

The History of Sámi Reindeer Husbandry in Greenland and the Transfer of Traditional Knowledge from Sámi Herders to Greenlandic Apprentices

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Cover page: Pississarfik mountain in the Nuuk fjord, Greenland, and reindeer herd at Isortoq, Southern Greenland. Pictures taken by Lena Susanne Kvernmo Gaup

*To my late mother, Tove Kvernmo Gaup
for always believing in me*

Prologue

Finishing this thesis has been a long process since I started this journey as a 23-year-old student. I got interested in my research topic, Sámi reindeer husbandry in Greenland, while I was an exchange bachelor student at Ilisimatusarfik, The University of Greenland, in 2000–2002. I chose to write my bachelor thesis about this topic, and did some fieldwork in Greenland and at home in Guovdageaidnu over the Easter holiday in 2002. When I started my master studies, I wanted to do more research on this topic, because there was so much left to research. It is a fairly unknown topic, both in Sápmi and in Greenland. The summer and fall of 2004, I did the first part of my master fieldwork in different places in Sápmi, and in Greenland. During this time, my supervisor was Professor Ivar Bjørklund, who encouraged me to collect as much data and to interview as much people as possible, for my research. I am very grateful for this encouragement.

In 2004, many people who had been in Greenland engaged in the reindeer husbandry were still alive, but many of them were old. I was able to collect very precious data, and I continued with interviews in early 2005 before taking a break from my studies. I resumed my studies again in January 2006, then I returned to Greenland to collect the data I missed during my first fieldwork period in 2004: a very important interview and a visit to the abandoned reindeer station at Itinnera, among other things. Since early 2007, I went on a long break from my studies, starting my current, permanent position. My thesis was left untouched for a long time. In the fall 2017, I felt the urge to finish the research journey I started long ago and I started working on it again. I returned to my full time job in March 2018, and since then, I have been working on my thesis, just in short, but intensive periods, while on holiday or leave of absence from my job.

Unfortunately, since time has passed since I started my research journey, seven of my informants are no longer amongst us, but five of them still are. I always wanted to finish this thesis, and to utilize the knowledge my informants shared with me. Now I am finally completing this long journey. The point of departure for my research topic was my interest in the moving of reindeer from Sápmi to Greenland. However, while interviewing the people involved in reindeer husbandry, and reviewing the research data, I realized the enormous human effort put into the project

and the courage of that the Sámi and Greenlanders involved in the project displayed. Many people have been involved in it, and they accomplished a lot. I wish to share the story of the people involved in this quite unknown part of our common Sámi-Greenlandic history. Moreover, later I want to contribute with a book about this history, written in Sámi and Greenlandic, with the stories from my informants.

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I am so grateful to my nearest family, for all your support, help and understanding during this work. My sincere thank you goes to my partner, Frederik Lennert, for standing together with me through good and bad times. Moreover, thank you for your help with the technical parts of my thesis. Thank you to my sweet children, Nivi Siggá and Elias Ánte for bearing with your mum being away writing, and for just lightening up my world. My dear father, Ánte Mihkkal Gaup, I am so thankful that I

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Abstract

Danish authorities introduced reindeer husbandry to Greenland in 1952 when three hundred domesticated reindeer were purchased from a reindeer pastoral district or *siida* in Kárásjohka and transported to Greenland by boat to the Nuuk fjord. By introducing semi-domesticated reindeer to Greenland, the Danish state intended to establish an abundant new industry and occupation for people, as well as wanting a steady meat supply for Greenland. Behind the decision was the notion of introducing a more ‘civilized’ industry to Greenland, as part of the Danish state’s colonial past. The plan was that the herd would first be owned by the Danish state but would eventually be privatized and run by native Greenlanders.

Sámi herders were employed for their expertise on reindeer husbandry to work with the herd, and employed as trainers for the Greenlandic apprentices because of their traditional knowledge and herding techniques in Sámi reindeer husbandry. The Sámi herders were an active part of Greenlandic reindeer husbandry between 1952-1978. Between 1952–1973 the reindeer husbandry at Itinnera in the Nuuk fjord was managed by the Danish authorities. In 1978, the reindeer husbandry in the Nuuk fjord was taken over by the residents of the Kapisillit village and run as a local co-operative until 1998 when the herd was sold to the Nuuk Municipality. This ended reindeer husbandry in the Nuuk region that was also heavily overgrazed. Despite the fact that the reindeer adapted well to Greenland, the animals were in good condition, the herd grew steadily with a peak in 1968-69, and the Sámi herders partly transferred their traditional reindeer herding knowledge to Greenlandic apprentices, the reindeer husbandry did not succeed as the Danish authorities had originally intended.

In this thesis, I discuss why reindeer husbandry failed at becoming an abundant and sustainable industry in Greenland. While the failure is often explained with reference to the differences in the hunting culture of the Greenlanders, compared to traditions of herding, I argue that the main reason is to be found in the ‘agricultural model’ of the Danish authorities and their failure to recognize traditional knowledge in reindeer husbandry.

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Abbreviation

The RGTD: The Royal Greenland Trade Department

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1. Introduction

1.1 Background

Reindeer husbandry is a pastoralist economy, which today we find in the entire circumpolar area amongst indigenous peoples. Reindeer husbandry was introduced to the North American continent; it was first introduced to Alaska in 1892, then to Canada in 1935 (Olson 1969) and finally to Greenland in 1952 (Fynbo 1954, Hætta 2010).

In 1952, 300 domesticated reindeer from a Kárásjohka reindeer husbandry district were introduced to the Nuuk fjord in Greenland, to the base at the Itinnera ‘reindeer husbandry station’, which was managed by the Danish authorities, and from 1957 on – by the Royal Greenland Trade Department ¹– *Den Konglige Grønlandske Handel*. Sámi reindeer herders were engaged to herd, and to train Greenlandic Inuit apprentices in the traditional knowledge and herding techniques in Sámi reindeer herding (Rosing 1960, Hætta 2010). The intention of the Danish state was to establish a new industry for the Greenlandic population, amongst other reasons, because they believed the Greenlandic caribou stock was almost extinct, and without which, the Greenlandic population would not be able to hunt caribou in the future. They wanted a steady meat supply to Greenland (Fynbo 1962). A notion of introducing a more ‘civilized’ industry to Greenland, also underpinned the decision by the Danish authorities (see also Hugh Beach 1986, about the introduction of semi-domesticated reindeer to Alaska). Eventually, reindeer husbandry was going to be privatized, and going to be handed over from the authorities to private Greenlanders (Fynbo 1962).

However, the semi-domesticated reindeer husbandry project in Greenland did not follow the Danish authorities’ intention to become an abundant and important industry for the Greenlandic people. At the present time, there is no reindeer husbandry in the Nuuk fjord where the first semi-domesticated reindeer were originally brought; it officially ended there in 1998. At that time, the Nuuk-fjord area was overgrazed (Cuyler 1999).

Currently, there is only one large private reindeer herd and one smaller herd of semi-domesticated reindeer left in Greenland, located in Southern Greenland (Cuyler 1999). The first semi-domestic reindeer were moved to Southern Greenland from the

¹ I will from now on use the abbreviation RGTD.

Nuuk fjord herd in 1973, when one of the Greenlandic apprentices started his own private reindeer husbandry practice in Isortoq (Rasmussen 1992B).

To date, the history of reindeer husbandry in Greenland has received very limited attention in research on reindeer husbandry. I chose to write about this topic because it is an almost unknown history in Sápmi and Greenland. I wanted to conduct research about this topic in order to contribute with knowledge to both the Sámi and the Greenlandic societies. In addition, I have a connection to reindeer herding and have lived in Nuuk for one year in the vicinity of the reindeer husbandry area. Moreover, I have a relative who was engaged in reindeer husbandry in Greenland for four years; he has inspired me by sharing interesting stories about his adventures.

1.2 Research questions

My main problem statement in my master thesis is: Why did the semi-domesticated reindeer husbandry not succeed and become an abundant, important, and sustainable industry in Greenland? The sub-research questions are: What characterize the different periods of the development of the reindeer husbandry in Greenland? How did the reindeer and Sámi reindeer husbandry adapt to the Greenlandic context? Under this part, I will also touch upon: How and under what conditions was Sámi traditional knowledge transferred to Greenlandic apprentices?

1.3 Methodology

This Indigenous studies master thesis is shaped within the fields of history and social sciences; I use a qualitative research approach because it is suitable for my research topic and enabled me to collect detailed research data about the specific topic. Important for my approach to methodology is Linda Tuhiwai Smith's (1999) book *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, and Steinar Kvale's (1996) guidelines on doing qualitative research interviews. I have conducted fieldwork in Sápmi, Denmark, and Greenland in 2004, 2005, and 2006. Given the lack of literature in my case study, I have had to conduct extensive fieldwork including primary research to find all the necessary information and background information and in order to be able to write a comprehensive time-line of the history.

1.3.1 Data collection: overview

During my field work, I have talked to researchers Christine Cuyler and Hans-Erik Rasmussen, who were kind enough to meet me and give me information about my

research topic. I have done *qualitative semi-structured audio-recorded interviews* with informants involved in reindeer husbandry in the Nuuk fjord in Greenland. I have also done *participant observation* in Isortoq, Southern Greenland, at the herd that still exists today. I have observed the former reindeer husbandry area in the Nuuk fjord, and the abandoned reindeer station in Itinnera. In addition, I have done *archive studies*, in the National Archive of Greenland (*Grønlands Nationalarkiv*) in Nuuk, and reviewed research on *written sources and documents* on the topic. I have viewed *documentary films and raw-film material* about my research case. The main means of data collection for my research were the interviews and the archive studies, together with research on written documents.

While conducting research for my bachelor thesis at Ilisimatusarfik – the University of Greenland in 2002, I did semi-structured interviews with three Sámi men and one woman from Guovdageaidnu, and interviews with two Greenlandic men. Because I had previously conducted semi-structured interviews, I had already prepared an interview guide that I used during my bachelor thesis about this topic; I then revised the guide for my master thesis research. In this sense, I had already conducted ‘pilot-interviewing’ as Bryman (2016) suggests, before conducting research interviews. Being knowledgeable about the topic was an advantage because I became aware of what other information I needed.

I conducted my main fieldwork in the summer and fall 2004, including interviewing in Snoase/Snåsa and Guovdageaidnu, archive studies, and research at the National Library/ *Groenlandica* in Nuuk, Greenland. The rest of my fieldwork was carried out with a follow-up interview with my key informant in February 2005, and new interviews in the beginning of 2006, after resuming my studies after a break. I returned to Nuuk in March 2006 for additional fieldwork in Greenland, and conducted interviews in Sápmi in the spring of 2006, as well as research on raw-film material on the NRK Sápmi-produced documentary about Johan Klemet Hætta.

1.3.1.1 Qualitative interviews

Qualitative semi-structural interviews: All together, I interviewed six Sámi men and one Sámi woman, four Greenlandic men and one Icelandic man, overall 12 informants. I made a selection of informants, that is, a representative selection: I interviewed two of the three Sámi men who were involved for the longest time in reindeer husbandry, and four other men who stayed a shorter time – one having the role of station leader,

the second being the only Sámi from the Finnish side present and another man who was present in the last part of the ‘Sámi period’ in Greenland. The four men were of different ages when they were in Greenland, one was of a more mature age, working as a station leader, while the other were relatively young men. I also interviewed the only Sámi woman that stayed at the Itinnera reindeer station.

I interviewed informants in Sápmi: in Guovdageaidnu (Finnmark), Snoase (Trøndelag), Norway, and Guhttás/Kuttainen (Lappi), Finland. I interviewed Sámi herders, who had been working with reindeer in Greenland, employed by the Danish state, and with their private herd in Greenland. In Sápmi, I had three key informants. One of them, Johan Klemet Hætta, spent the longest amount of time in Greenland, altogether 18 years, he lived in Snoase (Hætta 2010, Hætta 2004/2005). I had a long interview with him, but went back for a follow-up interview because we ran out of time; he told me to return so he could tell me ‘the whole story’. Because of the interviews conducted for my bachelor project, I conducted follow-up interviews² with the two other Sámi key informants: Anders M. Skum and Anders D. A. Triumpf. Anders Skum, a relative of mine from Guovdageaidnu, spent four years in Greenland (Hætta 2010, Skum 2002/2006). Anders Triumpf, also from Guovdageaidnu, was one of three Sámi men who had spent the longest time in Greenland, he was there for 12 years (Hætta 2010, Triumpf 2002/2006). My other Sámi informants are: Johan A. Eira (2002/2006), who spent three years in the Nuuk fjord, employed as a station leader; Aslak M. Siri (2004), who spent 10 months in the Nuuk-fjord as a publicly employed herder; and Iisakki Väilitalo, the only Sámi from Finnish side who was in Greenland for five years (Hætta 2010, Väilitalo 2006). Maria Anna Valkeapää Eira, stayed close to three years in the Nuuk fjord (Hætta 2010, Valkeapää Eira 2002), and I interviewed her in 2002 for my bachelor research.

The second part of the qualitative, or oral data research, were semi-structured interviews with Greenlandic men who had been involved in reindeer husbandry in Greenland. During my fieldwork trip to Greenland, I stopped in Denmark, Holbæk, and interviewed Jens Rosing. He had initiated the reindeer project in the beginning of 1950s, together with Danish authorities (Fynbo 1962, Rosing 2006). I have interviewed three Greenlandic men, two in Kapisillit, in the Nuuk-fjord, their names were Josva Josefsen and Pavia Berthelsen, and I interviewed one man in Southern Greenland,

² Follow-up interviews are recommended (Bryman 2016).

Isortoq, his name is Ole Kristiansen. Josva Josefsen, from Kapisillit, was interviewed in 2002 for my bachelor research, and in 2004 for my master research, with a follow-up in 2006. I interviewed Pavia Berthelsen, Kapisillit, in 2006, a former apprentice at Itinnera, who later became a private reindeer owner (Berthelsen 2006, Hætta 2010, Hætta 2004/2005). In Narsaq, Southern Greenland, I interviewed Ole Kristiansen in 2004, one of the former Greenlandic apprentices, who later established his own reindeer husbandry practice (Hætta 2010, Kristiansen 2004). Moreover, I interviewed the Icelandic man, Stefan Magnusson, who currently operates the Isortoq reindeer station.³

All of my informants gave me their *informed consent*, and agreed to their names being used in my thesis. Margaret Kovach (2009: 14) writes that using names honors indigenous peoples' oral conversation, and "(...) is an act of sharing through personal narrative (...)". I wanted to honor my informants' knowledge and give them credit in my thesis. Based on the semi-structured interview guide, I asked approximately the same questions from all the informants, but my interviews were flexible, in a conversational style. Topics came up and stories were shared that were not originally planned in the guide (cf. Bryman 2016). I also used a map over the Nuuk-fjord to plot details about the reindeer husbandry area, for instance for the different grazing areas and installations. The use of visual images can trigger memories (Bryman 2016, Silverman 2005), as I experienced during my interviews. Moreover, some informants brought private photos from their time as herders, and talked about the images. All their interviews were crucial for my research, and I am most grateful to all my informants for sharing their stories and knowledge with me. Time has passed since initiating my research, and due to my informants' advanced age, out of the total of 12, only five of them are still living, to then best of my knowledge.

1.3.1.2 Observation and participant observation

Observation: During my fieldwork, I observed the reindeer husbandry area in the Nuuk fjord. I travelled by boat to Kapisillit from Nuuk to conduct interviews, and in addition, I hired a boat to Itinnera to observe the abandoned reindeer station with the houses, slaughter house, and installations. I observed the landscape, natural

³ Magnusson 2004, 2018, pers. comm. by telephone, April 2018.

environment and climate, and compared it to Sápmi. In order to better remember, I filmed and took photographs.

Participant observation: In Southern Greenland, Narsaq, in addition to conducting the interview, Ole Kristiansen and his wife were also kind enough to bring me to the Isortoq reindeer station, for reindeer earmarking and slaughter, where I stayed nearly a week. To certain degree, I helped with the work at the reindeer station; in the role of a Sámi *biigá*⁴ I worked in the corral and cooked a traditional reindeer meal. I observed the landscape and climate in the Isortoq reindeer husbandry area.

1.3.1.3 Archive studies, films and raw-film material, and written sources

Archive studies: I spent two weeks at Greenland National Archives going through all the material about the reindeer husbandry project in Greenland in the period 1956–1982. The archive material consists of unpublished documents like telegrams, letters, annual reports, merchandise lists, employee and leasing contracts, order lists, etc. written by the Danish authorities, the RGTD and Itinnera reindeer station. I found information to reconstruct the historical time-line, but most importantly, data for my analysis.

Written sources: I researched all the published official sources I could find about my topic, consisting of the published annual reports and statistics from the authorities of Greenland⁵. Archive material and the written documents are interesting not only as information about reality, but because of the biases they reveal about the topic (cf. Bryman 2016). Additionally, I read articles from journals and newspapers, and non-scientific books concerning reindeer husbandry in Greenland.

Film and raw-film material: In Greenland, I watched an old, actual filming from 1952, when the 300 reindeer were gathered and embarked on the ship for transport (see 2.4). I also watched the documentary made by NRK Sápmi about Johan Klemet Hætta, when he returned to Greenland at an advanced age to see the reindeer land he left behind. The people at NRK Sápmi were so kind as to give me permission to watch the raw-film material with all the recordings for the documentary for my research.

⁴ *Biigá* is a Sami word for a female helper, who often could watch children, clean, make food, or help with reindeer herding activities.

⁵ Annual reports and statistics from the authorities of Greenland – *Beretninger vedrørende Grønland/ Årsberetninger vedrørende Grønland, Grønland årbog, Grønland statistisk årbog*, see reference list.

1.3.2 Ethical considerations and my role as a researcher

Ethical considerations have been important while interviewing people. It is important to protect the participants in your research, to not cause any harm, or invade their privacy (Bryman 2016). Moreover, I have an ethical responsibility to the communities where I conducted research (Smith 1999). Before conducting interviews, I told the informants about my research and the purpose of it. I told them that their knowledge would be an important contribution in a relatively unknown part of our history. I also informed them about the interview process, and that interviews would only be used for my research. I have sent an application to work with personal data in my research from The Data Protection Official for Research at the Norwegian Centre for Research Data, and the project was approved. In addition, ethical considerations are important because Sámi people and other indigenous people have had negative experiences with research and researchers. According to Smith (1999), outside researchers have been ‘extracting’ knowledge from indigenous societies, without bringing anything back. In addition, Porsanger and Guttorm (2011) write that it has been common in Sápmi that information ‘disappeared’ into the outside world, and the Sámi traditional bearers and communities have considered it inappropriate that their information seldom has returned to them, although they have shared their knowledge with others. Ethics were also important since I was researching an issue where the discourse has been shaped around the idea that it ‘did not succeed.’ I wanted to assure my informants that my focus was on the history and in trying to find explanations as to why reindeer husbandry in Greenland ceased, and not to focus on the discourse that the people had somehow ‘failed.’

In Sámi society, I am an ‘insider,’ as a Sámi woman researching within Sámi society. I hope that I can contribute with an insider perspective in my research. However, at the same time, I am not completely an ‘insider’ (Smith 1999), since I am not a full-time reindeer herder myself. Therefore, I recognize that I might not fully understand the reindeer herders’ perspectives. However, I am a part of a reindeer *siida* with strong connection to reindeer husbandry, and I have my own reindeer earmark. Additionally, I am an indigenous researcher doing research in Greenland, on reindeer husbandry in another indigenous context with another indigenous people involved, the Greenlandic Inuit. In that sense, I am an ‘outsider’ (Smith 1999) but I bring my perspectives as an indigenous person with me, I am familiar with indigenous cultures’ history of colonization and assimilation, and I have knowledge of Sámi reindeer

husbandry that belongs to my own culture. Moreover, my fiancé is Greenlandic, and my children are part Greenlandic. I lived in Greenland for three years, altogether. I have some knowledge of Greenland, and its culture and history.

As Smith (1999: 139) writes, “The outside ‘expert’ role has been and continues to be problematic for indigenous communities”, and this was something I wanted to avoid during my research. For me ‘*reporting back*’ to the people and ‘*sharing knowledge*’ (Smith 1999:15) is essential because my informants have shared their time and knowledge with me. Moreover, my goal after graduating is to write a popular scientific book about my topic in Sámi language, translated to Greenlandic.

1.3.3 Problems with the data collection

It has been difficult conducting this extensive fieldwork, and conducting primary research; it has been both time-consuming and required a great deal of effort. Conducting research in Greenland can be extra challenging due to the limited infrastructure, high costs of travelling, and the extreme climate.⁶ During my main, initial fieldwork in 2004, I failed to collect all the data I needed because of problems travelling by boat through sea-ice in the Nuuk fjord. I had to return for additional fieldwork in Greenland in 2006, this time to collect the data I needed, including an important interview and a visit to the former Itinnera reindeer station. I also experienced other situations that were challenging and even dangerous caused by climate and poor infrastructure, this led to strain and more delay in my initial fieldwork period in 2004.

Some informants were initially hesitant to be interviewed because they doubted if they could contribute, and the interview situations themselves might seem a bit intimidating. By reassuring them that their knowledge was important, and the interviews were not going to be broadcasted and only used in my research, they gladly participated. To get in contact with one of my informants, I brought another informant

⁶ There are no roads between towns and villages in Greenland, the only mean of transport is by boat or air plane. Between the largest towns you can take a liner boat during summer season, that runs once a week, and it is expensive. Often the liner boat is delayed due to bad weather. Airfare in Greenland is also extremely expensive. The most common means of transportation is by small boats. The climate is extreme, with ice in the sea, also during summer, spring and fall. To drive a small, open boat in Greenland is extreme, with a high risk of dying of hyperthermia if one cants with the boat. If there is much ice in the sea, it causes a risk. Also, a risk of being trapped in the ice, or lifted on top of the ice, unable to move the boat. On my sailing trip into Kapisillit in 2004 during fieldwork, we experienced very much ice, which was risky, and we were almost trapped in the ice.

along for a visit, thus, he was functioning as a ‘door opener.’ It was challenging to find Greenlandic informants who had been involved in reindeer husbandry because of the small number of potential informants. Unfortunately, some had passed away at a young age (Hætta 2004/2005, Kristiansen 2004), and others had quit after a short time (Rosing 1960). One Greenlander was initially skeptical of being interviewed, probably because of my role as an ‘outsider researcher,’ and because of the discourse of the ‘failed’ industry. After meeting him in person with my partner as a translator – who as a Greenlandic ‘insider,’ was as a door opener (Smith 1999), I explained my intentions and he gladly participated in an interview that turned out to be quite fruitful. During my research, I have experienced difficulties reviewing, analyzing, and narrowing down my approach to the material, due to the extensive amount of data I collected. I have not been able to use all of the material I collected for this thesis, therefore there is a great deal of material left out that be used for further research on this topic.

1.4 Literature review

When I started on my research the topic in 2004, little or no written materials about Greenlandic reindeer husbandry were available. In 2010, Odd Mathis Hætta published the book: *Samisk reindrift på Grønland. Fra utvikling til avvikling (1952– 1978)*. He interviewed Sámi men who were involved in reindeer husbandry and focused on the Sámi point of view of husbandry in Greenland, from the beginning until the Sámi left in 1978. In addition, Hans-Erik Rasmussen has written one article on cultural sustainability and the operation of the Southern Greenlandic reindeer husbandry, and three articles about cultural sustainability and perspectives on the terrestrial animal production systems in Central West Greenland, which included the Itinnera reindeer herd. He discussed operational problems in the Itinnera husbandry in the 1990s (1992, 1992B, 1994 and 1995). In addition, Cuyler (1999) writes about the success and failure of reindeer herding in Greenland.

An important theoretical perspective in this thesis is Sámi traditional knowledge, especially in reindeer husbandry. I partly draw on the work of Porsanger and Guttorm (2011): *Working with Traditional Knowledge: Communities, Institutions, Information Systems, Law and Ethics*. For traditional knowledge in reindeer husbandry, I draw on Ivar Bjørklund’s work (1990) about pastoralism and indigenous resource management systems in Sámi reindeer pastoralism, among others. Further, I draw on the work of Mikkel Nils Sara (2001) and Robert Paine (1994), who have written about

reindeer husbandry in Guovdageaidnu, and Solveig Joks' (2001, 2007) work on women in Sámi reindeer husbandry. Other important works are about governance in Sámi reindeer husbandry like Ellen Inga Turi (2016), Mikkel Nils Sara (2013) and Kathrine I. Johnsen (2018). In addition, I have read some literature about reindeer husbandry in Alaska and Canada, as a reference to my research, for instance Hugh Beach (1986) and Ørnulf Vorren (1989).

1.5 Outline of the thesis

The introduction chapter introduces the topic, the research questions, and the methodology. I have conducted qualitative research with a focus on interviews, archive studies, and research on written published sources. Chapter two describes the first period with early planning and history of the reindeer husbandry project, the initial investigations and the realization of the reindeer husbandry project. I explain the Danish authorities' intention and objective of introducing reindeer husbandry to Greenland, and the import of 300 reindeer from Finnmark to the Nuuk fjord, and briefly describe the history of Greenland's political rule and the RGTD.

In chapter three, I explain my conceptual framing of traditional knowledge in reindeer husbandry, with some key concepts. Chapter four tells the history of Sámi reindeer husbandry in Greenland, through the last three main periods: 1) initial investigations started in 1833; 2) the realization in 1952 and state management 1952–1973; 3) the period of private ownership 1973–1998 (with one herd under temporarily public management 1975–1978); and 4) the last period when reindeer husbandry in the Nuuk fjord has come to an end.

Chapter five describes how the reindeer and Sámi reindeer husbandry adapted to the Greenlandic context. I touch upon how and under what conditions the Sámi traditional knowledge is transferred to Greenlandic apprentices. In chapter 6, I link this development to colonialism and 'civilization policy' of the Danish authorities in Greenland, in order to answer my main problem statement: Why did reindeer husbandry not succeed in becoming an important industry, as intended by the Danish authorities? Finally, I offer some concluding thoughts and issue a call for further research on the topic.

2. The first period: background of the reindeer husbandry project

2.1 The Danish initiative to introduce semi-domesticated reindeer to Greenland

Traditionally, reindeer husbandry has stretched from Northern Scandinavia, all the way to North-East Russia, and Siberia. In the 19th and 20th century, reindeer husbandry was introduced to Alaska, Canada and Greenland, regions with no traditional reindeer husbandry, only hunting of wild caribou (Vorren 1989, Rasmussen 1994).

The first initiative to introduce domesticated reindeer to Greenland came from the Danish authorities. Reindeer husbandry was introduced to Greenland in 1952, after a long process, started in the 19th century. This initiative can be connected to the introduction of domesticated reindeer to Alaska in 1892⁷, and to Canada in 1935 (Vorren 1989, Rasmussen 1992), and Greenland was the last region where reindeer husbandry was introduced.

In the following, I will touch upon the driving forces of the Danish authorities to introduce reindeer husbandry to Greenland, with the help of Sámi reindeer herders. According to historical sources, 1833 is the very first time the idea of semi-domesticated reindeer to Greenland was mentioned, this was when the Danish Inspector (*Inspektør*) Holbøll suggested introducing semi-domesticated reindeer. This was primarily to help Southern Greenlandic Inuit with their lack of draft animals (Rosing 1965–66). At this time, Southern Greenlanders did not have Greenlandic sled dogs for transportation, and still today, Southern Greenland is outside the regulated sled dog district above the Arctic Circle⁸. In 1833, Holbøll regarded this situation as a problem. Following this, the Danish authorities H. J. Rink and the Guardian Council⁹

⁷ Rasmussen (1992) writes that reindeer husbandry was introduced to Alaska during the period 1881–1902.

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https://www.sullissivik.gl/Emner/Teknik_og_miljoe/Slaedehunde/Hold_af_slaedehunde?sc_lang=da-DK

⁹ The Guardian Councils (*Forstanderskaber*) in Greenland, were Greenland Administrative Councils for the colonies in Western Greenland during 1857–1911. The Guardian Councils, consisted of the top Danish officials and a number of members, elected by the Greenlandic hunters. This gave the Western Greenlanders a certain degree of co-determination over their local communities. The Council was in charge of poverty relief and provided grants for household materials and commercial equipment. The rest of the income was distributed among the Greenlanders according to their skill as sealers. The Guardian Councils in Greenland served as courts and were thus the first instance in the Greenlandic court system. Sørensen 2018: <http://denstoredanske.dk/index.php?sideId=78602>, Sørensen 2006.

(Forstanderskab) suggested introducing semi-domesticated reindeer in 1867. In 1888, Fridjof Nansen, the famous Norwegian polar explorer, was the first to ski over the Greenlandic ice cap from the Eastern side over to the Western side, arriving in Austmannadalen in the Nuuk fjord. Along with him, two Sámi men, Ole Ravna and Samuel Balto followed. Nansen, Ravna and Balto all thought that the Nuuk fjord area was quite suitable for reindeer husbandry, and Balto and Ravna expressed that they saw “a land all set for reindeer husbandry”¹⁰ (Rosing 1965–66: 190). In 1905, Knud Rasmussen¹¹ travelled with Isak Klemetsen¹² and Ole Ravna¹³ along the coast of Greenland from Nuuk in the south to Uummanaq in the north. Their task was to evaluate if the land was suitable for semi-domesticated reindeer husbandry. They were in favor of the Nuuk area for this purpose, and stated that the Nuuk fjord had good summer and winter pastures, whereas the northern areas were not found suitable for reindeer husbandry. Ravna and Klemetsen, stated that the Nuuk area had very

¹⁰ My translation to English, from the original quote in Danish: “*Her er færdig Land for Tamren*” (Rosing 1965–66: 190).

¹¹ Knud Rasmussen (1879–1933) was a Greenlandic-Danish Arctic explorer, with a Danish minister as a father, and a local Greenlandic woman as a mother. He grew up in Greenland and finished his student exam in Denmark. In 1901, Knud Rasmussen travelled to Sápmi (then called Lapland) and stayed with Sámi people, as a preparation for his future plans for research trips to among other Inuit populations. He was a member of the Danish Literary Greenland Expedition, 1902–1904, who travelled to the Polar Inuit area in Thule district. During his travel to Sápmi, Rasmussen had an idea about introducing reindeer husbandry to Western Greenland, as it just had been done in Alaska. He was able to raise an interest in the issue, and got funding for investigations for introducing reindeer husbandry to Greenland 1905, and wrote a report about the investigation, to the Danish authorities- Ministry of Internal affairs (*Indenrigsministeriet*). Later Knud Rasmussen travelled all the way from Greenland to Alaska with dog sledge, in the so-called “Thule Expeditions” 1912–1933. He is a famous in Greenland and Denmark through his expeditions, and has been very important for the exploration of Greenland. The expeditions he participated in and the ones he planned and implemented, each gave a significant scientific benefit. <https://knudrasmus.dk/knud-rasmussen> and http://denstoredanske.dk/Dansk_Biografisk_Leksikon/Samfund,_jura_og_politik/Opdagelsesrejse/Polarforsker/Knud_Rasmussen).

¹² Isak Klemetsen, was a sedentary Sámi man from Kárášjohka that travelled together with Ole Ravna and Knud Rasmussen (see footnote number 3) in Greenland to investigate whether and where the land was suitable for reindeer husbandry. They travelled over 3 months, from their departure from Copenhagen on the 1st of June, 1905 on the ship Hans Egede until they returned to Copenhagen again sometimes in September 1905, by the same ship. In Greenland they investigated three districts; Nuuk, Maniitsoq and Sisimiut, travelling by smaller boats and living in tents. The two Sámi men gave detailed recommendations for the districts they investigated, for instance in the Nuuk fjord, an account of the carrying capacity of each specific area in the fjord (Rasmussen 1902–1906).

¹³ Ole Ravna (1841–1906), a reindeer herding Sámi from Kárášjohka, was the same man that had crossed Greenland by ski, together with Nansen in 1888. He travelled with Isak Klemetsen and Knud Rasmussen, to investigate pastures in Greenland (see footnote number 4). On their way to Copenhagen, Ole Ravna and Isak Klemetsen were met by Nansen in Oslo (Rasmussen 1902–1906 and <http://www.polarhistorie.no/personer/Ravna%2C%20Ole%20Nielsen>).

good pastures and a lot of lichen, and they were surprised to see that the Greenlandic caribou they shot had back fat during the summer (which is during this period, rare in Sápmi) this indicated good pastures. Ole Ravna said that the pastures in Greenland were better than in Sápmi (on both the Norwegian and Finish sides)¹⁴ (Rasmussen 1902–1906: 267).

2.2 Realization of the ‘Reindeer Husbandry Project’

The Annual Reports of Greenland, *Beretninger vedrørende Grønland*¹⁵ includes the Provincial Councils of Greenland’s negotiation reports, *Landsrådsforhandlinger*,¹⁶

¹⁴ Ole Ravna’s whole quote in Danish: “*Her er færdig Land for Tamren, bedre Bejte findes ikke paa denne jord. Jeg har været i alle Lande, baade i Lapland, Norge og store Finland, og store Finland siger man er det bedste land i Verden. Nej, ikke bedre enn Grønland, siger nu gamle Fjeldmand. Og saa findes her slet ikke Renenes værste Fjender: Ulven og Rentyven. Intet kan skamfere Flokken her. Det er lykkeligt, det Grønland, bare Tamren mangler. Om den danske Stat vilde give mig Tilladelse, saa skulde det blive mit Land*” (Rasmussen 1902-1906: 267).

¹⁵*Beretninger vedrørende Grønland* are annual reports made by the authorities about Greenland, published by the Ministry of Greenland until 1987, about Greenlandic industries, and statistic numbers about issues concerning Greenland. From 1987 they were published by the State Ministry, Department of Greenland, and after 1990 published by the Home Rule Government, the Statistic Office of Greenland. These reports change name throughout time, from *Beretninger vedrørende Grønland*- meaning Reports about Greenland, to *Grønland årsberetning/ Grønland/ Kalallit Nunaat årsberetning*, meaning Greenland Annual Reports, to *Grønland/ Kalaallit Nunaat årbog*, meaning Greenland Annual book, and in recent times *Grønland/ Kalaallit Nunaat statistisk årbog*, meaning Greenland Annual Book of Statistics. I have researched these annual reports on information about the semi-domesticated reindeer husbandry; number of semi-domesticated reindeer, number of semi-domesticated reindeer slaughtered, number of semi-domesticated reindeer sold out of Greenland, and other information about the husbandry, like income and subsidies. Moreover, there are reports from Provincial Councils of Greenland’s negotiations *Grønlands landsrådsforhandlinger* (The Provincial Council/s of Greenland were under Denmark, until the Home Rule Government was established in 1979, see more in the next foot note).

¹⁶ The Provincial Councils in Greenland, *Grønlands landsråd*, were the two highest political bodies in Greenland 1911-1979. The Northern Provincial Council had a seat in Qeqertarsuaq (Godhavn) and the Southern Provincial Council in Nuuk (Godthåb). In 1950, they were united into one single Council that operated until 1979, when replaced by the Home Rule Parliament. Their mandate was adopting matters, sent from Denmark, and they also had the mandate to propose new bills for the county they represented. Before 1925, only Greenlanders were eligible, but after this, Danes could also be elected (historically, altogether four Danes held seats). Only as late as 1948, women got voting rights. Moreover, only one woman has been a member (1959-74). From 1911, the Danish state appointed the inspectors, that were non-voting chairmen. From 1925 they held the title as governors (*landsfoged*). The governor (*landshøvding*) was chairman in the period, 1950-67, following that the council itself elected chairmen. A National Ombudsman (*Rigsombudsmand*) replaced the title of the governor after 1979, following the establishment of the Home Rule Government. In contrast to the former Guardian Councils, the Provincial Councils held both formal and real influence on the overall development in Greenland, although most of the decisions were still taken in Copenhagen. The Provincial Councils were primarily advisory bodies for the Danish authorities. The Provincial Councils assessed all bills and regulations concerning Greenland, before they came into force. They could also raise issues for the government in Copenhagen. The Provincial Councils own decisions had to be approved in Copenhagen before 1950. The Provincial Council was the most important co-player of the government in the modernization

telling about the decision-making process of introducing semi-domesticated reindeer to Greenland, and why the introduction was initialized. Even though the introduction of reindeer husbandry to Greenland was proposed several times by different people, the plans where were not realized until as late as 1952.

During the Provincial Councils' negotiations in 1946, the issue of introducing semi-domesticated reindeer to Greenland was raised once again. The Council member stated that the issue had been forgotten and not considered properly, but had been under discussion again during WWII, when it was emphasized that Greenland should live off its own land's resources. During this Council's meeting, a resolution was passed that the issue of introducing semi-domesticated reindeer should be investigated¹⁷. In 1948, the Provincial Councils' meeting passed a resolution that Peter Freuchen (who had showed an interest) would be allowed to introduce a small amount of semi-domesticated reindeer on the condition of no contamination of diseases, and the consent of the local people¹⁸.

According to *Beretninger vedrørende Grønland 1951–1952*, the Danish State Ministry continued the issue themselves independently without Peter Freuchen's involvement.

In 1949, a young Greenlandic man, Jens Rosing¹⁹, had on his own initiative, travelled to Norway, Finnmark to learn about Sámi reindeer husbandry where he visited Sámi people and experienced reindeer herding. This became one of the driving forces for the State Ministry to support the introduction of reindeer, and influenced

of Greenland after 1950. Actual party formation took place only in the late 1970s (Sørensen 2018, https://da.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gr%C3%B8nlands_Landsr%C3%A5d).

¹⁷ *De forenede Grønlandske landsraads forhandlinger 1946*

¹⁸ *Beretninger vedrørende Grønland 1948*

¹⁹ Jens Rosing (1925- 2008), was a Greenlandic man born in Ilulissat, and lived parts of his childhood in Eastern Greenland. He took an exam in lower education (*realeksamen*) in Denmark 1944, was employed at by RGTD until 1946, and was graduated at the Academy of Free and Mercantile Arts 1948 and at the Art Academy's School of Paint in 1950. Rosing was central in introducing reindeer husbandry to Greenland, initiating the project, part of the initial work with investigations of possible reindeer husbandry areas, transporting the reindeer from Finnmark to Greenland, and leading the reindeer station at Itinnera from the beginning in 1952 until 1959, when he together with his family moved to Denmark to work with his art. Nature was always important to Rosing, which is visible in his artistic work. He was a storyteller, much inspired by his childhood in Eastern Greenland, where old Inuit traditions were still present. Moreover, Rosing was an author, painter/ illustrator, artist of sculptures/ jewelry, reconstructed old tools, etc., and he has made films to document the last remnants of the hunting culture. He has also taken part in several expeditions and excavations, was in charge of Greenland's National Museum during the seventies- and managed the initiative of studying the Qilakitsoq mummies (*Beretninger vedrørende Grønland 1951-52, 1953, Pastenak 1999, Hardin & Lidegaard 2018*).

the subsequent passing of the resolution in the (then united) Provincial Council in 1951. The Danish State Ministry sought the Provincial Council's approval for the already initiated reindeer husbandry experiment. They needed the Council's approval because the reindeer needed protection in the area they were going to be released into. In 1950, Jens Rosing was hired as a reindeer herder for a private Norwegian *tamreinselskap* – private owned Norwegian cooperative in Southern Norway, who managed semi-domesticated reindeer in Hallingdal. In 1952 (and 1953), he travelled in Finnmark and Nordland counties, in Northern Norway. The chair of the Provincial Council expressed that because a person from the Greenlandic society on his own initiative had learned about reindeer husbandry, he would be suitable as a leader when a reindeer husbandry experiment would be established in Greenland. The Council also expressed hope that reindeer husbandry would become economically important to Greenland²⁰.

During the Provincial Council's negotiations prior to the passed resolution in 1951, ideas about taming or breaking in wild caribou, were raised. However, they received information that this was not possible²¹. The members (*landsrådsmedlemmer*) were concerned about the proposed resolution on reindeer and stated that the reindeer experiment should be carried out in an area without indigenous caribou, this was to avoid contagion of diseases and hybriding between reindeer and caribou, due to the reindeer's smaller size. Finally, the proposal to introduce reindeer was passed with only one vote against. In addition, a resolution on protection of the reindeer was also passed – implying that there was a prohibition in the area appointed for husbandry – on hunting the reindeer²².

The Danish State Ministry contacted Norwegian authorities concerning the introduction of reindeer to Greenland. The former Sámi reindeer herder, Anders Stueng,²³ was appointed by the Norwegian Ministry of Agriculture, to carry out an

²⁰ *Beretninger* 1951- 52, 1953

²¹ Fynbo 1954, *Beretninger vedrørende Grønland* 1952

²² *Beretninger vedrørende Grønland* 1951-52

²³ Anders Stueng was a Sámi man from Kárášjohka. When he went to Greenland, he was around 50 years old. In *Beretninger vedrørende Grønland* he is referred to as a 'reindeer specialist' (1952: 39). As opposed to the two Sámi who travelled with Knud Rasmussen, he stayed the whole winter at Itinnera, and was able to observe the land, climate and pastures all seasons. He had told Jens Rosing, my translation into English: "I have never seen so good calving weather at the Finnmark tundra, no sleet, only sun that dries the snow. Here no reindeer calves will freeze to death. As you can see, today there is already grass on the coast, 7th of May. The females will have good milk for their calves. Let us hope, that the reindeer calving in the future will be like this. There have not been spring floods, and the

investigation of the land in Greenland for the possible reindeer husbandry. He and the Greenlandic initiator, Jens Rosing, were resuming Knud Rasmussen's investigations of the land and grazing areas in Greenland, and they investigated the Nuuk area, and moreover the area between Manitsoq and Aasiaat. The whole winter of 1951–52, they were stationed in the Nuuk fjord, examining the climate and snow conditions, and found the conditions approved for reindeer husbandry, just as their predecessors had²⁴. Especially the peninsula where Qorqut is located, was considered very good for husbandry (Rosing 1955). Peter Hagen, the Norwegian Lapp Inspector (*lappfogd*²⁵), re-examined Jens Rosing's and Anders Stueng's reports. In the spring of 1952, the Danish authorities covered Hagen's trip to Greenland to investigate the designated area. Hagen also found the area quite suitable for reindeer husbandry²⁶.

2.3 The Danish authorities' intention and objective of the 'Reindeer husbandry project'

Reindeer husbandry amongst Inuit has been introduced from 'the outside', often with the initiative of Europeans (Rasmussen 1992). In Greenland, the initiative partly came from a native Greenlander, together with the Danish State Ministry, but the Danish authorities were in charge of the project. Officially, it was due to two main reasons that the Danish Government wanted to introduce reindeer husbandry to Greenland. At the time, before the reindeer were introduced, the caribou stock in Greenland had declined. In the years around 1840, 30,000 wild caribou were hunted annually in Greenland, even with bad firearms, resulting in a decrease of the caribou stock (Fynbo 1954). The caribou stock in the middle of the 19th century was around 250,000–

spring migration here is not an issue, when the reindeer all by themselves- only by some supervision- will migrate up to the summer pastures on the high mountain when it gets warmer, and the grass lifts higher up to the mountain. Yes, you will have robust calves, and probably will the Greenlandic semi-domestic reindeer be big, larger than in Finnmark, and robust like your magnificent caribou". The original quote is in Danish: "*Aldrig har jeg oplevet så godt kalvingsvejr på Finnmarksvidda, ingen slud, kun langs kysten, i dag den 7. maj. Semlerne vil få god mælk til deres kalve. Lad os håbe, at her ingen sag, da renerne af sig selv- bare med lidt tilsy- vil trække op til sommerbeite på højjeldet, som varmen kommer, og græsset rykker højere op til fjelds. Ja, I vil få kraftige kalve, og sikkert vil den grønlandske tamren blive stor, større end på Finnmarksvidda, og kraftig som jeres prægtige vildren*" (Rosing 1955: 226). Stueng was later also employed by the Danish authorities, receiving and guiding the two Sámi herders, Johan Klemet Hætta and Mathis P. Gaup in Oslo, on their way to Greenland in 1955 (Hætta 2004/ 2005).

²⁴ *Beretninger vedrørende Grønland* 1952

²⁵ Lapp Inspector (*lappfogd*) is a former title for a Norwegian official supervising issues concerning reindeer husbandry, and compliance of the reindeer laws. The Lapp Inspectors were usually ethnic Norwegians. The current title would be Reindeer Agronomist.

<https://snl.no/reindrifstagnom> and <https://www.naob.no/ordbok/lappfogd>

²⁶ Rosing 1965-66, *Beretninger vedrørende Grønland* 1951-1952

500,000 caribou. After the 1920s, it was on a minimum, and in 1950s there were around 10,000–20,000 caribou²⁷. Because of this, the authorities had, to a large extent, made regulations to protect the caribou stock (Fynbo 1954). The Danish authorities wanted *to secure and stabilize the meat supply* in Greenland, and prevent that Greenlanders would have to import meat (Rasmussen 1994, Rosing 1955). In retrospect, the caribou stock actually was not going extinct, it was rather fluctuating. Jepsen (Jepsen 1999: 5) writes: “The Greenlandic caribou population has experiences times of prosperities and recessions over the past centuries. The population fluctuations have cycles on 65–115 years (...)”²⁸

The other main reason for launching the ‘reindeer husbandry experiment’ was to introduce a *new industry* for the Greenlandic population. Compared to the traditional hunting and fishing economy, this would become an additional new and different industry, that is, different from the traditional livelihood. The sheep breeding industry established in 1915, occupied some Southern Greenlanders. Rasmussen writes: “Reindeer herding came to Greenland after the start of a strategy for the business life which build upon the introduction of sheep breeding and the new development of fishing in coastal areas” (Rasmussen 1994: 89). The authorities planned that during the first period after introduction of reindeer, Greenlanders would be trained as reindeer herders, and the state would be responsible for the management of the herd. Eventually, reindeer husbandry would be privatized and Greenlanders would own and manage private herds as a means of livelihood (Fynbo 1962) suitable for the climate and natural environment of Greenland²⁹. The Danish authorities invested a fairly large amount of money to realize the reindeer husbandry project, they hired employees, and invested time in the discussions with Norwegian authorities, etc. Reindeer husbandry was supposed to supply reindeer meat and other reindeer products, such as reindeer hides, to its own state, both in Greenland and in Denmark. The plan was also to export meat and other reindeer products to Europe³⁰.

Another agenda is the unofficial and hidden one, where one can draw a parallel between the Danish authorities’ objective with the objective of the Alaskan

²⁷ *Beretninger vedrørende Grønland 1950*, Lassen & Aastrup 1981.

²⁸ My translation to English, from the original quote in Danish: “*Den grønlandske vildrenbestand har haft flere op- og nedgangsperioder gennem de sidste århundreder. Populationsfluktuationerne har en cyklus på 65- 115 år (...)*” (Jepsen 1999: 5).

²⁹ *Beretninger vedrørende Grønland 1952-53*

³⁰ *Beretninger vedrørende Grønland* several years, and the RGTD’s archive material, several years.

authorities of introducing reindeer husbandry to the Inuit. According to Hugh Beach (1986), in Alaska the introduction of reindeer husbandry and the training of the Inuit as reindeer herders, was also an attempt to ‘civilize’ the ‘primitive’ native population. In the minds of the non-native Western authorities’, the Inuit were supposed to advance from primitive hunters, to pastoralists and work as herders. The Danish state’s objective was to introduce a new occupation for the local population, where the Greenlandic Inuit should evolve from hunting to husbandry, which was considered at a higher ‘level of civilization’ and less primitive than hunting and fishing. In the Euro-American conception, the pastoral cultures were closer to the ideal civilization represented by the sedentary farmer, than the hunters (Beach 1986, Rasmussen 1994).

Denmark’s policy towards the local population in their colony was a product of its time. With Greenland being a colony of Denmark, the Danish authorities’ notion was that they needed to ‘accommodate’ the local Greenlandic population to reach the level of a ‘civilized modern society’ (see more in chapter 6.1). In *Det grønlandske Selskab’s Aarskrift*³¹, were former Danish officials consisting of former colony managers (*kolonibestyrer*), a medical doctor, and a lieutenant, the following was written about animal husbandry:

By the later colonization of Greenland, however, the land was found inhabited by the Eskimos– a hunter– and fisher people, who such a profession [animal husbandry] was completely foreign and almost contradicting their habitual habits and way of life. Since civilization and enlightenment now the gradually has penetrated more into the Greenlandic population, and they know by their relationship with Danish people, and partly by being descendants from Danish people, has had their concepts and perceptions altered, then perhaps it could be time, to maybe try to promote animal husbandry among them³²

The officials doubted that Greenlanders were sufficiently civilized or enlightened enough to start up experimental farming and animal husbandry (Rasmussen 1994),

³¹ *Det Grønlandske Selskab*- The Greenlandic Society was established in 1905 of Danish official that had returned home to Denmark. The society’s objective was to «inform and build up good relations to Greenland». My translation from the original in Danish: “*at orientere om og opbygge gode relationer til Grønland.*” (www.dgls.dk). *Det Grønlandske Selskabs Aarskrift*, was the society’s annual book.

³² My translation to English, the original text is in Danish: “*Ved den senere Kolonisation af Grønland forefandtes imidlertid Landet beboet af Eskimoerne- et Jagt- og Fiskerifolk, hvem et saadant Erhverv var fuldstændig fremmed og nærmest stridende mod deres natrlige Vaner og Levesæt. Eftersom Civilisation og Oplysning nu eterhaanden er trængt mere igjennem hos den grønlandske Befolkning, og de ved Samværet med danske, og til dels ved Afstamning fra Danske, har faaet Begreber og Opfattelser forandrede, kunde maaske Tiden være inde til at søge Husdyrholdet fremmet iblant dem*”. Anonymous 1906: *Det Grønlandske Selskabs Aarskrift* 1906: 42-43.

but one of the officials thought it might be a bit easier with semi-domesticated reindeer, than with farming animals. Still, one of them expressed that reindeer husbandry would be an expensive project that he doubted would provide any profit³³. In this case, it is interesting that a colonial national state uses another indigenous people, the Sámi people, to introduce a more ‘civilized’ industry to Greenland, and to help civilize the indigenous, native people.

On the question of why the late introduction of reindeer husbandry to Greenland, even if it was mentioned already in 1833, Rosing writes (1960:128): (...)“Greenland’s leadership (*Styrelse*) had been tumbling with the idea to introduce sheep to Southern Greenland (...)”³⁴, at approximately the same time. This experiment was quite risky financially, but turned out to be a productive industry (Fynbo 1954). As mentioned above, sheep farming was introduced to Greenland in 1915; ten years after Rasmussen, Ravna and Klemetsen had investigated possible reindeer husbandry areas. One other reason for the late realization of the project was the high economic cost that the Danish Government hesitated to invest³⁵.

2.4 The import of Finnmark reindeer to Greenland in 1952: the beginning of the ‘Reindeer Husbandry Project’

As mentioned, the Danish authorities negotiated with Norwegian authorities concerning the introduction of domesticated reindeer, and concerning chartering a ship to transport reindeer to Greenland. The Danish State Ministry and the Norwegian Ministry of Agriculture³⁶ made an agreement concerning the purchase of domesticated reindeer in Norway, and the transport and embarking of reindeer. It was decided that the Danish authorities were going to purchase 300 domesticated reindeer that were going to be transported by ship to Greenland. Norwegian experts recommended that the lowest amount of reindeer needed for building up a domesticated reindeer stock was 300 reindeer, and that less than 300 reindeer would be difficult to control once they reached Greenland³⁷. In September 1952, semi-domesticated reindeer were purchased from the coast of Finnmark, Northern-Norway (Fynbo 1954) from a reindeer district belonging to Kárášjohka, Čorgašnjárga (Skum

³³ Anonymous 1906: *Det Grønlandske Selskabs Aarskrift* 1906: 46, 57

³⁴ My translation to English, the original quote is in Danish: ”Grønlands Styrelse havde tumbled med ideen om at introducere får til Sydgrønland (...)” Rosing 1960: 128.

³⁵ My interpretation of the RGTD archive material, from several years.

³⁶ In Norway is reindeer husbandry still today under the Ministry of Agriculture and Food (<https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dep/lmd/id627>)

³⁷ *Beretninger vedrørende Grønland* 1952, Fynbo 1954

2002); *Márgget-siida*³⁸ sold reindeer to the Danish state. An agreement was made with Per Johnsen Anti, Henrik Petersen Guttorm, and several others, that they would sell 300 reindeer from their summer grazing area at Kjøllefjord (Hætta 2010).

Semi-domesticated reindeer were chosen from Finnmark because they were considered the most suitable for Greenland. Kjøllefjord, and Čorgašnjárga summer area, was chosen because of having a corral near the harbor, easing the embarking (Fynbo 1954). The Danish and Norwegian authorities had agreed that during embarkation of the reindeer, veterinaries were going to be present, both from Denmark and Norway, along with representatives of the Danish State Ministry and the Norwegian Ministry of Agriculture, for control and supervision. The Danish representatives were Clerk (*fuldmægtig*) Jens Fynbo and Bureau Chief Arne Hallsjö. Fynbo was a part of the administration of reindeer husbandry for many years to follow. From the Norwegian side came the Lapp Inspector, Arne Pleym (Vadsø), Veterinary Inspector, R. Solheim (Oslo), District Veterinary Magnus Lie (Kárášjohka), and Lapp Inspector, Peder Hagen (Saltdal). The Danes had been struggling to find a ship to fulfill the requirements for animal transport in the Arctic waters, but found a ship at the last minute. (*ibid.*).

The ship '*Hanne S*' was delayed on her virgin trip and had not arrived on the agreed-upon date, and the situation worried the reindeer herders, who were in a hurry to move to the winter pastures. The reindeer owners demanded a higher price due to the delay and higher risk of being caught in fall and winter storms. Fynbo felt obligated as the representative of the Danish state, to keep the price low, but was aware of the risk of losing the trade if he did not accept. He initiated price negotiations that lasted 6 hours resulting in a higher price for each reindeer. In return, Fynbo asked for the reindeer owners' signatures that they would have the herd in the corral at 7.00 AM, on the 11th of June, ready for embarking. When the herd was not present at that exact time, the Danish representatives were nervous (Fynbo 1954). Fynbo was unfamiliar with reindeer, and clearly unaware that it is almost impossible to calculate an exact time schedule when dealing with semi-wild animals³⁹

³⁸ *Siida* is a traditional Sámi society of a group of one or more families, often related, that work with reindeer in one herd. Cf. the definition of *siida* in chapter 5.

³⁹ This ignorance in reindeer husbandry is also noticeable in the Danish authorities' administration of the reindeer husbandry project in Greenland, discussed in chapter 6.

The embarking of a whole reindeer herd for transport to Greenland was a big event, and many spectators came, including the national media. A. Hvidberg (1952), travelled from Denmark to film a documentary. The sight of 3,000–3,500 reindeer in a one kilometer large corral, overwhelmed the Danish representatives, who found the skills of the 15 reindeer herders catching 300 reindeer by lasso and pulling them for boxes lifted into the cargo hold of the ship, impressive (Fynbo 1954). Inside the ship, the reindeer were placed in a box with four and four animals, with lichen as fodder, and ice as water supply. The veterinaries checked the animals' health condition before they were placed into stalls. On the 12th of September, the 275 female, and 25 male reindeer sailed from Kjøllefjord, bound for the Nuuk fjord⁴⁰.

The two Sámi herders John Erik M. Eira (Inggos-Jovvna), then 30 years, and John Johnsen Balto (Bálttu-Jovnn-Jovvna), then both 52 years old and both from Karasjok, came along on the voyage to Greenland to tend the reindeer, together with Jens Rosing. The two Johns were both skilled reindeer herders who had been working as *reangas*⁴¹ at Henrik Guttorm's herd, and they were employed to work with the herd for the first period in the Nuuk fjord. Additionally, they brought four Sámi reindeer shepherd dogs along (one female), equipment to use at the reindeer station, such as *lávvus*, reindeer sleighs, harnesses and other gear (Hætta 2010).

During the long boat trip from Kjøllefjord to Greenland, they experienced storms and rough seas, and after a while, some of the reindeer started dying. The herders first believed the reindeer were seasick, and that this was causing death, but later rejected this idea. Then they thought the reason was constipation, and put the reindeer on a narrow diet (Fynbo 1954). Kárašjohka veterinary Magnus Lie established the cause of death one year after, when examining the documentation concerning the transport, and concluded the reason to be urine poisoning. The drinking beakers were placed so the female reindeer could urinate in them, Lie thought the symptoms of the dying reindeer was caused by 'somnilens', fibrillary twitches and mrosis, due to urine poisoning. Altogether, 36 reindeer died during the voyage. The constipation the reindeer experienced during transport was due to the feeding with birch leaves, that may be constipating. Lie concluded that the

⁴⁰ Fynbo 1954, *Beretninger vedrørende Grønland* 1952, Rosing 1960

⁴¹ *Reanga* in Sámi, is a term for a helper or worker for a shorter or longer period, often for a particular task. In reindeer husbandry, it is common to have helpers, *reangas*, they could earn live reindeer while working, and build up their own private herd this way. See more in chapter 5.

constipation had not caused the deaths, but the enema treatment given to 150 deer, and foremost, Lie concluded that the great work of the herders during transport was probably the reason so many reindeer survived the long and hard ocean-crossing (Lie 1953). According to Mathiesen⁴², the cause of death established by veterinary Lie probably was incorrect, since reindeer do not get sick of consuming urine. The cause of death was probably starvation.

On the 25th of September, 1952, the reindeer were disembarked in the Nuuk fjord, Sulugssugut, on a narrow headland named Angmagssiviup-nua⁴³. Apart from the 36 reindeer that died during transport, one died during embarkation, so 263 reindeer were disembarked (Rosing 1969). Jens Rosing (1960) writes in a journal that the herders were expecting it to be easy to tend to the herd in Greenland, since they became very tame during transport. The opposite was the case upon arrival to Angamagssiviup-nua, and they experienced a challenging period the next months. The reindeer were in an unfamiliar, strange environment. Because they did not know the new land they were brought to, and had no customary migration routes, the herders faced unforeseen problems moving the herd to new pastures. They had great difficulties moving the reindeer off the headland, consisting of steep mountains on each side. This first period is explained in different sources, as a desperate situation draining the herders' energy⁴⁴. The narrow headland of Angamassivip-nua, was running out of pastures and the vegetation was overgrazed, and the herders had to move the herd quickly, to avoid starvation. Constantly, for three months, the herders tried to move the reindeer herd with the help of the shepherd dogs and the lead draft reindeer over the mountain, but to no avail. The herders had to stay in a *lávnu*, often during bad weather. Finally, on the 13th of December, after almost three months of struggles, John Eira succeeded in moving the herd with the help of the lead reindeer, where he crossed one of the two high mountains on the steep side, and the herd followed and crossed over. Only a few reindeer were caught in an avalanche, but luckily were not injured (Rosing 1955).

After the herd's stay at Angmagssiviup-nua headland for almost three months, the vegetation was so overgrazed that it was estimated by the reindeer herders that it would take 25–30 years before the lichen was back to the same level as before the

⁴² Mathiesen, Svein Disch 2019: Pers.comm., 01.05.2019. Tromsø.

⁴³ See map number 2, Itinnera and Kangerlupiluk herd, release location.

⁴⁴ Rosing 1955, Rosing 1960, *Beretninger vedrørende Grønland* 1952, Hætta 2010

herd was disembarked there. The headland was blocked off with a fence, 10–15 m², to allow the vegetation to resume its original level, and to monitor the lichen levels. Anders Triumph (2002) visited Angmagssiviup-nua together with John Eira to inspect the vegetation, in 1975, 20 years after the disembarkation. At this point, the vegetation had still not resumed the original level, which had been 15 centimeters (!) upon arrival, and Eira estimated it would take another five years to recover.

2.5 Brief history of Greenland's political rule and the Royal Greenland Trade Department

In 1605, the Danish King Christian IV restored “the Danish king's supremacy over Greenland, thereby laying the foundation for later colonization”, according to the Royal Greenland Trade Department's 200 years anniversary magazine (1974)⁴⁵. This quote characterizes very well the Danish authorities' view on Greenland and its population. In 1721, the Norwegian missionary Hans Egede sails to Greenland. This marks the era for the Danish colonization of Greenland. The Danish had had a monopoly trade with Greenland, that was transferred between different private companies and the Danish state themselves. In 1774 the monopoly of the RGTD was established, *Den Kongelige Grønlandske Handel*. In 1728 the small colony, *Godthåb*⁴⁶ was established. The state trade monopoly established in 1776, lasted until 1950. Strangers were not allowed to trade with Greenlanders, steal anything from them, abduct them from the country (!), or practice violence against them or the Danish colonists. The RGTD had the exclusive right to sail and trade on all the colonies, harbors, and places that were already established in Greenland, and the surrounding areas, and future established towns/ colonies.⁴⁷ By 1800, the whole west coast of Greenland, from Kap Farvel in the south to Melville Bugt in the north, were part of the monopoly. In 1894, the trade station in Ammassalik in East Greenland was established. In Thule a private trade station was established in 1910 (since the Danish Government wanted to avoid challenging Canada). In 1937, the Thule trade station was taken over by the Danish state⁴⁸ .

In 1782, two inspectorates were established as the foundation of the RGTD's colonial rule in Greenland. They were granted the highest judicial authority in

⁴⁵ Anonymous 1974: 31: *KGH Orientering 1774- 1974*.

⁴⁶ Godthåb is Nuuk in Greenlandic, and the Danish name for the city is no longer in use.

⁴⁷ Anonymous 1974: 41 *KGH Orientering 1774- 1974*.

⁴⁸ <http://danmarkshistorien.dk/leksikon-og-kilder/vis/materiale/groenland/>

Greenland. Especially during the first period, there was a high degree of elitism/authoritarianism in the way the RGTD administered the trade.⁴⁹ The trade and administration were connected, and it was discussed many times whether they were to be separated, and only in 1908, the trade and administration were separated when ‘the Board of Colonies in Greenland’⁵⁰ was established under the Ministry of Internal Affairs. In practice, it was difficult to separate the Board and the Trade, and in 1912, all Greenlandic issues were submitted to the Board of Greenland – *Grønlands Styrelse*. The Board of Greenland was the highest administrative body concerning Greenland in the period 1925–50. After 1950, the Board of Greenland was followed by the Ministry of Greenland, under the State Ministry.

The RGTD administrated sale of products exported to Denmark⁵¹, and imported products to Greenland. The arguments from the Danish authorities for maintaining the monopoly trade, was that it was supposedly promoting Greenlanders economic conditions.

During WWII, the connection between Denmark and Greenland was broken for five years, and the two governors (*landsfogeder*) took over the government power. They made an agreement with the then, neutral USA (before December 1941), concerning trade of goods. The WWII period was a period of prosperity in Greenland, and after the war the Greenlandic population wanted the positive conditions to continue, for instance, more decision-making placed in Nuuk⁵².

Established in 1948, the Great Greenland Commission *Den store Grønlandskommision*, started a new era in Greenland’s and the RGTD’s history⁵³. The prime minister in Greenland, Hans Hedtoft, was endorsed by both the Danish and Greenlandic sides to abolish the monopoly and isolation, and to introduce private initiatives under state control in Greenland.⁵⁴ The Greenland Commission’s work led to a number of laws in 1950 that changed the policy that Denmark had imposed in

⁴⁹ For instance, the RGTD were they afraid that the Greenlanders would trade their important subsistence products for ‘luxury products’ like coffee, if they were to trade with private people (Anomymous 1974: 51 *KGH Orientering 1774- 1974*).

⁵⁰ *Styrelsen af koloniene i Grønland*

⁵¹ As a curiosity information, the Danish officials write ‘sent home’, *hjemsendt*, meaning sent to Denmark, even when the officials are present and living in Greenland, and Denmark is not specified in the statement.

⁵² <http://danmarkshistorien.dk/leksikon-og-kilder/vis/materiale/groenland/>

⁵³ Anomymous 1974: *KGH Orientering 1774- 1974*

⁵⁴ <http://danmarkshistorien.dk/leksikon-og-kilder/vis/materiale/groenland/>

Greenland for a couple of centuries; the colony-era ceased⁵⁵. Greenland was now integrated into Denmark in 1953, Greenland received the status as Danish constituency (*amt*) in the Danish Kingdom, alongside Faroe Islands, and two Greenlandic members were to be elected to the Danish National Congress, *Folketinget*⁵⁶.

The RGTD continued, but was converted into a directorate, and subject to the Ministry of Greenland. During the period of reindeer husbandry in Greenland, the RGTD was in charge of the husbandry, and the Ministry of Greenland had the main responsibility. The RGTD's responsibility was trading. They supplied the population in Greenland with products, purchase of products and preparation of Greenlandic products, sale of Greenlandic products, and other tasks like the Greenlandic mail service, money and saving enterprise, providing guest homes, agricultural stations, reindeer husbandry and the airport in Kangerlussuaq, running factories (like fish factories), and the sale of products to the American air bases in Greenland⁵⁷. In 1974, there were 10 % Danish employees in the RGTD, the rest were local employees from Greenland⁵⁸. However, the organization was led from Denmark⁵⁹. The RGTD 'felt Danish', and was Danish controlled⁶⁰.

In the second half of the 20th century, the Greenlandic society demanded more political and economic independence from Denmark. The issue where Greenlandic employees received lower salaries compared to Danish and other employees, together with the EEC issue in 1972 where the majority of Greenlanders were against membership, influenced Greenland and their politics. The Provincial Council in Greenland was working for a Home Rule Government that would allow Greenland to withdraw from the EEC. A referendum was held in Greenland, and the majority voted for a Home Rule Act. The Home Rule was established on the 1st of May 1979, and it was stated that Greenland occupies a special position in Denmark and that it is a "special community of people"⁶¹. The Home Rule, *Namminersornerullutik*

⁵⁵ At least the colony era ceased, per se, formally, but the colonialism by the Danish authorities continued, cf. chapter 6.1.

⁵⁶ Anonymous 1974: *KGH Orientering 1774- 1974*, <http://danmarkshistorien.dk/leksikon-og-kilder/vis/materiale/groenland/>

⁵⁷ Anonymous 1974: 129: *KGH Orientering 1774- 1974*

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ The RGTD archive material, all years.

⁶⁰ Hansen, Inga 2018: pers.comm., April 2018, Kautokeino.

⁶¹ My translation from Danish, the original quote is in Danish: "*et særlig folkesamfund*". <http://danmarkshistorien.dk/leksikon-og-kilder/vis/materiale/groenland/>

Oqartussat consisted of a parliament and executive government. In 1986, the Royal Greenland Trade was taken over by the Home Rule Government and changed its name to *Kalaallit Niuerfiat (KNI)*. The RGTD was reformed into several successors, the *Kalaallit Niuerfiat*, *Royal Greenland* fishing company and the *Royal Arctic* shipping company.

On the 21st of June, 2009, the Home Rule Act was replaced by the Act on Greenland Self-Government, *Naalakkersuisut*, after a referendum with a large majority in favor of it, with an extension of powers from the Home Rule Act. Some of the extensions were recognition of Greenlanders as people in international law, the opportunity for Greenland to become an independent state, and the jurisdiction of more areas such as natural resources and justice affairs.⁶²

3. Conceptual framing

3.1. Concepts: colonialism and civilization

Indigenous peoples have experienced different types of colonialism and civilization (Kuokkanen 2000, Smith 1999). I write about two indigenous peoples⁶³: the Greenlandic Inuit and the Sámi people, and the Danish colonizers initiative and administration of reindeer husbandry in Greenland. In the case of Greenland, Denmark clearly stated that Greenland was a *colony*, and formally remained so until 1953, but the colonialism lasted longer⁶⁴ (see chapter 6.1). Therefore, I draw on the concepts of colonialism and civilization, because they are linked to the history of the

⁶² <http://danmarkshistorien.dk/leksikon-og-kilder/vis/materiale/groenland/>, https://da.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gr%C3%B8nlandsk_uafh%C3%A6ngighed, <http://naalakkersuisut.gl/en/About-government-of-greenland/About-Greenland/Politics-in-Greenland>. See also https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Royal_Greenland_Trading_Department

⁶³ Both Norway and Denmark have ratified ILO 169 (https://no.wikipedia.org/wiki/ILO-konvensjonen_om_urfolks_rettigheter). In the ILO Convention concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries (C169, 1989) *indigenous peoples* are defined as: "Peoples in independent countries who are regarded as indigenous on account of their descent from the populations which inhabited the country, or a geographical region to which the country belongs, at the time of conquest or colonisation or the establishment of present state boundaries and who, irrespective of their legal status, retain some or all of their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions." (<https://www.regjeringen.no/en/topics/indigenous-peoples-and-minorities/Sami-people/midtpalte/What-Defines-an-Indigenous-People/id451320/>)

⁶⁴ In the case of Sámi people: Sápmi is not formally and clearly stated as a colony, but many scholars have used the term 'colonization of Sápmi', for instance Kuokkanen (2000) and Pedersen (2002) and a term about current 'decolonization' in Sápmi (Kuokkanen 2000, Balto 2018 (<http://samas.no/se/a/dekoloniseren-sagastallamat>)).

introduction and administration of reindeer husbandry in Greenland. Smith (1999: 64) writes:

By the nineteenth century colonialism not only meant the imposition of Western authority over all aspects of indigenous lands, indigenous modes of production and indigenous law and government, but the imposition of Western authority over all aspects of indigenous knowledges, languages and culture.⁶⁵

Simultaneously, civilization is understood to be the process and the end state of progress. This process was further understood to be staged, progressing from a state of savagery through to barbarism to the highest stage, civilization. The ‘primitive’ and the ‘savage’ were looked upon as inferior.⁶⁶ According to Smith (1999: 25):

One supposed characteristics of primitive peoples was that we could not use our minds of intellects. We could not imagine, we could not produce anything of value, we did not know how to use land and other resources from the natural world, we did not practice the ‘arts’ of civilization.

What is the explanatory strength of the colonial legacy in the relationship between Denmark and Greenland, as it applies to reindeer husbandry in Greenland?

3.2 The role of traditional knowledge

Traditional knowledge refers to the knowledge, innovations and practices of indigenous and local communities around the world. Developed from experience gained over centuries and adapted to the local culture and environment, traditional knowledge is transmitted orally from generation to generation. It is mainly practical in nature.⁶⁷ Reindeer husbandry knowledge can also be defined as *traditional ecological knowledge (TEK)*, which describes aboriginal, indigenous, or other forms of traditional knowledges regarding sustainability of local resources.⁶⁸ Traditional knowledge is also referred to as *indigenous knowledge*, when it comes to indigenous people, and sometimes as *local knowledge*, when it comes to local people who are not necessarily indigenous (Brantenberg 1999). In this thesis, I use the term traditional

⁶⁵ The term *colonialism* encompasses all of the diverse efforts by which colonizers seek to maintain their rule over colonized territory and to benefit from this exercise of power. Colonialism entails the reduction or elimination of autonomy for colonized people, who are being controlled by the colonizers, also in terms of political independence, for instance that one state legally defines a territory it has taken over as a colony, claims sovereignty over it, and administers it. <https://www.encyclopedia.com/history/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/colonialism-2>.

⁶⁶ <https://www.encyclopedia.com/social-sciences-and-law/anthropology-and-archaeology/anthropology-terms-and-concepts/civilization>.

⁶⁷ Definition from the "Convention on Biological Diversity" (<https://www.cbd.int/traditional/intro.shtml>).

⁶⁸ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Traditional_ecological_knowledge.

knowledge, also to mean indigenous knowledge. Indigenous knowledge is a knowledge system managed by a group or a people, which is self-determined (cf, chapter 5 and the definition of *siida* structure), containing transference of knowledge across generations. In my understanding, local knowledge, is not always within a group or people, and not necessarily transferred across generations (for example knowledge about fishing spots in a local community). My informants told about their Sámi traditional reindeer knowledge, and how they applied it to the Greenlandic context.

Sámi traditional knowledge – or in Sámi language; *árbevirolaš máhttu* or *árbediehtu*, is defined as:

(...) the collective wisdom and skill of the Sami people used to enhance their livelihood for centuries. It has been passed down from generation to generation both orally and through work and practical experience. Through this continuity, the concept of *árbediehtu* ties the past, present and future together. (Porsanger & Guttorm 2011: 18)

For the Sámi people, utilizing nature and the resources in nature, *árbediehtu* was, and still is, important. In a Sámi context, the holistic aspect and interaction with nature is an important factor in traditional knowledge (Porsanger & Guttorm 2011).

Traditionally, the Sámi have used nature as their source of livelihood. Traditional knowledge is connected with the complex concept of *birgejupmi* – a Northern Sámi term for “life sustenance, livelihood” and the spheres of economy and/or social life which is connected to “the way people maintain themselves in a certain area with its respective resource, which exist or can be found in the natural and social environment.” (Porsanger and Guttorm 2011:20-22). Sustainable development is also a part of *birgejupmi*, and the livelihood is not limited to economic profit alone – it necessitates maintaining a balance between the natural environment, society and people’s physical, mental and social health. *Birgejupmi* is a flexible process in which the use of natural and social resources varies and from time to time adapting to changing conditions and circumstances which requires competence, resourcefulness, flexibility, and development of local knowledge where the people are located at any given time (ibid.).

Sámi traditional knowledge includes both skills and knowledge. The Sámi word *diehtit* – is mostly connected with theoretical capacity, while the concept of having skills – *máhttit*, is linked to practical experience, and where one has a bodily knowledge and the ability to perform the action. When performing an action – for

instance by marking a reindeer calf yourself – you will gain knowledge through a hands-on personal experience, knowledge through action. Thus, knowing about something does not guarantee that one has the skill to do or perform it. To understand an action not previously performed or experienced – one has to perceive what is performed, and to fully understand this, and must actively participate in, for instance reindeer calf-marking. Sometimes there is not a sharp line between *diehtit* – the knowledge, and *máhttit* – the skills, and a condition implying that one has to have had personal experience in a skill to know how to perform it. Sometimes one can draw from previous experiences in similar work, and then be able to perform the new practical task (Porsanger & Guttorm 2011: 41, 62–63). The practice of *máhttit* is a way of sustaining and developing *diehtit* – meaning they are intrinsically linked (Holmberg 2018).

Indigenous peoples have experienced that academic knowledge is prioritized and legitimized, while the validity of traditional knowledge is viewed with suspicion (Porsanger and Guttorm 2011). According to Cruikshank (2001), local people are aware that science is invoked both to attack and to defend local participation in management, and that local knowledge is both advocated and opposed as a basis for decision-making. Indigenous people are often reflecting on the nature of science and scientists, this is an ongoing issue (Smith 1999).

Traditional knowledge has always been the basis of Sámi natural resource management. The framework of resource management is based on information from natural sciences – making it a legitimated knowledge. In governance, authorities consider traditional knowledge as ‘alternative’, complimentary information – with little room in the hierarchical resource management systems (Porsanger and Guttorm 2011). In the *Árbediehtu Pilot Project’s*⁶⁹ book, Riseth (2011) suggests launching co-management systems; this is where holders of traditional knowledge and skills participate in resource management on equal terms with the formally educated bureaucrats. Moreover, resource-users should be granted responsibility for the management of resources.

⁶⁹ The book's title is *Working with Traditional Knowledge: Communities, Institutions, Information Systems, Law and Ethics*, and is a book published by Sámi University of Applied Sciences (previously Sámi University College). (Porsanger and Guttorm 2011).

3.3 Sámi reindeer husbandry and traditional knowledge

3.3.1 Traditional knowledge and pastoralism

Reindeer husbandry is a *pastoralist* economy.⁷⁰ The Sámi reindeer herders hold traditional knowledge based on experience on the use of resources, in connection with the reindeer. Ivar Bjørklund (1990: 76) has defined pastoralism as: “(...) a situation where humanity is mediating the relation between land and animals(...)”. He says that the Sámi traditional knowledge on reindeer husbandry is holistic, where one strives to have a balance between three important factors: reindeer, pastures and herders (labor force) in the specific area where the *siida*⁷¹ is located. It is a system of indigenous resource management, keeping a balance between the number of animals and the carrying capacity of the pastures as a whole, and enough labor force to control and move the herd between seasonal grazing areas. Bjørklund (1990) writes that Sámi reindeer husbandry as resource management has been sustainable, where overgrazing does not occur as a general characteristic, contrary to how pastoralist systems have been described. The reason is that humans are mediating the relation between land and animals in a social-ecological system.

In the last phase of reindeer husbandry in the Nuuk fjord, with the ownership on the Kapisillit cooperative, reindeer husbandry was not sustainable. As Bjørklund (1990: 80) writes: “the herder must possess a certain amount of *control* and *knowledge*” of animal behavior in relation to climate and pasture, and an ability to control the reindeer and pastures in connection with this knowledge. If one does not possess enough traditional knowledge, it is difficult to maintain a balance in reindeer husbandry. I will discuss these elements in chapter 6.

⁷⁰ *Pastoralism* is a nomadic or semi-nomadic form of subsistence, which is mainly dependent on herds of domesticated animals. Pastoral nomads are found in most areas of the world, and many have faced pressures of enforced settlement (<https://www.encyclopedia.com/social-sciences/dictionaries-thesauruses-pictures-and-press-releases/pastoralists> and <https://snl.no/pastoralisme>). Paine writes that when it comes to reindeer husbandry, it is insufficient to only call the reindeer herders pastoralists, since a sedentary farmer who owns cows is also a pastoralist. He suggests they should be called transhumants. Transhumance means movement between pastures such as in the case of owning reindeer; moreover, transhumance likely depicts a regular seasonal pattern (Paine 2009).

⁷¹ *Siida* is a cultural institution that is a form of cooperation between reindeer owners organized bilaterally through kin relations (Bjørklund 1990). See the definition of *siida* in chapter 5.1.4.

3.3.2 Reindeer *herding* and *husbandry*

Robert Paine has made a distinction between reindeer *herding* and *husbandry*, and writes that both require constant and accurate observation of the herd, so that the knowledge and experience in one of the domains are valuable also in the other:

Herding is the day-to day work with a herd. It concerns the relationship between herd and pasture as directed to the welfare of the animals and, if necessary, to the exclusion of the comfort of the herders themselves. *Husbandry*, on the other hand, has to do with the herd as the harvestable resource of its owners. While the tasks of herding, then, are those of the control and nurture of animals in the terrain, husbandry is the efforts of the owners in connection with the growth of capital and the formation of profit. The problems of herding are those of economy of labor, and they may usually be solved by owners in conjunction with each other; those of husbandry concerns the allocation of capital, and here each family herd is usually wholly responsible unto itself. (Paine 1994: 20)

The pastoralists are interested in the herd as a breeding stock, and for this reason its composition of different categories of reindeer like sex, age, and status are different from a herd in the wild. The males are always a minority in a pastoral herd, and ideally, one should not have to slaughter female animals (ibid).

In Greenland, the Sámi reindeer herders were, of course, involved in the everyday work with the reindeer herd, concerning the domain of *herding* (cf. Paine's distinction). However, they were also involved in the domain of *husbandry*, for instance, concerning herd structure of different categories of animals, and they influenced the decision about what categories to base the slaughter on. The difference with Sápmi is that the herds were owned by the state. In the Itinnera herd, 1952–1973, and the Kangerlupiluk herd, 1975-1978, the managers of the reindeer herd were the Danish authorities, who were formally in charge, thus influencing the *husbandry* (cf. Paine's definition). These concepts will be discussed in in chapter 5 and 6.

Paine (1994: 103) also describes reindeer camp conversations: “herding tactics discussed ad nauseam⁷²”, preparing herders for moments of crisis, as well as helping to evaluate and disseminate information. Sara (2013: 89) refers to them as *long ongoing conversations*⁷³. The conditions for this kind of conversation in the Greenlandic context, will be discussed in chapter 5 and 6.

⁷² Ad nauseam indicates that the topic has been discussed extensively to the extent that those involved, have grown tired of it.

⁷³ My translation to English from Norwegian: “(...) *lange, inngående samtaler*” (Sara 2013: 89):

3.3.3 Traditional knowledge of reindeer husbandry: knowledge – *diehtit* and skills – *máhttit*

The difference between the more theoretical knowledge – *diehtit* and the more practical skill – *máhttit* is relevant in Greenland, because the Sámi herders were supposed to transfer their traditional knowledge to the Greenlandic apprentices. The Sámi knowledge-bearers held both theoretical knowledge and practical experience (Porsanger and Guttorm 2011) in reindeer husbandry, and trained the apprentices through practical work. The apprentices were gaining knowledge through hands-on experience, for instance in lassoing. According to my data, parts of the reindeer husbandry skills were not performed by the apprentices, and in parts missing in the husbandry in Greenland. My informants told me that they were talking theoretically about elements that were common in reindeer husbandry in Sápmi, and tried to teach the apprentices theoretically about it (*diehtit*).

3.4 Traditional Sámi knowledge in a different context

Sámi reindeer were brought to Greenland, to a different, but somewhat similar, ecological context. The Sámi herders were going to work with reindeer and to train Greenlanders in reindeer husbandry, in a cross-cultural context, were the administrators of the reindeer husbandry project were Danish authorities.

3.4.1 Sámi reindeer husbandry, resilience and adaptability

In resilience and social-ecological system thinking, people are part of nature, and we depend on and influence ecosystems on many scales. When a socio-ecological system has enhanced resilience, it can more easily tolerate disturbances without collapsing into a different state. If a system has reduced resilience, it increases the vulnerability of a system to smaller disturbances they could previously cope with (Scheffer *et al.* 2001). How resilient a system is, is influenced by its adaptive capacity, how well the system can adapt to changes without losing or changing the function or structure, etc. Adaptability is connected to humans in a social-ecological system including individuals and groups acting to manage the system. Their collective capacity to manage resilience, determines whether they can avoid crossing into an undesirable system regime, or succeed in crossing back into a desirable one (Walker, *et al.* 2004).

Sámi traditional knowledge is holistic and adaptable; it is knowledge that is changing in step with the existing premises. It is resilient and it is possible to incorporate new methods or techniques as long as the basic idea is the same (Nordin-

Jonsson 2010). This applies to traditional reindeer husbandry knowledge, as well. An example in reindeer husbandry is seasonal migration between pastures, where good pastures depend on the season. However, migration has changed and adapted to modern times, as the reindeer herders may use trucks to move the reindeer herd between grazing areas. Still, the basic idea is the same (ibid.). Also, the concept of *birgejupmi*⁷⁴ is connected to reindeer husbandry knowledge and resilience. For reindeer husbandry it is important to *birget*⁷⁵ – to manage, pull through or to cope with something. What conditions were present in order to *birget* in Greenland? I will return to this in chapter 5 and 6.

4. Sámi reindeer husbandry in Greenland: three main periods

Chapter two, described the first period, initiating reindeer husbandry to Greenland. In this chapter, I describe the second period with Danish state ownership 1952–1973, with additional initializing of the first private herds. This period can be divided into two parts: the experiment period, 1952–1957, and reindeer husbandry under permanent management of the RGTD 1957–1973. I also handle the third period with co-operative and private ownership, 1973–1998, and the last period, 1998– present, which marks an end to the reindeer husbandry in the Nuuk fjord, with only reindeer husbandry in Southern Greenland. Moreover, I present the herders and apprentices at the Nuuk fjord, and include a table over names. I briefly describe how semi-domesticated reindeer were introduced to areas in Greenland, for becoming a wild caribou stock, and moreover briefly describe hybridization between reindeer and caribou, and how the warble and botflies were introduced to Greenland.

4.1 The reindeer husbandry area in the Nuuk fjord and the Itinnera reindeer station

Just like Sápmi, Greenland is in the Arctic and because of this, the natural environment in Greenland is similar to the natural environment in Sápmi. The Nuuk area is situated approximately on the same latitude as Trondheim, thus, further south than Finnmark. The climate in Greenland is cold, in Norway we have approximately

⁷⁴ Refer to chapter 3.2.

⁷⁵ *Birget* is the verb where the noun *birgejupmi*, is derived.

5–10 degrees Celsius higher temperatures, compared to other places on the same latitude, because of the Gulf Stream.

Some areas in Greenland are more suited for reindeer husbandry than others (cf. chapter 2.1). If the landscape is rough, it makes it more difficult for herders and reindeer to move around. Snow conditions, effected by climate, are important because pastures can be locked in ice. The pasture conditions are very important, due to the amount of lichen and other plants in the area that the reindeer feed on.

The natural environment and climate in the *Nuuk fjord* area are close to the semi-domesticated reindeers' natural environment in Finnmark, especially on the Finnmark coast, and this is probably one of the reasons why this specific area was chosen for reindeer husbandry. The land is quite flat, especially where the reindeer station was established (cf. photograph of Itinnera). On the coast, there are some higher mountains and broad valleys, like those in Northern Norway. The climate resembles an inland climate more than other places in Greenland, due to its location in a deep fjord, with a more stable climate (Triumpf 2006, Skum 2006). A lot of lichen was found in the Nuuk fjord (chapter 2.1). The area chosen for reindeer husbandry was on a peninsula in the Nuuk fjord, where the capital Nuuk⁷⁶ is located on the tip of it, in the sea gap. The Nuuk fjord is approximately 160 kilometers long (cf. map of the Nuuk fjord). Two fjord arms on each side, the Ameralik fjord and an arm of the Nuuk fjord on the north side, close off the reindeer husbandry area.

A reindeer station was established in *Itinnera* (old spelling *Itivnera*), 10 kilometers in a straight line from the village of *Kapisillit*⁷⁷. Itinnera is a narrow piece of land (three kilometers broad), an isthmus, between the two fjord arms (Lassen and Aastrup 1981). This made the area ideal for gathering reindeer, with natural barriers supporting the construction of a corral. The first buildings at Itinnera were built in 1954, with a manager residence, and a smaller house for herders⁷⁸. Later more buildings at the station came to; all together, there were four houses, together with a

⁷⁶ The climate in the capitol Nuuk, in contrary to the Nuuk fjord, is extremely unstable, with regular storms during the year.

⁷⁷ Kapisillit is 75 kilometers from Nuuk, in a straight line, with 65 inhabitants today (2015 numbers). During the reindeer husbandry period, there were approximately 100 inhabitants more in Kapisillit than there are today. The depopulation trend in Kapisillit, follows the big trends in Greenland, where the populations moves to larger towns and cities, especially young people (http://sermersooq2028.gl/dk/vision_og_hovedstruktur/nuuk/kapisillit/ and <https://no.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kapisillit>). Four Sámi men found partners from Kapisillit, and four others (to the best of my knowledge), from other places in Greenland.

⁷⁸ *Beretninger vedrørende Grønland* 1954.

small slaughterhouse installation and a slaughterhouse corral⁷⁹ (my observations at Itinnera). It was an important factor to have a village with a food supply, post office, telegraph, and telephone close by the reindeer station.

The Provincial Council (*Landsrådet*) decided in 1951 to give the Danish State Ministry the right to regulate for protection of this area for reindeer husbandry.⁸⁰ In 1969, the Provincial Council decided to expand the reindeer area, and the Austmannadal valley was incorporated into the reindeer husbandry area (Lassen, Aastrup 1981). (See map number 1-2). Moreover, a headland (small peninsula), on the top of the land area were Kapisillit is situated, *Kangiusap Nunaa*, was extended for a private reindeer herder; Johan Klemet Hætta, who established a private reindeer herd in 1961, the Kangerlupiluk herd (see map number 2) (Cuyler 1999, Fynbo 1962, Hætta 2010).

The last formal expansion of the reindeer husbandry area to its last and largest size happened in 1974, when a private reindeer herder leased the RGTD's husbandry (Lassen, Aastrup 1981). The area south of Austmannadalen, towards Isortuarssuk, is an informalized extension of the reindeer husbandry area that was extended in the period of the Kapisillit co-operative's ownership of the Itinnera herd (cf. 4.2.3, see map number 1) (Lenvik 1993). In 1981, the Itinnera husbandry's area was 1335 km², the summer area was 563 km² and the winter area was 772 km² (Lassen and Aastrup 1981).

4.2 The second period, 1952–1973: State ownership and initialization of the first private herds

4.2.1 The experiment period, 1952–1957

As mentioned in chapter 2.1, reindeer husbandry at Itinnera was initially administrated directly under the Danish Ministry of State (cf. 2.1), as the 'reindeer husbandry experiment' 1952–1957, with a *managing clerk* (*fuldmægtig*), in charge

⁷⁹ My observations at Itinnera.

⁸⁰ From *Beretninger vedrørende Grønland 1951*: 180, *Beretninger vedrørende Grønland 1954*: 10). My translation into English: "In the Provincial Council, agenda 1951, paragraph 36: 'Protection of Reindeer'». The original text in Danish: "*Dagsorden 1951, punkt 36: Fredning av rensdyr*" (*Beretning vedrørende Grønland 1950*: 10). My translation into English: "The original Regulation on the Protection of Reindeer in Greenland of 11th of June 1927 (*Kundgørelser 1948-1950 vedrørende Grønlands Styrelse*), was altered so that if the protection was violated, the violation could be persecuted as theft against the state (theft of state property), which was not adequately taken into account in the first regulation" (*Beretninger vedrørende Grønland 1954*: 10.) The original in Danish: "*Regulativ angående fredning av rensdyr i Grønland af 11. juni 1927*" (*Kundgørelser 1948-1950 vedrørende Grønlands Styrelse*).

and, additionally, a station leader⁸¹. Formally, the reindeer husbandry project was transferred from the Ministry of Greenland to the RGTD, first of April 1956.⁸²

As mentioned in chapter 2.4, the leader and herders experienced some initial problems with moving the herd upon arrival to the Nuuk fjord, because the reindeer were in a state of unease in the new, strange environment (Rosing 1969). Apart from that, the reindeer husbandry experiment progressed well, and the grazing conditions were favorable. The size of the reindeer herd grew fast⁸³ (cf. graph number 1). Magnus Lie, the Kárásjohka veterinary who did a veterinarian investigation in the spring 1953, reported that there were exceptionally large calves, and in the herd, the earliest born calves were almost as big as the smallest adult females in July. This happened in Finnmark only under the most favorable conditions, and revealed the rich nutrition in the Nuuk fjord (Lie 1953). According to *Beretninger vedrørende Grønland* (1954), calves in the end of 1953 were difficult to distinguish from the adult females, in comparison with only one valley in Southern Norway which had the same size calves.⁸⁴ Many of the females calving for the first time were themselves just one-year old calves, born the previous year.⁸⁵ This is unusual but demonstrates the favorable growing conditions in Greenland (Rosing 1969). The authorities reported in the annual statistics that the Itinnera reindeer husbandry experiment is developing satisfactorily.⁸⁶

In 1957, Lapp Inspector (*lappefogd*) Hagen travelled to the reindeer husbandry area, as he did in 1952, with the purpose of evaluating how the 5-year long grazing of the reindeer herd had influenced the pastures. He recommended a population size of 2000 reindeer, that under the prevailing climatic conditions, would have sufficient food in the district⁸⁷.

⁸¹ Fynbo 1954, *Beretninger*, several years.

⁸² Practically, it was taken over by the RGTD in 1957 (The RGTD's archive 1956.)

⁸³ *Beretninger vedrørende Grønland*, 1954–58.

⁸⁴ The Danish authorities wanted to compare their 'experiment' to Norway, and asked for this information from Norwegian officials.

⁸⁵ In Sámi, they are called *čearpmat-álddut*. *Čearpmat* is a one-year old calf, and *áldu* is a female reindeer with calf. *Čearpmat-álddut* do not necessarily tend to their calves, to the same extent as adult females (Sara 2018, pers.comm, April 2018, Guovdageaidnu).

⁸⁶ *Beretninger vedrørende Grønland* 1953-57.

⁸⁷ This size was recommended for the size of the existing reindeer husbandry area in 1957, an area that later was expanded several times (*Beretning vedrørende Grønland* 1957). In 1957, the reindeer husbandry area consisted of areas that were used both as summer and winter pastures, and that later was designated only as summer pastures (Cuyler 1999).

The Danish state granted annual funding to the reindeer husbandry experiment. They started receiving revenue from reindeer husbandry through slaughtering and selling reindeer products already from 1956, and the authorities decided that due to its prosperity, reindeer husbandry was going to be a permanent project⁸⁸.

4.2.2 State ownership 1957–1973: under the RGTD and initializing the first private herds

4.2.2.1 Itinnera reindeer station

In 1957, the Itinnera reindeer husbandry was organized under the RGTD, and stopped being a direct subject to the State Ministry. The RGTD had financial responsibility for reindeer husbandry and functioned as producer, buyer, and distributor of the reindeer products (Cuyler 1999, Rasmussen 1992). In the annual statistics books, the authorities reported that the Itinnera reindeer husbandry was still going well, and was experience favorable development.⁸⁹ According to Lassen and Aastrup (1981), Itinnera calf production and the number of slaughtered reindeer were stable until the mid-1960s. Prior to 1967–68, calf production exceeded the number of slaughtered reindeer. In the middle of the 1960s, the herd size increased, leading to some deterioration in the summer grazing area. The winter grazing area was still of good quality.

Aastrup and Lassen (1981) write that the herd size in Itinnera peaked with 7,000 animals in 1968, followed by a crash in number over the next 2–3 years. When reviewing the RGTD's statistics, one sees that the Itinnera herd size was estimated to be 5–6,000, not 7,000 like Aastrup and Lassen (1981) had stated. In the latter number, all semi-domesticated reindeer in Greenland were included – including the private Kangerlupiluk herd with a different grazing area.⁹⁰ Cuyler (1999) has also pointed out in her article that Aastrup and Lassen (1981) wrote a too high maximum herd size in their analysis. Aastrup and Lassen wrote that the crash could have occurred due to high mortality, migration out of the reindeer husbandry district, and reduced production (Cuyler 1999; Lassen and Aastrup 1981). Cuyler (1999) states that it was a greatly exaggerated pre-slaughter herd size in 1968, compared to a conservative post-slaughter herd size in 1971, that was the reason for the decrease in herd size. Hætta

⁸⁸ The RGTD's archive material, 1952-1957.

⁸⁹ *Beretninger vedrørende Grønland 1957- 59.*

⁹⁰ *Beretninger vedrørende Grønland, several years.*

(2004/2005) confirmed that he estimated the Itinnera herd size to be approximately 5,000 reindeer, at its maximum. In addition, my Sámi informants told me that they slaughtered a large amount of the Itinnera herd in the late 1960s and early 1970s, to avoid deterioration of the pastures, since the summer pastures showed some signs of deterioration (Hætta 2004/2005, Triumph 2002/2006, Vålitalo 2006).

Emigration of semi-domestic reindeer out of the reindeer husbandry area was never a problem when the Sámi herders were responsible for the herd. Emigration first occurred from the Kangerlupiluk herd after 1971, after Johan Klemet Hætta had sold his herd to a Greenlander (see next chapter) (Cuyler 1999, Hætta 2004/ 2005). The Sámi informants did not tell of high mortality in the herd during this period, except one year (1968–1969), when some reindeer died (Eira 2002/2006, Hætta 2004/2005).

4.2.2.2 Kangerlupiluk herd

As mentioned in chapter 2.1, Johan Klemet M. Hætta established himself as a private reindeer herder in the Kangerlupiluk area, on the 13th of March, 1961. He bought 500 reindeer from the state herd at Itinnera: 300 females, 100 males and 100 calves (Cuyler 1999, Hætta 2004/2005). Hætta was given a business loan to purchase reindeer and support for housing.⁹¹ Moreover, the municipality board granted usufruct over an area in the Nuuk fjord (Hætta 2004/2005, Fynbo 1962).

Hætta privately engaged reindeer herders to work as herders *reangas*, both Sámi and Greenlandic men: Anders Triumph, Jeremias Hansen and Josva Josefsen (cf. table of herders and apprentices) (Hætta 2004/ 2005, Josefsen 2002/2004/2006 and Triumph 2002/2006).

Hætta's reindeer husbandry prospered, and the herd increased. In the end of the 1960s, he estimated that the herd peaked at 3,000 reindeer. He slaughtered from 300–800 reindeer, and his livelihood was solely made up by income from selling reindeer products (Hætta 2004/ 2005, Hætta 2010).

The Greenlanders wanted to get involved in reindeer husbandry (cf. chapter 6.4),⁹² and Hætta got a request to collaborate with a Greenlander, and divide his herd with the Greenlander. He refused, and instead decided to sell his herd to a former

⁹¹ Hætta 2004/2005, Fynbo 1962 and RGTD's archive material 1960- 61. The loan conditions, were to pay back in live reindeer, during slaughter, over a five year period.

⁹² General and political opinions in Greenland, especially in Nuuk municipality.

Greenlandic apprentice Pavia Berthelsen (Berthelsen 2006, Hætta 2004/2005). Berthelsen took over Hætta's herd after slaughter in 1971, and the post-slaughter herd numbered 1,100 reindeer. Berthelsen managed the reindeer herd for four years, until 1975. He experienced challenges managing reindeer husbandry, and slaughtered minimally for those years. In addition, the dividing fence between the two reindeer areas fell into disrepair.⁹³

4.3 The third period, 1973–1998: cooperative ownership in the Nuuk fjord and private herds in Southern Greenland

4.3.1 Itinnera herd

4.3.1.1 Anders Triumph's private ownership of the Itinnera herd: 1973 – 1978

In 1973, Anders Triumph purchased the Itinnera reindeer herd from the Danish state and the RGTD, and he leased the Itinnera reindeer station – the buildings and constructions at the station. He bought 600 of the Itinnera herd, all were females over 3 years of age, and the rest of the Itinnera herd was slaughtered, approximately 800–900, or less. Not included in this numbers were the unsupervised herd of about 300 males, which remained year round on the winter pastures, and were counted upon for breeding (Cuyler 1999, Hætta 2010, Rasmussen 1995).

When reviewing the records of reindeer and slaughtered reindeer, 1973–78, one can see that Anders Triumph's management was going well. At the Itinnera herd, 600–800 reindeer were slaughtered⁹⁴ annually during his ownership. Triumph (2006) did not receive subsidies⁹⁵, and his sole income was from sale of reindeer products, just like Hætta, 1961–71 (2004/2005). Triumph (2006) – and also confirmed by Hætta (2005) – has stated that the slaughtering system and marketing apparatus, was not the best in Greenland, and it could be challenging to slaughter as much as wanted. In Triumph's opinion, being a private owner, there ought to be at least two herds in the Nuuk fjord, to make it financially profitable to pay for slaughter and distribution. Triumph (2002/2006) had herders employed for him at Itinnera, for instance, Isak Thomas and Ole Adam Triumph (refer to the table below for herders and apprentices).

⁹³ Berthelsen 2006, Cuyler 1999, Hætta 2004/2005, the RGTD archive material, 1971–82.

⁹⁴ It is not specified in the statistics how much reindeer were slaughtered from each of the two herds in the Nuuk fjord. However, during his period for several years, it was not possible to capture a fair number of animals for slaughter, from the Kangerlupiluk herd (Holck 1989), so one could assume the most of the slaughtered reindeer must be from Itinnera.

⁹⁵ He only got an affordable loan, see more in chapter 6.4.

In 1977, the number of reindeer on the Itinnera winter range was about 1,440 animals. This was below the recommended maximum of 2,000 reindeer, for the area. In 1978 when Triumph sold the herd, the winter range was in good condition (Cuyler 1999). In October 1978, the co-operative, *Kapisilinni Tuttuutileqatigiit*, took over the Itinnera reindeer station's herd. The inhabitants of Kapisillit were co-owners. On the 1st of April, 1978, the co-operative had already taken over the Kangerlupiluk herd, and now the two herds were joined in one management (Hætta 2010, Rasmussen 1995). Anders Triumph sold the herd after slaughter in 1978, and 589 live reindeer were sold to the co-operative⁹⁶.

4.3.1.2 *Kapisilinni Tuttuutileqatigiit* co-operatives ownership of Itinnera herd: 1978–1998

There is an uncertainty about the number of reindeer and slaughtered reindeer in the Nuuk fjord, especially during the ownership of the cooperative *Kapisilinni Tuttuutileqatigiit*. Rasmussen (1995: 136) writes about the table of reindeer at the Itinnera herd:

The Itinnera Reindeer Herd Estimated population development (...): The many question marks and uncertainties in the table [the table of reindeer herd size and slaughter data], are themselves an expression of the lack of knowledge at the level of the users in, in the West Greenlandic reindeer herding operation.

The cooperative struggled with their husbandry; they did not have seasonal migrations and did not slaughter many reindeer. They did not have herder contact, and lost the herd control. After 1978, there were too many reindeer for the pastures' capability, and overgrazing occurred, caused by a too large herd and lack of seasonal migrations. Due to the overgrazing, the semi-domesticated reindeer husbandry area was informally expanded towards south of Austmannadalen (Lenvik 1993) probably in the 1980s. In 1993, the authorities' aerial survey of abundance, estimated the herd to be 1100–1200 reindeer in Itinnera area. Moreover, in 1995, they estimated a maximum of 1200 animals (Cuyler 1999).

In 1993, Dag Lenvik (1993), a scholarly expert on reindeer management in the Reindeer Husbandry Administration (*Reindriftsadministrasjonen*) in Norway, was on an assignment for the municipality of Nuuk, to investigate the reindeer grazing area and the reindeer husbandry of the co-operative. He characterized the Itinnera regions as suffering from a biological breakdown. Lenvik's (1993: 24) conclusion was:

⁹⁶ The 300 males, were omitted again in these numbers.

(...) on the basis of the conditions for winter grazing and the well-being of the animals...(...) the area is totally unsuitable for traditional reindeer herding and also poorly for the maintenance of a stable wild caribou stock⁹⁷.

In 1995, there was conducted a range of assessment by the Greenland Institute of Natural Resources, who concluded the same way as Lenvik. The lichens were missing on the range, and unavailable as a winter food source for the reindeer herd in Itinnera (Aastrup and Lund 1995).

The Nuuk municipality financed the *Kapisilinni Tuttuutileqatigiit*. Although in debt to the municipality, in 1998, the Kapisillit co-operative wanted to continue their reindeer husbandry, and considered additional financing to further reindeer husbandry in the Nuuk fjord. Nuuk municipality requested a report on the economic feasibility of further reindeer husbandry in Itinnera, and consultants Stefan Magnusson and Kenneth Høegh, together with assistants Ole Kristiansen and Sivert Josefsen investigated the Itinnera reindeer husbandry management, in 1998:

Their subsequent report was negative. (...). Continued reindeer husbandry was not possible because the semi-domestic reindeer herd of the past no longer existed. Herd structure had disintegrated into widely spread and small groups with no distinction for winter and summer range use. The winter range had extremely poor quality, and an 8 to 10 year period of protection for the old winter pastures east of Itivnera was suggested. (Cuyler 1999: 89)

Kristiansen (2004) also told me about this investigation and conclusion, and said this about the Itinnera management: “(...) it was all done...finished. We had to suggest to close it down!”⁹⁸ The estimated herd size was about 800, while the co-operative estimated it to be 2000 animals (Cuyler 1999). In light of this report, 1998, Nuuk municipality took over responsibility for the reindeer herd in the Nuuk fjord and the co-operative, and reindeer husbandry was discontinued.

4.3.2 Kangerlupiluk: temporarily under public management: 1975–1978

In 1975, the Kangerlupiluk private herd, owned by Pavia Berthelsen, was taken over by public ownership by the Danish state, and the Committee for Commercial Subsidies (*Erhvervstøtteudvalget*), under the National Chief (*Landshøvdingembedet*), who managed the herd until April 1978. As mentioned, *Kapisilinni Tuttuutileqatigiit* cooperative took over the herd, then consisting of

⁹⁷ My translation to English, from the original quote in Norwegian/ Danish: “(...) *ut fra vintergræsningsforholdene og dyrevernsaspektet, er [Itinnera og Kangerlupiluk] totalt uegnet for tradisjonelt tamreinhold, og også dårlig egnet til å opprettholde en stabil villreinstamme.*” (Lenvik 1993: 24).

⁹⁸ My translation to English. The original quote in Norwegian: “(...) *den er helt ferdig. Slutt, da. Vi måtte foreslå å lukke den helt!*” (Kristiansen 2004).

approximately 1500 reindeer. The two reindeer herds – Itinnera and Kangerlupiluk herds were joined in November 1978 (Cuyler 1999, Hætta 2010, Rasmussen 1995).

4.4 The fourth period, 1998 – present: no reindeer husbandry in the Nuuk fjord, only reindeer husbandry in Southern Greenland

4.4.1 Nuuk fjord

In 1998, The Greenland Home-Rule government granted the Nuuk municipality permission to buy the Itinnera herd, but not farm it. This was a consequence for a number of years, as the co-operative had been facing great operational and financial difficulties. Today, reindeer husbandry only exists in Southern Greenland (see more in the next chapter).

Reindeer husbandry has ceased to exist in the original reindeer husbandry area in the Nuuk fjord. When Nuuk municipality took over the reindeer herd in the Nuuk fjord, on the 1st of June, 1998, they wanted to liquidate it through hunting, and let the area become included in the ordinary caribou area without protection against hunting. In fall 1998, the harvest quota for the former semi-domesticated reindeer was 500, and in the winter quota for 1999 was 1,000 animals (Cuyler 1999). From year 2000 – and in the present situation – is that the Itinnera reindeer are no longer categorized as semi-domesticated reindeer, but have status as ‘wild caribou’⁹⁹.

The former semi-domesticated reindeer, *Rangifer tarandus tarandus*, are feral, and their behavior is as the indigenous wild caribou; *Rangifer tarandus groenlandicus*. The reindeer are no longer used to being surrounded by humans, and for instance, moved or gathered into corrals, and are in scattered small groups (Cuyler 1999, Kristiansen 2004). In 2002, I was told by a Greenlandic leisure hunter, that the former semi-domesticated reindeer in the Nuuk fjord stay near the former Itinnera reindeer station, and are easier to hunt.¹⁰⁰ The reindeer in the Nuuk fjord today do not have lichen as a winter food source, and in traditional management of reindeer (and caribou), one strives to have lichen as the predominant winter food source (Aastrup and Lund 1995)¹⁰¹.

⁹⁹ *Grønland statistisk årbog* 2000: 112.

¹⁰⁰ Knudsen, Pauline K. 2002: Pers. comm, April 2002, Nuuk, Greenland.

¹⁰¹ Aastrup and Lund (1995) writes that most of the wild caribou populations in Greenland, do not have lichen as winter food source.

The Ameralik caribou population, located in the north of the Nuuk fjord, to Frederikshåbs Isblink in the south,¹⁰² which includes the former Itinnera herd, was estimated to be 31,880 caribou in 2001 (Cuyler, et al 2003). The population had a density of 3.7 caribou/km², which is much higher than the recommended two caribou/km². The area contains overgrazed pastures with absent lichen heaths due to overgrazing and trampling. There is an especially high density of reindeer in the Nuuk peninsula, and the inland within a 25 km radius of Kapisillit, in the former reindeer husbandry area (Cuyler, et al 2003). Christine Cuyler, researcher at the Greenland Institute of Natural Resources, said that there are many factors influencing the large amount of caribou in the Ameralik population, but probably it would not have been so high if it had not been for reindeer husbandry in the Nuuk fjord in the past. The researchers estimated the caribou population in the former reindeer husbandry area to be approximately 10,000 reindeer (!).¹⁰³ The researchers were amazed that the animals were able to survive without lichen as a winter food source, and they do not know how they survive. In 2003, a mass mortality in the Ameralik population had not been witnessed, but Cuyler said that it could likely happen in the future, if a hard winter occurred (Cuyler 2003).

4.4.2 Isortoq reindeer station: private ownership of Kristiansen and Magnusson 1973 – present

In Southern Greenland, there is one large reindeer herd; the Isortoq herd and a smaller herd; the Tuttutooq herd.¹⁰⁴ The former Greenlandic reindeer husbandry apprentice, Ole Kristiansen from Eqaq, Southern Greenland, wanted to establish a private reindeer herd in his home area (Lassen and Aastrup 1981). In 1973, the Isortoq herd was established, in the Narsaq area. He purchased 98 reindeer from the Itinnera herd in 1973–1974; the herd prospered. By 1977, the herd numbered around 300 animals, and from there the herd grew to approximately 3,000 reindeer in 1995. In order to obtain the desired herd size and composition, the herd was reduced to around 1,900 in the 1997–98 winter herd size. (Cuyler 1999). The recommended herd size, by biologists, is around 2,000 reindeer for a winter herd.

¹⁰² The area, region south in West Greenland, is thus much larger than just the former reindeer husbandry area, and it encompasses approximately 13.473 ice-free km². The Ameralik sub-population is physically apart from the other sub-population in Qeqertarsuatsiaat, in the region south. The Ameralik area involves about 8377 km².

¹⁰³ The recommended winter herd size was approximately 2000 reindeer, in the original reindeer husbandry area.

¹⁰⁴ *Grønland statistisk årbog 2000*, Cuyler 1999.

Ole Kristiansen is a former Greenlandic apprentice at Itinnera. He was trained at Itinnera, and attended reindeer husbandry school in Borkenes, Norway. In addition, he worked as a *reanga* in Guovdageaidnu for one year. After completing his training, he worked as a herder at Itinnera, for approximately two years, before becoming a private reindeer owner. Initially, Ole Kristiansen (2002/2004, Rasmussen 1992B), solely owned the Isortoq herd, but in 1988, Stefan Magnusson (2004), an Icelandic man, partnered with Kristiansen. Magnusson had worked as a helper to Ole Kristiansen, irregularly for five years. Magnusson had also worked as a helper (*reanga*) at a reindeer herd in Guovdageaidnu, and attended a reindeer herding school in Sweden.¹⁰⁵

The Isortoq reindeer herding area is very large (1477 km²) [map number 4]. The reindeer husbandry area has the approximate size of the Faro Islands (!).¹⁰⁶ The base Isortoq reindeer station was founded in 1990 (Cuyler 1999). In 1998, the reindeer herd supported two families and three apprentices, 11 people. During the summer season and during slaughter more people are hired. Reindeer husbandry in Southern Greenland has continued to prosper (Cuyler 1999). According to the reindeer herders, the husbandry continues to be successful. They have income from their husbandry, so they are managing economically. Their livelihood comes solely from sale of reindeer and reindeer products¹⁰⁷, and they do not receive any operating subsidy¹⁰⁸ (Magnusson 2004, Kristiansen 2002/2004). Today, in 2019, the reindeer herd is owned by Stefan Magnusson, his two children Manitsaq John and Freyja Athena Magnusson¹⁰⁹, and they have an Icelandic investor, Ingvar Gardarson. Ole Kristiansen is formally retired, but has continued to be engaged in and participates¹¹⁰ in the husbandry.

¹⁰⁵ Magnusson has also worked as a herder in a Southern Norwegian co-operative in the Jotunheim area, and in Canada and Alaska (Rasmussen 1992B).

¹⁰⁶ About the size of Isortoq reindeer area:

(<https://www.facebook.com/IsortoqReindeerstation>)

¹⁰⁷ Isortoq also has tourism as a secondary income.

¹⁰⁸ In 2004, they only receive a 60% support from the Greenlandic authorities, when building fences/ corrals, diesel power plants, machinery. Apart from that, there is no financial support (Magnusson 2004). This is very different from the subsidies and support systems available for reindeer herders in the other Nordic countries.

¹⁰⁹ They are both Icelandic and Greenlandic by ethnicity.

¹¹⁰ Magnusson 2018: Pers. comm. via internet, April 2018.

4.4.3 Tuttutooq herd

In Southern Greenland, there is a second, small reindeer herd – the Tuttutooq herd. A Greenlander, Søren Janussen, in Narsaq owns the herd. The herd was established in 1992. The winter herd 1997–98 was approximately 130 reindeer, with 70–80 females, calves and males. The reindeer herd is at Tuttutoq Island west of the town Narsaq, and the area is 221 km². The reindeer herd is a subsidiary income for the family (Cuyler 1999).

4.5 Number of reindeer and slaughtered reindeer 1952–2004

Even if the records of herd size show that the herd was growing quickly after arriving to Greenland, there was an uncertainty in the Itinnera size numbers and slaughter data. According to Cuyler (1999), the RGTD's herd sizes are estimates¹¹¹, and until 1968 were collected with a two to three year delay. The Itinnera herd "(...) records for 1969–74 are poor (...) because they may include numbers from different times of the years, pre- or post-slaughter numbers, or all together from several semi-domesticated reindeer herds in Greenland" (Cuyler 1999: 84).

Based on primary sources, the state's annual statistic books, and scientific articles, I have analyzed and reviewed the number of reindeer, slaughtered reindeer, calves born and statistics from the export revenues from reindeer products. The number of reindeer and slaughter numbers for the period, 1952–2004, is found in the graph number 1.¹¹²

4.6. Sámi reindeer herders and Greenlandic apprentices

4.6.1 Sámi herders

The reindeer station at Itinnera, was organized as an ordinary state institution, with a leader of the station, employees consisting of *reindeer herders* – *renvogter* in Danish, and *apprentices* – *lærlinger*. The Danish state employed Sámi herders to tend the herd and train Greenlanders as reindeer herders (cf. chapter five). The work at Itinnera station also consisted of practical work such as building corrals, collecting lichen, fetching supplies from Kapisillit, etc. The reindeer herders were employed on a 2-year

¹¹¹ This is also because it is difficult to get an exact number of reindeer by counting. Cf. chapter 6.2 and 6.3.

¹¹² Numbers are based on *Beretninger vedrørende Grønland/ Grønland årsberetning/ Grønland årbog/ Grønland statistisk årbog*, the years 1952–2005, and from Cuyler's (1999), and Rasmussen's (1992) articles.

contract¹¹³. According to my data, most of them were Northern Sámi men from Norway– and most typically from Inner Finnmark. One herder was from the coast of Finnmark¹¹⁴, Vadsø, one from Tana, only one Sámi from the Finish side, and only one from the Southern Sámi area from Trøndelag. The Sámi herders were mostly unmarried, and came to Greenland alone (cf. chapter 5.1.4). There was only one Sámi woman staying at Itinnera, and she came with her husband, by agreement in 1968, when her husband was employed as a station leader. The Sámi men applied for advertised herding positions, but the Lapp Inspectors also directly recruited them. Most of the Sámi men that came were relatively young, in their 20s.

There are no sources available that tell about how many and whom all of the Sámi herders were, who went to Greenland. According to my review of the primary sources¹¹⁵, and oral data, there were probably 24 reindeer herders from Sápmi (including the Sámi woman), employed by the Danish state in the two herds; Itinnera and Kangerlupiluk, and privately by Triumpf (2002/2006) and Hætta (2004/2005).

4.6.2. Greenlandic apprentices

The Greenlandic apprentices were engaged to have vocational training as reindeer herders, and help the with all the work at Itinnera, such as herding, and other practical work, as fence building, slaughter, etc. They were employed on 4-year apprenticeship contracts, and the Greenlanders recruited young Greenlandic men (around 17–18 years) without families (cf. chapter 5.1.4). The authorities wanted to recruit young men from the Nuuk fjord, with the idea of them establishing private herds in their home area, in the future. The Danish state also tried to recruit apprentices from the sheep breeders, in Southern Greenland, who they thought would be more suitable for reindeer husbandry than other Greenlanders¹¹⁶, (cf. chapters 2.2 and 6.1). The apprenticeships were advertised in newspapers, at schools, and by word-of-mouth in the local community¹¹⁷. It was not of great interest for young Greenlanders to apply for apprenticeship at Itinnera, and the RGTD was actively trying to recruit

¹¹³ The RGTD archive material, several years, Eira 2002/2006, Hætta 2004/2005, Hætta 2010, Skum 2002/2006, Triumpf 2002/2006, Vålitalo 2006.

¹¹⁴ This herder's ethnicity was probably Kven, but he had experience from reindeer husbandry, he had probably been a reindeer police before being employed at Itinnera (Hætta 2004/ 2005).

¹¹⁵ The RGTD archive material, all years.

¹¹⁶ *Beretninger*, several years, the RGTD archive material, several years.

¹¹⁷ Kristiansen 2004, the RGTD archive material, several years.

apprentices. In addition, many quit, and did not finish their education¹¹⁸ (cf. chapter 6.2).

In the books about the Provincial Council’s negotiations, there is information that the Greenlandic politicians wanted the Greenlanders to establish themselves as reindeer herd owners. They discussed that the reindeer husbandry seemed to be a profitable industry, but moreover expressed worries about the few Greenlanders finishing their apprenticeships, and subsequently established themselves privately.¹¹⁹

There is no source available on the exact number of apprentices engaged in the Greenlandic reindeer husbandry. After thorough review of the primary sources, I found that only six¹²⁰ Greenlanders were fully trained as reindeer herders. Five were trained at Itinnera and one at Hætta’s private herd (who later attended the reindeer school in Norway for one year). Others were engaged for a shorter while at Itinnera. Only two of the Greenlandic apprentices started private reindeer husbandry after they finished their apprenticeship.

4.6.3 Employees during the experiment period, 1952–1957

During this period, Jens Rosing was the leader during the whole period, and only two additional *herders* were employed at a time, with one Greenlandic apprentice, in addition. See the table, for names of employees.

Figure 2: Tables over herders and apprentices

Leaders at the Itinnera Reindeer station, during the reindeer husbandry experiment period 1952– 1957
Danish managing clerk– <i>fuldmæktig</i> : 1952–1957: Jens Fynbo
Leader at Itinnera reindeer station, 1952–1957: Jens Rosing

Sámi herders at the Itinnera Reindeer Station during the reindeer husbandry experiment period 1952–1957
1952–1957: John Erik Mathisen Eira
1952–1955: John Johnsen Balto
1955–1957: Johan Klemet Mathisen Hætta
1955–1957: Mathis Persen Gaup

Greenlandic apprentice at Itinnera Reindeer Station during the reindeer husbandry experiment period 1952–1957
01.07.1955-1957: Johan Nielsen

¹¹⁸ *Beretninger* several years, Rosing 1960, the RGTD archive material, several years.

¹¹⁹ *Beretninger vedrørende Grønland*, several years.

¹²⁰ Some of the former Greenlandic apprentices died in a young age.

4.6.4 Employees under state management, 1957–1973 and 1975–1978, and in private herds 1961–1978

During this period, Jens Rosing continued as a leader, from 1957 to 1959. Then Sámi took over as station leaders, John Eira for the longest period. There were three or four Sámi herders employed at a time, in addition to the leader, and during the intensive slaughter period, even some extra employees. Triumph's and Hætta's private herds had some helpers (*reangas*) employed. See the table under for all employees during this period.

Leaders at in the period of states management under the RGTD 1957– 1974:
Leader of Itinnera Reindeer Station 1957–1959: Jens Rosing
Leader of Itinnera Reindeer Station 1959–1968: John Erik Mathisen Eira
Leader of Itinnera Reindeer Station 1968–1971: Johan Andersen Eira
Leader of Itinnera Reindeer Station: 1971–1972: Johan Klemet Mathisen Hætta
Leader of Itinnera Reindeer Station 1972–1973: Anders Daniel Andersen Triumph

Herders at Itinnera station, during state management under the RGTD 1957–1974, and state management at Kangerlupiluk under the Committee for Commercial Subsidies (Erhvervstøtteudvalget) under the National Chief (Landshøvdingeembedet) 1975–1978:
1957–63, 1968–1971: John Erik Mathisen Eira (worked as a station leader in the period between)
1957–61: Johan Klemet Mathisen Hætta
1958–61. 1963–65: Edvin Sukuvara
1958–60 (61): Aslak Iver Guttorm
196–63: Anders Johnsen Somby
1962–64: Ingvald Jáma
1963–64: Abel Berthelsen
1963–65: Per Vuolab
1964–66: Nils Nilsen Eira
1965 –67: Per Nielsen Utsi
1966– 67: Johan Mikkelsen Buljo (At Itinnera for 1.5 years)
1966– 70: Anders Mathisen Skum
1969– 70: Johan Mathis Andersen Triumph
1967: Johan Mathis Larsen Gaino (seasonal work for three months)
1967– 72: Iisakki Rikart Väitalo
1968– 70: Maria Anna Valkeapää Eira (Almost 3 years, came home few months earlier than her husband)
1969–71 and 1975–76: Anders Daniel Andersen Triumph (herder at Johan Hætta's herd 1966– 69, leader at Itinnera 1972–1973, and private herd at Itinnera 1973–1978, station leader at Kangerlupiluk 1975–1976)
1970–72: Ole Kristiansen (but not coherently at work as herder for two years)
1976–77: Ole Adam Andersen Triumph
1972: Jeremias Hansen
1975–76: Aslak Mathisen Siri
1975–78 : Isak Thomas Andersen Triumph (station leader at Kangerlupiluk 1976– 1978)
1976: Tom Sukuvara (16 years)
1976- 78: Levi Mikkelsen (probably seasonal work)
1976- 78: Poul Mikkelsen (probably seasonal work)
1978: Mikkel Salomon Andersen Triumph (seasonal work for five months)

Greenlandic apprentices at Itinnera station during state management under the RGTD 1957–1974:
Johan Nielsen: 1st time 1955–58, 2nd time 1960–63
Abel Berthelsen: 1959–64
John–Peter Kristiansen 1962
Johan Jeremiassen (no further information available)
Pavia Berthelsen 1962–66
John– Peter Kristiansen (?) 1962 possibly (no certain information available)
Stefanus Josefsen 1964–67
Josva Josefsen– Not employed as apprentice, but seasonal employee at Itinnera
Jeremias Hansen (attended the Norwegian Reindeer Husbandry School, 1969–70, considered fully trained apprentice, but was not an apprentice employed by the RGTD)
Ole Kristiansen 1965– 1968 (attended the Norwegian Reindeer Husbandry school 1969–70 and worked as herder– <i>reanga</i> in Guovdageaidnu 1968–69)
Stefanus Jakobsen 1964–68
Gert Pedersen, 1966–1967
Karl Barselaj Josva Hansen 1963 (drowned at Itinnera after four months upon arrival)
Vittus Berthelsen 1969

Herders at Johan Hætta's private Kangerlupiluk reindeer herd 1961–1971
In the 1960s: Jeremias Hansen (1938– 1975) Greenlandic man
In the 1960s: Josva Josefsen (1939– 2016) Greenlandic man
1967– 970: Anders Daniel Andersen Triumpf (1943–2010) Sámi man

Herders at Anders Triumpf's private Itinnera reindeer herd 1974–1978
1978, April– November: Isak Thomas Andersen Triumpf
1974– 76 Ole Adam Andersen Triumpf
1975 Jeremias Hansen (died in an accident at work in 1975)

Fully trained Greenlanders
Johan Nielsen 1955–58 and 1960–61 (worked as a herder 1963– 64 at Itinnera)
Jeremias Hansen trained at Johan Klemet Hætta's herd in the 1960s, and at the reindeer husbandry school in Norway 1969– 70
Abel Berthelsen 1959–63 (worked as herder 1963– 64 at Itinnera)
Pavia Berthelsen 1959–63
Stefanus Jakobsen 1964–68
Ole Kristiansen 1965– 68, a <i>reanga</i> at Anders Sara's herd 1968– 69, at the reindeer husbandry school in Norway 1969–70

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4.7 Introduction of semi-domesticated reindeer from Itinnera to areas outside the reindeer husbandry area

Semi-domesticated reindeer (*Rangifer tarandus tarandus*) have been introduced from the reindeer husbandry area in Itinnera, to different areas in Greenland, in order to build up a wild caribou stock in the respective areas. For instance, 9 reindeer were

¹²¹ Sources for the tables are from Hætta's (2010) book and from all of my oral data (Berthelsen 2006, Eira 2002/2006, Valkeapää Eira 2002, Hætta 2004/ 2005, Josefsen 2002/2004/2006, Kristiansen 2002/2004, Magnusson 2004, Rosing 2006, Siri 2004, Skum 2002, Triumpf 2002, Väliatalo 2006) Primary sources; the RGTD's archive material, all years.

introduced to the Thule district (Olríks Fjord) in 1965. In 1999, this population was under 100 animals¹²². In Nuussuaq (Northern Greenland), Qeqertarsuaq (Northern Greenland), Qornup Qeqertarsua (in the Nuuk fjord) and Qeqertarsuaq (in the Nuuk fjord), there are populations of wild reindeer, living as wild caribou. In 1968, 10 reindeer were introduced to Nuussuaq/ Qeqqetap Ilua (in the Disko bay in Northern Greenland), in 1999, they numbered 250 hybrids between caribou and reindeer. In Nord Fjord (in East Greenland) 10 reindeer were introduced in 1968, which are now extinct. In Qinngua, 48 semi-domestic reindeer were introduced in 1973 and 50 in 1974. In 1999, the population numbered over 4,000 reindeer. In 1971, 22 reindeer were introduced to Ikasanlup itivnera, in 1999 the population was very small – less than 100 reindeer (Thing and Falk 1990, Jepsen 1999). Nuussuaq, Qeqertarsuaq, Qornup Qeqertarsua (in the Nuuk fjord) and Qeqertarsuaq (in the Nuuk fjord) have had quota-based hunting for the wild reindeer (Thing and Falk 1990).

The Sámi herders were responsible for, with the help of Greenlandic apprentices, selecting animals from the herd, taming them and keeping them leashed at the Itinnera station for approximately a month; this was done in order for them to become accustomed to people and to be prepared for the long transport by ship to different areas in Greenland. For instance, John Eira came along the transport to Thule, which lasted one month. Beforehand preparation consisted of collection of a large amount of lichen (from an island unused for pastures).¹²³

4.8 Hybridization between caribou and semi-domesticated reindeer

There has been emigration of semi-domesticated reindeer out of the protected reindeer husbandry area, both south and north (Jepsen 1999). The wild caribou area, Utoqqarmiut's northeastern part, is immediately adjacent to the reindeer area. In 1990, for instance, a report from the Greenlandic authorities on caribou reported that there are a lot of semi-domestic reindeer 'drifting' to the caribou area, probably because the winter conditions were better than at Itinnera area (Thing and Falk 1990). There is hybridization of wild caribou and reindeer, around Nuuk (Jepsen 1999). The wild caribou herds in Utoqqarkit, had very dark or fair (white) reindeer, which is an indication of genetic mixing between reindeer and caribou. There were also fewer

¹²² *Beretninger vedrørende Grønland* 1967 and Jepsen 1999

¹²³ Triumf 2002/2006, Skum 2002/2006, Vålitalo 2006, the RGTD's archive material, several years.

caribou without antlers in the Ameralik populations, which suggests influence by reindeer¹²⁴. There is a higher degree of hybridization south of the Nuuk fjord, than in the north of the Nuuk fjord. According to Jepsen, possible consequences of hybridization is not yet illuminated, but there are some possible negative effects, like less fitness in fertility and survival of the hybrid, or problems concerning the calving period of the hybrid, since there is a difference in calving periods between the caribou and reindeer (Jepsen 1999)¹²⁵. I have not heard anything from oral sources, and I am not familiar with any studies concerning negative effects from hybridization.

4.9 Introduction of warble and botflies to Greenland

Unfortunately, the Provincial Council's members, and other people's fears came true, concerning the danger of diseases or parasites transmitted to the indigenous caribou. In the annual reports of the Provincial Councils' negotiations, this fear was mentioned many times, and that one should try to avoid parasites being spread to the caribou¹²⁶. The parasites, warbles flies (*Oedemagena tarandi* L.) that lay eggs in the reindeer's skin, and botflies (*Cephalomyia trompe* L.) in the reindeer's throats, were unfortunately introduced with the semi-domesticated reindeer to Greenland. The reindeer were examined by the veterinary in Finnmark before transport, but the examination was not very thorough (Lassen and Aastrup 1981).

It is unknown why the indigenous Greenlandic caribou originally did not have warble and botflies, since the caribou in North America where they originated had them.¹²⁷ Magnus Lie (1953), district veterinary in Kárásjohka, tried to help eradicate the warble fly in the reindeer area; the spring after the reindeer had arrived to Greenland. In 1953, the Danish State Ministry and the RGTD asked him to come for a veterinary control, and to assist in this matter. In Copenhagen, the authorities, with Lie in charge, planned to move the herd in a circle within the reindeer area, to avoid contaminated areas and warble fly larvae. The starting point was in the end of April when the first larvae hatch. The plan was to move the herd outside the warble flies' radius of action – at least 20 kilometers each 16 days – altogether 70 kilometers in 46

¹²⁴ In the semi-domestic reindeer herd, there was just one single reindeer without antler in 1977 (Anonymous 1983: *Rensdyrundersøgelser og vegetationskortlægning ved vandkraftværk Buksefjord Nuuk/ Godthåb*).

¹²⁵ The indigenous caribou in Greenland's calving period is approximately one month after the reindeer's calving period. The semi-domesticated reindeer that were brought to Greenland, continued calving as they did in Finnmark (see more in chapter five).

¹²⁶ *Beretninger vedrørende Grønland* 1946– 51.

¹²⁷ The largest emigration wave was in the early 190th century (Lie 1953).

days. The moving would have to continue until September, when the warble flies stop being active. They were going to continue moving the herd, two and a half times, in the planned circle (Lie 1953).

Lie (1953) arrived to the Nuuk fjord in May 1953, and his report to the authorities reveals why the plan to eradicate the warble and botflies did not succeed. In 1953, Lie, Jens Rosing, John Eira and Jon Balto, observed that many reindeer had boils with warble flies in their furs, and they observed warble flies lying on the ground. They also found some larvae of botflies. They were going to move the reindeer herd to a new, uncontaminated area for calving, but because the herd was in a new, strange environment, it was very difficult to move (cf. chapter 2.4). In addition, Lie realized that the planned migration circle was not feasible due to the physical terrain, and he had to alter it. Lie, Rosing and the herders attempted many times to move the herd to the new, planned calving area, and failed many times when the herd stampeded and roamed back to Sulugussugut bay. Finally, Lie and his company realized that the herd wanted to calve in Sulugussugut area – and they could do nothing about it. Some calves were born at this point, and for newborn calves, it is a great strain to be on the move, due to their vulnerable state. They lost three calves, and subsequently had to give up the migration attempt after 10 days in order to avoid losing more precious calves. In the end, the number of casualties was seven calves.

Lie (1953) wrote that the failure of the eradication plan is probably easy to criticize, but concluded that if this plan should have succeeded, they would have needed larger resources and other drastic measures, that they were lacking in the attempt. They had been very few people working. For the next year, he suggested that they move the herd in a circle, but the route could not be set before they knew the reindeers' preferred migration route¹²⁸. Moreover, it was necessary to have a minimum of six trained herders assisting, and the reindeer's resting areas should be sprayed with insecticides, immediately after the animal leaves it. Lie (1953) stated that a much larger program was necessary if they wanted to succeed, and that it would have been a material and economic expense. In Lie's (1953) end report, written by the end of his stay in the Nuuk fjord, we find the final answer for why the warble fly was not eradicated, and presently has spread to all caribou populations in Greenland. He had investigated and observed detained warble flies to check the amount of time it

¹²⁸ Reindeer herds migrate naturally in preferred migration routes.

takes for them to evolve from larvae to a ready insect. He realized that the quickest time for the warble fly in Greenland to evolve was much longer than estimated from the Norwegian and Swedish studies. Lie (1953: 10) writes that the maximum evolvment time is 60 days, and:

This observed evolvment time entails that the previously outlined eradication plan has to be revised, due to the fact that the animals migrating route, must be correspondingly longer. In other words, a twice as long evolvment time entails that the animals must be driven an almost twice-longer circle. In the area the animals are determined to stay in the nearest years, this is not practically feasible.¹²⁹

Beretninger vedrørende Grønland (1954), states that Lie had believed that the warble flies had poor evolvment capabilities in Greenland, and further, it says that Lie did not find botflies. This is not how I read Lie's (1953) report: I cannot find that he believed the warble flies had poor evolvment capabilities, quite the opposite:

Where the wild caribou has its migration routes there is permafrost in many areas, and this also greatly contributes to slowing down the evolvment of the warble fly larvae. If we have this kind of condition in the area of the reindeer husbandry experiment, which seems to be very doubtful, so you can hardly expect any assistance from nature when it comes to freeing the reindeer from the warble fly larvae¹³⁰ (Lie 1953: 1 (2)).

Beretninger vedrørende Grønland (1954) also states that no botflies were found, which is not quite true. Lie's report to the authorities said that a few botflies larvae were found on the ground, but not on the two examined, perished reindeer (Lie 1953: 10). In 1955 and 1956, I find information in the annual statistic books about the presence of warble flies. In 1954, it is reported that warble flies are found on the reindeer, but the amount is decreasing, and none are found. In 1956, I found no data about botflies, only that there are warble flies on a limited scale.¹³¹ I find no other written sources about latter attempts to eradicate the warble and botflies from the reindeer area in the Nuuk fjord. I believe the authorities made no other eradication attempts, and the reason might be the misinterpretation of Lie's report¹³².

¹²⁹ My emphasis, and translation to English. The original quote in Norwegian: "Den observerte utviklingstid medfører at den tidligere av meg skisserte bekjempelsesplan må revideres idet den runde som dyrene må gå, må gjøres tilsvarende lengre. M. a. o. vil en dobbelt så lang utviklingstid medføre at dyrene må drives en nær dobbelt så stor runde. I det området dyrene er bestemt å skulle oppholde seg i de nærmeste år er dette ikke praktisk mulig." (Lie 1953: 10).

¹³⁰ My translation to English from Norwegian: "Der villreinen har sine vandringer er det nemlig mange steder evig tele i jorden, og dette bidrar også sterkt til å hindre bremselarvens utvikling. Om man har slike forhold der renavlsforsøget går sin gang, synes dog meget tvilsomt, så man kan neppe vente noen særlig bistand fra naturens side når det gjelder å befri reinen fra bremselarvene" (Lie 1953: 1 (2)).

¹³¹ *Beretninger vedrørende Grønland 1955–56*.

¹³² It seems odd that the authorities left this important issue unresolved.

Today, the warble and botflies are considered a great strain on the Greenlandic caribou, and even considered a possible contributory cause of decline in the caribou stock, because when the warble fly plague is great in the summer (during calm weather), the caribou are forced up on the mountains and are prevented from foraging. This is affecting their winter fat reserves, and the calf mortality increases. The parasites are a strain on the animals during winter, sucking nutrition from the hosts. In Jepsen's opinion, indigenous caribou might be more sensitive to the warble and botflies than the reindeer, since caribou has been exposed to the parasites for a shorter time than the reindeer (Jepsen 1999).

5. Sámi reindeer husbandry in the Nuuk fjord and transference of traditional knowledge from Sámi to Greenlanders

During the 'Sámi' period in the Nuuk fjord 1952 - 1978, reindeer husbandry was practiced in an almost similar manner to Sápmi (Cuyler 1999, Aastrup & Lassen 1981, Eira 2002/ 2006, Hætta 2004/ 2005, Siri 2004, Skum 2002/ 2006, Triumf 2002/ 2006, Väitalo 2006), by following the traditional reindeer husbandry yearly cycle, with some adaptations to the Greenlandic context. The traditional Sámi reindeer husbandry entails intensive herding with seasonal movements between summer and winter pasture, slaughtering in the fall and a variety of other vital activities within the year.

5.1 Sámi reindeer husbandry in the Nuuk fjord: following the traditional reindeer husbandry yearly cycle

5.1.1. Seasonal use of pastures and the herding at Itinnera state herd

Paine (1994) has written that the Sámi see the pastoral year as a cycle¹³³, and that the seasonal movement of herds between pastures is influenced both by the animals' biology and physiology, and by ecologic factors that the pastoralist takes into account. For example, the annual spring migration off the tundra and towards the coast responds to, among other things, the animals' need for protein (grasses) and the pastoralists' desire to save the lichen beds on the tundra for winter (1994). In Finnmark, the reindeer want to migrate towards the north and the coast in the spring,

¹³³ Ernst Manker has named the Sámi, the people of the eight seasons. "De åtta årstidernas folk"- in Swedish (Manker 1976).

and the reindeer herders follow the herd to the summer pastures, but also to a certain extent, try to influence the spring migration and have control over the herd. The reindeer also want to avoid insect pests in the summer, in Finnmark there are less insects on the coast (Eira 1994).

In the Greenlandic context in the Nuuk fjord, the Itinnera reindeer herd also had short seasonal migrations. In the beginning when the herd was unfamiliar with the strange environment in the Nuuk fjord, it was difficult to move them away from the narrow headline they were embarked onto. The reindeer had not 'settled', for specific grazing areas (Rosing 1955, 1969). The reindeer herd changed the calving area a few times in the first years in Greenland, before settling for one specific calving area near Qorqut. Females want to return to the calving area annually (Paine 1994). An adaptation to the Greenlandic context was a short migration route from the winter to the summer pastures and vice versa. Interesting is that the seasonal migration was done in a similar matter to Finnmark, the winter pastures were 'more inland', towards the inland ice cap, and the summer pastures were 'more towards the coastal area', towards the sea on the Nuuk peninsula, though the whole reindeer husbandry area was located in a fjord. In a Finnmark Sámi context that entails the reindeer area being located in a typical summer grazing district. Eira (1994) writes that in areas where the reindeer are in the same type of land mass year around, parts of the landscape have to resemble the 'northern landscape' and 'southern landscape', as we find in the case in the Nuuk fjord.

In the Itinnera state herd, spring migration took place from the winter pastures to the calving area. The calving area was in the summer grazing area (Eira 2002/2006, Hætta 2004/2005, Kristiansen 2002/2004, Siri 2004, Skum 2002/2006, Triumph 2002/2006, Väitalo 2006) which also applies to some herds in Finnmark (Sara 2001). "We migrated north the same way as here [Sápmi], and in the fall to the south"¹³⁴ (Skum 2006). In the Nuuk fjord, the migration route between the winter and summer pastures was only about 20–30 kilometers. Both the winter and summer grazing areas used in its most extended version, was approximately 100 kilometers. The Sámi herders said it was good to work with reindeer in Greenland, Triumph (2002) explains:

"We migrated to under the inland ice cap, under the big glacier for the winter. Then in

¹³⁴ The original quote is in Sámi, I have translated to English: "*Mii jođiimet davás dego dáppe nai, ja čakčat luksa*" (Skum 2006).

the spring we went to the peninsula. That peninsula where Godthåb is. That was how it was. It was not such a big difference, it was the same way. There are mosquitos and the same type of climate as here. The only thing was that the spring comes very early. Much earlier than here [Sápmi-Guovdageaidnu].”¹³⁵

They did not separate the females from the males in the spring before migration but the males separated themselves.¹³⁶ The pregnant females initiated the migration themselves, and entered the calving area in April every year (Välitalo 2006). A barrier fence separated the summer and the winter grazing areas. When the herders moved with the herd, they let the reindeer herd through the fence (Eira 2002/2006, Hætta 2004/2005, Siri 2004, Skum 2002/2006, Triumf 2002/2006. Kristiansen (2004) told me: “And then after we get them [female herd] over, the males come later to the summer land. Through the station”¹³⁷.

The calving was at the same time as in Sápmi; the first calves were born in the end of April, most in May, and some in June – *geaset*¹³⁸. The indigenous Greenlandic caribou’s calving period is approximately one month later than the semi-domesticated reindeer (Jepsen 1999).

In the beginning, the original part of the reindeer husbandry area consisted of the peninsula west of Itinnera, which later was used only as a summer grazing area. This area was chosen during the initializing, by Jens Rosing (Lassen and Aastrup 1981). The main residences at Itinnera were located in area that later became only summer pastures (opposite of Sápmi) (Eira 2002/2006, Hætta 2004/2005, Siri 2004, Skum 2002/2006, Triumf 2002/2006). During the summer, the reindeer eat green grass and plants (protein), building up a layer of fat, which the reindeer breaks down during winter when it is feeding on lichen (carbohydrates) (Inga 2019). It is important that in the summer the reindeer herd can graze across more extensive areas to feed on

¹³⁵ The original interview is done in Sámi, this is my translation to English: “*Mii jodiiimet dohko dan “innlandisa”-jierja vuol, dohko dan jiehki vuollái dálváí. Ja de giđđat manaimet njárgii. Dien njárgii mas dat Godthåba lea. Nu ahte dat lei... ii das gal lean nu stuora erohus, lei seammalágan. Doppe leat čuoikkat ja doppe lea seammalágan klima go dáppe. Dušše dat lea, hui árrat giđđa šaddá. Olu árabut go dáppe [Sápmi- Guovdageaidnu].*” (Triumf 2002).

¹³⁶ The males do separate themselves from the females, in Sápmi too, even if not separated by herders.

¹³⁷ The original interview was done in Norwegian, and the original text is: “*Så etter at vi får dem [simleflokken] over, så kom bukkene senere til sommerlandet. Gjennom stasjonen også.*” (Kristiansen 2004).

¹³⁸ Information from all Sámi informants: Eira 2002/ 2006, Hætta 2004/2005, Siri 2004, Skum 2002/ 2006, Triumf 2002/2006 and Välitalo 2006. *Geaset* is a Sámi word for a calf born in the summer, which remains a ‘red calf’ (newborn calf with his first hair) in the shift from July to August (Eira 1994).

grass (protein). The herd at Itinnera was also *veaiddalis*¹³⁹, more un-herded, in the summer (Skum 2002 and Triumph 2002). The area also had places to cool off and escape insects' pest¹⁴⁰, to *bálgat*, with *jasat*¹⁴¹, snowdrifts (Eira 1994). John Eira, the Itinnera station leader over many years, delivered a statement to the RGTD, when asked to evaluate the pastures in the Nuuk fjord compared to Finnmark, he stated that the grazing conditions in the Nuuk fjord had always been good, and he thought that the winter grazing conditions are better than in Finnmark, with little, soft snow layer. The summer conditions did not exceed the ones in Finnmark, and had less juicy grass. Nevertheless, he still thought the summers were good for the reindeer, not so hot and not many mosquitoes¹⁴². Only in the middle of the 1960s, when the reindeer herd had become larger, the summer pastures had poorer quality. In John Eira's 1965 yearly report to the RGTD, he writes: "The lichen is starting to disappear at the summer grazing area, from Itinnera west to the sheep farm station [around Qorqut](...)". Moreover, he wished that the reindeer area would be expanded to the east¹⁴³. Nevertheless, according to my informants, the pastures for the Itinnera herd was never bad or overgrazed when the Sámi herders were in the Nuuk fjord, even though the summer area had some deterioration in the quality (also cf. chapter 4). The herders were walking while herding in the summer, and used motor boats (Eira 2002/2006, Hætta 2004/ 2005, Kristiansen 2002/2004, Skum 2002/2006, Triumph 2002/2006, Vålitalo 2006).

During the first years of reindeer husbandry in the Nuuk fjord, the reindeer calf marking and castration was done on free terrain, not inside a *gárdi*, corral, and little-by-little¹⁴⁴. Later, they had a corral in the mountain, approximately 1960–1965 and marked in the summer; after that, they started to mark the calves in a larger corral build near the station. The calf marking was done using lasso to catch the reindeer

¹³⁹ "*Eallu lea veaiddalis*", it means that the herd is going freer and unherded, compared to other seasons in the reindeer herding yearly cycle, when the herd would be closer herded.

¹⁴⁰ In Greenland on the coast, especially in some areas, there are quite much mosquitoes.

¹⁴¹ *Jassa* is a Sámi noun for everlasting snowdrifts that do not melt in the summer.

¹⁴² Letter by John Eira to the RGTD in Nuuk, 02.09.1961, upon request. The RGTD Trade Inspectorate sent it to the RGTD in Copenhagen, which sent it to the State veterinary laboratorium of Northern Norway, who had requested comparison of the grazing conditions in Greenland compared to Finnmark. The RGTD archive material 1962.

¹⁴³ John Eira's yearly report of 1965: "*Reinlaven holder på å forsvinne på sommerlandet, fra Itinnera mot vest til fåreavlstasjonen (rund Qorqut)...Det er bra om renavlsområdet blir utvidet mot øst*". RGTD archive material, 1966.

¹⁴⁴ RGTD archive material, several years. According to Sara (2001), this was common in reindeer husbandry in Inner Finnmark, in the 1950s.

calves, and marking the earmark¹⁴⁵ with a knife. The herd was *lodji*, tame during the first period of reindeer husbandry in Greenland, before the herd size peaked. Then the herd became less tame¹⁴⁶.

The herd came passing Itinnera reindeer station in the fall, migrating towards the winter grazing area near the ice cap. The herd would start moving themselves. The herders were gathering the rest of the reindeer that had not yet come to Itinnera station. They were gathered into the corral in the fall, for slaughter, castration and calf marking (from approximately 1965). The slaughter was done in November, in the first years in a primitive slaughter tent, before they built a slaughter house at Itinnera.

From approximately the 1960s, the slaughter was done in September¹⁴⁷ The authorities arranged for a Danish veterinary to come for inspections, and in addition, for butchers. The carcasses were transported by boat to a cold storage. The meat and the byproducts were sold for the domestic market, but also exported to Denmark and Sweden especially when the amount of reindeer meat and byproducts had increased. When they were reducing the herd size, from the middle of 1960s, they slaughtered large numbers reindeer, and not so many herders worked together with the butchers In Välitälo's (2006) words: "The first year I was there [1967], we slaughtered over 2,000, we pulled them three men. 2,300, the first fall...(.)"¹⁴⁸. They followed the traditional way of selecting slaughter animals at this time; mostly bulls and castrates, and occasionally female¹⁴⁹".

After finishing in the corral in the fall, the herd was let through the barrier fence into the winter area, near the icecap. This is actually the opposite of the migration pattern than the original subspecies has, the wild caribou (Aastrup og Lund 1995). Herding in the winter area was with traditional skis, *bessotsabehat* and *nuvttohat*¹⁵⁰ – reindeer boots, and transporting provisions in a backpack to the *lávvus*

¹⁴⁵ Refer also to 5.1.3.3.

¹⁴⁶ Eira 2002/ 2006, Hætta 2004/ 2005, Skum 2002/ 2006, Välitälo 2006 and the RGTD archive material, several years.

¹⁴⁷ The slaughter lasted up to weeks in a row, during most intensive slaughter periods, reducing the herd size in the middle of 1960s.

¹⁴⁸ The original interview is in Sámi, my translation to English: "*Gal mii njuovaimet vuosttaš jagi badjel 2000, gesimet 3 olbmá. 2300, vuosttaš čavčča*" (Välitälo 2006).

¹⁴⁹ The RGTD archive material, several years. The exception in slaughter was when they were reducing the herd, then they slaughtered all types of reindeer, also many females and calves. The herd structure was a traditional Sámi one, unlike the present herd structure in Sápmi with up to 90 % females, and calf slaughter (Benjaminsen, Eira and Sara 2018).

¹⁵⁰ Traditional Sámi *gápmagat*, are boots sawn of reindeer leg fur, with a curling, up pointing nose that you would hook to the binding of the ski.

and cabins. The herding was done in a traditional way, skiing around the herd in a circle, checking the pastures and that the reindeer did not leave the area. The herding dogs were of great importance while herding, according to all my Sámi informants. (Eira 2002/2006, Hætta 2004/2005, Skum 2002/2006, Triumph 2002/2006 and Vålitalo 2006). Only very few years was it less good quality in the winter pastures, for instance, in the winter 1968–1969 when ice was locking the pastures causing reindeer to die from starvation and from slipping down mountainsides.¹⁵¹ In 1967, they got two Evinrude snowmobiles to Itinnera to use in reindeer husbandry,¹⁵² approximately the same time as in Sámi reindeer husbandry in Finnmark (Sara 2001). The snowmobiles could not drive in the difficult terrain, in the Nuuk fjord, due to their heavy iron belts. The herders had to ski a lot during herding (Hætta 2004/2005, Skum 2002/2006, Triumph 2002/2006 and Siri 2004). Only in the 1970s did they start using snowmobile more (Triumph 2002). They had *heargis*, draft reindeer that they used for transporting equipment, like coal and petroleum, to the cabins. They also used them as lead animals when moving the herd. John Eira was especially engaged in the training of *heargis*, but others were also training draft animals (Hætta 2004/2005, Skum 2002/2006 and Triumph 2002/2006).

5.1.2 The Kangerlupiluk herd: Johan Klemet Hætta's private reindeer husbandry

Johan Klemet Hætta had his private reindeer herd at the small peninsula, Kangiusap nunaa, in the Nuuk fjord, 1961–1971. His reindeer area was separated from the state's by a barrier fence over a narrow isthmus. He had a year-round grazing area, but even so, he had distinctive summer, fall and, winter grazing areas (see map 3). His migration was approximately 50 kilometers, at its furthest. His pastures were of good quality, and it was only during the difficult winter of 1968–1969, that he had some casualties. He had cabins, turf huts, and *lávvus*, and had his own slaughterhouse with a corral connected to it. His main residence was located in the village of Kapisillit.

He followed the traditional yearly cycle of the Sámi reindeer husbandry, as at Itinnera state herd, including slaughter in the fall, herding by ski in winter and

¹⁵¹ The RGTD archive, 1970- 1971, Eira 2002/ 2006, Hætta 2004/ 2005, Skum 2002/ 2006.

¹⁵² The RGTD's archive material 1967

walking in the summer, “the real old-fashioned reindeer herding”¹⁵³. He got a snowmobile in 1966, but it had a limited application, as in Itinnera. The slaughter at the Kangerlupiluk herd was done in connection with the slaughtering at Itinnera herd. Hætta herded his reindeer, also so they would stay *lodji*, tame. He did reindeer calf marking in the summer and in the fall. He had two earmarks registered, one for him – *hoañkamearka*¹⁵⁴, and one for his eldest son, Ole Frank Hætta, quite similar to his own, following in the Sámi tradition. Hætta was married to a Greenlandic woman, Kathrine Paulsen Hætta, and had four children. As written in chapter four, Hætta did not receive any production state support, but made a livelihood only from his herd, and he managed well. He sold 1,000 live reindeer to Pavia Berthelsen in 1971, when he ended his husbandry¹⁵⁵.

5.1.3 Adaptations to the Greenlandic context

As described in sub chapter 5.1.1, reindeer husbandry in the Nuuk fjord was conducted in almost/partly traditional Sámi way, based on traditional Sámi knowledge. This concerns especially the *herding* concept’s part of reindeer husbandry. As mentioned, one adaptation to the Greenland was that it was in a year-round grazing area, but still utilizing different locations for different seasons. In connection with this, the migration was shorter than in a Sápmi, with only 20–30 kilometers between the seasonal grazing areas¹⁵⁶.

Reindeer husbandry in the Nuuk fjord was doing well while managed by the Sámi herders. The condition of the reindeer was good and the reindeer were larger than in Finnmark where they originated (Eira 2002/2006, Hætta 2004/2005, Siri 2004, Skum 2002/2006, Triumf 2002/2006, Vålitalo 2006). Eira (2006) told me that reindeer had large antlers, and that they did not get “*váibbat miesit and čearpmahat*” – exhausted calves and one-year old calves, because they did not have to migrate far. Hætta (2005) and Siri (2004) both reported of *sarvát* – uncastrated males closer to 100 kilos¹⁵⁷.

¹⁵³ Original in Sámi: “*Dat lei dat albma boazodoallu. Boaresáigásaš*” (Hætta 2005).

¹⁵⁴ *Hoañka* is a specific earmark cut. Refer to the illustration of the earmarks, in the appendix.

¹⁵⁵ This entire sub chapter is based on interviews with Johan Klemet Hætta, 2003, 2004 and 2005, with additional information from the archive material concerning slaughter/ slaughterhouse, ect.

¹⁵⁶ In Sápmi, and in Finnmark, you may have migration routes that are over 200 kilometers from the winter inland grazing area, to the summer grazing area at the coast (Sara 2001).

¹⁵⁷ From the Itinnera herd: Average slaughter weight of the reindeer in 1956: 58, 5 kilos, 1958: , 1959 and 1960: 49,1 kilos. The RGTD archive material 1962.

In the Greenlandic context, there were very few predators causing a risk for reindeer, and this is a positive factor pointed out to me by all the Sámi informants, together with Kristiansen (2004) and Rosing (2006). There were no wolves, wolverines, lynxes, bears, red foxes, like you find in Sápmi. The only predators that could take reindeer calves were arctic foxes and white-tailed eagles (Eira 2002/2006, Hætta 2004/2005, Siri 2004, Skum 2002/ 2006, Triumpf 2002/2006, Väilitalo 2006) and there were no golden eagles. The white-tailed eagle did not kill so many reindeer calves, because of the high amount of fish available, but the herders reported casualties (Hætta 2004). On one occasion, Hætta (2005) reported that a polar bear had taken one reindeer from him (!). Polar bears are rare in the Nuuk fjord:

“It was fall, a little snow that you can easy trace tracks in the snow. I don’t know how it came to be, but the two of them had fallen down the berg/ rock to the bottom, same high as from the sealing to the floor [in his current house]. And there it had eaten quite a lot of it...the *sarvvis*” – it was a large uncastrated male! (...)...I don’t know how it got it down from the berg. Probably the reindeer lost the battle for its life already at the top. It only happened that once, which I know of...¹⁵⁸”.

When asked what was different in the Greenlandic context, my Sámi informants all point out the terrain, with high mountains. It makes it more difficult to gather and drive the reindeer herd, and harder for people to walk and ski. It was risky for reindeer slipping down mountain and perish, and be stroked by small avalanches. Never the less, the herders got accustomed to the terrain. The herders had adapted to the steep terrain, here explained by Skum (2002):

“...(...) we did not become real skiers before Greenland! There you had that kind of terrain; you can’t run on skies before you learn. (...)Inggos Joavvna [John Eira] had adapted so well to Greenland, that I saw when he run on skis, like a slalom driver with snowdrift around him, and he had a pulk behind him...(...) I believe he had a ‘vávlu’¹⁵⁹, a brake, on the pulk.”

The natural environment was also a bit different in the sense that there were no trees – only willows – making it harder to make fires. The herders would still light bonfires, *dolastallat*, with the willows found in valleys in the fjord. Skum (2002) found a plant under shelter rocks that he could use instead of birch bark to get the fire burning instantly, *ruvdorásit* – white Arctic bell heather. The herders would put up *lávvu*¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁸ The original quote in Sámi: “*Lei čakčat, lei veahá muohta, diekkár buorre vuohttinmuohta. In dieđe movt leaččai, dat leigga goit bávttis mannan bodnái, dego dás dáhkis duosa bodnái. Ja doppe lei dasto borran oalle olu dan sarvás. Dat lei sarvvis, stuora sarvvis!...(...)...In dieđe movt leažžá dat go lea ožžon dan bávttis bodnái. Reastaluvvan das dieđus juo. Dat gal lei dušše dan okte, maid mun dieđán...* (Hætta 2005).

¹⁵⁹ “Vávlu” is a Sámi term for a brake used on the sled runners, usually ropes.

¹⁶⁰ The “lávvu” poles had been imported from Norway when the herd first came.

in nearby willows by the shore, in a lee, to be able to have fire for heating and cooking, as an adaptation to Greenland (Eira 2002 and Hætta 2005). The Sámi had to adapt to the sea ice, sometimes blocking the fjord to the grocery store in Kapisillit, and adding a herding challenge by the fjords. They had to learn how to sail by motorboat, through ice and icebergs. The inland icecap worked as *oahci* – a natural barrier preventing the reindeer moving further. (Eira 2002/ 2006, Hætta 2004/ 2005, Siri 2004, Skum 2002/ 2004, Triumph 2002/ 2006). Sometimes they experienced such strong winds¹⁶¹ that they could lift rocks and destroy equipment, and that could potentially be very dangerous if they were out in nature¹⁶². The shepherd dogs were an adaptation to Greenland; first they had imported Sámi dogs, later Sámi and sheep dog mixtures, in the end, they only had sheep dogs¹⁶³. The dogs functioned well in reindeer husbandry; the only downside was the sheepdogs' feet were not ideal for running long distances.¹⁶⁴

When the Itinnera state reindeer herd had increased a lot in the middle of the 1960s, and the Kangerlupiluk herd 1975– 78, the reindeer were 'wilder' and less tame. It is unusual to slaughter and castrate such high quantities of reindeer. The herders had to use their traditional knowledge in order to adapt their knowledge to the large, wilder herd. For instance, to what herding and driving techniques to apply: "There was another type of migration, you had to herd the herd from behind, until it started moving itself, you could not *vuodjelit*– drive the herd from behind. ..(...) There is rough terrain and more skittish type of reindeer"¹⁶⁵. It was not possible to use the herding dogs as much as usual (Skum 2006). The reindeer itself adapted well, and parts of the *herding* concept in reindeer husbandry was adapted to the Greenlandic context with the use of the Sámi herders' knowledge.

¹⁶¹ Johan Klemet Hætta (2004/ 2005) tells about a storm that lasted for over 12 hours, where he had to take shelter behind a rock on the mountain. The wind was so strong that it lifted smaller rocks, and blew his puppy dog, over the cliffs, which he never found again.

¹⁶² Eira 2002/ 2006, Hætta 2004/ 2005, Siri 2004, Skum 2002/ 2006, Triumph 2002/ 2006, Väilitalo 2006 and the RGTD archive- reference for storms destroying equipment.

¹⁶³ Due to difficulty importing more Sámi dogs from Scandinavia.

¹⁶⁴ Eira 2002/ 2006, Hætta 2004/ 2005, Siri 2004, Skum 2002/ 2006, Triumph 2002/ 2006, Väilitalo 2006 and the RGTD archive, several years.

¹⁶⁵ My translation to English. The original quote in Sámi: "*Doppe lei earáládje johtin, fertii guođohemiin ealu manjis dassá dat ieš vuolgá, ii doppe ábuhan vuodjelit...(...) Dat leat rušu eatnamat, ii dain sáhte vuodjelit, ja árggit boazosorta.*" (Skum 2006).

5.1.4 Differences from reindeer husbandry in Sápmi: not complete transference of traditional knowledge

5.1.4.1 No *siida* structure

In the Nuuk fjord in Greenland, there was no *siida* structure. The herders at the station were employed and working together, in shorter or longer periods, with state owned reindeer.

The *siida* is the traditional Sámi way of organizing reindeer husbandry, in self-governed units. It is a nomadic unity where reindeer husbandry is a significant part of the economy, and frames the unity and its presence and migration, with individual reindeer owners working together in a partnership, often with kin, herding the reindeer. The *siida* was the basis of *birgejupmi*¹⁶⁶, livelihood and way of life, being a continuous practice up until today. There is also a succession from generation to generation. *Siiddastallan* – herding, is managed on the collective level on the *siida* level, and the *Báikedoallu* – husbandry on the household unities or individual level¹⁶⁷. The *siida* would have a specific area that the reindeer herd would utilize, and have usufruct rights to that specific land area, collectively as a *siida* (Sara 2013). In the *siida*, the husbanders –*isit*¹⁶⁸ or *eamit*¹⁶⁹– of each family, are equal in decision-making, that is, within the concept of *herding* (Paine 1994). The *siida* can be of great support for the individual herder, to work collectively with a herd with *siidaguoibmis* – *siida* partners, and to discuss herding strategies and knowledge – so called ‘*long, ongoing conversations*’¹⁷⁰ with other herders in your *siida* or another *siida* (Paine 1994, Sara 2013: 89). Disadvantages with a lack of the *siida* structure is as Greenlander Pavia Berthelsen (2003) explained it: he bought Johan Klemet Hætta’s herd and managed it 1971–75, said he worked mostly alone, which he thought was challenging.

In Greenland, the size of the herd was not changed during the different season, like in Sápmi (Eira 2002/2006, Hætta 2004/2005, Skum 2002/2006, Triumph 2002/2006). In Finnmark it is common to divide the whole herd into different *siida*

¹⁶⁶ See Chapter 3 and sub chapter 5.1.3.3.

¹⁶⁷ See chapter 5.1.4.2.

¹⁶⁸ *Isit* in Sámi means a male head of a family herd, sometimes of a combined herd of several families, a husbander- in relation to a helper- *rearga*, husband, and owner of animals.

¹⁶⁹ *Eamit* in Sámi is the female version of *isit* (but more unusually the head of a family herd than a man, and rarely a head of combined herds of several families) , and also has the meaning of a wife.

¹⁷⁰ My translation to English, the original is in Norwegian: “(...) *lange, inngående samtaler.*” (Sara 2013: 89). Cf. Chapter three and chapter 5.2.1.

formations according to different seasons¹⁷¹, where the size of the herd is varied in the course of the year as the quality of pastures is affected by the number of deer on it (Paine 1994).

5.1.4.2 No family-based reindeer husbandry with women and children

One major difference in the Greenlandic context was that there was no family-based reindeer husbandry in the Nuuk fjord, with women and children involved in reindeer husbandry activities. The family-based reindeer husbandry is the basis of Sámi reindeer husbandry, and this vital part was missing. The exception, to a certain degree, is Johan Klemet Hætta's private herd 1961–71¹⁷². He had *reangas*– helpers and his eldest son would accompany him to the herd. His wife, Kathrine Paulsen Hætta, would help with some tasks, such as maintaining fences, cooking at the slaughter, in addition to 'domestic work', but not helping with the reindeer herding, per se (Hætta 2003/2004/2005).

Reindeer husbandry also consist of the *báikedoallu*, household, as a subsistence economy with the work task connected to it (Sara 2001, 2013). The household entails what Paine (1994) has described as *husbandry* opposed to *herding* part of reindeer work that Sara (2013) has defined as *siiddastallan*. The women are often very important in the household, but can also participate at the *herding* part. Moreover, one important aspect is being knowledge-bearers and transferring traditional knowledge to children, and bringing children to the mountain where they can learn reindeer herding skills (Joks 2001, 2007). At the Itinnera reindeer station there were almost no women, with some exceptions; it was an all-male economy. There were no women and children at the mountain; in the cabins and *lávvus*, helping with reindeer herding activities. At Itinnera, the reindeer herders and apprentices had to do all the 'domestic work' themselves – buying supplies at Kapisillit, baking bread, cooking, washing clothes etc., at both the station and mountain. The exception is Jens Rosing's wife, Dagny Rosing 1954–59, and Maria Anna Valkeapää Eira 1968–1970/71 doing 'domestic work' for their household (Eira 2002/2006, Valkeapää Eira 2002, Hætta 2004/2005, Kristiansen 2002/ 2004, Rosing 2006, Skum 2002/2006, Triumph 2002/2006, Väilitalo 2006). Hætta (2003) told that he had to sew *nuvttohat*,

¹⁷¹ For example, in Guovdageaidnu, the smallest "*siida*" are likely to be in the spring, perhaps two or three closely related families or even one family alone, and the largest in the summer (Paine 1994).

¹⁷² See: 5.1.2.

traditional reindeer boots, by himself, making them after an old pair at Itinnera while there were only men present¹⁷³.

The apprentices and herders could not have wives and children at the station; it was not a facilitated nor a desired situation. This also had an effect on their well-being, since Itinnera station is in a remote, isolated location.¹⁷⁴.

5.1.4.3 Almost no private ownership in the Nuuk fjord: one earmark in the state herd

Another vital difference in the Nuuk fjord is that there was almost no private ownership of reindeer, with the exception of the Kangerlupiluk herd and John Eira's percentage of private reindeer in the state herd¹⁷⁵. It existed only one earmark in the state herd, *guovtteguobir* earmark¹⁷⁶, and there was no additional marking in the reindeer's fur, *guolgamearka*.

Because of almost no private ownership, there was a very low risk of mixing with other reindeer owners, "we did not need to worry about mixing the reindeer while herding" (Skum 2002)¹⁷⁷. There was almost no mixing between the state herd and the private Kangerlupiluk herd, due to herding and the barrier fence across the isthmus¹⁷⁸. Only when Pavia Berthelsen owned the Kangerlupiluk herd, 1971–1976, some reindeer came into the Itinnera herd, due to his problems managing the herd¹⁷⁹. Because it was a low risk of mixing, some Sámi reindeer herders would occasionally amuse themselves by marking some calves in their own earmark in the state herd. This had no importance, since they did not take the reindeer with them, or selling it for own profit (Triumpf 2002, Vålitalo 2006). This shows how little importance the one earmark had, it was only required that the semi-domesticated reindeer were earmarked. In the Sámi herders' contract, there was never an intention to earn reindeer to build up an eventual private herd for settling in Greenland, with the

¹⁷³ Sewing is usually considered a woman's job in Sápmi, and would usually only be done by women, with some exceptions.

¹⁷⁴ Apart from Marie Anna Valkeapää Eira, and Dagny Rosing staying at Itinnera, there were only some women staying temporarily at the station. The RGTD archive, several years.

¹⁷⁵ John Eira did not have his own earmark. He had a percentage until approximately 1968.

¹⁷⁶ See the illustration of earmarks in the appendix.

¹⁷⁷ The original interview is in Sámi, my translation to English: «*Eat mii dárbbahan goit ballat ahte mastat*» (Skum 2002).

¹⁷⁸ See map of the Nuuk fjord (map 3).

¹⁷⁹ The RGTD archive material 1972-77, Cuyler 1999.

exception of John Eira. This meant that the herders could not take *niesteboazu*, reindeer for their own consumption, even while caring for the herd.¹⁸⁰

No Greenlanders earned or owned reindeer while working at the state herd or while being trained as apprentices, in order to build up a herd that they could later continue managing on their own. In contrast to the Sámi tradition, where *reangas* – working as reindeer helpers – could build up a herd by earning reindeer. This was the case in reindeer husbandry in Alaska, when Inuit were trained as reindeer herders, they could borrow reindeer each apprentice year to build up a private herd (Beach 1986, Vorren 1989). As mentioned, because of the lack of private ownership, the *husbandry* part of working with reindeer was missing¹⁸¹. The Danish authorities managed this part, and the Greenlanders did not learn this. This is also connected with *birgejupmi* – maintaining a livelihood part of reindeer husbandry, discussed in chapter three. *Birgejupmi* is a vital part of the Sámi traditional reindeer knowledge and it was not manifested in reindeer husbandry in the Nuuk fjord. The conditions that were prevailing in the Nuuk fjord, did not facilitate for important aspects for the *birget* part of Sámi reindeer husbandry.

5.2 How and under what conditions was traditional reindeer knowledge transferred to Greenlandic apprentices

5.2.1 Training in reindeer herding

All the Sami informants told me that the objective of them coming to Greenland was, as Skum (2002) expresses it: “We had the objective to work with the reindeer, and to train Greenlanders to become reindeer herders”¹⁸². As described in chapter 4.6, the Greenlanders were employed on a 4-year apprentice program. This was a Danish apprenticeship system, and the intention was that they were only going to be trained at the reindeer station. Nevertheless, in a later period, two young Greenlandic men went to Norway to join the reindeer high school 1969–1970, Ole Kristiansen and Jeremias Hansen. Ole Kristiansen even worked as a *reanga*¹⁸³, helper or a hired hand, at Ellán

¹⁸⁰ See more in chapter 6.2. Eira 2002/2006, Hætta 2004/2005, Kristiansen 2004, Siri 2004, Skum 2002/2006, Triumf 2002/2006, Vålitalo 2006, RGTD archive material.

¹⁸¹ See also chapter 3, and sub chapter 5.1.3.2.

¹⁸² The exception is Aslak Siri, who was only going to tame the wild Kangerlupiluk herd 1977–1978, and slaughter the herd down to a sustainable level. However, he was well aware of the objective of reindeer husbandry in Greenland and the Sámi herders' role in it. My translation to English. The original quote by Skum in Sámi: “*Mis lei ulbmil bargat daid bohccuiguin ja oahpahit ‘grønlanderiid’ boazobargui*” (Skum 2002). My emphasis.

¹⁸³ Refer to chapter 2.4, about *reanga*.

Ánttes/ Anders Sara's herd for one year in Guovdageaidnu, Norway 1968–69¹⁸⁴ (cf. chapter 4.4). Both Pavia Berthelsen and Ole Kristiansen wanted to go to Norway, for some additional training in reindeer herding. Berthelsen, who was an apprentice at the station earlier, was denied the opportunity by the RGTD who claimed it was too expensive, and he expressed his dissatisfaction with it. Kristiansen, who was an apprentice later, got the opportunity, but had to fight for his case against the RGTD. Kristiansen was advised by his Sámi trainers at the station that if he was going to learn "(...) real private reindeer husbandry, you should go to Norway. Here it is the state managing it, and the boss from Nuuk deciding so much"¹⁸⁵.

Hætta had *reangas* at his private herd, he had Greenlandic men as helpers that he trained in reindeer herding; Jeremias Hansen and Josva Josefsen. Hætta worked hard to get Jeremias Hansen to the reindeer school in Norway. Pavia Berthelsen (2003) expressed that he was not satisfied with the training provided by the authorities, he said it was insufficient, and mentioned the lack of financial support. He wished to go to Norway after 2 years as an apprentice, for additional training, and "(...)...to see how families worked. I did not get that opportunity"¹⁸⁶.

Moreover, there were some Greenlandic men who worked part-time for the state herd and the Kangerlupiluk private herd in work intensive periods; who learned some reindeer herding. The Greenlandic men were trained practically in reindeer herding skills, in an almost/partly traditional Sámi way. When asked how the apprentices were trained, Eira (2006) explained: "They used to be with us in the corral, and....approximately the same way as the training is her [Sápmi]. To ski in the mountain, and...slaughter, and so on."¹⁸⁷ Skum (2006) explained: "It is like a person that has a *reanga* and they were very quick learning fellows...(...)"¹⁸⁸. The Greenlanders also explained how they learned and were taught through practical

¹⁸⁴ Kristiansen 2002/ 2004 and RGTD archive material 1968-69.

¹⁸⁵ My translation to English. The original quote in Norwegian: "(...)..privat, riktig drift, så skal du komme til Norge. Her i stasjonen, er det staten som driver den. Og sjefen fra Nuuk som bestemmer så mye" (Kristiansen 2004).

¹⁸⁶ The original interview is in Greenlandic, translated into Norwegian by Frederik Lennert: "(...)..."..jeg kunne ha sett hvordan familier drev. Jeg fikk ikke den muligheten" (Berthelsen 2003). My translation to English.

¹⁸⁷ Original quote in Sámi: "Na, dat lávejit min mieldo doppe ja gárddis ja...seamma sullii go dáppe oahpahit daid. Doppe duoddaris čuoigat, ja...njuovvat, ja feará maid." (Eira 2006).

¹⁸⁸ My translation to English, the original quote in Sámi: "Dat ledje dego okta olmmoš geas lea reanga. Ja dat lekke hirbmat oahppilis olbmát..." (Skum 2006).

work, working together with the Sámi (Berthelsen 2006, Josefsen 2002/ 2006, Kristiansen 2002/ 2004, Rosing 2006).

The Sámi informants told me that the Greenlandic apprentices acquired skills in reindeer *herding*. The Greenlanders have also told what skills they learned from the Sámi, and mastered. The Sámi herders said the Greenlanders learned some parts well, and were hardworking and competent. For instance, they skied together with the Sámi herders around the herd¹⁸⁹, and gathered the reindeer some times. Skum (2002/ 2006) explained that he had told the apprentices to notice the direction of the wind in the evening when going to bed, it effects the behavior of the reindeer who have moved into the wind direction. Many of the apprentices knew how to ski from before starting their apprenticeship. They learned how to listen to bells in the herd, and also count bells, to see if deer were missing. They learned how to work in the corral, drive the herd into the corral, lasso reindeer¹⁹⁰ and pull reindeer in the corral, in for instance, slaughter and reindeer calf marking with knife. They used herding dogs, but some Sámi said that they did not use them to the same degree as in Sápmi. They learned how to castrate, some also by using teeth before they got tongs, and they learned the reasons behind castration. Slaughtering they knew from before, from their caribou hunting knowledge. The apprentices also stayed at *lávvus* and turf huts while herding¹⁹¹. Berthelsen (2006) told me he even sewed a *lávvu* cover from canvas.

The part that was more inadequate was the training in herd migration, since the migration route was so short, even though they participated in this work. They learned some about draft reindeer, *heargis*, for instance to drive them, and use them as a lead animal in the front while moving the herd. They were not taught how to brake in the draft animals. The marking techniques and understanding of it was limited, due to so few earmarks. Other parts of the system, such as knowledge of herd structure that was important in *husbandry*, was also limited. The apprentices did learn how to differentiate different types of reindeer by physical appearance; color, type, age, and they also knew it to a certain degree from caribou hunting, but not in the same

¹⁸⁹ To ski or drive around the reindeer herd in the winter to check upon the herd, and see how the herd is grazing and how the pastures are, is a common herding technique.

¹⁹⁰ Ole Kristiansen was considered an especially skilled lassoer.

¹⁹¹ All of this section is based on all the interviews by the Sámi and Greenlandic informants perspectives (Berthelsen 2006, Eira 2002/ 2006, Hætta 2004/ 2005, Josefsen 2002/ 2006, Kristiansen 2002/ 2004, Rosing 2006, Siri 2004, Skum 2002/ 2006, Triumph 2002/ 2006, Väilitalo 2006).

specialized way as in Sápmi.¹⁹² They learned, for instance, to look for which female reindeer were old and infertile, and to take them for slaughter. Also, the behavior differentiation was limited¹⁹³. This has to do with the fact that the Greenlanders did not own private reindeer in the Nuuk fjord. Herd structure is an important part of *husbandry* when being a reindeer herder. There is also a commitment and motivation factor, if you know you are tending your own reindeer, this effects the knowledge of different types of reindeer. Concepts like *boazolihkku* – reindeer luck, and a ‘beautiful herd’ (in for instance herd composition), were lacking. The male and female were not separated into separate herds in the spring before calving, this also influenced the apprentices’ knowledge of herd structure in Itinnera.

In the tradition of *long, ongoing conversations* (Paine 1994), Sara 2013: 89) between equal herders in the *siida*, discussing herding strategies and transferring knowledge¹⁹⁴, the Sámi were talking a lot about Sápmi and how reindeer herding was practiced back home (Kristiansen 2004). The apprentices learned some skills in at reindeer herding, *máhttit*, and were competent in those skills. However, it was not a complete training in practical Sámi traditional reindeer skills, because there were crucial parts missing; working skills from the *siida* structure, family-based reindeer husbandry and from private ownership to reindeer. The knowledge part *diehtit*, was not either completely transferred due to the same reasons. In this sense, “knowing about something does not guarantee that one has the skills to do or perform it” (Porsanger and Guttorm 2011: 62–63) [cf. chapter 3]. The herders did, for instance, hear ‘theoretically’ about private ownership in reindeer husbandry in Sápmi, and various earmarks and fur marking, but it was not possible to apply it because the whole holistic knowledge system was lacking. The holistic knowledge system of *birgejupmi*.

5.2.2 Social relationships and sharing of knowledge

In the reindeer husbandry in the Nuuk fjord, you had a cross-cultural context, with the Sámi, Greenlanders and the Danish as the authority. According to my informants, the

¹⁹² See for instance Paine 1994 and Eira 1994, for explanations of differentiation of reindeer by physical and behavioral aspects.

¹⁹³ All of this section is based on most of the oral data, from both the Sámi and the Greenlandic perspectives (Berthelsen 2006, Eira 2002/2006, Hætta 2004/2005, Josefsen 2002/2006, Kristiansen 2002/2004, Rosing 2006, Skum 2002/2006, Triumph 2002/2006, Väilitalo 2006).

¹⁹⁴ In order to be able to make independent decisions on behalf of the *siida*, when required to do so (Paine 1994, Sara 2013).

Sámi and Greenlanders had a good social relationship. They had good communication, even if there were minor language problems. The Sámi and Greenlanders had a positive experience with the sharing of knowledge and working together. They also went on fishing trips together, and the locals showed the Sámi the fishing lakes and rivers. Usually they were quite isolated at the Itinnera station, except for trips to Kapisillit and Nuuk. The Sámi tell of hospitality amongst the Greenlanders, and they went visiting people while in Kapisillit, and sometimes guests would come to Itinnera (Eira 2002/2006, Hætta 2004/2005, Josefsen 2002, Kristiansen 2002/2004, Rosing 2006, Siri 2004, Skum 2002/2006, Triumph 2002/2006, Valkeapää Eira 2002, Väitalo 2006).

When slaughtering – people, men and women, were employed by the RGTD to work short time. “It was like festivities or gatherings”¹⁹⁵ (Skum 2006). The slaughtering was the only time there were women employed¹⁹⁶, and children present for a short period.¹⁹⁷ The Sámi respected the Greenlanders for their knowledge of and skills in nature. They were “(...)...skilled mountain people, almost more than us Sámi”¹⁹⁸, and they did not freeze easily in the mountain. It was not as you would bring a *dáčča* – non-Sámi to the mountain and the herd, who might for instance, have problems knowing how to dress properly (Eira 2002/2006, Hætta 2004/2005, Skum 2002/2006, Triumph 2002/2006, Väitalo 2006).

Also, the Greenlanders respected the Sámi for their skills with reindeer herding (Berthelsen 2006, Kristiansen 2002/2004, Josefsen 2002/2004). There were some intermarriages between Sámi men and Greenlandic women. The Sámi and Greenlanders also shared culture; for instance, they would learn languages from each other, the Sámi learned some Greenlandic and in particular Greenlandic place names, and vice versa. The main communication language was Danish-Norwegian, with some Greenlandic and Sámi. In addition, clothing was borrowed and loaned both ways, but more Greenlanders using Sámi clothes; like *nuvttohat*– reindeer boots – and the Sámi type of skis. All the apprentices would use a Sámi knife belt (*ibid*). Both the

¹⁹⁵ My translation to English, the original quote is in Sámi: “*Dat ledje dego márganat.*” (Skum 2006).

¹⁹⁶ The exception is Marie Anna Valkeapää Eira that was sometimes employed to do some domestic work at the Itinnera station. RGTD archive material, several years and Valkeapää Eira 2002.

¹⁹⁷ The exception is Jens Rosing’s children living at Itinnera 1954- 59.

¹⁹⁸ My translation to English, the original quote is in Sámi: “(...)...*Čeahpit váris, measta vearrábut go sápmelaš*” (Skum 2006).

Sámi and Greenlanders thought there were many similarities in their cultures, but recognized that the other group had a different culture, especially when it comes to their livelihoods. Moreover, they recognized that reindeer herding skills, both the concepts of *máhttit* and *diehtit*¹⁹⁹, is something that takes time to learn, and that reindeer herding is a ‘way of life’ (Paine 1994).

The Danish differentiated between the Sámi and Greenlanders, when it came to salaries, diet money and housing, where the Sámi had better salaries as ‘outsiders’²⁰⁰, and in some periods, the apprentices’ houses were in poorer condition than the herders’ houses were²⁰¹. One can draw a comparison to the Alaskan reindeer husbandry, where there was a similar differentiation by the authorities. In Alaska, this caused some tension between the Sámi and Inuit (Beach 1986). According to my data from Greenland, this did not affect the Sámi and Greenlanders relationship²⁰². Both groups understood this to be a ‘Danish authority problem’. My findings showed that the social relationship and the process of sharing knowledge did not affect the success of the training program (Berthelsen 2006, Hætta 2004/2005, Josefsen 2002/2006, Kristiansen 2002/2006, Skum 2002/2006 Triumf 2002/2006, Vålitalo 2006), the success of the training program was thus influenced by other factors prevailing in the reindeer husbandry in the Nuuk fjord.

6. Why reindeer husbandry in Greenland did not succeed

6.1 Colonialism and civilization in Danish governance

The four time periods I have described run from the colonial period of the 19th century, via the post-period of colonization in 1953, and the establishment of the Home Rule Government in 1979, to the present situation with a Self-Rule Government since 2009.

Drawing on the concepts of colonialism and civilization (cf. chapter 3), Greenland was a colony under Denmark, or a colonial district with towns as separate colonies (Rud 2017). Petersen (1995) states that colonialism in Greenland continued after it

¹⁹⁹ Refer to chapter 3.

²⁰⁰ The Sámi were in the same category as the Danish, when it comes to employment in Greenland, receiving a higher salary than Greenlanders did. See chapter 2.5.1.

²⁰¹ Refer to Chapter 6.

²⁰² However, I have gotten information that the apprentices found the station leader John Eira, strict.

officially ceased in 1953. I agree with Petersen, and I have found data confirming this statement.

The Danish colonization of Greenland seemed to be rather peaceful. According to Petersen (1995) the Greenlandic community did not have any organization above the household level, and therefore did not have anyone defending its power. I believe it is also because the Inuit do not have a tradition of war or armed battle, just like the Sámi people. Rud (2017) describes a notion of exceptional Danish benevolence in the colonial period. He continues describing the Danish colonialism, as ‘protecting’ the Greenlanders in their traditional culture. The governance strategy of the colonizers controlled and limited the development in Greenland, so it did not become ‘too strong and overwhelming’. They were the ‘experts’ that were going to ‘help and lead’ Greenland. Rud (2017: 67) quotes the former Danish Prime Minister, Thorvald Stauning, who in 1930 talks about the colonial project, which had:

(...) secured subsistence for the [Greenlandic] population and the possibility for a development which leads the indigenous people (“Naturfolket”) toward higher culture and greater happiness in the life of our own people [the Danes].

There is a strong component of racism, which I have also found in my primary data, the journals, annual books, and archive material.

As described in chapter 2.5, during the WWII, the connection between Denmark and Greenland was broken for 5 years, and the two governors (*landsfogeder*) took over the government power. After the war, the Greenlandic population wanted to continue these conditions, for instance with more decision-making placed in Nuuk²⁰³. Between 1945–1950, the Greenlandic society politically wished for modernization. Internationally, after WWII, there was resistance against assimilation, and more emphasis was put on the right to gradually achieve self-determination. The UN was a powerful force, and Denmark was under pressure to decolonize Greenland (Hertig and Duc 2017, Sørensen 2006).

I believe that because the connection between Denmark and Greenland was broken for five years during the WWII, and the Provincial Councils had a kind of self-government, Denmark had a strong interest in keeping and demonstrating their power in Greenland. In the reindeer husbandry project, the Danish authorities came firmly in, by ‘steering’ and ‘controlling’ it, as the ‘experts’. The Danish authorities

²⁰³ <http://danmarkshistorien.dk/leksikon-og-kilder/vis/materiale/groenland/>

are those initiating the reindeer husbandry project, together with Jens Rosing, and only later achieved approval from the Provincial Council²⁰⁴ in Greenland. They saw reindeer husbandry as a ‘new industry’, a new occupation, for Greenlanders. Denmark was building up new industries, in the modernization process, in order to continue to control the people and the land, also after the war.

From the 1950s, Greenland was going to modernize, in almost all aspects of society (Sørensen 2006). According to Petersen (1995) the so-called ‘Danification’ period began in the 1950s. He says that the modernization progressed differently than expected by the Greenlandic politicians. Municipal councils were replaced with executive municipal boards which were replaced with a secretary representing the governor of Greenland – who himself represented the Danish state. The elected boards were controlled by their own secretariats. The modernization was planned in Copenhagen, and Greenland was, in fact, more governed by the Danes than ever before. Sørensen (2006: 111) also writes:

If colonisation means to create an area abroad in the image of the mother country, it is an irony of history that the effort to end colonial status by means of integration with Denmark meant the introduction of all things Danish on an unprecedented scale. Never in the past had so much Danish been introduced in so short time.

The introduction of reindeer husbandry to Greenland had an unofficial and hidden agenda, the Danish authorities wanted to ‘civilize’ the ‘primitive’ native population. While doubting that Greenlanders could work in agriculture, without being mixed with Danes, it would be easier if it was only ‘husbandry’ and not proper agriculture (cf. chapter 2.3). The authorities introduced a ‘new industry’, where the Greenlanders would develop from hunting to husbandry. As late as the 1950s, after the colonialism had ceased, I found the same type of statement (cf. 6.2) that Rud (2017: 58) has also described, that is that ‘the mixed’ were perceived as much easier ‘to civilize’ and to deal with than ‘pure Greenlanders’. Smith (1999) writes that sometimes children from ‘mixed’ unions were considered at least half-way civilized; at other times they were considered worse than civilized.

The Danish officials described Greenlanders in negative terms; for instance, they had doubts about the Greenlander, Jens Rosing’s, capabilities of leading the reindeer station, even though recognizing their lack of specific and specialized knowledge

²⁰⁴ The Provincial Councils was the highest political in Greenland, but they were primarily advisory bodies for the Danish authorities. See more on Greenland’s Provincial Councils in chapter 2.2.

about reindeer husbandry. Examples are found in the archive material where the Danish authorities write: “We must rely on the thrifty information we received from the station”²⁰⁵. This also applied to the Sámi stations leaders. The officials discussed replacing the Sámi station leader with a Danish leader, and later suggested replacing him with an ethnic Norwegian.

In the years around 1970, indications reveal that the relationship between Denmark and Greenland had come to a watershed. The Greenlanders aimed to take greater responsibility in running Greenlandic affairs (Sørensen 2006). In my research material, I have found information that residents in Nuuk, and especially in the local village in Kapisillit, were not satisfied with the management of reindeer husbandry, and questioned whether it should be privatized to Greenlanders. They wanted to decide more for themselves concerning the reindeer husbandry area in the Nuuk fjord, and increasingly more so until 1978, when the reindeer herds were taken over by the co-operative in Kapisillit. I have found data that one local Greenlander connected reindeer husbandry to the RGTD, raising this issue to the municipality board, if “it is only the RGTD that want to make money with reindeer husbandry in the Nuuk fjord”.²⁰⁶

Hertig and Duc (2017: 5) write in an editorial that the Danish attitude since 1945 has been to assimilate: “The notion of the Eskimos and their alien manners may contribute to the notion that some degree of control was necessary”; or in a later period to create a kind of hybrid between home rule and control. Petersen (1995) expresses that there was an official state colonialism in reality until 1979, when the Home Rule Government was established. Even today, under the Self Rule Government, the Greenlanders still feel that they are under Danish control (Hertig and Duc 2017).

6.2 The administration and regulation of reindeer husbandry

6.2.1 Intention of a successful reindeer husbandry

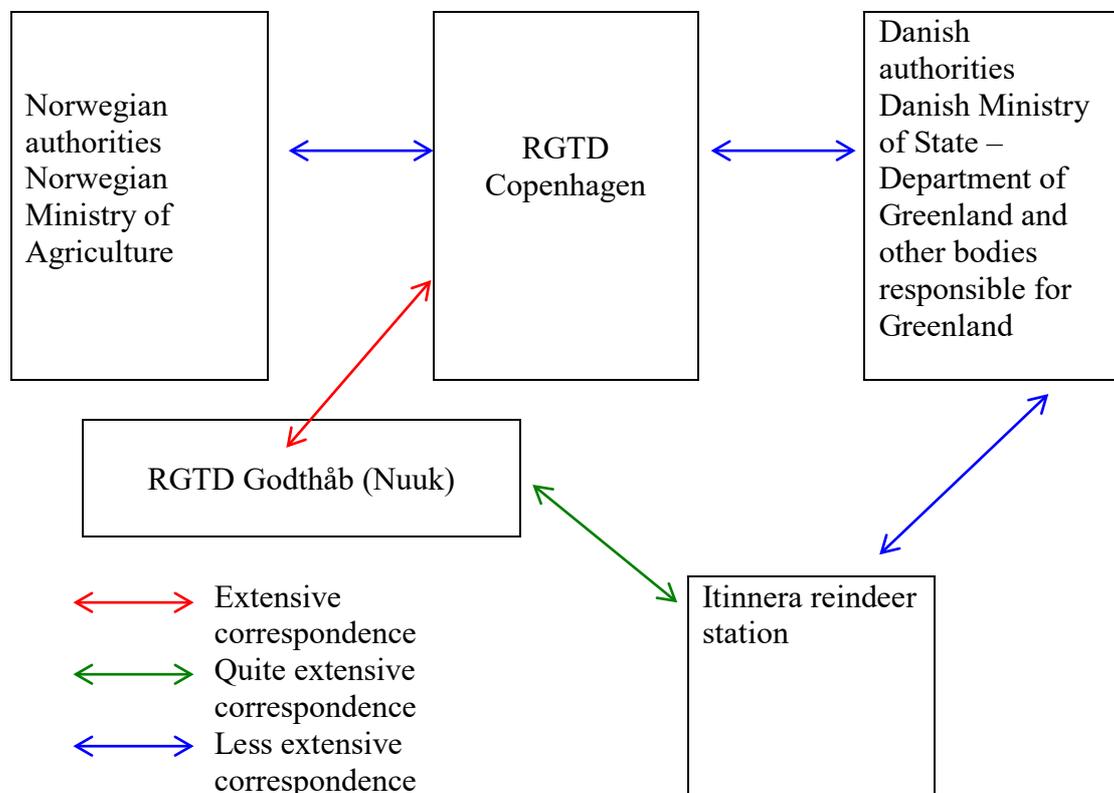
According to the RGTD’s archive, the authorities’ yearly reports and statistics—*Beretninger*, and the articles from journals, etc., the intentions of the Danish authorities were to succeed in introducing a new industry to Greenland. There was extensive ‘machinery’ behind it, and the authorities sought expertise from Norwegian

²⁰⁵ The RGTD’s archive material, 1969.

²⁰⁶ The RGTD archive material, 1977, a letter to the Nuuk municipality board.

authorities and officials during the initiation of the project, after the experiment period and during the administration of the RGTD. The connection between Danish and Norwegian authorities was robust. In 1957, five years after the initiation of ‘the Reindeer Husbandry Project’, Danish authorities contacted the Norwegian Department of Agriculture to request if Lapp Inspector Peder Hagen could inspect the reindeer husbandry area’s operation and pastures²⁰⁷. Moreover, the authorities contacted the Lapp Instructors when recruiting new employment of herders to Itinnera, and consulted them about issues like slaughter, at Itinnera²⁰⁸.

Figure 3: Administration and regulation of the reindeer husbandry by The Royal Greenland Trade Department



There is an expensive correspondence of letters, veterinary reports, yearly reports, travel notes, accounting and telegrams²⁰⁹ between the Danish authorities in Copenhagen and in Nuuk, and quite extensive correspondence between the officials in Nuuk and the station leader in Itinnera, with less extensive correspondence directly between Copenhagen and Itinnera, as explained above in figure 3.

²⁰⁷ The RGTD’s archive material, 1957.

²⁰⁸ The RGTD’s archive material, several years.

²⁰⁹ The RGTD’s archive material, 1956- 1982.

In the experiment period, I have found that the Danish authorities in charge intended to facilitate the settlement of Sámi reindeer herders as independent private reindeer herders in Greenland. As Magnus A. Jensen, at the RGTD in Copenhagen wrote to governor (*landshøvding*), P. H. Lundsteen, at the State ministry 2.

Department, in 1954:

(..) my suggestion for the salary to the Sámi reindeer herders, so that one creates a possibility that these will later establish as independent, private reindeer owners in Greenland.”...(..)We have to be clear, that we only attach people to us that we know will have the necessary interest in staying in Greenland and chose this land as their “*mother land*”.

He stated that the Sámi herders, after two years, could have an interest in the growth of the herd. The first one they wanted to connect to themselves was John Eira, who was given a percentage of the herd interest²¹⁰. Jensen had a vision to “develop a dynasty of reindeer people, the same way the dynasty of cattle breeders, that was established...(..)”²¹¹.

These were the original plans, at least in Jensen’s opinion. I find that only John Eira owned private reindeer²¹² within the Itinnera herd, and no other Sámi²¹³. The authorities offered Johan Klemet Hætta an opportunity to start a private herd with a loan from the RGTD in 1960 (he started in 1961). It was emphasized that he was married to a Greenlandic woman, and already had a son. He applied to hold an area in usufruct, and was granted an area by the local municipality board²¹⁴. John Eira, an unmarried man, never settled as a private reindeer herder, and according to my data, this seems to be due to difficulties obtaining usufruct rights to a reindeer area from the municipality board²¹⁵. Jensen also writes that when the Itinnera herd had grown larger, Greenlandic apprentices should be included, and the interest of the herd growth should be split between the employed herders due to length of service.

(...) in this should also the Greenlandic apprentices be included who are employed, and that after a 2-year trial period would be found suitable to continue within reindeer husbandry, and who one thinks would be willing to dedicate their lives to reindeer husbandry. One should show the most precaution possible, because it is most certain that reindeer husbandry could only be done by people who have a sincere interest and understanding of it.(...) [We] could

²¹⁰ John Eira was given 10 % of the interest the first 2 years, and later 5%.

²¹¹ My translation to English. The original text is in Danish: “(...) *dynasti af renfolk på samme måde som det dynasti af kvægholdere, der ble dannet...(..)*. Letter from M. Jensen, the RGTD, dated 14th of December 1954, RGTD archive material 1957.

²¹² He did not have a private earmark.

²¹³ The RGTD archive material, several years.

²¹⁴ The approval might have been adopted by the Provincial Council additionally, but I was unable to find information confirming this. Information from the RGTD archive material, 1958-1961, and Hætta 2004/2005.

²¹⁵ Possibly the Provincial Council also would have had to approve it, additionally. In the RGTD archive material, several years.

establish a dynasty of reindeer people.(...) I think that people of pure Greenlandic blood would not manage this task, and will under all circumstances have difficulties with it! ²¹⁶

As discussed in chapter 5, no former Greenlandic apprentices obtained private reindeer at the Itinnera state herd, and these initial plans concerning ownership were not followed. There was almost no private ownership in the Nuuk fjord, and other vital parts of the traditional Sámi reindeer husbandry were lacking, like the *siida* structure and family-based reindeer husbandry.

6.2.2 Western agricultural model imposed on Sámi reindeer husbandry

The main reason why reindeer husbandry did not succeed in becoming an important new economy and occupation in Greenland is often explained by pointing to the differences between the hunting culture of the Greenlandic Inuit and traditions of herding. Cuyler (1999: 89) refers to two other scholars when explaining why Greenlandic reindeer herding was not a viable industry. She writes: “Both Rasmussen (1992; 1994) and Hentzen (1997) have stated that semi-domestic reindeer herding on the Norwegian Sami model was not culturally compatible with the Greenland Inuit hunter tradition and culture.” Rasmussen (1994) wrote that the reindeer herding industry, by the co-operative *Kapisilinni Tuttuutileqatigiit* had failed at Itinnera on organizational, economic and ecological levels. Moreover, Odd Mathis Hætta (2010: 74) referred to Rosing (1969) when explaining why reindeer husbandry did not become durable and stable after the Sámi left Greenland: “One day Greenlanders will also get into the picture, but the transition from hunter and fisher to reindeer herder is not easy.” In Odd Mathis Hætta’s opinion, one of the significant reasons why reindeer husbandry from Sámi traditions and patterns²¹⁷ ceased, is that the herd had grown over the carrying capacity of the grazing area in the Nuuk fjord, due to small slaughter reduction. I do not agree with this statement, this was not the case. The herd was reduced significantly from the peak in the herd size, to the carrying capacity of

²¹⁶ My translation to English. The original quote in Danish: (...)og heri skal også medregnes de grønlandske lærlinge som bliver antaget, og som man efter 2 års prøvetid finder egnede til at fortsætte indenfor renavl, og som man er indstillet på vil vie deres liv til renavl. Der skal dog udvises den allerstørste forsigtighed, idet det er ganske sikket, at tamrenavl kun kan drives af folk, der har en oprigtig interesse for avlen, og som har fostand på den(...). [Vi] kan få frembragt et dynasti af renfolk(...). Folk af rent grønlandsk blod tror jeg ikke kan magte denne opgave, vil under alle omstændigheder få meget vanskeligt ved det !” Letter from M. Jensen, the RGTD, dated 14th of December 1954, RGTD archive material 1957.

²¹⁷ I my opinion reindeer husbandry in Greenland was not done completely after Sámi tradition and pattern, since there were vital parts lacking (cf. chapter 5).

the pastures²¹⁸. I believe the reason is far more complex, even though the cultural background is important. I believe that the main reason can be found in the governance of Danish authorities, who firmly administrated and regulated reindeer husbandry and introduced a Western administrative model.

There was a 'reindeer station' at Itinnera, with employed herders – *rensdryvogtere*, and employed apprentices, *lærlinger*. 'A Station' is a Western way of thinking and conceptualizing an industry or operation. In Western agriculture, the farmers are often men, which one can make a comparison to the all-male economy at Itinnera reindeer station. In my findings, the Danish authorities imposed a Western 'agricultural model' in managing and administrating reindeer husbandry in Greenland. It was also a non-Sámi model, that did not recognize and acknowledge the Sámi indigenous knowledge system in reindeer husbandry. The Danish authorities were putting themselves in an 'expert role'²¹⁹.

In many cases, the authorities are obviously ignorant in their decisions about reindeer husbandry. Not employing more herders at Itinnera when the herd size increased, or during intensive periods, causing strain on herders, affecting the successfulness of, for instance, gathering the herd for slaughter²²⁰, (as the case in 1956²²¹) illustrates this point. There was a lack of knowledge that semi-domesticated reindeer scare easily, and gathering can be a challenging task. The authorities in Copenhagen sent the 1956 slaughter veterinary report to 'interested experts'²²², the Norwegian authorities. Lapp Inspector Hagen replied concerning the report, that to him, the herd seemed too 'wild'²²³. The authorities in Copenhagen sent a letter to the official in Nuuk – urging to herd more closely, so the herd would become 'tamer'. The RGTD's trade chief in Nuuk consulted the Itinnera station and replied to Copenhagen that according to Rosing and the Sámi herders, the reindeer herd are normal semi-domesticated reindeer.²²⁴

From my oral data, the Sámi herders and Kristiansen also said that the Danish at the RGTD did not understand reindeer husbandry (Eira 2002/2006, Hætta

²¹⁸ In 1970, the Itinnera herd had been reduced to only 860 reindeer. The carrying capacity was estimated to be approximately 2000 reindeer.

²¹⁹ Refer to chapter 6.1.

²²⁰ My interpretation of the RGTD archive material data, from several years.

²²¹ The RGTD archive material, 1957.

²²² "*Interesserede sagkyndige*" is the original Danish wording (RGTD archive material 1957).

²²³ One can question the Lapp Inspector's true knowledge about this matter, that I would claim might be limited.

²²⁴ RGTD's archive, 1957.

2004/2005, Kristiansen 2002/2004, Siri 2004, Skum 2002/2006, Triumph 2002/2006). Johan Klemet Hætta worked as a herder, 1957–61, and as a station leader at Itinnera, 1971–72. When asked about the RGTD, he said: “(...) they were the ones steering/ managing everything”²²⁵. When asked if the RGTD had any knowledge about reindeer husbandry, Anders Triumph (2006) answered “Not at all! That was the greatest problem, when they didn’t understand. Where would they have acquired that knowledge from?”²²⁶ Johan A. Eira (2006), station leader 1968–71, also states that the RGTD lacked knowledge about reindeer husbandry. Triumph (2006) said that the authorities administrated reindeer husbandry like agriculture. The Sámi informants told me that the Danes recognized that they had to make the day-to-day decisions, within the concept of *herding*. On the personal level, the Sámi perceived the Danes from the RGTD as nice people (Eira 2002/2006, Hætta 2004/2005, Skum 2002/2006, Triumph 2002/2006).

My data reveals that the station leaders had to report to the authorities on issues that are quite logical in reindeer husbandry. The 1956 yearly report is an example. Rosing had to explain (and excuse) why they could not mark the few 15–20 still unmarked calves during slaughter in November, because it was too cold, which could be dangerous since the wounds will not stop bleeding. I found similar explanations about why they were not able to castrate all males in the herd.²²⁷ I observe that the level of bureaucracy and regulation are the same in the RGTD period, as during the experiment project and even to a certain degree, more intense. There is intense control by the Danish authorities, and the station leader was expected to herd the reindeer, and do practical work concerning reindeer husbandry. In the first years, only three men (the leader included) worked with the whole herd. In addition, the leader was expected to do extensive accounting, and for instance pay salary to the herders. In 1956, the central authorities in Copenhagen sent an extensive instruction letter to Rosing, stating that the reindeer station is an independent accounting unit under the RGTD, which every month must submit accounting to the central RGTD in Copenhagen. The station leader is obliged to keep a daily checkout at the station’s

²²⁵ My translation to English. The original quote is in Sámi: (...) *”dat dat oainnát stivrii de gal buot!”* (Hætta 2004/2005).

²²⁶ My translation to English. The original quote is in Sámi: *”li mihkke! Dat dat lei ge dat stuora bárti, geat eai ipmirdan maide. Gos bat sii ledje dan oahpu ožžon?”* (Triumpf 2006).

²²⁷ Yearly report 1956, written by Jens Rosing to the central RGTD, which had requested it. RGTD archive material 1957.

cash register; and always needs annexes for everything, etc. In the budget, he is also requested to “(...) try to do savings. It is in everybody’s interest, also Yours, that the operation is carried out as cheaply as possible, of course taking into account a proper treatment of both animals and materials.”²²⁸

As mentioned in chapter 5.1.4., the authorities did not allow the employees of the reindeer station to slaughter reindeer, *niesteboazu* for their own consumption as a meat supply, despite daily tending to the reindeer. It was possible to buy meat from the state’s herd, payed per kilo. This often happened when reindeer were injured or weak²²⁹, especially in the early period. Later, they still had to pay per kilo, but the reindeer was not necessarily injured or weak (Eira 2002/2006, Hætta 2004/2005, Josefsen 2002/2006, Kristiansen 2004, Skum 2002/2006, Siri 2004, Triumf 2002/2006, Vålitalo 2006).

As explained in chapter 5, the authorities managed the *husbandry* part at the Itinnera reindeer herd, and approved the number of reindeer that were going to be slaughtered. According to J. Holten Møller (Trade Inspector, letter to RGTD, 22.04.1959): “Every year the number of slaughtered reindeer is determined by negotiations between the reindeer husbandry’s leader, the RGTD in Copenhagen, and the Trade Inspection in Godthåb”²³⁰.

²²⁸ In this letter, one can easily see the paternalism the Danish authorities had concerning Greenlanders and Greenland. My translation to English. Original quote in Danish: “(...) *forsøg at gøre besparelser. Det er alles interesse, også Deres, at driften udføres så billigt som muligt, selvfølgelig under hensyntagen til og korrekt behandling af både dyr og materialer.*” Letter from Jens Fynbo, 6th of November 1956, to Jens Rosing- station leader at Itinnera. RGTD’s archive material from 1956.

²²⁹ This means that the quality of the meat was not always the best. For instance, in October-December 1960 they had to slaughter six reindeer calves and one big uncastrated male due to injury, John Eira reports that 75 kilos of that meat was sold to the crew at the station, some was sent to Nuuk, and rest had to be used as dog food due to bad quality. RGTD’s archive material, letter from John Eira to the Trade Inspector in Nuuk, 19.01.1961. In one letter, dated 08.02.1960 Johan Hætta writes a complaint that they had to pay different kilo prices for the different parts of the reindeer meat, equal to the sale prices in Nuuk (where the back pieces were most expensive). He wanted to old scheme back, with just one kilo price for the whole reindeer, in 1959 being 4.70 DKK per kilo. He felt it was not fair that they had to pay the same price as the city marked in Nuuk, arguing that they often slaughtered injured and weak reindeer with a lower quality of meat. The RGTD’s archive, letter from Johan Klemet Hætta to Trade Inspector Helge Andersen, 08.02.1960. In a letter to Helge Andersen, 22.02.1960, John Eira addresses this issue: He had received a price list from RGTD (the ‘colony’), for the different parts of reindeer, but wanted the old scheme back. He received a reply 24.02.1960, allowing Eira to charge just one price per kilo, and Andersen writing that he did not know why the ‘colony’ had sent Eira this price list (RGTD’s archive material, 1963).

²³⁰ My translation to English. The original text is in Danish: “*Hvert år er antallet af slagtede rensdyr bestemt gennem forhandlinger mellem lederen av renavlen, KGH i København og Handelsinspektionen i Godthåb.*” A letter from 1958, from J. Holten Møller to the accounting department in Copenhagen in the RGTD’s archive material.

My data shows that during the whole period, the authorities were asking for detailed information concerning reindeer husbandry, which is difficult to provide within reindeer husbandry and maybe not considered important by the reindeer herders. For instance, the authorities demanded the reindeer to be counted²³¹. They required information about the exact number of reindeer, and gender of the reindeer, and categories (calves, adults, castrates, etc.). This reporting was done in the manner, as demonstrated in figure 3: Itinnera– Nuuk– Copenhagen. Alternatively, the correspondence would go in the opposite direction. One example is a letter from Copenhagen, June 1960, the Trade Inspector in Nuuk, asking him to request information from Itinnera on number of reindeer, and reindeer categories and additionally, slaughter numbers, and the categories of slaughtered reindeer, individual slaughter weights, and weight of byproducts (hearts, liver, etc).²³² Proving the exact number of reindeer is difficult – given that the herd is usually in the terrain. It is even difficult to count the exact number of reindeer when gathered into a corral (and subsequently released), and difficult to know the numbers of different categories.²³³

The authorities, in this case represented by Fynbo, sent mineral lick stones from Copenhagen to Nuuk, and he writes in a letter that it is very important that the lick stones are used in Itinnera²³⁴. The veterinary Sv. Kristiansen (Odense) who supervised the slaughter in 1956 suggested that they “introduce the Danish clip system that is used in the cattle breeding, where the birth year is clipped into the reindeer calf’s ear.”²³⁵

6.2.3 Social conditions and discriminatory policy at Itinnera station

As described in chapters 2.5 and 5.2.2, a discriminatory two-part system of salaries and diet money was present. In the case at Itinnera station, the Sámi herders,

²³¹ One can draw a parallel to the present compulsory counting of animals in the Sámi reindeer husbandry in Norway. See more in chapter 6.3.

²³² Letter from The RGTD, to the Trade Inspector, 14.06.1960. The RGTD’s archive material, 1960.

²³³ In the Itinnera slaughter case, it was difficult to know the weight figures, because the animals were weighted in Nuuk after transport, at least the first years of slaughter. Data from a letter from station leader John Eira to the Trade Inspector in Nuuk, RGTD’s archive material, 1961.

²³⁴ Traditionally in Sámi reindeer husbandry, it has not been common to use mineral stones in traditional reindeer husbandry. The information about Jens Fynbo is from a letter from the RGTD’s archive, 1956.

²³⁵ This has parallels to the present governance of reindeer husbandry in Norway, see more in chapter 6.3. Information from a veterinary report 1956, the RGTD archive material, 1957.

renvogtere, were placed in the ‘outsider’ category together with the Danes. There was a vast difference in the salaries between the herders and the Greenlandic apprentices.

Figure 4: Difference in salary and diet money between Sámi and Greenlanders at Itinnera station²³⁶

Sámi herders		Greenlandic apprentices	
Salary	Diet money	Salary	Diet money
1952– 61: 800 DKK/ m (9,600 DKK/ y) + additions Leader 1960: 1,000 DKK/ m + additions Leader 1961: 1,200 DKK/ m + additons	8. 25 DKK daily	1955, 1. – 2. y 100 DKK/ m (1,200 DKK. 3. y. : 116.70 DKK/ m (1400 DKK/ y	2.50 DKK daily
1963 : 1000 DKK/ m (12,000 DKK/ y) + additions Leader 1963: 1,450 DKK/ m (17400 DKK/ y)	11.25 DKK ²³⁷ daily 10 DKK/ daily	1960: 1. y.: 140 DKK/ m (1680 DKK/ y) 2. y.: 200 DKK/ m 3. y.: 250 DKK/ m 4. y.: 300 DKK/ m + additions	2.50 DKK daily
		1962: 1. y: 164 DKK/ m (1968 y) 2. y: 220 DKK/ m (2640 y) 3. y: 280 DKK/ m (3360 y) 4. y: 340 DKK/ m (4080 y) + additions	3 DKK daily
Leader 1965: 1,700 DKK/ m (20,400 DKK/ y)	No information	No information	No information

Sámi herders		Greenlandic herders	
Salary	Diet money	Salary	Diet money
1952– 61: 800 DKK/ m (9,600 DKK/ y) + additions	8, 25 DKK daily	1962, 1.– 2. y: 700 DKK/ m (8,400 DKK/ y) 3–4. y: 750 DKK/ m (9,000 y) + additions	No information
1963 : 1000 DKK/ m (12,000 DKK/ y) + additions	8, 25 DKK daily	1960: 1. y: 140 DKK/ m (1680 DKK/ y) 2. y: 200 DKK/ m 3. y: 250 DKK/ m 4. y: 300 DKK/ m + additions	2.50 DKK daily
		1962: 1. y: 164 DKK/ m (1968 y) 2. y: 220 DKK/ m 3. y: 280 DKK/ m 4. y: 340 DKK/ m + additions	3 DKK daily

The difference in salary was not only due to the apprentice’s status as ‘apprentices’, not ‘herders’, but due to the discriminatory policy of the authorities. The colonial

²³⁶ The information in this figure is based on the RGTD archive material 1956-1966.

²³⁷ This might be only employed herder’s, Edvin Sukuvara’s, daily allowance, I did not find any additional information about this in the archive material.

heritage continued even though the colony had officially ceased. Anders Triumph (2006) told that his first conflict with the RGTD as a station leader in 1972–73 was that the apprentices got less diet money than the Sámi herders. “I cannot except this, we all eat the same. They had only 3 kroner and we had 12 kroner. When they have made a diet money system – it must be the same for everybody. After that we all got 12 kroner (...).”

In addition, the apprentices sometimes had to live in poorer housing than the herders (cf. chapter 5.2.2). I think these discriminatory factors were affecting the attractiveness of becoming and being trained as apprentices at Itinnera, and being part of the Danish RGTD’s system; they felt less valued. Former Greenlandic apprentices, Kristiansen (2002/2004) and Berthelsen (2006), have described dissatisfaction with the poor salary and occasional poor housing at Itinnera. Moreover, other factors affected the apprenticeship training, described in the next sub chapter.

6.2.4 The Greenlandic apprentices – recruitment, motivation factors, and knowledge

As explained in chapter 5, there was not a complete transference of Sámi traditional reindeer husbandry knowledge to Greenlanders, which I state is due to the Western agricultural model imposed by Danish authorities. Overall, not many Greenlanders became reindeer husbandry apprentices²³⁸. In the end of the state administration of the husbandry, only six Greenlanders were fully trained as herders²³⁹. Additionally, many young men started as apprentices, but stopped before they were fully trained. Most of the apprentices came from the local village, Kapisillit, others came from different places in Greenland²⁴⁰. Moreover, perhaps four²⁴¹ men involved in the reindeer husbandry passed away at young age, two while they were in the Nuuk fjord, in connection with the husbandry²⁴². Thus, only a few were fully trained and could potentially have established a private reindeer herd.

²³⁸ Rosing 1969, 2006, *Beretninger* several years, the RGTD’s archive material, several years.

²³⁹ Five were fully trained apprentices at Itinnera, and one- Jeremias Hansen- was trained as a private *reanga* by Johan Klemet Hætta, and later attended the reindeer husbandry school in Norway. See more at the tabs for apprentices and herders in the Nuuk fjord.

²⁴⁰ The RGTD’s archive material, several years.

²⁴¹ In 2006, Berthelsen (2006) told me that of the fully educated Greenlandic apprentices, there were only him and Kristiansen alive in 2006. .

²⁴² Berthelsen 2006, Hætta 2004/2005, Josefsen 2002/2006, Kristiansen 2004, Rosing 2006, Skum 2002/2006, Triumph 2002/2006. The RGTD archive material, several years.

It stands to reason that the shortage of apprentices recruited to the state herd was due to the governance model. There was a low factor of motivation to complete their education, because of the conditions at Itinnera station. They could not build up private ownership, in part or as a percentage of reindeer in the state herd, over the four years at training. Moreover, the discriminatory conditions of the salary, diet money, and occasionally housing, between Greenlanders and others, did not motivate them to be a part of reindeer husbandry. In addition, it was not facilitated for families, and no women and children were allowed to stay at Itinnera. This must have affected the wellbeing of the apprentices and herders. The possibility to build up a family-based reindeer husbandry is a vital part of Sámi reindeer husbandry, together with the *siida* structure. If it had been facilitated for families at Itinnera, they could have built up their family-based husbandry and included their wives and children in the work. Smith (1999: 151) has pointed out that colonization has had a destructive effect on indigenous gender relations, which extended across all spheres of indigenous society. It is essential to socialize children into reindeer husbandry from a young age (Ulvevadet and Klovov 2004). Hætta (2005) expressed:

“(...) we were going to train the Greenlanders in reindeer husbandry, you know. But it seemed like it stopped, there then...when they finished...Of course it was very difficult to start on your own, when...[due to the situation in Greenland]. And maybe they lost interest in the reindeer after they had been there [at Itinnera].”²⁴³

As described in chapter 5, Ole Kristiansen, together with Jeremias Hansen²⁴⁴ were the only Greenlanders to go to Norway to get additional training in reindeer husbandry. Kristiansen also worked as a *reanga* for one year. I believe this factor contributed to his success in establishing and managing his own private herd at Isortoq, as he himself expressed: “One should come to Norway/Sweden, if one should become fully trained/ qualified in husbandry”.²⁴⁵ Also, when Triumf (2006) was in Itinnera, he had stated that the apprentices should go to Norway for additional training: “Here [Sápmi] you do not need to be taught, you learn yourself, naturally”²⁴⁶.

²⁴³ My translation to English, from the original in Sámi: “(...) *mii galggaimet oainnát oahpahit boazodollui daid grønlændariid. Muhto dat orui dego bisáneame dasa...go gerge das, de...Dieđus stártet ieža lei dieđus issoras váttis, go...[áššit ledje nu go ledje Ruonáeatnamis]. Ja gánske dat masse intereassa maid daidda bohccuide go ledje leamaš doppe [Itinneras].” (Hætta 2005).*

²⁴⁴ He passed away in an accident in young age, after he had been in Norway.

²⁴⁵ My translation to English. The original quote is in Norwegian: “*Man skal komme til Norge, Sverige, hvis man skal bli utlært i driften.*” (Kristiansen 2004).

²⁴⁶ My translation to English. The original quote is in Sámi: “*Dáppe [Sápmis] ii dárbbat nu oahpahit, don oahpat ieš*” (Triumf 2006).

6.3 Governance of Sámi reindeer husbandry in the Nordic countries: parallels with the Danish governance

In Sweden, Finland, and Norway, the management of reindeer husbandry is the responsibility of the Ministries of Agriculture. Since the 1960s–70s, reindeer husbandry has been integrated into nation states’ managements (Ulvevadet and Klovov 2004), and are now closely controlled by various bodies. The new Reindeer Husbandry Act of 1978; implied a modernization policy of the Sámi reindeer husbandry in Norway. It was a new political reform of reindeer husbandry governance, where scholarly experts were the advisors, rather than practitioners. (Degteva et al. 2017, Paine 1994).

The Nordic countries’ management model of the Sámi reindeer husbandry parallels the Danish authorities’ non-Sámi management model in the Sámi reindeer husbandry project in Greenland. Researchers Turi (2016), Sara (2013) and Johnsen (2018) have all pointed out that the state governance of reindeer husbandry in Norway does not acknowledge Sámi traditional reindeer knowledge. Neither did they do that in the period before and after the realization of the reindeer project in Greenland, when they had a strong connection with Danish authorities on this issue (cf. chapter 6.2.1). Rosing had worked at a Norwegian *tamreinselskap*– privately owned Norwegian reindeer cooperative in Southern Norway²⁴⁷. These cooperatives were (and are still) not managed as traditional Sámi pastoral economies²⁴⁸, and I believe this might have also influenced the management chosen for Itinnera– a ‘kind of cooperative’ owned by the state.

State governance of reindeer husbandry focuses on ‘rationalization’ often in conflict with the social organization and herding strategies of Sámi pastoralists. This threatens traditional knowledge and the language of pastoralists, affecting their ability to participate in decision-making and ignores Sámi customary rights (Degteva, et al 2017, Benjaminsen et al. 2016, Sara 2013). In 2015, the Government in Norway introduced the option of labeling each animal. It was proposed as an amendment to the reindeer law in the Norwegian Parliament, April 10th 2019: “Compulsory individual labeling of reindeer. Today, the reindeer are only (!) labeled with a traditional earmark. The purpose of compulsory individual labeling is easier control,

²⁴⁷ *Beretninger* 1951- 52, 53.

²⁴⁸ <https://nn.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tamreinlag>

and gain practical and operational benefits in daily operations.”²⁴⁹ Moreover, the government proposed an amendment about publishing the number of reindeer in each *siida* share, internally within the reindeer economy. Both of these proposed amendments are from an ‘outsider’ perspective.²⁵⁰ Also, the Danes were focusing exactly on reindeer numbers, and proposing ear clips labeling as an addition to traditional earmarks.

6.4 Desire for self-determination in reindeer husbandry: the Sámi leave Greenland

As I have described in chapter 6.1, the local people wanted more self-determination in the reindeer husbandry area in the Nuuk fjord in the 1970s, in light of the colonial legacy. In chapter 4.2, I described how Johan Klemet Hætta sold his herd in 1971, when unwilling to partner with the Greenlander Pavia Berthelsen. Hætta (2004/2005) explained the reason to be the carrying capacity of the Kangerlupiluk grazing area, which was not able to support two families. He went back to Norway in 1972. The desire of a potential partnership originated from politicians in Nuuk, and according to Kristiansen (2004), was the main driving force in addition to the desires of the local people²⁵¹. As previously described (chapter 4.2), Berthelsen faced challenges with the management to gather the herd and to slaughter. I described that Berthelsen expressed that he felt alone in managing the herd – there was the lack of the *siida* and family-based husbandry (cf. chapter 5.1.4). The collective work in the *siida* can be of great support for you as an individual reindeer owner, a careful work division, where traditional knowledge and skills are transferred (Ulvevadet and Klovov 2004). Berthelsen neither had the knowledge contained in the concept of *husbandry*.

In 1968, the RGTD by Fynbo/ Christiansen, expressed that the Danish authorities viewed the reindeer husbandry experiment as successful, with possibilities

²⁴⁹ My translation and emphasis. The original quote in Norwegian: “*Obligatorisk individmerking av rein. I dag merkes reinen bare (!) med det tradisjonelle merket med øresnitt. Formålet med obligatorisk individmerking er enklere kontroll, og oppnå praktiske og driftsmessige gevinster i den daglige driften.*» (<https://www.regjeringen.no/no/aktuelt/endinger-i-reindriften-tilgjengeliggjoring-av-reintall-og-obligatorisk-individmerking/id2641750/>)

²⁵⁰ I believe that for an outsider, it can seem confusing and the reindeer are more difficult to ‘control’, while bearing just the tradition earmarks. In addition, publishing and announcing reindeer numbers has not been part of Sámi tradition. In 2015, the former Minister for Agriculture and Food, Sylvi Listhaug, were threatening to publish the number of reindeer, if people do not obey to the law. (<https://www.nordlys.no/sylvi-listhaug-truer-med-avsløre-reintall-dersom-ikke-folk-folger-loven/s/5-34-226895>)

²⁵¹ Hætta 2004/2005, Kristiansen 2004 and the RGTD archive material.

for further development in Greenland²⁵². In 1970, the RGTD in Copenhagen, for the first time expressed a desire to reduce the herd size, with the intention of privatizing Itinnera station to a Greenlander. This expression must be viewed in connection with Greenland's increasing political self-awareness. This process lasted for some years, but they could not find Greenlandic candidates to take over, and then Itinnera was offered to Anders Triumf²⁵³.

Kristiansen (2004) told that the local politicians in the Nuuk municipality board pressured the local population in Kapisillit into thinking they could take over reindeer husbandry. It formed an optimism in the village concerning this issue. There was a certain political pressure that locals should take over reindeer husbandry, and this was probably the main reason that Triumf sold the Itinnera herd in 1978²⁵⁴. The municipality board decided to grant the cooperative in Kapisillit the rights and funding to manage the two herds in the Nuuk fjord²⁵⁵. When the cooperative *Kapisilinni tuttuuttigatigiit* took over the reindeer herds, none of the co-owners were former reindeer husbandry apprentices, and only a few had work experience with reindeer²⁵⁶. The cooperative took over a management system, without private ownership, *siida* structure and family-based husbandry, and they lacked knowledge about the concepts of *husbandry* and *herding*. This was also confirmed by locals, Josefsen²⁵⁷ (2006) and Berthelsen (2006). Magnusson (2004) expressed it very clearly, while discussing the Nuuk fjord husbandry issue with me:

“And that type of reindeer management, that socialistic cooperative is not feasible. There must be an ownership to the animals, because reindeer husbandry is a hard occupation. It is demanding, it is hugely demanding physically and mentally, and the one taking on being a reindeer herder, he must have so much reward for his hardships, that it is interesting for him! In that kind of cooperative, nobody has a responsibility.”²⁵⁸

²⁵² Letter dated 31.05.1968. The RGTD archive material, 1969.

²⁵³ Triumf had a Greenlandic partner at this time, and one child that was part Greenlandic. Triumf (2002/2006), and also confirmed by Hætta (2004/2005), have expressed that it was not easy for Sámi, concerning the terms for business loans, granted when starting a business (*erhvervstøttelån*), if you were not a Greenlandic, Danish citizen. I have found information in the archive material, that one suggestion by the authorities in the 1970s, was that the Sámi would take a loan in the Greenlandic partners name. In the end Triumf was granted a business loan, due to his long, coherent stay in Greenland, but it was not a straight forward process.

²⁵⁴ The RGTD archive material, Hætta 2010, Kristiansen 2004, Magnusson 2004 and Triumf 2006.

²⁵⁵ The RGTD archive material and Kristiansen 2004.

²⁵⁶ Cuyler 1999, and my interpretation of the RGTD's archive material.

²⁵⁷ Josva Josefsen, who had some reindeer herding experience from Hætta's herd, was part of the cooperative, the first five years, before he had to resign due to health issues (Josefsen 2002/2006).

²⁵⁸ My translation to English. The original is in Norwegian: “Og så den der formen for reindrift, den der sosialistiske andelsformen duger ikke. Det skal være et eieforhold til dyrene, og det

Paine (1994) also describes that owning an earmark is of considerable cognitive importance, it assures a person's commitment to the livelihood.

As described in chapter 4, the cooperative struggled with the management; there was no seasonal migration, limited slaughter, and they lost control of the herd. The result was overgrazing and semi-domesticated reindeer becoming wild like the caribou. The management system in the Nuuk fjord missed the holistic aspect of *birgejupmi*, both *máhttit* and *diehtit*. Humans are a part of the social-ecological system (Sceffer et al. 2001), and mediating the relation between land and animals, striving to have a balance between reindeer, pastures, and herders (Bjørklund 1990). The reindeer husbandry system was not resilient. The management model was not a system, which provides learning opportunities within the system itself, it was the opposite. Many of my informants, the Sámi, as well as Rosing (2006), Kristiansen (2004) and Magnusson (2004) have expressed that the Sámi should have continued being a part of reindeer husbandry in Greenland. This would have built up a family-based husbandry that would have provided a foundation for the future.

Rasmussen (1992) expressed that they did not succeed in transferring herding knowledge across ethnic borders in the Nuuk fjord, and explains the reason to be cultural differences. In my opinion, the knowledge transference was not due to the ethnic borders or cultural differences: the main problem was the management system in which the transference of knowledge was performed within.

Conclusion

I have addressed the main research question about why reindeer husbandry failed at becoming an abundant, important, and sustainable industry/ economy in Greenland as intended by the authorities by looking into the development of reindeer husbandry in Greenland through different time periods, and secondly, assessing how did the reindeer and Sámi reindeer husbandry adapted to the Greenlandic context. I additionally addressed how Sámi traditional knowledge was transferred to Greenlandic apprentices, and under which conditions. A coherent historical presentation from the initiation to

er fordi reindriften er et hard yrke! Og som krever, det er enormt krevende fysisk og psykisk, og den som påtar seg den oppgave å bli reindriftsutøver, han skal ha såpass høy belønning for sitt slit, at det er interessant for vedkommende! For er det en sånn der andelsforening, så er det ingen som har et ansvar.” (Magnusson 2004).

the end of reindeer husbandry in Greenland, with the focus on reindeer husbandry in the Nuuk fjord, illuminated chronologically what actually happened in reindeer husbandry in Greenland. This part is based on primary data, literature and oral data, and will add to the historical account by Odd Mathis Hætta (2010).

Reindeer husbandry in Greenland, in the Nuuk fjord can be divided into four periods. The first period 1833–1951, is the initiating and realization of the project by Danish authorities. The second is the Danish state management period, including an experiment period 1952–1957, and then management by the Royal Greenland Trade Department 1957–1973 when one private herd was initialized of in the Nuuk fjord. The third period, 1973–1998, is about private ownership through a co-operative of two herds in the Nuuk fjord (and two in Southern Greenland). One of these – the Kangerlupiluk herd – is temporarily under public management. From 1978 onwards, both herds in the Nuuk fjord have been run as a co-operative ownership by the Kapisillit population. The fourth period, 1998–present, marks an end to reindeer husbandry in the Nuuk fjord, which is heavily overgrazed. Reindeer husbandry is discontinued, and the former semi-domesticated reindeer are categorized as ‘wild caribou’ with harvest quotas. The only private ownership of reindeer husbandry exists in one large (main income) and one small herd (subsidiary income) in Southern Greenland.

Furthermore, a main focus is on the ways that Sámi reindeer husbandry adapted to the Greenlandic context, including shedding light on how Sámi traditional knowledge was transferred from Sámi herders to Greenlandic apprentices, and under what conditions.

The semi-domesticated reindeer adapted well to the Greenlandic (ecological) context, the animals were in good condition, and the herd grew steadily with a peak in 1968–69. During the ‘Sámi period’ in the Nuuk fjord, reindeer husbandry was practiced in partly/almost a similar manner to Sápmi, by following the reindeer husbandry’s yearly cycle, with some adaptations to the Greenlandic context. Reindeer husbandry had intensive herding with seasonal migration between a summer and a winter pasture – even though located on a year-round grazing area. There was slaughtering in the fall and other vital activities within the yearly cycle, like reindeer calf marking and castration. During the Sámi presence, the grazing conditions were good, with only some deterioration in the summer grazing, when the herd size peaked. After the peak in herd size, the herd was reduced to size within the carrying capacity of the pastures.

The Sámi herders transferred their traditional reindeer herding knowledge to Greenlandic apprentices in almost/partly traditional, practical way, with the examples of training the *reanga* – a person brought into the *siida* to help with reindeer work. The Sámi and Greenlanders had positive social relationship, and also experienced this sharing of knowledge in a positive way.

While the objective of Danish authorities to introduce reindeer husbandry was to introduce a new industry and a steady meat supply to Greenland, the ‘hidden’ reasons may appear to be more complex. I argue that the impact of colonialism by Denmark over Greenland, and Danish authorities’ idea of introducing a more ‘civilized’ economical system to Greenland, since pastoralists are considered more ‘civilized’ than hunters, is explanatory. The project was realized just after WWII ended, when the connection between Denmark and Greenland had been broken. I believe that after the war, Denmark wanted to maintain their power and control in Greenland. They come in strongly with the reindeer husbandry project, by ‘steering’ and ‘controlling’ it.

According to my interpretation of the data, reindeer husbandry in Greenland did not succeed because the Danish authorities imposed a Western ‘agricultural model.’ The main reason for the reindeer husbandry’s failure is often explained by the differences in the hunting culture of the Greenlanders, compared to traditions of herding. However, I claim that the main reason can be found in the governance of Danish authorities, who administrated and regulated the reindeer husbandry firmly with themselves in an ‘expert role,’ and introduced an administration model that was a non-Sámi. The Danish authorities did not see reindeer husbandry as an indigenous economy/occupation, and did not recognize and acknowledge the Sámi indigenous knowledge system in reindeer husbandry.

However, the transference of Sámi reindeer knowledge to Greenland was only partly transferred. At the state herd, there was *no family-based* reindeer husbandry with women and children involved in the reindeer husbandry activities, it was only male. One can make comparisons to Western agriculture, where the farmers often are men. There were no women and children at the Itinnera reindeer station, with few exceptions, and it was not a facilitated and a desired situation. The family-based reindeer husbandry, with the *báikedoallu*– household part of the economy is important and forms the basis of Sámi reindeer husbandry, and this vital part was missing at Itinnera.

There was no *siida* structure at the Itinnera state herd. There is also a succession from generation to generation. *Siiddastallan* – *herding* is managed on the collective level

on the *siida* level, and the *Báikedoallu* – *husbandry* on the household unity's or individual level. The *siida* can be a great support for the individual herder, to work collectively with a herd. In Greenland, in the state herd, the *báikedoallu*–*husbandry* part of reindeer husbandry was missing, since it was managed by the Danish authorities, and the Greenlandic apprentices did not learn it. The Sámi herders did influence some part of the state herd's *husbandry*, with herd structure, and negotiated slaughter numbers with the authorities. The Greenlandic apprentices, also when they were fully educated, did not have a *siida* structure as a basis, with its benefits and support.

There was *almost no private ownership* of reindeer; only *one earmark guovtteguobir mearka* existed in the state herd. No Greenlanders earned or owned reindeer while being trained as apprentices, in order to build up a herd, that they could later continue managing on their own; that is, as in the Sámi tradition of *reangas*, where those working as helpers could build up a herd by earning reindeer. The exception of private ownership is the private herd at Kangerlupiluk, owned by the Sámi, Johan Klemet Hætta 1961–1971, was sold to a Greenlander, Pavia Berthelsen in 1971. He had problems managing the herd, and it was taken over by public management in 1975–1978. The co-operative *Kapisilinni tuttuuttiqatigiit* also had large problems managing both herds in the Nuuk fjord when they took over in 1978. In addition, only few people in the co-operative had any training in reindeer herding. The Sámi concept of *Birgejupmi*– maintaining a livelihood part of reindeer husbandry was not manifested in reindeer husbandry in Greenland. *Birgejupmi* is also connected with the concept *husbandry*. In Sámi reindeer husbandry, it is important to manage and cope in life. You have a holistic 'way of life' (Paine 1994).

The Danish authorities imposing a non-Sámi administration model has parallels with the states' management model of Sámi reindeer husbandry in the Nordic countries today. Researchers Turi (2016), Sara (2013) and Johnsen (2018) have all pointed out the state governance of reindeer husbandry in Norway does not acknowledge Sámi traditional reindeer knowledge. Johnsen (2018: abstract) writes about “conflicting knowledge systems and competing worldviews that inform the actors' presentations about 'proper' management of reindeer, herders and the land on which reindeer husbandry depends”. Moreover, during the realization of the reindeer husbandry project, and in the following years, there was a close connection between the Danish State Ministry and the Norwegian Ministry of Agriculture.

Through some of the people involved in reindeer husbandry in Greenland, I have gotten a sense that they have felt that they have ‘failed’ in reindeer husbandry in Greenland, and that the ‘failure’ was their own. For some of the people involved in reindeer husbandry, I have gotten the impression that this topic might have been a bit sensitive especially for some of the Greenlanders involved. It has been important for me to tell and explain what happened in the history of reindeer husbandry in Greenland, and as my research findings point out, the main reason for its failure was the ‘agricultural model’ introduced by the authorities. It was not that the apprentices trained at Itinnera were not able to learn, and it was not that the herders training the apprentices there were not able to teach them. It is important to incorporate indigenous traditional knowledge today in the management of indigenous economic systems, like reindeer husbandry.

Another research angle that should be pursued in the future is a comparative research project on husbandry in Alaska, Canada and Greenland; such a project would further illuminate the issues, as well as highlight possible solutions, to the problems around ‘state management models’ and indigenous traditional knowledge systems in herding

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Film source

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Appendixes

Figure 1- Timeline, appendix 1

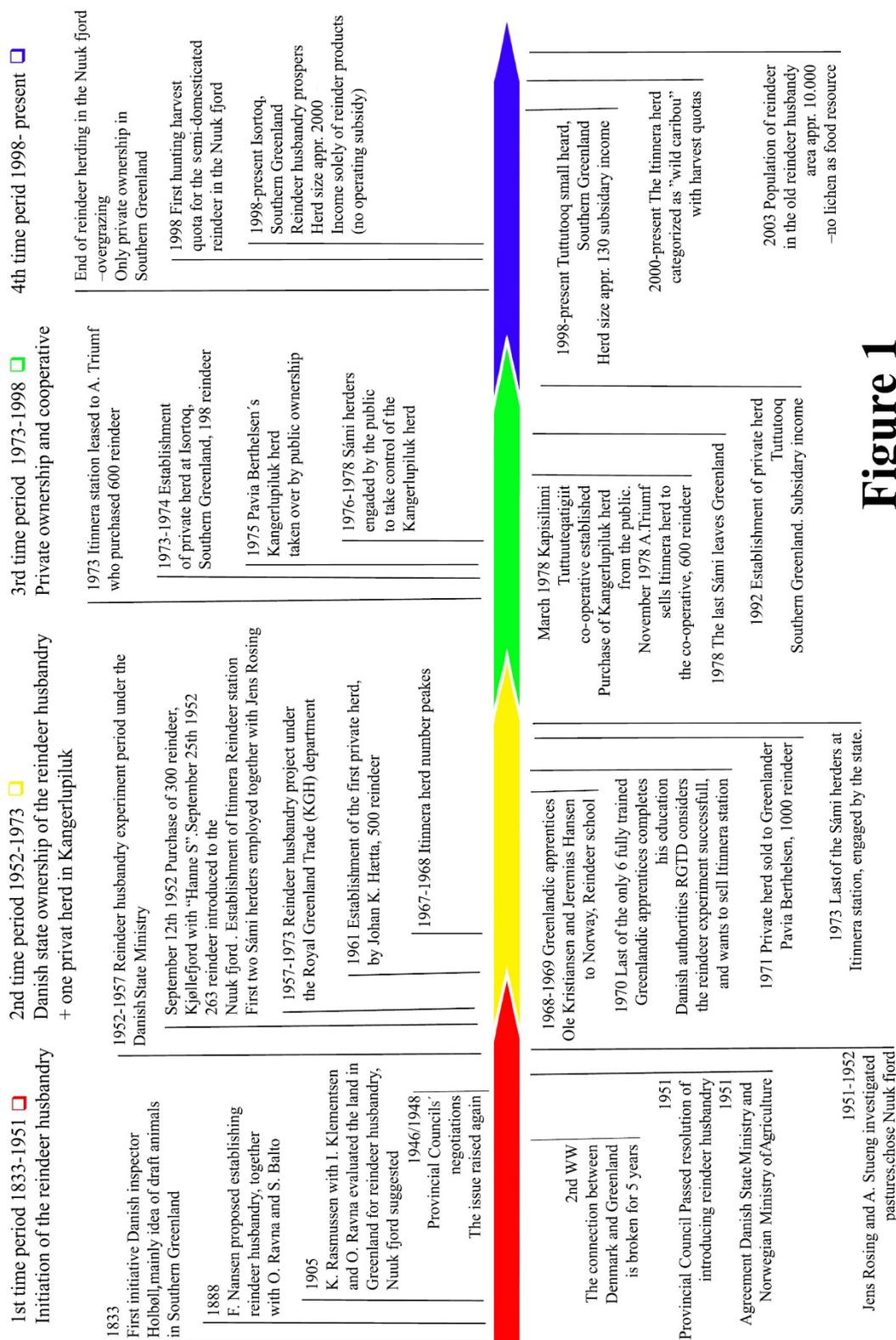
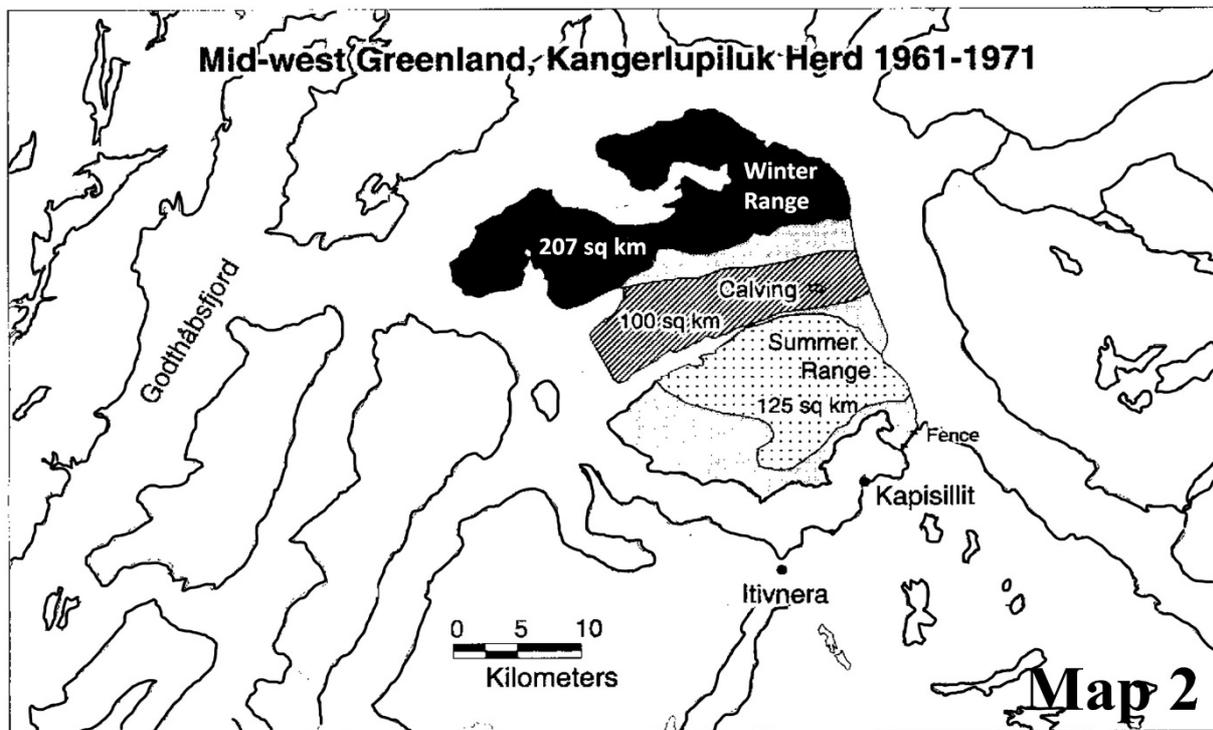
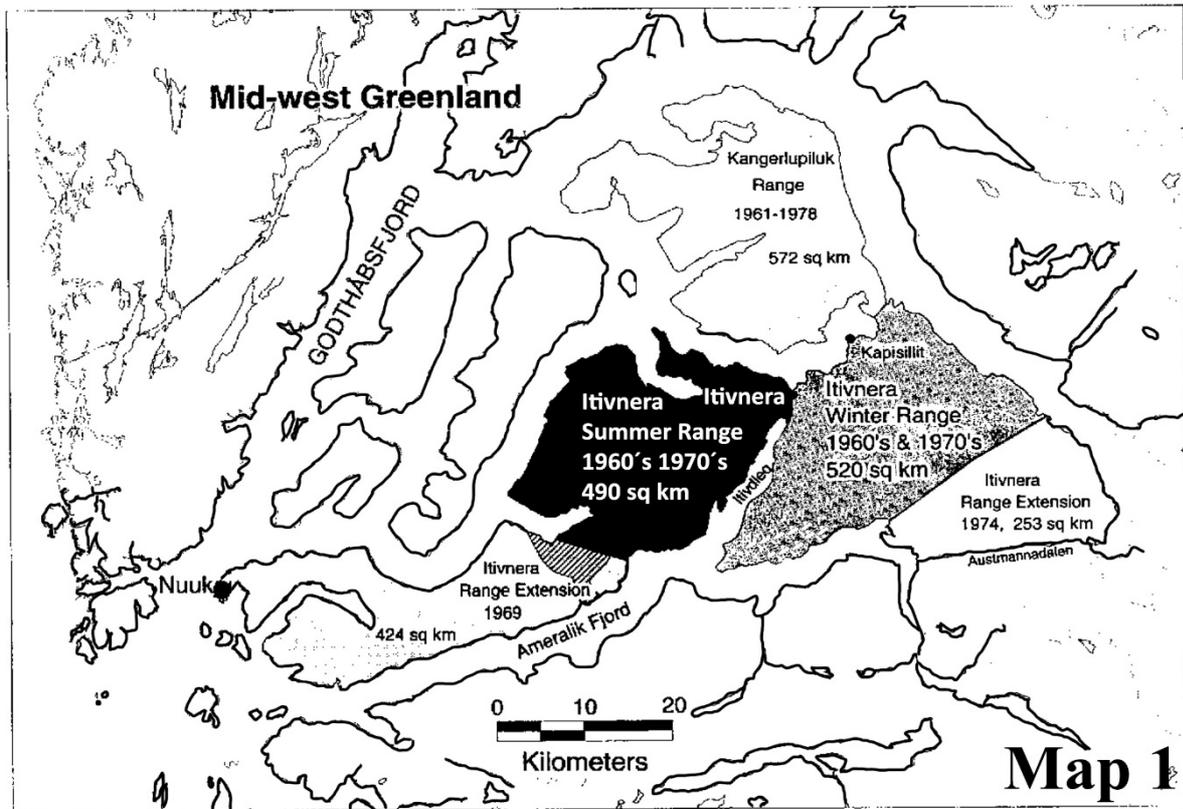


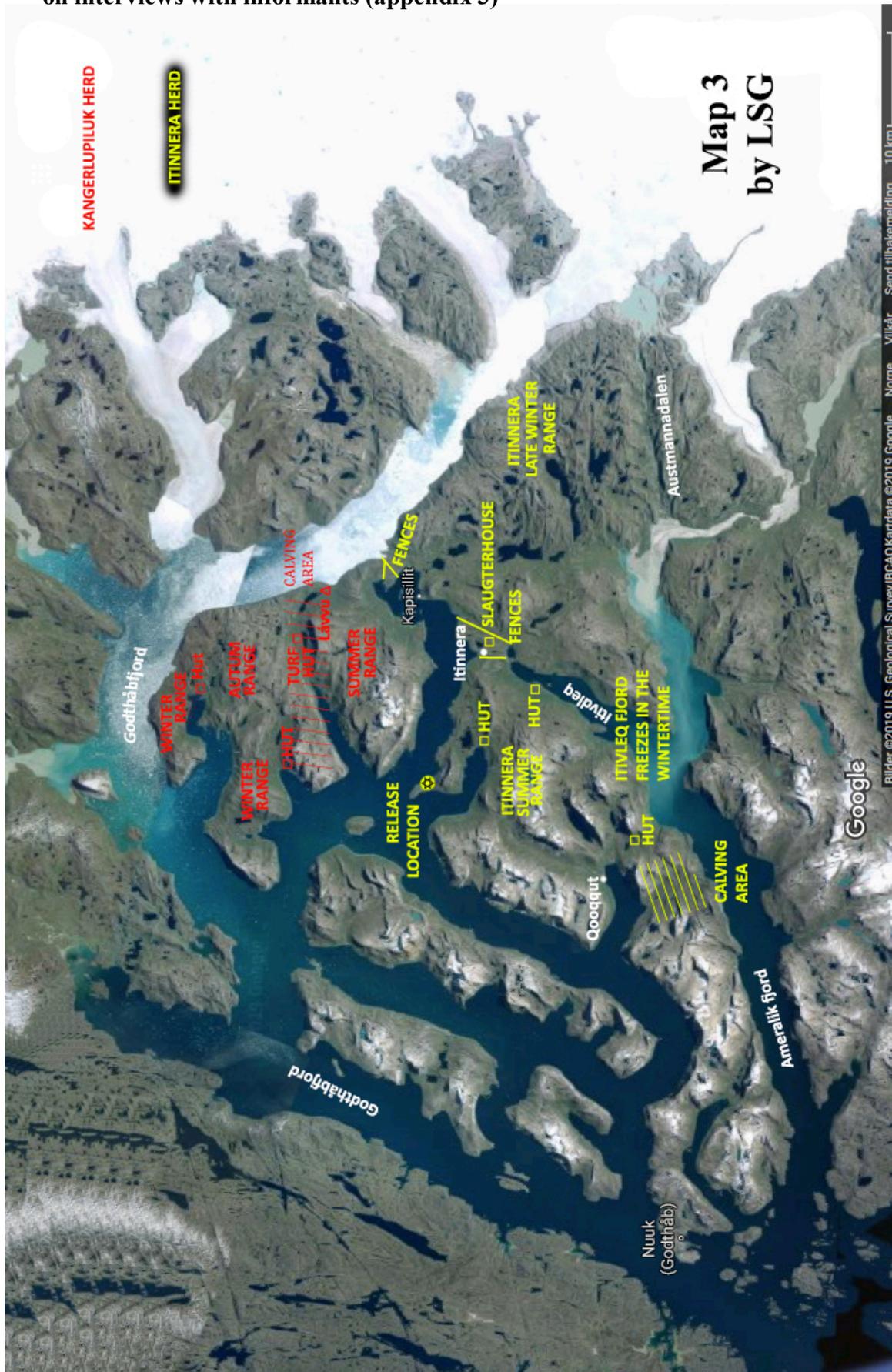
Figure 1

**Map 1 and map 2: Maps over the reindeer husbandry area in the Nuuk fjord-
 Maps by Christine Cuyler (1999) from "Success and failure of reindeer herding
 in Greenland"**



Mid-west Greenland, Godthåbsfjord region, showing the Itivnera herd's range use during the 1960's and 1970's, and the range
 Christine Cuyler 1999: Success and failure of reindeer herding Greenland. Reference for both maps.

Map 3: Kangerlupiluk and Itinnera herd. Map by Lena Susanne Gaup, based on interviews with informants (appendix 3)



Map 4: Map over Isortoq reindeer husbandry area in Southern Greenland – May by Christine Cuyler (1999) from “Success and failure of reindeer herding in Greenland” (appendix 3)

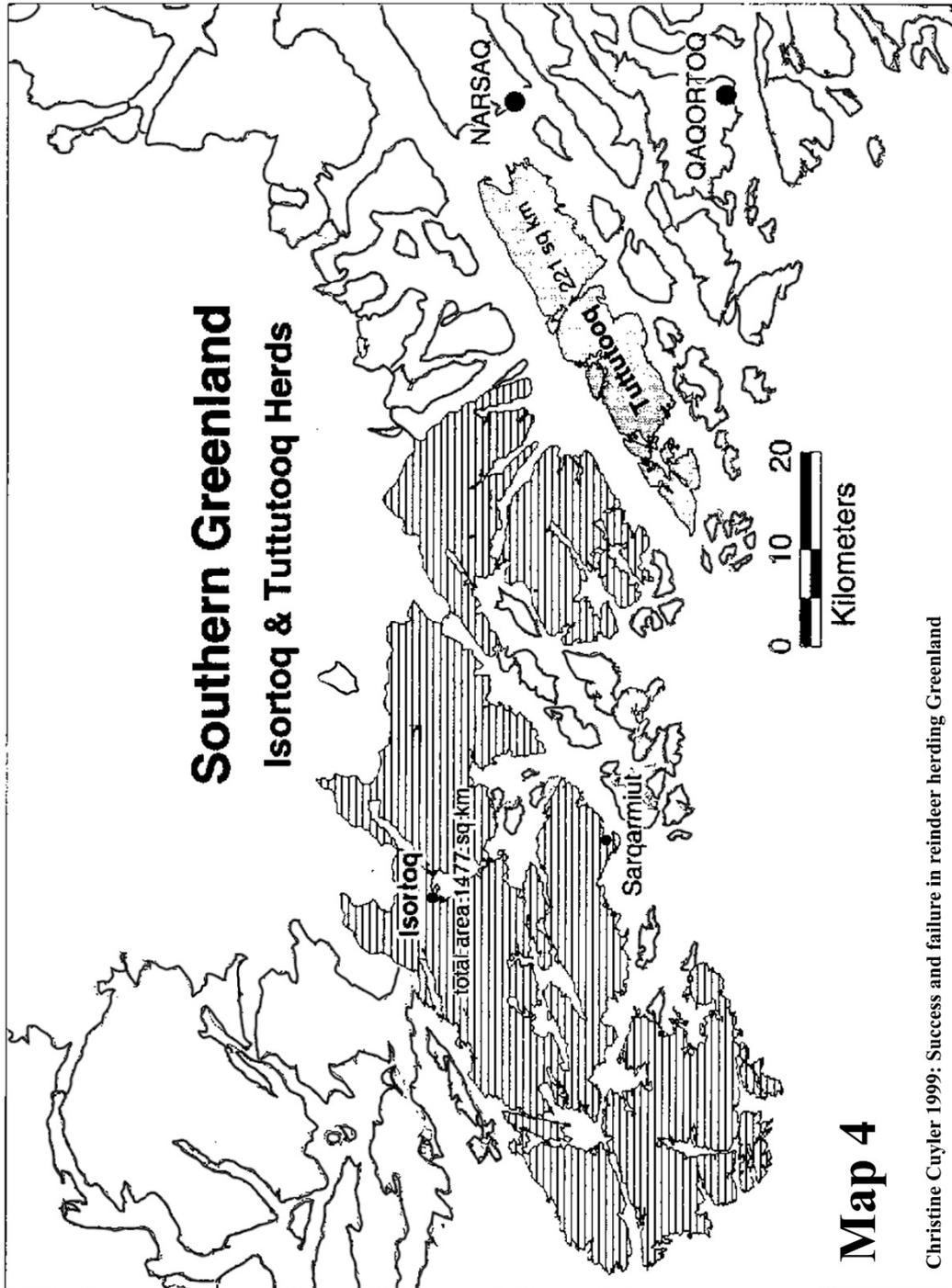


Illustration 1 – Photographs of informants 1, appendix 4



Johan Klemet M. Hætta

1925-2008

Left photo from:
Odd Mahtis Hætta 2010

Right photo by
Lena Susanne K. Gaup
2005



Jens Rosing

1925-2008

From:
Odd M. Hætta 2010



Josva Josefssen

1930-2016

Photo by:
Lena Susanne K. Gaup
2006



Maria Anna Valkeapää Eira

1922-2017

Johan A. Eira

1924-2017
Photographer unknown
courtesy of Inga Britt E. Siri

Illustration 1

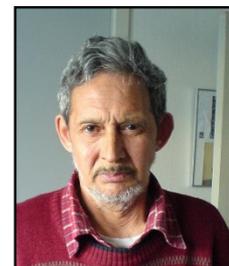


Anders Skum 1937-



Photo by
Sara Marit Gaup Eira
2016

Photo by
Otto Henrik Næsgård Andersen
1973



Pavia Berthelsen

1945-
Left photo photographer unknown
courtesy of Pavia Berthelsen
Right photo by:
Lena Susanne K. Gaup
2006

Illustration 2- Informants and photographs of Itinnera and Kangerlupiluk, appendix 5



Anders Triumpf killed one of the biggest wild reindeers 1976-77
photo from: Odd Mahtis Hætta's book 2010



Slaughtering Anders Triumpf and his staff
Photo from: Odd M. Hætta's book 2010



Ole Kristiansen 1947-

Left photo: Slaughtering wild reindeer
From: Odd Mahtis Hætta's book 2010

Right photo by Lena Susanne K Gaup 2004



Stefan Magnusson 1957-

Photo from www.SermitsiaqAG.gl



Iisakki Väitalo



Aslak Siri 1949-

Photo by Ingjerd Hætta 2015



Itinnera



Kangerlupiluk

Both photos from
Odd Mahtis Hætta's book 2010

Illustration 2

Illustration 3- Earmarks used in Kangerlupiluk and Itinnera, appendix 6

**JOHAN KLEMET HÆTTA
(PAVIA BERTHELSEN)**



OLE FRANK HÆTTA

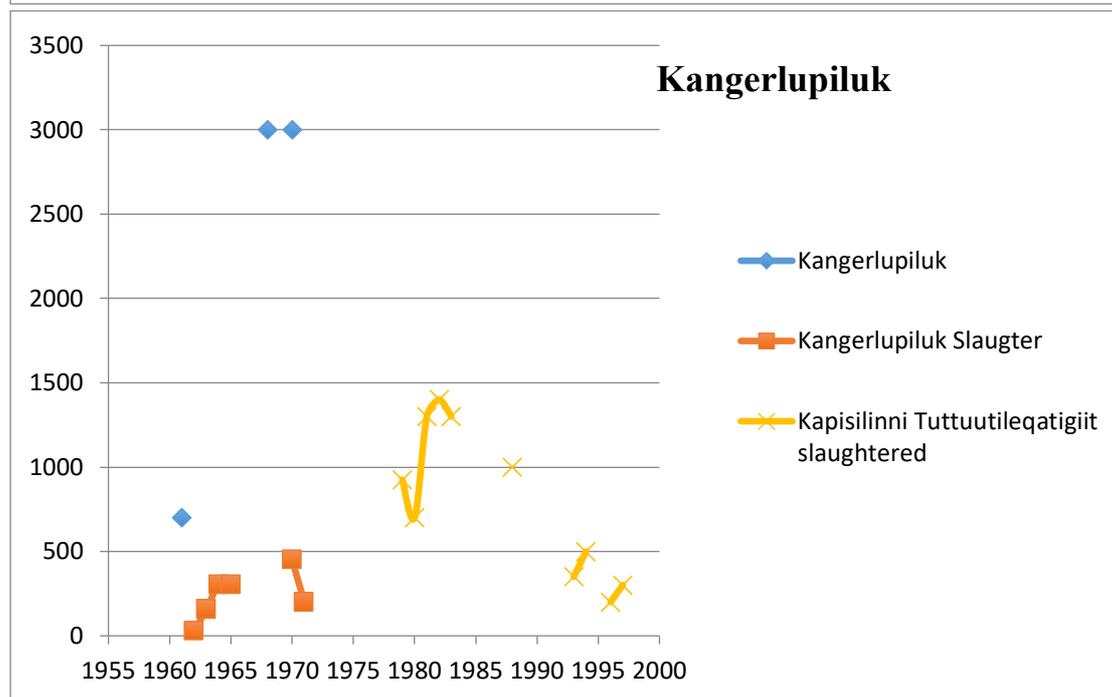
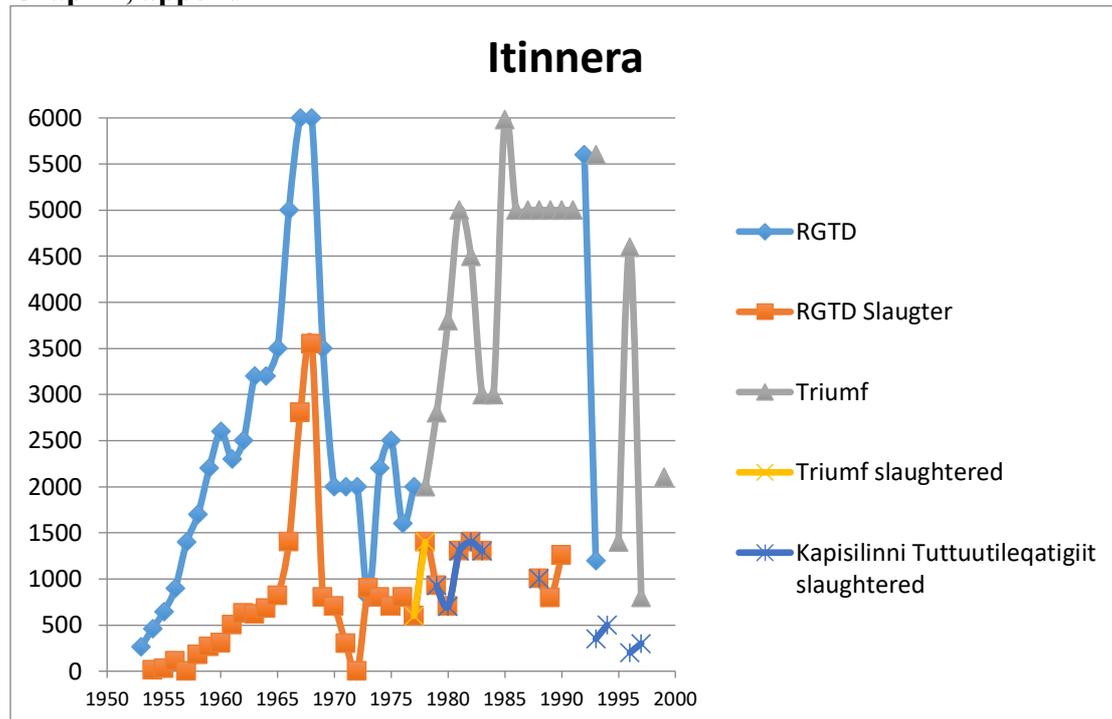


ITINNERA



Illustration 3: Earmarks

**Numbers of semi-domesticated reindeer in Itinnera and Kangerlupiluk-
Graph 1, appendix 7**



Itinnera ownership	Kangerlupiluk ownership
The RGTD 1952-1973	Hætta 1961-71
Triumf 1973-1978	Berthelsen 1971-1975
	Public ownership (ESU) 1975-1978
Co-operative Kapisilinni Tuttuutillit	1978-1998

Revenue and sales of reindeer products in Greenland – Graph2, appendix 8

