DENMARK

Faroese

Activity: 1945-2020

General notes

NA

Movement start and end dates

- The Faroese National Movement was formed in 1888. Initially, its claims appear to have been focused on linguistic matters (Faroese Islands 2017). Over the following years, there was conflict within the movement over whether claims should extend to increased self-rule. According to Ackrén (2006), the Faroese National Movement split into a conservative group and a more radical group in the 1890s, whereby the latter championed increased Faroese autonomy. In 1901, a radical leader was elected into the Danish Parliament, from where he worked to promote Faroese self-rule policy. Lacking a clearer indication as to when the split occurred, we code the start date as 1895.
- The National Movement broke up in the early 1900s and the radicals formed an autonomist party, Sjálvstýrisflokkurin, in 1906. Self-rule became the main issue of the 1906 election. The unionists emerged victorious (Ackrén 2006).
- Following the German invasion of Denmark in 1940, the Faroe Islands were occupied by the United Kingdom. Faced with this situation, the Faroese Løgting adopted a new constitution empowering it to act as the Faroese Government for as long as the war lasted (Ackrén 2006).
- When the Second World War came to an end, the Faroe Islands were returned to Denmark. Proindependence sentiment grew rapidly and, in 1946, the Faroese parliament, following a plebiscite, declared the island independent. Danish authorities moved quickly to dissolve the parliament and nullify the declaration, but faced with continuing separatist sentiment, in 1948 the Danish granted autonomy over all aspects of the island's administration except for defense and foreign relations. Based on this, we code the start date in 1909, but code the movement only from 1945 (we do not code the pre-1945 phase). We found no separatist violence before 1945 and thus indicate prior non-violent activity (Hewitt & Cheetham 2000; Jensen 2003; Minahan 1996, 2002).
 - Note: Contrary to Greenland (which was decolonized only in 1953), the Faroe Islands were a normal Danish county; they had representation in the Danish parliament since 1849 and the Danish constitution applied directly to the Islands. Thus Faroe Islands is not considered a colony (Jensen 2003: 171).
- There has been continued agitation towards increased self-determination ever since. The year 1948 saw the foundation of Tjódveldisflokkurin (the Republicans), who demand a Faroese republic. Other political parties advocating self-government for the Faroese, though in varying degree, are Folkeflokken, the Selvstyre Party, and the Progressives.
- Self-determination was less of an issue from the 1950s to the 1980s. According to Reyquejo and Nagel (2011: 121), "[t]he question of self-governance or independence were in the party manifestos but did not occupy much of everyday life."
- The salience of the self-determination has, however, increased in recent years. In 2000, the Faeroese local government proposed an "associated state-relationship" which included "a common monarch and common currency" and also an "annual contribution" from the Denmark government to the Faeroese government until the Faeroese economy can be completely independent (Reyquejo and Nagel 2011: 121).
- In 2007, Lagtinget suggested total independence within 4 months. The proposal was rejected (Reyquejo and Nagel 2011: 121).

The discovery of oil in the waters around the islands has intensified the independence debate in recent years. In the 2015 election, pro-independence parties won 19 of the 33 seats in the local legislature (Minahan 2016: 145). In the 2019 election, pro-independence parties again won 19/33 seats in the legislature. [start date: 1895; end date: ongoing]

Dominant claim

- We code an independence claim in 1945-1946 due to the 1946 referendum, in which a narrow majority of 51% chose the independence option (the alternative being the Danish autonomy proposal) and because of Minahan's (2002: 597) report that "[a]t the end of the war and the return of Danish administrators, there was growing sentiment for full independence. Nationalists pressed for the islands to follow Iceland, which had declared its independence of Denmark in 1944. Following a plebiscite, the Faeroese parliament, the Lagting, declared the islands independent on 18 September 1946; the Lagting ratified the proclamation by a vote of 12 to 11. The inhabitants of Sudhuroy, the third largest of the islands, announced their continued union with Denmark." Note though that the Faroese Islanders were divided over the question, with two camps with almost equal strength supporting independence (consider the referendum outcome, the 12 to 11 vote on the independence declaration and the dissenting declaration by Sudhuroy). [1945-1946: independence claim]
- After the vote for independence, Denmark dissolved the local parliament and called for new elections. The elections, held in November 1946, produced a majority against independence (Ottosson 1998: 20). Thus we code a shift to autonomy as the dominant claim. The 1948 home rule act appears to have further moderated the claims put forth, at least until the late 1970s when support for independence began to increase again (Minahan 2002: 598).
- From around 1980, there were strong parties which supported continued union with Denmark, often with extensive autonomy within Denmark (e.g., the Union Party and the Social Democrats), and other strong parties which advocated independence (e.g. the Faroese People's Party or the Republic Party). Since the early 1980s, advocates of independence and unionists had about equal strength. Based on this, we code a claim for increased autonomy until and including 1979, and an independence claim from 1980 onwards. We code an independence claim from 1980 onwards since the autonomy and the independence camps seem to have about equal strength in recent years (following the codebook we code the more radical claim); we note, however, that the pegging of the radicalization to 1979 (reflected in 1980, following the first of January rule) is somewhat arbitrary.
- The discovery of oil in the waters around the islands has intensified the independence debate in recent years and independence now seems to be clearly the dominant claim. In the 2015 election, pro-independence parties won 19 of the 33 seats in the local legislature (Minahan 2016: 145). In the 2019 election, pro-independence parties again won 19/33 seats in the legislature. In 2012, Høgni Hoydal, then the leader of the Faeroese Republic Party, said that "It's currently only the money that actually connects us to Denmark. All Faroese agree that we should have our own schools and own language. The cultural battle is over. It's the Danish money that is the obstacle to independence" (Aenergy 2012). [1947-1979: autonomy claim; 1980-2020: independence claim]

Independence claims

- While the dominant claim shifted from independence to autonomy and then back to autonomy, there were always politically significant claims for outright secession in the post-WWII period (see above). The question is when to code the start date of the independence movement.
- The start date of the SDM is coded in 1895, but initially, claims were focused on internal autonomy. According to Minahan (2002: 597), demands for outright independence grew after WWII. Ackrén similarly suggests that a return to the pre-war constitutional status became unthinkable after WWII, which makes it likely that there were claims for outright independence

being made. This is the best evidence we could find and on this basis, we code the start date in 1945. [start date: 1945; end date: ongoing]

 Note: The People's Party was formed in 1939, when it split from Sjálvstýrisflokkurin over a disagreement on land reform. The People's Party favors outright secession today but does not appear to have supported outright secession before WWII.

Irredentist claims

NA

Claimed territory

- The territory claimed by the Faroese is Faroe Island (Minahan 2016: 144; Roth 2015: 19). We code this claim based on the Global Administrative Areas database.

Sovereignty declarations

- "Following a plebiscite, the Faeroese parliament, the Lagting, declared the islands independent on 18 September 1946; the Lagting ratified the proclamation by a vote of 12 to 11" (Minahan 2002: 597). It is somewhat ambiguous whether this constitutes a unilateral declaration as the Danish government had agreed to an independence referendum. However, it changed its mind after independence had won in the referendum and was unwilling to grant independence, arguing that the referendum was not binding and cannot constitute the basis for independence (see above). Thus we code the declaration as a unilateral independence declaration. [1946: independence declaration]

Separatist armed conflict

- We found no evidence of separatist violence, hence a NVIOLSD classification. [NVIOLSD]

Historical context

- The Faroese Logting (parliament) was abolished in 1816. Henceforth, Faroe was to be governed as an ordinary Danish county. In 1851, the Logting was re-established; it had, however, only an advisory role until 1948. According to Minahan (2002: 597), the Faroese language gained official status in 1912; from other sources it appears though that Faroese attained this status only with the 1948 home rule act. In 1937, Faroese replaced Danish as the official school language, and in 1938 it became the church language as well. [1937: cultural rights concession; 1938: cultural rights concession]
- According to Minahan (2002: 597), Faroe briefly enjoyed autonomy during the First World War, but this was more of a de-facto autonomy: during the Second World War, the Faroe Islands were occupied by the British, which de-facto gave Faroe much-increased autonomy (Minahan 2002: 597); since this was not granted by Denmark (also see Ackrén 2006: 225), this cannot, however, be seen as a concession.

Concessions and restrictions

- When the Faroe Islands were returned to Denmark after the Second World War (in 1945; the UK had occupied the islands during the war), many Faroese considered a return to the pre-war

situation (integral part of Denmark without autonomy) unthinkable (Ackrén & Lindström 2012: 500). The Danish government invited a Faroese delegation to negotiations on the future status. The negotiations were held from January to March 1946 (Ottosson 1998: 16). In late February, the Danish government essentially conceded independence if wished by a majority of the Faroese (hoping for a no to independence) (Ottosson 1998: 17). In addition, the Danish government made several proposals for increased autonomy. The final one, dated March 27, 1946, would have granted the Faroe Islands a rather limited degree of autonomy; under the final proposal, the Faroese would have the power to make some decisions over strictly Faroese matters, but no legislative powers (Ottosson 1998: 17). In April and May 1946, the Faroese parliament debated on a referendum on the future status of the Faroe Islands, Initially, the People's Party and the Social Democrats were opposed to a referendum while the Union Party was in favour because it felt that the people would vote against independence. The Danish government also wanted a referendum, at least partly for the same reason, but also to find a way out of the constitutional impasse. The Danish government prevailed, and the next question became the ballot question(s) (Wylie 1987: 226). The People's Party proposed a four-question ballot, including i) the Danish offer of limited autonomy, ii) a more extensive form of autonomy, iii) independence, and iv) the pre-war status quo (no autonomy at all). The Danish government favoured a two-question ballot pitting the government's offer of limited autonomy against independence (Ottosson 1998: 18; Wylie 1987: 226). Again, the Danish government prevailed. The vote, held on September 14, 1946, returned a narrow majority for independence (51% upon a turnout of 68%). The granting of a referendum is coded as a concession in line with the codebook. [1946: independence concession: autonomy concession]

- Having expected a unionist victory, the Danish government was taken by surprise. The Danish parliament wanted to continue negotiations despite the referendum, arguing that the result was narrow and that the referendum cannot be relatively considered an unequivocal expression of the Faroeses' will given the high number of invalid votes (4%) in combination with the low turnout. Furthermore, Denmark now began to argue that the referendum was purely consultative and thus cannot constitute the basis for independence (Ottosson 1998: 18). Unimpressed, the Faroese parliament declared independence on September 18 (Minahan 2002: 597). Unwilling to grant independence, the Danish government temporally dissolved the Lagting, the Faroese parliament, and called for new elections (Minahan 2002: 597). The elections, held in November that same year, produced a majority against independence (Ottosson 1998: 20). Independence was now off the table; new negotiations began on an autonomous status within Denmark. We code an independence restriction because the government backtracked after agreeing to a referendum. We do not code an autonomy restriction because new elections to the Landting were held within less than three months. [1946: independence restriction]
- The negotiations were held in May-July 1947. The final offer (July 16, 1947) was adopted by the Faroese parliament in December 1947 and by Denmark's parliament in March 1948 (Ottosson 1998: 20-21). With the 1948 Act of Faroese Home Rule, the Danish government granted Faroe significant autonomy, with the Faroese government gaining responsibility for almost everything other than foreign policy and defense (Minahan 2002: 597-598; Minority Rights Group International). The 1948 home rule act, in addition to devolving competencies, also established Faroese as the principal language in the Faroe Islands, though requiring that Danish be taught as well and may be used in official matters (Staatsministeriet n.d.). [1948: cultural rights & autonomy concession]
- By way of the 2005 Takeover Act, Faroe Islands gained increased autonomy (Staatsministeriet n.d.). The Takeover Act enables the Faroes to extend their powers unilaterally in all matters not already within their competence. The only areas exempt are exhaustively listed and include: issues relating to the Danish Constitution; citizenship; the Supreme Court; monetary and currency matters; as well as foreign policy, defence and security. [2005: autonomy concession]
- Two attempts have been made to draft a separate Faroese constitution. The first such attempt was made in 2011, when the Danish prime minister Lars Løkke Rasmussen denounced it as incompatible with Denmark's constitution (IceNews 2011). A second attempt was made in 2015, which faced similar criticisms and was eventually retracted without a vote. A planned 2018 referendum on the new constitution was postponed because of the ongoing dispute over the constitution (The National 2018). We do not code a restrictions in any of these instances in line

with the coding guidelines as no direct policy action was taken to restrict the rights to self-determination of the Faroese.

Regional autonomy

- In 1945 due to de facto independence. [1945: regional autonomy]
- Faroe Islands became autonomous with the 1948 home rule act; hence, we code regional autonomy from 1949 onwards, following the first of January rule. [1949-2020: regional autonomy]

De facto independence

- According to Minahan (2002: 597), Faroe briefly enjoyed autonomy during the First World War, but this was more of a de-facto autonomy: during the Second World War, the Faroe Islands were occupied by the British, which de-facto gave Faroe much-increased autonomy (Minahan 2002: 597). Denmark did not have control over the Faroe Islands. After the war, Faroe came back under Danish rule. [1945: de facto independence]

Major territorial changes

- [1945: revocation of de facto independence]
- [1948: establishment of regional autonomy]

EPR2SDM

Movement	Faroese
Scenario	No match
EPR group(s)	-
Gwgroupid(s)	-

Power access

- The Faroe Islands are an overseas entity and thus not coded in EPR. Since 1948, the Faroese Islands enjoy significant autonomy. Moreover, the Faroese are guaranteed two seats in the Danish parliament. However, We found no evidence for a consistent Faroese representation in the executive, even if in some cases (e.g. in 1998) the Faroese parliamentarians had an important role in deciding about the fate of cabinets (Minority Rights Group International; Ackrén 2006; Minahan 2002). Overall, the influence of the Faroese appears however too limited to justify coding them as included in the central government. Thus, we code the Faroese powerless throughout the movement's activity. [1945-2020: powerless]

Group size

- According to a 2009 estimate, 45,000 Faroese live on the Faroe Islands, and around 22,000 in Denmark itself. Denmark's population in 2009 was 5,523,000, yielding a group size of .012. Note: this matches roughly with the 54,000 Faroese indicated by Minahan (2002: 595). [0.0121]

Regional concentration

- The Faroese make up 95% of the Faroe Islands' population (Minahan 2002: 595). This amounts to 42,750 Faroese (in 2002), which is more than 50% of the 54,000 Faroese in the whole of northern Europe in that same year (Minahan does not provide information on the number of Faroese in Denmark alone). [regionally concentrated]

Kin

- According to Minahan (2002: 595), there is a "sizeable" Faroese population in mainland Denmark and elsewhere in Scandinavia. However, with only 54,000 Faeroese in all of northern Europe, the kin groups are not large enough to be coded here. We found no other evidence for numerically significant transnational kin. [no kin]

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Greenlanders

Activity: 1971-2020

General notes

NA

Movement start and end dates

- Greenland's interest in regional autonomy grew in the 1960s and 1970s. In 1971 Siumut was formed, a political movement advocating self-determination for Greenland (start date). Siumut later (in 1977) transformed into a political party.
 - o Note: Greenland no longer counts as a colony after 1953 (see Faroese Islanders).
- Following the accession of Denmark to the EC in 1972, which was strongly opposed by Greenlanders, Greenland's local council notified the Danish government that it felt that the time had come for a commission to study the issue of Greenlander autonomy. In 1975 the Commission on Home Rule was set up, composed of both Greenlanders and Danish representatives (Foighel 1980: 3-5; Hannum 1996: 342). The Commission's report formed the basis for the November 1978 law on home rule for Greenland passed by the Danish Folketing. The proposal included provisions for a local parliament, a local government and extensive autonomy. Home rule was made subject to a consultative referendum in Greenland, which was held in January 1979. Upon a turnout of 63%, 73% agreed to the proposal. Subsequently Denmark moved quickly to implement home rule: the first elections to the local parliament were on April 4, 1979 and the law took full effect on May 1. In 2008 Greenland's autonomy was yet broadened.
- Suimut which favors eventual independence, but would settle for extensive regional autonomy has been a dominant player in Greenland politics from its founding up to 2012, along with Ataqatiqiit, which favors independence from Denmark as the first step to the establishment of a transpolar Inuit state uniting all Inuit people and Atassut, which favors remaining part of Denmark, but with extensive regional autonomy (Bjerregaard 2017; Foighel 1980; Hannum 1996; Hewitt & Cheetham 2000; Inuit Ataqatigiit; Minahan 1996, 2002).
- A 2016 poll showed that there was a clear majority (64%) for full independence among the Greenlandic people (Skydsbjerg & Turnowsky 2016). A subsequent 2019 poll showed that 67.8% of Greenlanders support independence from Denmark sometime in the next two decades. Branka 2019). By 2022, various Greenlander parties including the Siumit, Forward Party, and the Inuit Community Party (Ataqatigiit) supported independence. [start date: 1971; end date: ongoing]

Dominant claim

- According to Minahan (2002: 686), the Greenlander movement is composed of different factions with different claims: "[t]he island's three major political parties have different visions of the future. Siumut [the movement-turned political party formed in 1971/1977], a moderate socialist party, advocates a more distinct Greenlandic identity and greater autonomy from Denmark, possibly eventual independence. Atassut (Solidarity), with the support of the Danish minority, is pro-European and favors continued close ties to Denmark. Ataqatiqiit (Inuit Brotherhood) [founded in 1976] favors independence from Denmark and restriction of citizenship to the Greenlandic and Inuit population as the first step to the establishment of a transpolar Inuit state uniting all Inuit peoples." In line with this, Loukacheva (2007: 28) states that "[f]ormed in the 1970s, Greenlandic parties put forward a wide spectrum of political platforms, from separation from Denmark to further integration with the kingdom." Gard-Storry (2012) confirms this as well, though he suggests that Siumut in recent years has leaned more towards independence, but made claims for autonomy at least in the 1970s and 1980s.

- The question is then which claim was dominant at what point in time. According to Hewitt & Cheetham (2000: 117), independence has little support. "In the first election to the Greenland parliament, the Inuit Ataqatigiit (Eskimo movement), whose program called for complete independence and the restriction of the franchise to those persons with at least one Eskimo parent, received less than 2 percent of the vote. Currently, there is virtually no support in Greenland for complete independence, mainly because the island is heavily dependent upon Danish subsidies of over \$400 million annually."
- This is partially in line with Gad (2014), who reports that Siumut (who claimed autonomy in the 1970s and 1980s but tended towards a more radical position in the 1990s and 2000s) had always managed to win a majority in the regional elections or rule in coalition until 2009, when the proindependence Ataqatigiit was able to form a coalition with a neo-liberal party and thus oust Siumut. The pro-independence Ataqatigiit got between 4-15% of the local vote in the 1970s/1980s, 20-25% of the local vote in the 1990s, and even more in the 2000s.
- Gad (2014) also reports that there is strong support for independence in recent years. The BBC confirms this.
- In the 2010s, Siumit tended to win elections in Greenland. At the time, Siumit was split between a faction favoring "independence now" and another faction that favors "slow independence". In the 2017 Siumut leadership election Kim Kielsen of the "slow independence" camp won, which bservers considered a win for the "slow-independence" faction (Bjerregaard 2017).
- Based on this, we code an autonomy claim in 1971-1989 (when Ataqatigiit was relatively weak and Siumut clearly autonomist) and an independence claim thereafter (because Siumut appears to have made more ambitious claims and because Ataqatigiit's vote share was much higher). [1971-1989: autonomy claim; 1990-2020: independence claim]

Independence claims

- As per above, independence claims have been made since as early as 1971. Clear evidence exists for support for independence in 1976 by Ataqatiqiit (Inuit Brotherhood); and also Loukacheva (2007) confirms the presence of independence claims throughout the 1970s. Gard-Storry (2012) suggests an increase in Siumut support for independence after 1990. It is notable that while support for independence before the 1990s was fringe, it has since increased substantially (Gad 2014). In the 2010s, there is very strong support for 'slow' independence, and considerable support for 'independence now'. [start date: 1971; end date: ongoing]

Irredentist claims

NA

Claimed territory

- The territory claimed by the Greenlanders is Greenland (Roth 2015: 17f). We code this claim based on the Global Administrative Areas Database.

Sovereignty declarations

NA

Separatist armed conflict

- We found no reports of separatist violence, hence a NVIOLSD classification. [NVIOLSD]

Historical context

- In 985 Norse Viking settled on Greenland. In 1261 Norway took hold of Greenland. In 1380, the Danes took over the island's administration (Minahan 2002: 684). At some point in the 15th or 16th century, the Viking colonists disappeared from the island, either because they returned to Europe or because they died out. In 1721 Norwegians (Norway at the time had been part of Denmark) again settled on Greenland. In 1815 Denmark lost Norway to Sweden but was able to keep hold of Greenland. According to Minority Rights Group International, "[t]he Inuit population was converted to Lutheran Christianity in the eighteenth century, but records remain of Inuit cosmology and moral codes." During the Second World War, the United States took control of the Island, but returned it after the war. Greenland was ruled as a colony until 1953, when Greenland was de-colonized and became an ordinary Danish county (Minahan 2002: 685; Hewitt & Cheetham 2000: 116). Unlike the Faroe Islands, Greenland was not granted a special status. According to Minority Rights Group International, there was a large-scale development program, but they do not note concessions in terms of autonomy or cultural rights. Rather, it appears that Greenlanders (that is, local Inuits) were subjected to assimilation pressure; in particular, Danish remained the sole official language.

Concessions and restrictions

- In 1972 Denmark joined the EC, which was strongly opposed by the Greenlanders. We do not code a restriction since it is difficult to argue that the Greenlanders lost autonomy (they did not have any anyway). The Greenlanders' rejection was due to existing EC fishery legislation and an EC ban on seal skin products.
- Following the accession of Denmark to the EC in 1972, which was strongly opposed by Greenlanders, Denmark set up a Committee on Home Rule composed exclusively of Greenlanders. Then, in 1975, a Commission on Home Rule was set up, composed of both Greenlanders and Danish representatives. The Commission's report formed the basis for the November 1978 law on home rule for Greenland passed by the Danish Folketing. The proposal included provisions for a local parliament, a local government and extensive autonomy. Home rule was made subject to a consultative referendum in Greenland, which was held in January 1979. Upon a turnout of 63%, 73% agreed to the proposal. Subsequently Denmark moved quickly to implement home rule: the first elections to the local parliament were held on April 4, 1979 and the law took full effect on May 1 (Centre for Research on Direct Democracy 2011; Foighel 1980: 3-5; Hannum 1996: 342). We code the concession in 1978, the year when the Folketing passed the law on home rule. Note: the 1978 law also provided for a consultative referendum on Greenland's withdrawal from the EC. A majority of Greenlanders voted for EC withdrawal in the 1982 referendum (Centre for Research on Direct Democracy 2011). In 1985 Greenland left the EC. This is not coded as a separate concession as it was already foreseen in the 1978 law. [1978] autonomy concession]
- In 2004, Greenland and Denmark began negotiations on a new autonomy deal. The resulting 2008 proposal gave Greenland enhanced autonomy, including control of the police force, coast guard and courts. Notably, Greenland received the option to take over all fields of responsibility that have not already been assumed, with the exception of a small set of matters which continue to be reserved to the central state including, most importantly, foreign affairs, defense and security policy, citizenship rights, and monetary policy. In addition, Greenlandic would become Greenland's sole official language (Girardin 2021: 570; Statsministeriet 2009). Greenland's Prime Minister announced a non-binding referendum on the new autonomy deal on January 2, 2008. The Danish government supported the referendum and promised to respect the results. The vote was held in November 2008. Upon a turnout of 72%, 76% agreed to the proposal. The enhanced autonomy became effective in June 2009 (Centre for Research on Direct Democracy 2011; Staatsministeriet). [2008: cultural rights & autonomy concession]

Regional autonomy

- See below. [1980-2020: regional autonomy]

De facto independence

NA

Major territorial changes

Greenland was granted home rule in 1979. The first elections to the local parliament were held on April 4, 1979 and the law took full effect on May 1 (Centre for Research on Direct Democracy 2011; Foighel 1980: 3-5; Hannum 1996: 342). [1979: establishment of regional autonomy]

EPR2SDM

Movement	Greenlanders
Scenario	No match
EPR group(s)	-
Gwgroupid(s)	-

Power access

- Greenland is an overseas entity and thus not coded in EPR. We found no evidence of substantial representation in the national executive. Greenland has only two (out of 179) seats in the Folketing. [1971-2020: powerless]

Group size

- According to Minahan (2002: 683), there are around 55,000 Greenlanders in Denmark. According to the World Bank, Denmark's population was 5.376 million in 2002. [0.0102]

Regional concentration

- According to Minahan (2002: 683), >75% of the Greenlanders live in Greenland, where they form approx. 75% of the local population. Figures form 2021 suggest that the share of Greenlanders in Greenland is about 89% (Greenland in Figures 2021). [regionally concentrated]

Kin

- The Greenlanders "are a people of mixed Inuit and European background" and "speak an East Inuit dialect" (Minahan 2002: 683, 684). There are also Inuits in Canada, but the numeric threshold is not met (approx. 60,000 in 2011, see Canadian Encyclopedia). No other close kindred was found. [no kin]

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