SPATIAL VISIBILITY OF GREENLANDERS IN AALBORG DENMARK.

MASTER THESIS

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Preface

During the studies of my master degree in Spatial Planning and Development I have established a keen interest in how heterogeneous groups coexist and share the public spaces of cities. As students of spatial planning we are taught to pay attention to human practises within the environments they live in, and generate knowledge from that interaction. For the period of my master thesis course, I was based in Danish city of Aalborg which is also why I have decided to write my work about communities and issues fundamental to the city.

This study focuses on the visibility of the Greenlandic community in Aalborg by particularly looking at the places and social gatherings of Greenlanders. This thesis was written in a collaboration with the Greenlandic House in Aalborg[1], meaning, while I am the sole author, the Greenlandic House has assisted by providing information into broader picture on socio-economic conditions of Greenlanders in Aalborg.

[1] https://dgh-aalborg.dk/

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Acknowledgements

There are so many that I wish to thank for their support. Writing is by default an isolating process. Writing in self-isolation adds additional walls, thus all the acknowledgements are given twofold.

I will start by thanking the ten participants that shared their stories with me. It would be impossible to write this work without their input and willingness to partake.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Cities today have become socially and ethnically heterogeneous places where different groups are bound by sharing spaces. This in turn raises questions about how are the values and socio-economical condition of these different migrant communities represented in the urban spaces. The visibility and representation of minority groups in urban spaces first and foremost deal with the recognition of their existence in a city. As noted by Brigheti (2007, p.7), "For racial and sexual minorities, being invisible means being deprived of recognition." Expanding on Brigheti's (2007) argument, minority groups' visibility informs on the socio-economic conditions and practices of migrant communities when settling into the new environment. It further draws attention to the power relationships between the minority group and the host society. This becomes a more important issue to reflect on when dealing with postcolonial migrant communities. It draws attention to how post-colonial consequences manifest themselves in the every-day life of these communities midst settling down in their new environment (Oostindie, 2012). One of the such cases can be found in Denmark by looking at the Greenlandic community. Consequential to colonial relationships, all Greenlanders are Danish citizens and Danish culture has established its presence in Greenland through media, language and education. Danish citizenship and familiarity with Danish culture induces many Greenlanders to move to Denmark to escape poverty or to seek better employment and education opportunities (Terpstra, 2015, p.87-95). Hence, in this thesis I will focus on the Danish city of Aalborg and the Greenlandic community living there in order to contribute to a wider debate about the representation of minority community in cities, particularly those, dealing with colonial past.

Greenland is one of the former two colonies of Denmark. In 1953 Greenland's colonial status was abolished and instead it became an integral part of Danish state's territory and all the Greenlanders acquired Danish citizenship. Currently there are around 16,566 Greenlanders living in Denmark (Statistics, Greenland, 2019). Of this number, 47% of Greenlanders in Denmark are settled in the five biggest urban centres (Copenhagen, Aarhus, Aalborg, Odense and Esbjerg) which can be explained by the exceeding opportunities for employment and education

compared to smaller cities or rural areas (Socialstyrelsen, 2014). The city of Aalborg shares a particular role in the relationships between Greenland and Denmark as all the goods that are transported to Denmark from Greenland come through the Aalborg harbour. Furthermore, while Aalborg is the 3rd largest city of Denmark with the total population of 217,075 (Statistics Denmark, 2020), it follows Copenhagen in the number of Greenlanders living in Danish cities reaching to 1,337 (Terpstra, 2015, page.79).

One way of studying the characteristics and socio-economic condition of Greenlandic community in Aalborg is by focusing on their visibility in urban spaces as it can display the conditions of the Greenlandic community when settling in Denmark, through the nature of the interactions with the urban spaces.

Eross (2014, p.2) defines visibility as follows:

> Visibility is spatial representation of minority. Minority visibility serves as a glue: it strengthens the intra-group cohesion and broadcasts a more or less simplified picture about the community. At the same time it proves the existence of the minority group in front of the outside world. This is what makes the renovation of a church, the maintenance of a minority school or the organization of a cultural event important: it is a symbol of the presence and emphasizes faith in future existence.

Eross (2014) definition sets broad premises for the studies of spatial visibility e.g. through physical structures, institutions or social events. In this thesis, I chose to focus on places where the social gatherings occur, as opposed to institutional representation where the minorities are represented through third parties, social gatherings fundamentally draw on the subjective experiences and practices of minority through their interaction and use of public spaces (Cancellieri and Ostanel, 2015). Social gathering places according to Oldenburg (1999, p.45, p.45) are 'third places' (Oldenburg, 1999) that Oldenburg (1999, p.45, p.45) defines as "gathering places of informal public life." Thus, in the context of this study the places of social gatherings

are those places associated with Greenlandic minority, where Greenlanders meet in Aalborg city, thus becoming visible. During the initial meetings with the Greenlandic House representatives, we identified three most notable places where the Greenlandic community gathers: the Greenlandic House, Kennedy square and the Greenlandic National Day celebration at the Aalborg Zoo. All of these three places will be discussed in more detail in the results section, but fundamentally these three places are the most notable spaces where Greenlanders become visible in the city of Aalborg. Furthermore, these places indicate and display practices and socio-cultural conditions of Greenlandic group in Aalborg as a community with a colonial past. Despite being Danish citizens many experience difficulties settling in and adjusting to the social, cultural and economic environment. (Terpstra, 2015, p.77 and 113). Studying these places and the personal experiences of the Greenlandic community related to them, can shine light into how this community organizes themselves in Aalborg.

Hence, the aim of this thesis is to explore the spatial visibility of the Greenlandic community in Aalborg by particularly focusing on the different meanings of the most notable Greenlandic places and social gatherings. Additionally, I set to explore the personal feelings of Greenlanders towards these spatial visibilities and practices.

I have set the following research questions to meet the aim of this thesis:

1. How does the Greenlandic community relate to three notable places of spatial visibility in Aalborg in terms of personal experiences and practices?
2. Is spatial visibility a matter of concern for the Greenlandic community in Aalborg and why?
3. How do aspects of spatial visibility relate to broader socio-political issues of Greenlandic community in Aalborg?

The scientific goal of this research is to contribute to the wider debate in the urban studies field about the spatial visibility of minority groups. As ethnic segregation increases across multicultural cities, the societal goal is to address the issues of democratic and socially

sustainable urban planning practices in cities through studying spatial visibility as an indicator into broader socio-economic issues.

THE OUTLINE OF THE THESIS

This thesis consists of the following chapters. Chapter 2 focuses on the context of the study, where a reader can familiarize herself with the important details regarding the relationships between Denmark and Greenland. The Chapter 3 deals with the theoretical framework where I engage with the theoretical concepts applicable to this study. Following is the chapter 4 that reviews the relevant literature, in order to draw parallels with my research. Chapter 5 draws on the methodological considerations where a reader is introduced to the methods employed for this thesis. Additionally, this chapter contains reflections on limitations and ethical considerations. Chapter 6 presents the results from data analysis and also a reader is introduced to the three aforementioned social gathering places of the Greenlandic community in Aalborg. In the chapter 7, I discuss the results in the context of the theoretical concepts and reviewed literature. Chapter 8 presents conclusions where I reflect on the results and discuss the future implications for this research. Finally, the thesis ends with a reference list laying out the academic work and information sources used to support this thesis.

2. GREENLAND-DENMARK RELATIONSHIPS: COLONIAL HISTORY

It is necessary to give an account of the historical and present relationships between Denmark and Greenland in order to shine light into broader issues that are relevant for this study. It is beyond the scope and the capacity of this thesis to comprehensively explain and attend to every development phase in the relationship between the two countries, however, I will briefly review the key development points of their history.

Greenland is the biggest island in the world with a total population amounting to 56,000 inhabitants (Statistics Greenland, 2019). It is a self-governing territory within the Danish

Kingdom. Inuit are the indigenous people of Greenland and vast majority of 98 % of Greenlanders are Inuit (IWGIA, 2020). Greenlandic Inuit have different visual appearance from Danish mainstream society, which makes them more visible and recognizable in Denmark. The capital of Greenland is Nuuk which is home to 32% of the total population of the country. 81% of Greenland's territory is covered in ice, thus, most of the settlements in Greenland are based around the coastline. Due to the absence of roads among the settlements the only option to commute between many towns is by water or air. Fishing is the biggest industry in the country accounting for one third of the revenue. Apart from fishing, the employment in the country also heavily depends on tourism and hunting sectors (Statistics Greenland, 2019). Due to the limited industry development, Greenland depends on Denmark for financial support aid which is received as the annual block grant amounting to 35% of Greenland's yearly income (Grydehøj, 2016).

The relationships between Greenland and Denmark date all the way back to the Viking age of the 14th century, however, it was during the 18th century that the Danish interest towards Greenland grew, mainly motivated by religious ambition (Sørensen, 2009, p. 11). In 1721 Danish colonial presence in Greenland was established and Greenland was considered under the rule of the Danish Crown. Many Danes moved to Greenland during the second half of the 18th century to work in the fields of education, health and industry. Furthermore, the migration pattern was reciprocal as during the 18th century there were many Greenlanders who moved to Denmark, to pursue education. As a result of the increased mobility between Greenland and Denmark, there are many children that have one parent from Denmark and one from Greenland. Both Greenlandic and Danish languages are used (Terpstra, 2015, ch.6).

Notable changes between the two countries took place after the WW2. During the WW2, for a short period of time, Denmark was under the rule of Germany, which left the position of Greenland in the given scenario uncertain. After the WW2 Denmark reestablished its autonomy from Germany, however that changed the relationships between Denmark and Greenland as Greenlanders started to pursue more autonomy from Denmark (Terpstra, 2015, ch. 7). In 1953 Greenland's colonial status was revoked and instead Greenland became a part of Danish

territory under the rule of Danish crown, like other counties in Denmark. Additionally, all Greenlanders became Danish citizens (Gad, 2009). Regardless, of the new status, the aspiration for more autonomy endured and in 1979 the Home Rule in Greenland was found. The Home Rule provided Greenland with more autonomy on the internal affairs while remaining an integral part of Denmark. Furthermore, Home Rule supplied Greenlanders with more room in setting the course of Greenland's development, one that would embrace Greenlandic culture and identity. To gain even more autonomy from Denmark, in 2009 Greenlandic Self-Government was introduced which built and expanded on the Home Rule act by transferring some of the areas previously governed by Denmark into the hands of Greenlandic Self-government (Gad, 2009; Nuttall, 2012; Terpstra, 2015, p. 52,). However, the arrangement implies that the areas overseen by Greenlandic Self-Government should also be financially provided by it without any financial aid from Denmark. While the Greenlandic Self-Government administers the majority of areas, the Danish authorities still retain control over foreign affairs and defense (Nuttall 2012). The discourse of independence further influences the ongoing discussion about the natural resource mining in Greenland (Bjorst, 2016; Nuttal, 2009; Nuttal, 2012).

Due to global warming the ice on Greenland is melting which consecutively opens up prospects for natural resource mining. There are several international companies from China and the USA that have expressed their interest in mining uranium in Greenland. The mining of uranium would provide substantial financial gains for Greenland to advance other sectors and also gain more independence from Denmark. The opinion on the uranium extraction among Greenlandic society is also divided, where some argue it will threaten the natural landscapes and traditional lifestyle of rural settlements while others are enthusiastic about the job opportunities it might provide (Bjorst, 2016; Nuttal, 2009; Nuttal, 2012).

As of December 2019 there were around 16,566 Greenlanders living in Denmark (Statistics Greenland, 2019). Many Greenlanders migrated to Denmark after the WW2 in the pursuit of education and job opportunities. Denmark is the number one relocation destination among Greenlanders (Terpstra, 2015, p.87). Similarly to Antilleans move to Netherlands which is influenced by their Dutch citizenship status (Oostindie,2013),

Greenlanders chose to move to Denmark due to the social benefits one can receive in Denmark as a Danish citizen e.g. advanced education, more accessible healthcare and broader housing options (Terpstra, 2015, ch.6). Additionally, Terpstra's (2015, ch.6) study indicates that due to Danish presence in Greenland that was established through colonization, Greenlanders are familiar with Danish culture and language, which in turn blurs the notion of Denmark as a foreign country and eases the relocation. Many Greenlanders chose to move to Denmark because of the family connections in Denmark that were established during earlier migration patterns after WW2 (Terpstra, 2015, ch.6). However, regardless of familiarity with Danish culture, many Greenlanders experience difficulties to settle down and accommodate themselves to the new environment when relocating to Denmark (Terpstra, 2015, p. 77 and 113). Difficulties finding job or friends, unfamiliar surroundings, negative perceptions and stereotypes of Greenlanders among Danes are just a few of the reasons why some Greenlanders find it difficult to organize themselves (Terpstra, 2015, page.109-112). Several scholars argue that part of the hardship Greenlanders face integrating in Denmark comes from the Danish citizenship status that they hold (Askegaard et al, 1999; Madsen and Sullivan, 2003; Terpstra, 2015). Askegaard et al (1999, p.1) suggest that "These individuals are born Danish citizens but nevertheless find themselves in an immigrant situation, settling in a completely different cultural, geographical and sometimes also linguistic setting." Like other newcomers they are expected to integrate into Danish society, yet they don't hold the official status of international immigrants or refuges that often comes with additional state issued support programs (Askegaard et al, 1999; Madsen and Sullivan, 2003).

Often, in media, the discussion about Greenlanders in Denmark revolves around socially vulnerable Greenlanders who are characterized by unemployment and substance abuse (Baviskar, 2015). However, the Greenlandic community in Denmark, just like other minority groups, is socially heterogeneous. There are many students who move from Greenland to Denmark to continue their studies at different levels, furthermore, many Greenlanders work across different public or private sectors in Denmark (Baviskar, 2015).

Several studies were conducted to find out the general perception about Greenlanders in Denmark among Danes (Baviskar, 2015; Terpstra, 2015, ch. 7). Many associate Greenlanders in Denmark with alcoholism, social problems and those who depend on state's financial support (Terpstra, 2015; ch. 7). Olsen (2008) argues, that most Danes' perceptions of Greenland and Greenlanders separates into two strands, first, the one that sees Greenland as naturally divine place, spoiling one with natural vistas. Second, the visible Greenlanders drinking alcohol in the public spaces (Olsen 2008 in Terpstra, 2015, p. 131). Furthermore, Thisted (2002) argues that there are many Greenlanders that integrate into Danish society to the level that, in fact, they become invisible, opposed to ones who drink in the public city spaces (Thisted, 2002, in Terpstra 2015, 131). One can argue whether their invisibility is a sign of assimilation rather than integration. However, the authors suggest that more often than not the focal point of perceptions about Greenlanders stems from the particular group of Greenlanders drinking in public spaces. Furthermore, the differences in physical appearance between Danish and Greenlanders have led to emergence of racist slogans like *iskineser* that from Danish translates into *ice Chinese* (Terpstra, 2015, p. 130). Greenland is one of the two previous colonies of Denmark, the other is Faroe island, however, Kleivan (2011) notes that there are no analogous expressions about Faroese compared to Greenlanders (Kleivan, 2011 in Terpstra 2015, p. 130). This in turn draws attention to the power of visible spatial practices to create lasting attitudes and perceptions.

3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Once I have explained the research aim and the context of the study, the following chapter will present theoretical insights that are of key relevance for this thesis. First, I will review key themes from Iris Young's book *Justice and Politics of difference* as it offers valuable insights on how group differences are exhibited and perceived in the urban context. It further emphasises, the necessity of respecting and embracing differences. This in turn is suitable to discuss when particularly dealing with the post-colonial communities as it draws attention to the

responsibility of the states with colonizing history to adequately deal with consequences of postcolonial migrant communities (Oostindie, 2012; Gad, 2009). Second, I will look into visibility as a theoretical concept with a particular focus on its application in urban studies.

3.1. EXPERIENCING DIFFERENCES

Iris Young was a strong advocate for embracing social group differences in cities in order to promote social equality. In her book *Justice and the politics of difference* Young (1990, p.237) discusses and proposes an alternative city life where its residents *are* 'together as strangers'. Young's (1990) writings on differences is especially important to reflect on in the light of post-colonial relationships because it draws attention to the integration policies that are aimed at adapting the post-colonial migrants into host society (Oostindie, 2012). As discussed in chapter 2, one of the motivating factors why Greenlanders move to Denmark is due to the social and economic connections that were forged from colonization. Additionally, Danish citizenship status provides extra incentive to move to Denmark (Terpstra, 2015, ch.6) States dealing with post-colonial migrants, like Denmark issue policies that are designed to integrate them, however there is a fine line between integration and assimilation (Gad, 2009; Oostindie, 2012; Socialstyrelsen, 2014). Thus, it is a just and responsible practice to create environment that will encourage these communities to integrate based on their social, cultural and economic terms, at the same time while maintaining the connection to their cultural background (Oostindie, 2012, Gad, 2009).

Young's (1990, ch.8) discussion about groups differences starts with a critique towards the 'ideal of community' which advocates for merging of subjects within society to construct one accepted and desirable ideal society. Subsequently the *ideal of community* opposes social differences as it aims to create one community with the same goals and the same visions (Young, 1990, p. 227). Unlike the vision of *ideal or community* Young is strongly against idea of the dismissal of differences and instead she is a proponent of differences being allowed to exist without fusing or oppressing them. Additionally, in her writings, Young

(1990) calls upon rethinking of what we understand as difference. For Young "difference" is not equal to "others" as this way of looking at difference creates alienating context in which difference acquires negative connotations. Instead, Young describes difference in relational terms as something that is continuously changing and is created from social interactions with many different groups (Young, 1990, p. 171). The idea of differences being relational and constructed from the social interactions promotes the concept of groups as that which is formed due to interaction rather than predefined and established forms of identity politics (Young 1990, 82). The latter way of looking at difference somewhat helps to distort the border between privileged and oppressed groups, as difference is formed actively by subjects instead of it being ascribed to one by default (Young, 1990, p. 171).

It should not come as a surprise, that Young ties her writings of differences to the city life. Young (1990, p.237) writes that, for her, city life is "a form of social relations which I define as the being together as strangers." Her argument grounds itself in the heterogeneity of social groups that reside in cities and that all should be able to exist without one group assimilating into another. Bases on her ideas about city life, Young (1990, p.236-241) proposes a 'normative ideal of city' which embraces diversity in urban areas by providing the following four appeals of it:

1. *Social differences without exclusion.* Young argues that cities attract and support formation and distinction of differences more that in the country side or smaller rural settlements. While many exhibit negativity towards different social groups in cities, they, at the same time, understand that difference is part of city life. Within the context of the normative ideal of city, residents form groups liberated from the framework of social and spatial exclusion or inclusion. Instead, Young (1990, p. 239) writes that "the groups overlap and intermingle without becoming homogeneous."

2. *Variety.* Here, Young (1990) argues for the benefits of a variety of uses for city space. The monotonous use of urban space makes it accessible only to a certain group of people. On the contrary, city spaces that are used by a broad variety of groups not only makes them more accessible to wider a spectrum of society but also fosters the sense of place among its

users (Young, 1990, p. 239). Her outlook on the benefits of variety is similar to that of Jane Jacobs (Jacobs 1961, p. 349), who argues that having variety of people use public spaces at different times and purpose serve both, the safety and economy of neighborhoods.

3. Eroticism. Young claims that the variety of options that a city offers attracts people. People tend to look for new experiences, for example, trying out a new restaurant or visiting an art gallery. Being able to get surprised by what a city can offer turns it into a more desirable place to live, as opposed to the city that has no room for discoveries. The eroticism also exhibits itself in the physical structures of the city, for example, the different architecture or parks for various uses. To sum up, eroticism speaks and describes the city as an adventure and grounds for continuous explorations and novel experiences (Young, 1990, p. 240).

4. Publicity. This argument starts with the idea that we are bound to encounter those who are different from us in public spaces. Hence, Young (1990) stresses the importance of different groups being able to use public spaces, not only to declare themselves but also to claim the right to use city spaces. Similarly, Harvey (2003) argues that public urban spaces can reveal the inequalities that certain urban communities experience. Young (1990) discusses unplanned encounters as an advantage of public spaces considering that one can experience differences without previous planning. For Young(1990) these encounters can foster the cohesion among different groups in cites. On a contrary, Amin (2002) argues that public spaces don't always stimulate meaningful interactions though encounters. However, Young (1990) recognizes that different group members will not be able to fully understand each other, instead, she argues that encounters with different groups can support the recognition of socially heterogeneous cities. Furthermore, public spaces provide more encounters with different groups and access to wider audiences compared to closed facilities.

Young's (1990) ideas on politics of difference have been criticized for failing to reflect the real image of cities, thus being unable to address issues of urban injustice

(Fainstain,2010; Fraser, 1997). Regardless, Young's ideas provide useful insights for scholars and urban planners dealing with issued related to inclusion of heterogeneous social groups.

3.2. VISIBILITY

Visibility as a term is used in many social science domains including geography and urban studies. Visibility is closely related to our sense of seeing and how what one sees translates into perceptions that become part of social relationships (Brighenti, 2007). Visibility can be studied from different perspectives- media visibility, online visibility, however, in this thesis, I particularly study visibility in physical urban spaces or spatial visibility. In urban studies, the term visibility is often examined in the context of how certain minority groups appropriate and use public spaces to adopt activities that are important for their identities, thus becoming spatially visible (Brighenti, 2007; Saint- Blancat and Cancellieri, 2014; Coheen, 1998).

Eross (2014, p.2) defines visibility as follows:

> Visibility is spatial representation of minority. Minority visibility serves as a glue: it strengthens the intra-group cohesion and broadcasts a more or less simplified picture about the community. At the same time it proves the existence of the minority group in front of the outside world.

Eross's (2014) definition does not set limits on whether the visibility should take a shape of physical structure, objects, symbols or organized group activities. While spatial visibility can and have been studied from different perspectives e.g. symbols (Eross, 2014), architecture

(Dawson, 2008) and social gatherings (Saint- Blancat and Cacellieri, 2014; Peters and De Haan, 2011; Wiesemann, 2012) in this thesis I will primarily focus on places of social gatherings places related to the Greenlandic minority as it sets their personal experiences and practices as a focal point in the study.

Saint- Blancat and Cancellieri (2014) focus on organized minority group activities and spatial practices that take place in public spaces. Analogously to Eross (2014), the authors argue that those occasions serve a double purpose, first, they create cohesion within the minority group. Second, it is a call for recognition and acknowledgement of their identity and presence in the city among other communities (Saint- Blancat and Cancellieri, 2014; Eross, 2014). They show, that often visible spatial practices of minority groups are largely oriented towards other communities within a city aiming at raising awareness of one's presence and cultural properties (Saint- Blancat and Cancellieri, 2014; Eross, 2014). Brighenti (2000, p.325) writes "Visibility is a metaphor of knowledge, but it is not simply an image: it is a real social process in itself." Brighenti (2007) argues that visibility is more than a picture, instead it informs and uncovers a more profound picture into a social phenomenon that is disguised under a mere image. Furthermore, it also illustrates to what extent communities that live in cities have been enabled to express their identities through certain spatial practices. Visibility is subject to change and when something or someone gains or drops in visibility, one must consider what interaction has caused it and to what purpose (Brighenti, 2007). Brighenti (2007) highlights that visibility should be seen in the socio-political context, rather than just solely visual optics.

However, visibility is not a linear process that always meets the desired goal of informing other urban dwellers of one's existence and difference (Brighenti, 2007; Saint-Blancat and Cancellieri, 2014). Brighenti (2007) notes that since visibility is closely related to our sense of seeing, it can be subjective, hence, one should consider, to what extend are the representing minority groups in control of the perception and image that they seek to convey. Brighenti (2007) gives an example of the images of starving people, which most often than not, elicits feelings of sadness and empathy, which in turn does not directly

reflect on the condition of those who starve. Additionally, Iveson (2007, p. 16) suggests that in order to be seen one needs an audience, the author claims that "Rather, to 'find' an audience is to make a public. It is to construct a scene through which ideas, claims, expressions and the objects through which they are articulated can circulate to others." This highlights, that spatial visibility extends beyond ability to access public spaces, it is also about managing its outreach capacity and engagement with those who are watching (Brighenti, 2007; Saint-Blancat and Cancellieri, 2014; Iveson, 2007 ch. 1). It is important to note that spatial visibility is not always a matter of choice nor does it have to be an intentional action undertaken by a specific minority group. A minority group can exist and be spatially visible in city space without visibility being an aim in itself. (Esbenshade, 2000; Brighenti, 2007). Furthermore, spatial visibility does not always lead to positive outcomes, it can also implicate negative attitudes and even their reproduction (Brighenti, 2007). Brighenti (2007, p.335) writes that "Visibility is a double-edged sword: it can be empowering as well as disempowering." Brighenti (2007) gives an example of a public scandal involving a politician that draws attention to her, simultaneously damaging the image of politician. The author further expands her thoughts and discusses how perceptions of a singular negative experience with a particular minority group is often passed on to others in the same group (Brighenti, 2007, Esbenshade, 2000).

Finally, when discussing spatial visibility it is crucial to acknowledge the importance of public space as it acts as a platform where different social groups can encounter each other and exhibit their differences. (Goheen, 1998). Similarly, Young defines the importance of public spaces as an opportunity to exhibit differences of social groups and also as a space where one can take notice of inequalities and the problems of the city (Young, 1990, p.240; Harvey, 2003). Soja (1998) interprets space as a tool that allows one to examine how minority communities establish their presence in the city among other communities (Soja, 1998, p.141). These scholars advocate for the ability of public places in cities to bridge gaps between the communities as they enable encounters. Amin (2002) provides a deviating opinion, arguing that urban spaces don't by default connect different groups as the encounters don't always create meaningful interactions. Amin (2002) doesn't attempt to disregard the value of public

spaces, rather, he highlights the importance of interactions among different groups' members in order to foster mutual understandings among groups. Instead Amin (2001, p.969) writes "micropublics such as the workplace, schools, colleges, youth centers, sporty clubs, and other spaces of association" are better locations for interactions. Amin (2002) provides useful insights that in order to foster and promote differences through encounters in public spaces, one must facilitate an environment that invites participation and social exchange. The discussion about spatial visibility of different communities in public spaces is closely related to the concept of 'right to the city' (Lefebvre, 1969) as it deals with the ability of urban dwellers to shape their cities.

Right to the city as a concept was first introduced and coined by Henri Lefebvre in 1969 (Lefebvre, 1996). Lefebvre draws attention to inequalities arising in the cities from space being mainly produced by groups motivated by capitalistic objectives. Consequently leaving those with limited social and financial resources neglected, underrepresented and incapacitated to produces spaces for their own use (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 158, Lefebvre, 1991, ch. 2). Lefebvre (1996) interprets that right to the city is more than a mere access to the 'ancient city' (1996, p. 179) where one enjoys the scenery of city for pleasure. Rather, it is a right to 'urban life' (1996, p. 179) which is utilitarian and practical in its essence, where one can actively participate in shaping one's urban space (Lefebvre, 1969, p. 179). The concept of *right to the city* has been picked up by multiple scholars and urban activists as a working framework and foundation. Among many, David Harvey was influenced by the writings of Lefebvre.

David Harvey (2003, p.4) wrote:

> The right to the city is, therefore, far more than a right of individual or group access to the resources that the city embodies: it is a right to change and reinvent the city more after our hearts' desire. It is, moreover, a collective rather than an individual right, since reinventing the city inevitably depends upon the exercise of a collective power over the processes of

urbanization 'The freedom to make and remake ourselves and our cities is, I want to argue, one of the most precious yet most neglected of our human rights.

While Lefebvre (1996) puts much emphasis on the individual freedom and access to urban life, Harvey (2003) discusses the right to the city in the context of community and group. Harvey's (2003) focus on the collective right can be further extended to the spatial visibility of minority groups in cities as it envisions the ability of communities to participate in city life to their own understanding and capacity. Often post-colonial migrants find themselves in the situation with limited socio-economic recourses (Oostindie, 2012), however that should not limit their access and right to participate in urban life. The concept of the right to the city takes notice of the different communities living in cities and builds on the idea that everybody is equally entitled to the city space. The key point in the discussion, thus, becomes how can different communities coexist in urban space without oppression of some groups and domination by others.

The above discussed theoretical thoughts are particularly applicable in the context of this study, as they primarily deal with the ability of different groups to coexist in the same urban space. At the same time, it is more than existing, it is also about the ability of communities to access and actively shape their cities. The issues of dominant and oppressed groups that Young (1990) brings forth are particularly suitable to discuss in the light of post-colonial history that Denmark and Greenland share. Furthermore, the writings on the implications of spatial visibility of different communities in cities reflect on the aim of this thesis. It provides insights into how spatial visibilities can mirror broader social issues related to the conditions of the Greenlandic community in Aalborg.

4. Literature review of Previous research

This chapter examines similar studies carried out in the field of urban studies in order to draw parallels with my own work's findings and conclusions.

Spatial visibility as subject of study, appears in many academic papers within the field of urban studies, particularly, those dealing with ethnic minorities (Esbenshade, 2000,Saint-Blancat and Cancellieri, 2014; Raffaeta and Duff, 2013; Wiesemann, 2012). Many scholars recognize the importance of the minority visibility in cities as it speaks to the openness of the local environment to embrace those who are different. I will review some of the studies that set to explore spatial visibility from the perspective of social gatherings of a particular minority group in urban spaces. Some of the reviewed work studied spatial visibility directly by looking at specific spatial practices of minority groups. Others examined how minority groups use urban spaces to adopt and maintain the cultural habits of their home country, hence becoming visible.

Saint-Blancat and Cancellieri (2014) studied the importance of the procession of *Santacruzan* for Filipinos in Padua, Italy. Authors found that for the majority of Filipinos the procession serves as means to expand the mainstream image among Italians of Filipinos as 'just immigrants' and bring attention to the richer cultural properties that the community holds. Organized events that are aimed at raising visibility and awareness about the existence of a particular minority group in a city demands an audience (Iveson, 2007, p. 16; Saint-Blancat and Cancellieri, 2014). During, the procession authors observed that many spectators were confused as to what is happening, furthermore, not many stopped to inquire about the event. Small (2005, p.97) describes similar events as 'private public event' drawing attention, that while being a public event, it does not necessarily secure the engagement with broader urban society but is mostly enjoyed by those who are directly linked to the group. Additionally, for many the procession meant adopting and continuing the habits that are central to their identity. Thus, while visibility is not their primerly goal of

organizing and participating in the events, it is however indirectly achieved. In a similar study Kuppinger (2014) studied spatial practices and the appropriation of urban spaces by the Muslim minority in Stuttgart. In particular, the author looks at how activities of the Muslim community socially produced spaces have become an integral part of Stuttgart's social and physical structures. The author argues that visible spatial practices of minority groups can integrate into the urban social fabric and become an inherent part of urban life. This in turn presents the potential for minority group spatial practices to transform from unusual to ordinary in the local context, at the same time minimizing the dichotomy between "them" and us" (Kuppinger, 2014). In a similar study Peters and De Haan (2011) studied the attitudes of Dutch residents in Lombok Utrecht towards other ethnic minitories and their use of public spaces, e.g. parks. While results differ, some indicate that the encounters with different minority groups in public spaces has led to the formation of positive attitudes towards immigration and ethnic minorities (Peters and De Haan, 2011).

Wise and Harris (2014) studied the importance of football fields among male Haitian immigrants in Dominican Republic. The study shows that the football fields created space where Haitian male migrants could gather and spend time together in collectively created "their space". While the main reason for gathering among Haitians was to play football and socialize with others, it also indirectly resulted in spatial visibility of cultural habits representing Haitian male migrant group (Wise and Harris, 2014). Similar results were produced by Raffaeta and Duff's (2013) study of Ecuadorian migrants in Italy. The study shows that Ecuadorian immigrants requested more public spaces in cities to accommodate the social gatherings to celebrate various occasions or to simply socialize while making food. While the latter two studies don't specifically examine spatial visibility directly, they, however, display the tendency of migrant communities to adapt and appropriate spaces to their needs (Saint-Blancat and Cancellieri, 2014; Raffaeta and Duff, 2013; Wise and Harris, 2014).

Spatial visibility of minority groups entails displaying the group's differences to other communities in the urban space which in turn might create backlash among local residents.

Cancellieri and Ostanel (2015) discuss the visibility of ethnic groups in Padua Italy in terms of 'hyper visibility' that has led to conflicts and objections from the local Italian society. Authors discuss a particular area in the city next to the train station, that has become a gathering and socializing place for various ethnic groups. As a result of frequent gatherings, many local Italian residents raised their concerns for safety to their local governments. As a response, a line of actions took place- police patrol was introduced, surveillance systems were installed and many public benches in the area were removed to discourage gatherings. The authors argue, that the appropriation of the space by ethnic minorities has led to fears and disturbance of the "accepted" or "normal" way of using space causing local Italian residents to protest. In a similar study Esbenshade (2000) looked at the visibility of Latin *day laborers* in California, USA. Day laborers are people who seek job on the streets, by gathering outside particular shops, for example a paint shop, with the aim of finding an employment (Esbenshade, 2000). Many business owners and residents of the areas were the gatherings accrued, complained and demanded that their local governments take action to remove day laborers from the streets. They objected that the day laborers disrupt the residents, alarm the customers of nearby coffee shops and sometimes the gathering involve drinking and other outstanding behavior (Esbenshade, 2000). The nature of the gatherings make day laborers stand out, as they represent that which is not ordinary in mainstream American society. This in turn, according to Esbenshade (2000), created a chain of negative reactions from other residents. The day laborers became "the others" and the different approach towards conducting their day was not acceptable. The latter claim was supported by a suggestion from some residents to buy suits and briefcases for day laborers, so they don't stand out that much. While the latter proposal seems rather extreme it, however, brings attention to how differences of groups are perceived. Furthermore, the sight of day laborers reminds of issues of illegal immigration rather than drawing attention to more complex socio-political issues that have brought day laborers to the streets of California in the first place. This in turn corresponds to what Brighenti (2007) notes, that visibility is not simply mere optics, in addition it also tells a more profound social-political story. Furthermore, Esbenshade (2000), calls attention to the hypocrisy of the US government

response to day laborers. Arguably, the US intervention in the political and economic conducts in South America is partly responsible for why day laborers have to resort to seeking jobs in the manner they do (Esbenshade, 2000). Arguably, the core of the objections from the residents side doesn't lie within the intent of day laborers, but rather the character of it. Day laborers seek job in visible public spaces, compared to many other migrants who find jobs through online platforms or social informal networks (Esbenshade, 2000).

In another similar study, Wiesemann (2012) studied the perceptions and opinions of the German residents of Mülheim in Cologne about the Turkish immigrants. Mülheim is ethnically diverse neighborhood, where Turks represents the largest immigrant group. This is also evident in the physical structures of the neighborhood as it now displays Turkish shops, restaurants and leisure facilities. The author sought to investigate what the German residents though of the activities of Turkish immigrants performed in their neighborhood. Many respondents expressed their dislike, specifically towards the gatherings of Turkish men in groups on the streets followed by their loud behavior. Many respondents interpreted their loud behavior as a cultural need to display of their masculinity. Furthermore, the conversations escalated to the topics concerned with women's rights and subordination to men in Turkish culture that awoke the feeling of aversion in respondents (Wiesemann, 2012). This is yet another example that demonstrates how certain visible spatial practices of some minority groups can cause conflicts because their behavior exhibit that which is different. The discussion and attitudes on the social gatherings on the streets, transcended beyond these spatial practices into more complex socio political discussions, that arguably does not reflect on the experience of the Turkish men gatherings. Furthermore, these examples also emphasize that spatial encounters in public spaces with different groups won't always lead to positive outcomes (Amin, 2002).

Visibility of minority groups often represents and displays different lifestyles, different approaches and in general different forms of conduct form that of mainstream society. Cancellieri and Ostanell (2015) write "Minority groups have to be framed and understood against the backdrop of local population's anxiety regarding the embodied

enactment of difference and the feeling that their traditional religious territory may be threatened by new religious settlements." While Cancellieri and Ostanel (2015) give an example of religious precession, this example can be also applied to a broader context dealing with the display of differences by minority groups in public spaces. These studies suggest that there is a "threshold" to minority visibility (Brighenti, 2007). The "threshold" indicates the level of accepted display of differences before it creates negative reactions (Brighenti, 2007). Issues arise when activities stand out too much against the background of "ordinary" routines of mainstream society (Cancellieri and Ostanel , 2015; Esbenshade, 2000). Often the approach to those situations when visibility passes "threshold" is out of sight, out of mind by eliminating and taking apart settings where gatherings accrue. Simultaneously, ignoring deeper and more intricate context. The discussion about visibility threshold thus becomes deeply rooted in the tolerance of differences and how can different groups coexist and share urban spaces (Esbenshade, 2000). Mike Davis (1990 in Esbenshade, 2000, p.35) writes "Security has less to do with personal safety than with the degree of personal insulation, in residential, work, consumption and travel environments, from "unsavoury" groups and individuals." To some extend Mike Davis (1990) emphasises the existence of a notion in society that city spaces have to reflect only well established and adjusted groups of society. At the same time omitting the behaviour that doesn't fall into that category (Mike Davis, 1990 in Esbenshade, 2000). Minority groups are 'spatial actors'(Cancellieri and Ostanel, 2013) that will use the spaces and appropriate them to their own use, the question then becomes, how adoptable and flexible is the local society to welcome differences.

To sum up, the reviewed studies present multiple cases of spatial visibility of heterogeneous ethnic minority groups in different cities. Some studies show that minority group organized events often desire to achieve more visibility in order to remind and present their existence to other communities in cities (Saint-Blancat and Cancellieri, 2014). Some studies show that minority groups gather in public spaces to practice activities that are close their identity, at the same time indirectly leading to visibility (Raffaeta and Duff, 2013; Wise and Harris,2014). Additionally, there are studies that focus on the visible spatial

practices as something that has caused conflicts because they portray the differences of minority groups that do not agree with the local community (Esbenshade, 2000). Regardless of different approaches, those studies are primarily drawing attention how visible spatial practices of minority groups can indicate to wider and more complex socio-economic issues. Similarly to previous studies, this thesis will contribute to the existing body of literature about the spatial visibility of minorities in cities, by particularly drawing attention to the experiences post-colonial community, namely, Greenlanders in Aalborg, Denmark.

5. Research design

The following chapter presents the research design of this thesis. It expands on methodology and the method employed for the data gathering process. It introduces the reader to data and data analysis technique. Additionally, I will present the chapter of limitations to outline some of the challenges and limits of this study. Finally, I will reflect on ethical concerns.

5.1. Methodology

The aim of this thesis is to explore spatial visibility of the Greenlandic community in Aalborg by particularly focusing on the meanings of the most notable Greenlandic places and social gatherings (The Greenlandic House, Kennedy square and the National Day's celebration at the Aalborg Zoo). Additionally, I set to explore the personal feelings and experiences of Greenlanders towards these spatial visibilities and practices. The nature of the research questions posed in the introduction part demands a qualitative approach as it aims to understand and investigate personal experiences of the Greenlandic people in Aalborg. Hence, the qualitative research approach through phenomenological interviews was chosen as a central data gathering method. Phenomenological interviews is a commonly

used method within human geography. It focuses on the 'lived' and subjective experiences of those who experience a certain phenomenon (Cloke et al, 2004,p.149; Flowerdew and Martin, 2005, p. 111; Seidman, 2006, p.9,). For this thesis, I explore the meanings of particular places and social gatherings among Greenlanders, this requires the participants to share their stories on where they come together with other Greenlanders. And what is the purpose and the nature of these gatherings. Additionally, I wanted to talk to the participants about their personal feelings and experiences towards the spatial visibility of Greenlanders in Aalborg. Thus, the character of the questions I wanted to discuss required participants' personal reflections, an aim that is best served by phenomenological interviews. I have chosen to apply a semi structured interview model as it would allow the participants to share their stories more freely, yet having some guiding questions that helped to set a broader premise for the conversation.

Phenomenological interviews imply that a researcher finds a great value in the stories that a certain community can share (Seidman, 2006, p.9; Birks et al, 2007). The subject of post-colonial issues between Denmark and Greenland was an inseparable part in this study and it can prove to be a sensitive topic for many Greenlanders. Interviews are a better fit to address these sensitive political issues as it recognized the value of Greenlanders' experiences by inviting them to share the stories from their account. When using interviews as a research method, the position of the researcher is crucial, even more so when dealing with minority groups (Sanchez-Ayala, 2012, p. 117). As I am neither Greenlander nor Danish, I assumed an *'outsider position'* (Sanchez-Ayala, 2012, p.118). In the context of post-colonial issues, it can be seen as advantageous position for the interviewing process as I don't belong to any of the parties involved, thus I don't carry any affiliations that can affect the interviewees attitude (Sanchez-Ayala, 2012, p.119). Additionally, from the perspective of the interviewees, the outsider position can seem to be more fit for the anonymity preservation as the researcher does not have any personal familiarity with the community (Sanchez-Ayala, 2012, p.119). The Greenlandic community in Aalborg is relatively small and many know each other. Since, I am not part of this familiarity, the respondents might have felt more liberated to reveal their personal experiences without

fearing doing so would find a way back to the community. This is not to claim that the *'insider position' (*Sanchez-Ayala, 2012, p.118*)* in any way is in breach with ethical conduct, but rather to draw attention to the advantages of interviews as a research method for this particular thesis.

Furthermore, since all Greenlanders are also Danish citizens, it is important to introduce terminological clarity of the two following terms - Greenlanders and Danish. In the context of this thesis, Greenlanders are defined as those who have one or two parents from Greenland and those who self-identify as Greenlandic or as both Greenlandic and Danish. Furthermore, Danish in the context of this study, will be used and defined as those who have both parents from Denmark (excluding Greenland) and who identify as fully Danish.

This master thesis was written in a collaboration with the Greenlandic House in Aalborg[2]. I have met with the representatives from the Greenlandic House at early stages of this research in order to discuss and form the research topic, that will suit my academic background and interest and will at the same time be of value to the Greenlandic House. Through these initial meetings we identified the three most notable places of social gatherings of Greenlanders in Aalborg that I have explored in this study. While I am the sole author of the thesis, the Greenlandic House has assisted in the process by providing advice, information and space to conduct the interviews.

Finally, this is an exploratory study that seeks to understand the spatial visibility of Greenlanders in Aalborg by looking at how this particular minority group relates to the most notable spaces associated with Greenlandic social gatherings. The exploratory study seeks to provide directions and points of departure for future studies within the subject area. Stories that participants share can uncover new insights and themes, that a researcher didn't anticipate. In turn, these discoveries can provide guidance for future studies, possibly, with a narrower focus.

[2] https://dgh-aalborg.dk/nyheder/2020/2/4/samarbejde-med-studerende

5.2. Methods- Interviews

The Greenlandic community in Denmark is socially heterogeneous. The majority of Greenlanders work or study, and there is a minor part that belong to socially vulnerable groups characterized by unemployment or substance abuse (Madsena and Sullivan, 2003). To avoid data bias of representing only one particular group, the interviews were carried with participants from different social backgrounds. To achieve this I have reached out through multiple formal and informal channels. There were two requirements for participation, first, that the participants self-identify Greenlandic. Second, that they live or have lived in Aalborg.

At first, I created an invitation text where Greenlanders matching the requirements were invited for an interview. The invitation was sent to the Greenlandic House in Aalborg and the Arctic Research group at Aalborg University. Both organizations shared the invitation on their respective social media platforms (Facebook, official websites). Multiple invitation samples were printed out and placed around the Greenlandic House. I have also engaged in a more personal approach and contacted people directly at the Greenlandic House, inviting them to participate, which proved to be the most effective. Finally, I have also contacted my informal network, encouraging them to share the information with those who match the requirements and would be potentially interested to participate.

In total, ten interviews with Greenlanders were carried out in the month of February. On average the interviews lasted from 1-1,5, hours. The interviews took place at different locations according to the preference of the respondents with some being held at the Greenlandic House, some at the coffee shops in the city. While interviews were offered to be conducted in both Danish and English, all interviews were held in English, occasionally switching to Danish. Two additional interviews were conducted with the employees from the Greenlandic House. While their interviews were used minimally for data analysis, they

helped me to construct a wider image about the history and socio-economic situation of the Greenlandic community in Aalborg.

The interview questions were structured in the following three parts. First, an introduction part, where the respondents introduced themselves and provided some basic information about their age and occupation. Additionally, informants talked about the place in Greenland they come from. During the second part, the participants were asked to reflect on the practices of their Greenlandic heritage in Aalborg. Initially the respondents were asked to think about the different representations of Greenlandic culture and heritage in the urban spaces of Aalborg. Gradually, participants were invited to share their experiences and feelings towards the three most notable places of social gatherings of Greenlanders in Aalborg. In the last part of the interview, the respondents expanded and reflected on the importance and implications of the Greenlanders being a visible minority in Aalborg.

With a prior consent all interviews were audio recorded and the audio files were later transcribed. The interviews were analyzed using thematic coding. Thematic coding, is fit for studies that seek to identify common and reoccurring themes from data (Gibbs, 2007, p.38-56). This approach helped to identify personal experiences and feelings that collectively form themes which can be used to address the research aim of this thesis. In particular, it helped to indicate how respondents relate to the places of social gatherings in Aalborg. Additionally, it helped to note common themes that indicated the personal importance of spatial visibility of Greenlanders for in Aalborg. The outcome of the thematic analysis is presented in the result section.

5.2.1. Interviewee profile

A total of ten interviews were carried out with the representatives from the Greenlandic community. Five of the respondents were female and five were male. Five of the respondents were in the age group from 20-29, three from 30-40 and two from 40-50.

At the time of the interviews, six were unemployed, three were working and two were studying. Additionally, two interviews were carried out with the employees of the Greenlandic House. The table below shows a more detailed description of the participants (See table 1). All data were anonymized, hence the names of the participants were replaced by a unique number.

TABLE 1 INTERVIEW PARTICIPANT PROFILE

RESSPONDENT #	AGE	GENDER	OCCUPATION	APPROACH
RESSPONDENT #1	31	Female	Teacher	Informal network
RESSPONDENT #2	29	Female	Stay at home mum	Informal network
RESSPONDENT #3	30	Female	Student	Informal network
RESSPONDENT #4	24	Male	Unemployed	Personal approach at GH
RESSPONDENT #5	41	Male	Unemployed	Facebook post from GH
RESSPONDENT #6	43	Male	Unemployed	Facebook post from GH
RESSPONDENT #7	26	Male	Unemployed	Personal approach at GH
RESSPONDENT #8	28	Female	Student	Informal network
RESSPONDENT #9	37	Female	Social worker	Personal approach at GH
RESSPONDENT #10	24	Male	Unemployed	Personal approach at GH

5.3. LIMITATIONS

Language has to be noted as one of the limitations of this thesis. While most Greenlanders speak Danish and many speak English, there are some that are more comfortable speaking Greenlandic. The inability of conducting interviews in Greenlandic, might have discouraged the willingness to participate in the interviews. For future research, getting an interpreter could help to overcome this limitation. There are other limitations that I chose to discuss at the end of discussion section as they require a prior knowledge of results.

5.4. ETHICAL CONCERNS

Conducting interviews requires a researcher to ask questions that will uncover personal experiences and stories of participants, which in turn raises some ethical concerns (Cloke et al, 2004, p.164). In human geography researchers often engage with vulnerable communities which demands extra caution from the side of a researcher (Cloke et al, 2004, p.164). Working with Greenlandic community in Denmark required special attention and sensitivity regarding the issues related to the post-colonial relationships between Denmark and Greenland. At the very early stage of my thesis I have met with Rikke Becker Jacobsen an Associate Professor at the Department of Planning from Aalborg University. I met with her to discuss ethical concerns regarding my thesis as she has experience working with the Greenlandic communities. R.B. Jacobsen (Personal communication, January, 2020) advised me than when working with vulnerable communities it is important to create a research design that promotes the idea of the study being *with and for* the community rather than *on* the community. Additionally, Smith (2010, p.159) brings to attention that when working with post-colonial communities, one must be cautious of not creating a notion of "the others" in relation to Wester cultures. Before each interview, I described the research, its aim and the use of data to participants in more detail. Respondents were asked for a consent to audio

record the interview and all agreed to it. The respondents were made aware that the data will be used exclusively for this master thesis alone and after the report is written the audio files will be deleted and transcripts disposed. All of the data and responses presented in the result section are anonymized. While most of the participants gave me permission to use their real names in the report, all the data was anonymized as respondents were reveling sensitive and peripheral to the research aim stories of their lives, that I retained from disclosing. Finally, I encouraged all the respondents to notify me if at any point during the interview, they felt uncomfortable with a particular question, and that they can at any time undo their participation in this study.

6. RESULTS

This chapter presents results from the data analysis. Furthermore, this chapter also introduces a reader to the three most notable places and social gatherings of Greenlanders in Aalborg- the Greenlandic House, Kennedy square and the Greenlandic National day celebration at the Aalborg Zoo. The aim of this thesis was to explore the spatial visibility of Greenlanders in Aalborg, by focusing on particular places and social gatherings associated with them. Additionally, I intended to explore the personal experiences and feelings of Greenlanders related to these places. All gathered data through the interviews was analyzed using thematic analysis, in particular coding, to detect recurring themes that speak directly to the research questions. The data analysis indicated the personal experiences of respondents towards the three places and social gatherings. Furthermore, the data indicated two themes that relate to the reasons why the respondents find it important that Greenlanders are a spatially visible minority in Aalborg and in what capacity. First, to combat the negative and stereotypical images of Greenlanders among Danish. Second, to explore and affirm their Greenlandic identity. Thus, the following chapter is divided into two subchapters. First subchapter presents each of the three identified social gathering places and respondent's experiences and feelings towards them. The

second subchapter looks at why spatial visibility is a matter of concern for Greenlanders in Aalborg.

6.1. SOCIAL GATHERING PLACES

This sub-section expands on the defined social gathering places by giving a short description of each place and reasons for gathering. Furthermore, it also displays how do respondents relate to them.

6.1.1. THE GREENLANDIC HOUSE

The Greenlandic House (See Figure 1) is an NGO and is sponsored by the following three institutions- the Greenlandic Self-government, the Danish government and the Aalborg Municipality (Employee of the Greenlandic House).

FIGURE 1 THE GREENLANDIC HOUSE IN AALBORG. OWN PHOTO

The Greenlandic House is the Greenlandic self-government's initiative that was instituted to support the growing number of the Greenlandic students who moved to Denmark to pursue higher education. With time the role of the Greenlandic House has expanded and it is now working on projects concerned with the social inclusion and cultural activities. They organize various cultural events, seminars and informative presentations for Greenlanders (Employee of the Greenlandic House). Couple of years ago the Greenlandic House moved to a more central location in order to be more present and accessible (Employee of the Greenlandic House).

After the social inclusion initiative by the Danish government, the Greenlandic House created *værested* which from Danish translates into *place to be*. *Værested* is a room in the Greenlandic House that is designed to accommodate the social activities and every day social interactions for Greenlanders. *Værested* is called *Tamata,* which from Greenlandic means *together*. Every day, mostly older generation Greenlanders come there to play cards, cook together, talk and simply be together. *Tamata* hosts smaller cultural events organized to embrace the Greenlandic traditions and culture (See Figure 2).

FIGURE 2 VÆRESTED *TAMATA* AT THE GREENLANDIC HOUSE. A WORKSHOP ABOUT GREENLANDIC DRUMS. OWN PHOTO

The use and the visitation frequency of the Greenlandic House among respondents vary. Some respondents come if there is an event that matches their interests, otherwise, only one respondent goes there to spend time and socialize with other Greenlanders in *værested*.

> "I came here because it's like a neutral place to meet. Like, the library, but it's not a library. It's the Greenlandic house. I ask many of my friends that are the same age as me. I ask them to come here and get a cup tea or coffee and play some cards. But most of them wouldn't because they say like 'it's for old people, that place'." (Male, 24, unemployed)

While only one respondents comes to *værested,* many mentioned that their parents come there on regular basis.

> "My father, he uses the house. He's, there almost every day upstairs playing cards probably" (Female, 31, teacher)

Many respondents see the Greenlandic House as a place where Greenlanders can get help on different matters. When asked how often and why they visit the Greenlandic House, some of the answers were as follows.

> "Sometimes once in a month, once a week. It depends on the events and if I have some questions." (Male, 24, unemployed).

> "I think the Greenlandic House is important, especially for the Greenlanders that are here alone and maybe need some support. And someone to help translate the things. It can be a bit difficult moving from Greenland to here and the whole transition. But I don't know how much they do there now." (Female, 29, stay at home mum)

Some respondents came to the Greenlandic House in connection to the Arctic Street food project. Arctic Street food project is a social inclusion project aimed at Greenlandic youth, that seeks to promote the Greenlandic culture through Greenlandic cuisine (Employee of the Greenlandic House).

> "I'm most related to Arctic street food project. It [the Greenlandic House] is a place I can come if I need help." (Female, 30, student)

> “Normally, I don’t come here [The Greenlandic House]. I have a couple of friends from Arctic street food. We hang around. Otherwise it's just in the town or home or something” (Male, 27, unemployed)

While most respondents though positively of the Greenlandic House majority, however, didn’t engage with the activities organized by it on a regular basis. One respondent, whose father is Greenlandic and mother is Danish reveals that she cannot relate to the Greenlandic House as she feels out of place there.

> “I think it is nice, unfortunately, I don't really use it for myself because I don't really know what to do there. Also because I think I feel out of place there, because the Greenlandic houses is very, very Greenlandic.” (Female, 31, teacher).

Another respondent doesn’t go to the Greenlandic House as he doesn’t have friends there.

> “I don't use the Greenlandic house that much. Because I don't have Greenlandic friends here. I check out the events. I go to some of them.” (Male, 43, unemployed).

One respondent shares, that she does not like the idea of spending too much time with other Greenlanders as she think it prevents integration:

> “After many declines of other invitations, I said yes to the Christmas dinner. […] It was actually very, very nice. It surprised me, but normally I tend to stay away, but I think it's mostly because of that identity barrier that I don't feel at home. [..]And I would like to go to Greenlandic house to get some food, but it's not like I want to socialize with them. […] I don't like the idea of a person of minority in a certain country who reaches out only two people from the same nationality, they don't get to integrate” (Female, 28, student).

Furthermore, some respondents mentioned that many events taking place at the Greenlandic House are oriented only towards Greenlandic people and not Danish, and the promotion of events is limited.

> “The Greenlandic house, it's very anonymous […] you can walk by without really realizing that you will pass the Greenlandic house (Female, 31, teacher)

"Unfortunately they are not very good at posing. It's often that, 'Oh, today we did this, in Greenlandic house' or 'In an hour we're going to do something'."(Female, 31, teacher).

Some respondents complained about the lack outreach strategies to involve Danish population in the events organized by the Greenlandic House as many believe, that Danish should be encouraged to participate in order to inform themselves about Greenland.

"[…] It is not like Danish people go to Greenland house and the Greenlandic House is not at all good enough to spread the word, not at all. And whatever they are arranging, it is targeted to Greenlandic people. So there's really no way for Danish people to get to learn more about the Greenlandic culture." (Female, 28, student)

"There are posters on the door of the Greenlandic house, but it's like this little A4 paper. It's not really something that catches your eyes and think. 'Tomorrow's going to be Greenlandic national day celebration.' I know only because my father tells me (Female, 29, stay at home mum).

"For example, you have the house here where you can come and see, but you don't have, for example, when local store where you could go and buy Greenlandic design or music or food or stuff like that." (Male, 40, unemployed)

6.1.2. National day celebration at the zoo

"So that's once a year that Greenland becomes more visible." (Female, 31, teacher)

The second place that the respondents reflected on is the celebration of the National Day of Greenland on the 21st of June, that celebrates the introduction of Home-Rule in 1979. The celebration for this day is organized by the Greenlandic House and for the past couple of years the celebration was held at the Aalborg Zoo (See Figures 3 and 4).

FIGURE 3 GREENLANDIC NATIONAL DAY CELEBRATION AT THE ZOO. RESPONDENT'S PRIVATE PHOTO

FIGURE 4 MUSIC PERFORMANCE DURING THE NATIONAL DAY CELEBRATION AT THE ZOO. RESPONDENT'S PRIVATE PHOTO

One of the reasons for the celebration the Greenlandic National day at the Aalborg city Zoo is the lack of space at the Greenlandic House to host bigger events. Before the Greenlandic House moved location the, National day used to be celebrated on the premises of the Greenlandic House (Employee of the Greenlandic House).

Regardless of the purpose and the frequency of the use of the Greenlandic House, all but two respondents annually attend the celebrations of the National day celebrations organized by the Greenlandic House.

> "In the morning, we start here [at the Greenlandic House] there are some speeches. And then there is lunch and after lunch we go to the Zoo. And at the Zoo there is some speech and a coffee, tea and a cake and some choir. It changes from year to year! Speech, choir, music and food." (Male, 24, unemployed)

> "There was a lot of years I didn't come to the events. But, but for the past five years I have been to the event. And it makes me feel, good and proud. On the particular day. So it's good for me. (Female, 37, social worker)

> "We're down in the Zoo, celebrating with the Arctic Street food, we made cake, a Greenlandic cake and also different other kinds of cake." (male, 24, unemployed)

> "We [Arctic street food project] usually make a soup or rice with shrimps. We usually prepare small appetizers or something like that. And then we go through all the people, see all the smiles when we come back with a full tray of food." (Male, 27, unemployed)

> "The national day on the 21st of June, we take that quite serious. And my family is involved in volunteering, so to enjoy the day even more. We volunteer for that day. It's mostly here in, Aalborg it's become a tradition to have it in a zoo. So we volunteer there mostly." (Male, 43, unemployed)

Most of the respondents remember the day fondly not only because of gatherings with other Greenlanders to celebrate the day but also because on the 21st of June, the Greenlandic flags are displayed on the buses and the biggest bridge in Aalborg. They elaborate, that the display of their

national flag serves as an acknowledgment and a remainder that Greenlanders have a special day on the 21st of June.

> "I become very emotional because it gets a priority" (Female, 31, teacher)

> "And then people get really emotional because they start thinking about Greenland and they cry and I was always really fascinated." (Female, 29, stay at home mum)

> "I feel I'm happy and I'm proud. I haven't thought about it before, but now when it is visible. I think it's a nice gesture of the Danish community to embrace their own other communities that have important days to celebrate […] then it gets more important that it reminds also everyone else […] the days that we are celebrating."(Female, 37, social worker)

> "I've been very surprised and I liked it very much when the bus had our flag during the national day. […] And I get so happy when I see it. The flags actually show that we have a day today."(Female, 30, student)

Only two out of ten respondents don't celebrate the Greenlandic day at the Aalborg Zoo together with other Greenlanders. One doesn't participate because it isn't personally important for the respondent to participate in the events targeted at celebrating Greenlandic culture while in Denmark.

> "Here in Denmark, no. I mean, I don't know, maybe it depends on year after year. […] three years ago I was with my mom on the 21st. It's not like we celebrated it but I wanted to go someplace nice in a restaurant for example. But it was not like, let's do it because of 21st. No, it wasn't like that." (Female, 28, student)

The second respondent, does not participate due to her dislike and position against zoos, however she participates in other activities organized by the Greenlandic House on the 21st of June.

> "I didn't go to Zoo. I'm not really a fan of the zoo. It's depressing to see animals down there. I just went to [the Greenlandic House] to raise the flag, sing the songs and then have breakfast and coffee" (Female, 29, stay at home mum)

6.1.3. KENNEDY SQUARE

The last place that respondents reflected on is Kennedy square in Aalborg. Kennedy square is a public space that has acquired a reputation for being place where cities' socially vulnerable, mostly Greenlanders, gather (See Figures 5 and 6)

FIGURE 5 THE KENNEDY SQUARE IN AALBORG. OWN PHOTO

FIGURE 6 THE KENNEDY SQUARE IN AALBORG. OWN PHOTO.

Often the gatherings involve alcohol consumption, that occasionally escalates to loud behavior that attracts attention from passer-by (Iversen and Stubben 2019, Nørgaard and Børresen, 2007). Kennedy square has gained numerous racist names, such as *Greenlandic embassy* (Female, 31, teacher) or Greenlanders that do not go there refer to the ones that do as *mountain goers* which is an expression used in Greenland when someone goes to mountains in order to avoid shaming their family members (Iversen and Stubben, 2019). Only one of the respondents have visited the Kennedy square when he was a child together with his parents. While I didn't manage to interview anyone who comes to the Kennedy square, all of the respondents had strong opinions about it, that will be reviewed in this section. Additionally, in this part I will present some of the findings from Iversen and Stubben (2019) study. Iversen and Stubben (2019) researched the use of public spaces by socially vulnerable groups in Aalborg city, including Greenlanders and their appropriation of Kennedy square. The authors found that Greenlanders go there to socialize as they don't have other places to meet, none where they would be welcomed. Furthermore, the authors found that Greenlanders that don't come to the Kennedy square try to avoid any contact with those who do (Iversen and Stubben, 2019). On

many occasions my findings indicate similar results. Many respondents would express a feeling of shame towards the activities taking place at the Kennedy square. However, many would also articulate sympathy and understanding.

> "It is actually humiliating but I can't judge them because it's just showing us that they need help actually." (Female, 30, student)

> "Shameful, but then again, I think it's also a bit sad that Danish people take it so hard that there are those groups, because there will always be those kinds of groups […]. They're only drinking and that is sad that they exist there to verify and satisfy the prejudice of Danes." (Female, 28, student)

> "I think two years ago I would say it feels awful that it's there. But then I tried to talk with them and learn the people there instead of ignoring them or kicking away or being rude to them. When I go by and think it's hard to see that they don't want to use the time in a better way. […] I'm happy if they're having a good time." (Male, 27, unemployed)

> "They might be my country men, but they're not my kin." (Male, 41, unemployed)

Furthermore, two respondents shared their fears of being judged and thought of as those Greenlanders that come to Kennedy square.

> "When I see people who are in the Kennedys and I get the feeling of this shame, even if I didn't do it" (Male, 24, unemployed)

> "At the time I was actually ashamed of it and I was afraid of that maybe somebody could compare me with them that, that maybe I was like them. […] And then I was okay with it. If someone tells me something about it, I defend them, because I think there are many misunderstandings as to why are they there. They are missing information, understanding and empathy on how it is to be a socially vulnerable Greenlander here in Aalborg." (Female, 37, social worker)

Furthermore, there were many who shared their personal negative experience in relation to the reputation that the Kennedy square acquired and how it t has provoked certain attitudes from others towards them.

"Because, there is so much ignorance about it and Danes only see the people sitting on Kennedy square. And growing up as a Greenlandic child, it was not nice and I think still a lot of Greenlandic kids here in Denmark, they hear the same things that I did. " (Female, 29, stay at home mum)

"'Greenlandic embassy' which I also very much hate whenever people have to comment on it and they feel a need to say to my face." (Female, 31, teacher)

"And also I have a thing and it might just be personal, but my father looks really Greenlandic. I know when he walks around town people perceive him sometimes the same way as they perceived these people just because the way he looks and that makes me angry and that makes me resent these people." (Male, 43, unemployed)

6.2. THE IMPORTANCE OF SPATIAL VISIBILITY

"It's a shame that it's what people focus on [..]. And that's because that's what people see." (Male, 41, unemployed)

This subsection looks at the reasons why the respondents found it important that the Greenlandic community is visible in the urban spaces of Aalborg. Data analysis indicated two themes that emerged in regard to this research question. First, many respondents referred to the need to have a more positive and current representation of the Greenlandic community in Aalborg to combat the stigmatized perceptions of Greenlanders. Second, some respondents wished for more events about Greenland for their Greenlandic identity exploration and affirmation.

6.2.1. COMBATING NEGATIVE PERCEPTIONS AND IGNORANCE

One of the most common negative perception that all respondents talked about is one where Greenlanders are thought of as heavy alcohol users.

> "Aalborg is kind of known for drinking Greenlandic people in different places." (Male, 27, unemployed).

The negative image of Greenlanders as alcoholics, has led to the birth of several expressions, like 'drunk as Greenlander' *(*Male, 43, unemployed) furthermore*,* some respondents shared occasions they experienced in regard to this image.

> "It was just a common thing to say" Oh, you drink a lot because you are Greenlandic" (Female, 37, social worker)."

> "I was in the street and there were few young boys walking towards and they asked me if I was going to have a beer?" (Male, 24, unemployed)

> "While I studied, I never really partied. […]. And they [other students] would also be surprised […] if I would go out and I wouldn't drink. And people would always comment on it […]. And even more so if you're Greenlandic and if you don't drink." (Female, 31, teacher)

Furthermore, to escape this negative image and to distance themselves from the group who suffers from alcohol abuse, some respondents talked about a division between the Greenlandic community.

> "Greenlandic groups here are divided between the parties where you were allowed to drink alcohol and the parties where you're not allowed to drink alcohol […]. Greenlandic people they normally have a bad reputation for being alcoholic. So people want to distance themselves from this reputation."(Male, 43, unemployed)

Finally, some respondents would refer to feeling pressure to present themselves in a good light in order to avoid negative connotations.

> "So whenever I meet new people, I feel like I have to be a good example of a Greenlandic person. Because I'm probably the first one they have actually, got to speak to for a longer period of time. I also realized that, people didn't expect me to be clever. I felt that many were surprised that I would even go to university, like, 'you're Greenlandic why are you here at the university?' And, people wouldn't trust, that much what, I made for assignments, they wouldn't have high expectations of me. So I think the first couple of years in Denmark were really hard, so I've always

> tried to be just a good person trying to show them that we're just normal people." (Female, 31, teacher).
>
> "I know how many socially well-established people from Greenland are living in this part of the country. I don't see those all in all" (Male, 43, unemployed)

The second perception that many respondents wished to be challenged is the romantic and traditional image of Greenlanders as a hunter society. While hunting is still a big part of many settlements in Greenland, urbanization trends in Greenland have minimized the subsistence hunting. The younger generations in Denmark don't relate to it the same way their parents do. The following is a brief from the interview, discussing the traditional Greenlandic craftsmanship of working with seal skin.

> Interviewer (me): "Do you know how to work with the seal skin?"
>
> Respondent: "No but my mum does". (Female, 30, student)

Another respondent mentioned the traditional Greenlandic meals and how she wants to learn from her father's recipes.

> Respondent: "My father is buying some Greenlandic food that they [The Greenlandic House] sell."
>
> Interviewer (me): "Do you cook Greenlandic meals at home?"
>
> Respondent: "Honestly, I have no idea how he does it, but I should probably learn it before he passes away." (Female, 29, stay at home mum)

The previous two extracts from the interviews suggest that while their parents are able to practice traditional Greenlandic craftmanship and cooking, the respondents themselves don't. This in turn brings attention to whether the traditional representation of Greenland, portrays the reality of the Greenlanders living in Aalborg, especially the younger generation.

> "It's also very much whenever Greenlandic culture is represented in Denmark, it has to be that old fashioned, romantic, a hunter people into their national costumes. And you always get people

> telling me ‘Oh yeah, and your national costumes, they are so beautiful’ […] Oh, the nature's so beautiful’.” (Female, 31, teacher)

Additionally, many respondents shared several occasions where they personally experienced the aftereffects of stereotypical images of Greenland.

> “In 2019, I told my colleagues that I was going to this event [The celebration of the Greenlandic National Day] at Zoo and the comments were just ‘Oh, is it going to be in front of the polar bears?’, ‘The polar exhibition and all the Greenlandic people so you can feel at home by the reindeers.” (Female, 31, teacher)

> “I met some friends that actually thought that we still live in igloos and we don’t have shops we just sit on a fishing hole.” (Male, 27, unemployed)

> “Someone had asked me if I ever had a polar bear as a pet.” (Female, 30, student)

The latter quote draws attention to the existing image many hold of Greenland and Greenlanders in Denmark. Moreover, many respondents referred to the lack of knowledge of Greenlandic culture among Danish.

> “I always give some information. I'm used to that they have so many questions because they don't know anything and they have to test ‘I’ve heard this and this. Is it true?’ or ‘Is it like that or isn't’ ‘how was it like?’ We're just normal people. We do live in houses, we do have electricity. And many people are actually surprised that there isn't snow all year round. We actually do have summer and I would just astounded by people who can be so ignorant.” (Female, 31, teacher).

Similarly, when asked what would a respondent like for Danish to know about Greenland the answer was following.

> “I think the common life in Greenland and maybe that's the basic, the common life” (Female, 37, social worker).

The two latter respondents bring attention to the misunderstandings and alienating image of Greenlanders as some who lead a very different lifestyle and do not have the utilities and facilities, enjoyed by the Danish society. Moreover, one respondent expressed a desire to involve Danish people in the events dedicated to the Greenlandic culture.

> "What I would I truly like to wish for here is not just to have gatherings and social things for Greenlandic people in Aalborg, but actually try to include the Danish people, the local Danish people in these Greenland things." (Male, 43, unemployed).

The respondent expressed his wish to broaden the perception of Greenlanders among Danish and to also integrate the Danish into the Greenlandic culture.

6.2.2. Identity exploration for children and Adults

Many respondents talked about the importance of Greenlandic culture in terms of identity exploration for themselves and their children. Some of the respondents moved to Denmark at a very young age and grew up in Danish environment with Danish customs and traditions and are, thus, not completely familiar with the Greenlandic heritage. However, at a certain point, many became aware of being treated differently, often on the grounds of differences in physical appearance. Some respondents claimed that participating in events about Greenland gives them a chance to explore their Greenlandic heritage that many are being assigned to by others.

> "It's a very big part of me that I haven't discovered in full. I was raised up here. For example, it bothered me a lot when I was teenager I think." (Male, 27, unemployed)

> "In Greenland we just do what is a tradition, but actually, I don't really know why we celebrate many things. At school, everything had been focused on Denmark and other countries instead of our culture." (Female, 30, student).

Similarly, an employee from the Greenlandic House, said, that projects, like Arctic Street food allows Greenlanders to learn about their Greenlandic heritage. Additionally, respondents talked about the parents' responsibility to acquaint their children with the Greenlandic heritage.

> "It's more for my son because I know he's growing up. As I said, he's not very aware of it, now, but at some point, he will get aware of it, because he can't avoid it, with his looks. […]I don't think I'm that good at, raising my son with the Greenlandic culture. He looks much more Greenlandic

> than I do. His skin is darker. His eyes are black and his dark hair and other people are able to see that he's Greenlandic more than me. I've always raised him to be kind of, conscious about his heritage. So I also feel like I have to bring him to those events to show this is important. So whenever there are events, that I'm aware of, I bring him." (Female, 31, teacher)

> "My mom took me there to the [The Greenlandic House] to show, the culture, what we were doing. They [The Greenlandic House] have pictures and I made a picture in my head of Greenland but it was not the same when I got there." (Male, 27, unemployed)

Another responded shared her experience of growing up and having a conflicting relations and feelings about her Greenlandic identity.

> "I had a hard time with it when I was growing up, but now I'm like getting back my pride. Because of all the teasing, all the bullying, but now I'm proud to be [Greenlandic], there was a period where I was kind of ashamed because people, they were just seeing the Greenlanders as alcoholic sitting on Kennedy square. But I overcome that. Now, I'm really proud to be Greenlandic, especially because I moved to London and they were not familiar with Greenlandic, so every time I said that I'm from Greenland, they were like 'wow, that is so exciting'. And yeah, it was, it was like giving me this new identity of 'Greenlandic girl'. (Female, 29, stay at home mum)

Here, the respondent highlights that the existing negative perceptions are place bound and it further affected how the respondent viewed herself while being in Denmark and how it changed upon living in London.

7. Discussion

The spatial visibility of a minority group fundamentally reflects to that group's social inclusion. It reflects on how a particular minority group organize themselves in an urban space. It also draws attention to the social, economic and cultural conditions of the group. The reviewed literature suggests that social gatherings of minority groups in urban spaces act as a form of recognition that informs other urban dwellers about their existence (Cancellieri and Ostanel, 2015; Eross, 2014; Esbenshade, 2012). It also highlights the nature of spatial practices of certain

minority groups and their compatibility with other urban communities (Kuppinger, 2014; Saint-Blancat and Cancellieri, 2014; Wiesemann, 2012). During my study I identified the three most notable places of social gatherings among Greenlanders in Aalborg - the Greenlandic House, Kennedy square and the National Day celebration at the city zoo. Nine out of ten respondents said that it is personally important for them, that the Greenlanders in Aalborg are a visible minority in Aalborg's urban spaces. Only one respondent argued that it is not necessary because, according to her, Greenlanders are in Denmark now and they should embrace the Danish way of life in order to accelerate their integration into Danish society. One of the main reasons respondents wished for more visible social gatherings dedicated to the celebration of Greenlandic culture, is to contest the existing stereotypes and the outdated image about Greenland. The negative reputation that respondents referred to, has much to do with the image of Greenlanders as alcoholics. Many referred to the gatherings at Kennedy square in terms of 'hyper-visibility' (Esbenshade, 2000; Cancellieri and Ostanel, 2015) because sometimes these gathering involve alcohol consumption and conspicuous behavior that evoked negative reactions from others. Arguably, the particular spatial behavior at Kennedy square further adds to the generation of a negative image of Greenlanders as those who suffer from alcohol abuse. Additionally, many talked about an outdated and alienating image of Greenland associated with polar bears, igloos and hunters. Respondents wished to contest this old-fashioned image of Greenland by displaying it in a manner that would reflect the current everyday life of Greenlanders, both in Denmark and Greenland. Thus, when wishing for more visibility, the respondents didn't just want to be randomly visible, instead they aspired for a more composed and controlled visibility, one that possesses the ability to mirror other existing social groups of Greenlanders in Aalborg. One that would show 'the other side' of Greenlanders in Denmark in opposition to the existing negative image. Many respondents expressed their wish to organize public events that would involve Danish people, as it could aid to deconstruct the stigmatized and stereotypical image of Greenlanders. While, the construction of the unfavorable image is a result of many forces, including that portrayed by the media, it also carries implications for spatial visibility. As suggested by the reviewed literature, visible spatial practices of minority groups can lead to formation of attitudes both negative and positive (Wiesemann, 2012, Peters,

and De Haan, 2011). In what follows, I will discuss what role do these three places play in the quest of combating stereotypical images of Greenlanders. Furthermore, I will also discuss broader social meanings embedded within the spatial practices present in these three places.

Public spaces play a key role for spatial visibility as they allow different groups to encounter and take notice of each other (Young, 1990, Jacobs, 1969). Encountering those that are different creates possibilities for social interactions that can abate prejudice and preconceptions while building new attitudes (Wiesemann, 2012; Peters and De Haan, 2011). While the *værested* at the Greenlandic House is a meaningful location for the Greenlanders that visit it, its implications towards visibility and encounters with different groups are low. The numerous activities and events directed at embracing Greenlandic culture that take place in the Greenlandic House are hidden from the public eye, hence becoming invisible. Those who don't have a direct relation to the Greenlandic House have a small chance of actually taking part in these events. An indoor closed space presents the opposite effect to the public spaces as it sets certain limits to accessibility. Moreover, the unplanned encounters (Young, 1990) are less likely to happen in a closed space compared to the open public spaces, where one can accidentally run into other groups. Instead of discussing the implications towards visibility of the Greenlandic House, one can discuss the invisibility of it. As a consequence, there is part of Greenlandic culture that is mostly experienced by the Greenlanders themselves without much participation from Danes. Perhaps according to Amin (2002), the Greenlandic House would be a more suitable location to facilitate encounters between Danish and Greenlanders because, in his view, smaller establishments provide a chance for more meaningful interactions. However, if one does not have an affiliation with the Greenlandic house, one is less likely to enter it. Public spaces give the ability to reach wider audiences that would not have met otherwise. The Greenlandic House on its own is a physical representation of the existence of the Greenlandic community in the city but, arguably, the building itself does not minimize the gap between the Danish and Greenlandic societies nor does it inform passer-by of the activities taking place inside it. Without a doubt, the role and responsibilities of the Greenlandic House extend beyond considerations of spatial visibility, but it highlights how minority institutions don't by default connect minority groups with the host society.

In terms of spatial visibility, the Aalborg Zoo where the Greenlandic National Day has been celebrated for the past couple of years, is not exactly a public space in the conventional understanding. While everyone is welcome to access the zoo, the entry itself requires monetary exchange and the zoo is located outside the city center which further presents challenges to its accessibility. This, in turn has implications for visibility, particularly, the 'audience making' (Iveson, 2008) for the following reasons. First, only those who can afford to go to the Zoo will be able to encounter and participate in the event. Second, some who don't agree with the practices of zoos' (such as restricting animals freedom by keeping them in captivity) won't come. The atmosphere and the location of the Aalborg zoo turn the celebration of the national day into a 'private-public event' (Small, 2005, p.97) where the given event in mostly enjoyed by those who are directly related to the Greenlandic community without broad participation from Danish society.

For most respondents, the National Day celebration is associated with Greenlandic recognition as Greenlandic flags are on display over multiple places in the city. Many respondents reflect on recognition in similar terms to the Filipinos in Padua (Saint-Blancat and Cancellieri, 2014), the display of the flags in public spaces remind others about a special day for the Greenlandic community, hence inviting others to reflect on the meaning of this special day. The display of the Greenlandic flags on the buses and bridges of Aalborg is a reminder that Greenland has a special day. In a sense, they see the display of flags as a recognition of them as a legitimate part of the Danish nation, as citizens and as a part of a culture to be proud of. While it might appear a small gesture, it plays a crucial role for Greenlanders as a post-colonial community. In turn, the celebration at the Aalborg Zoo highlights that there is a group of people living in the city that celebrates this occasion, hence steering attention from the event to the people for whom this is important.

It is important to consider the meanings and implications of the Aalborg Zoo as a location for hosting Greenland's national day. Arguably, the idea behind zoos' around the world is to present that which is exotic and not found in the local environment. As noted by one respondent whose colleagues think the National Day is celebrated in the zoo because there are polar bears

that remind Greenlanders of their home in Greenland. When dealing with communities that are heavily subjected to stereotypes, like Greenlanders, one ought to reconsider the implications of stereotype reproduction when organizing public events.

Out of the three identified places, the Kennedy square has the most access to the general public as it is not only a public square, but it also occupies a central location in the city, providing a steady flow of people every day. The Kennedy square is highly visible as it is in the city center, next to the central train and bus stations. Subsequently, the consequences of its visibility will also be impactful. Arguably, these gatherings contribute to the stereotypical alcohol related image of Greenlanders that many respondents wish to contest. None of the respondents identify with that particular group of Greenlanders at the Kennedy square. Yet many are classified as them because of their similar physical appearance. The Kennedy square in Aalborg has acquired a rather negative image as it displayed a set of behaviors that do not agree with mainstream society e.g. sitting in the square in the middle of a working day. The negative narrative of the Kennedy square is constructed in a similar fashion to that of Latin day laborers (Esbenshade, 2000) and Turkish men in Cologne (Wiesemann, 2012) where the spatial practices of these groups don't align well with other widely accepted norms of behavior.

However, as discussed by Brighenti (2007), visibility is not just an image but a story. Kennedy square is a public place, meaning the Greenlanders that visit it can spend time and socialize with each other without spending any money compared to popular meeting points as coffee shops or bars. Hence, Kennedy square is a place in Aalborg city where Greenlanders with limited financial recourses can be in and use according to their preferences and financial capacity. This brings attention to Lefebvre's (1969) and Harvey's (2003) discussion on the availability of public spaces that urban dweller have access to without engaging in consumerist activities. Clearly, cities offer more options on how to and where to spend time for those who enjoy a comfortable financial situation. This highlights the importance of safeguarding public spaces, not only to preserve them for communities' use but also to observe the social interactions between groups as an indicator of a city's inclusion and equality (Harvey, 2003; Soja, 1998 p.141). The spatial practices of Kennedy square act as a strong indicator of the social

conditions of vulnerable Greenlanders in Aalborg. The Greenlanders that suffer from alcohol abuse cannot be exclusively held accountable for their socio-economic situation. Rather, this particular visibility emphasizes and indicates broader issues connected to shortcomings of Danish integration policies in a post-colonial context.

However, this is just one of the meanings of the visible spatial practices taking place at Kennedy square that is, perhaps, difficult to see without a broader understanding of the consequences of post-colonial migration. It is a complex issue because Kennedy square offers a place to socialize for a vulnerable Greenlandic group and, at the same time, it possibly contributes to the existence of the stereotype of Greenlanders as those who drink. A stereotype that many respondents wish to contest. It is important to note that none of the respondents wished for Kennedy square to disappear in order to prevent these gatherings. Instead, the respondents wished to broaden the narrow image many hold of Greenlanders in Aalborg.

Furthermore, interviews indicated that many respondents wished to include Danish in the cultural activities dedicated to the celebration of Greenlandic culture. It shows that Greenlander integration must be seen as a two-sided process that also requires the participation of Danish society to put effort into familiarizing themselves with the Greenlandic community. This in turn brings attention to how could public spaces of Aalborg be used to foster the interaction between Danish and Greenlanders. While arguably, spatial visibility might not be the primary goal for organizers of the Greenlandic National day event, it is, however, worth considering the implications of celebrating the National Day in a more central location that would reach out to a wider audience. It might also lead to more interactions, as the event is open and one gets a chance to experience Greenlandic culture in the form of music, food and language.

There is a part of the Greenlandic community that is visible in the city through the spatial practices of Kennedy square. While this form of spatial visibility possibly contributes to the generation of a negative image of Greenlanders, it also, importantly, draws attention to the socio-economic conditions of vulnerable Greenlanders in Aalborg. At the same time, there are different social groups of Greenlanders in Aalborg whose experiences are represented through

the activities at the Greenlandic House or the celebration of the Greenlandic National Day at the Aalborg Zoo, but are partly invisible. Instead of discussing visibility in terms of 'right' or 'wrong', one should attempt to interpret and understand the visible spatial practices as symptoms and indicators of broader socio-economic issues. Urban planners have the advantage to study the use the public urban spaces and learn about a city's social composition and interactions.

I presented some of the limitations of my research at the beginning of the thesis, however, it is necessary to give an account of other limitations that became apparent at later stages of this research. While my data focuses on the experiences of Greenlandic respondents of different social backgrounds, it does not include the experiences of those who visit Kennedy square or of regular visitors of *værested* at the Greenlandic House. The oldest respondent was 43 years old and, perhaps, the older generation of Greenlanders might have shared different ideas on the desire to be a visible minority. Finally, while the three identified places of social gatherings (The Greenlandic House, Kennedy square, and the National Day celebration at the zoo) are most notable in Aalborg, there might be other spaces that were not covered in this study.

8. Conclusion and future work

This thesis set study the spatial visibility of Greenlanders in Aalborg by looking at particular places and social gatherings. Additionally, I set to explore how the Greenlandic community relates to these places. The concept of spatial visibility in the context of minority groups addresses the experiences of such groups in public urban spaces (Cancellieri and Ostanel, 2015). Moreover, visible spatial practices of minority groups can result in both positive and negative perceptions among members of the larger society. The three identified places of social gatherings reflect on the experiences and socio-economic conditions of Greenlanders as a post-colonial community, while integrating into Danish society. It further draws attention to the broader issues related to Danish integration policies. The results indicated that Greenlanders are heavily subjected to racism and stereotypes. The respondents are aware of the stigmatization

that is transferred to them from existing stereotypes. This indicates the reproduction of racism, where one persons' unwanted, or visible poverty, is applied to a whole nation or a culture while good behavior and success is seen as exceptional. The spatial practices of the Greenlanders at Kennedy square first and foremost indicate the failure of the local Danish government to integrate this post-colonial community. The stereotyping is a great challenge that Greenlanders face as Danish citizens. It also highlights that in order to stop stereotyping practices, the Danish government needs to take the marginalization of Greenlanders as an indicator of unsuccessful integration policies.

Studying the three most notable places connected to the Greenlandic community in Aalborg and how Greenlanders relate to them provided knowledge that can be used to promote socially sustainable urban planning practises. While there are national policies aimed at social inclusion of minority groups, arguably local municipalities are in a better position to address this matter more successfully as they are the host environment. Learning more about how minority groups relate to city spaces provides valuable information on their experiences and practices which in turn can be used to promote socially sustainable and inclusive urban planning. This study indicates Greenlandic community's experiences in using and interacting with the public urban spaces, which in turn is a valuable knowledge as it can inform urban planners on how to design public spaces that will include and support these practices, e.g. celebration of Greenlandic National Day. The respondents expressed their appreciation of public display of this day, e.g. exhibit of Greenlandic flags, which further draws attention to the importance of public celebrations of Danish minority groups as it shows and acknowledges their presence in the city. Furthermore, it does not just inform on the practices alone, it also informs on the more intricate social conditions of this group. For example, Kennedy square illustrates that socially vulnerable groups exist in Aalborg and they have the right to the use the city spaces according to their socio-economic conditions. One might be too quick to criticize and object to such places, however, it is important to remember that urban social groups use public spaces according to their social and economic resources. It indicates that there are perhaps a shortage of places where those with limited financial situation can go to, thus drawing attention to the need to protect public spaces and design public spaces for the use of different social groups.

This in turn is closely related to the right to the city (Harvey, 2003; Lefebvre, 1996), as it primarily speaks to the access and ability to enjoy city life to all social groups regardless of their social, economic or ethnic background.

Finally, this research presents implications for future studies. As noted before, integration demands participation from both sides- the Greenlanders and Danish. Future studies could look into Danish awareness about the Greenlandic cultural events in Aalborg and how such awareness relates to the spatial visibility of these events. Moreover, each of the identified places could be studied as separate cases. For example, one case study could be carried out with the regular visitors of Kennedy square in order to gain a more extensive picture on their perspective and experiences of that particular place. Finally, a longer term project could entail organizing the Greenlandic National Day celebration in a location that is more visible and accessible than the Aalborg Zoo and study the nature of the participation of both, the Greenlandic and Danish communities.

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