of experiences throughout their trips as they have only been sold one 'version' of Greenlandic reality. This reflects the diverse nature of a tourist's psychographic profile. To get around the issue of shoehorning tourists into segments throughout my data collection, I gave tourists the opportunity to select a range of activities which they were most expecting to on their trip to Greenland. Each expectation was paired with a market segment and indicated their connection to relevant market segments.

Despite potential issues associated to market segmentation, Visit Greenland display various photographs which include certain objects in order to express a certain reality of Greenland as a destination towards certain market segments. Table 1 demonstrates destination images found on Visit Greenland's website and displays which market segments these images are targeted towards and which ones they are deliberately not. This table visually demonstrates how the market segmentation frames various realities of Greenland to specific audiences.









Market Segment	Description	Type of image employed	Type of image not employed
the Globetrotter	Adventurers who are keen to try everything on offer as long as there is a genuine connection with the people and natural environment. Ideally they want to be active, yet comfortable and safe.	 <p>Demonstrating closeness with locals and a snowy landscape, in a comfortable, safe environment.</p>	 <p>Does not indicate any relationship to local people, too closely connected to the animal.</p>
the Sightseer	Enjoy observing cultural and natural highlights via non demanding physical activities such as museum trips, cruises and 'flight seeing', a term used by Visit Greenland to describe aerial sightseeing.	 <p>Demonstrating 'flight seeing' in a comfortable and safe setting.</p>	 <p>This incurs potentially physically challenging activities.</p>
the Nature Lover	Willing to try adventurous methods to get as close to nature as possible. This includes kayak trips, hikes, mountain biking and ski touring in which new physical skills are gained and interaction with locals is achieved via accommodation in remote settlements.	 <p>This demonstrates physical engagement within the vastness of Greenland's ice sheet.</p>	 <p>The fabrication of the ski jump depicts a use of the environment which appears built up and somewhat urban rather than untouched nature.</p>
the Nature Appreciator	These are often found on cruises around Greenland observing diverse natural phenomena in a comfortable setting without pressure of physical activity.	 <p>A comfortable situation where nature passes by.</p>	 <p>The inconvenience of getting in and out of small boats is likely to cause physical discomfort.</p>

Table 4.1 The use of Destination images. Source: visitgreenland.com

This suggests that by projecting certain realities of Greenland towards certain market segments, Visit Greenland successfully uses destination images to formulate expectations of the destination. Formally it is Visit Greenland's intention to provide a balance of nature and culture

oriented images, which will in turn create tourist expectations that are a balance of the two. This was confirmed by Aviaja; “We try to balance it [destination images] for sure; our newsletter is also divided into segments: culture-interested, nature-interested and the mix of both. It is also to make sure that our content on the website is balanced between segments” (Personal interview, March 21, 2018). Thus in theory Greenland is projected to tourists in natural and cultural frames evenly with no intention of favouring either one.

4.2 The role of destination images in forming expectations

Destination images provided by tourism organisations such as Visit Greenland can be seen as tools to generate a narrative or a metaphorical frame in which the tourist seeks to place their experience. In order to create accurate expectations of the destination,

“Visit Greenland has been collecting photos of pretty much all of the destinations and popular experiences in Greenland [but] we do not create content unless we have the visuals for it” so as not to create false expectations for the tourist. Moreover, “the current visitgreenland.com is designed to be as visually pleasing as possible, while also being helpful” (Personal interview, March 21, 2018).

By investigating destination images and their capacity to generate a particular frame André (1992) reveals four important elements of destination advertisement that Tommasini (2011, p39) summarises:

- The catch-phrase – a word or brief phrase that immediately grabs one’s attention and that is easily remembered
- The image – the heart of the message and the key element to identify and interpret the symbols that underscore the myths (vastness, purity, power of nature)
- The text – emphasizes the symbolic messages evoked by the image, integrated with words that the image has offered to the sense of sight
- The logo – to be found on all advertising messages of the same type.

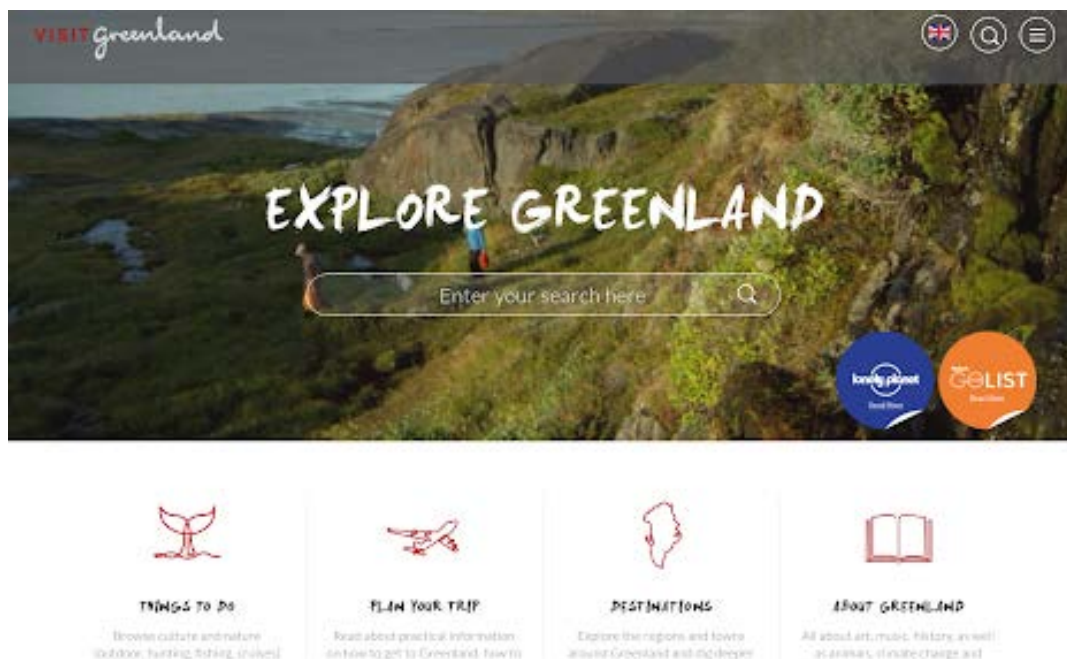


Figure 4.2. Visit Greenland’s home page as of May, 2018. Source: visitgreenland.com

At the time of writing, Visit Greenland’s home page features a video banner in a loop. The videos are played for around 90 seconds, during which time a new short video is displayed every two seconds. After observing the loop several times it appears that there are 30 rapidly changing mini clips of outdoor activities. This includes scenes of dog-sledding, snowshoeing, hiking, swirling northern lights as well as more interactive accounts of tourists meandering around the streets of small villages and looking up at the Icebergs from a tour boat. In contrast there are only four short videos displaying indoor activities such as food preparation or cultural activities such as carving reindeer antlers or beading work. The indoor mini video clips also do not feature any tourists, reducing the amount of engagement between viewers and the subject of the video. This suggests a preference for presenting Greenland to tourists as a natural destination rather than a cultural one, going against the conscious effort of Visit Greenland to present Greenland within cultural and natural frames equally. Therefore the images found on the landing page indicate an imbalance between the use of cultural and natural images throughout Visit Greenland’s website.

Applying André’s framework to Visit Greenland’s landing page we can see that three out of four characteristics are met. Firstly there is a catch-phrase “Explore Greenland” in large colour contrasting lettering to grab attention. Secondly there is, of course, the image itself which serves to reproduce the frame in which trips to Greenland are situated, which is nature. Throughout the loop, the short video is the only factor which changes to display a variety of

mostly natural images. The third feature of André's framework, text that enhances the symbolic message portrayed in the image, however is missing from the landing page, with little consequence. Finally, the fourth element of the framework is applied which is the logo clearly displayed in the top left hand corner.

4.2.1 Destination images as a reflection of reality or fiction

The use of destination images promoting natural destinations such as Greenland enables a degree of mystery and serenity in the mind of the tourist. Visit Greenland make every effort to "paint a realistic picture of the Greenland that they are going to experience when visiting - mostly with the texts that we use on the website - but also in the visuals" (Personal interview, March 21, 2018).

Images formed of a destination in the mind of a tourist can be considered the outcome of a construction of their imagination in which their perception of a place becomes a projection of their desires (Tomassini, 2011). It is thus the alluring power of destination images, projected towards specific market segments, which spark a person's interest in Greenland. One such event in particular which may have the alluring power to formulate expectations in the mind of the tourist is the viewing of the northern lights. As anybody knows who has stood beneath the colourful swirling skies, what one sees with their own eyes is much less impressive than what one sees through the lens of a modern day DSLR camera. Thus images one observes such as Figure 4.3 as shown on the Visit Greenland website displays an image which is highly unlikely to be seen with one's own eyes. It might be that the northern lights become a tool of a fabricated reality which the tourist buys into when they consume images of Greenland.

Moreover, recalling that 74% consider Visit Greenland their primary source of information, a large proportion of future tourists are likely to consume the natural frame they find Greenland presented in throughout the website.



Figure 4.3 Northern Lights over the backcountry near Sisimiut in Destination Arctic Circle in West Greenland. Source: visitgreenland.com

In order to identify whether images such as Figure 4.3 encourage tourists to visit Greenland my survey asked tourists: To what extent were you inspired to visit Greenland by the photographs you had seen of natural phenomena such as the Northern lights, icebergs, glaciers, snow topped mountains and the midnight sun?

Inspiration to visit Greenland based on nature themed destination images

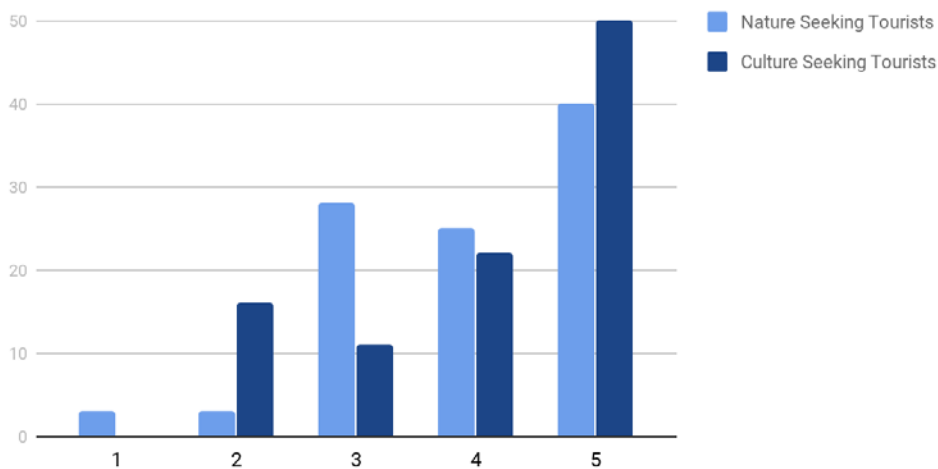


Figure 4.4. Data on the extent to which tourists were inspired by nature themed destination images, as shown in percentage.

Overall, 44% of tourists were entirely inspired to Visit Greenland to a rate of 5.0 based on nature themed destination images. The scale of this question was 1-5 with one being not inspired at all and five being entirely inspired. Specifically 40% nature seeking tourists and 50% culture seeking tourists were entirely inspired to visit Greenland based upon the images they had seen. This indicates that nature themed destination images are powerful tools to trigger visits to Greenland. Considering that the majority of tourists expressed a desire to engage in nature themed activities, by associating as nature seeking tourists (64%) and that most images on the Visit Greenland webpage are nature themed, I was surprised to observe culture seeking tourists being, proportionally, the most inspired by the destination images. It appears that although culture seeking tourists do not necessarily anticipate nature oriented experiences they are still triggered by the natural images and respond by visiting Greenland.

4.3 The natural frame and rising visitor numbers

The tourists who choose to visit Greenland may well be triggered by the nature themed destination images they see and respond by visiting the destination. Visit Greenland is not the only tourism organisation involved in marketing Greenland as a natural tourism destination, the *Facebook* group “I Love Greenland - The Travel Community of Greenland.com” also displays destination images which serve to reconstitute and strengthen the nature frame. The success of the natural frame appears to be confirmed by increased visitor numbers to Greenland since 2013 when nature was identified as a leading motivational factor. Data capturing visitor numbers has been gathered since 2000 and is collated by Visit Greenland (<http://www.tourismstat.gl/>).

The period between 2012 and 2017 saw overnight accommodation visitor numbers steadily rise and fall before soaring; from 7,9893 visitors in 2012 to 10, 9763 (ibid). This figure includes both domestic and international tourists. However Visit Greenland’s enhanced website and increasing marketing campaigns alone are not responsible for the growth in visitor numbers. With the expansion of Air Greenland’s connections between Keflavik and Ilulissat during the summer months and Air Iceland’s route between Keflavik and Narsarsuaq tourists are met with increasing amounts of connections (Visit Greenland, 2016). The Arctic Winter Games which took place in Nuuk during 2016 may have also generated knowledge of Greenland as a reachable destination.

Simultaneously Greenland found itself in the Lonely Planet’s Top 10 Best in Travel 2016 alongside the National Geographic Traveller’s Top 20 best trips of 2016. Perhaps such

international accreditation by prestigious and trusted tourism organisations explains how tourist figures bulged beyond 10,000 in 2017. This figure however is not unprecedented, as visitor numbers reached 10,000 in 1981 (Tomassini, 2011) largely with thanks to the Danish Tourism Board representing Greenland as a destination following implementation of the Home Rule agreement. However in the years following figures fell drastically to only 3,300 tourists in 1987 as Greenland's Home Rule Government was preoccupied with huge periods of unemployment following a period of crisis in the fishing industry (ibid). It is therefore important not to overemphasise the importance of contemporary prestigious destination lists.

4.3.1 Self propelled tourist selection

Although non nature seeking market segments have been identified – eg: Ethnophiles, Culture Lovers and Authenticity Seekers - they have to dig deeper within Visit Greenland's website to locate destination images which might trigger their travel desire. It is possible that Visit Greenland have chosen to display mostly nature oriented images on their landing page since their 2013 Visitor Survey Report established nature as the leading motivational factor driving travel to Greenland. This in turn may have encouraged further nature oriented tourists, continuing the cycle of nature being the largest motivational factor triggering travel desire. In addition, the mapping project findings report that it is nature which continues to be the primary motivational factor driving tourists towards Greenland.

However, let's not forget that in 2013 50% of respondents from the Visitor Survey stated an interest in Greenlandic culture in addition to nature, irrespective of their market segment. Despite this figure indicating a significant interest in Greenlandic culture, Visit Greenland's website users remain largely welcomed by destination images depicting natural rather than cultural scenes. This may be likely to trigger more nature motivated trips rather than purely cultural trips or at least trips with a combination of both factors. 5 years later the mapping project displays that still around half of tourists state an interest in culture as well as nature but only 8% wish to travel to Greenland exclusively to explore culture. Unsurprisingly then the mapping project results demonstrate that the amount of activities carried out by tourists remains largely nature inspired: eg hiking, sailing, skiing (ibid).

4.3.2 Destination images and execution of nature versus culture activities

As mentioned earlier, my survey respondents were able to select as many activities from a list of ten, which they hoped to experience in Greenland. Below the most selected activities are

displayed, which are each experience paired with a market segment displayed in italics. The most selected activities were:

- To connect to pure wilderness (*wilderness seeker*) - 58%
- To do long day hikes, whale watching, mountain biking or kayaking (*nature lover*) - 42%
- To spend time with local Greenlandic people (*ethnophile*) - 40%

These results suggest that nature oriented activities are indeed the most popular, but unlike previous years, engaging in cultural activities such as spending time with local Greenlandic people is becoming much more popular. As earlier mentioned in Section 4.1 Visit Greenland's 2013 visitor survey report found that engaging in culture was the least popular activity for tourists visiting in 2012. Over the course of 6 years this appears to have changed somewhat as 40% of survey respondents associated with the 'ethnophile' segment.

Depending on how many nature or culture oriented activities tourists selected from a list of 10 activities they were categorised as nature or culture seeking tourists. 64% respondents were categorised as nature seeking tourists, and 36% were classified as cultural respectively.

Having established that there is a natural frame in which tours to Greenland are located, and that nature seeking tourists are the most dominant, I enquired about the tourist's rate of execution of their anticipated experiences to assess the extent to which they engaged in the natural frame.

Rate of Execution

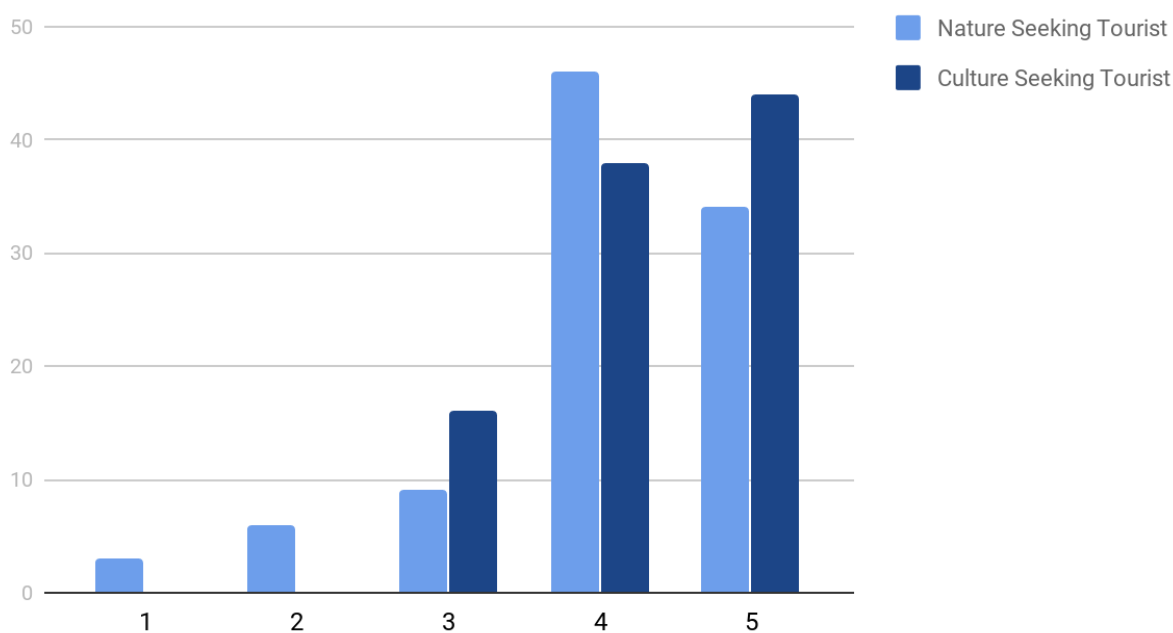


Figure 4.5. The rate of execution for expected activities.

While a rate of execution (ROE) of 4.0 appears the most common among both culture (38%) and nature (46%) seeking tourists, culture seeking tourists appear to be the most able to execute expected activities. This is because 34% nature seeking tourists opted for a rate of 5.0, ten percent less than culture seeking tourists at 44% ROE. The scale in this particular question is that a rate of 1.0 indicates not being able to execute expected activities and 5.0 being entirely able respectively. We can see that there is a distinct lack of culture seeking respondents that were unable to execute their expected activities and the lowest degree of execution was 3.0. This suggests that, on the whole, culture seeking tourists may be more likely to be able to execute their desired activities than nature seeking tourists.

Potential hindrances to nature seeking tourists' ability to engage in nature inspired activities may have been only visiting Nuuk (21%) which is after all the capital city and may well be considerably more urban thus does not have such a ready supply of icebergs and natural phenomena as other parts of Greenland. In addition unavoidable factors such as the weather, which commonly disrupts outdoor activities such as fishing tours and helicopter flight seeing, are likely to sway the ROE.

To evaluate more thoroughly the extent to which tourists actually engaged in the nature frame which Visit Greenland presents through their nature themed destination images I asked tourists: Overall, how was your time split between nature-based and cultural-based experiences?

Rate of inspiration versus executed activities - Culture seeking tourists

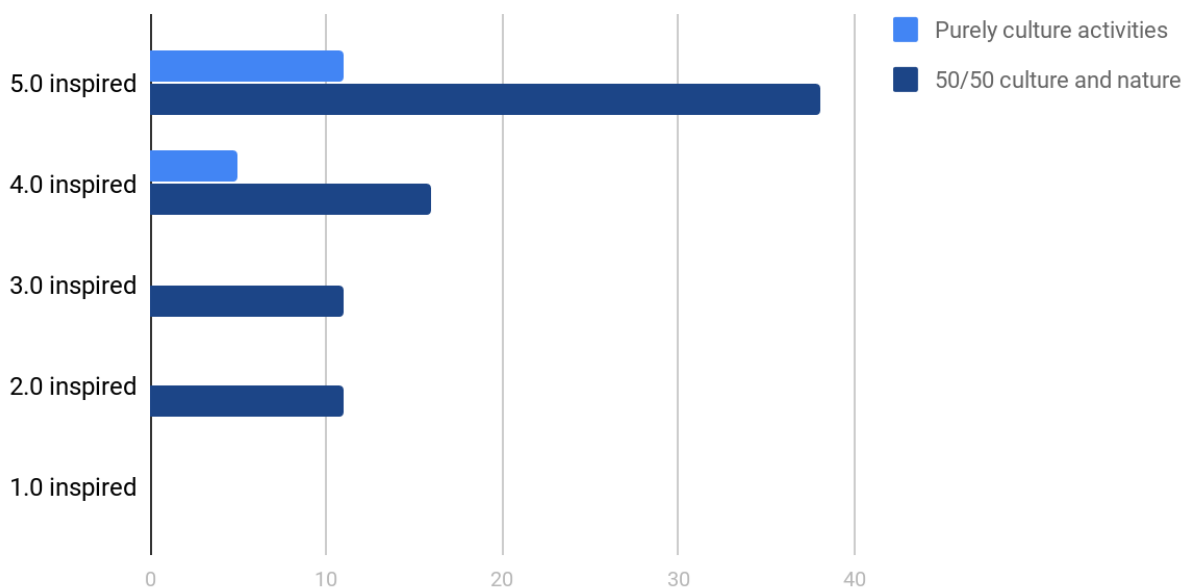


Figure 4.6. Displaying the relationship between inspiration to visit Greenland having seen nature themed destination images versus actual executed activities. Data for culture seeking tourists only.

Figure 4.6 aims to show a correlation between how culture seeking tourists were inspired to visit Greenland by images of Greenland's natural phenomena such as the Northern lights, icebergs, glaciers, snow topped mountains and the midnight sun and which type of activities they engaged in; thus measuring the extent to which they located their experience in the natural frame.

A correlation is seen between inspiration by nature oriented destination images to a rate of 5.0 and splitting time equally between nature and cultural experiences (38%). This suggests cultural tourists have engaged in the natural frame in which trips to Greenland are located. Moreover, irrespective of inspiration due to destination images, the overwhelming majority of cultural tourists reported splitting their time equally between nature and culture (83%). The remaining 17% of tourists engaged in solely cultural activities which I found a disappointingly low number as Greenland offers a great deal of unique cultural attractions which are deeply

rooted in Inuit traditions, yet these do not appear to be framed and presented to the tourist to the same extent as the natural frame. These findings act to confirm the suggestion that Greenland is presented to tourists in a natural frame which is created by nature inspired destination images on Visit Greenland's website, rather than presenting Greenland as a cultural and natural destination in equal measure.

Rate of inspiration versus executed activities - Nature seeking tourists

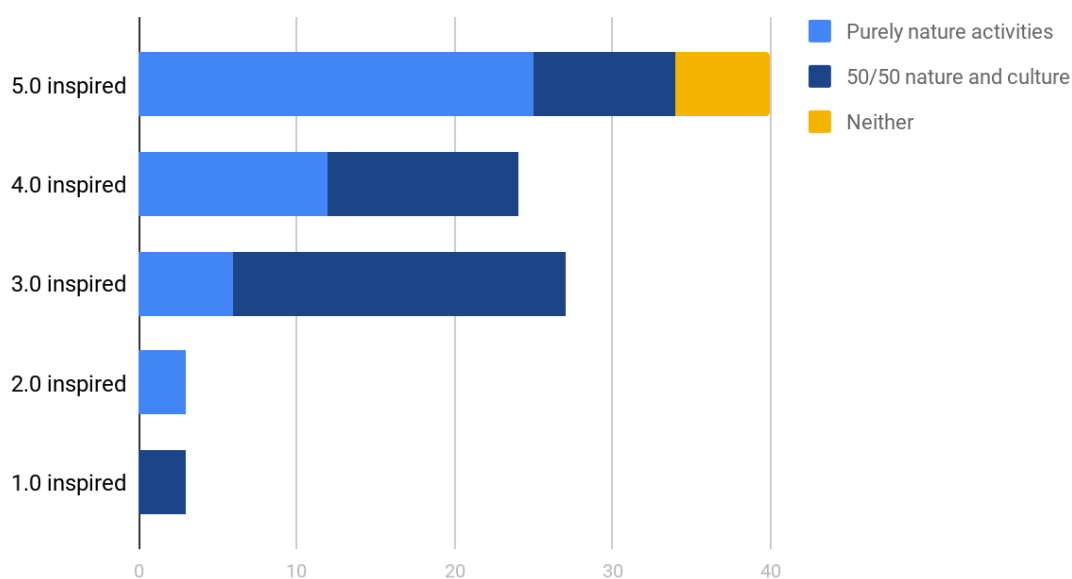


Figure 4.7. Displaying the relationship between inspiration to visit Greenland having seen nature themed destination images versus actual executed activities. Data for nature seeking tourists only.

Once again the scale of this question was a ranking of 1-5 with one being not inspired at all by destination images and five being entirely inspired. The survey established that 46% of nature seeking tourists were inspired by destination images of natural phenomena to a rate of 5.0. Of that group, the largest portion of tourists (25%) reported spending 100% of their time in Greenland on nature activities. This represents a very high correlation between expected activities based on nature images and experiences suggesting a large proportion of nature seeking tourists to Greenland are locating their experience within a natural frame.

An unusual finding was that 6% of those inspired by images to a rate of 5.0 reported spending no time on neither culture nor nature activities indicating a significant dissatisfaction with the array of activities on offer. It appears that these tourists were missing out on doing activities they wanted to because of seasonality or unavailability. As one such nature seeking tourist elaborated in the survey:

“My only negative thing to report (my fault for travelling late in the season) was I could not find a single tour either by land, sea or helicopter. Weather was very cold but clear skies.”

This kind of response may have also been because they did not search for trips in the correct place, or perhaps miscalculated the extent to which trips to Greenland require a lot of one's own research and effort. This concept is elaborated in Chapter five when we discuss the idea of pioneer tourism in Greenland. Further still 25% of nature seeking tourists were inspired to visit due to nature themed destination images to a rate of 4.0. Of this category 50% engaged in purely nature themed activities while 50% split their time between nature and culture activities equally.

Regardless of how inspiring the destination images proved to be, an equal amount of tourists, 46%, divided their time between nature and culture activities, indicating either disappointment with the nature activities on offer or positive surprise at the prospect of engaging in cultural activities.

Overall Figures 4.6 and 4.7 represent that while culture seeking tourists end up partaking in cultural *and* nature activities (83%) nature seeking tourists were significantly less likely to partake in nature *and* culture activities (46%).

4.4 The financial importance of the Nature frame

Considering that the tourism industry has the potential to become one of Greenland's largest industries by 2025, there is a chance that marketing Greenland in a natural frame has considerable financial benefits. Comparing the amount of nature and cultural activities available with Visit Greenland, the “things to do” web page displays 27 nature activities listed at the top of the web page, followed by 10 cultural activities at the bottom of the web page. This represents an imbalance between the use of cultural and natural images throughout Visit Greenland's website as well as evidence suggesting a preference for presenting Greenland to

tourists as a natural destination rather than a cultural one. Comparing the costs of nature and culture activities on offer by Visit Greenland one can see that a price difference emerges. Nature activities such as an 8 day skiing tour, inclusive of accommodation, food and a guide costs EUR 3,733 per person (“things to do”, 2018). In comparison the cultural activities tend to be cheaper such as a 6 day visit to Disko Bay featuring Inuit settlement visits where tourists can walk across the frozen sea and interact with locals, which costs just EUR 1,065.00 per person. While this is merely a comparison of two different activities on offer, it does indicate that the natural activities generate greater amounts of tourist income.¹

Perhaps seasonality plays a role in the advertisement of natural and cultural activities in Nuuk. Throughout the winter season Greenland’s National Museum provides all visitors with free entry, displaying Greenland’s largest selection of traditional Inuit artefacts and a diverse array of cultural information. In addition to that the Nuuk Art Museum offers guests free entry on Thursdays throughout the winter. In terms of natural activities however, the winter season tends to be a very popular time for tourists to take part in ice-fjord tours, ice climbing and snowmobile tours, all of which cost minimum EUR 100 and cannot be carried out without a guide. This might suggest that nature oriented activities tend to generate more profit, especially throughout the winter season. In order to establish which season generates higher volumes of income Visit Greenland are currently in the process of developing a tool to measure the exact amount of income each tourist brings while they are in Greenland to further identify the value of each market segment. Since financial data is as yet unavailable I asked Visit Greenland whether there might be a financial motivation for advertising more nature themed activities which tend to be more expensive for the tourist. The response provided by Aviaja was:

The reason that the advertising materials seem nature-heavy can also be because of what is available here in Greenland. There are many more operators that sell nature-based tours than there are cultural-based tours. One of our goals is to find more operators that do sell cultural-based tours and make them more visible on the website.
- (Personal interview, March 21, 2018).

Digging deeper into the nature versus culture activity cost comparison, *Tupilak travel* -Nuuk’s largest independent tourist information company- shared information regarding their trip offerings. Their most significant revelation was that over the last 5 years they have observed an increased demand for nature inspired experiences rather than cultural ones. This has led to their current selection of trip offerings in which 23 are adventure or nature themed and 6 just

¹ Please note all findings are accurate as of March 2018.

include cultural activities. Of these cultural activities, 5 are city tours that include a visit to one of Nuuk's museums and in some cases the provision of Greenlandic 'tapas'. When I inquired about why there were so few cultural activities on offer Tupilak travel informed me that emerging food trends or habits have contributed to reduced amounts of people taking part in cultural events. Vegetarianism for example is one such deterrent for tourists who wish to take part in the Greenlandic Kaffemik as traditionally they include the consumption of local delicacies: *Mattak* [whale blubber], seal, musk ox and a seasonal array of seafood. Tupilak travel has experienced a decrease for the demand in Kaffemiks over the last five or so years, in large part they believe due to increasing amounts of vegetarian visitors. Nature themed activities on the other hand have soared in popularity, most notably those which do not include food but provide guests with little interaction with others and intense physical activity and engagement with the natural environment.

Chapter Five - Measuring performativity

The drum dance became silent (Inngerpalaaq nipaarruppoq)

*The drum dance ceased
was replaced by break dance*

*the oral storytelling died
television became the master of the family*

*the short traditional seal pants were replaced
by the jogging pants*

*seal meat was replaced by pizza
water from the spring by coke*

*strong teeth were replaced
by chalk- white false teeth
topknots were replaced by afro-haircut*

*we Inuit
indeed
have developed extremely*

(Langgård, 2013, p93.)

Chapter five begins by providing background into the international representation of Greenlanders and introducing the reader to historical accounts of what it means to be Inuit. Having laid the foundations of Inuit heritage, Section 5.1.2 will address how the present day Inuit perceives those from the outside world during their interaction in Nuuk. This section is intended to show the reader how tourists are provided with various interpretations of Greenlandic culture as seen throughout participant observation in Nuuk. To add some depth to these observations extracts of an interview with local tourism entrepreneur Lasse Kyed is added to answer the following research questions:

4) How do perceptions of tourists shape the performativity of a Greenlander in the presence of tourists?

-4.1) How might locals frame their interactions with the tourist?

Chapter five continues with Section 5.2 in which the tourist's performance in front of the locals is addressed. This considers how tourists may sort their interactions with local people into the

pioneer tourist frame that is presented to them by Visit Greenland. This section aims to address the following research questions:

5) How might expectations, generated by destination image, shape the performativity of a tourist?

- 5.1) How can tourists be seen to make use of social frames to understand their experience in Greenland?

5.1. The Greenlanders: Eskimo, Inuit or Human?

Though overwhelmingly great in size Greenland as a self-governing body is small and relatively new. The struggle to identify itself as either European or Inuit is riddled with historic dark accounts of Danish colonisation. The Dano-Norwegian missionary who spearheaded Denmark's absorption of Greenland, Hans Egede, from the 18th century onwards saw the total wipe-out of traditional Inuit practices such as the use of facial tattoos, suppressed spirituality and forced introduction of Christianity and the Danish language. Despite the adoption of Danish vocabulary into the Greenlandic language it has been successfully preserved by its use by around 50,000 Greenlanders (Goldbach, 2000). Unlike other Inuit regions in the world where other languages dominate, Greenlandic remains the majority language throughout the state. Though this is more true in certain regions than others. Greenlandic artist Julie Edel Hardenberg demonstrated the juxtaposition between language and image by only speaking Greenlandic to everybody she came across in Nuuk for 6 months, regardless of their Greenlandic comprehension. The performance project, *Ikiqatigiilluta – Jeg er grønlandsktalende* (I am Greenlandic-speaking, 2010) created tension, aggression and confusion in the gym, post office and restaurants throughout Nuuk as it proved impossible to communicate in Greenlandic as many only communicate in Danish (Thisted, 2016).

Traditional Greenlandic culture functioned without hierarchy, land ownership and a strong focus on community values. The practice of whale hunting was a symbol of unity granting each community member their own role. Colonisation introduced class structure; placing ethnic Danes at the top controlling fisheries in managerial roles, ruling over Inuit peoples at the bottom of the hierarchy. Over time the middle class emerged as Danes and ethnic Greenlanders began to mix. In present day it is the Greenlandic Home Rule Government that employs the overwhelming majority of the population in administrative roles (Statistics Greenland, 2016).

So where does the modern Greenlander locate themselves in the nexus between traditional Inuit culture and Danish inspired modernity? On the European end of the spectrum is Nuuk's, and

thus Greenland's, largest shopping centre (the Nuuk Centre). It presents a conglomeration of western values: brightly lit stores selling fashionable western style clothes, a large opticians filled with posters of European or Danish television actors wearing stylish Danish design eyeglasses, a home wares shop selling yet more Danish design cafetieres and, now this *is* the centrepiece of a European shopping centre, an Italian coffee bar. Located on the other end of the spectrum is Greenland's participation in the ICC (Inuit Circumpolar Conference) representing its continued battle between tradition and innovation (Goldbach, 2000). It is this quest for identity which drives Greenland's quest for total independence from Denmark, driven by a modern youth who proudly don their national costume while keeping up with the rest of the world via involvement with social media and Erasmus programs. It is this unique cocktail of European modernity and Inuit tradition which makes the Greenlander, specifically the *Nuukian*, so proud of their rich history.

The Inuit have existed across Greenland, Canada, Russia and Alaska and have historically been deemed "eaters of raw meat". Though contested this is believed to be the origin of the term "Eskimo" which was applied to the Inuit of Greenland by their competitive tribes in parts of Canada and Northern America (Erpf, 1977). This is contested as other scholars such as Kleivan (2011, p32-33) suggest the term depicts "those who speak a foreign country's language" and yet more translations suggesting it means "those who make snowshoes". It is clearly a contested term which has become derogatory since the emergence of the term "Inuit". Brune's (2016) study on the representation of Greenlandic culture in Danish museums unveiled three themes: The first one was the interpretation of Greenlanders as primitive peoples which draws upon their role during colonisation between 18th- mid 20th century. Such an image focuses upon the use of the term 'Eskimo' and the image of otherness. The second theme saw the Greenlanders become threatened as an indigenous group who became victim to climate change and other forces of change. The third theme shows an increasingly modern vision of Greenland, ready to become independent from attachment to Denmark, politically, economically and psychologically. It is this theme that reflects the present day image of Greenland, enhanced by the use of the term "Inuit" attempting to reduce otherness previously associated with the Greenlander. Visit Greenland makes it particularly clear in their representation of the contemporary Greenlander that Inuit traditions remain permanent icons of Greenlandic life but in a modern setting (Tomassini, 2011).

5.1.1 Denmark's continuation of the use of the word Eskimo.

It is interesting to note that Brune's study investigated The National Museum of Denmark's portrayal of Greenlandic Inuit culture and ethnographic artefacts, and found that they consistently used the term "Eskimo" throughout the entire exhibition. This was in 2015, suggesting that in the eyes of the Danish, the Greenlandic are still associated with theme 1; barbaric and primitive. This appears to reconstruct an opinion of Greenland that does not accurately reflect the modernisation and urbanisation that the capital city Nuuk, for example, has been through.

Throughout Danish pop culture the Greenlander is seen to be interpreted rather negatively. The Danish word "*Grønlanderstiv*" [to be as drunk as a Greenlander] is one such example of how Greenland may be projected as a place of lesser civilisation. This type of framing seeps into media as well, notably in episode 25 of the internationally screened Danish crime series "Dicte" filmed in Aarhus, a Greenlander plays the disturbing role of a schizophrenic murderer. By observing exhibitions on display in the National Museum of Greenland in Nuuk it is interesting to note how all information is displayed in Greenlandic and English, deliberately excluding Danish. Moreover the museum chooses not to focus upon Denmark's encroachment of Greenland but rather how Inuit culture thrived before and after colonisation.

Unlike most other countries Greenland appears veinless on a map. Where road networks usually direct traffic around major cities and townships, Nuuk's arteries abruptly end when there are no more houses to connect. With larger settlements as Sisimiut and Ilulissat reachable only with a helicopter or ship -both weather dependent- it is possible to suggest that those living in individual settlements may have greater, or at least equal amounts of, contact with the outside world via the internet than with other Greenlanders in different communities. With no train, bus or car networks the commute done by millions every day is a non-existent concept in Greenland. This strengthens the value of the community once again; a place of work, family, social life the settlement becomes self-sufficient and provides one's supportive framework in which everyone contributes to activities; be it government admin roles, whale hunting or roles in the tourism industry (Goldbach, 2000).

5.2 The Inuit's perception of outsiders

To gain a better understanding of the relationship between the visitor and the local in Nuuk I studied the interaction between Greenlanders and a group of tourists using participant observation to address research question:

4) How do perceptions of tourists shape the performativity of a Greenlander in the presence of tourists?

-4.1) How might locals frame their interactions with the tourist?

Over the course of several days in April 2018 I followed three Swedish tourists in Nuuk documenting the interactions and experiences they had in the presence of Greenlanders. Concerned more with observing the behaviour and performativity of the Greenlander in response to the tourists I observed their interactions in various settings throughout Nuuk at different times of the day and night. This observation documents experience throughout two very different expressions of Greenlandic culture, demonstrating performativity in the so called 'front' and 'back' regions of Nuuk's tourist environment.

As we read earlier, Maoz' s study on the mutual gaze (2006) positions locals in a given tourist environment as entrepreneurs seeing that tourists are usually hungry for their own slice of authenticity which is served by interaction with locals. She suggests that those tourists seeking interaction with local culture tend to be satisfied with their portion of authenticity which the local creates and sells to the tourist. As two out of the three tourists I followed identified as Ethnophiles they expressed interest in becoming familiar with Greenlandic culture by spending time with local people. Accordingly, they stayed in an AirBnB as, for them, it signified greater interaction with local people.

5.2.1 Observations of the presentation of 'culture' to tourists

Situated atop one of Nuuk's rocky hilltops lies a cluster of brightly painted wooden huts. The inside is not dissimilar to that of the model traditional Greenlandic house interior on display at the National Museum. Upon the walls the Greenlandic skin drum is hung and the floors are lined with coarse Musk ox rugs. The sofa however, covered with seal skin hides, is a standard IKEA model. A stove is placed in the centre of the hut, modernised yet entirely functional, marking the entrance to the kitchen in which Le Creuset casserole dishes and Royal Copenhagen tableware are beautifully displayed. This presents an aesthetically pleasing marriage between Greenlandic and European design. The deliberate celebration of Greenlandic home wares throughout the AirBnB hut represents a rather staged tourist environment. Considering Goffman's classification it would appear that this tourist space is a 'front' region because of the deliberate accentuation of the traditional decorations. This type of arranged

tourist space is a visual representation of accentuated 'facts' or traits which are employed to match the anticipated experience in a particular environment (Goffman, 1959).

The situation changes in the evening however, in predominantly Greenlandic bars where the Danish community is found less frequently. It is in these kinds of establishments that the tourists became exposed to the peering eyes of the locals away from the safe environment of their AirBnB. Upon entering one of Nuuk's traditional Greenlandic bars the three tourists were greeted with a nod from the thin crowd of regulars and positioned themselves in a corner and spoke with each other in their native language. It was not long until locals sitting nearby realised that they were non Danish speakers and their words were mimicked in high voices followed by laughter and jeers. As the night wore on, a crowd formed around the table of newcomers, their white faces with expressions of shock and embarrassment as the locals prodded and stroked their cheeks. Unable to shake off the throng of enthusiastic locals the tourists found themselves in the centre of the stage.

Later still and the performance is in full swing; one of the tourists has become tangled up in a friendly embrace of women's arms. The pop music is booming, the locals are singing and the tourists grimace. It is not long until attention turns to the local women in the swarm as they leap up, arms flailing, and start to dance around the busy table, guffawing, singing and sending drinks flying. It's *their* show now. Interest in the tourist appears to have abruptly expired and the roles have taken a sharp turn. The women gallop around the table in high spirits and the tourists watch them with confusion, their faces a picture of horror, as they are pulled into the performance which spills onto the sticky dance floor.

Observing this scene from a distance it seems it is the tourist who becomes the 'mad behind the bars' that the locals peer at with interest (Maoz, 2006). Applying Goffman's theory of performativity the scene in the bar is a performance comprised of the actors on stage (the tourists), the audience (the locals) and a series of props used to contextualise the performance taking place. However throughout the bar scene the performance takes several plot twists as actor and audience roles are reversed. At the start of the interaction the tourists take centre stage, speaking in their native language to one another as the audience watches and listens. As the interaction continues it is the locals who become the actors. Throughout dancing and singing they demonstrate their own otherness in light of the newcomers.

Looking at this scenario from Butler's point of view we could suggest that rather than the local's verbal and nonverbal communication acts creating and defining their identities, it may be that these actions actually constitute an expression of their own identity in the presence of the tourists.

It would appear that by entering the bar one is entering the 'back' region of an unarranged presentation of Greenlandic culture, characterised as such by the traits that those arranged tourist scenes would not usually express in front of visitors. It is possible to suggest that these traits expressed by the local Greenlander do not necessarily match the type of interactions the tourists were looking for throughout their trip. Two of out the three tourists identified as Ethnophiles hoping to experience Greenlandic culture and spend time with local people. They reported that their expectations of experiencing culture were met to a degree of 80%. It is possible that was in large part due to the marriage of the two versions of Greenlandic culture which were presented to them; the arranged tourist space of the AirBnB adorned with traditional materials (the 'front' region) and their interaction with local people throughout the bar scene (the 'back' region).

We can however be critical when it comes to the importance of performance. For example when we apply Butler and Goffman's theories of performativity to these instances of participant observation we are looking only very narrowly into one instance of communication. Zooming into one circumstance such as this bar scene neglects other factors or variables which may influence the actors' communication. Indeed looking at 'performativity' is in itself perhaps rather shallow and as it fails to delve deeper into the wider surroundings of the location. For example in the bar scene the account does not document other factors about the space in which the performance takes place, which may influence the scenario, such as other visitors to the bar. Also neglected in this documentation of performativity is the potential impact of this very performance, in this case what happens in the bar once I have stopped documenting the interaction.

5.2.2 Tourists: the new colonisers or a symbol of economic stability?

It would appear then that depending on whether the locals see tourists as invaders or as useful forms of income they may frame their interaction with tourists positively or negatively. Thus the performance of the local changes, depending on the value of the audience. Since observing the bar scene I asked Lasse Kyed if locals might perceive tourists as invasive, perhaps as

symbols reminiscent of their colonial history. I was fairly surprised when he suggested a positive perception of visitors to Greenland:

They [tourists] are definitely not synonymous with the Danish [colonisers] and even Danish tourists are rather well liked. I think that especially the people working with tourism can differentiate between individuals who are here to experience Greenland and express their curiosity for understanding our ways, from the Danish Government as an entity and our controversial past. - (Personal interview, April 23, 2018)

The local performs differently in the front region compared to in the back region, accentuating different traits to create various realities of Greenland. In the front region, as beautifully presented to the tourists at the AirBnB, Lasse Kyed explains how the average local might perceive the tourist as a form of income:

I would definitely say that locals see tourists as a form of income, let's take the average dog sled musher in Ilulissat for example, he doesn't speak their language, which means the communication is very little, if any. But, he knows that if he takes these people out on his dog sled for a few hours he can get paid. There have also been quite a few workshops on entrepreneurship and most of the locals seem to want to work with tourism as they see a plethora of opportunities to create experiences for them and create a job for themselves - (Personal interview, April 23, 2018).

This suggests that tourists are well received by locals that are aware of the value that tourists can bring to the local economy. I also enquired about the extent to which he believed staying in an AirBnB in Nuuk represented an accurate idea of Greenlandic culture, to which he responded:

I believe it is a simplified picture [of Greenlandic culture] they gain, which isn't necessarily bad. They [the tourists] are most likely here to enjoy themselves, and experience something different than what they're used to. I believe most people will leave with great memories albeit a simplified picture of Greenland - (Personal interview, April 23, 2018).

Overall this suggests that the performance of the local in the presence of the tourists is closely linked to how valuable the tourist audience might be. This leads to Greenlandic culture being framed in two different ways. The first frame sees the tourist enter the front region in which traditional skins, Greenlandic drums and artefacts are presented to the tourist in an arranged tourist setting such as the AirBnB. This front region frame is financially valuable for the local to create, as this type of accommodation proved the most popular among survey respondents. The second frame sees the tourist step into the seemingly unarranged back region, the bar scene, which is where the local and the tourist come face to face. In this frame the tourist is of no

financial importance, so the local does not appear to demonstrate particular traits that should adhere to the traditional Greenlandic tourist experience.

5.3 The performance of the tourist

“How different sounds the voice of the traveller who sets out on the journey from that of the one who returns home, refreshed and highly influenced by the encounter with otherness” - (Quintana, 2014, p79)

Throughout destination images displayed in Visit Greenland’s nature frame the phrase “pioneer tourist” appears. As we discovered in Chapter four, Figure 4.4 50% culture seeking and 40% nature seeking tourists were inspired to a rate of 5.0 to visit Greenland having seen destination images of natural phenomena. These destination images are powerful tools which create frames in which a tourist may wish to locate their experience in Greenland. As destination images are absorbed by tourists, it may be that so is the idea of being a pioneer tourist. This may cause tourists to sort their interactions with locals into the frame of being a pioneer tourist as presented to them by Visit Greenland throughout their rigorous visual campaigns. So, I investigated the performativity of tourists in Nuuk in an attempt to address the following research questions:

5) How might expectations, generated by destination image, shape the performativity of a tourist?

- 5.1: How can tourists be seen to make use of social frames to understand their experience in Greenland?

5.3.1 “Be a Pioneering Tourist!”

The emergence of Visit Greenland’s ‘Pioneering Nation’ brand in 2010 has since expanded throughout its consistent application throughout external communication. This includes social media with the use of ‘#GreenlandPioneer’, the same slogan posted throughout Visit Greenland’s website and also in airports (Visit Greenland, 2016). The purpose of the ‘Pioneering Nation’ frame is to present Greenland as a product to tourists that will challenge their physical, cultural or intellectual limits, as they visit pastures new, as yet unscathed by groups of ‘mass’ tourists. Aviaja Lyberth of Visit Greenland sheds further light on the purpose of ‘Pioneering Nation’:

VG is focused on developing sustainable tourism rather than mass tourism. Our slogan is Be A Pioneering [Tourist] and it is an accurate representation of who comes to Greenland now. You have to have an adventurous heart to be travelling to this destination - and that's the kind of tourist we are trying to attract on the website.

- (Personal interview, March 21, 2018).

The mapping project documenting tourism trends from 2017 discovered that 30% of tourists wished to immerse themselves in the destination, a figure that had grown compared to 25% in previous years (Visit Greenland, 2018). Showing a keenness to immerse oneself in a destination might contribute towards explaining longer trip length and a desire to remain in one location for a longer period of time. In 2017 63% of Greenland's travellers stayed for 9 nights or more, considerably longer than previous years in which the average trip spanned 5-8 nights. Moreover, staying in one location appeared popular in 2017 as 62% of tourists remained in just one region of Greenland, a great difference compared to previous years where 52% chose to stay in one region only. This represents an increasing desire to immerse oneself into the surrounding natural or cultural environment (Visit Greenland, 2018).

Although I did not gather data on how long people's trips were, my survey revealed that 26% visited Nuuk only, while 50% visited other regions of Greenland, including but not limited to Sisimiut, Ilulissat, Maniitsoq and Kulusuk, and 24% visited Nuuk as well as another destination in Greenland. This signifies the engagement of tourists throughout the country and not only in the capital region or the more tourist dominated areas of western Greenland.

5.3.2 The performance of tourists within the Pioneer frame

To determine the level of immersion experienced by the tourist as part of the survey I asked: Which type of accommodation did you stay in during your trip to Greenland?

The survey revealed that regardless of whether the tourist was nature or culture seeking, a home stay is most common choice of accommodation (39%). This indicates the greatest proportion of tourists demonstrate an interest in immersing themselves with the locals as demonstrated in Figure 5.1.

Accommodation selected in Greenland

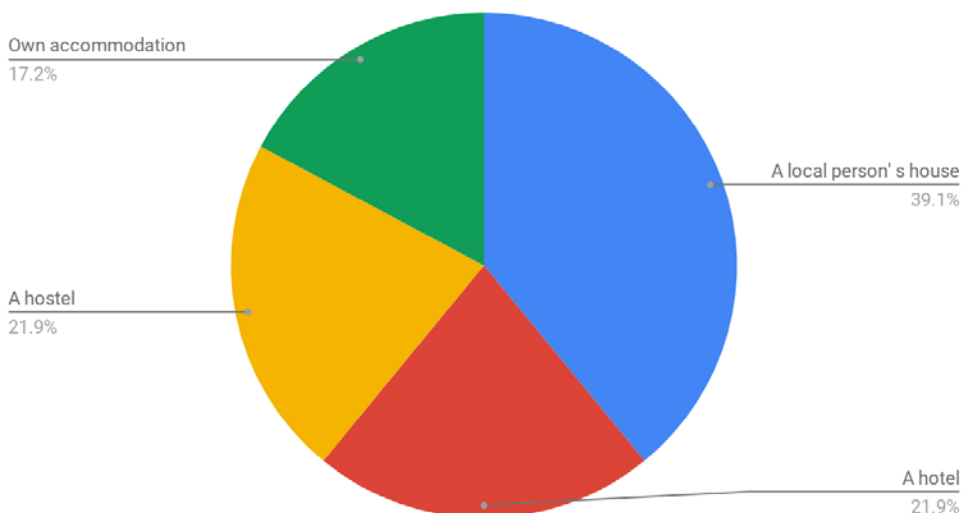


Figure 5.1. Displaying the overall types of accommodation survey respondents selected during their trip to Greenland.

A deeper insight into how the type of accommodation varies between nature and culture seeking tourists is displayed in Figures 5.2 and 5.3 representing the diversity of accommodation choice between the two types of tourists.

Nature seeking tourist accommodation

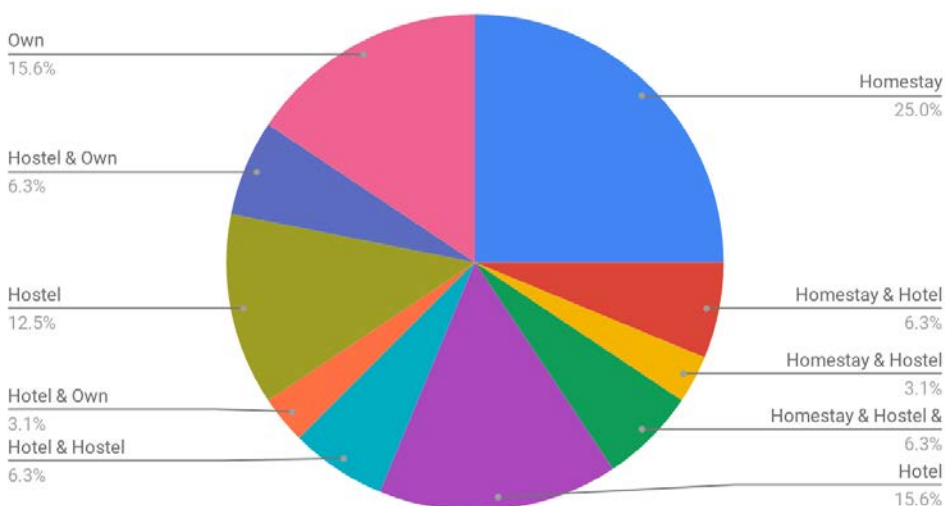


Figure 5.2. Displaying the type of accommodation nature seeking tourists used in Greenland.

While staying in a home stay was the most common choice of accommodation for one quarter of respondents, staying in one's own accommodation or a hotel (both 15.6%) proved the second most common options. That an equal amount of nature seeking tourists choose to stay in a hotel as their own accommodation surprises me, as the two accommodations indicate opposite levels of comfort. Whereas a hotel indicates the ultimate form of comfort, embellished with the

luxuries of running water and warmth, one's own accommodation (tent, van, boat etc) indicates more of a connection with the great outdoors and temporary disconnection from luxuries. Considering that 58% of tourists wished to experience 'connecting with pure nature' and hoped to 'do long day hikes, whale watching, mountain biking or kayaking' (42%) by associating with the *wilderness seeker* or *nature lover* market segments in my survey, it surprised me that few tourists stayed in their own accommodation exclusively (15.6%) and that this figure matched that of staying in a hotel.

Despite the expectation to immerse oneself in nature, as generated by engaging in the destination images, we can see that tourists perform quite differently when it comes to accommodation. This may confirm the idea that nature seeking tourists were not entirely able to execute their desired nature oriented expectations, which we saw in Chapter four, Figure 4.5, where we observed the rate of execution. Recalling that nature seeking tourists were generally 10% less able to execute their desired experiences than culture seeking tourists. One explanation for this is the weather as temperatures rarely exceed +11 degrees Celsius even in the height of the summer season. That may explain why staying in a hostel was the third most common choice (12.5%) as a middle ground between the comfort of a roof over one's head and affordability.

Culture seeking tourist accommodation

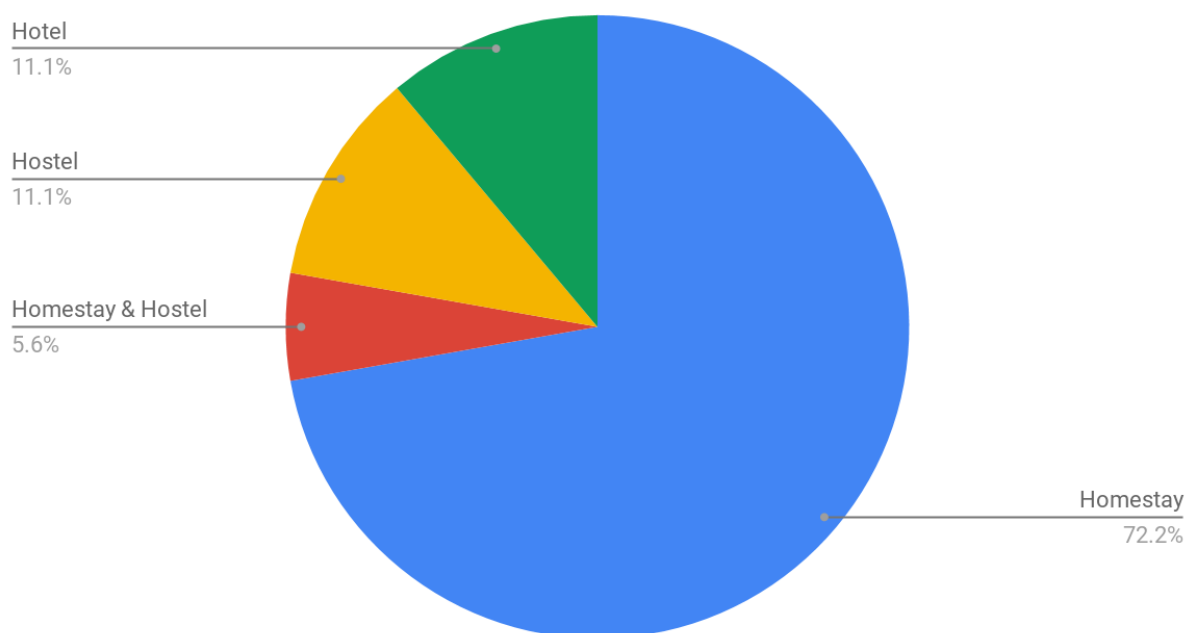


Figure 5.3. Displaying the type of accommodation culture seeking tourists used in Greenland.

Figure 5.3 displays a significantly less colourful array of accommodation. With a home stay being the most popular choice of accommodation (72.2%) it suggests that cultural tourists experienced what they were expecting by immersing themselves in local culture by staying at someone's home. This idea is confirmed by the fact that no cultural tourists stayed in their own accommodation, which would have indicated a desire to connect to nature. Thus, Figure 5.3 demonstrates how cultural tourists might be more able to execute their desired experiences, as we saw in Chapter four, Figure 4.5 displaying the rate of executed desired experiences.

However, an influential factor in this is also the price versus value balance. Accommodation for tourists throughout Nuuk and Greenland on the whole is not abundant and is thus expensive. The cost of a hotel room is not so different than that of a home stay or hostel room and platforms such as AirBnB and Couchsurfing tend to be popular, especially throughout Nuuk. Moreover, as Lasse Kyed suggested:

I think part of the reason the tourists in Nuuk stay in [an] AirBnB rather than the hotel is because the hotel's location means that there is always noise, it's right by the busiest street and the bars nearby can make it pretty loud. And I think tourists come to Greenland to get away from all the noise - (Personal interview, April 23, 2018).

Overall this suggests that among both nature and culture seeking tourists there is a keenness for immersion into local culture as the larger proportion of tourists opted for locally owned accommodation. This is not surprising considering that 40% selected that at least one of their desired experiences in Greenland was 'to spend time with local people', thus associating with the '*ethnophile*' market segment. Therefore we can suggest that by choosing to stay in a Home stay, tourists perform to a certain degree, as *ethnophiles* throughout their trip to Greenland as oppose to *wilderness seekers* or *nature lovers*.

This finding goes against the idea that tourists buy into the natural frame in which Greenland is framed, as it represents a disconnection between how the tourist expects to perform within the nature frame and how they actually do perform in a more cultural frame throughout their time in Greenland. Moreover such an accommodation preference suggests that tourists are performing increasingly as 'pioneer' tourists as they depart from the hotel style tourism in which everything is provided by the accommodation owner.

5.3.3 Sorting touristic experiences into the pioneer frame

In the Mapping Project Visit Greenland asked tourists in 2017 how they associated with '#GreenlandPioneer' and only 7% had heard of the phrase (Visit Greenland, 2018). This

suggests that despite the hash tag being well shared throughout social media, actual engagement with the frame was minimal. To gauge the extent to which tourists may have engaged with Visit Greenland's 'PioneerNation' frame, I asked: Throughout your trip to Greenland did you feel more like a Mass tourist (who follows current tourism trends) or a Pioneer tourist (who sets their own tourism trends)?

Rate of association with "pioneer tourist" label

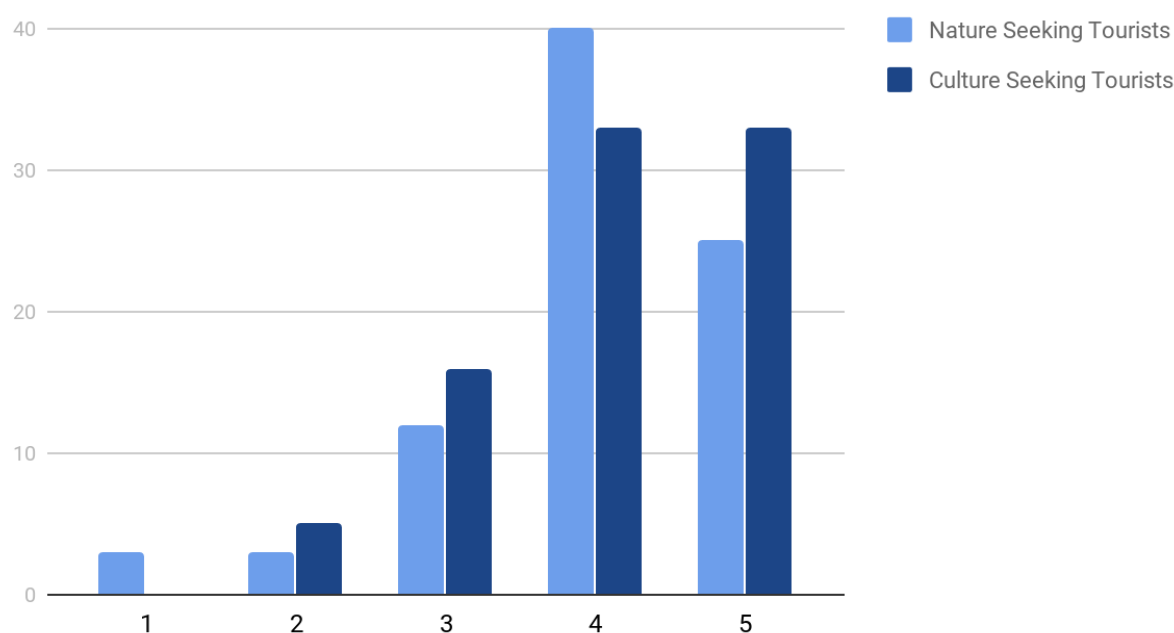


Figure 5.4. Rate of tourist association with the "pioneer tourist" label.

While the majority of nature seeking tourists reported that they felt like a pioneer tourist to a degree of 4.0 (40%) culture seeking tourists appeared to be more equally split between a rate of 4.0 and 5.0 (both 33%) yet overall displayed a greater connection to the pioneer label than nature seeking tourists (8% more). For this particular question a rate of 1.0 indicates no feeling of being a pioneer and a rate of 5.0 indicates feeling entirely like a pioneer. The most common rate of association to the pioneer label was 4.0, for both categories of tourists, which suggests that the majority of tourists are locating their experiences in Greenland within the pioneer frame to some degree. Moreover, this indicates that Visit Greenland have successfully created a pioneer frame in which tourists situate themselves to a relatively high degree regardless of whether they are culture or nature seeking tourists.

These figures represent a great deal more association with the pioneer tourist label than the timid 7% reported in the 2018 Mapping project.

Whereas some tourists were ‘on the fence’ about their self-classification of mass or pioneer tourist, others appeared more convinced about their position. Tourists that were situated on the pioneer end of the scale elaborated by suggesting:

People view Greenland as an impossibly difficult—if at all even possible—country to even visit, so don’t bother even to look into it. Most of my vacation destinations have originated from word of mouth—except for Greenland, where I had only ever known one person in my life who had ever been there. Never in my life have I had to dedicate so much time and energy just to plan 10-day trip to one country.

(Private communication, March 2018)

This indicates an experience that has taken place within the pioneer tourist frame, which sees one feature of being a pioneer is that one must plan their own trip independent of organisations who make arrangements for you (as is often the case in mass tourism). Thus it might well be that the lack of other tourists and seeming lack of comprehensive tourist infrastructure reproduces Visit Greenland’s Pioneering Nation frame in which many tourists locate their experience.

As for those who reported that they felt neither a mass nor a pioneer tourist, by selecting ‘3’ it may be that they were unsure of the definition of each category or just did not wish to categorise themselves into any such categorisation (12% for nature seeking tourists and 16% for culture respectively). Moreover it might be the case that those who consider themselves more as a mass tourist may feel so because they travel within a larger group.

To explain the lack of engagement between visitors and the idea of being a pioneer tourist, let us consider the value of the pioneer label itself in relation to Greenland. The idea of being a ‘pioneer’ is widely accepted to recognise the first people to discover or settle upon a new land or area. This label brings with it the connotations of ownership and possession of the land, which may not sit well with Greenlanders. Since the adoption of Home Rule in 1979 Greenland takes steps towards full independence from Denmark. We must consider that Greenland is an exceptionally proud land with even prouder people who will not necessarily enjoy the idea of tourists wanting to claim the land of their ancestors and use it for their own touristic pleasures.

Likewise many tourists, particularly those who are knowledgeable about Greenland's cultural heritage may be less likely to associate themselves with the #Greenlandpioneer label. This might be the case for the 5% cultural tourists who associated the least with the pioneer tourist label.

In addition perhaps there is irony to be found in asking tourists whether they engage with the pioneer tourist label in the capital city. Throughout my investigation I came to realise that those who really considered themselves the ultra-pioneers were in Eastern Greenland where there are no other tourists, less tourism infrastructure and touristic services. This may help to explain why tourists who were asked about their relationship with the idea of being pioneer, both by Visit Greenland during their 2017 mapping project and my own research, appeared disconnected.

Chapter six - Conclusive Findings

For ease of returning to the research questions coherently this Chapter will lay out each research question and provide a clear response. After the research questions have been answered I present further research avenues for fellow Greenland enthusiasts to explore.

1) How have the motivations for tourists visiting Greenland in 2012 since shaped Visit Greenland's choice of online destination image?

We saw in Chapter four it was the 2013 visitor survey report which recognised how nature was the main motivational factor driving them to Greenland, particularly natural phenomena such as the Northern Lights. This realisation led to market segmentation in which Greenland became visually framed in certain ways towards potential tourists. This saw Visit Greenland project various frames of Greenland towards four main market segments: the Globetrotter, the Sightseer, the Nature Lover and the Nature Appreciator which eventually grew into 11 more nuanced varieties of tourist profiles. It was revealed in the 2013 visitor survey report that irrespective of market segment, experiencing nature was the most prominent motivating factor driving tourism to Greenland with culture being the least prominent respectively. This led Visit Greenland to emphasise the supply of nature on offer to tourists by placing, proportionally, more nature themed destination images on the landing page of visitgreenland.com. This provides website visitors with the impression that Greenland is a predominantly natural destination.

2) What role might destination images play in forming a tourist's expectation of a place?

- *44% entirely inspired to visit Greenland by destination images of natural phenomena including: the Northern lights, icebergs, glaciers, snow topped mountains and the midnight sun.*

Considering the majority of tourists expressed desire to engage in nature themed activities, by associating as nature seeking tourists (64%) and that most images on the Visit Greenland webpage are nature themed, I was surprised that culture seeking tourists were more inspired by natural destination images. It appears that even culture seeking tourists, who do not necessarily anticipate nature oriented experiences in Greenland, are still inspired to visit by such destination images.

3) How might Visit Greenland be seen to create a nature oriented frame of the destination through its display of destination images?

As outlined in Chapter four there is an imbalance in the amount of nature versus culture themed mini clips. This creates a natural frame in which trips to Greenland are framed and Visit Greenland website users enter this frame when they browse the website. Where the website displays around 30 shots of outdoor activities, only four take place inside representing cultural activities. Therefore it is likely that website users (potential tourists) observe these images which form the basis of their expectations of what trips to Greenland entail. And let's not forget that Visit Greenland's website does play an important role when it comes to shaping the ideas of potential tourists as 74% of visitors to Greenland consult their website when organising a trip to Greenland.

Sub question 3.1) To what extent did tourists actually engage in/ experience this frame?

- *Culture seeking tourists engaged in both culture and nature activities (92%) whereas nature seeking tourists significantly less likely to partake in culture and nature activities (46%).*

For culture seeking tourists, we found in Chapter four Figure 4.6 a correlation between inspiration by nature oriented destination images to a rate of 5.0 and splitting time equally between nature and culture experiences (38%). Irrespective of inspiration due to destination images, the overwhelming majority of cultural tourists reported splitting their time equally between nature and culture (83%). Therefore culture seekers engaged in the natural frame to a certain degree, perhaps because they were disappointed with the cultural activities on offer, or were positively surprised by the array of natural activities. This suggests culture seeking tourists may have actually participated in more nature activities than culture activities, revealing a potential gap in the array of cultural activities on offer to tourists.

On the other hand 17% of culture seekers engaged in purely cultural activities, which is a surprisingly low number considering Figure 4.5 showed us that culture seeking tourists reported a rate of execution 10% greater than that of nature seeking tourists.

For nature seeking tourists on the other hand Figure 4.7 showed us that 46% were inspired by destination images of natural phenomena to a rate of 5.0. Of that group the largest portion of tourists (25%) reported spending 100% of their time in Greenland on nature activities. This represents a very high correlation between expected activities based on nature images and

experiences suggesting a large proportion of nature seeking tourists to Greenland are locating their experience within a natural frame. Regardless of how inspiring the destination images proved to be, 46% nature seekers divided their time between nature and culture activities equally, indicating either disappointment with the nature activities on offer or positive surprise at the ability to engage in some cultural activities.

4) How do perceptions of tourists shape the performativity of a Greenlander in the presence of tourists?

Chapter five showed us how the performance of the local in the presence of the tourists is closely linked to how valuable the tourist audience might be. Accounts of participant observation in two different settings enabled us to see how interaction between the local and the tourist provides the tourist with a different presentation of Greenlandic culture. Overall we learned that the general perception of the tourist in Nuuk is positive and that despite Nuuk's colonial history, prospects of a growing tourist population is not considered a threat.

Sub question 4.1) How might locals frame their interactions with the tourist?

- *“Most of the locals seem to want to work with tourism as they see a plethora of opportunities to create experiences for them and create a job for themselves” - (Personal interview, April 23, 2018).*

Locals frame their interactions with tourists differently depending on whether the tourist is presented as an item of economic value. Chapter five displayed two scenes taking place in different environments, both of which include interaction between the local and the tourist to varying degrees. The scene in the ‘front’ region took place upon the AirBnB stage in which traditional Greenlandic culture traits are enhanced in front of the tourist.

In this setting, the local is likely to see tourists as a form of income and may frame their interaction as financially valuable, which contrasts to the second scene in which the tourists and locals interact in a neutral space, a public house. In this second scene the tourist is of no economic value to the locals and does not deliberately accentuate any traditional traits which would adhere to the Greenlandic tourist experience. Thus, in this ‘back region’ the tourist is of no financial importance, so the local does not appear to demonstrate particular traits that should adhere to the traditional Greenlandic tourist experience.

Having applied performativity theories from Goffman and Butler to understand the communication between the Greenlander and the tourist we began to understand the expression of identity in the presence of the other. However we must also be critical in regards to the spatial limitation of this participant observation. This study has only looked into one account of interaction on a micro scale that occurs in one place at one time, so limits applicability of the findings.

5) How might expectations, generated by destination image, shape the performativity of a tourist?

- *A home stay is the most common choice of accommodation across both groups of tourists throughout Greenland (39%).*

Addressing the findings from Chapter four, Figure 4.4, we found that the general trend was to be inspired to visit Greenland to a rate of 5.0 by seeing destination images of natural phenomena, specifically; 40% nature seeking tourists and 50% culture seeking tourists. This would indicate that destination images had formed some kind of expectations in the mind of the tourist which relate to immersing oneself in nature. Moreover considering that 58% of tourists wished to experience ‘connecting with pure nature’ and hoped to ‘do long day hikes, whale watching, mountain biking or kayaking’ (42%) by associating with the *wilderness seeker* or *nature lover* market segments in my survey, it would appear that tourists show yet more keenness to immerse themselves in nature.

I had thought that these factors would be reflected in the tourists’ choice of accommodation too, especially for nature seekers. Therefore the results displayed in Chapter five, Figure 5.2, surprised me by demonstrating how few tourists stayed in their own accommodation exclusively (15.6%) and that this figure matched that of staying in a hotel. Thus despite expectations formed by nature themed destination images, and despite expressing interest in nature activities, nature seeking tourists performed differently than anticipated by opting to stay in home stays and hotels over their own accommodation.

Culture seeking tourists on the other hand performed as expected, with 72.2% opting for a home stay as shown in Figure 5.3 Cultural tourists experienced what they were expecting by immersing themselves in local culture by staying at someone’s home and this demonstrates

how cultural tourists might be more able to execute their desired experiences, as we saw in Chapter four, Figure 4.5

Sub question 5.1) How can tourists be seen to make use of social frames to understand their experience in Greenland?

- *40% associate with the frame “GreenlandPioneer”*

Chapter five, Figure 5.4, demonstrated how the largest portion of nature seeking tourists felt like a pioneer tourist to a degree of 4.0 (40%) while culture seeking tourists appeared to be more equally split between a rate of 4.0 and 5.0 (both 33%) yet overall displayed a greater connection to the pioneer label than nature seeking tourists (8% more). The most common rate of association to the pioneer label was 4.0, for both categories of tourists, which suggests that the majority of tourists are locating their experiences in Greenland within the pioneer frame to some degree. These findings tell us that tourists are using social frames, in this case the pioneer frame created by Visit Greenland, to give meaning and understanding to their trip.

6.1 Reflections and Further avenues for research

This study merely scratched the surface of the power of destination images and the expectations they pose in the mind of the tourist, so it can be considered a sneak peek into a broader field of research. As mentioned earlier this study was based upon fifty survey responses only and I would like to outline that to improve the validity of this study a greater sample size would need to be obtained. One way of doing so would be to consider alternative methodological approaches. This may include spending a longer period of time in the field and making use of a research partner, both of which might enable a higher volume of surveys to be distributed. Alternatively, one on one interviews could be carried out with individual tourists to extract more precise information which cannot be gleaned from survey responses. Despite the relatively small sample size the data gathered in this study was formulated into a report which was presented to Visit Greenland. The data which appears in the report has thus been useful for the organisation to reflect on their use of images on their website and reconsider just how powerful the images are in forming expectations in the mind of the tourist.

With that being said, my time spent at Visit Greenland also provided this study with insider knowledge of the local tourism scene which was most likely otherwise unobtainable. Greenland’s tourist scene appears to be expanding, with infrastructural advances such as the expansion of airports in Nuuk, Ilulissat, and Qaqortoq and the growing supply of AirBnB accommodation. Air Greenland has increased the volume of flights provided between

Greenland, Reykjavik and Copenhagen seasonally, to accommodate the larger volumes of incoming tourists. Additionally Nuuk's new quayside visitor centre shall be completed by the end of the summer season in 2018 increasing the docking capacity of cruise ships from one to three at a time. Despite better connectivity between Greenland and the rest of the world it is still a long and expensive journey for tourists to make to this 'last frontier' of Arctic civilisation.

While this study looked at the relationship between the 11 existing market segments as identified by Visit Greenland I do think there is one category which deserves more attention. This is the category of the overworked, over connected, exhausted contemporary (western) worker. As the stresses of connectivity build upon the shoulders of the modern workforce it is likely to be increasingly important to explore contemporary push factors which drive the connected urbanite away from the metropolitan rat race daily life and into the (Greenlandic or otherwise) wilderness. As mentioned in Chapter two, Section 2.3.1, it was not within this study's scope to investigate push factors which encourage a visitor to escape their daily lives and travel to Greenland, yet escapism towards wilderness destinations is something which I believe deserves further research.

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Appendix

1. Survey - Expectations Versus Experiences

1. Which of the below were you most hoping to experience on your trip to Greenland?

Check all that apply.

- To connect to pure nature (wilderness seeker)
- To appreciate natural attractions from a boat, helicopter or land vehicle (nature appreciator)
- To do long day hikes, whale watching, mountain biking or kayaking (nature lover)
- To push oneself to physical limits seldom attempted by others (extreme adventurer)
- To spend time hunting, fishing, bird watching or taking photographs (special interest adventurer)
- To appreciate historically relevant landmarks (culture appreciator)
- To gain a new perspective of one's self by observing another culture (culture lover)
- To spend time with local Greenlandic people (ethnophile)
- To discover a place untouched by modernity (authenticity seeker)

Other:

2. Once in Greenland to what extent were you able to execute these experiences?

Circle only one figure from 1-5

1 2 3 4 5

1= Not at all

5= Very much so

3. To what extent were you inspired to visit Greenland by the photographs you had seen of natural phenomena such as the Northern lights, icebergs, glaciers, snow topped mountains and the midnight sun?

Circle only one figure from 1-5

1 2 3 4 5

1= Not at all

5= Very much so

4. Overall, how was your time split between nature-based and cultural-based experiences?

Place cross next to one only

Purely nature activities

Purely culture activities

A mix of nature and culture

Neither of the two

Other:

5. Once enticed to organise a trip to Greenland where did you search for inspiration or information? Please select all relevant options.

Check all that apply.

- Visit Greenland's website
- Personal or professional blogs about Greenland
- A Local travel agent
- Tripadvisor
- Travel guides (Lonely Planet, Rough guide etc)

Other:

6. Which type of accommodation did you stay in during your trip to Greenland? Select all relevant options.

Check all that apply.

- A local person's house (via AirBnB, or other platforms)
- A hostel
- A hotel
- Your own accommodation eg: tent, car, van etc.

Other:

7. Throughout your trip to Greenland did you feel more like a Mass tourist (who follows current tourism trends) or a Pioneer tourist (who sets their own tourism trends)?

Circle only one figure from 1-5

1 2 3 4 5

1= Feeling more like a mass tourist

5= Feeling more like a pioneer tourist

8. Overall, how well did your trip to Greenland meet your expectations?

Mark only one oval.

1 2 3 4 5

1 = It was

disappointing

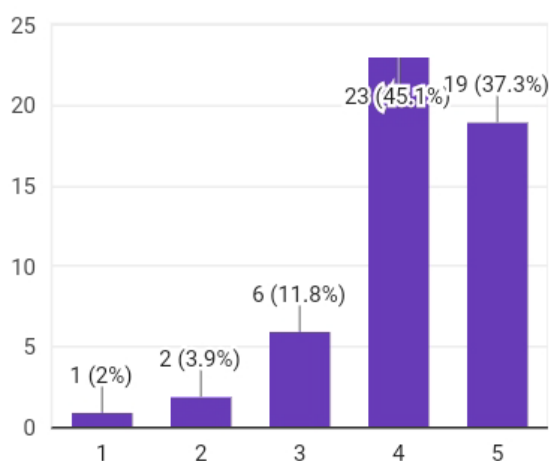
5 = It was everything we hoped for and more

Data Sets

Question 1: Which of the below were you most hoping to experience on your trip to Greenland?

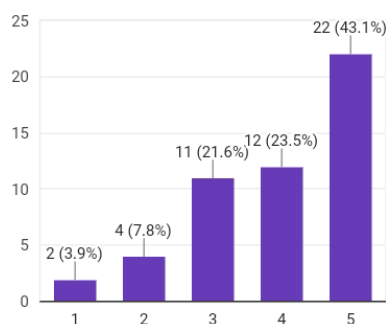
- To connect to pure nature (wilderness seeker) – 30 (58.8%)
- To appreciate natural attractions from a boat, helicopter or land vehicle (nature appreciator) – 19 (37.3%)
- To do long day hikes, whale watching, mountain biking or kayaking (nature lover) – 22 (43.1%)
- To push oneself to physical limits seldom attempted by others (extreme adventurer) – 5 (9.8%)
- To spend time hunting, fishing, bird watching or taking photographs (special interest – 16 (31.4%) adventurer)
- To appreciate historically relevant landmarks (culture appreciator) 12 (23.5%)
- To gain a new perspective of one's self by observing another culture (culture lover) 15 (29.4%)
- To spend time with local Greenlandic people (ethnophile) -21 (41.2%)
- To discover a place untouched by modernity (authenticity seeker) 17 – (33.3%)

Question 2: Once in Greenland to what extent were you able to execute these experiences?



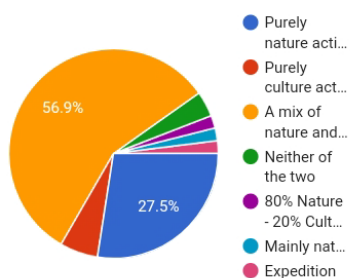
Question 3: To what extent were you inspired to visit Greenland by the photographs you had seen of natural phenomena such as the Northern lights, icebergs, glaciers, snow topped

mountains and the midnight sun?



To what extent were you inspired to visit Greenland by the photographs you had seen of natural phenomena such as the Northern lights, icebergs, glaciers, snow topped mountains and the midnight sun? To what extent were you inspired to visit Greenland by the photographs you had seen of natural phenomena such as the Northern lights, icebergs, glaciers, snow topped mountains and the midnight sun?

Question 4: Overall how was your time split between nature – based and culture- based experiences?



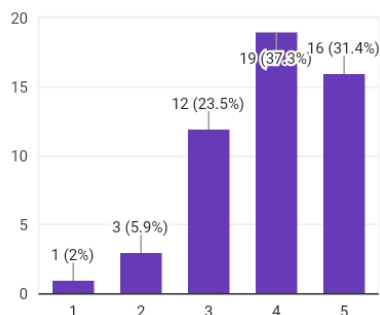
Question 5: Once enticed to organise a trip to Greenland where did you search for inspiration or information? Please select all relevant options.

- Visit Greenland's website – 38 (74.5%)
- Personal or professional blogs about Greenland – 20 (39.25%)
- A Local travel agent – 5 (9.8%)
- Tripadvisor -2 (3.9%)
- Travel guides (Lonely Planet, Rough guide etc) – 2 (3.9%)
- Other – 12 (24%)

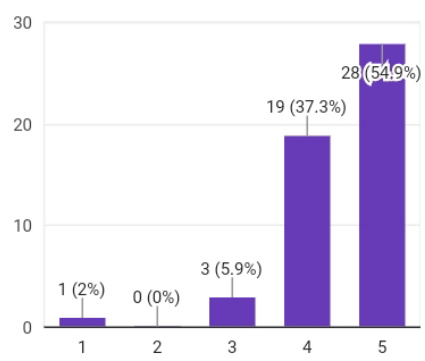
Question 6: Which type of accommodation did you stay in during your trip to Greenland? Select all relevant options.

- A local person's house (via AirBnB or alternative platform) – 25 (50%)
- A hostel – 15 (30%)
- A hotel – 13 (26%)
- Your own accommodation (car, van, tent, boat etc) – 9 (18%)
- Other – 5 (10%)

Question 7: Throughout your trip to Greenland did you feel more like a Mass tourist (who follows current tourism trends) or a Pioneer tourist (who sets their own tourism trends)?



Question 8: Overall, how well did your trip to Greenland meet your expectations?



2. Interview with one of Visit Greenland's tourism consultant, Aviaja Lyberth, March 21st 2018.

How have the motivations for tourists visiting Greenland in 2012 since shaped Visit Greenland's choice of online destination image?

1) In your opinion what role do images play in forming a tourist's expectation of a place?

It plays an important role. The current visitgreenland.com is designed to be as visually pleasing as possible, while also being helpful. Visit Greenland has been collecting photos of pretty much all of the destinations and popular experiences in Greenland in a long time. We have had an in-house photographer for several years, who have been making sure to fill in gaps of missing photos on our database. We now have a videographer, who also make sure that we have as much visual materials as possible, in all of our channels. We do not create content unless we have the visuals for it.

2) On a very broad scale, what kind of picture is VG trying to paint in the mind of the tourist about Greenland?

We try to paint a realistic picture of the Greenland that they are going to experience when visiting - mostly with the texts that we use on the website - but also in the visuals. We strive to be as helpful as possible without neglecting to show the impressive visuals. Mainly, we show Greenland as an adventure destination. Lately, we have been focusing on creating helpful content since we have more than enough 'beautiful' materials.

3) Since 2012 and the establishment of market segments, it appears certain images are directed towards certain segments, why is this?

We try to accommodate as many types of potential tourists as possible in our content. As a Tourist Board, we also present all of the operators in Greenland on the website. One of the main goals for the website is to direct the visitors to the operators domains.

4) Since the 2012 Visitor survey report it seems like nature has been the most important motivational factor encouraging tourists to come to Greenland. Does Visit Greenland reflect that in their decision of destination images or do they try to incorporate more cultural images to reach a balance?

We try to balance it for sure; our newsletter (which purpose is to generate traffic to the website) is also divided into segments: culture-interested, nature-interested and the mix of both. It is also to make sure that our content on the website is balanced between segments.

But as I mentioned before, we are making more of helpful content lately; for example the "How to-videos" (you can ask Arina and Aningaaq more about this project) and the infographics, not focusing so much on whether they are nature-based or the culture-based, but make them generally helpful when you are planning a trip to Greenland.

5) By using a balance of images of nature and culture on the website, which kind of tourists is VG trying to attract? Mass tourists or pioneer tourists? Do you think VG is successful in doing this?

VG is focused on developing sustainable tourism rather than mass tourism. Our slogan is Be A Pioneering (Tourist) and it is a accurate representation of who comes to Greenland now. You have to have an adventurous heart to be travelling to this destination - and that's the kind of tourist we are trying to attract on the website. It does not mean that we are not interested in developing tourism, especially when there are infrastructural large-scale projects going on in Greenland. But the focus is on *sustainable* for sure.

6) Could there be a financial motivation for advertising more nature themed activities which tend to be more expensive for the customer?

The reason that the advertising materials seem nature-heavy can also be because of what is available here in Greenland. There are many more operators that sell nature-based tours than there are cultural-based tours. One of our goals is to find more operators that do sell cultural-based tours and make them more visible on the website.

7) There is a vision in which by 2025 the tourism industry would be (OBS: one of the 3 leading industries) a leading industry for the country - how close do you think VG is to that goal?

VG is as of now, far from that goal - we have not set up goals for how much tourism will be contributing to the economy in 2025, but we are far from being the leading industry in the country by then.

3. Interview with Lasse Kyed, Nuuk tourism entrepreneur, April 2018.

1) From a financial perspective - The overwhelming majority of tourists to Nuuk stay in an AirBnB rather than a hotel. This indicates that local people are aware of the financial benefit of tourists, is this the case, do locals see tourists as a form of income?

1. *Yes, I would definitely say that locals see tourists as a form of income. I think part of the reason the tourists in Nuuk stay in AirBnB rather than the hotel is because the hotels location means that there is always noise, it's right by the busiest street and the bars nearby can make it pretty loud. And I think tourists come to Greenland to get away from all the noise. There have also been quite a few workshops on entrepreneurship and most of the locals seem to want to work with tourism as they see a plethora of opportunities to create experiences for them and create a job for themselves that they love.*

Let's take the average dog sled musher in Ilulissat for example, he doesn't speak their language, which means the communication is very little, if any. But, he knows that if he takes these people out on his dogsled for a few hours he can get paid.

2) Staying in an AirBnB is intended to indicate some kind of immersion of the tourist into local culture. Do you think that by staying in an AirBnB in Nuuk a tourist is actually getting an accurate idea of Greenlandic culture? Or might it be more of a framed, simplified and idealised version of Greenlandic culture?

I believe that to get an accurate idea of Greenlandic culture you need to spend a lot more time in the country than the average tourist does today. And it of course depends on the airbnb, and how much they interact with the locals. But yes, i believe it is a simplified picture they gain, which isn't necessarily bad. They (the tourists) are most likely here to enjoy themselves, and experience something different than what they're used to. I believe most people will leave with great memories albeit a simplified picture of Greenland.

3) Do locals tend to like the tourists? Or do they find them intrusive? Are they synonymous with Danish people? Are they perceived as invaders that only remind locals of Nuuk's colonial history?

I would say yes, mostly. Maybe slightly intrusive when the larger cruise ships come to the smaller villages. They are definitely not synonymous with the Danish people and even Danish tourists are rather well liked. I think that especially the people working with tourism can differentiate between individuals who are here to experience Greenland and express their curiosity for understanding our ways, from the Danish Government as an entity and our controversial past.

4. Additional communication with Tourists

Q1: Which kind of experience primarily encouraged you to visit Greenland?

“I think that you are missing perhaps the largest reason why many are compelled to go so far out of their way to inconveniently visit Greenland (me included): because everyone grows up seeing this massive island, which on a mercator map projection looks bigger than Africa, covered by ice, not knowing anyone who has ever been there, and then see that there are actual towns on the map, and really want to know what Greenland is like and what life is like living there!”

Q2: Overall, how well did your trip to Greenland meet your expectations?

“people view Greenland as an impossibly difficult—if at all even possible—country to even visit, so don’t bother even to look into it. Most of my vacation destinations have originated from word of mouth—except for Greenland, where I had only ever known one person in my life who had ever been there-“