

Governing the Hunt-to-Sell Economy in Kalaallit Nunaat *Inuit and State Governance across Harvest-to-Table Pathways*



I Am Always Thinking about the Animals.

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When one Inuk succeeds, we all succeed.

Qujannamiik / Qujanaq!

Aakuluuvusi!

Abstract

This thesis argues that Inuit food sovereignty in Greenland is fundamentally shaped by how harvested foods circulate through the hunt-to-sell system and the institutional and infrastructural arrangements that enable this movement from hunt to table. Focusing on everyday practices of food circulation rather than policy frameworks alone, the study reveals a persistent gap between governance structures and on-the-ground realities of food access and distribution.

Drawing on qualitative analysis of Greenlandic and Danish legislation, policy documents, institutional practices, and community-engaged ethnographic fieldwork conducted in Nuuk, Sisimiut, and Qaanaaq, the thesis identifies four interconnected hunt-to-table pathways: Qanigisat, a kinship-based pathway of mutual exchange; Nunaqqatit, linking communities and public institutions; Pisiniarfiit, enabling entry into retail markets; and Neriniartarfiit, integrating harvested foods into culinary and food-service settings. Together, these pathways structure how licensed commercial hunting supports both direct livelihoods and broader community food access, positioning circulation as central to collective well-being.

The analysis shows that the effectiveness of the hunt-to-sell system, and Inuit food sovereignty more broadly, depends on the interaction of governance and infrastructure, including licensing regimes, processing and storage facilities, transportation networks, and points of sale. Rather than positioning hunting as solely subsistence-based or market-oriented, the thesis demonstrates how Greenland's hunt-to-sell system integrates economic livelihoods with relational responsibilities to land, community, and governance.

By documenting how governance, infrastructure, and social relationships continually interact within this system, the thesis contends that Inuit food sovereignty actively emerges through coordinated circulation practices. The Greenlandic case provides a concrete point of reference for other Inuit regions seeking to strengthen food sovereignty alongside economic sustainability and self-determination.

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1. Introduction

This master's thesis examines Greenland's hunt-to-sell system and how it is shaped in practice through law, governance, and infrastructure. At its centre is a simple but underexamined question: how do institutional frameworks shape the movement of hunted animals from harvest to table in Greenland?

While hunting is widely recognized as foundational to Inuit life, identity, and food security, far less attention has been given to the formal systems that enable hunting to function as a regulated livelihood in contemporary Greenland. Legal rules, administrative arrangements, and physical infrastructures quietly structure who can hunt, what can be sold, how animals are inspected and distributed, and under what conditions hunting can sustain a household. These systems tend to remain in the background of social science research, even as they profoundly shape everyday hunting practice. Bringing them into view is essential for understanding how hunting continues to operate today as both a cultural practice and an economic activity.

1.1 Hunting as a Way of Life in Inuit Societies

Inuit Nunaat, spanning Chukotka, Alaska, the Inuvialuit Settlement Region, Nunavut, Nunavik, Nunatsiavut, and Kalaallit Nunaat (Greenland), is a vast but interconnected homeland shaped for millennia by hunting. Across this geography, hunting has done more than provide food: it has structured kinship, governance, identity, and the transmission of knowledge. As Elder Meeka Arnakaq (as cited in Kral, 2000) explains, Inuit identity is fundamentally collective, centred on kinship and reciprocity rather than Western individualism. Hunting remains one of the strongest expressions of these shared values.

Inuit Qaujimagatuqangit¹ (IQ) offers an important lens through which to understand these relationships. As a body of accumulated knowledge rooted in lived experience,

¹ Inuit Qaujimagatuqangit (IQ) is commonly articulated through principles including aajiiqatigiinniq (consensus and collective decision-making), pijitsirniq (serving and providing for family and community), qanuqtuurniq (resourcefulness and innovation), tunnganarniq (fostering good spirit through openness and warmth), avatittinnik kamatsiarniq (respect and care for the land, animals, and environment), pilimmaksarniq / pijariuqsarniq (developing skills through practice and observation),

IQ² reflects Inuit ways of knowing, being, and relating to family, community, ice, water, land, and animals. It encompasses principles of collective decision-making, service to family and community, resourcefulness, openness, cooperation, honest communication, respect for the environment, and learning through practice.

Together, these principles continue to guide hunting practices and moral responsibilities. They do not exist apart from governance; instead, they increasingly intersect with formal regulatory systems that structure harvesting, distribution, and participation in market exchange in Greenland today.

Under the Greenland Self-Government Act (Act No. 473 of 2009), “the people of Greenland are the Indigenous people of Greenland” (Section 21). This constitutional recognition establishes Inuit identity, rights, and responsibilities as the legal and political foundation of contemporary governance, including the regulation of hunting. Understanding Greenland’s hunt-to-sell system therefore requires situating it within this legally affirmed Indigenous context, where hunting operates simultaneously as a cultural practice, a livelihood, and a regulated economic activity. None of these dimensions can be understood in isolation.

This thesis is written with an explicit awareness that the knowledge explored here does not stand apart from relationships. The analysis draws on perspectives from hunters, families, Elders, municipal employees, government representatives, and community members who allowed me to observe their work, ask questions, and learn from their experiences. While responsibility for the organization and interpretation of the analysis rests with me, the knowledge itself emerges from collective practice and lived expertise. In this sense, the thesis does not claim ownership over knowledge, but seeks to represent it carefully, respectfully, and in a form that may remain meaningful beyond the immediate contexts in which it was shared.

piliriqatigiinniq / ikajuqtigiinniq (working together for a common purpose), and uqaqatigiinniq (open and honest communication).

² See Appendix A for an illustrative overview of Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit principles as presented by the Government of Nunavut.

Figure 1: Inuit Nunaat (Inuit Homeland).



Source: Inuit Circumpolar Council Alaska (2020), *Food Sovereignty and Self-Governance: Inuit Role in Managing Arctic Marine Resources*, p. 15. Reproduced with acknowledgment.

1.2 From Nunavut to Greenland: Motivations for Comparative Inquiry

My interest in this study emerges from these broader Inuit knowledge systems and from observing how hunting differs between regions. In Nunavut, a mixed economy dominates, with many Inuit balancing harvesting alongside wage employment. Although the desire to hunt full time is widely expressed, structural supports that make this viable remain limited. My understanding of these dynamics is not abstract; it comes from a lifetime of connection to Nunavut and sustained observation across many years, during which I have seen how hunting functions as both a responsibility and a source of relational belonging across communities.

When I came to Greenland, I encountered another model. Through a regulated hunt-to-sell system, hunters are able to sustain livelihoods rooted in cultural continuity while participating in a monetized economy. This raised questions grounded not in academic curiosity alone, but in service: what might this system offer to Inuit elsewhere who wish to reclaim or expand opportunities for full-time harvesting? How might sharing this knowledge support Inuit who seek stronger and more stable hunting infrastructures in their own homelands? This thesis is therefore written not from a stance of claiming new knowledge as my own, but from a desire to bring

together the knowledge shared with me so that it may be useful to communities beyond Greenland.

Public statements by the Government of Greenland reiterate this foundation, noting that hunting is a traditional Inuit livelihood and remains vital to community wellbeing and cultural continuity. The Ministry of Fisheries, Hunting and Agriculture similarly affirms that hunting is integral to Inuit society and central to daily life in Kalaallit Nunaat.

1.3 The Hunt-to-Sell System in Greenland

In this thesis, I use the term hunt-to-sell system to describe the formal arrangements that enable the legal sale of harvested animals in Greenland. What is referred to here is not a single rule or institution, but a broader framework composed of many interconnected elements. These include hunter classifications and licensing, veterinary and food safety regulations, inspection procedures, municipal administration, taxation systems, and the physical infrastructures that support storage, transport, and sale. Together, these components shape the pathways through which hunted animals move from harvest to consumer.

The analysis that follows stays deliberately close to these formally regulated pathways. Practices such as gifting, sharing, and informal exchange are not the primary focus of the analysis, even though they remain central to Inuit social life and moral economies. These practices do, however, appear within the discussion where they intersect directly with regulated pathways, including in the first harvest-to-table pathway examined in the thesis. Their more limited treatment here is not a judgment on their importance, but a boundary set by the study's focus. This thesis focuses primarily on the institutional dimensions of hunting as a regulated livelihood, and on how governance structures influence what may be sold, through which pathways, and under what conditions.

While full-time hunting is widely acknowledged in Greenlandic society, its underlying mechanisms remain understudied in academic literature. Fisheries dominate scholarly attention, while hunting, despite its cultural and political significance,

receives limited examination. Although comparisons between Greenland and Nunavut appear frequently in Inuit studies, they rarely address the specific legal, administrative, and infrastructural dynamics of hunting systems. As a result, the institutional foundations of Greenland's hunt-to-sell system remain largely undocumented.

This thesis addresses that gap by providing an analysis of the legal, infrastructural, and lived dimensions of Greenland's hunt-to-sell system. The four harvest-to-table pathways traced in this research emerged through observation and engagement made possible by hunters, vendors, inspectors, municipal staff, and community members who allowed me into their workplaces, markets, and daily routines. My contribution lies in organizing and presenting this relational knowledge in a way that may be useful to Inuit communities across regions.

1.4 Research Objectives and Questions

This study addresses the following central research question:

How is Greenland's hunt-to-sell system structured through law and infrastructure, and how does it shape the harvest-to-table pathways through which hunters' catches are distributed to consumers? Four sub-questions guide the structure of the thesis:

1. What legal frameworks, including Kingdom of Denmark veterinary and food regulations and Greenland Self-Government legislation, govern the sale of harvested animals?
2. How do government departments and municipalities operationalize these frameworks through licensing, inspections, quotas, taxation systems, and market infrastructures?
3. How do hunters, vendors, and consumers navigate the system in practice across different regions and distribution pathways?
4. In what ways does Greenland's regulated model differ from Nunavut and the wider Canadian Arctic, where similar systems are often referenced but not developed in practice?

This study is intentionally limited in scope. Its focus remains on hunting activities that fall within Greenland's regulated hunt-to-sell framework and on the institutional arrangements that enable hunting as a livelihood within a formal economic system. Fisheries appear where they overlap with hunting governance or infrastructure, but they are not examined in detail. Similarly, Nunavut and the wider Canadian Arctic are discussed as points of reference rather than as comparative cases. The thesis does not attempt a systematic comparison between Arctic regions, but uses these contexts to situate Greenland's approach within a broader Inuit landscape.

The analysis draws on qualitative fieldwork conducted over time in Nuuk, Sisimiut, and Qaanaaq. Rather than relying on a single method, the study combines interviews, participant observation, and document analysis. Taken together, these approaches make it possible to examine not only how regulatory frameworks are written, but how they are interpreted, navigated, and put into practice in everyday life.

1.5 Significance of the Study

It contributes to existing literature by documenting hunting within a formalized economic and governance system, an area that remains underexamined despite hunting's central role in Inuit life, food security, and regional economies.

The research demonstrates how multi-level governance operates in Greenland, tracing how Kingdom of Denmark regulations intersect with Greenlandic legislation and how municipalities translate both into everyday systems such as licensing databases, quota management, and inspection procedures. It also highlights the role of Inuit-led governance, particularly Kalaallit Nunaanni Aalisartut Piniartullu Kattuffiat (KNAPK), in shaping policy, supporting hunters' rights, and linking Inuit knowledge with formal regulation.

By situating Greenland's hunt-to-sell system within Inuit Qaujimaqatut, the thesis shows how Inuit values continue to guide community practices while intersecting with governance frameworks shaped by both Greenlandic and Danish institutions. This work is offered in humility, with the recognition that Inuit have long lived these principles, even as they now appear within formal policy systems.

1.6 Structure of the Thesis

The thesis unfolds across thirteen chapters, moving from theoretical grounding and methodological design to detailed analysis of Greenland's hunt-to-sell system and its governance, infrastructure, and social dynamics. The structure reflects the diversity of regional perspectives included in the research, drawing on fieldwork conducted in Nuuk, Sisimiut, and Qaanaaq.

Chapter 1 outlines the background, research questions, significance, and structure of the study. Chapter 2 reviews relevant literature on Inuit hunting economies, Indigenous governance, food sovereignty, mixed economies, and Greenlandic policy. Chapter 3 presents the theoretical, conceptual, and positional foundations of the research. Chapter 4 details the methodology, fieldwork design, and ethical considerations. Chapters 5 through 10 analyze the legal frameworks, governance structures, harvest-to-table pathways, supporting infrastructure, and barriers to accessing industry knowledge. Chapters 11 and 12 synthesize findings, discuss their implications, and offer conclusions and recommendations. Chapter 13 provides the bibliography.

Together, these chapters move from broad contextualization to detailed institutional analysis. This structure reflects both academic convention and Inuit principles of humility, relationality, and service. While responsibility for the analysis rests with me, the knowledge shared throughout the thesis is offered in the spirit of contributing to broader Inuit priorities rather than advancing individual academic status.

2. Literature Review

This chapter reviews scholarship relevant to understanding Greenland's hunt-to-sell system and the legal, infrastructural, and governance contexts through which harvested products circulate. Under the Greenland Self-Government Act (Act No. 473 of 2009), "the people of Greenland are the Indigenous people of Greenland," establishing that research on hunting, governance, and food systems in Greenland must be understood within a legally affirmed Indigenous political context. Inuit hunting traditions have been extensively described in anthropological literature, yet scholarship has rarely examined the formal structures that enable harvested products to enter public markets. This absence is striking given that Greenland is one of the few regions in Inuit Nunaat where the sale of country food is legally recognized, publicly visible, and materially supported.

Read together, the literature reviewed here points in a particular direction. Rather than approaching hunting solely as cultural tradition or subsistence activity, this body of work helps frame it as institutionally shaped. It draws attention to how governance arrangements, legal frameworks, and material infrastructures structure the movement of harvested animals through inspection, distribution, and sale. This perspective provides the foundation for an institutional analysis grounded in how hunting is organized and regulated in practice.

In approaching this review, I draw on academic sources alongside Inuit governance documents, community reports, and institutional knowledge. Inuit knowledge has long circulated outside peer-reviewed journals through land-claims negotiations, wildlife boards, Elders' teachings, community programs, and governance processes. These forms of knowledge constitute authoritative contributions to Arctic social science. Treating them as scholarship reflects my positionality as an Inuk researcher and aligns with Inuit Qaujimagatuqangit principles, where knowledge is relational, collective, and grounded in lived experience.

This chapter synthesizes four thematic areas:

1. Inuit hunting and mixed economies
2. Legal and institutional frameworks regulating the sale of harvested products

3. Market infrastructures as governance
4. Indigenous food sovereignty and circumpolar perspectives, including selected Sámi scholarship where appropriate

Together, these areas illuminate what has been studied and where significant gaps remain in understanding Greenland's hunt-to-sell system.

2.1 Inuit Hunting and Mixed Economies

Anthropological literature emphasizes that Inuit livelihoods operate within mixed or hybrid economies where subsistence harvesting, sharing networks, wage labour, and small-scale commercial activities coexist. Wenzel's analyses (1991; Harder & Wenzel, 2012) show how Inuit navigate gifting, barter, and sale in ways that reflect relational obligations and seasonal conditions. Nuttall (1992) similarly demonstrates that hunting in Greenland is not simply economic; it is a way of being that sustains identity, kinship, and collective responsibility.

Research on Inuit family life (Collings, 2011) illustrates how households adjust harvesting and wage labour according to social obligations and community priorities. Kishigami (2013) challenges binary distinctions between “subsistence” and “commercial” by showing Inuit movement along a spectrum of practices shaped by social expectations. Research on mixed Arctic economies indicates that cash income frequently sustains subsistence activities by enabling continued engagement in hunting and food sharing, rather than substituting for them (Poppel & Kruse, 2009). Inuit governance organizations emphasize that harvesting and country food systems are foundational to food security, cultural identity, and community wellbeing, and that Inuit-led stewardship and decision-making are essential to sustaining these systems and addressing barriers to access and participation (Qikiqtani Inuit Association, 2024; Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2021).

Selected Sámi scholarship provides complementary circumpolar insight. Kuokkanen (2011) conceptualizes Indigenous economies as grounded in relationality and responsibility rather than Western market logic. Sara (2009) describes the Sámi siida system as a collective governance structure rooted in land-based knowledge. These

analyses resonate with Inuit contexts, illustrating how Arctic Indigenous livelihoods operate within relational, flexible systems shaped by community priorities and colonial legal structures.

Taken as a whole, this literature portrays Arctic Indigenous economies, including both Inuit and Sámi contexts, as relational and adaptive, shaped by social relationships, seasonal cycles, and land-based practices. Economic activity is embedded in social obligations rather than driven by fixed market logics. At the same time, these studies pay far less attention to the formal institutional structures surrounding such economies. How hunting and herding are legally supported, regulated, or constrained, particularly when products enter commercial circulation, often remains in the background. Few examine the legal frameworks and infrastructures that enable or limit this movement in any sustained way.

2.2 Legal and Institutional Frameworks for the Sale of Harvested Products

Research on northern resource governance often emphasizes co-management arrangements and the incorporation of Indigenous ecological knowledge into state decision-making (Berkes, 2012). Yet relatively little scholarship examines how laws explicitly structure the sale of harvested products.

In Greenland, governance of the hunt-to-sell system involves layered jurisdictions. Greenlandic Self-Government establishes species-specific harvesting rules and sets conditions for sale. Danish veterinary and food legislation governs hygiene, inspection, and handling standards. Municipalities administer hunters' markets and enforce local guidelines, with the regulation of selling spaces and market practices varying across local contexts. Together, these overlapping systems determine who may sell, what may be sold, and how products may circulate.

When examined more closely, authority does not sit in a single place. Instead, it is distributed across overlapping rules, offices, and routines. Decisions are shaped simultaneously through legislation, administrative processes, and everyday practices. Responsibility and accountability move back and forth between these

levels, sometimes clearly and sometimes less so. In practical terms, hunting as a livelihood is never governed by a single hand, but takes shape within a web of authorities that intersect, overlap, and occasionally work at cross-purposes.

Inuit food sovereignty frameworks across Inuit Nunangat emphasize harvesting as both a right and a collective responsibility, rooted in stewardship of land and wildlife and in community authority over food systems. Regional and national Inuit strategies describe harvesting as foundational to cultural identity, food security, and community wellbeing (Qikiqtani Inuit Association, 2019; Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2021).

Selected Sámi scholarship provides circumpolar context for how Indigenous livelihoods are shaped by state regulation. Sara (2009) describes the *siida* system as a collective governance structure grounded in land-based knowledge but operating within formal legal frameworks, while Johnsen, Mathiesen, and Eira (2017) show how reindeer herding governance in Norway is structured through competing knowledge systems that marginalize Sámi decision-making. Together, these studies illustrate how Indigenous governance is mediated through institutional arrangements that reshape everyday livelihood practices.

Greenland stands apart in this regard. Here, Inuit harvesting rights are not the focus of ongoing disputes as they are elsewhere. Hunting occurs within a political and legal system where Indigenous self-government and state law are closely linked. These arrangements have enabled the development of an Indigenous-led commercial food system that differs from other circumpolar models. Its uniqueness lies not in one policy or institution, but in how rights, governance, and daily practices have evolved together.

2.3 Market Infrastructure as Governance

Infrastructure scholarship provides valuable tools for understanding how governance becomes material. Star (1999) notes that infrastructure shapes daily practice and becomes visible when it fails. Larkin (2013) argues that infrastructure is not solely technical but expresses political and social visions. Anand et al. (2018) describe infrastructure as continually built through negotiation.

Greenland's hunters' markets, such as Kalaalliaq in Nuuk, function as governance infrastructures where harvesting, regulation, and commercial exchange intersect. Municipal standards shape market design and sanitation, while research on country food commercialization shows that such infrastructures strongly influence how harvested foods circulate and who benefits from sales (MacDonald et al., 2012).

Market scholarship shows that marketplaces actively shape social relations and value. Bestor shows how commodities and institutions are co-produced through market practice (2001), while Miller shows that consumption is embedded in social obligation (1998). In Greenland, this helps explain how hunters' markets mediate relations between harvesters, consumers, and regulators while materializing legal frameworks in everyday practice.

Despite their importance, hunters' markets in Greenland remain largely unexamined in academic literature. When spending time around them, they appear as more than places where products are exchanged. On the surface, buying and selling brings people together. Yet with closer attention, it becomes clear that much else is taking place at the same time. Decisions about how to sell, how to present products, and how to interact with inspectors, other hunters, and customers are shaped through everyday encounters.

Rules are interpreted through practice rather than simply followed as written. Hunters draw on prior experience, advice from others, and local expectations when navigating market requirements. Legal standards are present, but they do not operate in isolation. They are taken up alongside shared ideas about responsibility, fairness, and what feels appropriate in a given situation. Economic realities also shape what is possible on a given day.

What emerges is a form of governance not easily captured in policy documents alone. It is less visible than governance as it appears in policy texts, taking shape through everyday interactions and practical decisions. Hunters' markets function as sites where formal regulation and lived practice meet, and where the boundaries of the hunt-to-sell system take shape through everyday use.

2.4 Inuit Food Sovereignty and Indigenous Food Systems

Inuit food sovereignty frameworks provide essential grounding for analysing food systems. ICC publications (Inuit Circumpolar Council, 2015, 2020), including the Inuit Food Security Conceptual Framework, articulate food security as relational, cultural, and tied to environmental stewardship and Inuit decision-making authority. Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami's Inuit Nunangat Food Security Strategy (2021) underscores the role of infrastructure, governance, and community authority.

Inuit-led and Inuit-collaborative research increasingly frames food systems as embedded in relational knowledge, cultural responsibility, and community governance rather than bureaucratic, state-centered management regimes. In collaborative work with Inuit partners, Hanke et al. (2024) show that food sovereignty is inseparable from Inuit knowledge of animals, land, and seasonal cycles, and is enacted through shared stewardship and decision-making rather than external regulatory models. Likewise, community-based research in Gjoa Haven documents that Inuit understand country food security through social practices of harvesting, sharing, and teaching, and that state food policies often fail to reflect Inuit governance norms and cultural priorities (Desautels et al., 2023). These findings position Inuit food systems as collective, knowledge-based institutions governed through social relations and cultural obligations.

Sámi scholarship echoes these relational frameworks. Valkonen and Valkonen (2018) describe traditional Sámi livelihoods as central to wellbeing and cultural continuity. Sara (2006, 2009) highlights interactions between land-based knowledge, food production, and state regulation in Sámi communities.

Together, this Indigenous and community-based scholarship highlights that food systems are grounded not merely in procurement but in governance, identity, and community authority. Yet they are rarely taken into the specific institutional terrain of Greenland, where arrangements governing how harvested foods may be sold remain largely unexplored. While these principles are well established, their application to everyday hunt-to-sell governance in Greenland has yet to be systematically examined.

2.5 Gaps in the Literature

Despite a substantial body of work on Inuit mixed economies, few studies examine the legal and infrastructural foundations that support Greenland's hunt-to-sell system. There is limited analysis of how Greenlandic and Danish legislation interact in practice or how municipal markets function as everyday sites of governance.

Indigenous governance documents across Inuit Nunaat outline comprehensive frameworks for food security, rights, and land-based harvesting, yet these perspectives have not been systematically examined in relation to Greenlandic institutional structures. Similarly, circumpolar Sámi scholarship highlights important insights into Indigenous governance under state regulation, but few studies bring these comparisons into sustained dialogue with Inuit contexts.

Furthermore, scholarship rarely incorporates insights from those who navigate these systems daily — hunters, vendors, butchers, KNAPK representatives, veterinarians, and municipal staff — whose experiences reveal the lived realities of governance, responsibility, and community expectations.

This thesis addresses these gaps by combining fieldwork across Greenland with analysis of legal frameworks, infrastructures, and Indigenous governance principles to better understand how Greenland's hunt-to-sell system functions in practice.

3. Positionality and Theoretical & Conceptual Framework

This chapter outlines the positional, theoretical, and conceptual foundations that guide this thesis. Because this work is grounded in Inuit knowledge, Indigenous research principles, and long-term engagement in Kalaallit Nunaat, these foundations are essential for understanding how the research was conducted and how its interpretations were formed. Positionality, Inuit Qaujimagatuqangit (IQ), Indigenous methodologies, and perspectives attentive to colonial histories and governance together provide the analytical lens through which Greenland's hunting industry is understood. By foregrounding Inuit worldviews and acknowledging how they shape inquiry, this chapter ensures that the research remains accountable to the communities whose knowledge informs it.

3.1 Positionality: An Inuit Researcher within Inuit Nunaat

I am a proud Inuk from Inuit Nunaat, born in Nunavut, and shaped by the teachings of my Anaana³, Looee Okalik, and by the strength and stories of my ningiuq⁴, Ani Okalik, who I was named after, and fellow Ancestors who lived in a time before colonization reshaped our homeland. Through them, I inherited an understanding of Inuit Qaujimagatuqangit (IQ), the maligait (the laws), and the relational responsibilities that have always guided Inuit life. My Anaana studied in Sisimiut, Kalaallit Nunaat in the 1980s, and I was named after her host mother there, Aneeraq. These connections brought Kalaallisut words, songs, and stories into my early life, grounding me in relationships that span across Inuit Nunaat. Within Inuit naming practices⁵, names carry responsibilities and relational roles that extend across generations, and I carry a responsibility to honour my namesakes in my lifetime by striving to embody their best qualities and to learn from the lives they lived.

³ Anaana is the Inuktitut and Kalaallisut term for mother.

⁴ Ningiuq refers to a maternal grandmother in Inuktitut.

⁵ Inuit naming practices create reciprocal relational roles that extend beyond direct biological ties. In my family, Attaliaq and Anngaliaq are paired relational terms originally used between my grandmother and Elder Meeka Arnakaq. Because I was named after my grandmother, this reciprocal relationship was carried forward, and Meeka and I used the same terms with one another. These naming relationships reflect shared responsibilities formed through care, naming, and lived connection.

As my anngaliaq, Elder Meeka Arnakaq reminded us, Inuit identity is collective, embedded in kinship, community, and land (Kral et al., 2000). This worldview shapes not only who I am but how I understand knowledge, how I interpret relationships, and how I carry my responsibilities as a researcher. Following Smith's (2012) emphasis that Indigenous methodologies must begin from Indigenous worldviews, my positionality is not an add-on to the research but the foundation from which the entire thesis emerges.

3.2 Reflexivity: Relational Accountability and Research Responsibilities

My role as an Inuk researcher shaped the relationships, access, and insights that form this study. I live within a hunting household, where daily life includes navigating weather, preparing harvested animals, storing food, and responding to the responsibilities that tie Inuit to land, sea, and ice. While these lived experiences were not collected as formal research data, they inform my understanding of how food moves within homes and communities and how hunters navigate obligations and pressures; insights that are only possible through lived proximity.

Inuit Elders have cautioned against the authority granted to written knowledge and the risks this poses to Inuit ways of knowing. In *Inuit Qaujimagatuqangit: What Inuit Have Always Known to Be True*, the contributing Elders explain that humility among Inuit is extremely important, and that when knowledge is written down, it can be interpreted as definitive in ways that conflict with Inuit understandings of knowledge as collective and relational. The authority granted to written documents, they note, becomes difficult for an Inuk writer to negotiate, particularly when qallunaat traditions treat texts as final statements rather than situated expressions of experience (Karetak et al., 2017). This tension directly informs my approach to writing: I do not claim to speak for all Inuit, nor to present Inuit knowledge as complete or fixed, but to situate my analysis within relationships, responsibilities, and partial perspectives.

Reflexivity is essential to Indigenous research. As Wilson (2008) explains, "relationships do not just shape reality, they are reality" (p. 7), and within this framework, "relational accountability means that the researcher is accountable to all relations involved in the research process" (p. 77). Knowledge, in this understanding,

is held within relationships that extend beyond the human to include land, animals, and community. Kovach (2009) similarly emphasizes that Indigenous knowledge is “relational and contextual” (p. 61) and that it “comes with responsibilities” rooted in respect, responsibility, and reciprocity (p. 58). Guided by these principles, my interpretations reflect ongoing awareness of my own position, relationships, and obligations, as well as accountability to the hunters and community members who shared their knowledge with openness and trust.

3.3 Inuit Theoretical Framework: Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit as Living Theory

Building from this positional and reflexive grounding, the following section turns to Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (IQ) as the central theoretical framework of this thesis. The same principles of humility, relational accountability, and collective responsibility that shape how Inuit knowledge is shared also shape how Inuit theory operates: not as fixed doctrine, but as living guidance enacted through practice, decision-making, and relationship.

Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (IQ) provides the central theoretical foundation for this thesis. More than a set of values, IQ is a living framework through which Inuit make decisions, interpret the environment, sustain relationships, and guide social order. Inuit oral history sources, including *Uqalurait: An Oral History of Nunavut* (2004), demonstrate that Inuit knowledge and law are enacted through lived practice, story, and relationship, and continue to guide governance, hunting, and social life across generations.

IQ is grounded in relational principles such as service to others, consensus-building, respectful relationships, and stewardship of the environment. These interrelated ideas guide daily life, hunting practices, community well-being, and governance. Rather than isolating these principles into a list, IQ functions as an interconnected worldview that shapes everything from how animals are harvested to how decisions are made, how responsibilities are fulfilled, and how relationships are maintained. These principles are foundational to understanding the hunting industry in Kalaallit Nunaat. Hunting is not merely an economic activity; it exists within a larger moral and relational framework that has shaped Inuit life for millennia and continues to do so,

even as it intersects with formal legislation, market systems, and regulatory structures.

3.4 Hunters as Knowledge Holders and Inuit Legal Orders

Inuit hunters — piniartut, asivaqtit, and maqaitit — carry extensive knowledge of land, weather, seasons, sea-ice conditions, and animal behaviour⁶. They also carry responsibilities to family, community, and environment. Inuit oral history sources, including *Uqalurait* and the Interviewing Inuit Elders series, describe hunters not only as providers but as interpreters of the world, connectors between people and animals, and anchors of community well-being.

Hunting is also part of Inuit legal orders. Inuit law does not exist in codes or statutes but is expressed through behaviour, teachings, stories, and relational obligations. Elder accounts describe principles of respect, restraint, care, and reciprocity. Hunters enact Inuit legal orders daily through choices that reflect responsibility, ethics, and humility toward animals and the environment.

Understanding hunters as knowledge holders and as participants in Inuit legal traditions is essential for interpreting the hunting systems discussed in later chapters. Hunters' decisions are shaped by inherited values while responding to contemporary pressures. Their knowledge is not static but shaped through continuous adaptation, observation, and experience.

3.5 Indigenous and Decolonial Theoretical Frameworks

This thesis is informed by broader Indigenous research theory that affirms the legitimacy and vitality of Indigenous knowledge systems. Smith (2012) critiques Western research traditions for their colonial roots and argues for research approaches grounded in Indigenous worldviews. Building on this, Wilson (2008) frames research as a relational ceremony, emphasizing accountability to all those involved. Kovach (2009) similarly highlights that Indigenous knowledge is contextual

⁶ Piniartut is the Kalaallisut (Greenlandic Inuit) plural term for hunters. Asivaqtit is an Inuktitut term used in the Qikiqtaaluk (Baffin) region, while maqaitit is used in Kivalliq and Nunavik dialects. The use of multiple terms reflects the linguistic diversity of Inuit Nunaat while referring to a shared social role.

and holistic, emerging through story, relationship, and lived experience. Ermine's (2007) concept of the ethical space provides a way of understanding the tensions that arise when Indigenous knowledge systems engage with state institutions and legal frameworks.

Additional theoretical perspectives deepen the analysis of hunting in Kalaallit Nunaat by situating it within broader Indigenous and political debates. Battiste and Henderson (2000) emphasizes that Indigenous knowledge is adaptive and continuous, challenging assumptions that it is fixed or confined to the past. Kuokkanen (2011) examines Indigenous social relations through the concept of the gift economy, offering insights that resonate with Inuit practices of sharing and reciprocity. Wenzel (1991) and Brody (2000) similarly show that Inuit hunting remains grounded in Inuit values even as it incorporates snowmobiles, freezers, rifles, and market-based exchanges. Read together, these works show that Inuit hunting practices are not frozen in time, but continue through adaptation and change grounded in long-standing values.

Coulthard's (2014) critique of state recognition and colonial governance adds an explicitly political dimension to this analysis. His work draws attention to how power operates through recognition and regulation, shaping the conditions under which Indigenous livelihoods are supported or constrained within state systems. This perspective is relevant in Greenland, where hunting is formally recognized and regulated, while remaining shaped by broader legal and institutional frameworks. Watt-Cloutier (2015) further situates hunting within global discussions of climate change, health, and Indigenous rights, highlighting how local practices are increasingly entangled with international political and environmental processes.

Together, these theories create a framework that recognizes hunting as cultural, social, legal, relational, and political.

3.6 Coloniality, Governance, and Adaptation

The hunting system in Kalaallit Nunaat exists at the intersection of Inuit relational worldviews, colonial legal structures, and evolving market economies. Understanding this intersection requires theoretical tools that address how Indigenous peoples engage with state law, how Inuit knowledge persists within governance structures, and how adaptation occurs in response to ecological and economic change. Coulthard's (2014) analysis of recognition politics helps explain how institutional frameworks shape the conditions under which Inuit hunting is recognized or constrained.

Read alongside this, Battiste and Henderson's (2000) work on continuity challenges binary distinctions between traditional and modern, supporting an understanding of hunting as adaptive rather than diminished. Ermine's (2007) concept of ethical space offers a way of understanding how Inuit values and state legal regulation come into contact without collapsing into one another, drawing attention to the negotiated, relational spaces in which hunters navigate responsibilities, rules, and practical decision-making in everyday practice.

These theories guide the analysis of policy, governance, and hunter decision-making presented in later chapters.

3.7 Conceptual Framework for This Thesis

The conceptual framework that guides this thesis is shaped by Inuit worldviews and Indigenous scholarship. Inuit Qaujimagatunqangit provides the foundation for interpreting how hunting functions in Kalaallit Nunaat, emphasizing relationships, responsibilities, and continuity. Indigenous methodologies contribute relational accountability, ethical guidance, and epistemological grounding. Perspectives attentive to colonial histories and governance provide a way to situate contemporary hunting practices within the institutional conditions that continue to shape them.

Together, these frameworks guide how data was gathered, interpreted, and represented, ensuring that the analysis remains accountable to Inuit knowledge and lived realities.

3.8 Theoretical Synthesis and Analytical Orientation

The different strands of scholarship outlined in this chapter come together to shape the analysis in the chapters that follow. They are not treated as a single, unified theory, nor as a framework that fits together neatly. Instead, they offer a set of perspectives that inform how Greenland's hunt-to-sell system is approached and understood. Taken together, they make it possible to examine hunting governance from more than one direction at once, without reducing it to a single explanatory lens.

Inuit Qaujimagatuqangit is central to this orientation, even when it is not always explicitly named. It draws attention to relationships, shared responsibility, and decision-making that unfolds collectively over time. It also centres obligation to family, community, land, and animals. These are not abstract principles, but ways of understanding what it means to hunt well and to act responsibly within Inuit society. They shape how hunting practices are carried out and how governance is understood in everyday life.

Indigenous scholarship attentive to colonial histories and governance situates these Inuit perspectives within a wider political and institutional landscape. These bodies of work help clarify how Inuit knowledge and practice intersect with Greenlandic and Danish law, regulation, and administrative authority. They also highlight the uneven and sometimes contradictory effects of governance, showing how regulatory structures can both constrain and enable hunting as a livelihood.

Viewed through these combined perspectives, regulation cannot be understood as a purely technical matter. The rules, infrastructures, and market arrangements examined in this thesis are closely tied to lived experience. They take shape through Inuit values, social responsibilities, and the practical decisions made in everyday situations. Governance, in this sense, is not simply imposed from above, but

develops over time through adjustment, interpretation, and negotiation across institutions and relationships.

3.9 Transition to Methodology

These positional, theoretical, and conceptual foundations shape every stage of this research, from fieldwork and translation to interpretation and representation. They reflect a commitment to Inuit knowledge, Indigenous research principles, and relational accountability. The following chapter outlines the methodological approaches, fieldwork practices, and analytical processes used in the study, showing how these principles were operationalized in practice.

4. Methodology

This thesis uses a qualitative and community-engaged research approach informed by Indigenous research principles and long-term, relationship-based work in Greenland. Because the hunting industry cannot be adequately understood through written sources alone, the research integrates participant observation, semi-structured and conversational interviews, primary document analysis, translation work, and fieldwork carried out in multiple communities. These methods reflect Indigenous understandings of knowledge as relational, embodied, and grounded in lived experience rather than abstracted from practice (Smith, 2012; Kovach, 2009).

I chose these methods because no single approach captured what I sought to understand. Examining laws or policies alone revealed little about how they operate in practice. Spending time in the field, speaking with people, and following hunting and distribution practices made it possible to see how legal frameworks, governance arrangements, and market systems are incorporated into everyday life. Across Greenland, the ways these elements come together vary from place to place. Rules are interpreted, systems are adapted, and practical decisions are made as animals move from harvest to sale. Using this combination of methods kept the research close to these processes and allowed me to trace how formal structures are enacted, negotiated, and sometimes reshaped through ordinary practices and distribution pathways.

Rather than treating hunting as an economic activity that can be captured through quantitative indicators alone, this approach centres the everyday practices, governance interactions, and decision-making processes through which Greenland's commercial hunting economy operates within a legal framework grounded in subsistence hunting, through which commercial sale is legally structured and regulated.

4.1 Researcher Positionality

As an Inuk researcher who has lived, studied, and worked in Greenland for several years, my position shaped both my access to the field and the perspectives shared

with me. I am connected to the hunting sector through my partner, a full-time professional hunter, and through daily life within a hunting household. This positioning enabled routine exposure to the handling, preparation, and circulation of harvested animals.

These activities were neither documented nor analyzed as formal data. Nevertheless, they were significant. Immersing myself in hunting and food circulation — observing, listening, and learning through everyday participation — shaped my understanding of later interviews, documents, and field observations. That familiarity persisted as I reviewed the material, enabling me to identify patterns, interpret subtle details, and situate statements within the flow of daily practice. The analysis therefore draws on both systematically collected data and a lived understanding of hunting and food circulation in context.

My fieldwork was conducted in English and Kalaallisut. As an Inuk researcher who does not speak Danish, this required a relational and patient approach consistent with Inuit knowledge practices. Reflexive engagement, which acknowledges how identity, relationships, language, and lived experience shape the research process, is a core component of qualitative and Indigenous methodologies (Pillow, 2003; Kovach, 2009). My developing Kalaallisut facilitated participation in community interactions and supported direct engagement with Kalaallisut-language materials. Experience in Inuit advocacy in Inuit Nunangat shaped my attentiveness to governance, food security, and Indigenous rights, while reflexivity ensured that these perspectives supplemented rather than overshadowed Greenlandic contexts.

4.2 Research Approach

This study follows Indigenous methodological principles that understand knowledge as relational, contextual, and learned through lived experience (Smith, 2012; Kovach, 2009). Rather than beginning with fixed analytical categories, understanding developed from how hunters, community members, and institutional actors described their work, decisions, and everyday practices in their own terms. Spending time in the field, observing daily routines, and learning through participation allowed these meanings to emerge gradually.

An approach based on fieldwork in multiple locations was used to capture regional variation in governance systems, distribution practices, and community engagement with the hunting economy. Fieldwork was conducted in Nuuk, Sisimiut, and Qaanaaq, reflecting differences in scale, infrastructure, market access, and regulatory intensity. These locations enabled comparison across centralized, regional, and remote hunting contexts.

4.3 Fieldwork and Participant Observation

Fieldwork included accompanying hunters on trips, observing market and sales practices, and spending time in homes, processing areas, and community settings where harvested animals were prepared, exchanged, or consumed. Participant observation was essential to this research because it revealed the embodied labour, decision-making, and seasonal pressures that shape contemporary hunting in ways not captured by documentary sources alone (Spradley, 1980).

This method also aligns with Inuit knowledge traditions, where learning takes place through presence, assistance, and relationship-building over time. Time spent in Qaanaaq provided insight into the operation of the hunters' warehouse and localized pricing practices, while fieldwork in Nuuk and Sisimiut offered contrasting examples of distribution systems and interactions between hunters, consumers, and institutions.

4.4 Interviews and Conversational Knowledge

Semi-structured and conversational interviews were conducted with hunters, representatives from KNAPK, municipal staff, representatives from Naalakkersuisut, Veterinary and Food Authority representatives, restaurants, and commercial buyers and distributors, including Pisiffik and Brugseni. Interviews and conversations took place in English and Kalaallisut. Access to institutional perspectives relied on English-speaking staff or explanations provided by hunters and community members.

Many insights emerged through informal exchanges in markets, during hunting trips, or through everyday conversation. These interactions were treated as legitimate forms of knowledge production, consistent with Indigenous methodologies that emphasize relational and conversational knowledge (Kovach, 2009). Interviews were audio-recorded with consent, transcribed, anonymized, and used to inform analysis across subsequent chapters.

4.5 Document Analysis and Translation

Primary documents were essential due to the limited availability of English-language scholarship on Greenlandic hunting. Document analysis drew on translated legislation, municipal licensing materials, quota information, KNAPK pricing tables, and community-generated documents shared during fieldwork. Translation was treated as an interpretive act rather than a mechanical process, requiring attention to context, institutional usage, and local meaning. Meanings were verified through contextual reading and consultation with community members.

A significant component of this work involved translating and converting KNAPK price tables to support comparative analysis, including conversion of measurements and currencies.

4.6 Case-Based Insights

Through the combined methods of fieldwork, interviews, and document analysis, several case-based insights emerged. These include the operation of Qaanaaq's hunters' warehouse, Kommuneqarfik Sermersooq's administration of licensing and quota tracking, and distribution systems in Nuuk and Sisimiut.

These cases are not treated as representative of Greenland as a whole. Instead, they serve as analytically generative starting points that make it possible to examine how governance and infrastructure function in practice under different conditions. Differences in geography, material circumstances, and institutional arrangements are central to their analytical value.

4.7 Data Analysis and Documentation

Data analysis was iterative and interpretive, unfolding alongside fieldwork. Fieldnotes, interview materials, documents, pricing data, and photographic records were reviewed repeatedly to identify recurring practices, tensions, and institutional patterns. Rather than coding for predefined variables, themes emerged inductively through comparison across sites, actors, and governance levels.

Making sense of the material unfolded gradually. Routine moments, including decisions, exchanges, and conversations, revealed direct connections to laws, policies, and administrative frameworks. Reading documents alongside field observations allowed these connections to become visible and informed the organization of subsequent chapters.

4.8 Visualisation, Mapping, and Data Representation

Photographic documentation recorded hunting and distribution infrastructure across multiple locations, including hunters' markets, processing facilities, and warehouses. Photographs focus on material systems and spatial practices rather than individuals and are used analytically to support observations concerning traceability, regulation, pricing, and logistics.

4.9 Photographic documentation of Hunting Infrastructure

Photographic documentation was used as part of the fieldwork to record hunting and distribution infrastructure across multiple locations in Greenland, including hunters' markets, processing facilities, and warehouses. These sites include, but are not limited to, Qimatulivik in Sisimiut, hunting warehouses in Sisimiut and Qaanaaq, and the Kalaaliaraq market in Nuuk. The photographs document infrastructural arrangements, labeling systems, spatial organization, and technical interfaces associated with the handling and sale of harvested foods. Such elements are not accessible through public records or official documentation and can only be observed on site. The images are used analytically to support observations concerning traceability, regulation, pricing, and logistical coordination discussed in

subsequent chapters. Photographs focus on material systems and spatial practices rather than individuals.

4.10 Ethical and Relational Considerations

Ethical practice followed Inuit and Indigenous principles of respect, reciprocity, and relational accountability (Kovach, 2009; Wilson, 2008). Knowledge shared through both formal and informal means was treated with care, and identifying details were omitted where appropriate.

4.11 Limitations

Several limitations shaped this study, including language constraints, time limitations, and the uneven availability of published data on Greenlandic hunting systems. Much of the information relevant to this research was fragmented across institutions, communities, and unpublished sources, requiring extensive effort to locate, translate, verify, and assemble material from multiple contexts.

As an Inuk researcher from Nunavut, reflexive engagement was essential to ensure that interpretations remained grounded in Greenlandic experience rather than shaped by assumptions from Inuit Nunangat. Decisions about scope and inclusion were therefore analytical choices rather than reflections of data scarcity alone. From an Inuit epistemological perspective, where knowledge is understood as interconnected rather than discrete, narrowing the material to fit the boundaries of a Master's thesis required careful judgment.

These limitations reflect the depth-oriented and relational nature of the research design, as well as structural gaps in existing documentation, rather than shortcomings in data collection.

5. Legal and Regulatory Framework

5.1 Introduction

Understanding the legal frameworks that shape hunting and the circulation of wild foods in Greenland requires examining two interconnected systems: the Greenlandic Hunting Act, which reflects Greenland's legislative autonomy, and the state-derived veterinary and food-safety framework, which regulates food handling in commercial and export settings. Although these systems originate from different political histories, together they structure the conditions under which hunting functions both as a cultural practice and a professional livelihood.

This chapter draws on statutory materials, academic literature, and interviews with representatives from Naalakkersuisut, the Chief Veterinary Office, and KNAPK. Because most relevant legal documents exist only in Danish and Kalaallisut, translations produced using Google Translate and cross-checked against Kalaallisut texts were used to support analysis. This process informed both the interpretation of legal sources and the methodological approach, particularly in contrast to Nunavut, where federal legislation defines the limits of commercial hunting.

The aim of this chapter is not to provide a legal interpretation in a strict legal sense, but to synthesize scholarship and administrative perspectives to explain how Greenland's legal environment enables a hunt-to-sell economy. This framework provides necessary context for later chapters, including comparative analysis with Nunavut, where federal jurisdiction over food safety and wildlife commercialization constrains similar arrangements. Inuit perspectives in this chapter are conveyed through Greenlandic governing institutions and Inuit representative organizations, reflecting how Inuit authority is exercised through formal legal and administrative structures rather than through individual accounts.

In this chapter, the focus is therefore on how legal authority is distributed across different frameworks, and how these are brought together, and at times do not fully align, in practice. Rather than treating law as abstract or distant, the analysis examines how authority is exercised, coordinated, and interpreted across

institutions. What becomes visible is how legal arrangements shape the everyday conditions under which hunting can operate as a professional livelihood in Greenland. Law does not simply set boundaries from above; it enters daily practice, influencing what is possible, what is permitted, and how hunters navigate their work within and across regulatory regimes.

5.2 Constitutional Context: Self-Government and Functional Competence

The division of legal authority between Greenland and Denmark is widely described as the outcome of negotiated political processes rather than a single moment of decolonization (Ackrén & Jakobsen, 2015; Gad, 2016; Johnstone, 2020). As Gad (2016) observes, Greenlandic self-government has developed through “a gradual and negotiated transfer of authority, rather than a clear break with the colonial state.” This process-oriented understanding of autonomy emphasizes institutional continuity alongside political change, shaping how legal competences such as hunting and food regulation have been assumed over time. The introduction of Home Rule in 1979 marked a significant shift, transferring authority over culturally and socially central domains such as education, language, fisheries, and hunting to Greenlandic institutions (Dahl, 1986; Greenland Home Rule Act, 1979). Home Rule was closely tied to an explicit assertion of Inuit political priorities and cultural values within emerging governance institutions (Lynge, 1993).

The Self-Government Act of 2009 further expanded Greenland’s authority by establishing a system under which additional fields of responsibility may be assumed over time, following negotiations with Denmark and subject to Greenland’s administrative readiness. The Act thus institutionalizes a step-by-step transfer of competences rather than an immediate and comprehensive devolution of authority. As Kuokkanen (2017) shows, early implementation of self-government involved both political ambition and significant capacity constraints, shaping which areas could realistically be taken over and how new regulatory systems were built. Denmark retains responsibility for matters linked to state sovereignty, including foreign affairs, defense, citizenship, and the international validity of certain technical standards,

while Greenland governs internal social, cultural, and economic matters, including environmental regulation and hunting.

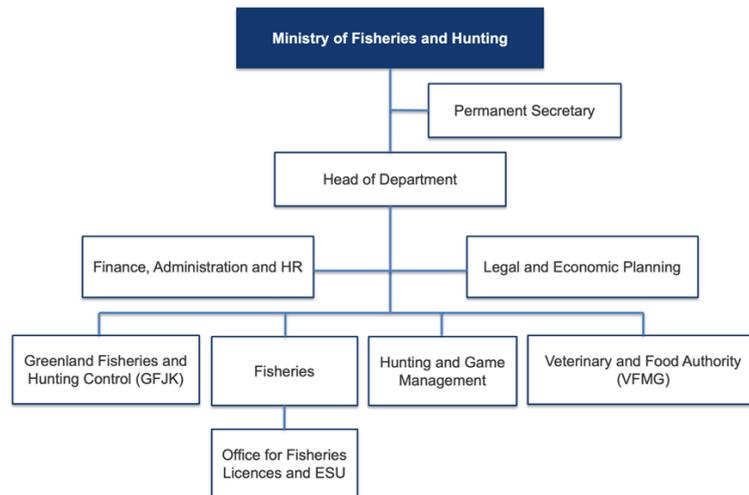
Within this framework, hunting and wildlife management fall within Greenlandic competence under the Self-Government Act of 2009, which assigns legislative and executive authority over internal environmental and resource matters to Greenlandic institutions once such fields are assumed. Legislative authority over licensing, harvest quotas, and domestic distribution of wild foods therefore rests with Inatsisartut and Naalakkersuisut. Denmark retains responsibility only for matters linked to state sovereignty, including foreign affairs, defense, and citizenship, while regulation of living resources and subsistence activities is governed domestically in Greenland.

Food-safety regulation followed a different trajectory. At the introduction of Home Rule, Greenland retained Danish veterinary and food-safety systems due to their integration into Danish administrative structures and alignment with European standards, ensuring continuity in public health protection and export pathways. Although these standards remain Danish in origin, they are administered in Greenland by Greenlandic authorities in cooperation with the Danish Veterinary and Food Administration and are adapted to local conditions. The result is a layered regulatory system in which hunting remains governed by Greenlandic law, while technical food-safety requirements apply primarily at later stages of food circulation.

This division of responsibilities matters more than it might first appear. It helps explain how Greenland has been able to sustain a hunt-to-sell economy over time without collapsing authority into a single regulatory framework. Inuit institutions retain control over harvesting and domestic trade, keeping these activities closely connected to local knowledge, practice, and cultural priorities. At the same time, technical standards, particularly those linked to food safety and export, are upheld through parallel arrangements. What holds the system together is this balance:

hunting remains Inuit-led, while regulatory requirements are met in ways that allow wild products to circulate beyond local contexts.

Figure 2: Organizational structure of the Ministry of Fisheries and Hunting.



The figure is an author-produced diagram based on Kalaallisut and Danish language government materials and interviews, created to illustrate the institutional separation between hunting governance and veterinary food-safety regulation described in Section 5.2.

5.3 The Hunting Act: Cultural Foundations and Legal Structure

The Hunting Act, enacted in 1999⁷ and amended in 2023⁸, governs wildlife use, licensing, quotas, and the domestic circulation of unprocessed wild foods. Its structure aligns with Inuit approaches to harvesting as a relational practice grounded in community responsibility and cultural continuity, rather than purely individual economic activity. This framing is consistent with Inuit political positions asserting collective authority over lands, resources, and traditional practices, as articulated in the Circumpolar Inuit Declaration on Arctic Sovereignty (Inuit Circumpolar Council, 2022). Ethnographic research further documents how hunting is embedded in kinship, sharing, and social organization in Greenlandic communities (Nuttall, 1992).

A central feature of the Act is the distinction between full-time hunters, whose primary livelihood is derived from harvesting and who hold specific quotas and selling rights, and leisure hunters, who primarily harvest for household consumption. KNAPK supports this classification by confirming whether hunting constitutes a

⁷ The analysis refers to the official Greenlandic/Danish legal text. An unofficial English machine translation (Google Translate) used for analytical accessibility is reproduced in Appendix B.

⁸ The analysis refers to the official Greenlandic/Danish legal text. An unofficial English machine translation (Google Translate) used for analytical accessibility is reproduced in Appendix C.

hunter's primary means of livelihood (KNAPK representative, personal communication, August 4, 2023).

The 2023 amendments strengthened the integration of hunter ecological knowledge into wildlife management, refined residency requirements, and clarified enforcement responsibilities. These revisions reflect a governance approach responsive to ecological and regional variability, allowing legal frameworks to accommodate differing local conditions (Department of Fisheries and Hunting representative, personal communication, May 11, 2023).

The Act also governs the domestic sale of unprocessed wild foods. Sales at the hunters' market, known in Nuuk as Kalaaliaraq or directly to households fall entirely under Greenlandic law and are subject to minimal formal hygiene regulation. These practices are embedded in community norms and Inuit food systems, enabling hunting to function as a profession; an arrangement absent in Nunavut, where federal oversight restricts wildlife commercialization.

In Greenlandic policy and legal discourse, hunting is framed not as a culturally neutral economic activity but as a foundational Inuit practice tied to identity, settlement, and social continuity. Naalakkersuisut has consistently positioned hunting as integral to Inuit culture and livelihood, forming part of the social and economic foundation of Greenlandic society through official policy and legislative frameworks. Within this framing, professional hunters are understood as bearers of ecological knowledge and cultural responsibility, whose activities sustain food security and intergenerational knowledge transmission. Legal recognition of full-time hunters under the Hunting Act therefore reflects an understanding of hunting as an Inuit livelihood embedded in social relations rather than a purely market-oriented occupation.

5.4 Danish-Derived Veterinary and Food Safety Regulations in Greenland

Once wild foods enter commercial or institutional environments, they fall under food safety regulations inherited from Danish law⁹. These rules apply to butcheries, restaurants, retail establishments, institutional kitchens, processing facilities, and export operations. Their purpose is to protect public health and ensure compatibility with European and international standards.

Although European in origin, these regulations are implemented and enforced in Greenland by the Chief Veterinary Office under Naalakkersuisut. Danish authorities are involved only in the validation of export certification. This arrangement reflects administrative continuity rather than ongoing Danish control. Food produced and consumed domestically is governed by Greenlandic authorities, while export certification requires compliance with external technical standards (Chief Veterinary Office representative, personal communication, August 17, 2023).

Hunters' markets operate outside the formal veterinary system and exist in most communities. In Nuuk, the market is known as Kalaaliaraq, while in Sisimiut it is known as Qimatulivik. Because products are sold directly by hunters in an unprocessed form, oversight is shaped primarily by municipal practice and community norms rather than by technical inspection. This arrangement maintains space for locally organized wild-food exchange while reserving formal food safety requirements for commercial and institutional contexts. In this way, the veterinary framework complements rather than competes with the Hunting Act by regulating a different stage of the food chain.

The understanding of hunting as an Inuit right and responsibility is further articulated by Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC) Greenland, which represents Inuit political interests within Greenland and across Inuit Nunaat. ICC Greenland consistently frames hunting as inseparable from Inuit self-determination, emphasizing access to wildlife and the ability to derive livelihood from harvesting as integral to Inuit cultural

⁹ References are to the official Danish legal texts governing food and veterinary control in Greenland. Unofficial English machine translations (Google Translate) of the relevant legal instruments are reproduced in Appendix D.

survival and economic autonomy. In policy statements and submissions, hunters are identified as Inuit rights-holders rather than stakeholders, situating harvesting within a collective rights framework grounded in international Indigenous rights instruments, including the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

This rights-based articulation reinforces Greenland's legal approach to hunting and commercialization. Economic use of wildlife is presented not as a departure from tradition but as compatible with Inuit values when governed by Inuit institutions and knowledge systems. The alignment between ICC Greenland's positions and Greenlandic hunting legislation illustrates how Inuit authority is institutionalized within Greenland's governance structures and reflected in concrete regulatory regimes.

5.5 How These Legal Systems Work Together

The Hunting Act and the state-derived veterinary framework regulate different parts of the food system, with the Hunting Act governing wildlife management, licensing, quotas, and domestic trade in unprocessed wild foods in ways that reflect Inuit knowledge systems and livelihood practices, while the veterinary framework applies once food enters commercial or institutional channels to support public health and enable export.

This functional separation creates a coherent regulatory system in which hunting remains culturally grounded and protected under Greenlandic law, while commercial food handling adheres to recognized safety standards. Together, these frameworks sustain a modern hunting economy without displacing its cultural foundations.

This legal framework has important implications for how hunting unfolds in practice. It shapes the routes through which hunted animals may move, from the moment of harvest to consumption or sale. These routes are rarely explicit in legislation itself and instead become visible through close attention to practice. Along them, particular points emerge where different rules apply or additional requirements come into play. Hunters are attentive to these moments, as they mark shifts from subsistence based exchanges to forms of sale that are treated as commercial. Moving across these boundaries involves ongoing assessment and adjustment, as

hunters navigate the changing legal and administrative conditions attached to different stages of circulation.

5.6 Comparative Perspective: Greenland and Nunavut

Comparison with Nunavut highlights the significance of Greenland's regulatory configuration. In Nunavut, Inuit harvesting rights are protected under the Nunavut Agreement, but commercialization is governed by federal legislation, including the Safe Food for Canadians Act, the Fisheries Act, and the Food and Drugs Act. These statutes are designed for industrial food systems and impose infrastructure requirements that are difficult for small-scale harvesting operations to meet.

As a result, Nunavut maintains strong subsistence and sharing networks but lacks a legal basis for a widespread commercial hunting economy. In Greenland, by contrast, full authority over hunting and domestic trade rests with Greenlandic institutions. Because state-derived food-safety rules apply only to later stages of production and are administered locally, they do not constrain primary harvesting. The divergence is constitutional rather than cultural.

5.7 Conclusion

Greenland's regulatory environment demonstrates how Indigenous governance and state-derived technical systems can operate together through a division of functions rather than authority. The Hunting Act provides a culturally grounded legal basis for hunting as both subsistence practice and professional livelihood. The state-derived veterinary framework, administered by Greenlandic authorities, supports public health and export capacity without regulating the act of hunting itself.

This layered structure enables Greenland to sustain a hunt-to-sell economy, distinguishing it from other regions of Inuit Nunaat where federal jurisdiction limits commercialization. Understanding how these legal systems intersect provides essential context for subsequent chapters addressing distribution pathways, institutional relationships, and Inuit food sovereignty.

6. Seasonal Cycles, Licensing Systems, and Hunter Classifications in Greenland

6.1 Introduction: Inuit Governance Foundations

Across Inuit Nunaat, hunting remains a core practice through which families, communities, and identities are sustained. Inuit organizations such as the Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC) emphasize Inuit rights to hunt sustainably and undertake subsistence activities as central to Indigenous governance and cultural continuity, calling on governments to recognize these inherent rights. Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK), the national Inuit representative organization in Canada, similarly frames Inuit well-being and food security within structures of Inuit self-determination and cultural continuity in its policy work. These principles form an important backdrop to understanding Greenland's contemporary licensing and classification system. While Kalaallit Nunaat has formalized hunting through legislation, market structures, and administrative procedures, these mechanisms operate within a cultural context in which hunting continues to hold social, nutritional, and symbolic importance. The result is a regulatory system that is both modern and deeply rooted in Inuit ways of life.

The analysis in this chapter reveals several distinct patterns. Seasonal rhythms are not limited to land, sea, or ice, but are also reflected in administrative timetables and decision-making cycles. Licensing categories play a comparable role. Although they appear technical in policy documents, they determine who is permitted to sell, at what times, and under what conditions. At the municipal level, everyday routines such as inspections, paperwork, and scheduling translate national regulations into practical procedures.

Taken together, these arrangements establish the points at which harvested animals move between different spheres. Rather than occurring through a single decision, hunting becomes identifiable within the hunt-to-sell system through a series of incremental institutional steps. Tracing these steps makes visible how animals enter the distribution pathways examined in subsequent chapters.

6.2 Seasonal Rhythms and Administrative Cycles

Although seasonality is ecological, it is expressed administratively in Greenland's hunting system. Open and closed seasons for each species are established through Executive Orders issued by Naalakkersuisut. Municipalities, which serve as the direct point of contact with hunters, communicate these seasons locally through official Naalakkersuisut Facebook posts in Kalaallisut¹⁰¹¹, as well as through notices posted in municipal buildings or on local bulletin boards outside shops¹². These administrative cycles shape the timing of harvesting activities and ensure consistency across regions, while still aligning with long-established Inuit understandings about when particular species are available, even though Inuit hunters do not always agree with the quotas or timelines set through administrative processes. The seasonal cadence of hunting is therefore central not only to practice but also to governance. A professional hunter described the hunting year as a sequence of shifting ecological opportunities, marked by periods of abundance and scarcity that closely align with administratively defined seasons (Anonymous professional hunter interview, 2025).

These administrative rhythms extend beyond the organization of paperwork or schedules. Through their repetition, they shape how governance is enacted in practice. They influence when hunting is permitted to begin, when it must stop, and when additional obligations come into effect. Requirements such as reporting or inspection signal moments when activities move from informal practice into regulated commercial contexts. Routine administration therefore plays an active role in setting the conditions under which hunting proceeds, pauses, or enters commercial circulation.

¹⁰ Naalakkersuisut (Government of Greenland), official announcement on extension of the murre (appaq) hunting season in Zone 3, Facebook post, 12 December 2025. Cited from author-archived screenshot reproduced in Appendix E.

¹¹ Official press release by Naalakkersuisut (Government of Greenland), published in Kalaallisut on 12 December 2025, announcing the extension of the murre (appaq) hunting season in Zone 3. Reproduced in Appendix F.

¹² In smaller settlements such as Qaanaaq, hunting quotas are communicated through locally posted notices rather than exclusively through central digital platforms. An example of a quota notice displayed at a retail shop is reproduced in Appendix G.

6.3 Species Harvested

Hunters in Greenland harvest a wide range of species, including several species of seal, multiple whale species, reindeer (caribou), muskox, seabirds, and small game. These species support household food security, community distribution networks, and cultural practices. While this chapter does not provide biological detail, a general understanding of harvested species helps show the wide range of animals covered by Greenland’s licensing system, across both land and marine environments.

Species differences influence hunting regulations in ways that extend beyond biological considerations. Each species is governed by specific quotas, reporting requirements, and sale restrictions, positioning species diversity as a central administrative concern. As a result, hunters must adjust their practices to comply with species-specific rules, which in turn affect hunting methods and the movement of products after harvest.

Table 1: Selected Hunted Species

#	Kalaallisut	Inuktitut	English	Scientific
1	Aqisseq	Aqiggiq	Ptarmigan	<i>Lagopus muta / Lagopus lagopus</i>
2	Terianniaq	Tiriganiaq	Arctic fox	<i>Vulpes lagopus</i>
3	Natseq	Nattiq	Ringed seal	<i>Pusa hispida</i>
4	Aataaq	Qairulik	Harp seal	<i>Pagophilus groenlandicus</i>
5	Ussuk	Ugjuk	Bearded seal	<i>Erignathus barbatus</i>
6	Tuttu	Tuttu	Reindeer / Caribou	<i>Rangifer tarandus</i>
7	Umimmak	Umimmak	Musk ox	<i>Ovibos moschatus</i>
8	Nanoq	Nanuq	Polar bear	<i>Ursus maritimus</i>
9	Qilalugaq Qaqortaq	Qilalugaq	Beluga whale	<i>Delphinapterus leucas</i>
10	Qilalugaq Qernertaq / Tuugaalik	Tuugaalik	Narwhal	<i>Monodon monoceros</i>
11	Aaveq	Aiviq	Walrus	<i>Odobenus rosmarus</i>

Table 1 compares commonly hunted Arctic species using Kalaallisut (Greenlandic), Inuktitut, English, and scientific (Latin) terminology. Kalaallisut terms follow standardized forms confirmed by Oqaasilireffik. Inuktitut terms reflect a South Qikiqtaaluk dialect, acknowledging that Inuktitut includes multiple regional dialects and orthographies. Dialectal variation across Inuit languages is expected and culturally significant.

6.4 Legal Basis for Licensing and Classifications

Hunting classifications, licensing rules, and species-specific conditions are defined in the Act on Hunting, No. 12 of 29 December 1999, and updated in the 2023

amendment. These laws are passed by Inatsisartut and implemented by Naalakkersuisut through Executive Orders. Executive Orders specify operational details such as seasons, quotas, reporting obligations, and allowable methods. Although municipalities issue licenses and interact directly with hunters, they do so as administrative extensions of national governance rather than independent regulators. Here the emphasis is on how these rules structure classifications and practice.

KNAPK is consulted during the development of Executive Orders and provides input on proposed hunting regulations. In practice, this consultation positions KNAPK as a central intermediary between hunters' knowledge and administrative decision-making, while ultimate legal authority remains with Naalakkersuisut and Inatsisartut.

6.5 Hunter Classifications

Greenland distinguishes three formal categories of hunters: professional, recreational, and trophy. These classifications distinguish different forms of participation in hunting and set out who may harvest for household use, who may sell, and under what conditions.

6.5.1 Professional Hunters

Under current legislation, professional hunters are defined as individuals whose primary livelihood is derived from hunting or fishing, as set out in Greenland's hunting framework.

Professional hunters must demonstrate that more than half of their annual income derives from hunting or fishing over two consecutive years. Once approved, professional status allows for the commercial sale of harvested products and access to specified quotas. This classification functions as a key rule within Greenland's hunt-to-sell system, determining who may legally enter the market, the conditions under which sales may occur, and the reporting obligations that apply. This formalization has no direct equivalent elsewhere in Inuit Nunaat, where hunting remains largely subsistence-based and is not structured as a legally recognized

occupation. Scholarship on Inuit mixed economies (e.g., Wenzel, 1991; Kishigami, 2013) illustrates how harvesting often exists alongside wage labour, but Greenland uniquely embeds this distinction in law. From the hunter's perspective, license classifications function as economic protection mechanisms rather than simple administrative categories (Anonymous professional hunter interview, 2025).

6.5.2 Recreational Hunters

As defined in Greenland's hunting framework, recreational hunters are licensed to harvest for household use and community sharing but are excluded from commercial sale.

Recreational hunters constitute the majority of license holders. They may harvest for household use and community sharing but are not permitted to sell their catch commercially. This category reflects the continued cultural and nutritional importance of hunting for many households, even where wage income forms the primary livelihood.

6.5.3 Trophy Hunters

Within the existing regulatory structure, trophy hunting constitutes a distinct category governed by additional species-specific and administrative conditions. Trophy hunting forms a separate classification under the Hunting Act and is further clarified through Executive Orders. These orders specify eligible species, typically reindeer and muskox, along with guiding requirements and administrative conditions.

Although numerically small, trophy hunting warrants distinct regulatory treatment due to its specialized structure and oversight requirements.

6.6 Becoming a Professional Hunter

Transitioning from recreational to professional status requires hunters to document that the majority of their income is derived from hunting or fishing. Municipal officers review this documentation when assessing eligibility (Author's fieldnotes,

Kommuneqarfik Sermersooq Department of Hunting, 2023). Professional hunters are also subject to more detailed reporting obligations than recreational hunters.

During fieldwork at Kommuneqarfik Sermersooq's Department of Hunting in 2023, officers explained the structure and administration of species-specific hunting licences using tuttu (reindeer) permits as an example. A redacted example of a professional hunter's reindeer licence, issued in Kalaallisut and reproduced for illustrative purposes, is included in the appendix¹³. The license includes validity conditions and mandatory harvest reporting fields covering animals taken, basic biological indicators, dates, and harvest areas. Although reporting requirements are detailed, enforcement appears uneven, pointing to a pattern of variable application rather than uniform enforcement (Anonymous professional hunter interview, 2025). This variability matters because it shows that the licensing system operates through a combination of formal rules and flexible administrative decisions, shaping hunters' experiences with regulation and defining the practical limits of commercial activity.

6.7 CVR Registration and Taxation

A distinctive feature of Greenland's hunting system is that professional hunters must register as self-employed with a CVR number (Det Centrale Virksomhedsregister), the national business register used in Denmark and Greenland. This registration formally recognizes hunting as an occupation and allows hunters to deduct operational expenses such as fuel, equipment, and maintenance. Tax arrangements may be reduced or adjusted depending on income patterns and municipal practices, reflecting the seasonal nature of hunting. No equivalent system exists in other Inuit regions, where hunting is not treated as a registered commercial activity.

6.8 Municipal Administration

Although legislative authority lies with Inatsisartut and Naalakkersuisut, much of the practical administration of hunting occurs at the municipal level. Fieldwork at

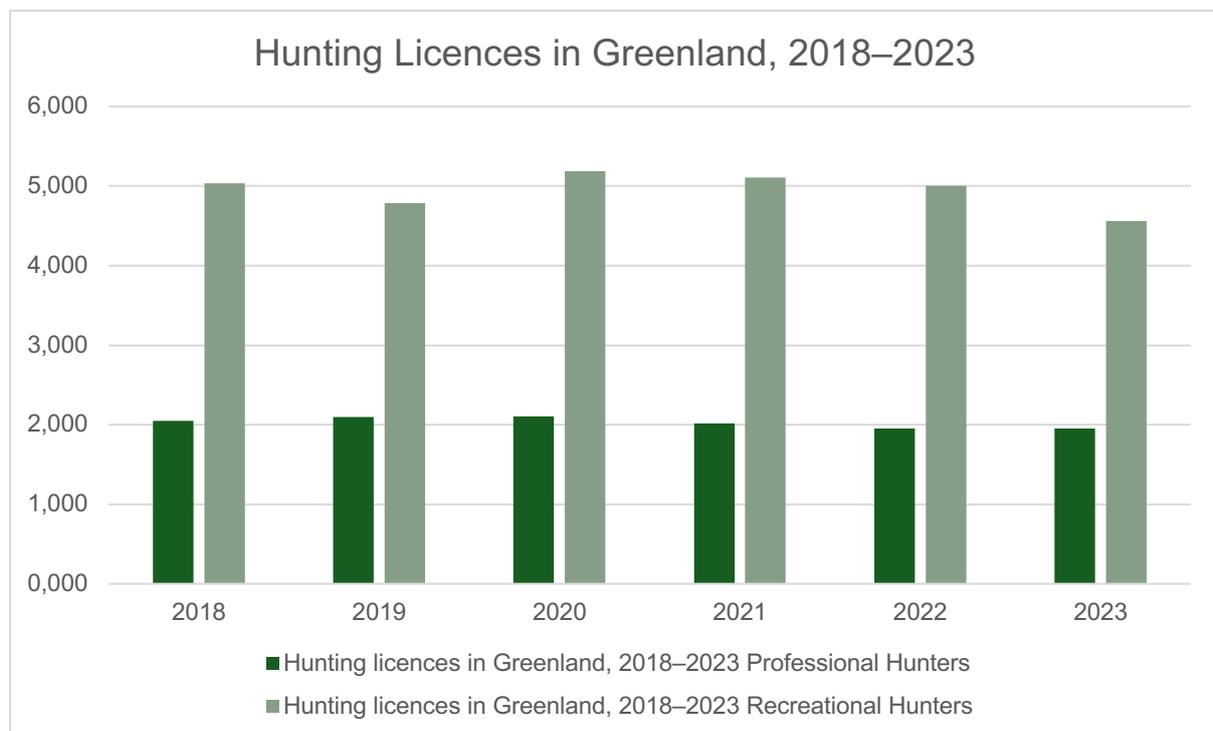
¹³ The licence reproduced in Appendix H is a redacted copy of a professional hunter's reindeer hunting licence issued for the 2025 season. While the document itself was obtained in 2025, it reflects the standard licence format explained by municipal officers during fieldwork in 2023.

Kommuneqarfik Sermersooq’s Department of Hunting in 2023 showed how licenses are issued and renewed, how professional eligibility is verified, and how reporting sheets are processed at the end of each season (Author’s fieldnotes, Kommuneqarfik Sermersooq Department of Hunting, 2023). Municipal databases record each hunter’s license category, identification number, and community of residence. While this information is not publicly available through Statistics Greenland, it is essential to the everyday administration of Greenland’s hunting system.

6.9 National Statistics on Hunting

Statistics Greenland provides an overview of hunting participation at the national level. According to Greenland in Figures 2025 (Statistics Greenland, 2025, p. 24), the number of professional hunting licenses issued between 2018 and 2023 remains stable at approximately 2,000, while recreational licenses number between 4,800 and 5,000. The same publication presents exact harvest figures for seals, whales, land mammals, and birds for the period 2017–2022, illustrating both the scale and diversity of Greenland’s harvesting activities.

Figure 3: Hunting Licences in Greenland by Licence Type, 2018–2023



Source: Statistics Greenland, table FIXJABE (FIEBEVIS); author’s own visualization.

While recreational hunting licences consistently outnumber professional licences, the relative stability of professional licences between 2018 and 2023 indicates that licensed hunting as livelihood remains institutionally sustained, rather than being displaced by leisure hunting. These statistics, however, do not reveal the geographic distribution of hunters across towns and settlements. Municipal records include residence information, but this level of spatial detail is not reflected in publicly available national data. This gap reinforces the value of municipal-level observation and documentation in this thesis, since key features of hunt-to-sell governance, including classification, residence, and administrative decision-making, are not fully visible in national statistics.

6.10 Conclusion

Greenland's hunting system brings together Inuit harvesting traditions, formal licensing categories, business registration, municipal administration, and national statistical reporting. Seasonal rhythms continue to structure hunting, now articulated through administrative cycles. Hunter classifications distinguish livelihoods while preserving the cultural role of harvesting. Municipalities act as the operational interface through which national regulations are implemented, while Statistics Greenland provides a broad but incomplete picture of participation. Together, these elements illustrate how hunting governance in Greenland remains both highly structured and deeply embedded in Inuit ways of life, providing an essential foundation for the following chapter's examination of KNAPK's organizational and political role.

7. Governance and the Role of KNAPK

7.1 KNAPK in Greenlandic Governance

KNAPK (Kalaallit Nunaanni Aalisartut Piniartullu Kattuffiat) occupies a central place in the governance of Greenland's hunting and fishing economy and functions as both a professional organization and a co-governing institution within the broader framework of Greenlandic self-determination. Established in 1953, KNAPK was created to strengthen the economic, social, and cultural conditions of hunters and fishers across the country. Its development must be understood within Greenland's wider political trajectory, which has increasingly positioned living resources and community-based knowledge as foundational to sovereignty and governance.

In working through the material for this chapter, KNAPK emerges as more than a stakeholder or interest organization. It takes on a co-governing role, operating in the space between state authority and everyday hunting practice. Through its involvement, legal requirements and ecological knowledge are brought together and made workable not as abstract principles but as rules that shape economic activity in practice. In this way, KNAPK helps turn law and knowledge into forms of regulation that matter on the ground within Greenland's hunt-to-sell system.

7.2 From Association to Union: KNAPP to KNAPK

A KNAPK representative described the organization's institutional evolution through the distinction between its early form, KNAPP, and its later formalization as KNAPK. KNAPP originated as an association (peqatigiiffik), created to address the shared concerns of fishermen and hunters, particularly their living conditions and the establishment of fair prices for harvested products. As its responsibilities expanded and its political importance increased, the organization transitioned into KNAPK, a kattuffiat, or union. As one representative explained, "you could probably compare it as if KNAPP was an interest group, while KNAPK is a professional association... it was important to emphasize the professional way of living of fishermen and hunters, and it should be reflected in the name." This transformation marks the moment when

hunters and fishers gained organizational authority and the capacity to influence legislation, negotiate prices, and assert a collective professional identity.

This shift in role turns out to matter in ways that are not immediately obvious. Over time, hunters' collective representation moved beyond speaking on behalf of members or responding to decisions made elsewhere. It began to take on responsibilities that are closer to governance itself. Through KNAPK, hunters gained a direct presence in discussions about pricing, in consultations over regulation, and in the practical organization of hunting as a profession. What had once been advocacy gradually became involvement in decision-making, shaping the conditions under which hunting could function as a recognized livelihood.

7.3 Territorial Reach and Representational Authority

Central to KNAPK's authority is its extraordinary territorial reach across Greenland¹⁴. As one representative explained, "KNAPK is represented in almost all settlements in Greenland. We are by far the largest association across Greenland. No one is bigger or broader than KNAPK." With local chapters embedded across *nunaqarfiit* (settlements), towns, and cities, KNAPK brings together highly localized ecological knowledge, seasonal observations, and economic concerns into coordinated national positions. Such organizational breadth is particularly significant in a geographically vast and sparsely populated territory, where formal state presence is limited and governance relies heavily on community-based institutions.

Because KNAPK is rooted so firmly in particular places and communities, its authority does not rest solely on formal mandate. It grows out of relationships, including who is present, who is known, and who speaks with an understanding of local practice. That grounded presence gives KNAPK an influence that is at once spatial and relational. It is this position that enables the organization to move between very local ways of hunting and the more distant worlds of national regulation, translating concerns in both directions and holding them together in practice.

¹⁴ An overview of KNAPK's local unions and their geographic distribution across Greenland is reproduced in Appendix I.

7.4 Internal Governance and the Hunting Council

KNAPK's national influence is reinforced through its internal governance structure, which includes a General Assembly, a Board of Directors, and specialized councils such as the Hunting Council¹⁵. The Hunting Council¹⁶ plays a key role in reviewing proposed legislation, discussing quotas, and responding to biological assessments and international regulatory frameworks. Through these mechanisms, KNAPK serves as a conduit through which hunters' practical knowledge is integrated with scientific and administrative decision-making, reflecting a co-management approach characteristic of Arctic governance. In practice, KNAPK functions as the institutional mechanism through which local hunting practices are translated into nationally legible rules, prices, and procedures within the hunt-to-sell system.

Working through these arrangements makes it clear that KNAPK's role extends beyond being asked for opinions or responding to proposals shaped elsewhere. Its involvement is woven into the governing process itself. Through these structures, the organization helps shape how hunting regulations come into being, are adjusted over time, and are put into effect on the ground. What emerges is a form of co-governance, where responsibility is shared, and influence is exercised through ongoing participation rather than occasional consultation.

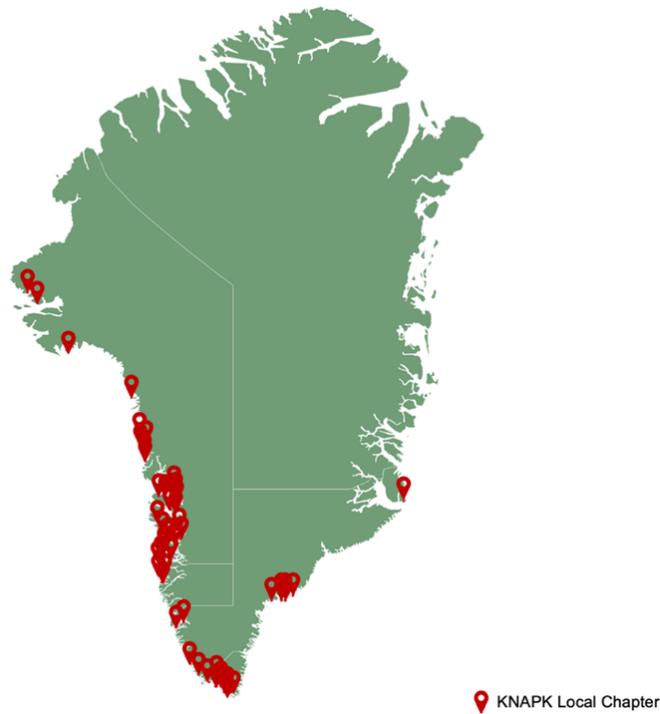
7.5 Institutional Recognition and Legislative Participation

The organization's legitimacy as a governance partner is recognized beyond its membership. Interviews with public officials confirmed that KNAPK's input is taken seriously by government authorities because it represents the interests and lived realities of hunters and fishers. KNAPK is routinely included as a hearing partner in legislative processes related to hunting, wildlife management, and food systems. This formal recognition situates KNAPK not merely as a stakeholder but as a co-governing actor whose perspectives meaningfully shape regulatory outcomes.

¹⁵ An English-language organizational chart of KNAPK, illustrating its internal governance structure and advisory boards, is reproduced in Appendix J.

¹⁶ An overview of the Hunting Council's composition, legal basis, international regulatory context, and species mandate is reproduced in Appendix K.

Figure 4: Geographic Distribution of KNAPK Local Chapters in Kalaallit Nunaat.



Red pins indicate settlements with KNAPK local unions. Locations are approximate and intended to convey institutional presence, not exact coordinates. Base map of Greenland adapted from D-Maps (<https://d-maps.com>), modified by the author.

7.6 Economic Governance and the Price-Per-Kilo System

KNAPK also plays a critical role in the economic organization of the hunt-to-sell system through the coordination of regional price-per-kilo lists. These lists establish minimum prices for harvested species and are negotiated at the local level to reflect regional conditions. Fieldwork in Qaanaaq provided direct evidence of this process. The local KNAPK chapter maintains a detailed price-per-kilo list¹⁷ covering a wide range of species, including regionally specific harvests such as beluga whale and walrus, alongside seal, reindeer, muskox, fish, and bird products. Prices are specified down to individual cuts or body parts, as well as by processing method and unit of sale, and the list is formally authorized through signatures from the local executive committee.

¹⁷ A photographed example of a locally issued price-per-kilo list maintained by the KNAPK chapter in Qaanaaq, including signatures authorizing its use, is reproduced in Appendix L.

The Qaanaaq price list illustrates how KNAPK’s federated structure operates in practice. While national leadership provides overarching coordination, local chapters retain authority to determine regionally appropriate minimum prices based on ecological availability, hunting conditions, and community needs. This decentralized approach ensures that economic regulation remains grounded in local realities while maintaining consistency and legitimacy within the broader hunt-to-sell framework.

The price-per-kilo arrangement plays a quiet but decisive role in how the hunt-to-sell system actually works. It is through this pricing system that hunting begins to make sense as a way of earning a living rather than remaining solely a subsistence activity. The figures attached to each kilo set practical limits and possibilities, influencing what hunters can afford to do, how much they can sell, and under what circumstances hunting becomes economically sustainable. At the same time, this pricing structure shapes how harvested animals enter the market, guiding their transition from the point of capture to wider circulation.

Figure 5: KNAPK local chapter office in Qaanaaq, Greenland.



Exterior view of the KNAPK office in Qaanaaq, where local chapter meetings are held and information is publicly posted directly on the building. The visible placement of notices on the exterior wall illustrates how hunter organizations communicate governance, decisions, and updates in ways that are materially embedded in everyday community space. Photograph by author, Qaanaaq, June 2023.

7.7 Governance in Everyday Community Life

KNAPK’s presence in everyday community life further reinforces its governance role. During fieldwork in Qaanaaq, a KNAPK chapter meeting announcement was

observed posted on the public noticeboard inside the Pilersuisoq grocery store, inviting members to gather and discuss seasonal issues. Such postings reflect how local chapters function as accessible, community-facing institutions. Governance is enacted not only through formal meetings and legislative consultations, but also through routine interpersonal interactions embedded in shared public spaces.

7.8 Pluralism and Alternative Organizations

Although KNAPK is the dominant and historically recognized organization representing hunters and fishers in Greenland, it is not the only collective body. A smaller group named SAQK has in recent years emerged, articulating local concerns or alternative perspectives on representation and market participation. This group demonstrates pluralism within the hunting community; however, they do not possess KNAPK's nationwide structure, historical authority, or formal integration into legislative and quota-setting processes. Their existence therefore highlights diversity of viewpoints without diminishing KNAPK's central role as the primary governance actor between hunters, municipalities, and Naalakkersuisut, or its institutional capacity to operate at a national scale.

Other organizations in the hunting community show that the landscape is more diverse than a single body can capture. Different voices, interests, and organizational forms coexist and reflect the diverse ways hunters align locally and regionally. Still, this diversity does not displace KNAPK's role in governance. KNAPK is the only group that works at all levels, linking local practices, regional coordination, and national regulation. The presence of other organizations does not weaken KNAPK's position; it shows that while the hunting community is plural, it remains anchored by this central organization.

7.9 Chapter Summary

Taken together, KNAPK's organizational evolution, territorial reach, institutional recognition, and practical economic functions position it as a cornerstone of Greenland's hunting governance system. Through formal participation in law-making, coordination of pricing mechanisms, and deeply embedded community presence,

KNAPK bridges state regulation and everyday hunting practice. This chapter demonstrates that the hunt-to-sell system in Greenland is sustained not only through legislation, but through a robust representative institution that translates law into lived governance across the country, directly addressing how governance structures shape the practical operation of the hunt-to-sell system examined in this thesis.

Examining these governance forms side by side reveals their practical impacts. They determine the routes that hunted products take off the land. Pricing and sale decisions never occur in isolation; thresholds emerge, identifying the points where different rules or institutional requirements matter. Under these conditions, animals move from harvest to market. Following these steps clarifies how distribution works in practice and why certain pathways remain open or closed, as explored in the next chapter.

8. From Hunt to Table – Governance and Distribution Pathways

8.1 Introduction

The governance landscape outlined in the previous chapters establishes the regulatory environment in which Greenlandic hunting is practiced, but it does not fully explain how harvested foods actually move through society. The circulation of locally harvested foods follows well-established routes that are grounded in Inuit cultural norms, shaped by national legislation, and supported by local and commercial infrastructure. Together, these routes form a distribution system that is at once relational, institutional, and increasingly integrated into national food provisioning.

Drawing on field observations and interviews conducted in Nuuk, Sisimiut, and Qaanaaq, this chapter identifies and defines four primary distribution pathways through which harvested foods circulate in Greenland. All pathways described in this chapter are rooted in these interviews and observations, even where specific examples are discussed without repeated methodological attribution:

1. Qanigisat – Kinship Distribution Pathway
2. Nunaqqatit – Community and Institutional Distribution Pathway
3. Pisiniarfiit – Retail Distribution Pathway
4. Neriniartarfiit – Culinary Distribution Pathway

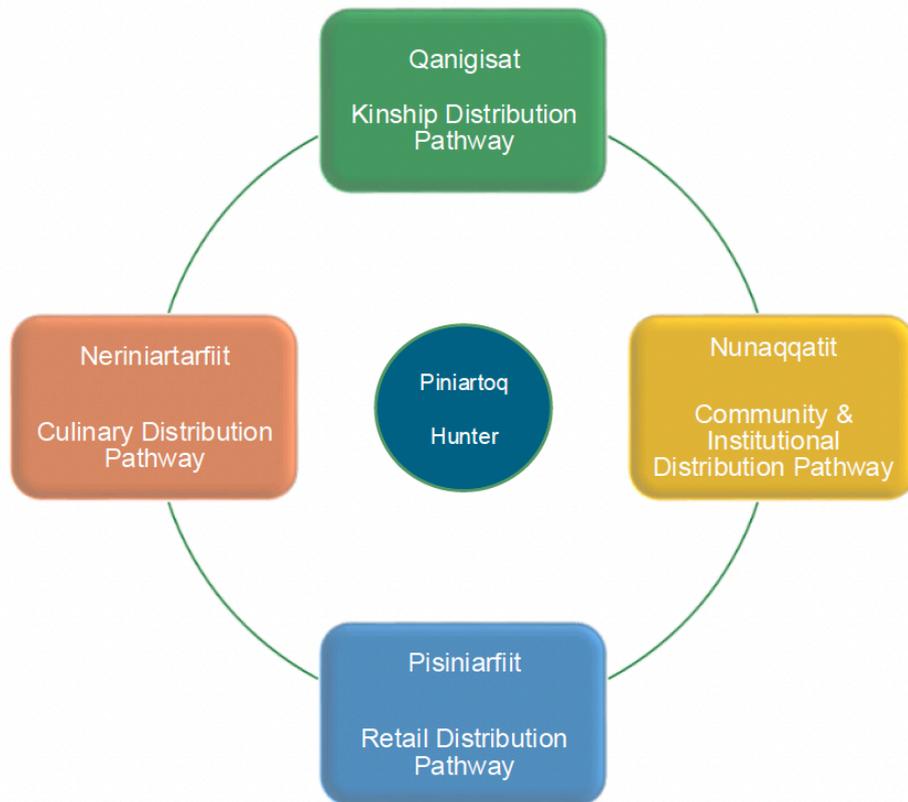
This pathway framework is intentionally articulated to make visible, in a form accessible to Inuit communities as well as academic audiences, how longstanding Inuit principles of sharing, reciprocity, and relational ethics operate across contemporary social, commercial, and institutional settings. Approaches that identify and describe food circulation routes are well established in food systems and Indigenous scholarship; however, they are less commonly articulated as distinct distribution pathways within regulated hunt-to-sell systems such as that of Greenland. While existing scholarship has richly documented Inuit principles of sharing and reciprocity within subsistence and social economies (Berkes, 2012; Collings, 2011; Kishigami, 2004; Wenzel, 1991), their operation across regulated and

commercial food environments in Greenland has received comparatively little systematic attention.

Greenland is distinct within Inuit Nunaat because it operates a regulated hunt-to-sell system that enables harvested foods to circulate beyond kin networks through formal retail, institutional, and culinary environments. The existence of these pathways makes Greenland a useful case for examining the coexistence of subsistence values and commercial infrastructures within an Indigenous food system. This chapter presents an original pathway framework for understanding distribution pathways, situates it within Inuit and circumpolar scholarly discussions, and outlines how harvested foods circulate within contemporary Greenland.

Working with a pathway approach made it possible to see aspects of the food system that were less visible when described in more general terms. Tracing how food actually moves from land, water, or ice to table helped clarify where decisions are made, who becomes involved at different moments, and what kinds of infrastructure are required for circulation to continue. Along these routes, certain moments stand out as points of transition, where practices change and new rules or responsibilities begin to apply. Other points draw attention to institutions or actors whose roles are often assumed rather than examined, and only become visible once the movement of food is followed in practice. Looking at these pathways side by side also allowed comparison of circulation forms that are usually treated separately. Rather than assuming a sharp divide between what is labelled “subsistence” and what is considered “commercial,” the analysis follows how foods move across these categories, showing where they come together, pull apart, or sit alongside one another under different expectations, rules, and obligations that do not always align. In doing so, the framework helps reveal how governance quietly shapes these movements, even when they are discussed as if they belong to entirely different worlds.

Figure 6: Hunt-to-Table distribution pathways for harvested foods in Greenland.



The diagram illustrates four coexisting pathways through which harvested foods circulate, all originating from the piniartoq (hunter). Each pathway has a Kalaallisut title and an English title. The pathways are distinct yet interconnected, grounded in Inuit principles of sharing and reciprocity, and shaped by regulation, infrastructure, and everyday food practices.

8.2 Pathway One: Hunter and Kinship Distribution Pathway

The movement of harvested foods within households and across kinship networks remains the most fundamental distribution pathway in Greenland. This pathway is documented through repeated field observations and interviews conducted with hunters and families in Nuuk, Sisimiut, and Qaanaaq, and reflects practices that remain central to everyday food circulation. These practices align strongly with broader Inuit principles of reciprocity, obligation, and collective responsibility, which have been documented extensively across Inuit Nunaat and Greenland (Collings, Wenzel, & Condon, 1998; Kishigami, 2004; Wenzel, 1991). Food sharing functions as a form of social infrastructure that sustains relationships, mitigates environmental risk, and reinforces interdependence within and between households.

Field observations in Greenland illustrate the continuity of these practices in everyday life. As one professional hunter explained, prioritizing kinship distribution is a deliberate and ordered process, “I prioritize my family and people around me. I like to have a freezer full of meat — caribou, seal meat, minke whale, fish. When my freezer is full, that’s when I share with my family, closest. When I want to sell, it’s when I have a bulk of a catch.”

These exchanges occur through socially embedded expectations rather than formalized economic calculation and carry significance that extends beyond nutritional value. These distributions follow shared expectations about how harvested foods should move within families and communities. The same hunter further noted that decisions to gift rather than sell are shaped by assessments of need and ability to pay, particularly where family members or others face barriers to access. This logic resonates with Inuit definitions of food security, which emphasize relational well-being, access to culturally meaningful foods, and the ability to meet social responsibilities, rather than solely caloric or market-based measures (Inuit Circumpolar Council, 2012; Inuit Circumpolar Council Alaska, 2020; Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2021).

Crucially, this pathway aligns Greenland with other Inuit regions where commercial sales are not permitted. In Nunavut, sharing remains the sole legitimate means of distributing country food, due to the absence of legal and infrastructural mechanisms supporting hunt-to-sell systems. Greenland shares this cultural foundation while also developing additional pathways enabled by regulation and infrastructure.

Thus, household and kinship distribution remains the anchor of Greenland’s food system. All other pathways operate alongside, and never in place of, this long-standing mechanism of Inuit food circulation.

Much of this pathway unfolds beyond the reach of formal regulation. It is shaped instead by everyday practice, habit, and shared expectations, rather than by explicit oversight. Paying attention to this way of circulating food offers a point of reference to hold in mind as regulations expand and change. Against this background, it

becomes easier to see what is added, altered, or constrained when hunting and distribution move into the more formalized hunt-to-sell system.

8.3 Pathway Two: Hunter and Community and Institutional Distribution Pathway

The second pathway encompasses distribution beyond kinship networks through community markets, public institutions, and digital exchanges. This pathway draws directly on interview material with hunters and institutional actors, as well as sustained observation of market practices during fieldwork. Municipal markets such as Kalaaliaraq in Nuuk and Qimatulivik in Sisimiut provide formalized spaces where licensed hunters sell directly to the public. These settings maintain a degree of familiarity and relational exchange while operating under municipal oversight, blending customary and regulated practices.

The Community and Institutional Distribution Pathway also includes institutional procurement, whereby elder homes, daycares, hospitals, and workplace canteens purchase harvested foods for daily meal service. As one professional hunter described, bulk sales to institutions such as hospitals are often arranged intentionally when large catches are anticipated, allowing kitchens to stock freezers and feed large numbers of people at once. In many Indigenous regions, public procurement policies and food safety regulations limit institutions' ability to source locally harvested foods, contributing to the marginalization of traditional foods in formal meal programs (Kuhnlein et al., 2001). Greenland diverges from this pattern: its regulatory framework enables institutional kitchens to integrate locally harvested foods into public diets, echoing Indigenous food sovereignty principles that emphasize self-determined food systems and culturally appropriate nourishment (Morrison, 2011). In practice, locally harvested foods are widely valued and actively sought by residents, reflecting their cultural, nutritional, and social significance; similar preferences are documented across Inuit regions, where access to country foods is consistently identified as central to food security and well-being (Inuit Circumpolar Council Alaska, 2020; Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2021).

Digital platforms form an additional layer within this pathway. Facebook groups serve as adaptable and widely used spaces where hunters post available products and

consumers request specific quantities or cuts. Transactions are arranged privately, and despite their informality, these exchanges follow familiar Inuit patterns of communication and responsiveness, now routed through digital means. In Nunavut, digital markets often serve as a substitute for formal market infrastructure. In Greenland, they function alongside municipal and institutional channels rather than replacing them.

Together, the Community and Institutional Distribution Pathway makes local foods easier to access, keeps them present in daily life, and supports ongoing connections between hunters and the wider community within a regulated system.

At this point in the food system, something begins to shift. What may start as a relational exchange grounded in familiarity, trust, and local practice starts to brush up against more formal forms of oversight. Municipal procedures come into play, procurement rules begin to matter, and newer digital systems quietly shape how transactions are recorded and recognized. This moment marks a threshold, not because it is sharply defined, but because it is where different ways of organizing food circulation meet. Following that intersection reveals how informal practices gradually give way to institutional arrangements within Greenland's food system.

8.4 Pathway Three: Hunter and Retail Distribution Pathway

The Retail Distribution Pathway is the most structurally distinctive feature of Greenland's distribution system and is based on interviews with commercial full-time hunters, retail staff, and site visits to processing and retail facilities. Locally harvested foods can be found in nearly all grocery stores, including smaller chain-affiliated stores connected to larger retail chains. This level of accessibility reflects the combined influence of legislation, logistical capacity, and professionalized processing.

Within this pathway, the regulatory distinction between commercial full-time hunters and recreational hunters plays a critical role in shaping participation and protecting livelihoods. As one professional hunter noted, access to country food is shaped not only by regulation but by material capacity, particularly for people without boats or

hunting equipment. From this perspective, the availability of country food through retail stores plays an important role in ensuring access for those who are unable to hunt for themselves (Author interviews and fieldwork, 2023–2024). As one professional hunter explained, when licensed recreational hunters, who typically derive their primary income from stable wage employment rather than from hunting, sell country food informally on the side, they can undercut the customer base relied upon by commercial full-time hunters. From this perspective, licensing classifications are understood not as exclusionary measures, but as mechanisms that help safeguard hunting as a viable primary livelihood.

Within the retail distribution pathway, licensing categories quietly determine who can participate. They act less like abstract classifications and more like a filter that decides which hunters can supply shops and other retail outlets. These distinctions matter in everyday terms. They determine whether hunting can be pursued as a primary source of income or pushed to the margins as a secondary activity alongside other work. In this way, licensing does more than organize access to retail markets; it helps sustain hunting as a viable primary livelihood rather than allowing it to slip into a supplementary activity.

8.4.1 Pisiffik: Implementing Legislative Change

Pisiffik, one of Greenland's largest national retail chains, exemplifies how regulation becomes practice through internal procedures. Following amendments to the Hunting Act and related food safety regulations, the company introduced a formalized system for registering hunters, verifying licenses, and processing payments, enabling harvested foods to move from individual hunters into retail circulation¹⁸.

Representatives emphasized that issuing payment on the same day supports positive relationships with hunters and contributes to supply stability.

¹⁸ See Appendix M: Pisiffik – Purchase from Local Hunters (Internal Procurement Form), internal company document provided to the author during an interview with Pisiffik representatives in Nuuk, 2024; and Appendix N: Pisiffik – Information for Hunters and Fishers on Sale of Harvested Foods, public-facing informational pamphlet obtained by the author from Pisiffik in December 2025. Both documents are included to illustrate the practical steps required for hunters to sell harvested foods through the retail pathway.

These procedures are rarely visible to consumers and only partially articulated in legislation, yet they are central to understanding how hunters gain access to retail markets in practice.

Within stores, purchasing decisions rely heavily on the expertise of trained butchers, who assess quality, usability, and appropriate processing methods. Pisiffik representatives described the butcher as central to determining what ultimately becomes available on retail shelves¹⁹. In pathway terms, the butcher functions as a key point of transition, where harvested foods are evaluated and transformed into retail products.

From the hunter's perspective, access to the retail pathway is not automatic. It depends on a series of conditions and decisions that occur largely out of view, including registration, license recognition, product assessment, and internal acceptance by retail staff. Tracing this process makes visible the behind-the-scenes work that enables hunters to move from harvesting to selling, and highlights how access to retail markets is shaped by everyday practices and professional judgement rather than formal rules alone.

8.4.2 Brugseni: Professionalization and National Distribution

Brugseni operates a more centralized processing model, employing professionally trained butchers who complete multi-year certification in Denmark.

Tours of the facility reveal regulated workflows, sanitation routines, industrialized equipment and significant freezer capacity²⁰. Meat processed in Nuuk is shipped to communities across Greenland, including other Brugseni stores and Brugseneeraq corner stores within the Brugseni retail chain.

¹⁹ An example of this institutionalized retail presentation is shown in Appendix O, which documents packaged muskox meat sold at Pisiffik in Nuuk.

²⁰ See Appendix P for photographic documentation of centralized processing infrastructure and standardized distribution practices within the Brugseni retail chain (photographs by author, Nuuk, April 2023).

Brugseni's centralized model allows harvested foods to circulate at a national scale within the retail pathway. By concentrating processing and distribution, this model enables foods harvested in one location to reach consumers in distant communities, extending the spatial reach of the retail distribution pathway beyond local retail contexts.

8.4.3 A Unique Circumpolar Model

Unlike Greenland, Nunavut and Alaska do not operate comparable legislative frameworks or infrastructure that generally permit the commercial retail sale of country foods through grocery stores. While limited exceptions and pilot arrangements exist, grocery stores in these regions are not authorized to purchase, process, or sell harvested foods in ways comparable to Greenland's regulated hunt-to-sell system. Greenland's Retail Distribution Pathway therefore represents a unique model within Inuit Nunaat; one in which local foods are fully integrated into commercial supply chains.

8.4.4 Significance of the Retail Distribution Pathway

The retail system expands access for residents without hunting connections and normalizes local foods within everyday consumption. It also aligns with the broader literature on Indigenous food sovereignty, which highlights the importance of community control over food systems and the integration of traditional foods into contemporary economies (Grey & Patel, 2015; Morrison, 2011).

8.5 Pathway Four: Hunter and Culinary Distribution Pathway

Culinary venues, including restaurants, catering operations, and institutional or event-based food service, contribute a smaller volume of harvested foods compared to households or retail stores, but their cultural visibility is significant. This pathway is informed by interviews with chefs and hunters, as well as observation of menus, sourcing practices, and public food events. Chefs in Nuuk and other towns routinely source muskox, Arctic char, reindeer, and seasonal whale from hunters or local suppliers. Their menus often reflect a deliberate emphasis on seasonality, local sourcing, and the adaptation of Greenlandic ingredients into contemporary culinary

forms²¹. Field observations show that menus frequently foreground locally harvested foods in distinctive ways, signaling pride in their inclusion and allowing each venue to articulate its own relationship to Greenlandic ingredients through presentation, naming, and culinary style.

In Indigenous food systems scholarship, culinary venues are understood as spaces of representation, where food becomes a medium for cultural expression, identity-building, and public interpretation (Kuhnlein et al., 2001). In Greenland, restaurants serve as a bridge between traditional harvesting practices and modern public dining. For visitors, they may provide an introduction to Greenlandic foods; for residents, they reinforce the presence of local ingredients within urban culinary life.

Although quantitatively small, this pathway enhances the symbolic visibility of harvested foods and contributes to the narrative of Greenlandic cuisine within both national and international contexts. It also extends the influence of harvesting into sectors traditionally associated with cultural production rather than subsistence.

8.6 Bringing the Four Pathways Together

These four pathways reflect a distribution system that is cohesive yet varied, grounded in Inuit cultural principles while supported by infrastructure and regulation. Each pathway operates within a shared ethical and ecological context, but they serve different relationships and spatial scales:

1. Subsistence and kinship remain the foundation, shaping daily food access.
2. Community markets and institutions broaden circulation, making local foods available to households without hunting connections.
3. Retail stores extend distribution nationally, supported by logistics, training, and regulatory compliance.
4. Culinary venues contribute to symbolic representation, reinforcing the cultural presence of harvested foods in public life.

²¹ See Appendices Q-R for visual documentation of restaurant menus and plated dishes illustrating the culinary representation of harvested foods in Greenlandic dining contexts (images by author, December 2023 and December 2025).

The pathway framework illustrates a system in which subsistence and commercial practices coexist rather than compete. Greenland's model demonstrates that Indigenous food systems can adapt to new infrastructures while retaining core cultural values; a point echoed in Inuit food sovereignty frameworks (Inuit Circumpolar Council, 2020; Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2021). By articulating these pathways explicitly, this chapter offers a common reference point for describing how harvested foods move through Greenland today, which may be useful for hunters, institutions, and communities navigating these systems in practice.

By tracing these different distribution pathways together, the chapter offers a way of seeing the hunt-to-sell system as something held together rather than split apart. Looking at the pathways side by side makes it possible to follow how subsistence practices, governance arrangements, and commercial circulation overlap and feed into one another in everyday life. Rather than treating these as separate spheres, the analysis stays with the points where they meet, where one form of exchange shades into another and where regulation, livelihood, and practice are worked out in relation to each other. In doing so, the chapter develops an approach that helps make sense of regulated Indigenous hunt-to-sell economies as integrated systems, shaped through connection rather than division.

8.7 Conclusion

This chapter defined four pathways through which harvested foods move across Greenland, demonstrating how principles of sharing and obligation, community structures, commercial systems, and culinary spaces collectively support food distribution. Greenland's integration of household sharing, community markets, retail infrastructure, and culinary-based representation is unique in Inuit Nunaat.

The next chapter examines the supporting infrastructure, including material, administrative, and logistical elements, that enables these pathways to function in practice and sustains the distribution of harvested foods across a geographically dispersed country.

9. Supporting Infrastructure

9.1 Introduction: Infrastructure as the Backbone of the Hunt-to-Sell System

Understanding how harvested foods move through Greenland's four distribution pathways requires an examination of the infrastructures, both material and relational, that make this movement possible. As infrastructure scholars have long argued, infrastructures are not merely technical systems but cultural and political formations that shape everyday life. Inuit organizations similarly frame food systems as inseparable from mobility, knowledge, tools, and governance. Within Inuit food security and food sovereignty frameworks, infrastructure is therefore understood as foundational rather than supplementary.

This chapter adopts a dual framing of infrastructure. Hard infrastructure refers to physical systems such as markets, warehouses, fuel access points, freezers, docks, and transport networks. Soft infrastructure encompasses legal frameworks, institutional supports, hunter associations, financing mechanisms, logistical subsidies, and critically, intergenerational knowledge transmission. In Greenland, these dimensions are inseparable. Hunting infrastructure is not only built but practiced, maintained, and reproduced through social relations and cultural norms (Star and Ruhleder, 1996; Larkin, 2013).

Building on this framing, the chapter examines how infrastructure enables the hunt-to-sell system in practice. Drawing on fieldwork conducted in Nuuk, Sisimiut, and Qaanaaq, it demonstrates that Greenland's hunting economy is sustained through an interconnected infrastructural ecology that supports legality, safety, economic viability, and cultural continuity.

Looking closely at infrastructure brings an important set of relationships into view. Roads, cold storage, inspection facilities, transport systems, and digital platforms do not simply sit in the background of the hunt-to-sell system. They enable everything else to function. Without them, legal rules remain abstract, governance arrangements struggle to take hold, and distribution pathways cannot extend beyond the most local settings.

Seen from this angle, infrastructure becomes the condition that allows hunting to be recognized and acted upon within formal systems. It is through these material supports that hunting becomes legible to authorities, safe for consumers, mobile across distances, and economically viable as a livelihood. Paying attention to infrastructure therefore helps clarify how Greenland's hunt-to-sell system operates in practice. Rather than appearing as a set of isolated regulations, it operates as a connected arrangement held together through the material means that bring law, governance, and circulation into relation.

9.2 Market Facilities as Organizing Centres of the Hunting Economy

9.2.1 Qimatulivik, Sisimiut

Qimatulivik in Sisimiut represents one of the most comprehensive examples of purpose-built hunting infrastructure in Greenland and constitutes a materially embedded governance system for harvested foods. Observations from a site visit conducted on 13 April 2023 reveal a highly organized, hygienic, and technologically integrated facility operating in full compliance with national food safety and veterinary legislation. Far from functioning solely as a point of sale, Qimatulivik operates as a regulatory and logistical hub that structures how hunted animals are transformed into legally traceable food commodities within local distribution pathways.

Figure 7: Colour-coded temporal traceability system displayed inside Qimatulivik, Sisimiut.



Permanently mounted wall signage indicating days of the week using distinct colours, forming the basis of the market's temporal traceability system for harvested meat. Photograph by author, 13 April 2023.

A defining feature of the market is the colour-coded temporal traceability system, which assigns harvested meat to specific days of the week. Each day is represented by a distinct colour displayed on a permanently mounted wall legend within the facility. Meat is placed in standardized white plastic tubs bearing a numbered label whose colour corresponds to the day of harvest. This system enables consumers to immediately identify freshness and legal eligibility at the point of purchase while ensuring compliance with statutory time limits governing the sale of hunted foods.

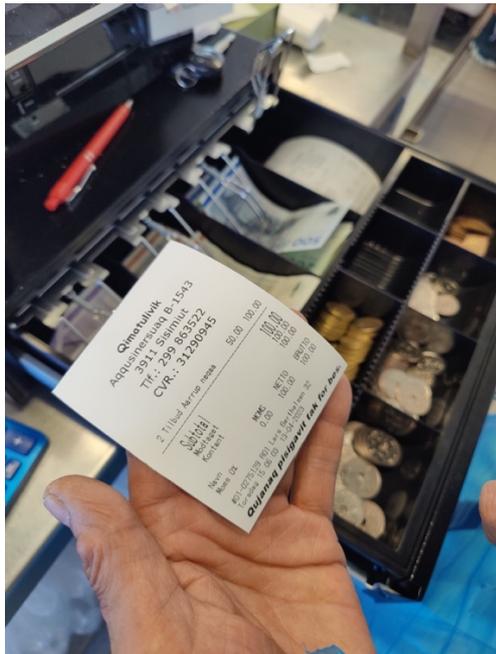
Figure 8: Hunted meat sorted into standardized white tubs with colour-coded labels and hunter-specific identifier numbers at Qimatulivik.



White plastic tubs containing harvested meat, each marked with a colour corresponding to the day of harvest and a unique identifier number representing the individual hunter responsible for the harvest. Together, these markers enable immediate visual verification of freshness, legal sale eligibility, and hunter-level traceability at the point of sale. Photograph by author, 13 April 2023.

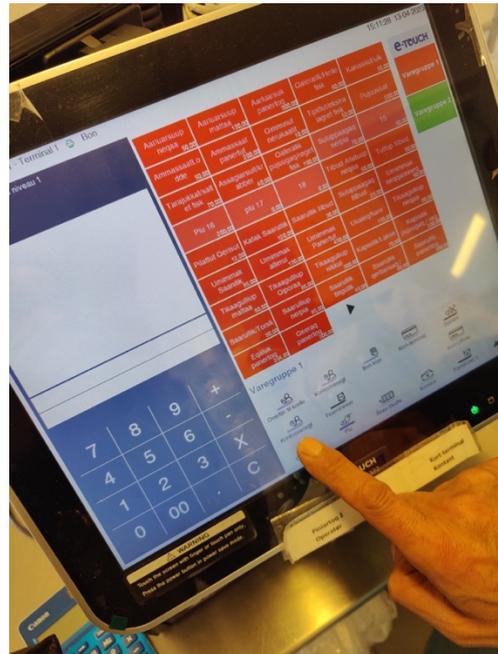
Equally significant is the digital point-of-sale (POS) infrastructure, which embeds regulatory and economic governance directly into the act of sale. The POS interface is pre-programmed to recognize only species and cuts derived from animals legally harvested in Greenland, thereby formalizing the market's exclusive focus on locally harvested Greenlandic species within the Sisimiut region. Each entry specifies both species and specific cut, with prices calculated per kilogram. Crucially, these prices are not set by market staff or municipal authorities, but reflect annual pricing agreements negotiated at the regional level by KNAPK. In this way, hunter-determined pricing norms are materially encoded within the digital infrastructure itself.

Figure 9: Receipt generated at point of sale at Qimatulivik.



Printed receipt identifying the market, date, product type, price, and hunter-linked transaction details, forming part of the market's integrated traceability, accountability, and administrative system. Photograph by author, 13 April 2023.

Figure 10: Digital point-of-sale (POS) interface used at Qimatulivik, Sisimiut.



Touchscreen POS system displaying pre-programmed species and cut categories with kilogram-based pricing, alongside a registry of authorized commercial hunters selectable via unique identifier numbers. Photograph by author, 13 April 2023.

Receipts generated at purchase provide further layers of traceability and accountability. Each receipt identifies the individual hunter responsible for the harvest, the species and cut sold, the weight-based price, and the total amount paid. These records serve multiple functions simultaneously: they provide transparency for consumers, create an auditable trail for regulatory compliance, and facilitate administrative deductions that fund the operation and maintenance of the market. The system thus integrates subsistence-based harvesting into formal economic and bureaucratic structures without displacing hunter control over valuation.

Beyond sales infrastructure, Qimatulivik offers an extensive array of on-site facilities designed to reduce logistical barriers for hunters while maintaining high hygiene standards. These include calibrated weighing stations, stainless steel processing tables, standardized packaging supplies, ice-making equipment, cold storage, and

specialized machinery for tasks such as bird plucking²². The spatial organization reflects food safety protocols while remaining adapted to hunting workflows. Together, these elements demonstrate how Inuit organizational governance is enacted through material systems that align Indigenous economic authority with state regulation.

Taken together, these infrastructural elements illustrate how Inuit organizational governance is enacted through material systems rather than abstract policy alone. Qimatulivik does not replace customary hunting practices; instead, it amplifies them by providing a regulated environment in which hunting knowledge, collective price-setting, legal compliance, and public accountability converge. The market demonstrates how the hunt-to-sell system in Greenland is not merely permitted by law but actively structured through purpose-built infrastructure that aligns Indigenous economic authority with state regulatory frameworks.

Seen up close, Qimatulivik shows how governance does not always arrive through forms, inspections, or constant administrative presence. Much of it is already built into the place itself. The layout of the facility, the way products move through it, and the ways information is recorded all quietly shape what is possible and what is not. Compliance, pricing, and traceability are not maintained through repeated intervention. Instead, they are structured through the material arrangements of everyday practice. In this sense, governance is carried by the infrastructure itself. It is woven into its design, rather than imposed from outside through ongoing bureaucratic control.

9.2.2 Kalaaliaraq, Nuuk

Kalaaliaraq occupies a distinct role within Greenland's hunting infrastructure. As Nuuk's central hunters' and fishers' market, it operates as a highly visible interface between hunters, consumers, and urban food culture. While fully compliant with regulatory requirements, Kalaaliaraq maintains a more direct and relational

²² See Appendices S-U for photographic documentation of packaging infrastructure, cold-chain support, and interior spatial organization at Qimatulivik, Sisimiut (photographs by author, 13 April 2023).

transactional structure²³. The market includes dedicated processing areas for terrestrial species, separate marine facilities, enclosed bird-plucking spaces, and a communal freezer container for hunters lacking home storage.

Sales at Kalaaliaraq are conducted directly between hunters and consumers, typically through cash or electronic transfer, with receipts provided manually upon request. This structure preserves immediacy and trust-based exchange, allowing information about harvest timing and methods to be shared directly. Kalaaliaraq thus functions as both economic and cultural infrastructure, sustaining visibility, responsibility, and negotiated exchange within a regulated public space.

Figure 11: Country food for sale at Kalaaliaraq, Nuuk.



Cuts of harvested meat displayed on stainless steel tables at Nuuk's central hunters' and fishers' market. Handwritten signage identifying hunters and providing MobilePay or bank account details is visible near the meat, reflecting the market's reliance on direct, relational exchange. Photograph by author, Nuuk, April 2023.

Kalaaliaraq operates in a noticeably different way from Qimatulivik. Where Qimatulivik relies on built in systems and automation to structure exchange, Kalaaliaraq prioritizes presence and interaction. Exchange is visible and shaped through familiarity, conversation, and ongoing relationships between sellers and buyers. Municipal rules and public regulation still apply and continue to shape how the space functions. What distinguishes Kalaaliaraq is not an absence of

²³ See Appendices V-W for photographic documentation of country food display practices and direct hunter-attributed sale infrastructure at Kalaaliaraq, Nuuk (photographs by author, April 2023).

governance, but an infrastructural logic that places emphasis on visibility and relational exchange within the framework of municipal oversight.

9.3 Hunter Warehouses: Multi-Use Spaces for Maintenance, Repair, and Knowledge Transmission

9.3.1 “Sissa” Warehouse, Sisimiut

The Sissa warehouse exemplifies municipally owned infrastructure supporting hunters beyond the point of sale. It functions as a shared workspace for boat repair, net mending, bird plucking, qamutik²⁴ construction, and equipment maintenance²⁵. Activities requiring space, tools, and ventilation that exceed private household capacity are accommodated here.

Figure 12: Hunters adapting a fibreglass boat inside the municipally owned Sissa warehouse, Sisimiut.



Hunters working collectively to modify and prepare a fibreglass boat ahead of the tuttu (caribou) hunting season. The scale of the workspace, lifting equipment, ventilation, and shared tools illustrates the role of municipally provided infrastructure in enabling activities that cannot be accommodated within private homes or individual facilities. Photograph by author, Sisimiut, August 2022.

Equally important is the warehouse’s social function. Hunters gather informally to exchange experiences, safety information, and technical knowledge. Learning occurs through observation and collaboration, reflecting Inuit pedagogical practices

²⁴ Qamutik: a traditional Inuit sled constructed without metal fastenings, optimized for travel across snow and sea ice. Beyond transport, the qamutik embodies Inuit engineering knowledge, seasonal mobility practices, and hunting infrastructure, and is commonly built and maintained through intergenerational knowledge transmission in communal workspaces or amongst families/communities.

²⁵ See Appendices X-Y for photographic documentation of shared workspaces and informal knowledge exchange at the municipally owned Sissa warehouse, Sisimiut (photographs by author, August 2022).

and principles associated with Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit, including learning by doing and the transmission of knowledge from Elders to younger generations through shared practice. The warehouse represents a convergence of hard and soft infrastructure, where municipal investment enables mentorship, mutual support, and cultural continuity. Similar facilities exist across Greenland, reflecting a broader municipal commitment to hunting livelihoods.

These warehouses do more than provide physical workspace and storage. Knowledge circulates quietly as people work side by side, with skills acquired through observation, repetition, and routine. Norms and ethics emerge through shared labour and collaboration, learned through participation, gentle correction, and teamwork. Governance in these spaces therefore relies not only on formal rules, but on collective practices that are reproduced over time through everyday work.

9.3.2 Hunter and Fisher Warehouse, Qaanaaq

The warehouse in Qaanaaq, which is municipally owned and maintained, illustrates regionally responsive infrastructure shaped by environmental and cultural conditions in Avanersuaq²⁶. Extensive sea ice and whale hunting regulations require qajaq-based harvesting, necessitating spaces for qajaq construction and maintenance. The warehouse supports qajaq and sled building, boat modification, and intergenerational teaching, with experienced hunters guiding younger hunters.

This warehouse functions as a site of cultural reproduction where skills, ethics, and relationships to land and animals are actively sustained alongside material production.

²⁶ See Appendix Z, along with Figures 13–14, for photographic documentation of the spatial and material characteristics of the municipally owned hunter and fisher warehouse in Qaanaaq (photographs by author, June 2023).

Figure 13: Interior of the hunter and fisher warehouse in Qaanaaq as a multi-use workspace.



A wide view of the municipally provided warehouse showing qajaq construction, shared workbenches, tools, lifting equipment, and storage for hunting-related activities. The space supports boat modification, sled and qajaq building, and collaborative work beyond private homes. Photograph by author, Qaanaaq, June 2023.

Figure 14: Qajaq construction inside the municipally owned hunter and fisher warehouse, Qaanaaq.



Hunters collaboratively building a qajaq frame within a shared workshop space. The image highlights qajaq construction as a living skill supported by municipal infrastructure, enabling material production and intergenerational knowledge transmission. Photograph by author, Qaanaaq, June 2023.

9.4 Fuel and Accessibility: Mobility as Infrastructure

Beyond fuel access alone, Greenland's marine infrastructure is itself a defining feature of the hunting economy. Every nunaqarfik²⁷, town, and city has marine

²⁷ Nunaqarfik refers to a settlement, typically a small coastal community distinct from larger towns and cities. Greenland has approximately 54 such settlements, many of which do not appear on standard

infrastructure — docks, quays, and harbours — forming a foundational condition for coastal mobility, safety, and economic participation. This near-universal presence is exceptional in the circumpolar context and closely tied to Greenland’s post–Home Rule governance trajectory.

In contrast to Nunavut, where limited harbour infrastructure increases costs and logistical complexity, Greenland embeds fuel access, docking, and safe embarkation into a unified system. Fuel stations are typically located directly on the water, allowing hunters to refuel without land transport. Much of this access is provided through publicly owned supply chains, ensuring consistency across communities.

This accessibility allows hunters to operate according to environmental conditions rather than retail schedules, reinforcing autonomy and safety as core conditions of the hunt-to-sell economy.

9.5 Cold Chain and Logistics Infrastructure

9.5.1 Mamaq Freight

Mamaq Freight provides subsidized air transport for frozen country food within Greenland and is operated through Air Greenland, the country’s sole domestic air service provider and a crown corporation under Naalakkersuisut. This system allows harvested foods to be shared among family members, supplied to businesses and institutions, and sold through multiple pathways at a fraction of standard cargo costs. By lowering transport costs, Mamaq Freight supports both social distribution networks and commercial viability.

9.5.2 Royal Arctic Line

Royal Arctic Line serves as the primary means of shipping frozen harvested foods by sea, both within Greenland and internationally, and operates as a state-owned enterprise and crown corporation under Naalakkersuisut (Government of

maps, yet each is integrated into national infrastructure systems, including marine access points essential for transport, hunting, and economic life.

Greenland). It is the only infrastructure compliant with European import standards, making it essential for export. Together with Mamaq Freight, it forms a national cold-chain system extending the reach of Greenland's hunting economy.

9.6 Financial and Policy Infrastructure

Financial support mechanisms constitute another critical layer of soft infrastructure. Programs such as the Erhvervsstøtteudvalget (ESU), a publicly administered scheme under Naalakkersuisut and implemented in cooperation with municipalities, provide hunters with access to capital for boats and equipment, addressing structural barriers related to cost and safety. These programs integrate hunting within broader governance frameworks.

KNAPK plays a central role in shaping these systems by articulating needs, setting pricing standards, and advocating for infrastructure that reflects hunting realities. Financial infrastructure thus complements physical facilities by enabling long-term participation in the hunting economy.

9.7 Infrastructure as Cultural Reproduction

Across markets, warehouses, fuel stations, and transport networks, infrastructure sustains culture as much as commerce. Shared workspaces facilitate mentorship, markets create visibility, and logistics enable food circulation within kinship networks. Infrastructure is lived, supporting the reproduction of skills, values, and responsibilities that define hunting as a way of life.

9.8 Comparative Reflections: Greenland and Nunavut

A comparative lens highlights the specificity of Greenland's infrastructure model. In Nunavut, hunter support is primarily delivered through Inuit organizations operating alongside a public territorial government. In Greenland, by contrast, hunting infrastructure is administered through state and municipal systems, reflecting a different governance history and legal framework.

These structural differences have practical implications. Greenland's publicly managed markets, workshops, and fuel systems create forms of access and integration that do not have direct equivalents in Nunavut. This comparison underscores how infrastructure reflects broader political arrangements and shapes the conditions under which hunting economies function.

9.9 Conclusion: Infrastructure, Interdependence, and Inuit Food Sovereignty

The chapter demonstrates that Greenland's four distribution pathways are mutually enabling and intersect through shared infrastructures. Markets, warehouses, fuel systems, logistics, financing, and regulation together form an interdependent ecology underpinning the hunt-to-sell system.

Infrastructure operates not as a backdrop but as the foundation of hunting practice. Through public ownership of air, marine, and fuel systems, hunting logistics are embedded within state and municipal governance, materially supporting Inuit food security and food sovereignty.

Looking at infrastructure in this way required a shift in perspective. Rather than treating individual facilities as separate units, such as a warehouse in one place and a market in another, the analysis follows how these elements depend on one another and function together. Roads, storage, inspection spaces, pricing mechanisms, and digital systems form a connected environment that supports hunting and distribution only when its parts are aligned.

Approaching infrastructure as an interdependent system makes it possible to see how regulated Indigenous hunt to sell economies are sustained in practice. Material arrangements, governance structures, and cultural ways of working do not exist as separate layers stacked on top of one another. They are entangled, shaping and adjusting to each other over time. Attending to this alignment helps clarify how hunting becomes workable as a livelihood, not through any single intervention, but through the careful coordination of systems, relationships, and practice.

10. Barriers to Accessing Industry Knowledge

Over more than a decade of visiting Greenland, one of the first things that stood out to me was how different the hunting landscape felt when compared to Nunavut, particularly in terms of how harvested foods circulate within everyday life. The species harvested were familiar, yet the everyday accessibility of harvested foods across land, water, and ice was extraordinary. Even as a visitor, prior to moving to Kalaallit Nunaat, and as an Inuk without immediate hunting family ties in Greenland at the time, I could readily find ummimmak, tuttu, nattiq, and mattaaq in grocery stores and local markets²⁸. This accessibility immediately raised deeper questions about how such a system is organized, who maintains it, and what governance mechanisms make it possible.

When I attempted to learn more, I realized that no single source existed that brought together the hunting regulations, processing and distribution pathways, or everyday market practices that shape Greenland's hunt-to-sell system. That absence of consolidated knowledge became one of the driving forces of this thesis. It also revealed a central methodological challenge: the knowledge environment itself is fragmented, multilingual, relational, and shaped by institutional legacies and Indigenous practice.

Indigenous scholars remind us that research must be grounded in positionality, relationships, and transparency (Kovach, 2009; Smith, 2012; Wilson, 2008). As an Inuk researcher who can compare experiences across jurisdictions in Inuit Nunaat, the barriers I encountered were not simply bureaucratic inconveniences. They were indicators of how knowledge circulates, who holds it, and which governance systems are prioritized in Greenland's hunting industry. These barriers also have broader implications beyond the scope of this research. They shape how policy is evaluated, how accountability is exercised, and how Inuit jurisdictions learn from one another. When industry knowledge remains fragmented or linguistically inaccessible, the

²⁸ Ummimmak (muskox), tuttu (reindeer/caribou), nattiq (ringed seal), and mattaaq (whale skin and blubber) are staple Inuit harvested foods. What is notable in the Greenlandic context is not the species themselves, but their routine availability through formal retail outlets and local markets, making them accessible beyond immediate hunting or kinship networks.

result is not merely inconvenience but structural limits on Inuit-led policy development.

This chapter analyzes barriers to accessing industry knowledge as a governance issue rather than a technical inconvenience. It shows how language regimes, dispersed institutional responsibilities, and the absence of consolidated documentation shape who can participate in regulation, evaluate policy, and hold systems accountable. It also explains why relational fieldwork was necessary to produce the pathway and infrastructure analyzes presented in Chapters 8 and 9.

10.1 Language and Bureaucratic Challenges

One of the most persistent barriers involved language. Greenland's regulatory and administrative environment operates primarily in Danish, while Kalaallisut is the dominant language of everyday life and community governance. For a researcher working academically in English, this means that the vast majority of official documents, including quota decisions, ministerial announcements, licensing rules, and statistical reports, must be approached through translation or interpretation.

This challenge is not limited to non-Danish-speaking researchers. Many hunters who work primarily in Kalaallisut encounter similar barriers when official documents are available only in Danish. This dynamic shapes who has access to policy information and who must rely on intermediaries. Scholars of Indigenous research methodologies emphasize that language structures power within research and governance (Kovach, 2009; Smith, 2012). Inuit organizations such as ITK (2018) and ICC (2020) likewise assert that equitable access to information is essential to Inuit sovereignty and food security.

In this context, linguistic barriers operate not merely as logistical hurdles but as embedded governance constraints. They influence how information circulates, how regulatory intent is understood, and how different actors encounter policy in practice. Some engage directly with written regulations and policy texts, while others encounter governance primarily through enforcement, custom, or informal

explanation, shaping uneven experiences of participation and authority within the system.

Language shapes how governance is encountered. For some, it is a process they can read, interpret, and engage with directly. For others, governance is experienced more indirectly, through enforcement actions, reliance on intermediaries, or forms of institutional gatekeeping that limit opportunities for direct engagement.

10.2 Absence of Centralized Information Systems

A second barrier concerns the way information about Greenland's hunting industry is structured and maintained. Knowledge relevant to hunting, processing, distribution, and sale is not held within a single institutional body but is instead distributed across municipalities, ministerial departments, hunters' organizations, processing facilities, retail environments, and community practice. Each plays a distinct role within the system, yet none is responsible for maintaining a comprehensive or unified account of how the industry functions as a whole. This distribution of responsibility can make accountability difficult to locate, because no single institution is positioned to explain the system end-to-end or to be questioned about how the full hunt-to-sell economy operates.

Rather than reflecting a lack of knowledge, this structure reflects a system that has developed through layered governance, regional variation, and Inuit practices that prioritize local decision-making and responsiveness. Information is generated where it is needed and used, not necessarily where it can be centrally archived. As a result, understanding the system requires moving between sites, actors, and forms of knowledge, piecing together insights that are rarely documented in a single format.

Arctic and Indigenous scholars have long noted that Inuit food systems are grounded in relational, experiential, and community-based ways of knowing rather than centralized bureaucratic reporting, reflecting broader Inuit epistemologies of land use and mobility (Aporta, 2004) and long-standing subsistence and food-sharing practices (Nuttall, 1992). In Greenland, this means that critical knowledge about hunting economies is embedded in practice, conversation, and observation. While

this approach is effective for local functioning, it presents challenges for researchers and policymakers who rely on standardized documentation. Recognizing this characteristic is therefore essential, not as a deficiency, but as a defining feature of how Inuit hunting systems operate. As the system expands into more formal stores and larger supply chains, new problems appear. Information does not always move with the system as easily as the rules do.

Guidance may be scattered, poorly translated, or connected to certain offices or regions. For those trying to figure things out, especially across different languages or areas, this can make it hard to get the knowledge they need. What is clear to some remains confusing to others, not because anyone meant it that way, but because the system has grown faster than the shared understanding needed to use it with confidence. At the same time, this structure has concrete implications for data availability. While Statistics Greenland publishes aggregate figures related to harvests, production, and trade, these data are often not disaggregated at a regional or community level. As a result, they provide only a partial view of how hunting economies function in practice, limiting the ability of researchers and policymakers to assess regional variation, local market dynamics, or community-specific impacts.

10.3 The Necessity of Fieldwork

Because institutional documentation is uneven, limited, or dispersed, fieldwork became indispensable. Nearly all substantive insights for this thesis emerged from conversations with hunters, engagement with local markets, visits to processing facilities, discussions with store managers, consultations with representatives of multi-level governments, and sustained observation of everyday practices. These experiences revealed aspects of the hunting system that are absent from policy documents—such as the relationships between hunters and retailers, the social dynamics of market sales, and the everyday strategies hunters use to navigate regulatory systems.

Indigenous methodological frameworks emphasize the importance of learning through relationships, presence, and practice (Wilson, 2008; Smith, 2012; Inuit Circumpolar Council, 2020). Within Inuit knowledge systems, information is often

conveyed through demonstration, observation, and shared activity. Fieldwork therefore allowed me to access forms of knowledge that are central to the industry yet invisible in formal archives.

This approach also underscores a broader point: Western academic expectations for centralized, easily retrievable data do not align with Inuit governance or Indigenous food systems. Rather than being a limitation of Greenland's system, this experiential mode of knowledge circulation reflects longstanding Inuit practices that prioritize relational accountability and community expertise.

The approach in Chapter 8 addresses a practical problem: important elements in these systems are scattered, routine, and easily overlooked. Pathways help reveal these dispersed practices by tracing their connections across stages and settings, without forcing them into one category. Chapter 9 tackles a similar issue in a different way. Instead of relying on incomplete central records, it examines material systems such as buildings, equipment, and workflows to see how governance happens in practice. Here, rules are enacted and documented, filling documentation gaps by embedding regulations into everyday infrastructure.

10.4 Building Accessible Knowledge for Inuit Policymaking

A central goal of this research was to contribute to Inuit-led policymaking by creating a clear and accessible account of how Greenland's hunting industry operates. Greenland presents a unique model in Inuit Nunaat: harvested foods are widely available through commercial channels, hunters interact directly with stores, and regulatory frameworks blend Indigenous values with formal administrative structures. Understanding these systems has practical relevance for policymakers, hunters, and researchers across the Arctic.

From my experience working in Inuit public policy in Nunavut, I know that gaps in accessible data can hinder the ability of Inuit institutions to design or defend policy grounded in Inuit priorities. Inuit organizations such as ICC and ITK emphasize the importance of Inuit-defined evidence and community-driven research. By synthesizing dispersed information into a coherent account, this chapter reorients

how Greenland's hunting industry can be understood by Inuit policymakers, researchers, and institutions working across jurisdictions, and provides a foundation for future comparative and policy-oriented work.

This chapter therefore reflects not only an academic inquiry into the structure of knowledge but also a commitment to strengthening Inuit capacity to shape food systems, economic policy, and governance on Inuit terms.

10.5 Affirming First-Person Academic Voice

Because this chapter analyzes the barriers I encountered firsthand, the use of first-person narrative is both methodologically appropriate and consistent with Indigenous research traditions. Indigenous scholars emphasize that research must acknowledge the researcher's location, relationships, and responsibilities (Kovach, 2009; Wilson, 2008). Writing in the first person reflects the realities of conducting research in a multilingual, relational, community-based environment and strengthens the transparency and accountability of this work. The voice adopted here is not a matter of style for its own sake. It grows out of the way the work was done. Writing in this way reflects how knowledge was actually encountered, in fragments, through conversation, observation, and time spent alongside people and practices. Interpretation did not happen all at once, nor did understanding arrive fully formed. It was pieced together gradually, shaped by context, repetition, and reflection. The voice of the text follows that process, making visible how insights were gathered, worked through, and finally assembled into an analysis.

The barriers described here are not abstract concepts but lived experiences shaped by my position as an Inuk researcher working across two different Inuit jurisdictions. Maintaining that voice ensures academic integrity and aligns the chapter with established Indigenous methodological standards. It also reflects Inuit approaches to knowledge, responsibility, and accountability, where understanding emerges through relationship, experience, and ethical engagement rather than detachment.

Seen alongside one another, these barriers point to something broader at work. The hunt-to-sell system is shaped not only by law, licensing arrangements, organizations,

pathways, and infrastructure, but also by how information itself moves, including how it is produced, where it circulates, and who can access it. What becomes visible, and who it is visible to, matters. It influences who can participate in the system with confidence, who can assess how policy works in practice, and how Inuit jurisdictions might learn from each other's experiences.

The discussion that follows remains grounded in these tensions. It examines how the system's strengths and limitations interact, sometimes reinforcing one another and at other times pulling in different directions. From there, it becomes possible to reflect on what this means for Inuit food sovereignty and for the kinds of policy approaches that may be needed in the future across Inuit Nunaat — approaches grounded not only in regulation but also in shared understanding and accessible knowledge.

11. Discussion

11.1 Reframing the Research Through Inuit Experience

This research began with a question rooted in my position as an Inuk from Nunavut: why does Greenland maintain a functioning hunt-to-sell system while Nunavut, despite shared cultural foundations, does not? In Nunavut, hunting remains integral to family sustenance, food security, knowledge transmission, and community life. However, under the Nunavut Agreement and its implementing legislation, including the Nunavut Act, harvesting is formally recognized as an Inuit right oriented toward subsistence and domestic use rather than as a category of professional labour (Nunavut Agreement, Art. 5; Nunavut Act, S.C. 1993, c. 28). Nonetheless, Inuit in Nunavut routinely engage in economic dimensions of harvesting — whether purchasing food through community networks, social media platforms, or regional processors such as Kivalliq Arctic Foods. These practices illustrate that Inuit already participate in food economies, even if such participation remains unacknowledged in formal policy frameworks, supporting infrastructure, or complementary state and territorial legislation.

Encountering Greenland's system revealed the extent to which law shapes Indigenous livelihood possibilities. In Greenland, hunting is treated as skilled labour supported by coordinated legislation and institutional structures. The difference between the two regions does not reflect cultural difference; it instead highlights how regulatory environments determine whether land–water–ice–based livelihoods are recognized as legitimate forms of work within a modern state. This insight informs the analysis that follows and frames the discussion of how law, infrastructure, and governance interact to shape the pathways through which harvested food moves from hunt to table across land, water, and ice.

Throughout the thesis, different analytical strands, including legal frameworks, institutional arrangements, material infrastructures, and everyday relationships, are shown to interact, shaping one another rather than existing as isolated layers. Together, they reveal that understanding Greenland's hunt-to-sell system relies less on cultural difference and more on the realities of governance in practice. The key

issue is not hunting's place outside modern economic life, but how regulatory choices and institutional designs enable or constrain it.

Hunting, then, emerges not as an exception but as skilled labour, its viability dependent on how systems are organized. Rules, standards, and infrastructures do not merely surround hunting; they determine whether it can function as a livelihood. Focusing on these conditions shifts the explanation from culture to governance, the ground on which possibilities are defined or foreclosed.

11.2 Legal Foundations and Their Effects on Economic Possibility

Greenland's hunt-to-sell system emerges from a combination of legislative instruments that collectively support the recognition of hunting as productive labour. The Hunting Act of Greenland defines who may be licensed as a full-time hunter and outlines the responsibilities associated with this status. The Veterinary and Food Authority Act provides the regulatory infrastructure that enables wildlife products to circulate safely and legally within domestic markets. Together with municipal administration and price-setting mechanisms informed by Inuit expertise through KNAPK, these frameworks create a coherent environment in which hunting functions as a viable livelihood. Although uneven across regions, the system remains institutionally supported and widely understood.

Nunavut's regulatory framework differs substantially. Although Inuit harvesting rights are constitutionally protected, federal regulatory frameworks interpret these rights narrowly as subsistence and domestic-oriented rather than economic or professional. Canadian food safety laws, wildlife statutes, and inspection requirements, developed to govern agricultural and industrial food production, do not align with Indigenous harvesting practices and leave no space for community-based inspection systems or domestic commercial pathways. As a result, hunting cannot be legally recognized as labour within Nunavut's regulatory environment, despite Inuit engagement in informal economic exchange.

This comparison demonstrates that the contrast between Greenland and Nunavut is shaped not by cultural preference but by legal structures rooted in different colonial

histories. Greenland's system evolved within a regulatory landscape capable of integrating traditional livelihoods into economic governance, whereas Nunavut's remains limited by federal systems that do not recognize Indigenous land–water–ice–based work as part of the formal economy.

Seen this way, law is not something that merely constrains Indigenous practice. It is active and generative. Over time, it plays a decisive role in defining which activities come to count as work at all. It shapes whether hunting can be supported through roads, storage, inspection, and markets, and whether it can be sustained as a way of making a living rather than remaining marginal or precarious. In everyday terms, law becomes part of the conditions that allow hunting to endure or, alternatively, make it difficult to continue, not in the abstract but across seasons and over the long run.

11.3 Hunting as Skilled Labour and Professional Identity

One of the clearest findings of this research is that the Greenlandic model acknowledges hunting as a form of skilled and specialized labour. The legal category of the professional hunter recognizes the expertise required to maintain equipment, navigate changing ice and weather conditions, and supply communities consistently throughout the year. This recognition does not diminish the cultural significance of hunting; instead, it affirms that cultural practices and modern economic systems need not be mutually exclusive. For many Inuit, the capacity to make a living from the land represents both a continuation of pre-colonial relationships and a meaningful adaptation to contemporary economic realities. Greenland's regulatory framework enables this possibility.

11.4 Variation Within a Coherent System

Although Greenland's system is nationally coherent, distribution pathways operate differently across regions. Throughout the thesis, pathways have been used to trace how harvested food moves from hunt to table across land, water, and ice; here, these pathways are shown to be shaped primarily by legal recognition and institutional design rather than cultural preference or individual capacity. While some smaller settlements lack restaurants or local commercial outlets, hunters may ship

harvested products to larger hubs using freight services such as Mamaq Freight or Royal Arctic Line, where additional pathways exist. Larger towns therefore tend to offer greater proximity to markets and transportation infrastructure, while smaller settlements experience fewer viable pathways due to logistical constraints. This variation does not undermine the system's integrity; rather, it demonstrates that the hunt-to-sell system is designed to accommodate multiple pathways, allowing local conditions to shape hunting livelihoods within a shared legal framework.

Examining pathways reveals subtle differences in food distribution that are otherwise difficult to see. Tracking the movement of harvested food, including its directions, stops, and requirements, exposes the interplay of legal recognition, infrastructure, and logistics. These elements converge at specific points, determining which routes remain open and which quietly close.

Viewed through this lens, distribution patterns emerge as outcomes of system design, not merely as preferences or traditions. Apparent choices are often predicated on governance decisions shaping how food circulates. Mapping pathways makes these underlying conditions clear, revealing how law, support, and organization directly expand or limit possibilities.

11.5 Implications for Nunavut: Law, Practice, and the Limits of Recognition

This thesis does not argue that Nunavut should replicate Greenland's model. Many Inuit value the social and ethical responsibilities embedded in sharing practices and may view commercialization as incompatible with particular relationships to animals and community. At the same time, informal exchanges in Nunavut reveal existing economic dimensions of harvesting that remain unrecognized by federal regulation. The absence of a regulated hunt-to-sell system should therefore be understood as a consequence of legal constraints rather than cultural resistance.

For some Inuit in Nunavut, selling harvested meat is viewed as inconsistent with deeply held ethical teachings regarding responsibility, reciprocity, and respect for animals. These perspectives, articulated by Elders as well as many active hunters across generations, reinforce the centrality of hunt-to-share systems and explain why

commercialization is not universally desired. Acknowledging these positions is essential, not as an argument against alternative pathways, but as recognition that Inuit harvesting practices are governed by diverse moral frameworks that coexist within contemporary communities.

A further distinction between the two regions concerns price regulation. Greenland's annually updated price-per-kilo lists, negotiated and published by local KNAPK chapters, establish predictable and transparent benchmarks for both hunters and consumers. These prices do not eliminate regional variation, but they provide a stabilizing framework that supports hunter income while ensuring that consumers encounter consistent pricing across local markets. In Nunavut, where no comparable regulatory structure exists, informal sales on social media platforms can fluctuate widely. For some buyers, competitive bidding can make access difficult; for hunters, the absence of stable prices can lead to both undercompensation in some cases and inflated prices in others. These dynamics are not presented as deficiencies of Inuit practice, but as reflections of how unregulated markets behave when formal pathways are unavailable. The contrast underscores how legal and institutional structures shape not only the possibility of commercial exchange but also its accessibility, fairness, and sustainability for both harvesters and community members.

Looking across the different cases, a pattern begins to take shape. The question of whether a hunt-to-sell system exists does not seem to hinge on Inuit values or commitments to ways of life grounded in land, sea, and ice. Those values are present in every context examined. What varies instead is how state and territorial governance respond to them. In some settings, hunting across land, sea, and ice is recognized as work — something that can be supported, regulated, and sustained as a livelihood. In others, that recognition never quite materializes. The comparison suggests that the decisive factor lies less in culture than in governance: whether public institutions are willing and practically able to treat Indigenous hunting labour as economically legitimate.

Another distinction between Nunavut and Greenland lies in the organization and representation of hunters within governance structures. In Nunavut, each of the

territory's twenty-five communities maintains a strong Hunters and Trappers Association or Organization, reflecting deeply rooted local governance and accountability. However, unlike Greenland's KNAPK, there is no single Nunavut-wide body that consolidates these voices into a unified platform capable of mobilizing regionally specific realities at a national scale. As a result, hunter concerns are articulated primarily at the community level, with limited capacity to shape territorial policy in a coordinated manner.

This dynamic is further shaped by Nunavut's status as a public government operating alongside Inuit governance institutions such as NTI and the regional Inuit associations. Because hunting is understood largely as an Inuit governance domain, municipal and territorial governments provide relatively limited direct support to hunters in terms of infrastructure, market development, or livelihood programming. While Inuit governance in Nunavut is strong, this division of responsibility contributes to a situation in which hunting remains central to Inuit life but peripheral within territorial economic and development policy. In contrast, Greenland's centralized hunter organization and self-governing framework enable hunting to be addressed simultaneously as cultural practice, livelihood, and economic sector.

More broadly, this comparison reveals that Canadian federal legislation governing food systems and economic activity remains rooted in regulatory models developed for southern agricultural and industrial production, resulting in frameworks that systematically privilege those industries while constraining Indigenous harvesting economies in the North. Rather than reflecting contemporary Inuit realities, these regimes reproduce colonial priorities and racialized assumptions about legitimate forms of production (Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2019), generating uneven outcomes across regions and livelihoods. These constraints operate within a context of severe food insecurity in Nunavut, where approximately seven out of ten Inuit children live in food-insecure households, heightening the stakes of how harvesting, distribution, and access to country food are governed (Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2021).

11.6 Systemic Tensions and Ongoing Adaptation in Greenland

Despite its coherence, Greenland's system is not without challenges. Hunters continue to navigate rising operational costs, changing environmental conditions, and uneven access to infrastructure across regions. These pressures illustrate that even a functioning hunt-to-sell system requires ongoing adjustment and support, and regulatory frameworks must remain responsive to economic and environmental change rather than static over time.

11.6.1 Constitutional Futures and the Question of Hunting Eligibility

Greenland's movement toward possible independence introduces further questions about the legal foundations of its hunt-to-sell system, particularly in relation to ongoing debates about self-government and state formation (Ackrén & Jakobsen, 2015). The draft constitution prepared by the Greenland Constitutional Commission affirms collective ownership of land and natural resources and recognizes a right to use the environment, including hunting, though this is framed primarily in subsistence terms (Greenland Constitutional Commission, 2023). The document does not specify how eligibility for hunting would be determined in an independent state, nor how existing regulatory mechanisms for wildlife products would be incorporated into future legal structures. This absence reflects the early stage of constitutional development and leaves substantial room for future legislative interpretation. The current residency-based system aligns with Danish-era administrative traditions and has supported an inclusive approach to participation in hunting livelihoods.

By comparison, in Nunavut, eligibility to harvest wildlife is explicitly tied to Inuit identity under the Nunavut Agreement. This approach is not experienced as restrictive, but as an affirmation that Inuit homelands, and the land–water–ice systems that sustain them, should primarily benefit Inuit families and communities. While non-Inuit participation is possible in limited circumstances, such as through marriage to an Inuk who shares harvesting rights, the underlying principle centres long-term responsibility to the land, ice, and sea rather than transient or extractive access. Nunavut's model thus offers a contrasting governance approach in which

identity, continuity, and relational accountability are placed at the core of harvesting rights, raising important considerations for Greenland as it debates how hunting eligibility may be defined in a future constitutional framework. However, debates in public and political arenas suggest that independence may prompt reconsideration of how political membership is defined and whether rights such as hunting should be tied more explicitly to Inuit identity. A shift toward identity-based eligibility would fundamentally alter the composition and administration of the hunting sector, while maintaining the residency model would preserve continuity but may not fully reflect emerging aspirations for Indigenous self-definition.

Although the direction of constitutional development remains uncertain, these discussions demonstrate that the future configuration of Greenland's hunt-to-sell system is closely linked to broader decisions regarding citizenship, rights, and state formation. Understanding these possibilities is essential for interpreting the system not as fixed but as part of a dynamic political landscape in which the terms of land-based livelihoods may evolve.

11.7 Contribution and Broader Implications

This thesis argues that legal frameworks, infrastructure, and institutional design profoundly shape the visibility, viability, and legitimacy of Inuit hunting economies, thereby determining the governance of livelihoods grounded in land, sea, and ice.

This thesis demonstrates that the economic possibilities available to Inuit are shaped not by cultural disposition but by legal and administrative structures. By situating Greenland and Nunavut in direct comparison, it becomes clear that hunting can function as a regulated livelihood when supported by coherent legislation and infrastructure, whereas in Nunavut, federal regulatory systems limit the recognition of Indigenous labour grounded in land, sea, and ice. The research also shows that Inuit already navigate economic aspects of harvesting within informal systems, revealing gaps between lived practice and formal categories.

By documenting Greenland's hunt-to-sell system through fieldwork, interviews, and institutional analysis, and situating it within both current and emerging political

contexts, this thesis contributes to a deeper understanding of how Indigenous economies are structured, supported, or constrained by law. It underscores that legal frameworks shape what livelihoods appear possible and that future political developments, particularly constitutional decisions in Greenland, may further redefine work grounded in land, sea, and ice. Ultimately, the comparison highlights the importance of aligning legal structures with the realities of Indigenous practice. In doing so, it challenges the persistent framing of Inuit harvesting as solely cultural or subsistence-based, demonstrating instead that hunting constitutes skilled labour embedded within complex economic systems that are rendered visible or invisible through law.

Looking across the cases side by side, one thing becomes increasingly difficult to ignore. The question is not whether hunting is skilled work, or whether it sits within complex economic arrangements — it clearly does. What differs is how legal and material systems respond to those realities. Where governance frameworks recognize and support what people are already doing, hunting becomes visible as labour and can be sustained over time. Where that alignment is absent, the same practices are pushed to the margins and, in some cases, become impossible to sustain. The comparison suggests that governance does not merely regulate Indigenous economies from the outside; it plays a decisive role in determining whether they can be seen, supported, and allowed to endure.

12. Conclusion and Recommendations

12.1 Reframing the Thesis Contribution

This thesis set out to understand how Greenland's hunt-to-sell system functions in practice and what that system reveals about Inuit hunting economies more broadly. Rather than treating hunting as a residual cultural activity or an informal supplement to wage labour, the research demonstrates that in Kalaallit Nunaat (Greenland), hunting operates as a legally recognized, institutionally supported livelihood embedded within Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit and contemporary governance structures.

Across Chapters 1–11, the thesis traced how law, governance, infrastructure, and everyday practice intersect to shape the pathways through which harvested food moves from land, water, and ice to households, markets, institutions, and, in some cases, international destinations. The contribution of this work lies not in claiming ownership over Inuit knowledge that has always existed, but in bringing together dispersed and often inaccessible information into a coherent framework that reflects lived realities and may support community priorities. In this sense, the research is grounded in principles of Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit, including but not limited to *pijitsirniq* — service — rather than individual academic achievement.

Analytically, the thesis contributes a governance-centred account of Inuit hunting economies, demonstrating how legal recognition, institutional design, and infrastructure determine whether hunting can function as a visible, supported livelihood within a modern state.

12.2 The Four Hunt-to-Table Pathways Revisited

A central analytical contribution of this thesis is the identification, definition, and documentation of four distinct hunt-to-table pathways through which harvested animals circulate in Kalaallit Nunaat. Rather than functioning as simple transactional routes, these pathways describe socially and institutionally distinct forms of distribution that reflect Inuit values, governance arrangements, and infrastructural conditions. For clarity and consistency, they are defined as follows:

1. Qanigisat: Kinship Distribution Pathway – the circulation of harvested food through family, kinship, and close social networks, grounded in Inuit principles of sharing, reciprocity, and responsibility.
2. Nunaqqatit: Community and Institutional Distribution Pathway – the distribution of harvests to community-level or public institutions such as schools, care facilities, workplaces, and community programs, often mediated through formal or semi-formal arrangements.
3. Pisiniarfiit: Retail Distribution Pathway – the sale of harvested products through markets, kiosks, and retail outlets, operating within regulated pricing, inspection, and licensing frameworks.
4. Neriniartarfiit: Culinary Distribution Pathway – the provision of harvested foods to restaurants and culinary spaces, where Inuit foods are transformed and presented within commercial food service contexts.

These pathways are not merely descriptive categories. They function as analytical tools that reveal how governance, infrastructure, and social relationships shape economic possibility in practice.

The research shows that hunters do not experience the hunt-to-sell system as a single, uniform process. Instead, they navigate multiple, overlapping pathways depending on season, species, geography, access to infrastructure, and administrative requirements. Importantly, these pathways are mutually enabling rather than isolated. A single harvest may move through several pathways, drawing on shared infrastructures such as markets, cold storage, transport systems, and regulatory oversight.

When the four pathways are considered alongside one another, they open the way to examine how Indigenous harvesting systems meet governance and infrastructure in practice. Rather than pointing towards a single model of economic development, the framework stays with difference. It makes space for variation in political arrangements, regulatory traditions, and material conditions, while still allowing patterns to be traced across contexts. Used in this way, the pathways do not prescribe how harvesting economies should function. They provide a way of

following how relationships between land, sea, ice, labour, regulation, and circulation are worked out differently from place to place.

Although this point was articulated particularly clearly in one interview, it reflected a shared observation voiced by many hunters: while multiple pathways offer flexibility, some are more burdensome than others. In particular, the need to repeatedly identify buyers or engage in door-to-door selling after returning from a hunt places significant demands on hunters' time and labour. Several hunters therefore recommended strengthening existing pathways through coordinated mechanisms—such as hubs or systems that pair hunters with buyers upon return from the hunt. These recommendations do not seek to replace existing practices but to reduce inefficiencies, support predictability, and better align the system with Inuit values of time on the land, reciprocity, and collective benefit.

12.3 Infrastructure as Governance

The effectiveness of Greenland's hunt-to-sell system is inseparable from the infrastructures that support it. As demonstrated throughout the thesis, infrastructure in Kalaallit Nunaat operates as governance in material form. Markets, warehouses, fuel systems, cold-chain logistics, shipping networks, financing programs, and regulatory institutions together constitute an interdependent ecology that enables hunting to function as a livelihood.

Core systems — including marine fuel access, freight transport, shipping, and processing facilities — are largely embedded within publicly owned or publicly supported institutions under Naalakkersuisut (Government of Greenland). These infrastructures materially support mobility, safety, and legal compliance, allowing hunters to operate according to environmental conditions rather than market constraints.

Importantly, this research identified that a portion of harvested products in Kalaallit Nunaat are exported under European Union food safety and veterinary standards. While export represents only a subset of total harvests, EU compliance requires approved facilities, traceability systems, veterinary oversight, and cold-chain

logistics. The existence of these export pathways demonstrates the robustness of Greenland's institutional and infrastructural capacity and illustrates that Inuit harvesting can operate within international regulatory frameworks when appropriate supports are in place.

12.4 Implications for Nunavut and Canada

The comparative analysis with Nunavut underscores that differences between the two regions are shaped primarily by law, governance, and infrastructure rather than by cultural disposition. In Nunavut, harvesting remains central to Inuit life, yet federal regulatory frameworks interpret harvesting rights narrowly as subsistence-oriented. Canadian food safety, inspection, and wildlife laws — developed for southern agricultural systems — leave little room for regulated hunt-to-sell pathways grounded in Indigenous practice.

This thesis does not argue that Nunavut should replicate Greenland's model. Many Inuit may prefer hunt-to-share systems, and ethical teachings regarding animals and reciprocity remain central. However, the comparison demonstrates that if Inuit communities wish to pursue regulated hunt-to-sell options, the primary barriers are structural and legal rather than cultural.

Responsibility for addressing these barriers rests largely with the Government of Canada, particularly in relation to infrastructure. Processing facilities, inspection capacity, cold storage, transportation networks, and regulatory adaptation fall within state jurisdiction. Greenland demonstrates what becomes possible when such investments are made. Nunavut's constraints should therefore be understood as policy outcomes rather than community choice.

12.5 Associations and Organizations in Inuit Hunting Governance

This thesis distinguishes between organizations and associations in order to clarify differences in governance capacity, representational authority, and institutional reach within Inuit hunting systems. While both forms play important roles, they operate at different scales and with different relationships to state and municipal governance.

In Kalaallit Nunaat, Kalaallit Nunaanni Aalisartut Piniartullu Kattuffiat (KNAPK) functions as a national organization with formal recognition and a co-governing role in hunting and fisheries policy. Its authority derives not only from membership size, but from its institutional integration into legislative consultations, price-setting mechanisms, and regulatory processes. KNAPK's nationwide structure allows regionally specific hunting realities to be articulated collectively at the national level.

Alongside KNAPK, organizations like SAQK represent more localized or issue-specific interests. These associations contribute important perspectives and reflect pluralism within the hunting community, yet they do not possess KNAPK's territorial reach, formal governance mandate, or sustained role in national regulatory processes. Their existence therefore complements rather than displaces KNAPK's position as the primary organizational interface between hunters, municipalities, and Naalakkersuisut (Government of Greenland).

In Nunavut, Hunters and Trappers Associations or Organizations (HTAs/HTOs) hold strong community-level authority and are central to local wildlife management and Inuit governance. However, unlike Greenland, there is no single territory-wide organization that consolidates these voices into a unified platform capable of sustained engagement with territorial and federal governments. This structural difference shapes how hunter concerns are represented and how effectively they can influence policy at broader scales.

12.6 Independence, Governance, and Shared Inuit Learning

As Greenland continues to debate possible independence, the hunting industry will inevitably be affected by shifts in regulatory authority, citizenship definitions, and international agreements. Decisions about eligibility, rights, and governance will shape who may participate in hunting livelihoods and under what conditions.

Nunavut's experience with identity-based harvesting rights offers important insights into how Inuit governance can centre responsibility, continuity, and relational accountability. Rather than treating independence trajectories as isolated national processes, this thesis argues for sustained collaboration between Inuit regions.

Kalaallit Nunaat and Nunavut are uniquely positioned to learn from one another's governance experiences, sharing best practices while navigating different political realities.

12.7 Recommendations

For Governance and Institutions in Kalaallit Nunaat

- Support accessible, culturally and linguistically appropriate financial literacy initiatives for hunters, including guidance on CVR registration, basic accounting, tax filing, and business maintenance, to reduce administrative barriers to professional participation while recognizing that harvesting expertise is not the limiting factor.
- Explore coordinated mechanisms to strengthen and evaluate hunt-to-table pathways, with particular attention to how regulatory frameworks, infrastructure availability, and market timing interact to shape food waste, income stability, and access, while respecting local practices.
- Continue supporting transport and handling infrastructure that meets external regulatory requirements where applicable, while ensuring that domestic access to country food remains central to policy and institutional design.
- Ensure equitable support for KNAPK chapters so that regional realities, including smaller and more remote communities, are adequately represented.
- Improve public accessibility of hunting regulations, pricing systems, and licensing information through clear, multilingual resources.
- Improve the collection and public availability of disaggregated hunting statistics, including the number and geographic distribution of licensed hunters, as well as demographic characteristics such as gender and age, to better inform policy design, infrastructure planning, and institutional support.
- Support the development of stronger institutional relationships between KNAPK and Inuit organizations in Nunavut to enhance coordinated Inuit representation in international fora concerned with wildlife governance, maritime regulation, and environmental policy.
- Establish Inuit-led research ethics, data governance, and data sovereignty processes in Kalaallit Nunaat to ensure that research involving hunting, food

systems, and Inuit livelihoods is conducted according to Inuit priorities, accountability structures, and consent-based practices.

- Support intergenerational knowledge transmission in hunting through programs and institutional support that connect elders, experienced hunters, and youth within existing community structures.

For Nunavut: Inuit Governance and Institutions

- Recognize and sustain existing Inuit-led hunters' support programs as a best practice in Inuit governance, building on the community-embedded work of regional Inuit organizations that provide direct, trusted support to hunters.
- Build on existing Inuit-led recognition of infrastructure as foundational to governance and economic practice by advancing implementation and operational capacity where communities seek to expand hunt-to-sell activities.
- Strengthen Inuit-led coordination across harvesting communities, including exploration of a unified representative organization for hunters that complements existing Hunters and Trappers Associations (HTAs) and Hunters and Trappers Organizations (HTOs).
- Strengthen institutional collaboration with KNAPK and other Inuit organizations to support coordinated Inuit representation and shared advocacy in international governance processes relevant to hunting, wildlife, and maritime policy.
- Support structured knowledge exchange with Kalaallit Nunaat on harvesting governance, institutional design, and community-based economic organization.
- Support intergenerational knowledge transmission in hunting through programs and institutional support that connect Elders, experienced hunters, and youth within existing community structures.

For Canada: Structural and State Responsibilities

- Invest in processing, storage, inspection, and transportation infrastructure that supports Inuit harvesting livelihoods, recognizing the persistent structural underfunding and under-resourcing of Nunavut and the significant gap between infrastructure availability in Nunavut and that of southern Canada, including the extremely limited number of marine ports.

- Align federal regulatory and inspection frameworks with Inuit harvesting realities by reforming food inspection, transport, and market access requirements that currently assume southern Canadian infrastructure and logistics, thereby reducing unintended constraints on Inuit-led economic practices.
- Facilitate and resource cross-jurisdictional knowledge exchange between Inuit regions, including Kalaallit Nunaat, in areas of hunting governance, infrastructure development, and policy design.
- Support intergenerational knowledge transmission in hunting by resourcing community-based programs that link elders, experienced hunters, and younger generations, including through infrastructure, training support, and institutional continuity.

For Academia and Research Institutions

- Move beyond extractive research models by valuing Indigenous governance documents, organizational knowledge, and lived experience as central sources rather than supplementary materials.
- Support applied, community-embedded research that prioritizes accessibility, reciprocity, and service alongside analytical contribution.
- Encourage and resource sustained, long-term research on hunting systems across Inuit Nunaat, including pathways from harvest to consumption, food security, Inuit governance, and self-determination, recognizing that these areas require sustained, comparative, and Inuit-led scholarship beyond the scope of a single study.
- Establish and adhere to Inuit-led research ethics, consent, and data governance frameworks across Arctic research institutions to ensure accountability, reciprocity, and Inuit control over knowledge production.

12.8 Future Research and Knowledge Mobilization

This thesis represents a foundation rather than an endpoint. Further research is needed to refine analysis of the four hunt-to-table pathways, conduct additional regional fieldwork, map how specific legal provisions are implemented in everyday

practice, hunting processes and examine barriers hunters face when navigating systems such as CVR registration.

Future work should prioritize making hunting-related information more publicly accessible, translating key findings into Kalaallisut, Inuktitut, and English, expanding interviews with hunters and other stakeholders, and mobilizing findings through infographics, visual tools, and presentations for communities across Inuit Nunaat. These directions align with doctoral-level research and reflect a commitment to long-term, Inuit-centred scholarship.

Stepping back from the specific cases, a broader pattern emerges. The limits faced by Indigenous economies do not appear to stem from tradition itself or from an inability to adapt. Instead, they are shaped by the extent to which states are prepared to recognize what already exists: land-based knowledge, skilled labour, and Indigenous forms of governance. Where these are acknowledged and supported, Indigenous economies can function as part of contemporary economic life. When they are overlooked or sidelined, the same practices become fragile or invisible. What emerges, then, is not a story about tradition holding economies back, but about recognition and the role of the state in deciding which forms of work and knowledge are allowed to count.

12.9 Final Reflections

Western academia often privileges distance, abstraction, and individual authorship. Inuit knowledge systems emphasize relationship, responsibility, and time on the land, sea, and ice. Throughout this thesis, analysis has been grounded in lived experience, relational accountability, and respect for knowledge shared generously by hunters and communities.

Ultimately, the most important knowledge is not found only in policy texts or academic writing. It lives in the practice of hunting itself — preparing for the hunt, feeling excitement and anticipation, travelling across our homeland, strategising together, and working as a team. It continues through hunting, processing meat, and sharing food; through sharing knowledge, teaching the next generation, and learning

by doing; through taking responsibility today for the benefit of future generations. These practices reflect Inuit Qaujimagatuqangit in action: piliriqatigiinniq (working together), pilimmaksarniq (learning through practice), pijitsirniq (service to family and community), and avatittinnik kamatsiarniq (care for the land, sea, ice, and all that sustains us). This work is offered not as a definitive account, but as part of an ongoing collective effort to live, learn, and hunt in ways that remain as close as possible to Inuit ways of being, while strengthening Inuit harvesting livelihoods, governance, and self-determination for generations to come.

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Disclaimer:

The following text is an unofficial machine translation produced using Google Translate. The original authoritative legal text is in Greenlandic and/or Danish. This translation is provided solely to support analytical discussion and accessibility for non-Greenlandic readers. In cases of discrepancy, the original language versions prevail.

Legislation | No. 12 | 29 October 1999 | ■ Repealed

Parliamentary Act on Hunting and Fishing

Scope of application of the Act.

§ 1. The Act applies to hunting and fishing on Greenland's land and fishing territory.

Purpose of the Act.

§ 2. The purpose of the Act is to ensure appropriate and biologically sound exploitation of the fishing resources.

Subsection 2. In the administration of the Act, emphasis shall be placed on the conservation and reproduction of the resources, the rational and seasonally best exploitation in accordance with customary biological advice, economic and employment considerations within the fishing industry and related industries, other commercial interests and the recreational needs of the population.

Subsection 3. In connection with the administration of fishing and hunting conditions, emphasis shall be placed on the inclusion of fishing and user knowledge, expressed, among other things, through relevant main organizations and the Fishing Council.

Subsection 4. The Government may lay down further provisions on the inclusion of hunter and user knowledge in connection with the administration of hunting and trapping conditions, cf. subsection 3.

Definitions.

§ 3. In this Act, "permanent connection to Greenlandic society" means persons who, by establishing a household, renting or purchasing a residence or by other measures, indicate their intention to have their domicile in Greenland.

Subsection 2. In this Act, "license" means a right to catch and hunt a specific species that the National Government may grant to a person or a vessel.

Subsection 3. In this Act, "vessel" or "vehicle" means any means of transport on water or land used in connection with catching, hunting and fishing or as a means of transport to and from the catching area.

Conditions for access to hunting and trapping.

§ 4. Hunting and trapping may only be carried out by persons with a permit to do so. The permit is granted in the form of a commercial hunting permit or a recreational hunting permit, cf. however, § 7.

Subsection 2. Permits for commercial hunting and trapping may only be granted to persons who

- 1) have a permanent connection to Greenlandic society;
- 2) are registered in a population register in Greenland and have had a population register address in Greenland for the past 2 years; and
- 3) are fully liable to tax in Greenland and have been fully liable to tax in Greenland for the past 2 years.
- 4) have a gross income from hunting, hunting and fishing of at least 50% of the person concerned's total gross income. Gross income from fishing with vessels that, according to the vessel's tonnage certificate, are over 150 GRT or 210 GT, are not included in the calculation of gross income from hunting, hunting and fishing. Fees from civil representatives or fees from board work in commercial hunters' organizations/associations are not included in the calculation of gross income from hunting, hunting and fishing or in the calculation of total gross income.

Subsection 3. Permits for recreational hunting and recreational hunting may be granted to Danish citizens and citizens of other countries who are registered in a population register in Greenland.

Subsection 4. The Government may grant exemptions from the provisions of subsection 2, nos. 2 - 4 and subsection 3, when deemed reasonable based on the applicant's connection to Greenland, and when the applicant has temporarily resided outside Greenland for educational reasons or similar.

§ 5. A licence for recreational fishing and recreational hunting of quota species may, upon application, be granted to persons who are registered in a population register in Greenland and who have had a population register address in Greenland for the past 2 years prior to the time of application.

§ 6. The Government shall issue regulations on the issuance, acquisition and forfeiture of hunting licenses. The Government may, among other things, impose a fee for the issuance of hunting licenses.

Subsection 2. In connection with the issuance of regulations pursuant to subsection 1, the Government may order the municipalities to handle the necessary administrative management of the regulations.

Hunting for a fee.

§ 7. Persons not covered by sections 4-5 must have a special permit for any form of hunting and trapping.

Subsection 2. Persons covered by sections 4-5, but who have not been granted a licence to hunt species pursuant to regulations issued pursuant to section 8, subsection 1, nos. 4 - 6, may acquire the right to hunt in the same way as persons covered by subsection 1.

Subsection 3. The Government shall determine and collect a fee when issuing a permit pursuant to subsections 1 and 2. The fee shall be calculated partly on the basis of the costs of administration in connection with the issuance of the permits and partly on the basis of the costs of fulfilling the purpose of the Act in relation to hunting for a fee.

Subsection 4. The Government may issue further rules on the issuance, acquisition and forfeiture of a permit for hunting and trapping pursuant to subsection 1 and 2 and on the use of funds from the payment pursuant to subsection 3.

Subsection 5. In connection with the issuance of regulations pursuant to subsection 4, the Government may instruct municipalities to handle the necessary administrative management thereof, and the Government may also authorize institutions and tourist associations to handle the management.

Conservation, technical conservation measures, exploitation, etc.

§ 8. The National Government may implement measures to regulate hunting and trapping, including issuing regulations on:

- 1) Conservation periods and keeping areas free for hunting and trapping.
- 2) Prohibitions or restrictions on hunting and trapping efforts.
- 3) Division of the available catch quantities by time and area.
- 4) Distribution of the available catch quantities with specified quotas for catch categories in accordance with §§ 4-5 and § 7, by age groups, municipalities, groups of vessels, for individual vessels or for types of gear and catching methods.
- 5) Catching and hunting for one or more species may be made conditional on the person(s) in question being in possession of a licence to do so.
- 6) Determination of detailed conditions for access to hunting for individual game species for persons who meet the conditions for game categories in accordance with sections 4-5 and section 7.
- 7) Design and use of game gear, game equipment and game accessories, including prohibitions on the use of certain vessels/vehicles, tools, types of gear, types of ammunition or game methods.
- 8) Rules of procedure for game and hunting.
- 9) Processing, utilization and marketing of the game.
- 10) Size, age and sex of game animals.
- 11) Immobilization, capture and release of wild animals and management of animals released with a view to creating populations for hunting purposes.

Subsection 2. The Government may, by issuing regulations pursuant to subsection 1, order municipalities to take care of the necessary administrative management in connection therewith.

Subsection 3. However, upon authorization from the Government, regulations pursuant to subsection 1 may be issued for one or more municipalities by issuing municipal statutes by the relevant municipal councils with confirmation by the Government.

§ 9. The use of fully and semi-automatic weapons for hunting and trapping is prohibited.

Subsection 2. The Government may, however, issue regulations pursuant to which permission is granted for the use of semi-automatic weapons for commercial hunting and trapping pursuant to section 4, subsection 2 for certain types of hunting, areas and periods.

§ 10. The Government may lay down provisions on taking a hunting test as a condition for acquiring a hunting license pursuant to sections 4-5 and section 7.

Subsection 2. The Government may, in connection with issuing regulations pursuant to subsection 1 requires municipalities to handle the necessary administrative management in connection with this.

Hunting and game biological studies.

§ 11. Notwithstanding provisions issued pursuant to § 8, subsections 1 and 3, the Government may grant permits for hunting and trapping as part of a survey of the country's hunting resources or as part of scientific studies.

Statistics.

§ 12. The Government may issue regulations under which holders of hunting permits pursuant to §§ 4-5 and permits pursuant to § 7 must provide information on the catch yield for use in biological assessment and for management.

Control.

§ 13. The Government may issue regulations on control of compliance with the provisions of the Act and of regulations issued pursuant to this Act.

Subsection 2. The Government may issue regulations with a view to preventing the transfer, purchase and sale of catches that may have been taken in violation of regulations issued pursuant to the Act, including on:

- 1) Obligation to provide information on catches received.
- 2) Prohibition on receiving catches or parts thereof from persons, etc., who are not entitled to engage in hunting and fishing.
- 3) Prohibition on receiving catches or parts thereof from quota species after the quota has been exhausted.

Subsection 3. The Government may issue regulations stipulating that unprocessed catches taken outside the conservation period may only be sold until a certain number of days after the conservation period has begun. The Government may further define the concept of unprocessed catch in the individual executive orders on game animals.

§ 14. The Fisheries Inspectorate and the police may stop and board fishing and hunting vessels and fishing and hunting transport vessels to carry out official acts, including inspection of ship documents and the like and examination of fishing and hunting equipment, and may demand that fishing and hunting equipment be seized for official examination. Such vessels may also be ordered to depart for a designated Greenlandic port for the purpose of inspection or unloading of catch and gear.

Subsection 2. The powers of the Fisheries Inspectorate and the police may be exercised without a court order.

§ 15. Fishing and fisheries officers and other persons authorised and appointed for this purpose by the Government shall have access to fishing and hunting vessels and fishing and hunting transport vessels and may in this connection carry out examinations of abandoned catch and fishing and hunting equipment.

Subsection 2. Hunting and fishing officers and other persons authorized and appointed for this purpose by the Government may require the presentation of valid identification to prove that a person has the right to hunt.

Subsection 3. The powers mentioned in subsections 1 and 2 may be exercised without prior court order upon presentation of appropriate identification.

Subsection 4. The Government may lay down further rules for the powers and tasks assigned to hunting and fishing officers or specially authorized persons pursuant to subsections 1 and 2. To the extent that the tasks include supervision of compliance with the provisions of the Act and regulations issued pursuant to the Act, the tasks shall be determined after discussion with the national authorities.

The Fishing Council.

§ 16. The Government shall establish a Fishing Council consisting of the Directorate of Business and stakeholders affected by fishing.

Subsection 2. The Government shall be obliged to consult the Fishing Council in matters relating to sections 2, subsections 3-4, sections 4-5, and sections 7-10.

Measures.

§ 17. A fine may be imposed for:

- 1) Violating section 4(1), section 7(1) and section 9(1) of the Act and regulations laid down pursuant to sections 4-5 and sections 7-8 and sections 10-11,

- 2) failing to comply with orders issued pursuant to section 14 and section 15(1),
- 3) disregarding the terms of a permit granted pursuant to the Act or regulations issued pursuant to the Act, and
- 4) providing incorrect or misleading information to a public authority required by the Act or regulations issued pursuant to the Act.

Subsection 2. Regulations issued pursuant to the Act may stipulate that a fine may be imposed for violating the provisions of the regulations.

§ 18. The rules of the Criminal Code on confiscation shall apply accordingly.

§ 19. If there is good reason to believe that a vessel has been used in a violation of the Act or regulations issued pursuant to the Act, which may result in a fine, it may be seized by the Fisheries Inspectorate or the police.

§ 20. A vessel seized pursuant to Section 19 may, after judgment or imposition of a fine, be detained with all its equipment until the fine and confiscation amount and legal costs have been paid, or security has been provided for payment. If this is not done within 2 months after the final decision of the case, satisfaction may be sought in the vessel and equipment.

Subsection 2. The rule in subsection 1 shall not apply if the person who had control of the vessel was in unlawful possession of it. The rule in subsection 1 shall also not apply if it will not be possible to attach vessels and equipment in accordance with the provisions in the Act on the Administration of Justice in Greenland.

Subsection 3. If a protest is made against detention, Chapter 5, Section 9, of the Act on the Administration of Justice in Greenland shall apply correspondingly, however, so that the issue shall be brought before the High Court.

§ 21. Cases concerning violations of the Act or regulations issued pursuant to the Act may be decided by both the police and the commander of the relevant fisheries inspection vessel by imposing a fine, confiscation and legal costs. Chapter 5, Section 21, of the Act on the Administration of Justice in Greenland shall apply accordingly.

Subsection 2. If the case is not decided pursuant to subsection 1, it shall be brought before the District Court.

Subsection 3. Regardless of whether a case has been decided pursuant to subsection 1, the High Court may, upon application, permit the case to be brought before the District Court. However, this shall only apply if special circumstances so warrant and the application is made as soon as possible after the decision or after the applicant has become aware of the circumstances on which the application is based.

Entry into force and transitional provisions.

§ 22. The Act shall enter into force on 1 November 1999.

Subsection 2. At the same time, the Landsting Act No. 15 of 6 November 1997 on hunting and trapping is repealed.

Subsection 3. The regulations issued pursuant to the Landsting Act No. 15 of 6 November 1997 on hunting and trapping or previous regulations on hunting and trapping shall remain in force until they are repealed by regulations issued pursuant to this Landsting Act or other Landsting Acts.

Greenland Home Rule, 29 October 1999.

Jonathan Motzfeldt

/

Simon Olsen

Disclaimer:

The following text is an unofficial machine translation produced using Google Translate. The original authoritative legal text is in Greenlandic and/or Danish. This translation is provided solely to support analytical discussion and accessibility for non-Greenlandic readers. In cases of discrepancy, the original language versions prevail.

Legislation | No. 34 | 13 June 2023 | Applicable

Parliamentary Act on Trapping and Hunting

Chapter 1

Scope, purpose, definitions and authority regulations

Scope

§ 1. The Inatsisartut Act applies to hunting and trapping on Greenland's land and fisheries territory.

Purpose

§ 2. The Inatsisartut Act aims to ensure appropriate and biologically sound exploitation of the fishing resources. In the administration of the Inatsisartut Act, emphasis shall be placed on:

- 1) the conservation and reproduction of the fishing resources,
- 2) the rational and seasonally best exploitation in accordance with customary biological advice and the available knowledge of hunters and users, which is given equal weight in assessment processes,
- 3) economic and employment considerations within the fishing industry and related industries,
- 4) other business interests,
- 5) the recreational and cultural needs of the population, and
- 6) bilateral, regional and international agreements and conventions.

Subsection 2. In connection with the administration of fishing and hunting conditions, emphasis shall be placed on the inclusion of fishing and user knowledge, implemented, among other things, through relevant main organizations and the Fishing Council.

Subsection 3. The Government of Greenland may lay down further provisions on the inclusion, collection and use of fishing and user knowledge in connection with the administration of fishing and hunting conditions, cf. subsection 2.

Definitions

§ 3. In this Act on Inatsisartutul, the following terms shall apply:

- 1) Administration: The administration carried out by the Self-Government and a municipality in the distribution and redistribution of quota species or administration of non-quota species, as well as the issuance of hunting licenses and receipt of hunting and hunting reports.
- 2) Civil ombudsman: Defined in accordance with the Greenland Home Rule Government's Executive Order on Civil ombudsman.
- 3) Participant in hunting and fishing: Any person who, by active action and by using weapons or other hunting equipment, immobilizes, injures or kills the animal.
- 4) Commercial hunting and fishing: Hunting and fishing carried out with the aim of selling all or part of the catch.
- 5) Hunting and fishing equipment: Permitted equipment used for hunting and fishing with the aim of killing an animal.
- 6) Vessel or vehicle: Any means of transport on water or land or used in connection with hunting or as a means of transport to and from the hunting area.
- 7) Permanent connection to Greenlandic society: Any person who is registered in the population register in Greenland and resides in Greenland for more than 6 months in a calendar year, and is liable to tax in Greenland.
- 8) Administration: The overall administration that the Greenland Government and a municipality are responsible for in making decisions on the capture and hunting of quota and non-quota game animals.
- 9) Recreational capture and hunting: Capture and hunting that is generally carried out with a view to using the capture for private consumption.
- 10) Joint capture: Capture involving several capturers either on the same or on separate licenses.
- 11) License and permit: A special permit to capture and hunt a specific species, issued by the Greenland Government to a person or a vessel.
- 12) Primary producer: Any person who is responsible for primary production, i.e. the production of game and game products from wild game. These are fresh products intended for human consumption before they are processed.
- 13) Problem animals: Predators that, despite attempts to scare them away, come to inhabited areas and pose an obvious risk to people and property of particular economic importance. Or predators that pose a documented risk of damage to a wild population that is exploited for meat supply.

Supervision and control

§ 4. The Greenland Fisheries Authority shall ensure compliance with the provisions of this Act.

Subsection 2. The Greenland Fisheries Authority may lay down rules on the full or partial delegation of the practical administration of the Greenland Fisheries Authority pursuant to this Act to the municipal councils.

§ 5. The Greenland Fisheries Authority, as the control authority, shall supervise and control that the provisions of this Act are complied with.

Subsection 2. The Greenland Fisheries Authority may appoint others than the Greenland Fisheries Authority as the control authority.

Chapter 2 *Conditions for access to hunting and trapping*

Hunting permits

§ 6. Hunting and trapping may only be carried out by persons with a permit. Permits are issued in the form of a commercial hunting permit or a recreational hunting permit, cf. however, § 16.

Subsection 2. The Government of Greenland may delegate the responsibility for issuing hunting permits to the municipal councils.

Commercial hunting permit

§ 7. Permits for commercial hunting and trapping may only be issued to persons who are 15 years of age and who:

- 1) have a permanent connection to Greenlandic society,
- 2) have a permanent residence in Greenland and have had a permanent residence in Greenland for the previous 24 months, cf. however, § 10, subsection 1, no. 1,
- 3) are fully liable to tax in Greenland and have been fully liable to tax in Greenland for the previous 24 months,
- 4) owns the necessary hunting and trapping equipment in the administrative area where the person concerned is to earn a living by trapping and hunting, as well as, to the extent necessary, a vessel or motorized vehicle, and
- 5) has a gross income from trapping, hunting and fishing of at least 50% of the person concerned's total gross income, cf. Section 8.

Subsection 2. The Government of Greenland may, notwithstanding the conditions in subsection 1, nos. 1-5, lay down further rules on terms and conditions for permits for commercial trapping and hunting.

§ 8. The following factors shall be included in the assessment of the person concerned's total gross income, cf. § 7, subsection 1, no. 5:

- 1) Gross income from fishing with vessels of up to 25.5 metres in length overall (l.o.a.) is included in the calculation of gross income from hunting, hunting and fishing.
- 2) Gross income derived from arranging paid and trophy hunting or from employment as a guide in connection with paid and trophy hunting is included in the calculation of gross income from hunting, hunting and fishing.
- 3) Income derived from tourism activities that are related to skills from the profession as a commercial hunter, or from services in connection with monitoring or research of nature, is included neither in the calculation of gross income from hunting, hunting and fishing nor in the calculation of total gross income.
- 4) Fees and remuneration from civil representatives or board work in commercial hunters' organizations/associations are not included in the calculation of gross income from hunting, fishing or the calculation of total gross income.

Recreational hunting permit

§ 9. Permits for recreational hunting and trapping may be granted to persons who have reached the age of 12 and who have permanent residence in Greenland.

Exemption for commercial and recreational hunting permits

§ 10. The Government of Greenland may grant an exemption:

- 1) from sections 7-9, when the person concerned has temporarily stayed outside Greenland for educational purposes or similar purposes within the periods mentioned, or this is deemed reasonable based on the applicant's connection to Greenland,
- 2) from section 7, subsection 1, no. 5, and section 8 for persons who have not previously had a main occupation,
- 3) from section 7, subsection 1, no. 5, and section 8, when it can be demonstrated that special circumstances have existed that have meant that the income share requirement has not been met,
- 4) from section 7, subsection 1, no. 5, and section 8 for persons who previously had commercial fishing, trapping and hunting as their main occupation, which can be documented digitally in the hunting database, and
- 5) from section 7, subsection 1, no. 4, when a person under the age of 18 has access to the necessary trapping and hunting equipment and is the holder of a valid recreational hunting permit.

Exemption for social institutions and schools

§ 11. The Government of Greenland may grant exemptions from the provisions of §§ 7 and 9 in connection with the issuance of a commercial or recreational hunting permit to a social institution that, as part of the institution's social educational work, uses hunting and trapping as a method, and to schools where hunting and trapping constitute a significant part of the teaching. When issuing a commercial or recreational hunting permit after exemption pursuant to this provision, the Government of Greenland may limit or exclude access to hunting of quota species.
Subsection 2. The management of the relevant institution or school is responsible for the participants' compliance with the rules issued pursuant to this Act on Hunting and Trapping.

Permit and license

§ 12. Catching and hunting of 1 or more species may be made conditional on the person(s) in question being in possession of a permit and license for that purpose.

Subsection 2. The municipalities in question shall issue and distribute licenses and permits to applicants with a valid hunting certificate and a population register address in the management area. However, there may be species-specific exceptions.

Subsection 3. Notwithstanding the provision in subsection 2, the Department of Fisheries and Hunting may, in special cases and upon application, permit catching in a management area for persons residing in another management area, provided that there is an open quota in the management area in question, or where a stock delimitation crosses several municipalities, including several management areas.

Subsection 4. The Government of Greenland may impose requirements for possession of necessary fishing gear and vessels when distributing licenses and permits for quota species.

§ 13. Licenses and permits for commercial hunting and trapping of quota species may be granted upon application to persons who have reached the age of 15 and who hold a valid commercial hunting certificate.

Subsection 2. If there are fewer licenses or permits for hunting of quota species in a municipality than applications received, the distribution shall be made according to a rotation, taking into account the previous year's catch and unused licenses and permits. If this still cannot determine the distribution, lots may be drawn for the licenses.

Subsection 3. In management areas with large geographical distances, several licenses may be issued to each trapper in order to make the hunt profitable.

Subsection 4. In connection with a lottery, cf. subsection 2, the license-issuing authority shall draw a prioritized waiting list to be used for the redistribution of licenses.

Subsection 5. The public shall have access to witness the drawing of lots, cf. subsection 2. The licensing authority in question shall publish the conditions, time and place of the drawing of lots no later than 1 week before the drawing of lots.

Subsection 6. The Government of Greenland may lay down further rules on the distribution of licences and permits for commercial capture and hunting of quota species.

Subsection 7. A licence for quota species and a permit for commercial hunting may be made conditional on the person concerned having had documented residence in the management area applied for for a minimum of 3 consecutive months prior to the issuance of a licence.

Subsection 8. A child who has reached the age of 12 but has not yet reached the age of 15 may participate in hunting and trapping under the following conditions:

- 1) The child's parents, guardian or other adult over the age of 18 with written consent from the child's parents or guardian must guide the child and be within 1 meter of the child if the child is carrying the weapon and when the child is firing a shot.
- 2) The caliber must comply with the legislation in force at any time.
- 3) The person supervising the child must have a valid license or permit for the hunting and trapping in question.

Subsection 9. Animals killed by a child covered by subsection 8 must be registered as a catch in the name of the person who supervised the child during the hunt.

§ 14. A licence for recreational hunting and trapping of quota species may be granted, upon application, to persons who have reached the age of 15, who have a valid recreational hunting certificate, and who have permanent residence in Greenland, and who have had permanent residence for the past 2 consecutive years prior to the time of application.

Subsection 2. Notwithstanding the provision in subsection 1, a licence for recreational hunting and trapping of quota species may be granted, upon application, to persons who:

- 1) have permanent residence in Greenland, and
- 2) have had permanent residence in Greenland for a continuous period of at least 2 years within the past 10 years prior to the time of application.

Subsection 3. Children who have reached the age of 12 but have not yet reached the age of 15 may participate in hunting and trapping under the following conditions:

- 1) The child's parents, guardian or a person over 18 years of age with written consent from the child's parents or guardian must guide the child and be within 1 meter of the child if the child is carrying the weapon, and when the child fires a shot.
- 2) The caliber must comply with the legislation in force at any time.
- 3) The person guiding the child must have a valid license or permit for the hunting and trapping in question.

Subsection 4. Animals that have been killed by a child covered by subsection 3 must be registered as caught by the person who guided the child during the hunt.

§ 15. The Greenland Government shall lay down rules on the issuance, acquisition and forfeiture of hunting permits, permits and licenses. The Greenland Government may, among other things, impose a fee for the issuance of permits, permits and hunting permits.

Subsection 2. The Greenland Government may, in connection with the issuance of rules pursuant to section 1, delegate its decision-making authority to the municipal council, cf. sections 7 and 9.

Subsection 3. Failure to pay fees, cf. section 1, may result in restrictions on the right to use a permit or license, and in aggravating circumstances or in cases of repetition, withdrawal of the permit or license, including that a new license will not be issued until the fee has been paid.

Hunting for a fee

§ 16. Persons who wish to participate in hunting or trapping that is not covered by sections 7 and 9 must have a special permit for any form of hunting or trapping. The right to hunt may be acquired by hunting for a fee.

Subsection 2. Persons covered by sections 7 and 9, but who have not been granted a license to hunt species pursuant to regulations issued pursuant to this Inatsisartutlov, may acquire the right to hunt in the same way as persons covered by subsection 1.

Subsection 3. The Greenland Government may charge a fee in connection with the issuance of the permits referred to in subsections 1 and 2. The amount of the fee shall be determined by executive order.

Subsection 4. The Greenland Government may issue further rules on the issuance, acquisition and forfeiture of the permits referred to in subsections 1 and 2. The Government of Greenland may instruct the municipalities to handle the necessary administrative management thereof, just as the Government of Greenland may authorize institutions and tourist associations to handle the management.

§ 17. The Government of Greenland may lay down rules that certain hunting activities may only be carried out in conjunction with an authorised paid hunting organizer.

§ 18. The Government of Greenland shall lay down further rules on obtaining and losing authorisation as a paid hunting organizer, including on the use and approval of guides for paid hunting.

Chapter 3

Protection, technical conservation measures, exploitation, etc.

Measures to regulate protection, hunting and hunting

§ 19. The Greenland Government may implement measures to regulate hunting and trapping, including laying down rules on the following:

- 1) Conservation periods and the keeping of areas free for hunting and trapping, as well as any traffic in connection with hunting and trapping in these areas.
- 2) Prohibitions or restrictions on hunting and trapping efforts.
- 3) Division of the available catch quantities, by population, time and management area.
- 4) Distribution and redistribution of the available catch quantities with specified quotas for catch categories in accordance with §§ 7, 9 and § 16, by age groups, population boundaries, municipalities, management areas, groups of vessels, for individual vessels, vehicles or for gear types and fishing methods.
- 5) Size, age and sex of species caught.

Conditions for hunting of catch species

§ 20. The Greenland Government may issue rules on conditions for catching and hunting of catch species, including:

- 1) Setting out more detailed conditions for access to hunting of individual catch species for persons who meet the conditions for catch categories in accordance with sections 7, 9 and section 16,
- 2) design and use of catch gear and catch equipment, as well as the use of vessels and vehicles, types of ammunition or catch methods,
- 3) prohibitions on the use and restriction of certain vessels and vehicles, gear, types of gear, types of ammunition or catch methods, and
- 4) rules of procedure for catching and hunting.

Subsection 2. The Greenland Government may lay down rules on sealing of catch, including, among other things, administration of the scheme, procedure for the use of seals and consequences for failure to comply with the sealing obligation. If rules are issued on the use of seals, the attached seal must be included as documentation, cf. section 22, subsections 4 and 5.

Killing of shot animals

§ 21. The trapper shall ensure that the animal is dead immediately after it has been hit.

Subsection 2. Anyone who shoots an animal during hunting or trapping is obliged to kill the animal as soon as possible.

Subsection 3. If the shot animal is not found and killed, the trapper shall immediately after the end of the hunt notify the Department of Fisheries and Hunting or the control authority of the facts.

Subsection 4. Anyone who observes an animal that has been shot by another person and is still alive shall, as far as possible, kill the animal. If the killing takes place outside the trapping period, all parts of the animal shall belong to the Greenland Home Rule Government. The observer shall be obliged to report the

course of events to the Department of Fisheries and Hunting, which shall determine the handling of all or parts of the animal.

Use, purchase and sale of catch

§ 22. Catches of quota and licensed animals may not be sold from local boards or by other loose sale before the municipal or village office has registered the catch by stamping the license or permit.

Subsection 2. In the event of resale, documentation must be presented upon request that the catch has been registered by the appropriate authority, cf. subsection 1.

Subsection 3. Sales of quota species directly to companies, institutions and restaurants may only be made by commercial hunters who can present a valid commercial hunting certificate and a stamped license or permit.

Subsection 4. Companies, institutions and restaurants, cf. subsection 3, must be able to document that the catch has been purchased from commercial hunters with a valid commercial hunting certificate and a stamped license or permit.

Subsection 5. Documentation, cf. subsection 4, consists of a signed invoice with a copy of a valid commercial hunting certificate and a stamped license or permit.

Subsection 6. Only persons with a valid commercial hunting certificate and a stamped license or permit may purchase or sell skin, blubber, hide, skull, antler/horn, bones, claws, meat, teeth, wool or stomach from quota species. A copy of the license or copy of the permit must be attached to each individual part. However, shops, etc. may resell these parts of the catch if they are in possession of the documentation specified in subsection 4.

Subsection 7. It is prohibited to purchase or receive skin, blubber, hide, wool, skull, antler, horn, bones, claws, teeth and stomach as well as other parts of illegally taken catch.

Subsection 8. The Government of Greenland may lay down further rules for the sale of catches.

§ 23. A commercial hunting license may stipulate that the purchase of all or parts of a killed animal must take place at a slaughterhouse or purchase point approved by the veterinary and food authorities, or that the commercial hunter must have a valid permit for purchase.

Subsection 2. The individual municipalities make decisions regarding purchase and sale on the board for recreational hunters. The same documentation requirements apply as mentioned in Section 22, subsection 1.

Subsection 3. The purchase and sale of animals on the board must meet the requirements laid down in the applicable Food Act at any time and in regulations issued pursuant thereto, and is generally only permitted during the applicable hunting periods.

Subsection 4. The Government of Greenland may lay down further rules for the processing, exploitation, purchasing and marketing of the catch, and may, among other things, determine that all or parts of illegally killed catches or animals killed in self-defense may be allocated to public institutions or the local population.

Subsection 5. The Government of Greenland may lay down rules regarding training as a primary producer as a condition for being able to sell directly to companies, institutions and restaurants, cf. Section 22, subsection 3.

Joint fishing

§ 24. The Government of Greenland shall lay down detailed rules on the implementation of joint fishing.

Subsection 2. In connection with joint fishing, the Government of Greenland may authorise associations and organizations to appoint the leader of the joint fishing.

Subsection 3. The leader of the joint fishing must meet the same requirements as other participants in the joint fishing in accordance with the requirements applicable at any time regarding participation in joint fishing.

Subsection 4. Active participants in the joint fishing are all responsible for ensuring that the fishing is carried out in accordance with this Act on Fisheries and the rules laid down pursuant to it. If the catch reporting is not carried out in accordance with the rules of the Act on Fisheries, all active participants are responsible for the failure to report.

Hunting and trapping methods and tools

§ 25. Aircraft, helicopters and motorized vehicles, including snowmobiles and ATVs, as well as vessels that, according to their measurement certificate, are more than 15 meters in length overall (l.o.a), may not be used during hunting or for transportation to and from the hunting area closer than 500 meters from live animals. However, there may be exceptions regarding vessel size and distance requirements in special situations for certain quota species. It is prohibited to use drones during hunting and trapping.

Subsection 2. It is prohibited to use poison, self-shots, scissors, foot snares or other technical aids to restrain game animals. However, this does not apply to game animals in the water, which may be restrained with a harpoon or similar device, as well as with nets for seal hunting and the hunting of beluga and narwhals.

Subsection 3. The use of fully and semi-automatic weapons for hunting and trapping is prohibited, cf. however, subsection 4.

Subsection 4. The Government of Greenland may issue rules under which permission is granted for the use of semi-automatic weapons for commercial hunting and trapping pursuant to section 7 for certain species of prey, areas and periods.

Subsection 5. The Government of Greenland shall lay down rules for which trapping equipment may be used for hunting the individual species, as well as which methods may be used, including traditional equipment and methods, as well as minimum dimensions for the caliber of the firearm and types and sizes of ammunition.

Subsection 6. All usable parts of the catch, such as meat, skin, blubber and hides, must be brought back from the catch site or deposited. Before leaving the catch site or flaying site, any remains must be disposed of as far as possible.

Subsection 7. The Government of Greenland may lay down rules on the use of motorized means of transport in connection with hunting and trapping.

Municipal management and administration

§ 26. The Greenland Government may, by issuing regulations pursuant to this Act of Parliament, order municipalities to carry out the necessary administrative management in connection therewith, including also the management of a game population in a more precisely defined area where a game population is widespread, to local management via a municipal statute.

Subsection 2. The Greenland Government may delegate responsibility for the redistribution of unused quotas to the municipalities. The result of the redistribution shall be notified to the Department of Fisheries and Hunting no later than 3 days after the redistribution.

Subsection 3. The Greenland Government may, after consulting the Hunting Council and other relevant organizations, delegate all or part of the management pursuant to this Act of Parliament for a geographically defined area to municipal management, cf. subsection 1.

Subsection 4. The Greenland Government may determine conditions for the delegation of management to the municipality, cf. subsection 3.

Subsection 5. Following authorization from the Government of Greenland, rules pursuant to subsections 1 and 3 shall be issued for a municipality by issuing a municipal statute by the relevant municipal council with the approval of the Government of Greenland.

Chapter 4

Catch and game biological studies and statistics

§ 27. Notwithstanding the provisions of this Act or provisions issued pursuant thereto, the Government of Greenland may grant permits for catching and hunting as part of a survey of the country's catch resources or as part of scientific studies.

Subsection 2. The Government of Greenland may issue regulations on the killing of selected species within a defined area if the purpose is to ensure the survival or management objective of a wild resource.

Immobilization, capture, treatment and release of wild animals

§ 28. The Government of Greenland may issue rules on the immobilization, capture and release of wild animals and the management of animals released with a view to creating populations for hunting or other commercial exploitation.

Statistics and biological samples

§ 29. The Government of Greenland may issue rules according to which holders of hunting permits pursuant to sections 7 and 9 and permits pursuant to section 16 must provide information on the catch yield and submit samples from the captured animals for use in biological assessment and for use in management. Reporting and biological samples shall be submitted to the municipality where the catch was taken, which shall be responsible for shipping to the destination.

Subsection 2. In the case of joint hunting, the catch shall only be reported by the designated leader of the joint hunting, but with the names and civil registration numbers of all active hunting participants.

Section 30. Rings, tags, radio and satellite transmitters and any other tags from found or killed animals shall be forwarded to the Greenland Institute of Natural Resources with information on where and when the animal was either killed or found.

Chapter 5

Problem animals

§ 31. It is prohibited to attract, seek out, pursue or otherwise disturb predators, such as polar bears or wolves.

Subsection 2. Notwithstanding subsection 1, it is permitted to seek out and pursue the predators listed under subsection 1 if this occurs in connection with legal hunting, paid tourism without hunting or as part of an attempt to scare a predator away from an inhabited area, cf. subsection 3.

Subsection 3. It is prohibited to prevent or interfere with attempts by the police, the control authority, municipal bailiffs or other persons authorised by the Department of Fisheries and Hunting to scare predators away from an inhabited area or its immediate vicinity.

Subsection 4. It is prohibited to use drones to film or otherwise pursue predators in connection with hunting and trapping, unless the drone is used as a deterrent against predators or for scientific purposes.

Subsection 5. The Government of Greenland may issue regulations on the conditions for scaring and killing problem animals if the purpose is to ensure human life, health and property, limited and vulnerable regional hunting resources, public property and traffic or communication conditions.

Emergency and self-defense

§ 32. If an animal is killed as a result of emergency or self-defense, cf. the relevant provisions of the Criminal Code, all parts of the animal shall belong to the Greenland Self-Government. The Department of Fisheries and Hunting shall determine the handling of all or parts of an animal killed in emergency or self-defense.

Subsection 2. In the event of an emergency or self-defense killing, the person who has killed the animal shall notify the Department of Fisheries and Hunting thereof without delay.

Chapter 6

The Hunting Council

§ 33. The Government of Greenland shall establish a Hunting Council consisting of organizations and institutions involved in hunting and trapping.

Subsection 2. The Government of Greenland shall lay down rules on the composition and number of members of the Hunting Council.

Subsection 3. The Government of Greenland shall have a duty to consult the Hunting Council in matters of a general and general nature relating to Section 2, subsections 2 and 3, and sections 7, 9, and 14-26.

Subsection 4. The Government of Greenland may conduct a written consultation of all individual members of the Hunting Council in urgent matters covered by section 3. Written consultation may be used if the Council is prevented from taking a position at a meeting.

Chapter 7

Control

§ 34. The control authority, including hunting and fishing officers, may have hunting and fishing vessels and vehicles, as well as hunting and fishing transport vessels and vehicles, stop and board to carry out official acts. The control authority may, among other things, inspect vessel and vehicle documents and the like and examine hunting and fishing equipment. The control authority may also demand that hunting and fishing equipment be seized for official examination.

Subsection 2. The control authority may order vessels and vehicles to depart for a designated port and place, etc., for the purpose of inspecting or unloading the catch and gear.

Subsection 3. The control authority and other persons authorized and appointed for this purpose by the Government of Greenland may demand that a person present valid identification and a permit to exercise the right to hunt and hunt.

Subsection 4. The persons referred to in subsection The powers mentioned in subsections 1-3 may be exercised without prior court order upon presentation of appropriate identification.

Subsection 5. The Government of Greenland may lay down further rules for tasks assigned to the supervisory authority or specially authorized persons pursuant to subsections 1-3.

§ 35. The control authority may require fishing vessels to install a vessel monitoring unit that sends the vessel's position, course and speed, etc. to the control authority.

Subsection 2. The Government of Greenland may lay down rules for requirements for the vessel monitoring system and conditions for its use.

§ 36. The control authority may, to the extent necessary for the exercise of control, issue:

- 1) orders and prohibitions on landing sites or fishing sites,
- 2) orders and prohibitions on landing times or fishing times,
- 3) orders for the presence of the control authority during catch, arrival, transshipment and landing, and
- 4) orders for prior notification of weighing of catch, and that the weighing must be carried out by an accredited weigher and measurer.

§ 37. The supervisory authority may at any time, against proper identification and without a court order, access to companies, vessels and vehicles, if necessary to verify compliance with this Inatsisartutlov or regulations issued pursuant to this Inatsisartutlov.

Subsection 2. The supervisory authority may at any time, against proper identification and without a court order, access to private property, if there is a specific suspicion that the property is being used as part of circumventing this Inatsisartutlov or regulations issued pursuant to this.

§ 38. The Greenland Government may issue regulations with a view to preventing the transfer, shipment, purchase and sale of catches that may have been taken in violation of regulations issued pursuant to the Greenland Fisheries Act, including regulations on the following:

- 1) Obligation to provide information on catches received.

assume that the person concerned will not hunt in a responsible manner in the future. The same applies to a person who, while hunting, is guilty of causing injury to another person or the risk of injury.

Subsection 2. A person who has been deprived of the right to a hunting license, or a person whose hunting license has been revoked pursuant to § 15 or § 16, subsection 4, must surrender the hunting license to the municipal office.

Subsection 3. A hunting license is revoked for a period of 1 to 5 years, calculated from the date of the final judgment, or until further notice. If the right has been denied for the time being, a case for continued disqualification after 5 years can be brought before the court in accordance with the rules in Section 165 of the Criminal Code.

§ 41. The control authority may, in accordance with the rules in Chapter 37 of the Administration of Justice Act, seize vessels and vehicles as well as tools and catches in the event of violations of provisions in this Act or rules issued pursuant to this Act.

Subsection 2. Foreign vessels that have been used for fishing and hunting activities that are contrary to this Act or to rules issued pursuant to this Act may be detained by the control authority. The control authority shall initiate detention in accordance with Chapter 37 of the Administration of Justice Act on seizure.

Subsection 3. If the person against whom the intervention is directed so requests, the police shall, as soon as possible and no later than 72 hours, submit the case to the court, which shall decide whether the intervention can be approved. The case shall be brought before the Court of Greenland.

§ 42. A vessel or vehicle that has been detained pursuant to Section 41 may, after judgment or imposition of a fine, be detained with all equipment until the fine and confiscation amounts owed and legal costs have been paid, or security has been provided for payment, and until measures pursuant to Section 44 have been implemented. If this is not done within 2 months of the final decision in the case, satisfaction may be sought in the vessel and equipment.

Subsection 2. The rules in subsection 1 cannot be applied if the person who had control of the vessel was in unlawful possession of it.

§ 43. If a violation is deemed not to entail a higher sanction than a fine, the Greenland Government may announce that the case may be settled without legal proceedings, provided that the person concerned pleads guilty to the violation and declares his willingness to pay a fine specified in the notice within a specified period, which may be extended upon request. In the same way, a demand for confiscation, including confiscation of valuables, may be adopted without legal proceedings. The rules of the Administration of Justice Act on requirements for the content of an indictment shall apply correspondingly to fines.

Subsection 2. In cases that are processed administratively, section 347, subsection 1, and section 437, subsection 2, nos. 2-3, and subsection 3, of the Administration of Justice Act shall apply correspondingly.

Subsection 3. If the fine is paid in due time, further proceedings shall be waived.

§ 44. The rules in the Criminal Code on confiscation shall apply correspondingly to this Inatsisartutlov.

Subsection 2. In the event of illegal fishing from a vessel or vehicle, the fishing gear used, the entire catch of the vessel or vehicle or the value thereof may be confiscated, with the exception of catch that is proven to originate from legal activities.

Subsection 3. A vessel or vehicle or the value thereof may be confiscated in serious or repeated cases of failure or inadequate provision of information about the catch.

Subsection 4. In regulations issued pursuant to this Inatsisartutlov, it may be stipulated that a violation of the provisions herein may result in confiscation.

§ 45. If the catch or the value of the catch or a part thereof is confiscated, the vessel or vehicle may be ordered in connection with the confiscation to separate and seal the corresponding catch from other catch and to allow it to be marked by the control authority. If it is not possible to prevent the mixing of the catch whose value has been confiscated and other catch in this way, the vessel or vehicle may be ordered to land or salvage the catch whose value has been confiscated at a predetermined location.

Subsection 2. Separation, sealing and marking of the catch must be maintained when the vessel or vehicle is in Greenland's land and fishing territory.

§ 46. Fines and confiscations determined pursuant to this Act or in regulations issued pursuant to it shall accrue to the Treasury.

Chapter 9

Entry into force and transitional provisions

§ 47. The Act shall enter into force on 1 July 2023.

Subsection 2. At the same time, the Landsting Act no. 12 of 29 October 1999 on hunting and trapping, as amended, is repealed.

Subsection 3. Regulations issued or maintained pursuant to the Landsting Act, cf. subsection 2, shall remain in force until they are repealed or replaced by new regulations.

Self-government of Greenland, 13 June 2023

Múte Bourup Egede (sign.)

Chairman of Naalakkersuisut

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Ordinance No. 523 of 8 June 2004

Ordinance on the entry into force of the Food Act etc. for Greenland

WE MARGRETHE THE SECOND, by the Grace of God Queen of Denmark, hereby declares:

Pursuant to Section 82 of Act No. 471 of 1 July 1998 on Food Act etc. (the Food Act) as amended by Act No. 351 of 2 June 1999 on Diseases and Infections in Animals and Act No. 279 of 25 April 2001 amending the Food Act etc., it is hereby determined that the Act shall apply to Greenland in the following wording:

Chapter 1

Purpose and scope

§ 1. The purpose of the Act is to ensure that consumers have healthy, high-quality food, to protect consumers against misrepresentation in connection with the marketing of food, etc., and thereby contribute to ensuring fair and uniform conditions for food producers and traders and to promote Greenlandic exports of food.

§ 2. The Act covers:

- 1) Food safety and composition, cf. Chapters 2, 3 and 5.
- 2) Marketing and labelling of food, cf. Chapters 4 and 6.
- 3) Primary production of food, cf. Chapter 7.
- 4) Organization and operation of enterprises, cf. Chapters 8 and 9.
- 5) Diet and nutrition, cf. Chapter 13.
- 6) Authorities and control, cf. Chapters 11, 12 and 14.

Subsection 2. The Act shall only apply to the sale and processing for the purpose of sale of food which consists wholly or partly of or is included in food of animal origin.

Subsection 3. The Act shall not apply to enterprises which only produce food intended for the Greenlandic domestic market.

Subsection 4. The Act does not apply to the production of food in private households.

Subsection 5. The Act does not apply to tobacco, products used to treat tobacco or alcohol addiction, cosmetics, products derived from bees, medicines or goods sold directly or indirectly for medicinal purposes.

§ 3. In this Act, food means food, beverages, recreational substances and other goods intended for or likely to be consumed by humans.

Subsection 2. In this Act, food of animal origin means meat and meat products, fish and fish products, and other products of animal origin, wholly or partly, intended for or likely to be consumed by humans.

§ 4. The rules of the Act on the sale of food, food additives and materials and objects intended to come into contact with food also apply to offers for sale, mediation of sale, storage for the purpose of sale, offers and any transfer to others.

§ 5. The rules of the Act on the treatment of food, food additives and materials and objects intended to come into contact with food also apply to slaughter, post-slaughter treatment, production, storage, bottling, packaging, repackaging and transport.

§ 6. Where this Act authorises the Minister of Food, Agriculture and Fisheries to lay down rules, an opinion shall be obtained in accordance with the Greenland Home Rule Act, Chapter 3.

Subsection 2. However, the Minister may refrain from obtaining opinions in accordance with subsection 1 if this is not possible for reasons of time or for some other reason.

Chapter 2 *Food Safety*

§ 7. Food shall be of sound and good quality when processed and sold and have a reasonable shelf life at the time of sale.

Subsection 2. Food may not be sold if, when used in the usual manner, it is assumed that it can transmit or cause disease or cause poisoning, or if the food is considered unfit for human consumption due to pathological changes, spoilage, contamination, incorrect preparation or for any other reason.

§ 8. In this Act, contamination means biological, physical or chemical occurrences other than additives in or on the food, which may pose a health risk, may make the food unfit for human consumption or may otherwise change the normal composition or nature of the food. This includes, for example: foreign bodies, bacteria, fungi, viruses, bacterial and fungal toxins, components of or by-products of fertilizers or feed, pesticides, medicines, other substances with a biological effect on animals used for preventive or curative purposes, cleaning and disinfectants and contamination from packaging, machinery or equipment.

§ 9. The processing and sale of food shall be carried out in a hygienically sound manner and shall be carried out in such a way that the food is not exposed to contamination or other harmful influences or has a harmful effect on other food.

Subsection 2. The Minister for Food, Agriculture and Fisheries may lay down rules or make provisions on hygiene in the processing and sale of food, including on personal hygiene and health checks for persons engaged in the processing, sale and control of food.

§ 10. The Minister of Food, Agriculture and Fisheries may lay down rules or make provisions on the conditions under which food in which contamination occurs may be sold.

Subsection 2. When there is a risk that food from certain areas contains contamination, including having been exposed to radioactivity or environmental pollution, or may otherwise be unfit for use as human food or feed, the Minister may prohibit the sale of such goods.

Subsection 3. The Minister may prohibit, restrict or stipulate conditions for the cultivation of crops, the raising of livestock, hunting, fishing or the gathering of fruits, berries, mushrooms, etc. in the areas mentioned in subsection 2, regardless of whether the cultivation, raising, hunting, fishing or gathering is not carried out with a view to sale.

11. In the processing, sale and inspection of food, persons who have or may be presumed to have a disease, infection or other damage that may make the food unfit for human consumption may not be employed.

§ 12. The Minister for Food, Agriculture and Fisheries may lay down rules or make provisions on

1) the use of certain objects or

methods in the production and processing of food, including the use of genetic technology, radiation preservation and other preservation or processing methods, and

2) that foods or ingredients which have either not previously been considered as foods or which have been produced by using technology which has not previously been used for the purpose must be approved prior to use or sale.

Chapter 3

Composition of foods

§ 13. The Minister for Food, Agriculture and Fisheries may, on the basis of health, nutritional or quality considerations or with a view to ensuring that consumers receive important nutrients, lay down rules or make provisions on the composition and nature of foods, including foods intended for special nutritional purposes and dietary supplements.

§ 14. In this Act, food additives are substances which, in addition to being foodstuffs themselves or normally used components of foodstuffs, are intended to be added to foodstuffs in order to influence the nutritional value, shelf life, colour, odour, taste or otherwise for technological or other purposes.

Subsection 2. In this Act, food additives are any additive which is not consumed as a food in itself, but which is used in the processing of raw materials, foodstuffs or their ingredients to fulfil a specific technological purpose during treatment or processing, and which may result in the presence in the finished product of an unintentional but unavoidable residue of this substance or its turnover products, provided that these residues do not affect the finished product technologically.

§ 15. Only substances approved by the Minister for Food, Agriculture and Fisheries may be used or sold as additives.

Subsection 2. The Minister may lay down rules on the conditions under which additives may be used, including for what purposes, in what quantities and for which products, and on the identity and purity of the additives.

Subsection 3. The Minister shall draw up a positive list of approved additives and their use, cf. subsection 2, which shall be made publicly available.

§ 16. The Minister for Food, Agriculture and Fisheries may lay down rules that specified groups of additives may be used after the expiry of a period set by the Minister of up to 6 months after they have been notified to the Minister. The Minister may, before the expiry of the period, prohibit the notified use of the substance.

§ 17. When approving and laying down rules pursuant to §§ 15 and 16, particular attention shall be paid to ensuring that consumers are protected against health risks, that reasonable technological needs are met, and that consumers are not misled about the content, quality, etc. of the food.

§ 18. For food additives,

1) §11,§19, subsections 1 and 2,§21,§24, subsection 3, and §49, subsection 1, and

2) §12,§19, subsections 3-5,§24, subsections 1 and 2,§26,§49, subsections 2 and 3, and§59 shall apply accordingly.

Chapter 4

Marketing and labelling of foodstuffs

§ 19. Foodstuffs may not be sold under circumstances that are likely to mislead, in particular with regard to the origin of the goods, production or manufacturing method, time of manufacture, nature, type, identity, quantity, composition, treatment, shelf life, properties or effect.

Subsection 2. It is prohibited in connection with the marketing of foodstuffs to give the impression that a foodstuff has special properties when all similar foodstuffs have or must have similar properties under the law.

Subsection 3. The Minister for Food, Agriculture and Fisheries may lay down rules or make provisions on the use of claims in connection with sales or advertising, etc., about properties that a foodstuff does not possess. The use of such negative claims may be prohibited in this context.

Subsection 4. When assessing the matters mentioned in subsections 1-3, particular account shall be taken of the name used for the product, the oral and written information provided about the product, the drawings, pictures and text placed on the product, on its packaging, on advertising or on signs about the product, in advertisements or offers, or matters that have been otherwise sought to be brought to the attention of the public, including the position of the product in relation to other products.

Subsection 5. The producer or retailer responsible for the labelling or marketing of a food must be able to document that the information and claims made are correct.

§ 20. It is prohibited in labelling, advertising, etc., cf. Section 19(4), to use

1) statements that are likely to arouse or exploit feelings of anxiety in consumers,

2) statements that foods are recommended by doctors or that consumption of the product in question can prevent, alleviate or have a beneficial effect on diseases or disease symptoms,

3) pictures of health personnel and the like,

4) statements that food has achieved an increased or special nutritional value through the use of additives, and

5) statements that are likely to raise doubts about the appropriateness of using other similar food.

Subsection 2. The Minister of Food, Agriculture and Fisheries may lay down rules on the sale and advertising of food that is stated to be particularly suitable for people with special dietary needs due to illness, age or other conditions, or that is stated to have a preventive effect against disease.

§ 21. Companies that process or sell food may not, in connection with the marketing of a product, mention that the product or the company is under public control or supervision, has been granted authorisation or approval or is registered by a public authority, cf. however sections 22 and 24.

§ 22. The Minister of Food, Agriculture and Fisheries may lay down rules or make provisions requiring that foodstuffs be labelled with information that is of importance to consumers, businesses or supervisory authorities.

§ 23. Pre-packaged foodstuffs that are labelled with an indication of the sell-by date, best before date or similar may not be relabelled with an extended expiry date, repackaged or sold in the packaging after the expiry date.

§ 24. The Minister of Food, Agriculture and Fisheries may lay down rules or make provisions on special labelling of foodstuffs when

- 1) health, nutritional or control considerations so require,
- 2) consideration for special population groups makes it necessary,
- 3) consideration for special population groups makes it necessary,
- 4) special breeding, rearing, catching or cultivation methods or the like have been used during the production of the food,
- 5) the food has been treated in a special way or manufactured using special technology,
- 6) the food is intended for special nutritional purposes, or
- 7) additives, including nutrients, have been used.

Subsection 2. The Minister may lay down rules on the use of trade names, special marks or symbols for foodstuffs or certain types of foodstuffs which indicate that the goods have been subject to general or special control, or that the goods have a special quality, composition or geographical origin or have been subject to special treatment. *Subsection 3.* The use of the marks etc. laid down in accordance with subsection 2 on other goods is prohibited. It is also prohibited to use these marks etc. or other marks etc. that may be confused with them in a manner that is likely to mislead with regard to the production, treatment, composition, geographical origin etc. of the product.

§ 25. The Minister for Food, Agriculture and Fisheries may lay down rules or make provisions on the labelling of additives, including instructions for use and warning labels.

§ 26. The Minister for Food, Agriculture and Fisheries may lay down rules or make provisions on how food labelling shall be carried out, including in which languages the prescribed information shall be given and where the information shall be placed.

Chapter 5

Materials and objects

§ 27. Materials and objects intended to come into contact with food, such as packaging, machinery, tools, cutlery and household utensils, etc., cleaning, disinfecting and lubricating agents, etc., as well as utility and consumer items that come into contact with food, must not, in normal use or under foreseeable conditions, be able to release components into food to an extent that may pose a danger to human health, cause an unacceptable change in the composition of the food or impair the colour, odour, taste or other physical characteristics of the food.

Subsection 2. The Minister for Food, Agriculture and Fisheries may lay down rules or make provisions on

- 1) the composition and labelling of materials

and objects,
2) contamination from materials and objects,
3) requirements for durability and strength of materials and objects that are to be used for certain foods or in certain situations,
4) requirement that materials and objects must be accompanied by health or quality certificates,
and
5) requirement for prior approval of materials and objects used in the processing or sale of food.

§ 28. The Minister for Food, Agriculture and Fisheries may lay down rules or make provisions on the approval and use of cleaning, disinfecting and lubricating agents, etc. in enterprises covered by the Act. Rules may be laid down in this regard that containers with such agents must be provided with information on the composition and area of application of the agents.

§ 29. For the materials and objects etc. mentioned in § 27, subsection 1,
1) §19, subsections 1 and 2, §21, §24, subsection 3, and §49, subsection 1, and
2) §19, subsections 3-5, §24, subsections 1 and 2, §26, §49, subsections 2 and 3, and § 59 shall apply correspondingly.

Chapter 6

Voluntary labelling schemes

§ 30. The Minister for Food, Agriculture and Fisheries may lay down rules for a voluntary labelling scheme to promote the production and marketing of food and other agricultural and fishery products of particularly high quality or with special characteristics.

Subsection 2. To assist in the administration of a voluntary labelling scheme and in establishing rules for this labelling scheme, the Minister may establish a council with expertise in food quality.

Subsection 3. The Minister may lay down the rules of procedure and terms of reference of the council. The Minister may also lay down provisions on the secretariat of the council.

§ 31. The Minister of Food, Agriculture and Fisheries may lay down rules for which products are covered by a voluntary labelling scheme, including setting out objective quality criteria that determine requirements for production, processing, etc. These requirements must be in addition to the requirements that apply under other legislation.

Subsection 2. Imported products, including live animals, may be covered by a voluntary labelling scheme if there is documentation that the product has been treated or the animal raised in accordance with the rules and requirements laid down pursuant to the Act.

Subsection 3. The Minister may decide that imported products may be covered by a voluntary labelling scheme if they are covered by a quality scheme in the country of origin which, after a specific assessment of the individual product, is deemed to

entail requirements that can be equated with requirements set under this labelling scheme.

§ 32. The Minister of Food, Agriculture and Fisheries may lay down rules for the approval and notification of enterprises that wish to process or sell products covered by a labelling scheme.

Subsection 2. The Minister may lay down rules for the notification of primary producers who wish all or part of their business to be covered by a labelling scheme.

Subsection 3. The Minister may lay down rules that registered primary producers and approved or notified enterprises that violate the requirements or other conditions set under a voluntary labelling scheme are temporarily or permanently excluded from this labelling scheme.

§ 33. The Minister for Food, Agriculture and Fisheries may lay down rules on the labelling of products covered by a voluntary labelling scheme, including reserved trade names, the use of special marks, logos or symbols, cf. Section 24, subsections 2 and 3.

§ 34. The undertakings and primary producers that are affiliated with a voluntary labelling scheme shall bear the costs of this scheme, cf. Section 53.

Section 2. The Minister for Food, Agriculture and Fisheries may lay down rules on the payment of costs in connection with a voluntary labelling scheme. Section 53, subsections 4-7, shall apply correspondingly.

Chapter 7

Primary production of food

§ 35. Primary production means the cultivation of crops in agriculture, horticulture and the like, the breeding of animals in agriculture, aquaculture and the like, as well as the catching and landing of fish, crustaceans and molluscs, the production of milk and eggs, hunting, beekeeping, the gathering of berries, fruits and mushrooms and the like.

Subsection 2. Unless the Minister stipulates otherwise, primary production is not covered by the rules in sections 41-42.

§ 36. The Minister for Food, Agriculture and Fisheries may lay down rules or make provisions on primary production of food with a view to ensuring and improving the hygienic, health or quality characteristics of the food.

§ 37. Milk producers may not change the natural composition of milk and may not subject the milk to any treatment other than mechanical cleaning and cooling.

Subsection 2. The Minister for Food, Agriculture and Fisheries may lay down rules that payment for milk delivered shall be graduated according to quality.

§ 38. Animals sold for slaughter or slaughter-related treatment may not suffer from any disease or contain residues of medicines or other contaminants that may pose a risk to human health, cf. section 7, subsection 2.

§ 39. Emergency slaughter of sick or injured animals may be carried out on site when necessary for animal welfare reasons. The Minister for Food, Agriculture and Fisheries may lay down rules on this.

Chapter 8

The enterprises

§ 40. Anyone who processes or sells food or other products covered by the Act is responsible for compliance with the requirements laid down in the Act or on the basis of the Act.

§ 41. The production of food or additives for sale may not commence before authorisation has been granted by the Minister for Food, Agriculture and Fisheries.
Subsection 2. Slaughter and post-mortem treatment of animals and weighing of milk may only take place in enterprises authorised for this purpose by the Minister for Food, Agriculture and Fisheries.

Subsection 3. The Minister may lay down rules or decide that enterprises covered by subsection 1 or 2, may be exempt from the requirement for authorisation. Such enterprises are then subject to the rules in section 42.

§ 42. Wholesale activities that include storage, bottling, packaging, repackaging, transport or sale of food or food additives may not be commenced until approval has been granted by the Minister for Food, Agriculture and Fisheries.

Subsection 2. The Minister may lay down rules or make a provision that undertakings covered by subsection 1 may be exempt from the requirement for approval. Such undertakings must then be registered with the supervisory authority.

§ 43. The Minister for Food, Agriculture and Fisheries may lay down rules that undertakings covered by sections 41-42 may not commence the import into or export from the country of food or food additives before notification has been given to the Minister.

§ 44 The Minister of Food, Agriculture and Fisheries may lay down rules on authorisation, approval, registration and notification for the undertakings covered by the Act, including the conditions that the undertakings must meet.

Subsection 2. Authorisation or approval must be obtained anew in the event of

- 1) significant structural changes,
- 2) significant changes in the establishment's layout,
- 3) significant changes in the undertaking's production or product range or
- 4) introduction of statutory self-control or in the event of

significant changes in this self-control. *Subsection 3.* Any person who takes over an authorised, approved, registered or notified undertaking must notify the supervisory authority of this change of ownership or user and at the same time state whether a renewed authorisation or approval is desired.

Subsection 4. An authorisation or approval may be reviewed after 5 years have elapsed since the last authorisation or approval.

§ 45. An authorisation or approval may be revoked if the undertaking does not meet the conditions set, if the prerequisites for the authorisation or approval are significantly changed, or if it is deemed necessary for hygienic, marketing, tax or similar reasons.

§ 46. Undertakings covered by the Act must at all times meet the requirements required by good hygienic practice.

Subsection 2. The Minister of Food, Agriculture and Fisheries may lay down rules or make provisions on hygiene in and the design and operation of enterprises, means of transport and the like covered by the Act. Rules may be laid down or provisions may be made on the prior approval of means of transport, premises, furniture, equipment, machinery, packaging and the like as well as on ice, water, steam, air and gases used in the processing of foodstuffs or additives or for cleaning premises, equipment etc.

Subsection 3. The Minister may lay down rules to the effect that enterprises covered by the Act may only use foodstuffs or additives from authorised or approved enterprises.

§ 47. The Minister for Food, Agriculture and Fisheries may lay down rules or make a provision requiring enterprises covered by the Act to carry out a self-inspection at their own expense.

Subsection 2. The Minister may lay down rules or decide that enterprises covered by the Act must have specified analyzes and investigations carried out at their own expense, that the analysis results must be forwarded to the supervisory authority, and that the analyzes must be carried out in special laboratories, cf. section 56, no. 1.

§ 48. The Minister for Food, Agriculture and Fisheries may lay down rules that training, including in food hygiene, is mandatory for certain persons employed in enterprises covered by the Act.

Chapter 9

Import and export

§ 49. It is prohibited for enterprises covered by the Act to import foodstuffs that do not meet the requirements of the Act, in rules laid down pursuant to the Act, or in regulations etc. issued by the European Community.

Subsection 2. The Minister of Food, Agriculture and Fisheries may, in the interests of human, animal or plant health, lay down rules or make provisions on the import and export of foodstuffs, including prohibiting the import or export of foodstuffs.

Subsection 3. The Minister may lay down rules or make provisions regarding foodstuffs that are transported through the country as transit goods or stored as transit goods.

§ 50. The Act and the regulations laid down pursuant to the Act apply to foodstuffs that are exported to

other countries, unless the goods are in accordance with applicable regulations in the recipient country or generally recognized international standards.

Subsection 2. The Minister for Food, Agriculture and Fisheries may, however, lay down rules regarding the composition, quality, labeling, etc. of goods that are exported from this country.

Subsection 3. Unless the Minister stipulates otherwise, the Act and regulations laid down pursuant to the Act also apply to foodstuffs that are delivered in this country as supplies to ships and aircraft.

§ 51. The Minister for Food, Agriculture and Fisheries may lay down rules on the establishment, equipment and operation of veterinary border inspection posts. The

Minister may, among other things, lay down rules that, in connection with an application for the establishment of border inspection posts, suitably equipped premises and equipment shall be made available to the border inspection post at no cost to the State for the purpose of controlling the import and export of foodstuffs of animal origin covered by the regulation. The Minister may also decide that border inspection posts that are only used to a very limited extent shall cease to be border inspection posts.

Subsection 2. The Minister may lay down rules that the expenses in connection with the operation of the border inspection posts mentioned in subsection 1 that are not covered by the payment required pursuant to section 53 shall be borne in whole or in part by the local stakeholders in the border inspection post.

§ 52. The Minister for Food, Agriculture and Fisheries may enter into agreements to the effect that the establishment and operation of border control posts as mentioned in Section 51 shall be fully or partially financed by local stakeholders.

Chapter 10

Purpose-specific taxes and fees

§ 53. The primary producers and enterprises covered by the Act, including enterprises that manufacture materials and objects intended to come into contact with food, shall bear the costs of the supervision and control carried out in accordance with the Act and regulations issued pursuant to the Act, unless the Minister for Food, Agriculture and Fisheries lays down regulations or decides otherwise.

Subsection 2. The Minister may lay down rules on the collection and payment of fees to cover the costs of supervision and control under the Act or rules issued pursuant to the Act, including for particularly burdensome controls and extraordinary supervision, control and analyzes or other special controls, cf. section 59.

Subsection 3. The Minister may lay down rules on payment for special services and operations, including authorisations, approvals, registrations, notifications, examinations and attestations, provided in accordance with the Act or rules issued pursuant to the Act.

Subsection 4. The Minister may lay down rules on the payment and collection of fees or charges for approvals or notifications in accordance with regulations issued by the European Community concerning the matters covered by the Act.

Subsection 5. Payment obligations laid down by regulation, in this Act or in regulations issued pursuant to this Act, which are not paid on time, shall, unless otherwise provided for in EC legal acts, be subject to annual interest corresponding to the interest laid down in accordance with the Interest Act, from the due date. A fee of DKK 50 shall be paid for reminder letters.

Subsection 6. Any person who takes over an undertaking, or who continues the activities of an undertaking, in whole or in part, which is subject to supervision or control pursuant to this Act or pursuant to regulations issued pursuant to the Act, shall be liable for the associated fees and charges relating to the time before the takeover.

Subsection 7. There is a right of lien for the amounts mentioned in subsections 1-6.

Chapter 11

The authorities

§ 54. The Minister for Food, Agriculture and Fisheries may, after negotiation with the Greenland Home Rule Government, assign tasks to an institution under the Greenland Home Rule Government or may, after negotiation with the relevant minister or authority, assign his powers to another Danish public institution.

Subsection 2. The Minister may also, to a more limited extent, assign tasks within the scope of the Act to private institutions. The Minister may lay down rules thereon.

Subsection 3. The Minister may appoint committees to assist in the administration of special areas within the scope of the Act. The Minister may lay down rules thereon.

§ 55. The Minister for Food, Agriculture and Fisheries shall establish a central unit and a number of regional state units which shall be responsible for control, supervision, investigations and information activities, etc. within the scope of the Act.

Subsection 2. The Minister may lay down rules or make decisions regarding the tasks and activities of these entities and their supervision.

§ 56. The Minister for Food, Agriculture and Fisheries may lay down rules or make provisions on

1) that public and private laboratories shall

be accredited, approved or meet certain quality criteria in order to be able to carry out testing tasks in accordance with the Act or in regulations issued pursuant to the Act and

2) assessment and approval of analysis methods and on which analysis methods shall be used for laboratory tests in accordance with the Act or regulations issued pursuant to the Act.

§ 57. The Minister for Food, Agriculture and Fisheries may lay down rules or make provisions with a view to complying with European Community directives and decisions on matters covered by this Act. The Minister may also lay down the rules necessary for the application of European Community regulations on matters covered by this Act.

Subsection 2. The Minister may lay down rules or make provisions for derogations from the rules in the legal acts referred to in subsection 1, to the extent that these include access to this.

Subsection 3. The Minister may lay down rules for the purpose of fulfilling international treaties and agreements within the areas of the Act.

Chapter 12

Control and publication of control results

§ 58. The Minister for Food, Agriculture and Fisheries may lay down rules or make provisions on the control to be exercised pursuant to the Act, including the nature, scope and execution as well as on the preparation of control programmes and the use of analysis methods, cf. § 56, no. 2.

§ 59. The Minister for Food, Agriculture and Fisheries may lay down rules or make provisions that certain types of food shall be subject to special control.

§ 60. The Minister of Food, Agriculture and Fisheries shall issue such orders and prohibitions as are deemed necessary to ensure compliance with the requirements laid down in the Act, in regulations issued or provisions made pursuant to the Act. It may be determined, among other things, that goods which do not meet the

requirements laid down in the Act, in regulations issued or provisions made pursuant to the Act shall be marked, denatured, seized or destroyed, that the undertaking shall recall goods from subsequent stages of trade, or that the undertaking shall temporarily cease processing or sale.

Subsection 2. The Minister may decide that marking, denaturing, seizure, destruction or recall pursuant to subsection 1 shall be carried out at the expense of the undertaking. Section 53, subsections 5-7, shall apply correspondingly.

§ 61. The supervisory authority and persons who are specially authorised to do so shall at any time, upon proper identification and without a court order, have access to public and private property, premises, means of transport, business books, papers, etc., including electronic data, in order to obtain information for use in carrying out tasks pursuant to the Act or to rules laid down pursuant to the Act.

Subsection 2. The police shall provide assistance in this regard if necessary. The Minister for Food, Agriculture and Fisheries may, in agreement with the Minister of Justice, lay down further rules in this regard.

§ 62. The person responsible for matters covered by the Act or by regulations issued pursuant to the Act shall, upon request from the supervisory authority, provide all information, including financial and accounting matters, which are of significance for the implementation of the inspection, and shall provide the supervisory authority with the necessary assistance free of charge in connection with inspection, sampling, copying and delivery of written material and printing of electronic data.

Subsection 2. As part of control and monitoring, the supervisory authority may, free of charge and against receipt, take or order the responsible party to take samples of raw materials, semi-finished products, finished products, ice, water, steam, air, gases, materials and objects, additives, pesticides, cleaning and disinfectants, etc.

Subsection 3. If the responsible party so requires, the supervisory authority shall take a counter-sample at the same time as taking samples pursuant to subsection 2. The additional sample shall be sealed and handed over to the responsible party, who may have it subjected to a possible counter-examination after written agreement with the supervisory authority.

Subsection 4. The Minister for Food, Agriculture and Fisheries may lay down rules or make a provision requiring an undertaking to provide the supervisory authority with assistance in sending samples and to bear the costs thereof.

§ 62. The Minister for Food, Agriculture and Fisheries may lay down rules on the publication, with the name of the results, as well as the nature and extent of sanctions on the basis of controls carried out in accordance with the Act or rules issued pursuant to the Act. The Minister may, among other things, lay down rules that a complaint shall not have a suspensive effect. The Minister may also lay down rules on the manner and form in which the control results shall be made available to the public at the control site.

Subsection 2. The Minister may lay down rules on the form and extent of publication, including that publication may be made electronically. The Minister may decide that certain results shall not be published.

Subsection 3. The Minister may decide that publication shall be made on the basis of a computer information system concerning control results established by the Minister. For the purpose of publication, the Minister may at any time, including periodically, disclose both individual information and mass information from the

information system to an indefinite group of recipients. Everyone has access to information from the information system that has either been published or is to be published. Access includes both individual information and mass information.

Chapter 13

Diet and nutrition

§ 64. The Minister for Food, Agriculture and Fisheries may lay down rules and make decisions regarding information on diet and nutrition by enterprises.

Subsection 2. The Minister may lay down rules that food must be labelled with an indication of nutritional value, including how the nutritional value must be stated on the packaging, in advertisements and the like. Section 26 shall apply correspondingly to nutritional declarations.

Chapter 14

Complaints and dispensation

§ 65. The Minister of Food, Agriculture and Fisheries may lay down rules on the right to appeal against the decisions of the authorities, committees and private institutions referred to in section 54, including that the decisions of an authority cannot be brought before another administrative authority. The Minister may also lay down rules on the right of the authorities, committees and private institutions to reassess a case after a complaint has been filed.

Subsection 2. The Minister may lay down rules on the access of relevant consumer organizations to appeal decisions made by the supervisory authority as a result of a report of a possible violation of the Act or rules issued in connection therewith.

§ 66. The appeal period is 4 weeks from the day on which the decision is notified to the person concerned. The appeal must be sent to the authority that made the decision.

Subsection 2. The appeal authority may, within 6 months of the decision, disregard any overruns of the appeal period when there are special reasons for doing so.

§ 67. The Minister for Food, Agriculture and Fisheries may, when circumstances so require, grant an exemption from the provisions of Section 15(1), Section 23, Section 44(2), Section 49(1) and Section 50(1).

Section 68. In the event of major disasters, including crisis or war, the Minister for Food, Agriculture and Fisheries may lay down the rules and make the provisions necessary to ensure the most advantageous use of food, avoid pollution, etc. The Minister may, among other things, lay down rules or make decisions on deviations from the rules laid down in the Act.

Subsection 2. If the rules laid down or provisions made pursuant to subsection 1 result in financial loss for an enterprise or a producer, the State shall be liable for compensation. The enterprises concerned may not thereby be placed less favourably than others in the same industry.

Subsection 3. Compensation shall be assessed in the absence of an amicable agreement in accordance with rules laid down by the Minister.

Chapter 15 *Provisions on measures*

§ 69. Unless more intrusive measures are required under other legislation, a fine may be imposed on anyone who

- 1) processes, sells, imports or exports food in violation of Section 7, Section 9(1), Section 15(1), Section 20(1), Section 23, Section 27(1), Section 37(1), Section 38, Section 44(3), Section 46(1), and Section 50(1) and (3),
- 2) processes, sells or imports food, food additives or materials and objects intended to come into contact with food in violation of Section 19(1) and (2), Section 21, Section 24(3), and Section 49(1). 1, for additives, cf. section 18, no. 1, and for materials and objects, cf. section 29, no. 1,
- 3) without authorization, approval or registration, carries out activities as referred to in sections 41-42,
- 4) employs persons in violation of section 11, subsection 1, and section 18,
- 5) fails to comply with orders and prohibitions pursuant to section 10, subsections 2 and 3, and section 59,
- 6) fails to comply with orders and prohibitions pursuant to section 60, subsection 1,
- 7) fails to grant the supervisory authorities access to the enterprise pursuant to section 61, subsection 1,
- 8) fails to provide information or provide assistance to the supervisory authority pursuant to section 62, subsection 1, or
- 9) fails to take samples pursuant to section 62, subsection 2.

Subsection 2. When imposing a measure, it shall be considered an aggravating circumstance if the violation was committed intentionally or through gross negligence and the violation has 1) caused damage to health or created a risk of such damage or 2) achieved or intentionally achieved a financial advantage for the person concerned or others, including through savings. *Subsection 3.* In regulations issued pursuant to the Act, a fine may be laid down for a violation of provisions in the regulations or of terms and conditions notified pursuant to the regulations. The regulations may also lay down a fine for a violation of provisions in regulations laid down by the European Community on matters covered by this Act. *Subsection 4.* For violations committed by companies, etc. (legal persons), the company may be held liable for a fine.

§ 70. If a violation is deemed not to entail a more intrusive measure than a fine, the Minister of Food, Agriculture and Fisheries may declare that the matter can be settled without legal proceedings if the person who committed the violation pleads guilty to the violation and declares his readiness to pay a fine specified in the declaration within a specified period, which may be extended upon request.

Subsection 2. With regard to the declaration referred to in subsection 1, the provision on prosecution in the Act on the Administration of Justice for Greenland shall apply accordingly.

Subsection 3. If the fine is paid in due time, or is collected after the decision has been made, further prosecution will be waived.

Chapter 16

Entry into force etc.

§ 71. The Ordinance shall enter into force on 25 June 2004.

Subsection 2. Upon the entry into force of the Ordinance, Ordinance No. 857 of 18 December 1991 on the entry into force for Greenland of the Act on Meat etc. and the Act on Quality Control of Fish and Fish Products, cf. Consolidation Act No. 649 of 4 August 1993, shall be repealed.

Subsection 3. Regulations issued pursuant to or maintained by the Ordinance or Act mentioned in subsection 2 shall remain in force until they are replaced by provisions issued pursuant to this Ordinance.

Subsection 4. The regulations issued pursuant to Act No. 471 of 1 July 1998 on Food etc. (Food Act) as amended by Act No. 351 of 2 June 1999 and Act No. 279 of 25 April 2001, does not apply to Greenland.

Given at Amalienborg, 8 June 2004
Under Our Royal Hand and Seal
MARGRETHE R.

/ Mariann Fischer Boel

Appendix E: Government Announcement Extending the Appa (Thick-billed murre) Hunting Season, Zone 3

Source:

Naalakkersuisut (Government of Greenland), official Facebook post, 12 December 2025.

Description:

This appendix reproduces an official public announcement issued by Naalakkersuisut via Facebook regarding the extension of the thick-billed murre (appa) hunting season in Zone 3 until 31 December 2025 for licensed hunters. The announcement illustrates the use of social media as a formal communication channel for conveying regulatory changes related to hunting seasons and access. It is included to demonstrate how regulatory decisions are disseminated in practice and how hunters receive time-sensitive governance information outside of formal legal texts.



Naalakkersuisut/ Government of Greenland

12 December at 11:57 · 🌐

🇬🇱 Zone 3-mi inuussutissarsiuṭigalugu piniarsinnaanermut allagartalinnut appanniarnissamut piffissarititaq sivitsorneqarpoq 31. December 2025 ilanngullugu

Uani atuaruk: <https://bit.ly/4oTZzFL>

🇩🇰 Perioden for lomviejagten i zone 3 er udvidet til og med 31. december 2025 for personer med jagtbevis

Læs her: <https://bit.ly/3XSS6vP>

See translation



👍❤️ 104

9 comments 53 shares

👍 Like

💬 Comment

↪️ Share

Appendix F: Government Press Release on the Extension of the Appa (Thick-billed murre) Hunting Season, Zone 3

Source:

Naalakkersuisut (Government of Greenland), official website (Naalakkersuisut.gl), press release published 12 December 2025.

Description:

This appendix reproduces an official press release issued by Naalakkersuisut announcing the extension of the thick-billed murre (appa) hunting season in Zone 3 until 31 December 2025. The document provides the full administrative explanation of the regulatory decision, including its geographic scope, biological considerations, and implementation details. It is included to illustrate how hunting regulations are formally communicated through government web platforms, complementing parallel dissemination via social media (see Appendix E).

Naalakkersuisut.gl / Nutaarsiasat /
Zone 3-mi inuussutissarsiuutigalugu piniarsinnaanermut allagartalinut appanniarnissamut piffissarititaq sivitsorneqarpoq 31. December 2025 ilanngullugu

12.12.2025 / Tusagassiorfinnut nalunaarut / Aalisarnermut, Piniarnermut, Nunalerinnermut, Imminullu Pilersornermut, Naalakkersuisoqarfik

Atuartiguk

Zone 3-mi inuussutissarsiuutigalugu piniarsinnaanermut allagartalinut appanniarnissamut piffissarititaq sivitsorneqarpoq 31. December 2025 ilanngullugu

Nassiussuuvoq: Aalisarnermut, Piniarnermut, Nunalerinnermut, Imminullu Pilersornermut, Naalakkersuisoqarfik



Naalakkersuisut aalajangiipput zone 3-mi - Qeqertarsurmiit Nanortalik ilanngullugu - appanniarnermut piffissarititaasoq sivitsorneqassasoq inuussutissarsiuutigalugu piniarsinnaanermut allagartalinut. Sivitsuneq atuuppoq 31. december 2025 unnuap qeqqa ilanngullugu.

Appanniarneq inuussutissarsiuutigalugu piniarsinnaanermut allagartalinut ingerlanneqarsinnaavoq nalunaarummi atuuttumi killilersuutit allaqqasut mallilugit. Tassalu ullormi piniarfusumi ataatsimi appat 20-t pisarineqarsinnaallutik. Timmissanik tuniniaaneq nammineq aqutsiveqarfigisami taamaallaat pissaaq.

Appanniarnep sivitsorneqarnera tungaveqarpoq aqutsiveqarfit ilaanni isertitaqarniarnemi periarfissaalatsineq, tassunga ilanngullugu puisit aminik tunisinerup ikileriarsinanerat.

Sukumiernerusmik paasisaqarusukkaanni, Aalisarnermut, Piniarnermut, Nunalerinnermut, Imminut Pilersornermut Avatangiisinnu Naalakkersuisoqarfimmi immikkoortotami pisortaq Amalie A. Jessen saaffiginnittoqarsinnaavoq, e-mail: amalie@naoq.gl

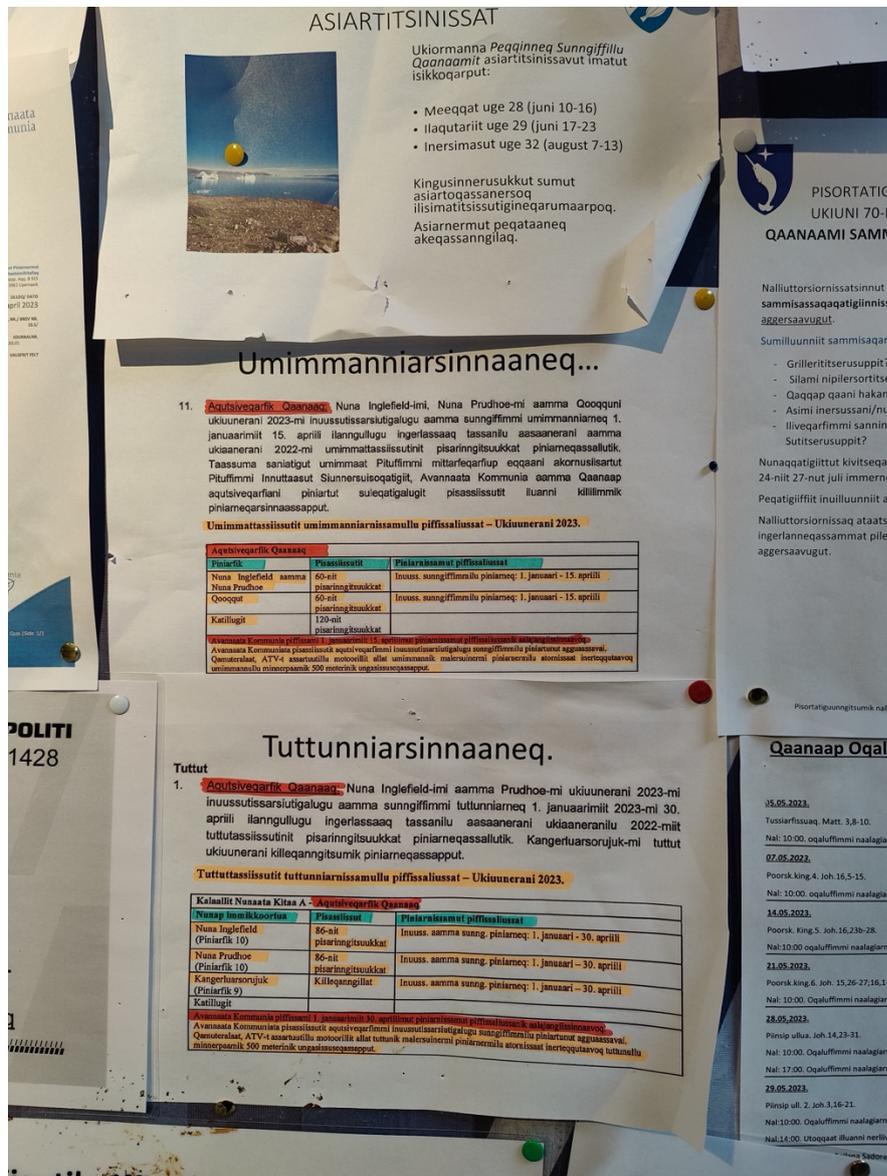
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Oqarasuaat +299 34 50 00
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NITTARTAKKAT ILUAQUTAASUT
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Atorfit inuttassarsiasat

Appendix G: Local Hunting Quota Notices Posted at Pilersuisoq, Qaanaaq

Source:
Public notice board at Pilersuisoq, Qaanaaq, Greenland. Photographed by the author during fieldwork.

Description:
This appendix documents locally posted hunting quota notices displayed on the public notice board at Pilersuisoq in Qaanaaq, the community's primary retail and distribution hub. The notices outline current quotas, seasonal hunting periods, and species-specific regulations for muskox (umimmaq) and reindeer (tuttu) applicable to the Qaanaaq region. Posted in Kalaallisut, these documents represent a key interface between national hunting regulation and local practice, illustrating how quota information is materially circulated and made accessible in everyday community spaces. Their placement within a commercial and social focal point underscores the integration of governance information into routine economic life.



Appendix H: Full-Time Hunting License for Professional Hunter, 2025 (Redacted)

Source:

Issued by the Department of Fisheries and Hunting, Government of Greenland. Document provided to the author during fieldwork. Personal identifying information redacted by the author.

Description:

This appendix reproduces a full-time hunting license issued for the 2025 hunting year, authorizing the holder to engage in regulated hunting activities in Greenland. The license specifies the period of validity (1 January–31 December 2025), confirms payment of the mandatory hunting fee, and identifies the license holder as a professional hunter. It also includes documentation of payment and electronic banking infrastructure, illustrating how hunting authorization is formally linked to administrative and financial systems.

As a material document, the hunting license demonstrates how participation in the hunt-to-sell system is conditional upon formal registration, payment, and compliance with state-defined requirements. It functions as both a legal instrument and an economic gateway, enabling hunters to sell harvested products to licensed buyers, retailers, and institutions. The license thus exemplifies how hunting in Greenland is constituted as a regulated profession rather than solely a subsistence activity.

Appendix H: Full-Time Hunting License for Professional Hunter, 2025 (Redacted) continued

Betalingsid: [REDACTED]



PINIARNERMUT ALLAGARTAQ / JAGTBEVIS

PINIARNEQ 2025

PINIARNERMUT ALLAGARTAQ Piniartoq

Piniarnermut allagartaq "AKILERNEQARSIMASUTUT" naqissuserneqaruni imaluunniit aningaaseriviup/allakkeriviup akilisimanermut uppersaataank peqaruni aatsaat piniarnermut allagartaq atuutilissaaq. Piniarnermut allagartaq inummuinnaq tunngavoq. Allagartaq piniarsinnaatitsivoq 2025-imi 1. januarimit - 31. decemberimut.

CPR-NR. [REDACTED]

JAGTBEVIS Fanger

Kun gyldigt som jagtbevis efter betaling, enten med "BETALT" stempel, eller bankens/posthusets kvittering for indbetaling. Jagtbeviset er strengt personligt. Jagtbeviset giver adgang til jagt i perioden 1. januar - 31. december 2025.

PINIARNERMUT ALLAGARTAP AKILERNISSAANUT ILITSERSUUT.

Piniarnermut allagartamut akilutininik akiliineq:

Piniarnermut allagartaq aatsaat akilerneqareeruni atuutilissaaq.

Piniarnermut allagartaq internet aqutugalugu, akiliiffissami "piniarnermut allagartaq akileruk" toorlugu akilersinnaavat.

Akileereernerup kingorna piniarnermut allagartaq "AKILIISIMASUTUT" naqissuserneqarsimasooq toqqorsinnaavat/anillatsissinnaavat, taanna atuuttuussammatt.

Girokort atorlugu netbankikkut allakkerivikkulluunniit piniarnermut allagartap akilernissaa toqparukku piniarnermut allagartamut akilutivit uppersaataa toqqussavat taakkulu kakkiullugit

Piniarnermut allagartamik allamik pisaarneq:

Piniarnermut allagartat tammarukku sulilu piniarsinnaarusukkuit imminut sullinnissamut aaqqiissut www.sullissivik.gl imaluunniit kommunimi Innuttaasunut Sullissivik aqutugalugu piniarnermut allagartat anillatseqqissinnaavat.

VEJLEDNING I INDBETALING AF JAGTBEVISAFGIFTEN.

Indbetaling af jagtbevisafgiften:

De kan betale jagtbeviset online, via betalingsmodulet ved at trykke på knappen "betal jagtbevis". Efter betaling vil De kunne gemme/printe jagtbeviset med "BETALT" stempel, der vil være gyldigt. Vælger De at bruge girokortet til at betale Deres jagtbevis via netbank eller posthuset skal De gemme og vedhæfte kvitteringen for betaling til Deres jagtbevis.

Erstatningsjagtbevis:

Bortkommer Deres jagtbevis og ønsker De fortsat at kunne gå på jagt, kan De genudprinte deres jagtbevis via selvbetjeningsløsningen på www.sullissivik.gl eller i kommunens Borgerservice Center.

Inussiarnersumik inuulluqqusilluta / med venlig hilsen
Aalisarnermut Piniarnermullu Naalakkersuisoqarfik / Departementet for Fiskeri og Fangst

<p>Reg.nr. [REDACTED] Kontonr. [REDACTED]</p> <p>3905 Nuussuaq</p> <p>Tilmelding til BetalingsService</p> <p>PBS-nr.: [REDACTED] Deb.gr.nr. [REDACTED]</p> <p>Kundernr.: [REDACTED]</p> <p>Korunuit/Kroner [REDACTED] Oorit/ore [REDACTED]</p> <p>Til maskinel aflæsning – Undgå venligst at skrive i nedenstående felt</p>	<p>INDBETALINGSKORT</p> <p>Kan betales i pengeinstitut og på posthuse</p> <p>Kreditornummer og akilerneqartoq/belebsmodtager [REDACTED]</p> <p>PINIARNEQ 2025</p> <p>Kalaallit Nunaanni Namminersorlutik Oqartussat Grønlands Selvstyre Postboks 269, 3900 Nuuk</p> <p>Underskrift ved overførsel fra konto [REDACTED]</p> <p>Ulløq akiliffik/Betalingsdato: [REDACTED]</p> <p>Dag Måned År [REDACTED]</p>	<p>KVITTERING</p> <p>Checks og lignende accepteres under forbehold af at pengeinstituttet modtager betalingen. Ved kontant betaling i pengeinstitut med terminal er det udelukkende pengeinstituttets kvitteringstryk der er bevis for hvilket beløb der er indbetalt.</p> <p>Kreditornummer og akilerneqartoq/belebsmodtager [REDACTED]</p> <p>PINIARNEQ 2025</p> <p>Kalaallit Nunaanni Namminersorlutik Oqartussat Grønlands Selvstyre Postboks 269, 3900 Nuuk</p> <p>Kvittering [REDACTED]</p> <p>Tilmelding til BetalingsService</p> <p>PBS-nr.: [REDACTED] Deb.gr.nr. [REDACTED]</p> <p>Kundernr.: [REDACTED]</p>
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Appendix I: KNAPK Local Unions and Territorial Representation Across Greenland

Source:

Kalaallit Nunaanni Aalisartut Piniartullu Kattuffiat (KNAPK).

Organizational materials reproduced with permission / obtained during fieldwork.

Description:

This appendix documents the territorial breadth of KNAPK's organizational structure through a listing of its local unions across towns and settlements throughout Kalaallit Nunaat. The image illustrates the presence of KNAPK chapters in both major urban centres and smaller settlements (nunaqarfiit), demonstrating the organization's extensive geographic reach and its role as a nationally embedded representative body for hunters and fishers.

The material supports the analysis in Chapter 7 by providing visual and documentary evidence of how KNAPK's authority is grounded in place-based membership and local representation, enabling it to function as a co-governing institution that connects localized hunting practices with national regulatory and economic frameworks.

<p>Local Unions</p> <p>Nanortalik P.O. Box 80, 3922 Nanortalik</p> <p>Aappilattoq NAN Aappilattoq, 3922 Nanortalik</p> <p>Narsarmiut B 1452, 3922 Nanortalik</p> <p>Alluitsup Paa Alluitsup Paa, 3922 Nanortalik</p> <p>Qaqortoq P.O. Box 436, 3920 Qaqortoq</p> <p>Saarloq Saarloq, 3929 Qaqortoq</p> <p>Narsaq Gammelygehusvej B 513, 3921 Narsaq</p> <p>Qassimiut Qassimiut, 3921 Narsaq</p> <p>Paamiut P.O. Box 239, 3940 Paamiut</p> <p>Arsuk 3932 Arsurk</p> <p>Nuuk P.O. Box 165, 3900 Nuuk</p> <p>Kapisillit Kapisillit, 3900 Nuuk</p> <p>Qeqertarsuatsiaat Qeqertarsuatsiaat, 3900 Nuuk</p> <p>Maniitsoq P.O. Box 113, 3912 Maniitsoq</p> <p>Maniitsoq MUAPP P.O. Box 183, 3912 Maniitsoq</p> <p>Atammik Atammik, 3912 Maniitsoq</p> <p>Kangaamiut P.O. Box 15, Kangaamiut, 3912 Maniitsoq</p> <p>Napasoq Napasoq, 3912 Maniitsoq</p> <p>Sisimiut P.O. Box 177, 3911 Sisimiut</p> <p>Sisimiut SAAPP P.O. Box 3001, 3911 Sisimiut</p> <p>Sarfannuguit Sarfannuguit, 3911 Sisimiut</p> <p>Itilleq Itilleq, 3911 Sisimiut</p>	<p>Kangaatsiaq P.O. Box 501, 3955 Kangaatsiaq</p> <p>Ikerasaarsuk Ikerasaarsuk, 3955 Kangaatsiaq</p> <p>Iginniarfik Iginniarfik, 3955 Kangaatsiaq</p> <p>Attu Attu, 3955 Kangaatsiaq</p> <p>Niaqornaarsuk P.O. Box 805, 3955 Kangaatsiaq</p> <p>Aasiaat P.O. Box 198, 3950 Aasiaat</p> <p>Akunnaaq Akuunnaaq, 3950 Aasiaat</p> <p>Kitsissuarsuit Kitsissuarsuit, 3950 Aasiaat</p> <p>Qasigiannuguit P.O. Box 60, 3951 Qasigiannuguit</p> <p>Ikamiut Ikamiut, 3951 Qasigiannuguit</p> <p>Ilulissat P.O. Box 9, 3952 Ilulissat</p> <p>Qeqertaq Qeqertaq, 3952 Ilulissat</p> <p>Saqqaq Saqqaq, 3952 Ilulissat</p> <p>Isortaq P.O. Box 271, 3952 Ilulissat</p> <p>Qeqertarsuaq Ph. Rosendahlip Aqq. 12, 3953 Qeqertarsuaq</p> <p>Kangerluk Kangerluk, 3953 Qeqertarsuaq</p> <p>Uummannaq, 951721 P.O. Box 33, 3961 Uummannaq</p> <p>Ikerasak Ikerasak, 3961 Uummannaq</p> <p>Niaqornat Niaqornat, 3961 Uummannaq</p> <p>Saattut Saattut, 3961 Uummannaq</p> <p>Ukkusissat Ukkusissat, 3961 Uummannaq</p> <p>Qaarsut Qaarsut, 3961 Uummannaq</p>	<p>Upernavik P.O. Box 107, 3962 Upernavik</p> <p>Upernavik U P.O. Box 108, 3962 Upernavik</p> <p>Aappilattoq Aappilattoq, 3962 Upernavik</p> <p>Innaarsuit Innaarsuit, 3962 Upernavik</p> <p>Kangersuatsiaq Kangersuatsiaq, 3962 Upernavik</p> <p>Kullorsuaq Kullorsuaq, 3962 Upernavik</p> <p>Nuussuaq Nutaarmiut, 3962 Upernavik</p> <p>Tasiusaq Tasiusaq, 3962 Upernavik</p> <p>Nutaarmiut Nutaarmiut, 3962 Upernavik</p> <p>Upernavik Kujalleq Upernavik Kujalleq, 3962 Upernavik</p> <p>Qaanaaq P.O. Box 76, 3971 Qaanaaq</p> <p>Siorapaluk Siorapaluk, 3971 Qaanaaq</p> <p>Savissivik B 609, 3971 Qaanaaq</p> <p>Qeqertaq Qeqertaq, 3971 Qaanaaq</p> <p>Tasiilaq 3913 Tasiilaq</p> <p>Kuummiut Kuummiut, 3913 Tasiilaq</p> <p>Sermiligaaq Sermiligaaq, 3913 Tasiilaq</p> <p>Tiniteqilaq Tiniteqilaq B 968, 3913 Tasiilaq</p> <p>Isortoq Isortoq, 3913 Tasiilaq</p> <p>Kulusuk Kulusuk, 3913 Tasiilaq</p> <p>Ittoqqortoormiit 3980 Ittoqqortoormiit</p>
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KNAPK
Tel. +299 322 422
www.knapk.gl

Appendix J: Organizational Structure of KNAPK (Kalaallit Nunaanni Aalisartut Piniartullu Kattuffiat)

Source:

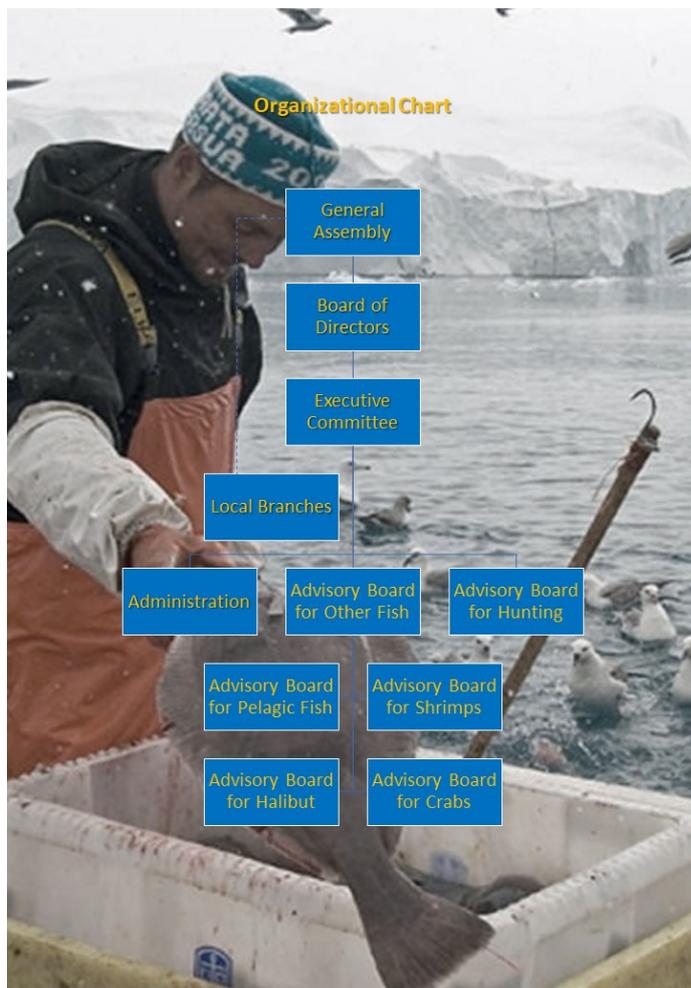
Kalaallit Nunaanni Aalisartut Piniartullu Kattuffiat (KNAPK).

Organizational chart reproduced from KNAPK materials.

Description:

This appendix presents an organizational chart outlining the internal governance structure of KNAPK. It illustrates the formal relationships between the General Assembly, Board of Directors, Executive Committee, administrative functions, local branches, and sector-specific advisory boards, including the Advisory Board for Hunting.

The chart provides visual evidence of KNAPK's multi-layered governance model, showing how authority and decision-making are distributed across national leadership, specialized advisory bodies, and locally embedded branches. It supports the analysis in Chapter 7 by clarifying how KNAPK operates as more than an interest organization, functioning instead as a co-governing institution that integrates local knowledge, sectoral expertise, and national coordination within Greenland's hunt-to-sell system.



Appendix K: KNAPK Advisory Board for Hunting

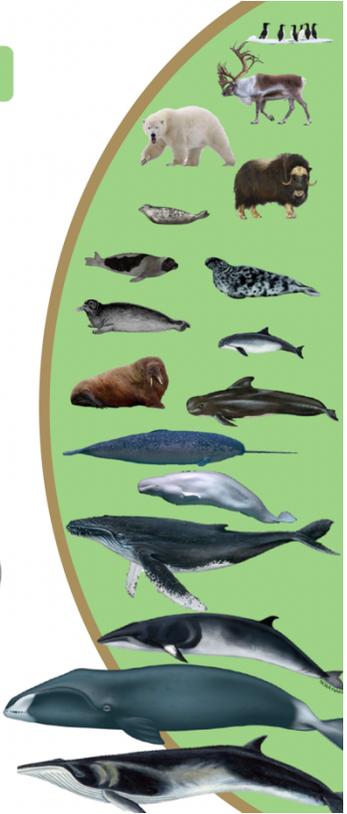
Source:
KNAPK

Description:

This appendix documents the composition, legal foundations, and international linkages of KNAPK's Advisory Board for Hunting (Hunting Council). Together, the materials illustrate how scientific, legal, international, and local knowledge intersect within hunting governance structures.

Advisory Board for Hunting

<div style="display: flex; flex-direction: column; gap: 10px;"> <div style="display: flex; align-items: center;">  <div style="margin-left: 10px;"> <p>Henning Dalager Chairman (Qeqertarsuaq)</p> </div> </div> <div style="display: flex; align-items: center;">  <div style="margin-left: 10px;"> <p>Knud Mølgaard (Sisimiut) Vice-Chair</p> </div> </div> <div style="display: flex; align-items: center;">  <div style="margin-left: 10px;"> <p>Mamarut Kristiansen Member (Qaanaaq)</p> </div> </div> <div style="display: flex; align-items: center;">  <div style="margin-left: 10px;"> <p>Jens Danielsen (Qaanaaq) Member</p> </div> </div> <div style="display: flex; align-items: center;">  <div style="margin-left: 10px;"> <p>Aksel Siegstad Member (Ilulissat)</p> </div> </div> <div style="display: flex; align-items: center;">  <div style="margin-left: 10px;"> <p>Julius Amossen (Qarsut) Member</p> </div> </div> <div style="display: flex; align-items: center;">  <div style="margin-left: 10px;"> <p>Lars Peter Mølgaard Member (Kitsissuarsuit)</p> </div> </div> </div>	<div style="display: flex; flex-direction: column; gap: 10px;"> <div style="display: flex; align-items: center;">  <div style="margin-left: 10px;"> <p>Ado Goliathsen Member (Kangaamiut)</p> </div> </div> <div style="display: flex; align-items: center;">  <div style="margin-left: 10px;"> <p>Mikael M. Johnsen (Qeqertarsuatsiaat) Member</p> </div> </div> <div style="display: flex; align-items: center;">  <div style="margin-left: 10px;"> <p>Lars P. Mathæussen Member (Nuuk)</p> </div> </div> <div style="display: flex; align-items: center;">  <div style="margin-left: 10px;"> <p>Ole Jørgen Davidsen (Narsaq) Member</p> </div> </div> <div style="display: flex; align-items: center;">  <div style="margin-left: 10px;"> <p>Thor Eugenius Member (Nanortalik)</p> </div> </div> <div style="display: flex; align-items: center;">  <div style="margin-left: 10px;"> <p>Frede Kilime (Tasiilaq) Member</p> </div> </div> <div style="display: flex; align-items: center;">  <div style="margin-left: 10px;"> <p>Åge Hammeken Danielsen Member (Ittoqqortoormiit)</p> </div> </div> </div>
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Appendix K.1: Advisory Board membership and regional representation

Appendix K.2: Legislative mandates relevant to the Advisory Board

Advisory Board for Hunting

Legislation

- Hunting and Gaming Act no. 12 of 29 October 1999.
- Amendment Act no. 1 of 1 May 2008 (Change of municipal mandate to register the entire income)
- Amendment Act no. 9 of 15 April 2003 (Rules for group hunt and mandate to establish the Council of Hunting)
- Amendment Act no. 11 of 12 November 2001 (Sum of the entire income, hunting license for daycare centers, license for leisure hunting and gaming, fee for trophy hunting and change of rules for abolishing hunting licenses)
- Industrial development of fishery and hunting Act no. 13 of 3 December 2012.

Executive Orders

- Greenland Selfrule Executive Order no. 3 of 14 September 2018 for hunting and preservation of polar bears.
- Greenland Selfrule Executive Order no. 3 of 27 January 2017 for conservation and hunting of belugas and narwals.
- Greenland Selfrule Executive Order no. 7 of 27 June 2013 for preservation and hunting of wild reindeer.
- Greenland Selfrule Executive Order no. 8 of 27 June 2013 for preservation and hunting of musk ox.
- Greenland Selfrule Executive Order no. 9 of 6 December 2018 for preservation and hunting of large whales.
- Greenland Selfrule Executive Order no. 10 of 5 July 2006 for registration of sales from hunting catch and agricultural farming.
- Greenland Selfrule Executive Order no. 14 of 18 October 2019 for preservation and hunting of arctic fox.
- Greenland Selfrule Executive Order no. 16 of 12 November 2010 for preservation and hunting of seals.
- Greenland Selfrule Executive Order no. 17 of 28 October 2019 for preservation and hunting of birds.
- Greenland Selfrule Executive Order no. 20 of 27 October 2006 for preservation and hunting of walrus.
- Greenland Selfrule Executive Order no. 33 of 11 September 2020 for preservation and hunting arctic wolves.
- Greenland Selfrule Executive Order no. 48 of 18 December 2020 for registration of income from some of the catch.

Municipal Guidelines

- Municipal Guidelines for Kommuneqarfik Sermersooq's prohibition of hunting and catch of humpback whales in Nuuk Fiord.

Rules of Procedures for the Advisory Board for Hunting

- The Advisory Board for Hunting hold 4 annual meetings. The advisory board can hold meetings as needed.



Appendix K.3: International organizations and agreements informing hunting governance

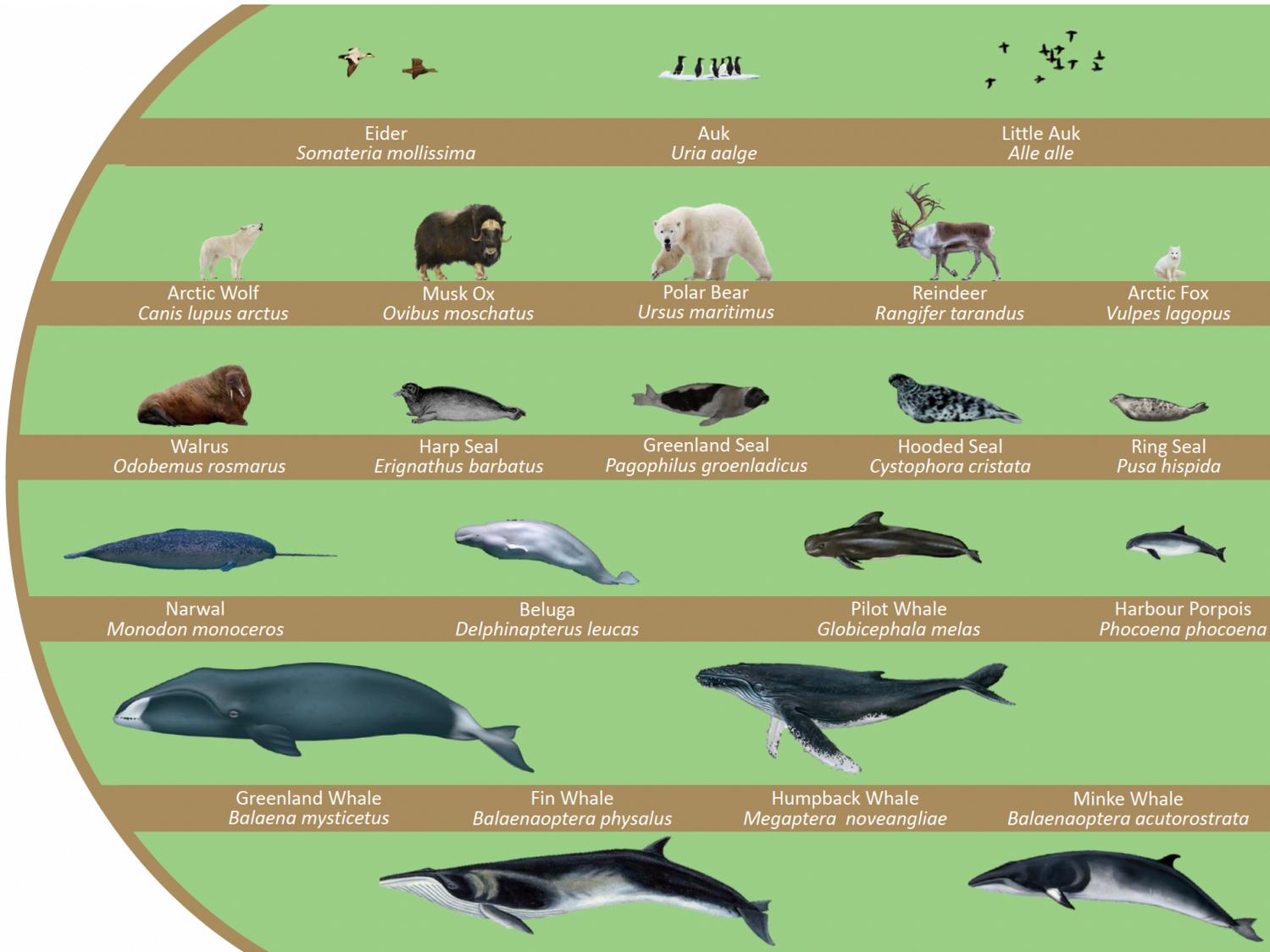
Advisory Board for Hunting

International Organizations

- To follow regulations (of seals, walruses, narwals, belugas and whales) in NAMMCO.
- To follow regulations of large whales in IWC.
- To follow regulations of birds in CAFF.
- To follow Circumpolar Biodiversity Monitoring Programme and Circumpolar Seabird Group (under CAFF).
- Agreement on Polar Bear Range States (PBRS) between USA, Canada, Greenland, Norway and Russia was signed in 1973, and preservation and regulation of polar bears is conducted.
- Agreement on Joint Committee on Polar Bears between Canada and Greenland (JCPB) was signed 31 July 2016.
- Conservation on International Trade in Endangered Species (CITES) the cocalled Washington Convention was signed 3 March 1973 and effective as of 1 July 1975.



Appendix K.4: Species-specific regulatory scope under the Advisory Board



Appendix L: Local Price Lists for Hunted and Harvested Products in Qaanaaq (Converted Table)

Source:

KNAPK local chapter (Qaanaaq). Original price lists photographed at the KNAPK Qaanaaq office. Photographed by the author during fieldwork.

Date:

Approved 21 August 2018 (as indicated on original documents).

Description:

This appendix presents a consolidated table derived from locally issued price-per-kilo lists used in Qaanaaq to establish minimum prices for selected hunted and harvested products sold through the hunt-to-sell system. The original documents specify prices in Danish kroner (DKK) per kilogram or per unit (ataaseq) and reflect community-level economic regulation authorized by the local KNAPK executive committee.

Only selected species are included in the converted table. Items were chosen based on the author's ability to confidently translate and interpret Avanersuaq terminology and product categories. Species or product forms for which accurate translation could not be ensured are intentionally excluded to avoid misrepresentation.

For analytical comparison, the table includes approximate conversions to Canadian dollars (CAD) and to price per pound (lb). Currency conversion uses a rounded contemporary exchange rate of 1 DKK = \$0.20 CAD, and weight conversion uses 1 kg = 2.20462 lb. Converted values are provided for comparative and illustrative purposes only and do not represent local pricing practices or historical exchange rates. Items priced per unit are not converted to weight-based measures due to variability in size and condition.

This appendix supports analysis in Chapters 7 and 10 by illustrating how economic value is formally assigned to harvested animals at the local level and how pricing operates as a mechanism of governance within Greenland's hunt-to-sell system.

Original unconverted price lists are reproduced in Appendices L.1–L.4 for reference.

Appendix L sub-items

Appendix L.1 – Qaanaaq price list, page 1 (original)

Appendix L.2 – Qaanaaq price list, page 2 (original)

Appendix L.3 – Qaanaaq price list, page 3 (original)

Appendix L.4 – Qaanaaq price list, page 4 (original)

Converted Price Table (Approximate CAD and CAD/lb)

Conversion assumptions: 1 DKK = \$0.20 CAD; 1 kg = 2.20462 lb. Prices per unit (ataaseq) are not converted to weight-based measures.

Kalaallisut Term	English Term (approximate)	Original Price-per-kg/unit	CAD Price-per-kg/unit	CAD Price-per-lb
Puisi neqqpia	Seal meat	50 DKK/kg	\$10.00 CAD/kg	\$4.54 CAD/lb
Puisi niaqua	Seal head	50 DKK/ataaseq	\$10.00 CAD/unit	—
Puisi inalugai	Seal intestines	25 DKK/ataaseq	\$5.00 CAD/unit	—
Puisi tingua orsutalik	Seal liver with fat	80 DKK/ataaseq	\$16.00 CAD/unit	—
Puisi tingua inaluartalik orsutalik	Seal liver with intestines and fat	100 DKK/ataaseq	\$20.00 CAD/unit	—
Puisi nikkui	Dried seal meat	100 DKK/kg	\$20.00 CAD/kg	\$9.07 CAD/lb
Aataq nerpia	Harp seal meal	50 DKK/kg	\$10.00 CAD/kg	\$4.54 CAD/lb
Aataq nikkui	Dried harp seal meat	100 DKK/kg	\$20.00 CAD/kg	\$9.07 CAD/lb
Ugguup nerpia	Bearded seal meat	50 DKK/kg	\$10.00 CAD/kg	\$4.54 CAD/lb
Ugguup tulimai nikkut	Dried bearded seal flipper	100 DKK/kg	\$20.00 CAD/kg	\$9.07 CAD/lb
Ugguup nikkui nerpiit	Dried bearded seal meat	200 DKK/kg	\$40.00 CAD/kg	\$18.14 CAD/lb
Ugguup inalugai nutaat	Fresh bearded seal intestines	40 DKK/kg	\$8.00 CAD/kg	\$3.63 CAD/lb
Aarrup neqaa uugissaq kaattumik saaneqanngitsoq	Walrus meat without bone	75 DKK/kg	\$15.00 CAD/kg	\$6.80 CAD/lb
Aarrup uummataa	Walrus heart	75 DKK/kg	\$15.00 CAD/kg	\$6.80 CAD/lb
Aarrup tingua orsutalik	Walrus liver with fat	75 DKK/kg	\$15.00 CAD/kg	\$6.80 CAD/lb
Qilalukkap mattaa orsuagaq	Beluga whale skin without blubber	200 DKK/kg	\$40.00 CAD/kg	\$18.14 CAD/lb
Qilalukkap talerua	Beluga whale front flipper	300 DKK/ataaseq	\$60.00 CAD/unit	—
Qilalukkap sarpinaa	Beluga whale tail	300 DKK/ataaseq	\$60.00 CAD/unit	—
Qilalukkap neqaa	Beluga whale meat	50 DKK/kg	\$10.00 CAD/kg	\$4.54 CAD/lb

Kalaallisut Term	English Term (approximate)	Original Price-per-kg/unit	CAD Price-per-kg/unit	CAD Price-per-lb
Qilalukkap nikkui	Dried beluga whale meat	50 DKK/kg	\$10.00 CAD/kg	\$4.54 CAD/lb
Qilalukkap inalugai nikkut	Dried beluga whale intestines	200 DKK/kg	\$40.00 CAD/kg	\$18.14 CAD/lb
Qilalukkap tingua	Beluga whale liver	50 DKK/kg	\$10.00 CAD/kg	\$4.54 CAD/lb
Qilalukkap ingaluaa pr m	Beluga whale intestines per metre	100 DKK/ataaseq	\$20.00 CAD/unit	—
Mattaq imuhaq	Rolled beluga whale skin and blubber	200 DKK/kg	\$40.00 CAD/kg	\$18.14 CAD/lb
Qaleralik qerisoq iluitsuq	Frozen halibut whole	30 DKK/kg	\$6.00 CAD/kg	\$2.72 CAD/lb
Qaleralik avaleraiagaq niaquigaq nerpiinnaq	Halibut without fins and head	30 DKK/kg	\$6.00 CAD/kg	\$2.72 CAD/lb
Qaleralik paqqaartoq	Halibut dried and fermented	40 DKK/kg	\$8.00 CAD/kg	\$3.63 CAD/lb
Qullukkat	Dried halibut	400 DKK/kg	\$80.00 CAD/kg	\$36.28 CAD/lb
Eqaluk erlaveqanngitsoq	Gutted arctic char	60 DKK/kg	\$12.00 CAD/kg	\$5.44 CAD/lb
Eqaluki tarajortigaq	Salted arctic char	75 DKK/kg	\$15.00 CAD/kg	\$6.80 CAD/lb
Eqaluk panertoq	Dried arctic char	60 DKK/kg	\$12.00 CAD/kg	\$5.44 CAD/lb
Kanajoq	Sculpin	5 DKK/kg	\$1.00 CAD/kg	\$0.45 CAD/lb
Qeeraq	Spotted Wolffish	50 DKK/kg	\$10.00 CAD/kg	\$4.54 CAD/lb
Tupissut		50 DKK/kg	\$10.00 CAD/kg	\$4.54 CAD/lb
Suluppaagaq	Atlantic Redfish	25 DKK/kg	\$5.00 CAD/kg	\$2.27 CAD/lb
Miteq	Eider Duck	50 DKK/ataaseq	\$10.00 CAD/bird	—
Naujaaq	Seagull	30 DKK/ataaseq	\$6.00 CAD/bird	—
Naujap mannia	Seagull Egg	20 DKK/ataaseq	\$4.00 CAD/unit	—
Serfaq	Black Guillemot	20 DKK/ataaseq	\$4.00 CAD/bird	—
Taateraag	Black-legged Kittiwake	20 DKK/ataaseq	\$4.00 CAD/bird	—

Kalaallisut Term	English Term (approximate)	Original Price-per-kg/unit	CAD Price-per-kg/unit	CAD Price-per-lb
Appa	Thick-billed Murre	40 DKK/ataaseq	\$8.00 CAD/bird	—
Appaliarsuk	Little Auk	10 DKK/ataaseq	\$2.00 CAD/bird	—
Appaliarsuup mannisa	Little Auk egg	10 DKK/ataaseq	\$2.00 CAD/bird	—
Aqisseq	Ptarmigan	10 DKK/ataaseq	\$2.00 CAD/unit	—
Tuttup neqaa saanilik	Caribou/Reindeer meat with bone	100 DKK/kg	\$20.00 CAD/kg	\$9.07 CAD/lb
Tuttup neqaa saaneqanngitsoq	Caribou/Reindeer meat without bone	125 DKK/kg	\$25.00 CAD/kg	\$11.34 CAD/lb
Tuttup nikkui	Dried Caribou meat	150 DKK/kg	\$30.00 CAD/kg	\$13.61 CAD/lb
Umimmaap neqaa saanilik	Muskox meat with bone	100 DKK/kg	\$20.00 CAD/kg	\$9.07 CAD/lb
Umimmaap neqaa saaneqanngitsoq	Muskox meat without bone	125 DKK/kg	\$25.00 CAD/kg	\$11.34 CAD/lb
Umimmaap nikkui	Dried Muskox meat	150 DKK/kg	\$30.00 CAD/kg	\$13.61 CAD/lb
Ukaleq ameqanngitsoq	Arctic hare without fur	150 DKK/ataaseq	\$30.00 CAD/unit	—
Ukaleq uulleriigaq iluitsuq	Butchered arctic hare	175 DKK/ataaseq	\$35.00 CAD/unit	—
Tuttup nassui	Caribou/reindeer antlers	75 DKK/kg	\$15.00 CAD/kg	\$6.80 CAD/lb
Umimmaap nassui	Muskox horns	75 DKK/kg	\$15.00 CAD/kg	\$6.80 CAD/lb

Appendix L: Local Price Lists for Hunted and Harvested Products in Qaanaaq Continued

Source:
KNAPP Qaanaaq / KNAPK local chapter.

Description:
This appendix reproduces locally issued price lists specifying per-kilogram and per-unit prices for a wide range of hunted and harvested species in Qaanaaq approved 21 August 2018. These documents illustrate how value is formally assigned to animal products at the community level and demonstrate the localized governance of pricing within Greenland's hunt-to-sell system.

Appendix L.1 – Qaanaaq price list (page 1)

KNAPP Qaanaaq ilaasortani peqatigalugit, akit uku iluarsaanneqarput 28/05-2018 taakkualu najoqqutarineqassapput, aaqqiisoqarnissaata tungaanut.	
Puisip neqaa uugissaq.	50,-kr kg-mut.
Puisip neqqpia	50,-kr kg-mut.
Puisip Niaqua	50,-kr ataaseq
Puisip Inalugai	25,-kr atautsit
Puisip tingua orsutalik	80,-kr atautsit
Puisip tingua inaluartalik orsutalik	100,-kr atautsit
Puisip Nikkui	100,-kr kg-mut
Puisi Isuanneq	60,-kr kg-mut
Ataap nerpia	50,-kr kg-mut
Ataap nikkui	100,-kr kg-mut
Ugguup nerpia	50,-kr kg-mut
Ugguup tulimai nikkut	100,-kr kg-mut
Ugguup nikkui nerpiit	200,-kr kg-mut
Ugguup inalugai nutaat	40,-kr kg-mut
Aarrup neqaa uugissaq kaultalik saaneqanngitsoq	75,-kr kg-mut
Aarrup uummataa	75,-kr kg-mut
Aarrup aqajaruq imanertoq	100,-kr kg-mut
Aarrup tingua orsutalik	75,-kr kg-mut
Ungerlaaq isuanneq	75,-kr kg-mut
Qilalukkaq mattaa orsuiagaq	200,-kr kg-mut

Appendix L.2 – Qaanaaq price list (page 2)

Qilalukkap talerua	300,-kr ataaseq
Qilalukkap sarpinaa	300,-kr ataaseq
Qilalukkap neqaa	50,-kr kg.mut
Qilalukkap nikkui	300,-kr kg-mut
Qilalukkap inalugai nikkut	200,-kr kg-mut
Qilalukkap tingua	50,-kr kg-mut
Qilalukkap ingaluaa pr m	100,-kr ataaseq
Qilalukkap iterroraa mattaalik nutaaq	50,-kr kg-mut
Qilalukkap iterroraa mattaalik isuanneq	60,-kr kg-mut
Qilalukkap iterroraa mattaaqanngitsoq isuanneq	40,-kr kg-mut
Qilalukkap iterroraa mattaaqanngitsoq isuanniunngitsoq	50,-kr kg-mut
Mattaaq imuhaq	200,-kr kg-mut

Qaleralik qerisoq iluitsoq	30,-kr kg-mut
Qaleralik avaleraiaq niaquigaq nerpiinnaq	35,-kr kg-mut
Qullukkat	400,-kr kg-mut
Qaleralik paqqaartoq	40,-kr kg-mut
Eqalugaq erlavilik	30,-kr kg-mut
Eqalugaq erlaveqanngitsoq	15,-kr kg-mut
Eqalugaq panertoq	10,-kr kg-mut
Eqaluk erlaveqanngitsoq	60,-kr kg-mut
Eqaluki tarajortigaq	75,-kr kg.mut
Eqaluk panertoq	60,-kr kg-mut

Appendix L.3 – Qaanaaq price list (page 3)

Kanajoq	5,-kr kg-mut
Qeeraq	50,-kr kg-mut
Tupissut	50,-kr kg-mut
Suluppaagaq	25,-kr kg-mut
<hr/>	
Timmissat.	
Miteq	50,-kr ataaseq
Naujaaq	30,-kr ataaseq
Naujap mannia	20,-kr ataaseq
Serfaq	20,-kr ataaseq
Taateraag	20,-kr ataaseq
Appa	40,-kr ataaseq
Appa kiviaq	50,-kr ataaseq
Appaliarsuk	10,-kr ataaseq
Appaliarsuk kiviaq	15,-kr ataaseq
Appaliaq	10,-kr ataaseq
Appaliarsuup mannia	10,-kr ataaseq
Aqisseq	50,-kr ataaseq
<hr/>	
Nersutit.	
Nammup neqaa	150,-kr kg-mut
Tuttup neqaa saanilik	100,-kr kg-mut
Tuttup neqaa saaneqanngitsoq	125,-kr kg-mut

Appendix L.4 – Qaanaaq price list (page 4)

Tuttup nikkui	150,-kr kg-mut
Umimmaap neqaa saanilik	100,-kr kg-mut
Umimmaap neqaa saaneqanngitsoq	125,-kr kg-mut
Umimmaap nikkui	150,-kr kg-mut
Ukaleq ameqanngitsoq	150,-kr ataaseq
Ukaleq uulleriigaq iluitsoq	175,-kr ataaseq
Tuttup nassui	75,-kr kg.mut
Umimmaap nassui	75,-kr kg-mut

Taakkualu atuupput ulloq 21/08 2018

Allannguisoqaqqinnissaata tungaanut.

Knapp-qaanaaq

Siulersuisut

K'ulutana kvist

Paulus Simigaq

Tobias simigaq

Tobias Aladaq

Jens Danielsen

Appendix M: Pisiffik – Purchase from Local Hunters (Internal Procurement Form)

Appendix M1: Pisiffik – Purchase from Local Hunters (Internal Procurement Form)

Source:

Internal company document provided to the author during an interview with Pisiffik representatives, Nuuk, 2024.

Description:

This document is an internal procurement form used by Pisiffik when purchasing harvested foods from licensed local hunters and fishers. It outlines required seller identification, banking information, delivery details, product specifications, and confirmation of receipt. The form illustrates the procedural steps required for harvested foods to enter the retail distribution pathway and situates hunter sales within Pisiffik's formal accounting and procurement system. The original document is in Danish only.

Køb ved lokale fangere

Skemaet sendes til foodindkoeb@pisiffik.gl og kreditor@pisiffik.gl

Felter markeret med * udfyldes af indkøb

Storfangerbevis skal altid sendes med denne seddel

Sælgers oplysninger	Købers oplysninger
Firmanavn:	Købers navn:
Sælgers navn:	Butiksnummer + afdeling:
Firma adresse:	Dato:
By + Postnummer:	Faktura-/indkøbsordnummer:*
CPR/CVR nummer:	
Bankkontonummer:	
Telefon nummer:	
Mailadresse:	

Lev.nr. *	Varenr. *	Beskrivelse	Enheder	Enhedspris	Pris

Pris i alt

Sælgers underskrift:	Kvittering for modtagelse:
----------------------	----------------------------

Ved skibstransport skal disse felter udfyldes:

Skibsforbindelse:
Bookingnummer:

Kopi af RAL indleveringskvittering sendes med

Appendix M2: Pisiffik – Purchase from Local Hunters (Internal Procurement Form), English Translation

Source:

Author translation based on the original Danish-language internal Pisiffik procurement form reproduced in Appendix M1.

Description:

This appendix presents an English translation of the internal Pisiffik procurement form included in Appendix M1. The translation has been prepared by the author using Google Translate for ease of reference for non-Danish readers. Formatting and content correspond to the original document as closely as possible; no content has been added or omitted. The translation is intended to support understanding of the procedural requirements and conditions that shape hunter access to the retail distribution pathway.

English translation reproduced on the following page.

Purchase from Local Hunters

The form is sent to foodindkoeb@pisiffik.gl and kreditor@pisiffik.gl

Fields marked with * must be filled in by the purchaser.

Large-scale hunter certificate must always be sent with this form.

Seller's information	Buyer's information
Company name:	Buyer's Name:
Seller's Name:	Store number + department:
Company address:	Date:
City + Postal code:	Invoice/purchase order number:*
CPR/CVR number:	
Bank account number:	
Telephone number:	
Email address:	

Delivery No. *	Item no. *	Description	Units	Unit price	Price
Total price					

Seller's signature:	Acknowledgement of receipt:
---------------------	-----------------------------

For ship transport, these fields must be completed:

Ship connection:
Booking number:

A copy of the RAL delivery receipt is enclosed.

Appendix N: Pamphlet: Information for Hunters and Fishers on Sale of Harvested Foods

Source:

Public-facing informational pamphlet obtained by the author from Pisiffik in December 2025.

Description:

This appendix reproduces a publicly distributed informational pamphlet produced by Pisiffik for hunters and fishers interested in selling harvested foods through the retail chain. Presented in Kalaallisut and Danish, the pamphlet outlines expectations regarding advance contact with stores, product quality and hygiene, compliance with hunting and food regulations, and seller responsibility for tax registration. It also provides contact information for Pisiffik procurement staff in multiple towns across Greenland. The document is included in its original language for contextual reference and visual illustration of how retail participation and seller responsibilities are communicated within the retail distribution pathway; no English translation is provided, as the document is not used for close textual analysis.



Appendix N (continued)



Suleqatigitagut najukkami pisortortarfut tamaasa atsut nuannaarutigagut taamaatumillu soqutiginnitunik nutaani ujassiaartuarta. Taamaattumik pisortortarfisinnut apequtissaqaruit imaluunniit nutaatut pisortortarfingorusukkuit, taava Pisiffup pisiniarfutaani ilinnut qaninnerpaami, najukkami neqarsiaq majuummit tuninisaanermut pisortassooq attavigissallugu tikilluqussangaarpuit.

Pisannik tikiusittinnak pisavit annerussusat, akil aamma piffissaq pillugit isumaqatigiinnissaq pillugit, siqqutsisumik mobil-ikkut ATTAVEQAQAARTARIT.

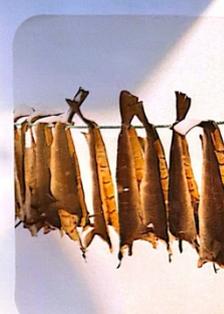
Vi er rigtig glade for hver lokale leverander vi indgår i et samarbejde med og er derfor altid på udspil efter nye interesserede. Så hvis du har spørgsmål til eller ønske om at blive vores næste leverander, så er du meget velkommen til at kontakte den lokale slagter eller salgsschef, i den Pisiffik butik, der ligger nærmest dig.

RING altid i forvejen inden du kommer ind med fangst, for at aftale mængde, pris og tidspunkt.

Apequtiginqartartut nalinginnaanepaat akiniarlugit aammalu ikioiniarlutit, najukkami pisortortarfut Pisiffimik inuussutissaniq nuernerminni malittarisassannik, matumani katerisimavugut.

- Nueqatigut tamamik, **atuuttumik** anginnermik pinarlutut allagarqassapput. **Pinerit tamaasa** pisat allagarqassannu lagilluq allagarqat assinernik nassusissooqassaaq. Taamaattumik nassartuartaq.
- Umasut Nakorsaanit hakututisooqassaa pillugu pumasaqatigiarfingitunik, niuu nassunik tuluitunik Pisiffik nioqutissarsinnaatavaoq. Aalisakut, arfent, qanuaqut, pulsit, savat, tutut aamma ummi-maat (tremssianknivgitsaq).
- **Pinisaqarfut aammalu aalisarneqarsinnaaffit pillugit piffissaritanut aamma akuersisutitut inatsisit atuuttut naaportorlugit** taamaallaat, Pisiffik sumasunik nioqutissartooq.
- Panertunik aamma tariorlugit tunisassianik Pisiffik pisenusuttarpoq.
- Pijoorlugit tunisassianik suniluummit Pisiffik aalisat, aalisooq.
- Sanatigoorulugu pinarlututunik nioqutissartooq ajorpuq.
- **Tunisassiat tarmamik** taamaallaat tunisassiap angalassissannut stormeqarsinnsuni plastikk-puussani tunneqartassapput. Tunisassianik, eqqul-sameq pillugu apequtissarsinnaasunik, Pisiffik figusaarneq ajorpoq.
- Najukkami neqarsannit, ilit pinarlutut allagarqutit figuaraangatsigut akilertassavatsigit - kisanni eqoosarmajuq, **ilit tunisatit akilerartarnermut nalasaanorsissaat nammineq akilussaaffigis-sagakkil.**





Til at svare på de mest gangse spørgsmål og for at hjælpe dig, har vi her samlet retrningslinjerne for lokale leveranderes fødevarerhandel med Pisiffik:

- Alle vi handler med skal have **gyldigt** storfangerbevis. Der skal **ALTD** sendes en kopi af det med fangstmedien. Så hav det med.
- Pisiffik må handle med færdige pattedyr, hvor der ingen krav er om dyrtegekontrol. Fok, hval, skaldyr, sæl, lam, rensdyr og moskus (**ingen fugle**).
- Pisiffik handler kun dyr i **øverensstemmelse med gældende lovgivning for sæson og tildelelse vedrørende fangst og fiskeri**.
- Pisiffik køber gerne tørrede og saltede produkter.
- Pisiffik køber **ikke** regede produkter af nogle art.
- Fritidsfiskere handler vi ikke med.
- Alle produkter skal leveres i plastposer, der kun er brugt til at transportere produktet i. Pisiffik modtager ikke produkter, hvor der er tvil om hygie-niske forhold.
- Vi afregner så snart vi har modtaget din fanger-rekord fra den lokale slagtermester - men husk nu, at du selv er ansvarlig for at registrere dine salg i din skatteopgørelse.

Uagutsinnut attaveqarfissiat:

Her kontakter du os:



Ilulissat

- 📍 Alenngukasik 1, Boks 108
- ☎ +299 946600

Aasiaat

- 📍 Fr. Lyngesvej 23
- ☎ +299 894002

Sisimiut

- 📍 Boks 1012, Kaaleeqqap aqq. 3 B. 740
- ☎ +299 864141

Maniitsoq

- 📍 Boks 285, A.W. Nielsen-IP Aqq 3
- ☎ +299 817502

Nuuk

- 📍 Nuuk Center, Box 61
- ☎ +299 381100

Qaqortoq

- 📍 Boks 149, Storesøvej B 135
- ☎ +299 647011

PISIFFIK

Appendix O: Packaged Muskox Meat at Pisiffik, Nuuk

Source:
Photograph by the author.

Date:
February 2024.

Description:
This photograph shows vacuum-packaged muskox meat (umimmaap neqaa) sold at Pisiffik in Nuuk. The product label identifies the species, cut, weight, price, storage conditions, and processing date, reflecting regulatory requirements introduced following amendments to Greenland's Hunting Act and food safety legislation. The packaging illustrates how hunted products are transformed into standardized retail commodities through institutional processing, labeling, and pricing practices. As discussed in Section 8.4.1, trained butchers play a central role in determining quality, usability, and appropriate processing methods, acting as key intermediaries between hunters, regulatory frameworks, and consumers.



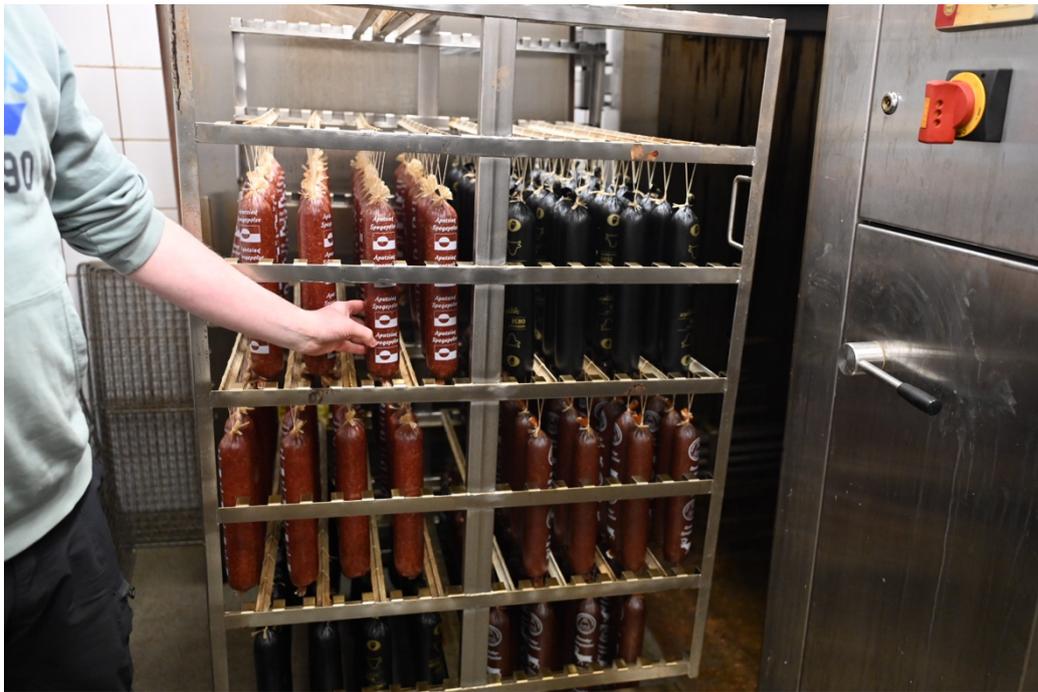
Appendix P: Industrial meat processing infrastructure at Brugseni, Nuuk

Source:

Photograph by author, Nuuk, April 2023

Description:

Professionally trained butchers processing meat within Brugseni's centralized facilities in Nuuk. The industrial equipment, controlled workflows, and sanitation infrastructure illustrate a professionalized processing model distinct from hunter-led markets, supporting national distribution across Greenland.



Appendix Q: Restaurant menu foregrounding locally harvested Greenlandic foods

Source:

Screenshot by author, December 2025

Description:

Restaurant menu highlighting Greenlandic ingredients such as reindeer (tuttu), muskox, Arctic char, and seasonal whale. Menu language emphasizes local sourcing, seasonality, and the incorporation of harvested foods into contemporary culinary offerings, illustrating how restaurants function as sites of cultural representation and public narration of Greenlandic food systems.

NERINIARTAREIK NUSAASAAQ SPISERIET EATERY NUSAASAAQ

STARTER

- Shrimp Cocktail** ∞ MP 135 KR
Greenlandic peeled shrimps served with fresh salad and dressing
Of own choosing and grilled bread
- Snack box MP** 120 KR
Chili cheese tops, Cheddar Jalapenos, onion rings and calameres.
- Seafood Soup** ∞ MP 115 KR
Boiled on shellfish with shrimp and fish of the day*
- Large sea-cooked Greenlandic Shrimps** ∞ MP 115 KR
Self-peel-shrimps approx. 400g with freshly baked bread, lemon and mayonnaise.
- Greenlandic Tapas** ∞ MP 115 KR
Traditional Greenlandic delicacies: Raw whale skin, smoked salmon Shrimp and dried fish. Served with soy and Aromat.
- Caramelized Scallops** ∞ MP 135 KR
Scallops served on crispy Greenlandic salad, with herbs and truffle mayo.

FISH & SHELLFISH

- Catch of the day** ∞ MP 285 KR
Cod, Halibut, Catfish, Salmon or Trout, ask your waiter.
- Seafood Soup** ∞ MP 195 KR
Boiled on shellfish with prawn and fish of the day*
- Large sea-cooked Greenlandic Shrimp** ∞ MP 195 KR
Self-peel-shrimps approx. 600g with freshly baked bread, lemon and mayonnaise.
- Seafood open sandwich** ∞ MP 245 KR
Pan-fried and smoked locally caught fish, large Greenland cold-water shrimp, and asparagus on toasted French bread or rye bread. Served with lemon, dressing, and tomato.

SIDES

- Small portion french fries** 25 KR
- Big portion french fries** 35 KR
- Nachos instead of french fries** + 25 KR

MEAL PLAN MP

If your stay with us includes meals, you can choose from dishes marked with MP.

MP1: Select 1 dish.
MP2: Select either a starter and a main course or a main course and a dessert.
MP3: Select a starter, main course, and dessert
MP+: Some menu items may include a surcharg

***If the weather is stormy and bad, we may not be able to offer fresh catch**

NASAASAAQ SPECIAL ∞ MP+
Enough for 2 people 645 KR
Snow crabs, Seasoned breaded fish, Deep-fried scallops, Garlic marinated Self-peel-shrimps & Fried potatoes w/ Grilled bread, mixed green salad, homemade sweet chili sauce, pesto, mayonnaise & garlic butter.

SISIMIUT SEAFOOD SPECIAL ∞ MP+
Enough for 2 people 645 KR
Cold Seafood Platter. Featuring prawns, snow crab, grilled scallops, smoked fish, and lumpfish roe. Served with grilled lemon, crème fraiche and red onion, aioli, tartar sauce, and bread with butter.

BURGER
Served with french fries or baked potato wedges.

- Nasaasaq Burger MP**
Delicious burger of beef or game meat, crispy salad, bacon, cheese, tomato, onion rings, cucumber, mayonnaise and pesto in a big rough bun.
Beef 195 KR
Game ∞ 215 KR
- Burger Mexican MP**
Delicious burger of beef or game meat, crispy salad, tomato, onion, jalapeños, chopped chili, salsa, onion rings and guacamole in a big rough bun.
Beef 195 KR
Game ∞ 215 KR
- Chicken Burger MP** 165 KR
Chicken breast, crispy salad, bacon, tomato, onion rings, pickles, ketchup and mayonnaise in a big rough bun.
- Fish Burger** ∞ MP 165 KR
Breaded cod, crispy salad, tomato, pickled onions, tartar sauce and mayonnaise in a big rough bun.
- Ribbensburger MP** 195 KR
3 slices of crispy rib roast, crispy salad, red cabbage and

STEAK

- Game meat of the day** ∞ MP 295 KR
Musk Ox, Caribou or Whale meat, ask your waiter.
- Rib Eye Steak MP** 295 KR
Steak 200g w/ baked potato wedges, salad and béarnaise. Potato wedges can be replaced with fries or baked potato.
- Peber Boeuf MP** 295 KR
200g ox steak w/ baked potato wedges and pepper sauce, along with today's garnish and crispy salad. Potato wedges can be replaced with fries or baked potato.
- Boeuf Bearnaise MP** 295 KR
200g ox steak w/ baked potato wedges and bearnaise, along with today's garnish and crispy salad. Potato wedges can be replaced with fries or baked potato.
- Steak with garlic butter** MP 295 KR
200g ox steak w/ baked potato wedges and garlic butter, along with today's garnish and crispy salad. Potato wedges can be replaced with fries or baked potato.

STEW

- Hunters Game stew** ∞ MP 245 KR
Stew made of musk ox- and caribou meat served in rich sauce with vegetables. Served with rice and pickles.

DESSERTS

- Pancakes served with Icecream** 95 KR
Warm pancakes served with vanilla ice cream and chocolate sauce.
- Sundae** 95 KR
Vanilla ice cream sundae with nuts and chocolate sauce .
- Cheesecake** 95 KR
Served with sweet garnish.
- Belgian Waffel** 95 KR
Served with Ice Cream
- Cheese Plate** 145 KR
3 Kind of international cheeses, served with pickled walnuts, olives, pickled red onions and biscuits.

SUPPORT FISHERMEN, HUNTERS, & LOCAL PROCUKION

∞
= menus contain Greenlandic food from local fisherman, hunter local green production.

Appendix R: Plated tuttu (reindeer/caribou) steak served in a Greenlandic restaurant

Source:

Photograph by author, December 2023

Description:

Plated reindeer (tuttu) steak served in a restaurant setting. The dish represents the culinary endpoint of a harvested food pathway, where hunted animals are transformed into publicly visible cultural products within urban dining contexts.



Appendix S: Standardized packaging infrastructure at Qimatulivik, Sisimiut

Source:

Photograph by author, 13 April 2023

Description:

Stacks of standardized, food-grade plastic bags stored beneath stainless steel work surfaces at Qimatulivik. The provision of uniform packaging materials on site reduces logistical barriers for hunters while supporting hygiene standards and regulatory compliance at the point of sale. The degree of preparation reflects the market's role in embedding governance into everyday practice.



Appendix T: Ice production and cold-chain support infrastructure at Qimatulivik, Sisimiut

Source:

Photograph by author, 13 April 2023

Description:

On-site ice production equipment used to maintain freshness and comply with food safety requirements for harvested meat. The integration of cold-chain infrastructure within the market supports statutory hygiene standards and enables legally compliant sale without requiring hunters to supply their own preservation resources.



Appendix U: Interior layout and processing workflow at Qimatulivik, Sisimiut

Source:

Photograph by author, 13 April 2023

Description:

Wide interior view of Qimatulivik showing stainless steel processing tables, standardized tubs of harvested meat, and spatial organization structured around hygiene, traceability, and regulated workflows. The layout illustrates how compliance, efficiency, and accountability are materially embedded in the design of the facility itself.



Appendix V: Country food offered for sale at Kalaaliaraq, Nuuk

Source:

Photograph by author, December 2023

Description:

Wide view of harvested terrestrial and marine species displayed on stainless steel tables at Kalaaliaraq, Nuuk. The co-presence of multiple species and visible sellers illustrates the market's emphasis on direct exchange, visibility, and interaction within a municipally regulated public space.



Appendix W: Direct hunter-attributed sale infrastructure at Kalaaliaraq, Nuuk

Source:

Photograph by author, December 2023

Description:

Cuts of harvested meat displayed directly on tables above hunter-identified storage crates at Kalaaliaraq. The absence of automated pricing or packaging systems highlights a governance model based on attribution, presence, and relational exchange rather than infrastructural abstraction.



Appendix X: Interior working space and shared equipment at the Sissa warehouse, Sisimiut

Source: Photograph by author, Sisimiut, August 2022

Description:

Wide interior view of the municipally owned Sissa warehouse showing nets, floats, tools, and equipment stored and used within a shared workspace. The scale and flexibility of the space enable maintenance, repair, and preparation activities that exceed private household capacity, illustrating the role of municipal infrastructure in supporting hunting livelihoods.



Appendix Y: Informal gathering and knowledge exchange among hunters at the Sissa warehouse, Sisimiut

Source:

Photograph by author, Sisimiut, August 2022

Description:

Hunters gathered informally inside the Sissa warehouse while working and observing ongoing activities. Knowledge transmission occurs through co-presence, discussion, and shared practice, reflecting Inuit pedagogical principles such as learning by doing and intergenerational exchange within a communal work environment.



Appendix Z: Exterior of the municipally owned hunter and fisher warehouse, Qaanaaq

Source:
Photograph by author, Qaanaaq, June 2023

Description:
Exterior view of the municipally owned hunter and fisher warehouse in Qaanaaq. The building's simple construction, large access doors, and ground-level entry illustrate regionally responsive infrastructure designed to accommodate qajaq frames, sleds, boats, and other large-scale hunting equipment. The form prioritizes accessibility and adaptability over specialization, reflecting environmental conditions and hunting practices specific to Avanersuaq.



