THE CURRENT STATE OF SOCIAL WORK IN KALAALLIT NUNAAT: ADDRESSING THE CASEWORKER SHORTAGE AND PAVING THE WAY FOR COMMUNITY-FOCUSED OUTREACH

Steven Arnfjord[1]
Kevin Perry[2]

1. University of Greenland, Ilisimatusarfik Centre for Arctic Welfare, Ilisimatusarfik.
2. University of Greenland, Ilisimatusarfik Centre for Arctic Welfare, Ilisimatusarfik.

1. INTRODUCTION TO SOCIAL WORK IN KALAALLIT NUNAAT

Social Work practice in Kalaallit Nunaat[3] (Greenland) mainly occurs in municipal offices. In other words, when citizens interact face-to-face with the system, it occurs in the municipality's office or meeting room. The overall social sector in Kalaallit Nunaat consists of public employees working within a social democratic state that funds a universal beneficial welfare program. The term' universal beneficial welfare program' implies that the welfare system consists of right-based services funded by a high level of taxation (45% of income tax). The welfare system guarantees public-funded welfare, health care, education (to masters-levels), disability leaves, and pensions to the nation's citizens. Social workers (socialrådgiver, which translates to social adviser) are mainly employed within the public system (government and municipality). However, some social workers are employed in NGOs or the private sector.

Social Work has been a profession in Greenland since the late 1960s (see the historical section below). Kalaallit Nunaat (Greenland) has a population of approximately 56.500 people (Statistics Greenland, 2024). The demography is mainly Kalaallit (Inuit (Indigenous)) 88%, Danes (8%), Filipino/Thai (3%), and Faroese/Icelanders/mixed (1-2%) (Statistics Greenland, 2024).

The public sector, consisting of municipalities, ministries, the health and social boards, health care, and the prison system, is estimated to employ around 350 social workers. The standard requirement is a BA degree, which most social workers retain from Ilisimatusarfik (University of Kalaallit Nunaat). Kalaallit (Greenlanders) conducts Social Work, and its target group is Kalaallit. Social work is, therefore, clearly understood within a monocultural field. In the context of Kalaallit Nunaat, cultural

3. Throughout the chapter, the terms Kalaallit Nunaat and Greenland will be used interchangeably.

Social Work carries distinct nuances. Typically, cultural Social Work in the Western world involves Western social workers adapting their practices to encounter clients from different cultures (Cross, 2011). However, this framework applies only partially in Kalaallit Nunaat, as social workers rarely address issues like racism and discrimination. Nonetheless, significant inequalities persist in Greenland, including class-based and regional/cultural discrimination, especially between the western and eastern parts of Kalaallit Nunaat. These regional differences will be explored in greater detail later in the chapter.

1.1 Greenland (Kalaallit Nunaat)

Greenland's colonial legacy profoundly shapes its modern identity, significantly influencing its political, societal, and cultural dimensions. The onset of Danish colonial rule in Greenland traces back to 1721, when Hans Egede, a missionary of Danish-Norwegian origins, initiated a mission and trading post under the mandate of King Frederik IV. Egede's mission and trading post was established in the region that later became Nuuk. The establishment of Egede's Lutheran mission began a profound period of cataclysmic change in Greenland's history, lasting until 1953 (Gad, 1976). After 1953, a second Danish colonial phase continued its dominance over Greenland. After the founding of the United Nations in 1945, the directive was clear: all colonial powers were to grant their colonies independence. However, Denmark chose not to follow this directive, deliberately avoiding the transition to independence for Greenland. In the ensuing decades of the 1940s and 1950s, Danish leaders deployed cunning tactics and strategic manoeuvres to maintain and strengthen their grip in Greenland (Viemose, 1977). The historical footprint of this period is unmistakably present in Greenland's contemporary political and social fabric, underscoring the perpetual legacy of its colonial past (Hermann, 2021).

1.2 Geography & Governance

The Inuit (Kalaallit) refer to Greenland as Kalaallit Nunaat, a vast North Atlantic territory spanning 836,300 square miles. This expansive area could fit Denmark more than 50 times over. A colossal ice sheet, second only to Antarctica's size, dominates Greenland. Over 80% of Greenland's landscape consists of tundra and icy formations, and it is considered a wonder of nature on a grand scale. While forming part of the Danish realm, Greenland exercises a degree of self-governance and has set up its own administrative systems for handling various internal matters. The Self-Government Act of 2009 served as a pivotal moment in Greenland's administrative landscape, establishing a clear division of responsibilities between Greenlandic and Danish authorities. This legislation allowed Greenland to take on responsibility for a range of internal affairs, while Denmark continued to have oversight of key areas of governance, including foreign relations, defence, and financial management (Statsministeriet, 2009). Greenland has held autonomy over its internal social affairs since 1979.

1.3 Greenland's High Consumer Prices

In Greenland, the significantly higher consumer prices compared to EU countries (Bosanac & Schütt, 2017) are attributable to its unique geographical and climatic challenges that affect transport and imports. The cost of goods in Greenland is, on average, 6% more expensive, with alcohol and tobacco prices experiencing particularly sharp increases —double and 62% higher, respectively. This situation is partly due to Greenland's high taxation policies to reduce consumption, with taxes on alcoholic beverages significantly exceeding those in Denmark. Furthermore, the costs of telecommunication and food in Greenland are higher than in Denmark by 60% and 36%, respectively. At the same time, the prices for electrical appliances, healthcare, and leisure activities are only 10 to 20% higher. This elevated cost of living stems from

the dependence on imports mainly from Denmark and its limited agricultural capacity. Such economic conditions significantly contribute to the dimensions of poverty in Greenland, affecting residents' ability to afford necessities. The steep cost of day-to-day living chips away at what families can spend while tightening the grip on access to necessities and deepening the struggles those with the least resources face. This financial pressure casts a long shadow over how people live on low income and their quality of life — the kind many take for granted in Denmark. It is not just about the pinch on wallets; but about the negative effects on health, learning and employment outcomes, locking many in a vicious circle of poverty that's hard to break. It will take a broad plan to tackle the many faces of poverty in Greenland, which means not just easing the burden of costs that are too high but also giving access to affordable rental housing while boosting local production and strengthening the economy. The historical and geographical context significantly influences housing in Greenland. During the 20th century, the colonial power coerced Greenlanders in smaller settlements to move into centralised permanent settlements, leading to modern apartments with basic amenities. These policies aimed to integrate Greenlanders into a wage economy and streamline administration, creating distinct rural-urban divides. The migration trend from smaller settlements to larger towns and cities continues today. Housing is a critical issue in Greenland, managed mainly through public housing and job-related accommodations. Accessing public housing can involve long waiting lists, and private housing is both scarce and expensive. This situation poses challenges for those who need higher education or employment.

2. SOCIAL WORK AND SOCIAL PEDAGOGICS

In Kalaalliut Nunaat, Social Work and social pedagogics (relational Social Work/outreach Social Work) are distinct disciplines with inclusion and integration as their core focus (Madsen, 2005). The social ped-

agogical profession is common in Denmark, Germany and Scandinavia. The social pedagogics college in Ilulissat Kalaallit Nunaat offers university-level education, specifically in social pedagogics. This chapter focuses on the distinction between the two educations. While it rightly emphasises a level of specialisation between the two professions, the lack of cross-disciplinarity between them could be better.

Social workers (socialrådgivere) in Greenland rarely leave their offices to meet citizens in their homes or local communities. On the other hand, social pedagogues lack training in casework and legislation as part of their education. They typically work independently of caseworkers, except when providing background information for child protection investigations. However, due to a shortage of qualified social workers, municipalities often employ social pedagogues in Social Work roles, requiring them to perform casework despite their limited training. The division of responsibilities related to inclusion has reinforced a *doxa* within the field of Social Work. Among employers and social workers themselves, this *doxa* positions social workers primarily as caseworkers despite their historical involvement in outreach work. This split is further deepened by two distinct educational paths —social worker (socialrådgiver) and social pedagogue— creating a division of tasks and a pay disparity between the professions. Despite their essential societal roles, social workers and pedagogues face low wages and demanding working conditions, adding to the profession's challenges. Social workers in Kalaallit Nunaat were once referred to by the Kalaallisut term Ikiutiit (meaning "the helpers") before obtaining university degrees. This language captures the profession's core intent: to work directly with people and with communities. However, the "case worker void" —an idea we will cover again later in this section— demonstrates how the profession can sometimes obscure the broader skill set that social workers must bring. Casework has become more clerical or administrative in many respects, with social work's "social" function relegated to office-based work. This shift constricts the profession's scope and dulls its primary function: to

engage with and assist people in direct ways. While clerical work is a legitimate aspect of many roles, misrepresenting these tasks as core responsibilities can create professional uncertainty for newly qualified social workers. These individuals have studied social theory and scientific methodologies and completed extensive academic projects on critical disability, social issues, and child welfare. When assigned predominantly office-based tasks, they may feel their qualifications and expertise need to be more utilised, leading to frustration and a sense of being overqualified for the work they are required to undertake.

This divide has widened the gap between community-based, street-level approaches and the more hands-on, out-of-office practices traditionally associated with Social Work. Casework, by contrast, primarily focuses on complying with legislation and providing advice rooted in a rights-based framework for social clients. In Kalaallit Nunaat, the focus —and the area that garners the most political attention— is family affairs, a trend consistent with many welfare states (Kuhnle & Sander, 2022). One of the authors frequently describes family affairs as the "emergency room" of Social Work in Kalaallit Nunaat. Social workers in Kalaallit Nunaat are usually hired by the municipal system on a fixed contract, indicating a great need for professional skills. Because the local university is small, producing only 8-10 Social Work graduates a year, every graduate is essentially guaranteed work in the field.

When municipalities face difficulties filling vacant social worker positions, they occasionally consider hiring from abroad, primarily from Denmark. However, this approach presents significant challenges for two main reasons. First, most clients and local social workers communicate in Kalaallisut —a language foreign social workers do not speak and rarely learn during their time in Kalaallit Nunaat. Second, the pay scale in Kalaallit Nunaat is considerably lower than in Denmark, with a difference of approximately €78,050-85,900 per year. This disparity further discourages international recruitment. Kalaallit Nunaat is an exceptionally diverse and geographically vast country, with towns and

settlements scattered along its west and east coasts. As one of the least densely populated countries in the world, many areas are accessible only by sea, air, or, in winter, by dog sledges or snowmobiles. The absence of interconnected roads further complicates logistics and travel, adding to the challenges of Social Work in the region. Social workers are mainly employed in the public sector, where the largest employer is the Municipality of Sermersooq (which contains Nuuk, the capital). There are many social workers in Nuuk, but their work often includes the East Coast, little towns such as Paamiut, and settlements. Some social workers fly to do casework and client visits, some contact clients online.

Telemedicine has a history in Kalaallit Nunaat, which was introduced in the 1990s to address the challenge of distance in an extensive and sparsely populated country (Mitchell et al., 2000). This strategy is akin to distance education for remote community dwellers, such as those in northern Canada and Australia (Crowe & McDonald, 1997; Jong et al., 2019). Innovative solutions are needed to 'scale up' such systems to meet the logistical challenges facing service provision across Kalaallit Nunaat's vast geography.

As discussed above, both the Danish Social Work system and the Danish healthcare system have had a significant impact on developments in Kalaallit Nunaat, with the former heavily influencing Social Work. Tele-Social Work is not yet formalized as a new methodology, but it is a useful concept to start exploring soon. Long distances combined with difficulty finding social workers for local placements mean smaller towns have an ad-hoc and transient work environment. This problem is like the challenges impacting the healthcare and education systems, where inconsistent support and weak management prevent social workers from putting down permanent roots or raising families in these communities. The volatile political environment makes it difficult to maintain the stability and continuity of social services. The current social system in Kalaallit Nunaat divides responsibilities between casework-oriented municipal departments, where most social workers work, and various

interventions, such as street-level work, institutional care, women's shelters, and homeless shelters. Unqualified personnel often staff these latter areas. Within the children and family sector, there is a widespread understanding that there is a massive shortage of qualified social workers, which leads to a significant backlog of unprocessed cases. The latter has resulted in negative media attention, with some municipal areas, such as those in Kujalleq, being placed under the administration of the self-rule government (Hinrichsen & Lyberth, 2024).

Similar challenges exist in areas like homelessness and poverty, which receive less political attention. These issues highlight the urgent need for more social workers or efficient work processes to address the demand. Politically, the social sector receives some attention but rarely addresses the shortage of trained personnel required to ensure adequate and high-quality social services.

In the following, we will examine the history of Social Work in Kalaallit Nunaat.

2.1 History Of Social Work In Kalaallit Nunaat

As in many modern welfare states, Social Work in Kalaallit Nunaat emerged with industrialisation. This process coincided with centuries of colonisation and began in the early 1950s, distinguishing Kalaallit Nunaat from countries like Denmark, Sweden, and England, where industrialisation occurred under different historical circumstances. Before industrialisation, local boards known as forstanderskaber (trusteeships) addressed social issues such as pensions, disability, poverty, and child welfare. These boards functioned similarly to modern municipal meetings, making decisions regarding social cases. The boards comprised an elite group of colonial administrators (Arnfjord, 2017) and an equal number of Kalaallit hunters, selected for their exceptional hunting skills and strong moral character.

Before the 1940s, Kalaallit Nunaat had fewer than 20,000 people (Grønlands Statistik, 2010). However, shortly after the Second World War, the population grew rapidly, increasing from 21,000 to 27,000 in 1955 and soon after to 39,000 in 1965 (Grønlands Statistik, 2010). This growth and a colonial centralisation policy disrupted many communities' demographic, cultural, and social fabric. Settlements and smaller towns were forcefully closed, and people were relocated along the West Coast, fracturing the cultural landscape and social cohesion (Chemnitz & Goldschmidt, 1964).

Industrialisation brought alienation and individualisation, creating social challenges in what was originally a collective Indigenous culture. A Danish delegation expressed concerns that seal hunting would not produce a sufficient food surplus and proposed cod as a potential solution (Hansen, 1998). Within a decade, the focus on cod as a food source shifted to a capitalistic emphasis on cod and shrimp industries, driving further industrialisation. This industrialisation aimed to transform the population into a workforce, deepening the disconnection between people and nature.

People were drawn to towns such as Sisimiut and Nuuk by the promises of stable jobs and modern living conditions. The introduction of a modernised healthcare system further contributed to population growth, as the prospect of a steady paycheck and improved facilities lured many.

Numerous modern concrete housing blocks were constructed in towns such as Nuuk, Maniitsoq, Qaqortoq, Sisimiut, Ilulissat, Aasiaat, Qeqertarsuaq, Qasigiannguit, Nanortalik, and Paamiut. Many new tenants came from smaller settlements and communities where help was easily accessible, and food sharing and community assistance were integral to a collective way of life. However, citizens relocating to larger towns disrupted traditional collectivism (Chemnitz, 1964).

Nonetheless, people praised certain features of "city life," echoing Simmel's 1903 writings about the freedom found in urban anonymity.

This contrasted with the lack of privacy in small settlements or villages, where everyone knew everything about one another (Simmel, 2004).

This new wave of Greenlandic urbanisation drew criticism, much like Tönnies' observations on alienation and the loss of social cohesion in cities from 1887 (Tönnies, 1988). Indigenous critiques of colonisation frequently emphasise the harmful effects of these individualising processes (Lennert, 1991; Peters & Andersen, 2013). Guldborg Chemnitz, for instance, described the erosion of neighbourly connections, while artist Anne-Birthe Hove produced poignant depictions critiquing the challenges of Inuit life in urban environments (Poulsen, 2016). These problems also surfaced in dealings with social offices, where staff predominantly spoke Danish. The Inuit nicknamed these offices 'socialen' early on —a term imbued with negativity, reflecting their perception of these places as locations where little good would happen.

We have obtained an early photograph from the mid-1950s showing the staff at the social office in Nuuk. It depicts four Danish employees alongside a Kalaallit assistant who was an interpreter. Early in the industrial era, the government recognised the need to provide support for social services and made efforts to recruit a Kalaallit-speaking professional for the role.

They planned to hire a single social worker to patrol the vast west coast by boat, gather cases, return to Nuuk, and handle the casework. For instance, a round trip by boat from Nuuk to Aasiaat took six days, and only the larger towns had communication lines. Today, this idea seems utterly unrealistic —and even at the time, it demonstrated a significant misunderstanding of the nature of Social Work. Ultimately, the government could not find anyone willing to take on such a role, and the position remained unfilled. The government then hired a Danish social inspector to travel throughout Kalaallit Nunaat and document the extent of social problems (Arnfjord, 2023). When the social inspector reported back, the findings were alarming and made headlines in the national newspaper Atuagagdliutit in the early 1960s (Atuagagdliutit, 1962). The

report revealed that children were poorly treated and underfed and that social and economic support was distributed unfairly —the social inspector tied the unacceptable conditions to industrialisation and centralisation in the bigger towns.

This report coincided with the earlier medical expedition, during which doctors were tasked with documenting various diseases. Accompanying them was a female nurse whose account corroborated the consultant's findings, highlighting the poor welfare conditions of children (Grønlandskommissionen, 1950).

In response, the government recognised the urgent need for more personnel and enlisted Alfred Dam, the Head of the Danish School of Social Work in Copenhagen, to train the first class of social assistants —the Ikiuutit. The first cohort completed their training in 1966. In an interview with Steven Arnfjord, Dam recalled debates with the Danish Social Workers' Union about the curriculum, as it was not a full-length Social Work education. Dam defended the shorter program, arguing there was no time to wait for a traditional course. Instead, he adapted a condensed family therapist training program, prioritising the need for Kalaallit-speaking social assistants who could communicate effectively with clients and understand their culture.

Upon completing their training, all graduates either began working in social offices or were about to [SOURCE-AG clip]. Every graduate secured a job, and this initial success accelerated the development of further training programs.

During the 1970s, many Kalaallit travelled to Denmark for extended periods to train as social workers. Prominent figures such as Martha Labansen, Asii Chemnitz Narup, Finn Lynge, and Aqqaluk Lynge graduated as social workers and later took on influential roles in Kalaallit Nunaat society. They became heads of social boards, politicians, mayors, Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC) leaders, and representatives at the Unit-

ed Nations. These individuals championed Kalaallit rights, Inuit rights, women's rights, and more inclusive social policies.

The late 1970s marked a significant period in social history, as negotiations for the forthcoming Home Rule legislation characterised it. From a social-political perspective, this was crucial because it gave Kalaallit Nunaat full authority over social policies and legislation. New laws were required, or existing ones had to be adapted to better suit the needs of the Kalaallit people. Key topics included employment, alcohol regulation, pensions, child welfare, and family affairs.

At the time, NGO activity in Kalaallit Nunaat was minimal. Organisations like Save the Children and the Red Cross were present but played relatively minor roles. Both NGOs had previously collaborated with the Danish and Greenlandic governments on controversial social experiments involving children, which effectively amounted to state-sanctioned kidnappings, severely hurting the children and their families, and damaging the NGO's credibility (Thiesen, 2023).

Women's groups such as Kalaallit Nunaani Arnat Peqatigiit Kattuffiat were particularly active within civil society. They produced pamphlets addressing welfare issues, including the cost of living, childcare, and women's equality, such as equal political representation (De grønlandske Kvindeforeningers Sammenslutning, 1983).

In the 1950s, there appeared to be a singular focus on the population as a workforce; little attention was given to unemployed citizens or citizens with social problems. In the late 1960s, there was a new perspective on alcoholism and unemployment, cross-cultural relations in the workplace, and family affairs (Udvalget For Samfundsforskning I Grønland, 1961). Some social problems grew to a level where Rubington and Weinberg's terminology of social problems as structural issues had a complexity that overreached to what a single individual could handle (Rubington & Weinberg, 2003). Thus, they became structural problems of domestic violence, child abuse, alcoholism, racism, and sections of the

population that experienced poverty and unemployment. The impact of colonisation is apparent in different ways. There is a very visual and practical observable colonisation when a colonial state wills decisions upon an indigenous population "with the best of intentions." This impacts language, culture, bureaucracy, capitalism, and political structure. "Establishing" a workforce is an invasive process, subduing people to abandon smaller settlements where they were homeowners and independent hunters and fishers for them to become renters, loaners, and labourers in a dependent way of life. This is also an intense colonisation of life worlds from a Habermasian perspective. In the historical context between Kalaallit Nunaat and Denmark, there is evidence of particular people in particular power positions making decisions without including or informing the people influenced or affected by these decisions. That is, of course, a classical power problem with a clear democratic deficit.

In the late 1960s, a social board was established in Nuuk, and Alfred Dam was hired to head it. One of the first professional social workers hired in the early 1970s was Finn Lynge, who, to this day, has been an important part of the modern discussion around the welfare state. Lynge himself was a Kalaallit catholic priest. With a strong connection to this chapter's subheading Lynge writes, that he didn't think much of the social worker education because he didn't want to get stuck behind a desk instead:

> Outreach work, now this was a different cup of tea! Here you got a ticket (mandate) to access homes, where everything had fallen apart. You were faced with abused children, miserable hygiene, complete lack of dietary planning, constant unemployment, and long stretches of drinking. Here you go, Mr. social worker, do something about that! (Lynge, 2010, p. 130)

Many educated social workers returned from abroad but quickly went into the social-political arena. As mentioned above, social affairs had been considered an autonomous area of the government for centuries. Social and political history does have its horror stories of the force-

ful removal of children sent to Denmark, of people with disabilities, and of convicted people sent to Denmark to serve life sentences.

The Home Rule agreement gave the government full autonomy over social policy and, to some degree, started to reverse the process of sending people to Denmark.

The incarcerated population is considered a part of social affairs regarding re-socialisation. It has traditionally fallen within the prison system, which has its own social workers, and to this day remains governed by the state of Denmark, making the social workers within the prison system in Kalaallit Nunaat, in fact, employees of the Danish state. In that area, there is not much overlap between the social workers in the prison system and social workers in the municipality, and in that respect, when the discussion falls upon the re-socialisation of former prisoners (ex-convicts), there is also a lack of street-level or outreach work.

In the 1980s, Kalaallit Nunaat saw different reactions from social workers who openly discussed the problems of supporting clients in the system (Binzer, 1981). After the successful adoption of new policies by recommendation from the first Kalaallit-led social reform commission [source], most of the population understood the welfare system as something the newly formed home rule government had full authority over. Social workers in the 1980s also expressed concerns about the divide between the rich and the poor, and a new wave of critical feminism was emerging (Aidt & Borker, 1975; Lennert, 1991).

A growing need for more welfare professionals educated in Kalaallit Nunaat led to the government establishing a working group to produce a curriculum for Kalaallit Nunaat's first social worker education. The working group included Kommuneqarfik Sermersooq's former Mayor and Minister of Social Affairs, Asii Chemnitz Narup, and social worker Jette Binzer. The finished curriculum was written into the first Kalaallit legislation for the education of social workers (Arnfjord, 2024). The education was initially named a socialformidler-uddannelse (social assis-

tant education). This received many complaints, and Inatsisartut (the government) finally approved a full educational program, resulting in the first class of social workers in 1987. Since then, the country has seen a new class of Kalaallit-speaking social workers yearly. While there is a lot of focus on social problems and the welfare system, there have never been enough social workers to fill the need for educated professionals in the country's welfare offices.

New social problems are developing, and themes such as cannabis abuse, child neglect, domestic violence, poverty, and suicide have continued to linger among the overall social themes such as family affairs, unemployment, and alcohol abuse. In recent years, a severe housing crisis, together with mental health problems and a precarious labour market, has sparked a rise in homelessness, such as visible homelessness and hidden homelessness in bigger towns such as Nuuk, Qaqortoq, and Tasiilaq.

In the development of social problems, or from a social worker's perspective, a set of new clients follows; they may be homeless teenagers, undiagnosed individuals with mental health issues, or older homeless men with alcohol-related dementia. These new types of clients concern social workers because there is not much legislation to support the right number of social services these new clients deserve. This is one of the areas where Social Work becomes a challenging field in Kalaallit Nunaat. New social problems and clients require new practices and a flexible social system with ongoing legislative adjustments. New policies and new legislation put a lot of pressure on the political and bureaucratic system, which has, until now, been somewhat of a bottleneck in the welfare system. Kalaallit Nunaat experiences a decline in political attention towards the social sector, and thus the new social problems risk becoming old social problems before sufficient measures are put in motion.

The social workers in Kalaallit Nunaat do not have a social worker union like the British or Danish. Therefore, the voice of the social workers is not a common voice, which restricts what the individual social

worker can do. Unionisation is legal and encouraged; both nurses and teachers have strong unions and campaign actively from time to time via the media. Consequently, social workers need help living up to the ethical code from IFSW, such as speaking up on behalf of silenced clients if there are unjust measures such as outlawing, panhandling, tent encampments, etc. In recent developments, the social worker education at Ilisimatusarfik (University of Kalaallit Nunaat) has made a tradition of arranging the international social worker celebration day on campus for the last three years, bringing much debate.

The mayor of Qeqqetta Kommunia was very popular as an example of what could be interpreted as unjust measures. To increase the well-being of the tourism industry, he has lobbied to ensure that a long-talked-about project of an APV road would be produced, spanning from the town of Sisimiut to a former international airport in Kanglussuaq —125 miles of road. To finance this endeavour, it was proposed to cut costs on the local homeless shelter and other social-political services (Veirum, 2022).

This is a classic example of local social issues that a union of social workers could have brought up: a municipal budget prioritising the tourism industry over the social welfare system.

There is currently a need for more social workers. There are vacant positions in all municipalities. Shortly, a large age group, the generation of 1950, will retire, leaving an even bigger pile of open positions. When there is a need for more social workers, the positions are not necessarily filled with job seekers from other professions. A decline in the number of professionals usually has the unsurprising effect of an increase in the time spent with clients. For a long time, an ongoing discussion has been about putting a cap on the caseload a single social worker should responsibly handle. Cases have been tried with good experience in Sweden (Barck-Holst et al., 2017), and ISWF have for a long time recommended policies be put in place to ensure a focus on casework management at the workplace (International Federation of Social Work, 2012). In 2024,

the Naalakkersuisut for social affairs stated that he did not recommend limiting the number of cases per social worker (Hinrichsen, 2024). In the Social Work profession, the caseload is a hot topic and a frequently mentioned reason for switching jobs or abandoning the profession altogether (Holten-Møller, 2016). The social workers in Kalaallit Nunaat have an organisation, NIISIP, that is technically not a trade union. NIISIP only suggested a recommended limit on cases but was not put into legislation or the like. That did not get approved. This is a light form of labour negotiations, which presents a dilemma in how the social workers' biggest employer, the public system, values the work that the labourers in the welfare system carry out daily. To that end, social workers in Kalaallit Nunaat have a hard time communicating their work struggles or being recognised as a core profession in a welfare society.

From an educational perspective, social worker education is stable and popular with almost full enrolments the last 10 years (Ilisimatusarfik, 2024). Social worker education remains widespread, and whole classes can be accepted each autumn semester. Every year, we receive about 20 new students at the Ilisimatusarfik Department for Social Work, which oversees social worker education. The success rate is within acceptable rates of 45%. The department now offers a master's in Social Work management and organisation. Ilisimatusarfik is the only research and educational institution in the country that offers social worker education at this level. The Social Work department is also connected to two research centres: one about children and youth and the Ilisimatusarfik Centre for Arctic Welfare. The welfare centre researches poverty, homelessness, and outreach work. The experience from that research will be discussed in this chapter. A few students travel to Denmark to get a social worker education. However, that education is founded entirely on Danish culture and legislation, and few graduates return home.

In the following chapter, we will turn the focus a little back in time to briefly examine the colonial history and adaptation of a Scandinavian welfare system in Kalaallit Nunaat.

3. SOCIAL PROBLEMS IN KALAALLIT NUNAAT: ALCOHOL, CHILD WELFARE, SUICIDES, VIOLENCE AND HOMELESSNESS[4]

The case-oriented structure of the current social system in Kalaallit Nunaat may help ensure a focus on family affairs, but it tends to leave broader societal issues unaddressed. Homelessness, strikingly visible and a reflection of deeper structural inequalities, is one of those pressing social challenges facing Greenland today.

3.1 Alcohol

Two well-discussed social interventions in Kalaallit Nunaat involve alcohol issues. Although alcohol consumption is lower in Kalaallit Nunaat than in many other comparable countries, the drinking pattern is health-damaging: "binge drinking" (defined as top-tier drinking of high amounts of alcohol in a short time). What follows is a haptic loop of alcohol-fueled suffering, a repetition you might find familiar if you follow the perennial argument about whether a lot of consumption has secondary effects on disease, and work to relate those effects to a larger

4. Due to word constraints, addressing all social problems affecting citizens in Greenland, such as poverty, social class, and housing instability is impossible. These issues are deeply interconnected with the broader social and health challenges individuals and communities face. Consequently, the following section focuses on some of the most pressing social and health problems, offering a selective but representative overview. Parts of this section are drawn from previous works published in Danish in Arnfjord, S. (2023). Sociale problemer og socialpolitik i Grønland. In S. Juul & J. Elm Larsen (Red.), Socialpolitik. Hans Reitzels Forlag. This limitation reflects the scope of the current discussion rather than the relative importance of the omitted topics, all of which remain critical to understanding the full complexity of social issues in Greenland.

picture of global hardships. As a result, alcohol emerges as a common topic in discussions about the causes of social problems. The detrimental effects of alcohol on social life are an old story in the history of Western social policy (Harper, 1982; Spradley, 1988; Wiseman, 1970).

In earlier times, alcohol-related issues were often explained through a biological lens, with the erroneous assumption that Kalaallit's, as Indigenous people, were particularly predisposed to difficulties processing the toxic effects of alcohol on the liver. However, this has been scientifically disproven (Bjerregaard et al., 2015). While understanding the origins of alcohol-related problems is important, it should not detract from the pressing challenge of changing consumption patterns, which are frequently linked to domestic violence, neglect, and abuse within households (Poppel, 2010).

Many preventive measures are implemented each year, some of which have a notable impact, particularly among children and young people. For instance, the successful campaign Qaamanerup qinngoqqavaatit ("The light is pointing at you"), coordinated by Nakuusa and supported by UNICEF, engaged children in producing videos to convey messages of recognition and care (Nakuusa, 2014). The campaign adopted an empowerment approach, with children sending a message to their peers that they do not need to face the challenges of parental alcohol abuse alone. Over the past decade, there has been a measurable decline in alcohol consumption, as indicated by import data in the table below.

Table 1: Import of Alcohol 2005-2021

Year	1990	1993	1996	1999	2002	2005	2008	2011	2014	2017	2020	2023
L. pr. pers. over 14 years	15,6	12,9	12,8	13,3	12,4	11,1	10,5	9,8	8,6	8,4	8,8	8,5

Source: Greenland Statistic, 2024

The table indicates that the number of litres of pure alcohol consumed in Kalaallit Nunaat is decreasing. However, the level remains significant. Over the past 50 years, numerous reports and studies have

examined alcohol consumption in Greenland. Only in recent years have perspectives and prevention efforts shifted to focus on the patterns of alcohol consumption rather than solely its volume.

Despite the decline in overall consumption over the past three decades, alcohol remains a pressing social issue. Authorities frequently link it to pervasive problems such as "house shows" (unwelcome or disruptive visits to homes) and domestic violence, particularly during weekends (Rytoft, 2023), which highlights the ongoing need for targeted interventions addressing both the quantity and context of alcohol use in society.

This has prompted social interventions such as the establishment of shelters for children in several towns, where they can seek refuge at weekends due to rising unsafe conditions in their homes, particularly around wage payment periods (Kristensen, 2021; Qeqqata Kommunia, 2022). In some villages, alcohol bans are occasionally imposed, and in certain towns, the sale of strong alcohol is prohibited. Efforts are underway to move away from the previously isolated and individualised approach to alcohol treatment. Treatments available today are generally rooted in cognitive techniques that target addiction. However, these are often only available in bigger towns and can create barriers for clients as they try to introduce their treatment experiences into their networks. The latter represents the classic problem of translating lessons learned in a treatment context to the person's everyday context. In recognition of this fact, several municipalities have initiated family-oriented treatment programs. These programs allow parents to complete alcohol treatment and to stay with their kids during that time, bringing recovery home.

3.2 Children's Welfare

A central and increasingly urgent social policy issue is the low welfare levels experienced by many children in Kalaallit Nunaat. The research presents a stark picture, with studies highlighting widespread neglect (Kristensen et al., 2008), youth suicide (Arnfjord, 2019b; Pedersen & Bjer-

regaard, 2012), and bullying in schools, where 13% of 10-12-year-olds and 8% of 13-14-year-olds report experiencing bullying every week (Niclasen & Arnfjord, 2015). Another 12% of children live below the 50% poverty line (Departementet for Sociale Anliggender, 2018; Schnohr et al., 2007), and a deeply disturbing 7% of children are in out-of-home care (Jensen, 2022). These numbers highlight the dire necessity for holistic, multilateral measures to tackle the systemic challenges faced by the youth of Kalaallit Nunaat.

Over the past few years, the involvement of NGOs in the public discourse concerning social matters has grown significantly. The MIO (Children's Rights Institution), founded in 2012, is one of the key institutions. We are MIO, a charity that operates under the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, aiming to protect the interests of children and young people and ensure that they enjoy the rights society has given them to play an active role in their community. It advocates for these neglected children and tries to make their voices heard by highlighting their needs.

As MIO has repeatedly pointed out, the drinking culture in the community is closely linked to the neglect of children. One poster, for instance, was from the Danish Tuborg Breweries and promoted Asasaarannguara ("my little darling") beer labels in a public relations campaign. By linking beer to something loved and dear, the campaign risked trivialising the prioritisation of children and childcare, receiving belligerent public criticism from MIO (Søndergaard, 2015). This example illustrates MIO's work against those aspects of culture that might negatively affect the well-being of children.

Tilioq, a disability rights organisation, also emphasised prioritising the needs of children with disabilities. For example, Tilioq has addressed the increasing number of children and adolescents turning to the psychiatric system and the urgent need for improved mental health services and supportive measures (Tilioq, 2022). A longstanding theme in social policy for children has been the acute shortage of trained professionals to undertake the work in Social Work and social pedagogical tasks.

Adding to this problem is legislation that does not necessarily reflect the realities experienced by social workers in their day-to-day practice. In 2019, the Danish Radio aired a TV documentary called "The Town Where Children Disappear," highlighting the breadth of neglect of children in Tasiilaq. The authors of this chapter soon followed with research that showed that Social Work resources were insufficient to do the work that social workers needed to do.

Social workers often manage caseloads exceeding 100 cases per worker, with little capacity to perform the legally mandated annual visits for children placed in out-of-home care. Additionally, they report facing unskilled staff working in residential institutions who are not adequately trained to deliver Social Work action plans within school settings. Such plans are critical for healthcare and social care practitioners as these show the child's particular requirements and map their progress in these institutions systematically (Perry & Arnfjord, 2019). As social policy regarding children is being debated, one organization, MIO, along with other NGOs, serves as a beacon for others to follow in terms of the best way to operate. This is also a sphere of great visible voluntary action, with summer camps organized for kids in a town with a name like Qaanaaq, Nanortalik, or Ittoqqortoormiit.

The Self-Government has created a central advisory unit to combat the ongoing lack of adequately trained workforce in social care. Practice wise and provide ways to address another gap in knowledge and expertise to raise significantly the quality of social services in areas that offer limited resources.

3.3 Suicide as a Public Health & Social Crisis in Greenland

Suicide is still one of the most dangerous public health challenges for Kalaallit Nunaat. Despite decades of prevention efforts, the number of people taking their lives has barely budged. In a World Health Organization (WHO) list typically oriented toward nation-states, Kalaallit

Nunaat would be ranked as the country with the highest suicide rate in the world. The same pattern is seen in other Indigenous populations worldwide (Young et al., 2015).

Table 2: Suicide in Kalaallit Nunaat 2005-2021

Year	2005	2007	2009	2011	2013	2015	2017	2019	2021
Amount	49	38	40	55	42	32	40	44	45

Source: Greenland's Statistics

Suicide has a devastating impact on small communities. While a consensus exists among media outlets not to report individual suicides, residents invariably hear about them and often know the person or their family. Suicide has a devastating toll on the social fabric, especially among young people. Few can claim they have not been affected by suicide, either personally or through family and network.

3.4 Factors and Causes that Lead to the Issue

Several factors contribute to the high rates of suicide, many of which are deeply rooted in the colonial history of Kalaallit Nunaat. The loss of cultural meaning in the wake of such rapid societal changes, intergenerational trauma, and social upheavals has left deep scars on Greenlandic communities (Seidler et al., 2023). Grief, loss, deprivation, and mental health struggles also play a role (Arnfjord, 2019b).

Separately, mental health disorders, substance use disorders, lower socioeconomic status, rural residency, and unmarried status have each been associated with an increased risk of suicide, particularly among men (Sargeant et al., 2018). In the Arctic, suicide is a devastating public health crisis, especially among youths and young men. Global forces eroding traditional cultural practices and family structures exacerbate social issues such as poor housing and limited healthcare access among Indigenous populations in the circumpolar north.

In Kalaallit Nunaat, suicide is the leading cause of death for young men aged 15-29 years, contributing to 8% of all deaths in the territory (Sargeant et al., 2018). Suicide is the second most frequent cause of death for young men in the world after accidents. Mortality metrics like Potential Years of Life Lost (PYLL) highlight the considerable social and economic toll suicide contributes to this demographic (Sargeant et al., 2018).

International comparisons show enormous variation. For instance, the suicide rate for Greenland in 2011 was 83 per 100,000 inhabitants, a number well above even that reported in the highest reporting country in the World Health Organization survey of that year (Guyana, 32.5 per 100,000 inhabitants) and also far higher than the general global average of that year (10.7 per 100,000 inhabitants). This unacceptably high rate manifests their extreme vulnerability amid many societies' rapid social transformation. Undoubtedly, the confluence of cultural shifts, economic stressors, substance abuse, loneliness and lack of hope exacerbates suicide.

Prevention Efforts and Challenges

Young men have been identified as a high-risk group in Greenland's suicide prevention work since 2004. Suicide prevention appeared in the 2007-2012 public health plan but was notably absent from the 2013-2019 plan. Nevertheless, Greenland is involved in international campaigns such as the Arctic Council's RISING SUN projects (Reducing the Incidence of Suicide in Indigenous Groups: Strengths United through Networks), which began in 2015 and focuses on knowledge transfer and culturally appropriate prevention strategies for the Arctic community (Sargeant et al., 2018).

However, the fragmentation in its history of data collection is a barrier to prevention. No systematic data on suicide was collected until 1951, and historical records remain incomplete. While Statistics Greenland

has published data from 1990 to 2013, it is difficult to interpret trends or identify high-risk groups, as there is no consistent data aggregation by age or over time (Sargeant et al., 2018).

Such estimates guide strategic interventions, and tracking the suicide rate helps detect demographic surges, such as among young men, who are at particular risk. Preventative efforts must target instilling real hope for the future (e.g., education, employment) and promoting mental health resilience.

Local and culturally sensitive approaches utilising youth as peer support leaders and guides to enhance family and community support systems will be essential. Addressing the interrelated network of cultural, economic, and social forces will be key to reducing the suicide rate and addressing this public health crisis in Kalaallit Nunaat.

3.5 Violence Among Adults in Greenlandic Society

Across Greenland, the issue of violence continues to loom large, with more than half of the adult population experiencing it at some stage in their lives. In previous studies, the prevalence of violence in women was somewhat more significant than that of men, and this finding is consistent across studies (Larsen Lytken Viskum & Bjerregaard, 2019). Men and women are both impacted by violence. However, in some forms of violence, women are disproportionately affected —a reflection of persistent inequalities between men and women in societies around the world.

Researchers have tried to understand how widespread violence was and what form it took, separating incidents within the past year from experiences earlier in life, known as "ever-violent violence." While reminiscences can be affected by age and memory, these data provide valuable perspectives on generational changes and shifting social norms (Larsen Lytken Viskum & Bjerregaard, 2019).

At its worst, violence takes the form of homicide. From 2000 to 2014, Greenland had 94 homicides evenly split between men and women. This is equivalent to a homicide rate of 11.1 per 100,000 people —vastly higher rates than those of Scandinavian countries or even Russia, and comparable rates to areas such as Nunavut that experience similar conditions (UN). These figures highlight the need for systemic solutions to prevent violence.

3.5.1 Age-Adjusted Estimates of Severe Physical Violence Against Young Women

Severe physical violence (defined as being "kicked," "hit with a clenched fist or object," or strangled) mainly affects young women aged 25-34. Women are twice as likely as men to experience such violence within this demographic. This overrepresentation bears witness to large-scale gender-based violence trends, compounded by the fact that young women live with a constant threat of violence in Greenlandic society (Larsen Lytken Viskum & Bjerregaard, 2019).

3.5.2 Adult Sexual Violence

Sexual violence is another major problem that affects women under the age of 30 and is seen even more frequently in women between 20 and 30. Women born from 1965 to 1974 had the highest incidence among women for the last time in the reports, while the incidence among men has increased, and the numbers for men have been smaller overall. Sexual violence remains a significant public health challenge for women, with increasingly younger generations reporting higher levels (Larsen Lytken Viskum & Bjerregaard, 2019).

3.5.3 Agents and Contexts of Violence

Being victims or perpetrators of violence is powerfully linked to who you know. Women are mainly victimised in the context of intimate relationships; men have more chances to suffer violent relationships from strangers or acquaintances. Corroborated by a 2015 Greenland Police analysis, these findings reveal that domestic partner violence continues to be an important problem for women. By contrast, men are more often involved in violence in public or semi-public contexts —often related to alcohol. About 88% of the cases involve the consumption of alcohol, and it plays a role in most violent incidents. Violence is most commonly experienced in the home, then in pubs and in public spaces. These are male military members primarily, and they represent the vast majority of violent crimes in Greenland (Larsen Lytken Viskum & Bjerregaard, 2019).

3.5.4 Sexual Violence Perpetrators

Research on perpetrators of sexual violence indicates that, in the most common scenarios, women are assaulted by someone in their social or familial networks. Some 20% of women say they have been attacked by a current or former partner, 18.5% by a friend or acquaintance, and 12.3% say a stranger has attacked them. Such a distribution may reflect the profoundly personal (and frequently hidden) aspects of sexual violence, which creates unique challenges for prevention and intervention purposes (Larsen Lytken Viskum & Bjerregaard, 2019).

3.6 Long-Term Effects of Childhood Adversities

Experiencing violence in childhood has incredibly harmful and durable impacts on mental health and well-being. Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACEs) —including physical or sexual abuse and witnessing

domestic violence— are strongly and long-term associated with mental health disorders, depression, and suicidal behaviour in adult life. Research from outside of Greenland indicates that between 60-80% of suicide attempts among young people have their origin in childhood trauma (Dube et al., 2001).

In Greenland, girls are more often the victims of childhood sexual abuse, and females in the general population are more likely than males to report experiencing domestic violence and problems with alcohol in their homes. These gaps could reflect both increased awareness and the gendered nature of abuse. These adversities play a significant role in increasing the likelihood of future violence exposure and creating an intergenerational cycle of harm (Larsen Lytken Viskum & Bjerregaard, 2019).

3.6.1 Violence in Families and Intergenerational Patterns

Domestic violence is frequently tied to family dynamics, as women living with a child in the home report more violence than those who do not have children. Children from these households are potential witnesses to these actions, increasing their exposure to trauma.

In Greenland, the intergenerational nature of violence is well-documented. Childhood stressors, for example, such as growing up in homes with parents who have alcohol problems, correlate strongly with experiencing severe violence or abuse later in life. Such patterns accentuate the need for systemic change and the breaking of intergenerational cycles of harm (Larsen Lytken Viskum & Bjerregaard, 2019).

3.6.2 Tackling Systemic Challenges

Violence in Greenland is a significant public health and social problem. Any solutions to these systemic failings will need to address not just

the immediate needs of individuals fleeing violence but also the conditions that allow violence to continue. Initiatives should involve cutting down on alcohol abuse, improving mental health services, and promoting gender equity. Furthermore, increased focus on initiatives addressing early life interventions targeting childhood adversities can prove instrumental in disrupting intergenerational cycles of violence, fostering a more secure and healthier environment for future generations (Larsen Lytken Viskum & Bjerregaard, 2019).

4. HOMELESSNESS IN KALAALLIT NUNAAT: A COMPLEX CRISIS

Homelessness in Kalaallit Nunaat is a complex phenomenon, not only because of the lack of proper housing. It is intimately connected to more significant social issues, including poverty, drug and alcohol use, mental health problems, and persistent migration from villages and small towns to urban centres like Nuuk. These factors are interrelated and compound the challenges people experiencing homelessness face, as well as efforts to end the crisis.

Inefficiency in finding housing pathways has left many people with complicated living arrangements: Many remain in precarious living conditions, sofa-surfing, temporary accommodations, or sleeping in basements of housing blocks. This vulnerability is exacerbated in urban areas by the pronounced shortage of housing.

Shelters in Kalaallit Nunaat are primarily little more than temporary holding pens for the homeless population. Most do not have the resources to address the root causes of homelessness, which can create a cycle of instability. When it comes to supporting children in distress, this is potentially incredibly damaging, and the first challenge is the inevitable turn to unqualified people to do the job who lack the specialised training necessary to give meaningful support. This restriction dramatical-

ly hinders shelters' ability to assist individuals in moving toward stable housing and independent living. A more appropriate field of combat to fight in is the one where aims could be turned to those social or societal themes to prevent continued suicide, violence, alcohol dependence, and drug abuse which comes from those troubles. Homelessness is not unique to Kalaallit Nunaat, and in fact, the lack of affordable rental/buyable housing in Kalaallit Nunaat only exacerbates homelessness. These measures must involve enhanced social policies advancing affordable housing as well as better training for shelter employees, improved community resources, and interventions that target those who struggle with mental health problems, substance abuse, and poverty. The homelessness crisis is a pressing problem that will persist in Kalaallit Nunaat without such all-encompassing actions. Rather than being safe havens meant to help people get on their feet, these shelters are often just places to keep homeless citizens sheltered for a little while longer, a cycle of displacement, neglect, and disposability. Without appropriately trained personnel or the necessary resources, the shelters are unable to address the underlying causes of homelessness — including poverty, substance abuse, and mental health issues — and thus prove ineffective in implementing long-term solutions.

Even more, the rising cost of living and lack of affordable housing solutions for vulnerable communities make it harder to get out of the poverty cycle. Such problems highlight the need for a more preventative, community-based approach in Social Work, mainly through outreach and preventative measures to get ahead of issues before they become systematized. Homelessness in Greenland, especially in the capital Nuuk, has been under-researched since before 2014. This gap in attention often arises from varying definitions of homelessness and a historical emphasis on other administrative concerns. Early investigations have revealed a complex array of contributing factors, such as trauma, addiction, and domestic violence. The individuals affected by homelessness present a diverse group, ranging from people battling addiction

and young people transitioning out of municipal care to women suffering from domestic violence and older adults evicted over rent issues. Disturbingly, the challenges faced by women tend to be overlooked in both homelessness policies and support frameworks (Arnfjord & Christensen, 2017). Recent studies have highlighted the link between a shortage of housing and the increase in homelessness, calling for a closer examination of the underlying socio-structural factors. This problem is exacerbated for Greenlanders who move to Denmark and struggle with language barriers and a lack of support networks. Despite Greenland's tradition of involving its citizens in policy making, recent years have seen a pivot towards market-driven strategies, limiting public engagement in housing decisions. In reaction to these challenges, local NGOs in Nuuk have intensified their activities, addressing both homelessness and social exclusion by advocating for the involvement of those affected in creating pertinent policies.

Homelessness in Kalaallit Nunaat offers a complex picture that, while echoing the experiences of other Western countries, diverges due to its unique local circumstances. Over the last decade, our research has shed light on the changing landscape of homelessness, marking its rise as a notable social challenge (Arnfjord, 2015, 2022). This exploration reached a pinnacle with the landmark national homelessness census in 2022 (Arnfjord & Perry, 2022), marking a crucial advancement in comprehending and tackling the issue. The comprehensive 2022 census, a pivotal national survey, pinpointed 491 individuals as homeless. This count enabled the classification of people without housing into four distinct categories: those visibly without homes, the invisibly homeless, individuals functionally homeless due to mental health issues, and those on the verge of homelessness. This classification highlights the significant presence of hidden homelessness in Kalaallit Nunaat, a situation often overlooked by European standards that typically focus on the visibly homeless or those using homeless services. These broad categories, backed by scholarly consensus, lay the groundwork for advocacy, defining home-

lessness as the absence of a valid, secure, and permanent place to live indefinitely (Arnfjord & Perry, 2022). This characterisation aligns with our scholarly investigations and is critical in bringing more focused political attention to homelessness, setting a benchmark for a unified understanding within Kalaalit discussions. However, the typical European definition of homelessness might seem limited as it primarily denotes a material shortfall — the absence of a physical home. Conversations with homeless men frequently reveal this material need, highlighting the urgent requirement for accommodation and stable employment. In contrast, women emphasise the need for these spaces to offer protection and safety, suggesting that definitions of homelessness should encompass social and legal rights to secure housing (Arnfjord & Perry, 2022). Most of Kalaallit Nunaat's homeless population falls into the invisible category, resorting to temporary arrangements like couch surfing or conditional stays with family or friends. These arrangements are inherently unstable and infringe on personal space and independence. Although a small number might consider such living conditions acceptable, given the choice of independence, many prefer their own space, such as an apartment nearby, rather than living with extended family members (Arnfjord & Perry, 2022).

Our investigation into this pressing social issue has been a challenging journey. We have actively sought out and nurtured significant international collaborations with scholars who are experts in homelessness research. These partnerships have considerably broadened our viewpoints and enhanced our research methods (Christensen et al., 2017, 2024; Schiermacher, 2020; Schiermacher & Arnfjord, 2021). Additionally, conducting comparative studies in other Arctic cities has widened our understanding and allowed us to place Greenland's homelessness within the broader context of polar regions (Arnfjord & Perry, 2023).

The way Kalaallit Nunaat addresses homelessness stands in stark contrast to many Western countries, where tackling the issue involves a blend of public and private sector efforts (Dickinson, 2016). In Kalaallit

Nunaat, the strategy leans heavily on public sector initiatives and public housing agencies, which emerge as the main, and often only, sources of housing and social welfare services. The country grapples with hurdles in innovating social policy and implementing new social laws, often encountering slow-moving processes. Moreover, Kalaallit Nunaat's coastal settlement patterns further complicate and escalate the costs of resettlement efforts, essentially embedding them as a constant element of the social fabric.

Despite efforts, the World Health Organization (WHO) and the United Nations (UN) still have not agreed on a universal definition for homelessness, highlighting this issue's complexity and multifaceted nature that looks different depending on the geographical and cultural context. Globally, strategies to combat homelessness diverge significantly, with certain nations establishing more defined and robust policies than others. This variation underscores the challenge of addressing homelessness in a way that captures its diverse manifestations worldwide. Despite these differences, there is a shared understanding among many Western countries that homelessness is not an intractable part of society but rather a problem that can be addressed and mitigated through thoughtful and active policy measures, as Arnfjord and Perry (2022) have pointed out. Crafting such policies hinges on clearly defining homelessness to pinpoint who needs help and how best to offer it (Treglia & Culhane, 2023). Sometimes, the effort to nail down this definition leads to documents sprawling across several pages, aiming for thoroughness. Although these exhaustive definitions aim to leave no stone unturned, they sometimes add complexity to reaching and helping those in need. In their analysis of the 2022 Homelessness Count in Greenland, Arnfjord and Perry (2022) simplified matters by categorizing homelessness into two broad groups: visible and invisible. Invisible homelessness refers to individuals who reside in temporary accommodations or are unable to choose their living arrangements due to the lack of opportunity to secure their own sleeping space where they can exercise control. Exam-

ples include 'couch surfing,' where citizens sleep at the homes of friends, family, or acquaintances. Another instance is 'survival sex,' where sexual favours pay for a place to stay overnight.

Additionally, this group may include individuals who have experienced violence, either physical or psychological and lack an alternative place to live. Within this demographic, one may also find women who choose to live with a man solely because it provides them with a place to sleep (Arnfjord and Perry, 2022). Visible homelessness encompasses those citizens who are directly observable within the public sphere, their circumstances evident to the society around them (Arnfjord and Perry, 2022). For example, visible homelessness includes individuals who utilize shelters and other temporary housing services. Moreover, it refers to those who find refuge outdoors, such as sleeping in tents, boats, or abandoned buildings, places not meant for residential use but repurposed as makeshift dwellings by necessity (Arnfjord and Perry, 2022).

Visible homelessness also includes people in shelters, sleeping in stairwells, or residing in container housing (Container Town). Moreover, this approach addresses secondary categories such as functional and risk-related homelessness. For the 2022 Homelessness Count, Arnfjord and Perry (2022) devised an encapsulating definition that covers different social situations. Homelessness covers several social categories. It is crucial to view homelessness as a spectrum ranging from people who live entirely unprotected. For example, outdoors, overnight in stairwells, tents, boats, or abandoned buildings, to a progressively more protected intervention in emergency shelters, hostels, and temporary housing for the group at risk of becoming homeless. For individuals who, during periods of their lives, fall under the primary or secondary category, it is characteristic that:

People in this social predicament do not have the current resources to choose their own safe and secure places where they can rightfully reside for an indefinite period (Arnfjord and Perry, 2022).

The recent Point in Time Count (PIT) from 2022 found that one per cent of the Greenlandic population is homeless, or four hundred and ninety-one individuals. The PIT count was carried out in 11 cities, providing an in-depth look into the prevalence of homelessness. What was almost a nationwide survey —from Qaanaaq to Nanortalik and from Nuuk to Ittoqqortoormiit— reveals the broad scope of the homelessness issue in Greenland (Arnfjord & Perry, 2022). The research yielded some important insights:

- Most homeless people in Greenland fall under the heading of 'invisible homelessness.' At the time of the count, two hundred and ninety-three persons fell under the label of 'Invisible homeless.' These are individuals who, due to a lack of resources, are forced to live with family and friends or within a loosely connected network without a permanent address.
- Visible homelessness accounts for one hundred and eighty-three individuals.
- There are more men (356) affected by homelessness than women (135).
- The largest group is between 30 & 60 years, with 343 homeless individuals. Eighty young people between the ages of 18 and 29 are homeless, and the elderly (people over 60) account for 68 homeless individuals.
- Nuuk has the highest number of people living in visible homelessness.
- 123 individuals have been homeless for a period ranging from 4 months to 2 years.
- 129 have been experiencing chronic homelessness, defined as lasting over two years.

– Many municipalities do not have records of homeless individuals with personal action plans, likely due to the absence of a legal mandate for creating such plans.
– Beyond Nuuk, there is a noticeable lack of proactive Social Work and outreach for the visibly homeless.
– Substance abuse, particularly alcohol misuse, poses a significant challenge among people experiencing homelessness. For some, alcohol issues arise post-homelessness, while for others, it is a root cause of their situation.
– 'Invisible' homelessness is vastly underreported. Our research in the country's largest cities, benefiting from the 'researcher presence,' emphasised the importance of direct interactions with local stakeholders in gathering data.

5. OUTREACH SOCIAL WORK

In outreach Social Work, social workers actively initiate efforts in places where their target group is found, such as homes, streets, or various societal institutions. This work often brings them face-to-face with unpredictable and uncontrollable situations, making handling emergencies and sudden incidents a crucial part of their job (Andersson, 2018). A key aspect of outreach work is building bridges between vulnerable citizens, municipal authorities, and NGOs, where strong networking skills become vital for connecting citizens to essential resources and services (Perry, 2022). Outreach social workers must possess a deep understanding of the localities frequented by their target group and the ability to foster trust. They must establish relationships based on respect, non-judgment, and freedom from prejudice to support trust-building and relational processes (Andersson, 2018). Educated and well-informed about the target group's challenges, these workers play a critical role.

Outreach Social Work involves beginning work in environments familiar to the target group, such as their dwellings or community settings, often dealing with situations beyond the outreach workers' control. Managing emergencies and sudden incidents becomes a central aspect of their work (Andersson, 2018). Bridging the gap between vulnerable citizens, municipal entities, and NGOs is essential in outreach work, where excellent networking skills are paramount in connecting citizens to other resources and services (Perry, 2022).

Effective outreach Social Work demands comprehensive knowledge of where the target group congregates and the ability to build trust with all individuals contacted (Andersson, 2018). It requires professionally trained workers who are well-versed in the issues their target group faces. Coordinated and strategic professional outreach is essential, understood and valued by politicians and senior management (Andersson, 2018).

The primary goal of outreach is to support vulnerable or at-risk individuals who often lack contact with social services and are difficult to reach. Outreach workers strive to establish contact and build trustworthy relationships with their target group within the community, adopting a respectful and non-prejudicial approach crucial for successful outcomes.

Outreach aims to connect with citizens who are at risk or pose a risk to others, seeking solutions to their problems, aiding them in accessing suitable social services, reducing harm, and enhancing community life quality. Unfortunately, the target group for outreach work often remains disconnected from social services, either unaware of available help, resistant to external intervention or in denial of their need for assistance. Outreach activities always occur within the local community, both public and private. Social workers enter the physical and social space of the service user, contrasting with the service user coming to the social service agency. In these encounters, social workers navigate and address multiple values simultaneously, including their own, the citizens', the

agencies', and society's. They face ethical dilemmas such as balancing respect for self-determination with society's responsibility for citizen's well-being and must reflect on the values guiding their decisions (Perry, 2022).

Politicians and municipal management need to coordinate professional outreach with a clear strategy and understand the critical role of outreach workers (Andersson, 2018). Once contact with the target group is established, the objective is to help them find solutions to their problems, such as accessing support, reducing harm, and improving life quality. Often, outreach targets groups with minimal or no social service contact who may struggle to find help, resist external intervention, or recognise their need for assistance. During outreach interactions, social workers consider various factors, such as the ethical dilemma of respecting self-determination versus society's responsibility for the citizen's well-being. They must contemplate the values influencing their decisions (Perry, 2022). Outreach efforts occur in the community, often where people reside, and can occur in public or private spaces. The social worker steps into the service recipient's physical and social world, challenging power relations and social injustice. The aim is to transition from passive 'help recipients' to an empowered group or community aware of their rights and capable of acting on them (Adams, 2008).

5.1 The Context and the Street Team

Following a fortunate encounter initiated by my colleague Steven Arnfjord's suggestion, I met with the homeless sector's coordinator, setting the groundwork for our ongoing collaboration. He recommended that I participate in a network meeting involving municipal and national politicians about homelessness. Recognising homelessness as a grave social issue has been on Greenland's political agenda since the 2010s. In our various follow-up meetings, the coordinator highlighted the outreach street team's pressing need for enhanced qualifications, including

more profound knowledge of their target group and better communication skills, indicating a significant gap in professional expertise. Consequently, at the Ilisimatusarfik Centre for Arctic Welfare (ICAW), we embarked on a capacity-building partnership with the municipality's street team, aiming to elevate their professional abilities.

5.2 Training is Crucial for Successful Support of Vulnerable Individuals

Training is a cornerstone for effectively supporting vulnerable citizens who are the target group of outreach Social Work. Outreach Social Work demands a unique combination of skills and knowledge for practitioners to be effective (Larkin, 2019). While engaging in Social Work without formal qualifications is feasible, engaging in reflective practice and learning is vital to ensure that social workers are well-equipped with the necessary skills and knowledge to provide support and meet citizens' needs. As used here, the term 'underqualified' social workers describe those lacking formal education and training. It is essential to clarify that lacking formal qualifications does not equate to unsuitability for the job. Many individuals bring invaluable skills and experiences that formal qualifications might not capture.

Social Work is a formally skilled and regulated profession that adheres to established professional standards and ethical guidelines (NASW, 2017). Training is essential for social workers to grasp these standards and guidelines thoroughly and to implement them effectively. Additionally, Social Work engages with individuals entangled in complex social issues such as poverty, mental health challenges, addiction, and violence (Barker, 2018). Training arms social workers with a deep understanding of these problems and provides them with the theoretical and methodological skills necessary for supporting citizens confronting these difficulties. Furthermore, being a people-centred profession, Social Work demands exceptional communication and interpersonal skills (Gitterman

et al., 2021). Training is crucial in honing these abilities, including active listening, empathy, and the capacity to forge meaningful relationships with citizens. Lastly, training is indispensable for thoroughly comprehending the legislative and policy frameworks governing Social Work (Reamer, 2013). Fifthly, today's social workers face diverse and demanding challenges, as highlighted by the global definition of Social Work presented by the International Federation of Social Work (2014):

> Social Work is a practice-based profession and an academic discipline that promotes social change and development, social cohesion, and the empowerment and liberation of people. Principles of social justice, human rights, collective responsibility, and respect for diversities are central to social work. Underpinned by theories of social work, social sciences, humanities, and indigenous knowledge, social work engages people and structures to address life challenges and enhance well-being.

5.2.1 The First Structured Municipal Initiative for Socially Vulnerable Citizens

Nuuk's social fabric is intricately woven with threads of history, colonisation, geography, demography, economy, and culture. The impact of colonisation on Greenland and particularly on Nuuk's social dynamics remains profound today (Hastrup, 2018). For years, Danish dominated as the primary language and continues to be prevalent in higher education, the public sector, and private businesses. The echoes of colonisation are evident in various aspects of life in Nuuk, including the legal system, police, military, politics, and social hierarchies, where traditional Greenlandic customs and Danish norms and values exist side by side (Hastrup, 2018). Recently, there has been a concerted effort in Nuuk to celebrate Greenlandic culture, with a renewed focus on Inuit traditions, language, and art.

Like many major cities, Nuuk confronts its share of social challenges. A significant issue is the misuse of alcohol and euphoric substances (Arnfjord, 2019b). Astonishingly, 90 percent of Greenlanders have tried

alcohol, and more than half have indulged in harmful quantities (Bjerregaard et al., 2020). Although Greenland's overall alcohol consumption may be lower compared to other countries, the prevalent "binge drinking" pattern —consuming large quantities in short periods— has far-reaching consequences and often features in discussions on the roots of social issues. The impact of alcohol misuse on society is a well-documented concern in Western social policy (Harper, 1982; Spradley, 1988). Some theories have suggested that Greenlanders might have a biological predisposition to alcohol metabolism issues, a notion that scientific studies have debunked. Domestic violence poses a critical social problem in Nuuk, disproportionately affecting women and children (Larsen Lytken Viskum & Bjerregaard, 2019). Alarmingly, over half of Greenlandic women have experienced sexual or physical violence, with domestic violence representing a significant share of these incidents. Beyond this, Nuuk grapples with educational, employment, and substantial wealth disparities. The city is undergoing a housing crisis, with a dire affordable and social/public housing shortage. People waiting for such housing can wait between 15-20 years. The latest homelessness survey indicates that one percent of the population experiences homelessness, with about 150 of these individuals residing in Nuuk (Arnfjord & Perry, 2022).

5.3 Outreach Street Team in Nuuk

At the outset of the fieldwork, on paper, the Outreach Team comprised a coordinator for the homeless sector and a 'Team' of five outreach workers. Primarily, the team had several responsibilities, including overseeing 'Container Town,' a housing in shipping containers for those engaged in education or employment but lacking accommodation. Container Town residents must contribute 2000 Danish Crowns monthly for their accommodation.

However, in practice, the team was down to just three active outreach workers due to one member taking long-term sick leave and another

stepping into a temporary managerial position at the shelter for people experiencing homelessness (Perry, 2022). The most seasoned team member operated solo, while the two newer members paired up for their duties, typically working from 8 a.m. to 4 p.m., except Thursdays when they worked until 5 p.m. An exception to their schedule included weekly resident meetings in Container Town from 19:00 to 20:00. Despite homelessness being a longstanding issue in Nuuk, it was only recently acknowledged, prompting Greenland's inaugural national homelessness census (Arnfjord, 2021).

Although homelessness is more visible in urban areas, Nuuk is unique because individuals do not typically sleep on the streets (Arnfjord, 2019a). The street team's mission focuses on establishing contact, fostering relationships, and tackling the root problems of those they assist. They also strive to link vulnerable adults with relevant municipal agencies, as these individuals often struggle with poverty, homelessness, mental health issues, depression, unemployment, and excessive alcohol consumption (Perry, 2022).

5.4 The Outreach Street Team Working in the Local Community

In Nuuk's outreach initiatives, teams connect with homeless and vulnerable citizens, assessing and mapping their situations. The Street Team diligently documents these interactions and guides the individuals towards suitable public services, working closely with the coordinator. They conduct outreach in public and private areas daily, visiting institutions like the Salvation Army, Blue Cross, and Kofoed's School, which provide free food and other services. The team engages with known or potentially at-risk individuals in public spaces, often found in locations like Brugsen supermarket, the central shopping mall, or the city library.

The team also conducts outreach in large residential complexes like Radiofjeldet, where caretakers report sightings of individuals sleeping

outdoors or in heated stairwells. Following such tips, the team searches for these sleeping spots. Upon finding someone, they attempt to gather contact details and encourage using the city's shelters. An instance involved a team member discovering someone sleeping on the street. Despite the homeless individual's reluctance to use the shelter due to distrust in the staff, the worker engaged with them patiently, underscoring the essential role of trust even in difficult situations. However, this proactive approach of the Street Team brings to light specific concerns, particularly the power dynamics between workers and homeless citizens. The workers' role in locating sleeping areas and persuading people experiencing homelessness to consider shelters suggests a decision-making power they do not possess, as their primary tool is dialogue.

This method, though well-intentioned, does not address the root causes of homelessness, which stem from a lack of housing, pervasive poverty, unemployment, and an insufficient welfare system. The prevailing strategy focuses on encouraging those affected by homelessness to turn to shelters, acting as a temporary solution rather than addressing the underlying issues. Shelters, in their current state, might not suit everyone. They often have strict rules and staff who may struggle to meet the complex needs of those dealing with mental health or addiction issues. The scenario also highlights trust issues and the need for more comprehensive services beyond mere accommodation. Quality support and the need for services that address the broader causes of homelessness are critical. Shelters offer a temporary fix, but the real challenge lies in moving towards longer-term, empowering solutions that provide immediate relief and tackle the structural problems and gaps in the housing system.

5.5 Container Town

The Street Team oversees outreach in Container Town, where eight modified containers serve as apartments for 20 people. These apartments offer residents communal spaces, kitchens, bathrooms,

and personal rooms with a bed and storage. Residents, generally content with their living situations, must either work or study and pay a monthly rent of 2,000 DKK. Failure to meet rent obligations necessitates eviction by the Street Team, a duty that strains their relations with the community and erodes trust. In October 2021, a visit to Container Town revealed a Street Team member's discomfort with acting as enforcers, arguing it was not their role and bred distrust with residents. This sentiment was echoed by colleagues, pointing to a conflict between the enforcement role and social work's ethical principles. This situation led to calls for municipal leadership to reassess the Street Team's responsibilities. Acting as enforcers can distress social workers, risking burnout and stress and potentially prompting job dissatisfaction and turnover. This raises broader ethical questions about social workers' roles in potentially harming versus helping their communities, their involvement in policy making, and how these roles align with their professional ethics. These complex issues require careful consideration, urging social workers to reflect deeply on their societal roles and ensure their actions mirror their ethical beliefs and values. These reflections highlight the importance of advocating and implementing policies that sound good on paper and actively promote social justice and equality. It is about acting and committing to these core principles. During the same Container Town visit, the Street Team bought mousetraps to address rodents, installing them in shared spaces without consulting residents or instructing them on safe usage. This approach, while well-intentioned, missed engaging with residents about their preferences, suggesting a deeper investigation into the infestation's underlying causes, like poor hygiene or waste management, might offer more sustainable solutions. While the mousetraps provided temporary relief, a holistic strategy addressing root problems is essential for lasting impact.

5.6 Ad Hoc Tasks

During fieldwork, I observed the street team undertaking two ad hoc tasks. The first task involved searching for a young man diagnosed with paranoid schizophrenia and substance abuse. Previously violent, he was known to carry a knife and exhibit threatening behaviour. He was not at home, nor had he appeared at Kofoed's School Nuuk, as was arranged. Given the season's severe cold, he was potentially a danger to himself and others. Eventually, with assistance from a Kofoed School employee, we located him in his mother's apartment in Nuussuaq (a district in Nuuk).

The second task I witnessed involved the street team searching for a homeless man reportedly sleeping in abandoned buildings. They had received information from a demolition company about a man frequently entering a building slated for demolition. Reportedly, the man spoke neither Greenlandic nor Danish. While inspecting the abandoned buildings, the team discovered a room in one of the houses that appeared to be a well-established base. The room seemed inhabited, with socks hung on a hanger from a beam in the ceiling, black garbage bags filled with clothes on the floor, and scattered food items, including paper plates with cake, a plastic container with sausage rolls, bread, chips, chocolate milk, canned whipped cream, and more sausage rolls. However, the occupant was not present when the team discovered the base, necessitating a continuation of their efforts later. The well-stocked room suggested that the individual seeking shelter was resourceful and experienced in street living.

These two examples highlight the street team's complex challenges when working with vulnerable individuals in the community. For instance, the first task involved searching for a young man with paranoid schizophrenia and substance abuse issues who was missing in cold weather, which underscores the risks and dangers homeless individuals face, especially under harsh weather conditions and potential challeng-

es with the healthcare system. The second task involved searching for a homeless man overnighting in abandoned buildings, which raises questions about the underlying causes of homelessness and the lack of support systems to meet the needs of homeless individuals. Additionally, the street team may face challenges in linguistic competencies. Together, these scenarios vividly demonstrate the necessity for comprehensive and enduring strategies to assist those grappling with many difficulties. The scope of social challenges varies and covers a broad spectrum, from the difficulties of homelessness to the intricacies of mental health and struggles with substance misuse. We must recognise that the objective is not simply to provide quick, transient solutions. Instead, the goal is to develop strategies that endure over time, offering sustainable resolutions that tackle these issues in a profound and lasting manner.

Moreover, this highlights a crucial aspect: the importance of forging collaborations and partnerships among diverse community organisations. Such alliances are pivotal in tackling the root causes of these issues. They play a vital role in providing meaningful support to those navigating the complexities of homelessness.

6. CONCLUSION

Since its beginning in 1960s the Social Work profession has come a long way in Kalaallit Nunaat. Today, it's a recognized profession and a central part of the very fabric of the welfare system. It is also a profession that works within a slow changing social political system, which can be challenging. Social workers want to help and create positive change but are sometimes faced with less flexible social legislations which don't always offer proper solutions grounded in law. The social workers have also grown into the sometimes-unfortunate position of too much clergy work and too little outreach work. These are some of the changes that we might see in the future.

The case-oriented structure of the current social system in Kalaallit Nunaat may help ensure a focus on family affairs, but it tends to leave broader societal issues unaddressed. Homelessness, strikingly visible and a reflection of more profound structural inequalities, is one of those pressing social challenges facing Greenland today. Greenland's homelessness crisis is not only about housing; it is linked to other social problems like poverty, substance abuse, mental health problems, and continuing migrations from small towns to urban centres such as Nuuk. Inefficiency in finding housing pathways has left many people with very difficult living arrangements: sofa-surfing, living in temporary accommodations, or sleeping in basements of housing blocks, exacerbated by the housing shortage today, especially in cities. Many of Greenland's shelters serve as warehouses, not homeless solutions, because there is a lack of resources provided to the community, preventing them from tackling the core problems. And this even goes as far as hiring unqualified people not equipped with the training to truly help! Rather than being safe havens meant to help people get on their feet, these shelters are often just places to keep homeless citizens sheltered for a little while longer, a cycle of displacement, neglect, and disposability. Without appropriately trained personnel or the necessary resources, the shelters are unable to address the underlying causes of homelessness — including poverty, substance abuse, and mental health issues — and thus prove ineffective in implementing long-term solutions.

Even more, the rising cost of living and lack of affordable housing solutions for vulnerable communities make it harder to get out of the poverty cycle. Such problems highlight the need for a more preventative, community-based approach in Social Work, mainly through outreach and preventative measures to get ahead of issues before they become systematised.

7. REFERENCES

Adams, R. (2008). *Empowerment, participation and social work*. Palgrave.

Aidt, L., & Borker, M. (Directors). (1975). *Arbejderkvinder i Grønland* [Video recording]. Ebbe Preisler Film. http://filmcentralen.dk/alle/film/arbejderkvinder-i-gronland

Andersson, B. (2018). The relationship between youth work and social work in Sweden. In *The history of youth work*. Council of Europe Publishing. https://pjp-eu.coe.int/documents/42128013/47261623/History-of-Youth-Work-6.pdf/d4b829a2-3e82-8ff4-9e5b-ea61e5eb5f4f

Arnfjord, S. (2015). *Deltagerorienteret aktionsforskning som et demokratisk udgangspunkt*.

Arnfjord, S. (2017). 50 år med socialadministration og socialfaglighed- del 1. *Tidsskriftet Grønland*, *65*(2).

Arnfjord, S. (2019a). Hjemløshed i Grønland - Og socialpolitiske perspektiver. *Grønland*, *67*(2), 71-81.

Arnfjord, S. (2019b). Hjemløshed og alkoholmisbrug i et grønlandsk socialpolitisk perspektiv. *STOF*, *33*.

Arnfjord, S. (2021). Greenland's emerging social conscience - Voluntary food delivery to people experiencing homelessness in Nuuk. *Qualitative Social Work*, *20*(1-2), 433-438. https://doi.org/10.1177/1473325020973209

Arnfjord, S. (2022). Challenges for Greenland's Social Policies: How We Meet the Call for Social and Political Awareness. In P. Stern (Ed.), *The Inuit World*. Routledge.

Arnfjord, S. (2023). Sociale problemer og socialpolitik i Grønland. In S. Juul & J. Elm Larsen (Eds.), *Socialpolitik* (5th ed., pp. 135-164). Hans Reitzels Forlag.

Arnfjord, S. (2024). *Grønlands Socialpolitik*. Upress.

Arnfjord, S., & Christensen, J. (2017). "De Søger Trygheden" - Kvinder ramt af hjemløshed i Nuuk. *Psyke & Logos*, *38*(1), 23-23.

Arnfjord, S., & Perry, K. (2022). *Den grønlandske hjemløsetælling 2022 - Pilottællingens oversigtsrapport*. Ilisimatusarfiks Center for Arktisk Velfærd. https://da.uni.gl/find-personale/afdeling-for-socialt-arbejde/steven-arnfjord/publikationer.aspx

Arnfjord, S., & Perry, K. A. (2023). Exploring the Social Problem of Homelessness in Arctic Urban Settings. *Shared Voices*, *2023*, 30-31.

Atuagagdliutit. (1962). Chokerende at opdage, hvad man kan finde af social nød i Grønland. *Atuagagdliutit*.

Barck-Holst, P., Nilsonne, Å., Åkerstedt, T., & Hellgren, C. (2017). Reduced working hours and stress in the Swedish social services: A longitudinal study. *International Social Work*, *60*(4), 897-913. https://doi.org/10.1177/0020872815580045

Barker, R. L. (2018). *The social work dictionary* (6th ed.). NASW Press.

Binzer, J. (1981). Socialrådgiver - Købt eller solgt i Grønland?? *Socialrådgiveren*, *43*(25), 8-9.

Bjerregaard, P., Larsen, C. V. L., Sørensen, I. K., & Tolstrup, J. S. (2020). Alcohol in Greenland 1950-2018: Consumption, drinking patterns, and consequences. *International Journal of Circumpolar Health*, *79*(1). https://doi.org/10.1080/22423982.2020.1814550

Bosanac, Z., & Schütt, D. (2017). Hvor meget dyrere er det at leve i Grønland end i Danmark? *DST Analyse*, *2017*(4).

Chemnitz, G. (1964). Udviklingen Som En Grønlænder Ser Den. In G. Chemnitz & V. Goldschmidt (Eds.), *Grønland i Udvikling*. Fremad.

Chemnitz, G., & Goldschmidt, V. (1964). Grønland i udvikling. In *Danmarks Radios grundbøger*. Fremad.

Christensen, J., Arnfjord, S., Carraher, S., & Hedwig, T. (2017). Homelessness across Alaska, the Canadian North and Greenland. *Arctic*, *70*(4), 349-364.

Christensen, J., Carraher, S., Hedwig, T. H., & Arnfjord, S. (2024). *Housing, homelessness, and social policy in the urban north: Perspectives from Alaska, the Canadian North and Greenland*. University of Toronto Press.

Cross, T. L. (2011). Cultural Competence. In T. Mizrahi & L. E. Davis (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of social work* (20th ed., Vol. 1, pp. 487-491). Oxford Univ. Press [u.a.].

De grønlandske Kvindeforeningers Sammenslutning. (1983). *Kvinder og politik / Arnat Politikkilu*. De grønlandske Kvindeforeningers Sammenslutning.

Gad, F. (1976). *Grønlands historie. Bind 3*. Nyt Nordisk Forlag.

Gitterman, A., Knight, C., & Germain, C. B. (2021). *The life model of social work practice: Advances in theory and practice* (4th ed.). Columbia University Press.

Greenland Statistic. (2024). Supply of pure alcohol by unit and time. *Alcohol*. https://bank.stat.gl/pxweb/en/Greenland/Greenland__AL__AL10/ALXALK.px/table/tableViewLayout1/

Grønlands Statistik. (2010). *Befolkning og befolkningstilvækst*. https://stat.gl/dialog/main.asp?lang=da&version=201003&sc=SA&colcode=t

Grønlandskommissionen. (1950). *Grønlandskommissionens betænkning 4 - Sundhedsvæsenet Boligbyggeriet og Social Forhold II - Sundhedsstyrelsens skrivelse af 21. Oktober 1948 med bilag*. S. L. Møllers Bogtrykkeri.

Hansen, P. M. (1998). Fiskeriundersøgelser i grønlandske farvande 1908-67. In F. O. Kapel, P. Kanneworff, K. R. Nielsen, & Grønlands naturinstitut (Eds.), *Grønlands fiskeriundersøgelser gennem 50 år* (pp. 37-50). Grønlands naturinstitut.

Harper, D. A. (1982). *Good company*. The University of Chicago Press.

Hastrup, K. (2018). A history of climate change: Inughuit responses to changing ice conditions in North-West Greenland. *Climatic Change, 151*(1), 67-78. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10584-016-1628-y

Hermann, A. K. (2021). *Imperiets børn: Da Danmark vildledte FN og Grønland for at beholde sin sidste koloni*. Lindhardt og Ringhof.

Hinrichsen, K. (2024). Ingen loft på mængden af sager på landets socialkontorer. *Knr. Gl.* https://knr.gl/da/nyheder/ingen-loft-paa-maengden-af-sager-paa-landets-socialkontorer

Hinrichsen, K., & Lyberth, J. (2024. Kommune Kujalleq med nødråb: Naalakkersuisut skal hjælpe alle kommunerne. *KNR*. https://knr.gl/da/nyheder/naalakkersuisut-skal-hjaelpe-alle-kommunerne

Holten-Møller, C. (2016). Socialrådgiverne dropper deres fag. *KNR.Gl.*

Ilisimatusarfik. (2024). *In Numbers*. https://uk.uni.gl/about-us/in-numbers/

International Federation of Social Work. (2012). *Effective and ethical working environments for social work: The responsibilities of employers of social worker*. https://www.ifsw.org/effective-and-ethical-working-environments-for-social-work-the-responsibilities-of-employers-of-social-workers-2/

Larkin, S. J. (2019). *A field guide for social workers: Applying your generalist training* (First Edition). SAGE Publications, Inc.

Larsen Lytken Viskum, C., & Bjerregaard, P. (2019). *Vold og seksuelle overgreb i Grønland - Et notat baseret på befolkningsundersøgelserne i Grønland.* Center for Folkesundhed i Grønland. https://www.sdu.dk/sif/-/media/images/sif/sidste_chance/sif/udgivelser/2019/vold_og_seksuelle_overgreb_i_groenland.pdf

Lennert, L. (1991). *Kvinder i Grønland: Sammen og hver for sig* (Vol. 1). Atuakkiorfik.

Lynge, F. (2010). *Et langt liv på tværs = Eqqaamasat: Erindrings- og debatbog. Bind 1*. Atuagkat.

Madsen, B. (2005). *Socialpædagogik: Integration og inklusion i det moderne samfund*. Hans Reitzels Forlag.

NASW. (2017). *Code of Ethics*. National Association of Social Workers. https://www.socialworkers.org/About/Ethics/Code-of-Ethics/Code-of-Ethics-English

Perry, K. A. (2022). Kapacitetsopbygning med 'Gadeteamet' i Kommuneqarfik Sermersooq. *Tidsskriftet Grønland*, *70*(4), 241-254.

Peters, E., & Andersen, C. (2013). *Indigenous in the city: Contemporary identities and cultural innovation*. UBC Press.

Poulsen, P. (2016). *Anne-Birthe Hove*. Milik.

Reamer, F. G. (2013). *Social work values and ethics* (4th ed.). Columbia University Press.

Rubington, E., & Weinberg, M. S. (2003). *The study of social problems - Seven perspectives* (7th ed.). Oxford University Press.

Schiermacher, M. B. (2020). *Fra Grønland til gaden - En undersøgelse om migration mellem Grønland og Danmark*. Kofoeds Skole. https://menneskermedmere.dk/wp-content/uploads/2020/11/FraGroenlandTilGaden.pdf

Schiermacher, M. B., & Arnfjord, S. (2021). Socialpolitiske barrierer i Rigsfællesskabet - Strukturel vold mod udsatte grønlændere i mødet med Danmark. *Social Kritik*, *164*, 1-16.

Simmel, G. (2004). *Storbyerne og det åndelige liv*. Medusa.

Spradley, J. P. (1988). *You Owe Yourself A Drunk - An Ethnography of Urban Nomads* (1st ed.). University Press of America.

Statistics Greenland. (2024). *Greenland in Figures 2024* (21st ed.). Statistics Greenland. https://stat.gl/dialog/main.asp?lang=en&version=2024&sc=GF&colcode=p

Statsministeriet. (2009). *Den grønlandske selvstyreordning*. http://www.stm.dk/_a_2566.html

Thiesen, H. (2023). *Greenland's stolen indigenous children: A personal testimony*. Routledge.

Tönnies, F. (1988). *Community & society*. Transaction Pubs.

Udvalget For Samfundsforskning I Grønland. (1961). *Alkoholsituationen i Vestgrønland*.

Veirum, T. M. (2022). Million-besparelser godkendt i Qeqqata. *Sermitsiaq.Ag*. https://www.sermitsiaq.ag/samfund/million-besparelser-godkendt-i-qeqqata/454185

Viemose, J. (1977). *Dansk kolonipolitik i Grønland*. Demos.