Interviewer: I

Respondent: R

Second woman: SW

R: What is it that you want me to tell you?

I: We want to hear the history of Kullorsuaq, from it was founded till now and other things. We want to know why people moved to this place, if you can tell us what you know about the first people that came here. How many people/families moved to Kullorsuaq and when?

SW: Then we have few other questions

R: After we have talk about the history, we will ask you about some other questions. We have some new questions we want to ask you about, since the last interview. We want to hear what you know. When was Kullorsuaq founded?

I: Kullorsuaq was founded July 6th 1928. Back then there was more ice on the water, not like the last years. The inland ice from Qaarusulik was 25 km from here. The people that moved here was living in Qaarusulik, there were three hunters..

I: From three different families?

R: From three different families moved to Kullorsuaq.

I: What were their names?

R: Back then the tradition among hunters was that the oldest hunter was the patriarch. The oldest was Karl Simonsen. Karl Simonsen is one of my ancestors his father was Ittuersuaq - Simon Simonsen. The Danes called him Simon Bjørn (Bear) because he was a very good polar bear hunter. His son, Kaalersuaq, was living in Illulik first – 45 to 50 km from here -

I: South or north from here?

R: They were traveling north from near Aappilattoq.

(Phone is ringing)

R: They were traveling north from near Aappilattoq. There was a settlement called Tasiusaq, it was the fore most northern populated settlement back then. Ittuersuaq and his son were traveling through Aappikkunnut and Kuukkunnut near Nuussuaq, and in Illulik – most be before Nuussuaq was populated/settled – in Ikerniimi was the place where that family lived. Ittuersuaqs son Karl Simonsen traveled from Illulik to Qaarusulik, and from Qaarusulik..

I: Can I ask you a question?

R: Yes

I: Where is Qaarusulik located from Kullorsuaq? Is it south from here or north from here?

R: It is north from here, Qaarusulik. Back then nobody lived here, but they stayed here while waiting for “it” to come out.

I: Waiting for what to come out?

R: They went here to hunt

I: Like a camp?

R: Yes, they went here to wait for the sea to clear of ice (imarersuisut) or they went here to hunt seal on ice during the spring. Hunt food for themselves and their dogs.

I: What does imarersuisut mean?

R: It means that they went here and didn’t come back home before the sea was clear of ice – they went here to hunt.

I: Okay, I need to understand it to translate it better.

R: Back then people were living as hunters, and nothing else. Three families went from Qaarusulik to Kullorsuaq on July 6th to live here. It is said that, maybe it can be explained otherwise these were the first people that moved here. As I told you earlier, the patriarch – the oldest hunter – Karl Simonsen, he was the oldest son of the new settlers.

I: Can I ask you a question? You said that there were three families, was Karl Simonsen the oldest of them all?

R: Yes, Karl Simonsen was the oldest of them all.

I: Did the three families have different last names?

R: They were all close families, like cousins I think. Vittus Jensen still has many descendants here.

I: There was Karl Simonsen and Vittus Jensen and?

R: and Ludvig Eliassen and he still have descendants here.

I: So that was the three families and the oldest was Karl Simonsen

R: Yes, Karl Simonsen was the oldest and the patriarch. But Karl Simonsen went back to Illulik after Kullorsuaq was settled and died there.

I: His descendants stayed here?

R: He didn’t have descendants, but the others that moved here with him have descendants – the Eliassen and the Jensen families, still have descendants here in Kullorsuaq. Vittus Jensen has many descendants.

I: Karl Simonsen doesn’t have that many descendants here in Kullorsuaq?

R: No, there are not that many descendants here. His descendants in Tasiusaq are distinct. The Simonsen name is not used here in Kullorsuaq. I can explain that the father of Karl Simonsen, Simon Simonsen called Ittuersuaq – his brother is my great grandfather. He is my grandfather’s, Simuunnguaq from Akunneeq, father. They called him Usukkaasik; his real name was Markus Johansen. Back then people didn’t know about family names, so all the siblings had different last names. Simon Simonsen, his name was Simon so he got Simonsen as his last name. His brother Markus was also called Juanseeq (Johannes) so his got Johansen as his last name. That’s how people got their last names back then.

I: Okay, so that is why it is difficult to see the family relations

R: Yes, that is how people got their last names. Like me, I have the Danielsen as a last name because of my ancestor Daniel he was my grandfather from my father’s side.

I: The use that system in Iceland – still in our day, they get their father’s name as their last name. For example if you are the son of Daniel, you will get the Danielsen as your last name. And your son will get the Hansen as a last name – and your daughter will have the last name Hansdottir. They still do that in Iceland. In other Nordic countries don’t use that system anymore, if your last name is Hansen, your descendants will carry on the last name.

R: They didn’t know how to use the family last names back then.

I: It most have been difficult in the beginning, first they used the old fashion way and after the decision, they started to use the system as we know today – like you are related to people with Danielsen last name.

R: Yes, that how it is. After July 6th back then, Kullorsuaq was founded and populated. But back then there were no shops/stores, of cause, so they lived the old fashion Greenlandic way of living. There was a picture here from the time when Kullorsuaq was settled, taken by a doctor who was traveling. The houses were made of dirt and stones, there were no windows in the houses – they used intestines from bearded seal as windows. They dried the intestines and used them as windows. It is magnificent to see the picture, it can be seen somewhere, the picture from Kullorsuaq.

I: Maybe it can be seen at the school?

R: Yes, maybe it can be seen at the school if one look for it. Kullorsuaq was settled and as I said earlier, there was no..

I: So Kullorsuaq has been populated ever since?

R: Yes, it has been populated ever since. And then there was development of the settlement, of cause. The first store opened in 1936, but it was not here in Kullorsuaq – there was no dock/Kay here, so it was in Ikerasaaq – I think it is 3 or 4 km from here – another settlement. So when they were going to the store in the autumn, they went on a kayak. Back then people only used kayaks and umiaks; it was difficult for them to go shopping. The store opened in 1936, I have a picture of the tiny store, and I can show it to you after we have talked. It is easy to take. The first store was in Ikerasaaq with concrete foundation, I think it was 20 km3 big, not that big –but that was the first store. I don’t know the size of it, so I am guessing.

I: What are you guessing?

R: The size of the store.

I: Okay, but you know the store?

R: Yes, I know the store. I have worked there for about 4 years, when it was KGH. I started working at the store after my confirmation. So I have worked there for 4 years. The store in Ikerasaaq was moved here after request from the hunters in 1948 – a good year (laughing). They had the store moved in 1948, so the foundation of the old store is all gone. The store manager in 1948 was the parish clerk, Mathias Frederiksen, Mathiarseeraq. He was the first educated parish clerk here. The first school, the one up there, is called Mathiarseeqqap Atuarfia (The School of Mathiarseeraq) named after Mathias Frederiksen. Mathias Frederiksen is the father of Bent Frederiksen, who has been a member of the Parliament. There are many descendants from Frederiksen.

I: He is the father (? they are talking at once – he is either Nuunu’s grandfather/father or adoptive father) of Nuunu Frederiksen

Y: Yes, Nuunu Frederiksen grew up in his care. Nuunu grew up with Mathiarseeraq; he calls Bent as his adoptive father. Mathias’ wife was Marteeraq’s daughter. Marteeraq was my wife’s grandfather; his name was Martin Nielsen and was an author in the newspaper Avannaamioq. Karl Elias Olsen has since published his writings as a book; I helped him back then when he wanted to publish them as a book. Mathias’ wife was the daughter of Marteeraq and was therefore from Kullorsuaq. He stayed in Kullorsuaq for many years and developed the store and the school in 1954. We moved here in 1952.

I: From where?

R: From Inussulissuaq, it is about 30 km from here. There were many people that were replace/moved from their settlements in the 1950’ties and 60’ties. Their argument was that the small places were unhealthy, and I agree on that. But there are some places – like Qullissat, that shouldn’t have been closed. But the small places were closed and their people replaced, and I think that was a good idea, because the small places were unhealthy. The politicians made the decision. There were many families that moved to south in the 1950’ties.

I: Some moved to Kullorsuaq?

R: Yes. My parents didn’t want to leave this place, so we have been here ever since.

I: So the politicians wanted to close Kullorsuaq too?

R: Yes, they wanted to close Kullorsuaq - the municipal council maybe. Mathias Frederiksen was a member of the council. There was a decision to close Kullorsuaq because it was the most northern place and difficult to reach by boat, boats could only reach Kullorsuaq during the summer and by dog sledges during the winter. That was the reason they wanted to close Kullorsuaq, but Mathias Frederiksen was against closing Kullorsuaq – and I know that Samuel Knudsen from Kangersuatsiaaq – he is still alive today – Samuel and Mathias worked very hard against the decision to close Kullorsuaq.

I: Mathias Frederiksen and who?

R: Samuel Knudsen from Kangersuatsiaaq, they were both members of the council.

I: They worked together?

R: Yes, they worked together. They could see – if one can think properly, the life as a hunter has many opportunities here. It’s a settlement with a future, there are many opportunities and during autumn – especially in old days when hunters only had their kayaks, people had only kayaks when I was a child. There were people who drowned; there were only kayaks and no boats. The settlement was developed.

The church was built in 1954, the one up there it was also a school back then. I went to school there. The new store, is the one that is still standing there, I can show it to you. The church/school and the store were built in 1954 and the development started. When I was a child in the 1950’ties and the 1960’ties there were less than 100 people here. When I count the houses back then, there was a bit over 20 houses. There was no planning back then, when we think about the places where the houses were built - the houses I call Rosendahl houses. These houses are used in the hunting places in Uummannaq and Upernavik. The houses with wood foundations and roofing felt, they have dirt and stones as sides. The dirt and stones could fall down and there would be less of the sides – I had one of those houses, the first house I had and I had my children in it. The houses were built poorly. There was a chimney made of concrete and heated by a Morsø wood stove. We moved from a very small settlement and the house was good for us – especially for our parents. I call them Rosendahl houses.

I: I want to ask you about that; who is this Rosendahl you are talking about?

R: He was the manager at the GTO

I: Gunner P. Rosendahl?

R: Yes, Gunner P. Rosendahl.

I: I have met him

R: He was the manager of the GTO back then. He was the one who had these houses built in the hunting places in the North Greenland, so the hunters could live in them. After those houses the type 1, type 3, type 16 and type 25 houses, as they are called, were built.

I: The houses?

R: Yes, especially type 1 and type 3. You can still see a type 3 house just outside here, this house – my wife’s parent’s house was a type 3. It was built as a sampled house, but later the workers built the houses from scratch. That’s how the development has been here in Kullorsuaq.

I: There is something I want to understand. You said that there was a school built - that also was used as a church – and the store was built. When did you get the “hospital”/nurse station?

R: Back then there was only a midwife here, who worked in her house.

I: The worked in their own houses?

R: Yes, we had Lucia as a midwife back then. She worked in her own house. We got the nurse station when the civic house was built in the late 90’ties. I have been here observing the development. In the 50’ties and the 60’ties, when I was a child – the years went by and Jørgen Nielsen was the one who planned the development. I am mentioning the name because, in the 23 or 24 years I was the manager of the store, Jørgen was a member of the municipal council.

I: Jørgen Nielsen?

R: Yes, he had huge influence on the development of this settlement. As I mentioned, the first store open in 54 and the school opened while Jørgen was a member of the municipal council. After that, in the 60’ties the building expanded. I was here when they built buildings in the 60’ies.

I: What did they build back then?

R: It was mostly houses, type 16 and type 25 was built here.

I: They build houses for people to live in?

(The man’s wife (?) is talking in the background)

R: Yes, you can see the type 16 over there

Man’s wife: Thomas’ first house

R: But most of them have been demolished.

Man’s wife: This one up there was the midwife’s house – it a kind of a church

I: Okay

R: Before we got the nurse station, now the people with other religion use it as a church.

I: Oh, the white one?

R: Yes, the white one – there is a cross on top of it. It used to be the midwife’s house; women gave birth to their children in there. There is a separate door where the consultations were.

I: A separate room for the patients?

R: Yes. Our daughter gave birth to two children there.

I: So it was the first nurse station?

R: Yes, it was the first one

I: With separate room for consultations?

R: Yes, there was a separate room for consultations with a separate door for the patients. The nurse station was built after people started to build houses. The development is still ongoing.

I became a member of the municipal council in 1975. On my campaign I wanted to further develop this settlement, and it started to be developed. During my membership at the council, freezing containers – my fellow council members and I made it possible to have electricity, freezing containers and phones – they build the phone mast in the 80’ties or 90’ties. In 1986 the motorized boats (dinghies) was first introduced here in Kullorsuaq. I was a member of the municipal council when the motorized boats was first introduced here, many hunters were against the motorized boats back then – and I was pro motorized boats, because I could see a future in the motors. We couldn’t depend on kayak anymore; there were many kayaks back then. Hunters could go out hunting on their kayaks (he is saying something I can’t understand) – the hunters could not go hunting on their kayaks.

I: Why?

R: Because the hunters couldn’t go hunting on their kayaks when it is windy. The kayak is not secure when it is windy.

I: They say that a very good hunter on a kayak can go hunting no matter what kind of weather, was the hunters here not as good on a kayak?

R: No, it is not like that

I: Is it more dangerous here to go hunting on a kayak?

R: Yes, because of the animals they hunt. The weather in the autumn is very tricky here and back then the sea froze into ice early, and it can be dangerous hunting on a kayak in the autumn.

I: I am asking that because hunters all around Greenland’s coast have been hunting on a kayak. I am asking because maybe this place had/have worst weather than the rest of the coast – or maybe you are more careful when hunting on a kayak here.

Man’s wife: It is dark here for three months

R: We have darkness during the winter for three months, and that is one of the reasons that it is dangerous on a kayak.

I: The conditions for kayaking are worse here?

R: Yes. Like the end of October the darkness starts here – the sun is not visible anymore. Days go by October, November, December, and January and first on February the 12 the sun will be visible again here – we have darkness for a long time here.

I: I have been living in Pituffik for ten years and there is also the darkness for a long time. It is a bit further north from here, so I know what you are talking about.

R: I think about the hunters and the life people are living, how the dark period affects peoples mind, it affects the mind very much.

I: Of cause

R: I think that how I can tell you about the development of Kullorsuaq.

I: You told us about the time when boats were imported to Kullorsuaq, how many boats did they first import?

R: I did tell that story to the end. In 1986 when the motorized boats were imported I was a member of the municipal council, and the hunters was very much against it because they were afraid that the boats would sail over them when they were on their kayaks. I can understand them, but I was pro importing the motorized boats – back then there was one member from each settlement on the municipal council, the municipal council in Upernavik had 11 members in total, including the members from the settlement. When I first went to a meeting at the municipal council in the spring, I went on a dog sledge for the meeting. It was in April, I took my dog sledge to Aappilattoq and from thereon I went to Upernavik on a boat – that was in 1975.

I: So there was no ice on the water in Aappilattoq back then?

R: Yes, Aappilattoq is further south it is the first settlement north of Upernavik, so the sea clears of ice first. Aappilattoq is near the icecap that calves, I think it is because of the icebergs. When the motorized boats was about to be imported in 1986 I supported the hunters and voted against the importing of motorized boats, even though I thought it was a good idea to have the motorized boats. But luckily the majority of the municipal council voted for importing the motorized boats. The motorized boats replaced the kayaks, and the development in that area is still developed and the numbers of the motorized boats are growing.

I: People are still using the motorized boats?  
R: Yes, they are still using the motorized boats. I often think about that Kullorsuaq just like Tasiusaq, Innaarsuk and Aappilattoq will start to have a trading place for halibut. The halibut is very much wanted in the rest of the world. Our fishermen fish only on the “back” of Kullorsuaq, there are no limits on the quotas north from here. I usually say that our settlement could soon have the status of a town; we are very far from Upernavik. We have a population that is growing; there are about 500 people here so if the settlement is further developed we could be a town. And as a town we could have Qaarusulik, the former settlement I told you about earlier, and Tuttulissuaq as settlement (laughing). Of cause it is just a though, but I don’t know if it will be like that in the future. This settlement is the only settlement in Greenland that is growing, because we have this little trading place for halibut – even though it is often filled up with halibut - fishermen comes here to sell their fish. So I think that Kullorsuaq have a bright future. During the summer the hunters – like it was so this summer – when the fishing of halibut stopped, they went to the Melville Bay to hunt narwhales. The hunt on seals with nets has decreased during the last couple of years, so the hunt on animals – like seals – in the Melville Bay has increased. I think it is because the hunt with nets has decreased, that the seals in Melville Bay have increased. I think that there are only two or three hunters that are using nets to catch seals to day. Some are fishing halibut – most of them are fishing, so I think that there is a bright future for this settlement. There are many other kinds of fish here, like the wolf fish – we also have cods and the fjord cod. We also have many shrimps/prawns here near our settlement; we could find new ways of exploiting those species. So that is why I think there is a bright future for fishermen here in Kullorsuaq. That is how the development of Kullorsuaq has been going.

I: Do you have anything more to add? We have different other questions

R: I think that is what I have to tell you about the development in Kullorsuaq.

I: (The interviewer is updating the second woman about the interview). Can you tell me about the personalities of the three families that founded the settlement?

R: You want me to tell you what kind of persons they were?

I: We want to hear about their personalities.

R: They were hunters all of them, of cause.

I: Were they friends? Did they help each other?

R: Yes, they were all related to each other. Karl Simonsen was a cousin to Vittus Jensen – also Ludvig Eliassen; they were cousin from their mother’s side.

I: Have done they treat each other?

R: They helped each other very much. They were together and help each other to develop the settlement. There is an explanation of why it is called Kullorsuaq. Before Kullorsuaq was populated there were British whale hunters and hunters from the Nederland are hunting here in the north. Before Kullorsuaq was populated, Kiatassuaq – a very windy place during the summer, it is the headland of this place – the hunters form Britten and the Nederland sail here with sail ships. There were many shipwrecks at the headland/foreland because of the heavy wind. And when there was a shipwreck, they went to Kullorsuaq with their dinghies. When we were children, there were two old graves from those hunters. We have seen them at touched them, there are up there in the hill/mountain. The man who was buried there must have been a tall man, we have seen the tibia – but there was dirt in the grave – of cause. It is up there in the hill/mountain. Greenlanders don’t bury their dead in the hills/mountains. There is another one up there in the – not far from the houses, there is a small steep mountainside were the grave is – that’s the evidence of the European whale hunters.

I: You wanted to tell about why it is called Kullorsuaq.

R: There were shipwrecks and they called it “The Devil’s Thump” in Danish, because there were shipwrecks. But at the time I was a member of the municipal council, and the time Bent Frederiksen was a member of the Parliament, we had the Danish name removed – and now it is just called the “The great thump” = Kullorsuaq. We didn’t like the Danish name, the Devil can’t have a thump that is so beautiful (both laughing). When we see the mountain from a far, it is so beautiful.

I: Yes, it is – it is the first thing we see when approaching the settlement.

R: I have a picture of it here; I have taken many pictures of it and enhanced them. It was because of the shipwrecks from the European whale hunters, that they named it The Devil’s Thump. There is a place up there, we can’t find it – but then again we haven’t looked for it, there were some whale hunters that went ashore after a shipwreck. They went through a place we called Iterlassuaq with a chest with all their belongings. It has been told in the radio – and by my aunt, the exact same story – the whale hunters walked with their huge chest, and it was heavy and the path was difficult, the whale hunters wanted to go to Kullorsuaq to set a camp. The hunters left the chest on a big rock near Iterlassuaq, it is still up there – we should be able to locate it (both laughing) – the chest has never been found, as the story said on the radio.

I: If it was made by wood the weather must have worn it out.

R: They must have had knives and forks in the chest, I think – and some money (laughing)

I: Oh, that kind – okay.

R: They must have had their equipment in it. The story said that they transported their equipment in the chest. My late aunt (didn’t get the name – difficult to understand) was picking berries up there one summer and she thought that she saw the chest. First she thought she saw a small grave – a child’s grave, but after she walked down to the settlement, she started to think about it and decided to go back. She didn’t find it again. She thought that it was odd if Greenlanders would pick the place as a grave, when the settlement is right here.

I: The families that founded this place and the life they had are interesting for this woman, the scientist. You said that there are many people with the last name Jensen, which we have noticed; we can’t remember having met people with the last name Eliassen. Where are the Eliassen families? Are there still some left here?

R: There are descendants here from the Eliassen family, but they have different last names due to their mothers have changed their names when marrying their husbands. Peter Aronsen for example, the hunter, he is a descendant from Ludvig Eliassen. His mother, Peter’s mother, is the daughter of Ludvig Eliassen.

I: Okay

R: Peter mother is the daughter of Ludvig Eliassen, and when women …

I: The women take their husband’s last names when they marry them – so there are still descendants of Eliassen here.

R: Yes, and it is true that Vittus Jensen has many descendants here. He is the ancestor to all Jensen here – like Nathan Jensen. They are very proud of Ludvig Jensen, and some of them think they are better than others – which I don’t like, we are all living here in the settlement.

I: Why are there so many of the Jensen family? Are there more Jensen compared to the Eliassen family? Or compared to the Simonsen family?

R: I think it is because of the descendants. Vittus Jensen’s younger brother – when he grew up he got married, he was very young when he went to Kullorsuaq with them. He is the father of Otto Jensen, Otto that is living here. Vittus Jensen and his brother both have descendants here that are why there are so many of the Jensen’s here.

I: Okay, so Vittus and Otto’s parents have many descendants here?

R: Yes, because there was two Jensen brothers. When people are talking about the founders of Kullorsuaq, people are only talking about Vittus, but Otto’s father was one of them.

I: What is the name of the younger brother?  
R: (respondent is asking his wife?) What is the name if Otto’s father?

Man’s wife: Iisaavaraq

R: Johan – oh, yes Isak Jensen – they call him Iisaarsuaq. He was a grown man, but nobody mentions him when they talk about the founders.

I: He has many descendants here?

R: Yes, he has many descendants – maybe half of the Jensen family. That is why there are so many of the Jensen’s here.

I: Okay. (Gives an update to the scientist – afterwards interviewer and scientist are talking about the following questions to ask).

I: During our interview with people, we have some more questions we want to ask further about. When we were interviewing people, we have heard a lot about infidelity – like it is normal here in the settlement. We want to hear if it has been like that always? Or is it a new “phenomena”? Why is there infidelity here?

R: I think it is something that is in every generation. My grandfather, for example, was married to a woman, but had a child with another woman that was not his wife. My grandfather Siimuunnguaq - my grandfather from my mother’s side – so I think the infidelity is something all generations have.

R: It is not only here in Kullorsuaq, it is the same throughout Upernavik area. This year there was a man, who was married to one woman, but had a child with a second woman.

I: (updating the scientist)

I: It is normal in yours or our culture to be unfaithful, and has been like that for many years.

R: Yes, it is like that. There are some people that try to tell people about it… (All three people talking at once)

I: The scientist wants to now, because she doesn’t want to make a conclusion that infidelity is a new “phenomena” – that it is an old “tradition” that has been going on for many years.

R: It has been going on for many generations.

I: So it is normal?

R: Yes, it is normal.

I: I want to ask you another question. We have heard during our interviews, that the men are very dominant in their marriage. And for some it is normal with psychical abuse – for some – and I know that in the old days nobody hurt others – adults or children. What do you think? Has it been there always? We are all humans and not all have the vocabulary or the ability to talk it through, and then turn to psychical abuse. In your knowledge, has there been psychical abuse always? Psychical abuse to spouses, we know psychical abuse to children became normal when the “white” people came. What do you mean?

R: I can’t answer the question, because we haven’t been socializing with people the last couple of years. But I know that the alcohol is the source of the problems, alcohol is not sold here in our settlement, and one has to order it first. Some people abuse their families physically after have been drinking alcohol that we can see.

I: In your childhood, have you heard about others that abuse their families physically?

R: I have heard about it. Vittus Jensen’s oldest son – Nikolaj - moved here, he was a bad drunk. He was living in a house I call Rosendahl house. He was such a bad drunk that he tried to hit his own mother with a rock – instead the rock made a hole in the house – all the way out. He had been drinking alcohol and wasn’t in his right mind. He could also shoot with his riffle when being drunk, towards my new house – it is true.

I: (Updating the scientist again)

I: How was the life before the alcohol was introduced? Have you heard about abuse in the time before the alcohol was introduced?

R: No, or maybe amongst the young people – I don’t know how to say it – I think it was more amongst younger people with spouses/girlfriends/boyfriends. They could get jealous, when they suspect their partners of being unfaithful.

I: So it is normal?

R: Yes, it is normal.

I: From old days?

R: Yes, from old days.

I: (updating the scientist again and confirming the answers with the respondent)

R: As I told you about Nikolaj – I am telling you about him, because we have known him since our childhood. When he was about to get a honorary medal from the municipal – I wasn’t a member of the municipal council back then – I talk to my wife about him getting an honorary medal, a person like him shouldn’t get an honorary medal – he was a criminal in our minds. A criminal person shouldn’t get an honorary medal, in our eyes.

I: (Updating the scientist)

R: The municipal council didn’t know about his behavior and somebody told them about him, they didn’t live with him in the same settlement, so somebody else told them about him. When the person who nominated Nikolaj found out about what kind of a person Nikolaj was, the person tried to have the nomination annulled.

I: (Updating the scientist) Nikolaj Jensen was the son of one of the main founders.

I: Nikolaj Jensen is the son of Vittus Jensen, right?

R: Yes.

I: (Updating the scientist)

I: The jealousy, its sounds like it that something that’s been going on through the generations – or is it something new?

R: No, I think it is something that is going on through generations – from old days – especially here.

I: (Updating again)

I: In your opinion, does the jealousy serve a sudden function? Like when they pick at people, it is to keep them down.

R: In my opinion jealousy does not serve a function. I have an example: I am told you about the descendants of Jensen – their children that are living here; I could give you the names of the children, when they become a member of an association/union, and they start to pick on others to keep them down. It is unfortunate, but it happens here. All of us living in the settlement know about it, that they start picking on others to keep them down – I think that it is one of the reasons that associations ends, like the women’s association ended when the Jensen became members of it. They don’t know have to run associations, but they insist on doing things their way. That is how I think they are.

I: Why are they like that? Do they think they are the “rulers”?

R: They want to “rule” – that is exactly what I think about them. They want to rule this settlement in the way they want. That is my own opinion – we are several non-Jensen family members that think that.

I: (Updating the scientist)

R: Jealousy is very normal amongst the Jensen family. I have another example: We had a kiosk – we had to stop due to taxes. I had a job at the school and had a very good income and our children also had a good income. Last year we almost had a new son in law, a man from another settlement.

I: You almost had a what?

R: A son in law, our oldest daughter had a new boyfriend

I: Okay

R: He used our road - this road with his snowmobile – so they had it closed. This road –they had it closed, so we have to use another road by this house up there. We know they were jealous and did that to us because of jealousy. That is our evidence of their jealousy.

I: What about the jealousy amongst spouses and the psychical abuse – men are stronger than women, and therefore it’s mostly men that abuse women.

I: (Updating the scientist and discussing the answers)

I: In the beginning of the interview, you told us about the three founding families that helped each other; there was no jealousy amongst them. If you compare them to people today, in your opinion/knowledge when did the helpfulness decreased and the jealousy increased during the development/history? And what is the course of it?

R: I don’t know how to answer that. But I think it is something that is part of the development. I don’t know how to explain it, but I think it is something connected with the modern equipment that was introduced – like for example – if I buy a new motorized boat, some people will get jealous and envy me – that is very common.

I: (updating the scientist)

R: I don’t know how else I can explain it.

I: As you told us earlier, people helped each other, and if they help each other – they can’t envy each other, right?

R: Yes, we have noticed that in our settlement.

I: (Updates the scientist)

R: Nobody helps each other here today.

I: (Scientist and interviewer are discussing the answer)

I: So we can understand that the jealousy and the envy have slowly grown as part of the development.

R: Yes, that’s how I think it is. I can’t explain it otherwise.

I: (Interviewer and scientist are discussing the answers throughout the interview)

I: It is important for the scientist that you understand why she is asking all the questions, she is asking the questions to understand why things are as it is.

R: I understand

I: She wants to understand the history, which is why we are asking all the questions.

R: I have another example

I: She wants you to understand why we are asking the questions from the time the settlement was founded till today – and questions about the relations between the families and within their own family. We want to understand the different personalities here in the settlement.

R: I think it is the same in all places in Greenland, I think it is a part of the development. For example, back in the old day’s people helped each other – like the families who founded Kullorsuaq. I think it is a part of the development.

I: The scientist has been traveling in many placed in Greenland, and she know people are different in different places. So it is important for her to understand how people are here in Kullorsuaq.

R: This settlement is a remote settlement and the development started very late, and it was developed very fast in the recent years – like building houses and other. So I think that the behaviors from old days are still to be found here in the settlement. People behave different in Tasiusaq or in Upernavik.

I: (Scientist is telling questions she wants to know)

I: The scientist wants to know how it is viewed to have children outside marriage – children resulting from infidelity. Some have children after being unfaithful to their spouse, how is it viewed here in Kullorsuaq? Is it okay and normal? Or is it viewed differently? The view of it, has it been like that always?

R: We get surprised if it happens in our family, we will be surprised. I don’t have any explanation for it, but if it has been like that always, I think it has been like that in generations.

I: (Updating the scientist)

I: The scientist has noticed that it seen like it is just the way it is. Has it been like that always throughout time?

R: I don’t know, but I think it shouldn’t be like that – I don’t think it is the right thing. I don’t want my children to do it, but I don’t tell them to look down on others that do it. I tell them not to judge others.

I: She understands that it is not in your family, but it happens in other families.

R: I was about to say that other families could say something different about it or have an opinion of it.

I: (Updating the scientist)

R: I am talking about myself and my immediate family – just us here. We don’t want to judge others, but I think it is wrong.

I: I was just telling her about what you said, and that you are no angels, but you don’t judge people and you think it is wrong

R: Yes, it is true.

I: Okay, we don’t have any more questions

R: There was something I wanted to say, but I can’t remember. I think I have said it all.

I: Thank you so much.

R: I have told you things according to my understandings. I am not surprised that people ask me if they can ask me questions. Like Bikkitta tell people to ask me, I think that I am the one that knows more about the development of Kullorsuaq.

I: That is what we have heard. We thank you very much for your time

R: You are very much welcome.