Inuit self-determination and postsecondary education:

The case of Nunavut and Greenland

by

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A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy, Higher Education

Department of Leadership Higher and Adult Education

Ontario Institute for Studies in Education

University of Toronto

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Abstract

With Inuit identifying as a people beyond nation-state boundaries, and Nunavummiut and Greenlanders as citizens of Canada and Denmark, the right to self-determination has followed distinct trajectories in the jurisdictions examined in my thesis. Nunavut has a constitutional mandate to be responsive to the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement, paradoxically intensifying the relationships with the federal government towards further devolution and maintaining an ethnic divide trespassing territorial lines. Envisioning statehood, Greenland has chosen to gradually break economic ties with Denmark and in mainstreaming its governance capacity it appears to be branching off ethnocentric policies. In what seem opposing pathways, autonomous postsecondary education institutions are positioned to mitigate the notional extremes the right to self-determination calls upon. By comparing institutions steering through conflicting missions, this thesis illustrates the ways in which the right to self-determination operates against the backdrop of regained geopolitical prominence of the Arctic Region.
Applying a legal theoretical framework to the scholarship of indigenous education this thesis raises a number of issues in carrying forward the right to self-determination once indigenous peoples regain control over their destinies. Issues regarding social stratification challenging the politics of representation indicate that achieving some form of autonomy does not necessarily result in social justice as the indigenous rights advocacy scholarship suggests. Considering the Inuit right to self-determination as a process right rather than an outcome, this finding highlights internal pluralities challenging the reification of Inuit identity on the basis of cultural, political, and socioeconomic difference.

This thesis advocates for examining the contingencies that shape Inuit multiple allegiances accounting for peoples vantage geopolitical positioning. As Inuit redefine their position in the local, national, and global spheres, important knowledge is produced overcoming the single overriding of identity politics. Recognizing that Inuit knowledge is knowledge in context, the author contends, may lead to new ways for postsecondary education to uphold the Inuit right to self-determination.
In memory of Uriel Gaviria
1924-2011
Acknowledgements

I remember the day I decided to focus on contemporary indigenous knowledge without a precise question in mind. I was excited with emerging indigenous scholarship and most of all inspired by the artwork and films coming from indigenous people around the world. My first attempt to put together a research question was imprecise and perhaps overloaded with a personal resentment towards colonialism past and present and a nostalgia for a knowledge lost leaving only few threads to move forward. I was invested in using my research to contribute to this idea of “moving forward” and implicating postsecondary education in it. Thankfully, my thesis was not meant to be “mine”. It had to build on the scholarship that preceded me, it had to be responsible to the people it involved and most of all, it had to be true to the context that produces colonial and postcolonial history with all its interpretations and misinterpretations. In the process of unpacking each term of my research question, reframing it, and ultimately creating a workable framework, I received the insight of professors, colleagues, friends, and family who questioned my assumptions helping me let go of “the expert” in me.

First and foremost I would like to thank my supervisor Creso Sá, for bringing to light my research question after being buried in the same generalizations I was aiming to call into question. As many other graduate students, in many instances I felt my “brilliant” ideas were being dismissed. Over time however, I got to realize that ideas are not fully formed from the get go. From the moment I put together a proposal to the time I wrote this acknowledgement, my relationship with Professor Sá taught me how to get out of my head and humbly engage in the production of knowledge. This is perhaps the most important lesson this thesis has taught me.

Over the past years, a number of Professors have accompanied me in producing this piece of work. Professor Ruth Hayhoe generously opened spaces for me to envision how my thesis would carve an academic path. I have been particularly inspired by her devotion to history as the means to contextualize higher education and create avenues for conducting comparative research that responsibly acknowledges difference. Her candid interest on my research process encouraged me to continue, especially during moments where the process got really lonely. Professor Jamie-Lynn Magnusson introduced me to
new bodies of literature that called into question postcolonial meta-narratives. Her trust in this research gave me the necessary confidence to embark into unknown territory. Professor Linda Muzzin, without whom I would have never thought of undertaking the PhD program, presented me with epistemological avenues to think about the politics of higher education. Her critical approach to knowledge inspired me to pursue research pertaining to indigenous peoples. Professor J'net AyAy Qwa Yak Sheelth Cavanagh was extremely generous in offering me her insights on indigenous knowledge and community-based education. Her lived experience made me continuously reflect on the responsibility of dealing with knowledge systems that are only partially accessible to academic thought. Professor Monica Heller validated for me the role of the researcher and presented me with methodological literature to look at the construction of social difference and inequality in emerging polities. I thank them immensely for their encouragement and trust in my work.

Many other professors were inspiring to me through their lectures, seminars and publications. My experience at OISE has been very rich and I could have never wished for such an abundance of resources so readily available for me to conduct my research. Furthermore, the access I had to attend courses, and lectures at other University of Toronto faculties really contributed to pursuing an interdisciplinary approach. Of particular relevance were the Arctic Lecture Series at the Munk School for Global Affairs. This space proved invaluable to gain direct access to the opinion of politicians, indigenous leaders, and academics with respect to Arctic Sovereignty and Security issues.

This thesis was made possible by the Doctoral Fellowship grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada and the travel grants from the School of Graduate Studies. It would have been impossible to move from lecture rooms in Toronto to Nunavut Arctic College and Ilisimatusarfik in Nunavut and Greenland, without this important financial support.

When I first put together the ethics protocol to get my fieldwork started, I was made aware of the political sensitivities of conducting research in indigenous territory. I was indeed overly cautious not to impose myself to enable a relationship that would unleash dialog. Contrary to my fears as an outsider, I found welcoming environments where conversations happened even before consent forms were presented. Many people
facilitated my fieldwork. Former President of Nunavut Arctic College, Daniel Vandermeulen introduced me to the college and the territory itself. Current President Michael Shouldice made it easy for me to participate in many of the college’s activities during the Katinniq Professional Development Conference held in Iqaluit on August 2011. Mary Ellen Thomas and Mosha Cote from the Nunavut Research Institute assisted me in making the “Haunted Old Residence” my Iqaluit home. Instructors and administrators whom I shared accommodations with, made me participant of their extensive conversations that ranged from the mundane to the sublime. It is the spirit of all of these off-record conversations and observations that threaded this thesis from beginning to end.

In Greenland people were equally welcoming. I was fortunate to participate on the 8th seminar held by The International PhD School for Studies of Arctic Societies (IPSSAS) hosted by Ilisimatusarfik. Here, I met scholars from around the circumpolar region looking at different issues regarding heritage and modernity. Exposing my thoughts in such a multidisciplinary venue was perhaps the most challenging experience during my fieldwork. The intensity of the seminar in the never-ending spring daylight of Greenland brought me to a level of discussion every aspiring scholar wants to be part of. When I returned to Greenland, this time for the almost never-ending nightdays, I felt at ease talking to faculty and administrators at Ilisimatusarfik who, knowing what my research was about, were prepared to challenge my theoretical and methodological assumptions. To them I owe a great deal of knowledge I hope my thesis does justice to. I would like to specially acknowledge Ilisimatusarfik Rector Tine Pars, Vice Rector Uffe Jakobsen, and Professor Ole Marquardt, who made me feel part of the university, easing my way into conducting research in Greenland.

When one embarks in a life project, everyday experiences are somehow related to it. This happened with this thesis. My friend Andrea Ledwell moved to Iqaluit a year before I travelled for the first time to conduct my research. Her insider knowledge really opened a context that went beyond the college life and that brought perspective into every single conversation I had. Having her there also gave me access to a social life in Nunavut, an essential luxury I was fortunate to enjoy during my stay.
Going through four years of intense mental activity while life continues to happen makes sense when others are in the same boat. I could not have gone through this research without my peers and friends with whom I shared ideas, fears, and moments of pure joy. Jack Lee kept me always connected to the world of higher education constantly reminding me where I stand academically and physically. Together with Merli Tamtik we formed a collegial relationship through which we were able to sort out those research issues one never anticipates. This collegial relationship translated into a very important friendship. Jack and Merli were always there for me when personal matters became my main concern. Dr. Julian Weinrib and Dr. Meggan Madden were great mentors to me. I cannot imagine going through a PhD without sharing spaces with students that are ahead in the game. Pierre Piche also played an integral role in pursuing graduate studies at OISE. I cannot thank him enough for encouraging me to follow my intuition as long as it finds a runway to land in the empirical world. All my fellow students, with whom I have shared ideas in two different thesis groups, have also contributed immensely in making sense of my ideas at different times of the process.

Four years of one’s life dedicated to one question, as romantic as it sounds, can be very isolating. My husband was incredibly engaged on my research process making my thesis matter to our entity. Playing devil’s advocate, he inspired some important breakthroughs. He has taught me how to connect life and work with equal parts passion and affection. And just as the light at the end of a tunnel started to gleam, things magically came together for us. A week after I submitted the first draft of my thesis, we welcomed our son Elliott. As I learn how to be Elliott’s mother, I cannot help but being mesmerized by the connections of seemingly forking paths.

I would like to end this long acknowledgement by thanking all my friends and family who, without really knowing what I was doing, listened to me and patiently beared with my intellectual intensity, and were tactful enough not to ask what is next.
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<td>ANCSA</td>
<td>Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act</td>
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<tr>
<td>ASIST</td>
<td>Applied Suicide Intervention Skills Training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBC</td>
<td>Canadian Broadcast Corporation</td>
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<tr>
<td>CLCs</td>
<td>Community Learning Centres (Nunavut)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEW Line</td>
<td>Distant Early Warning Line</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EFG</td>
<td>Danish basic vocational training model</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FANS</td>
<td>Financial Assistance for Nunavut Students program</td>
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<tr>
<td>GEP</td>
<td>Greenland Education Programme</td>
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<tr>
<td>HBC</td>
<td>The Hudson’s Bay Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICC</td>
<td>Inuit Circumpolar Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IFAW</td>
<td>International Fund for Animal Welfare</td>
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<tr>
<td>IPSAS</td>
<td>International PhD Seminar on Arctic Societies</td>
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<tr>
<td>IQ</td>
<td>Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ITC</td>
<td>Inuit Tapirisat of Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ITCIP</td>
<td>International Center for Indigenous Peoples</td>
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<tr>
<td>ITK</td>
<td>Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K-12</td>
<td>Kindergarten to Grade Twelve education</td>
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<tr>
<td>NAC</td>
<td>Nunavut Arctic College</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NLCA</td>
<td>Nunavut Land Claims Agreement</td>
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<tr>
<td>NTEP</td>
<td>The Northern Teaching Education Degree Program</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NWMP</td>
<td>Royal Northwest Mountain Police</td>
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<tr>
<td>OECD</td>
<td>Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLAR</td>
<td>Prior Learning Assessment and Recognition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RCMP</td>
<td>Royal Canadian Mounted Police</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RGTD</td>
<td>The Royal Greenlandic Trade Department</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SSHRC</td>
<td>Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TEP</td>
<td>Teachers Education Program</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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Inuit self-determination and postsecondary education: The case of Nunavut and Greenland

Chapter One. Framing the research question

Since the late 1970s, Inuit in Nunavut and Greenland have regained control and authority over their ancestral lands marking an era of indigenous political renewal. In Nunavut, the territorial government accommodates Inuit self-government aspirations within established traditions of Canadian governance, while Greenlanders have taken control of their destiny to achieve self-government with the goal of full independence from Denmark. Yet, the quest for Inuit self-determination is not over. The politics of subsistence economy, resource-based economy, and environmental security, have set in motion the indigenous peoples’ right to self-determination in the Arctic region.

Recognized by the United Nations Declaration on Indigenous Peoples Rights (2007) and ratified by 144 countries including Canada and Denmark, the right to self-determination maintains that:

a. Indigenous peoples are *peoples* as articulated in international law, that is right-bearing collectivities unlike other groups, such as refugees, minorities, women, and children who are thought to have only individual rights within the framework of the state.

b. Indigenous people are entitled to freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social, and cultural development.\(^1\)

---

\(^1\) The United Nations Declaration on Indigenous Peoples was the product of an almost 15-year old debate led by a working group devoted solely to the writing of the declaration. The full declaration contains forty-five articles defining all aspects of indigenous self-determination including the right to traditional lands and resources and the right to establish and control their educational systems providing education in their own languages. The declaration faced resistance from different countries who were adamant in granting indigenous groups people status. For an authoritative
On the whole, the intergovernmental recognition of the indigenous right to self-determination has opened international avenues for indigenous peoples to safeguard their distinctive identities and relationships to their territories. Having an international platform to champion the political aims of people challenges Westphalian notions of state sovereignty. The organization of Inuit people at a circumpolar level is a case in point. Having a voice on Arctic affairs and sitting side by side with Arctic states, Inuit have asserted their right as people to determine freely their destinies. Of particular relevance is the Circumpolar Inuit Declaration on Sovereignty in the Arctic (Inuit Circumpolar Council 2009) in which the right to self-determination and the principle of sovereignty appear inextricably linked (point 3.3). This linkage not only brings local concerns to the regional stage but also puts forward the principle that “sovereignty begins at home”, with “healthy and sustainable communities in the Arctic” (point 3.12). With this statement, Inuit are positioning themselves as a “single people” (point 1.3) redefining their relationship to the surrounding states to secure their ancestral ties to their homeland.

That Inuit represent themselves as a single people at a regional level does not mean that this is their sole allegiance. As threaded in the history of Nunavut and Greenland, Inuit are also Canadian and Danish nationals. As such the formalization of the Inuit right to self-determination poses the dilemma of a dual allegiance that is, to the nation-state and to Inuit. Take for instance the following statement by the current president of the Inuit Circumpolar Council Aqqaluk Lynge, regarding the role of this organization in Greenland after achieving self-government in 2009:

(account of the negotiating history see: United Nations Declaration on the Right of Indigenous Peoples by Siegfried Wiessner (2008).)
Greenland Inuit have the rights of Greenlanders, who are now recognized as a people under international law. We also have the rights of Danes, because we are also Danish citizens. But as Inuit we have the particular rights of indigenous peoples as well. It is through our rights as indigenous peoples that Inuit have a particular voice that is not part of the self-government agreement with Denmark. Therefore, it remains very important for ICC - Greenland to speak on behalf of Inuit specifically (Lynge 2009).

These dual ties to Inuit and to the state are also present in the governance structure of Nunavut. The coexistence of a territorial public government overseeing all Nunavut inhabitants (Nunavummiut) and the constitutional provisions of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement to accommodate and protect Inuit rights, result in two political cultures coexisting in a hybrid system of governance (Loukacheva 2007, Légaré 2002).

Why would this duality matter if both Nunavut and Greenland governments represent an Inuit majority? What the literature shows is that it is not a matter of numbers but of compatibility between public governance systems and the way Inuit take up the right to self-determination. In other words, Inuit political representativeness requires dealing with, hence codifying, the disparities between western and Inuit traditional systems of social organization (Loukacheva 2007, Henriksen 2001). While Inuit in Nunavut and Greenland have a significant degree of political autonomy, they have achieved this by using the methods, language, and legal systems of Canada and Denmark respectively (Russell 1996 in Loukacheva 2007, Légaré 2002). It is within these institutional frameworks that Inuit negotiate the terms of their self-determination navigating the tensions between western and Inuit ways of social organization (Jull 2001, Henriksen 2001, Loukacheva, 2009). I would argue that to grasp what the Inuit right to self-determination entails and map the relationships its exercise shapes, one has to

---

2 Public government refers to governance structures that apply to all inhabitants of Nunavut or Nunavummiut. This is the governance structure of all territories in Canada.
penetrate the life of their public institutions. Since for Inuit this right is tied to sovereignty and sovereignty begins at home, I believe the education sector is a key access point to comprehend its operational meanings and practices.

Reflecting on the universities in Europe in the middle ages, Hastings Rashdall (1895) considered these institutions embodiments of an ideal of life. Siding with this argument, I expand this notion to postsecondary education institutions that, in the context of Nunavut and Greenland, have come to materialize colonial and post-colonial ideals. It is my thesis that public postsecondary education institutions distil the political tensions of legitimizing a nation state reconfigured by Inuit gains in striving for self-determination. As a people, Inuit see education as the carrier of indigenous knowledge preserving and advancing Inuit ideals. According to the Inuit Circumpolar Council, such ideals thread linguistic, environmental, and cultural values, configuring an evolving political philosophy. As citizens, they see education as the means to minimize internal and external socio-economic disparities, and ultimately the means towards self-reliance.

In resolving how to organize postsecondary education, what programs to offer, where they are to be delivered, and who the students are; postsecondary education institutions become a site through which one can access the effective meanings of the Inuit right to self-determination.

In this study I look at the ways in which political devolution in Nunavut and Greenland, implicate their main postsecondary education institutions in the quest for Inuit self-determination by addressing the following overarching research question:

---

4 See The Government of Greenland’s Education Strategy (Greenland Ministry of Education, Research, and Nordic Cooperation 2012) and the National strategy on Inuit education (National Committee on Inuit Education 2011).
What are the relationships between Inuit self-determination and postsecondary education in Nunavut and Greenland?

In addressing this question, my thesis examines how Inuit self-determination is projected into Nunavut and Greenland’s post-secondary education institutions (i.e., The Nunavut Arctic College and Ilisimatusarfik: the University of Greenland) and codified in ways that resonate with their governments and the Arctic region. The layers of this subject matter bring about conceptual and methodological challenges. While the right to self-determination is recognized in international instruments such as the United Nations Declaration of Indigenous Peoples Rights and other international covenants, there is no recognition under international law of sub-state groups as separate peoples (Morgan 2004, Gudelevičiūtė 2005). Ambiguities in the interpretation of the right to self-determination translate into different conceptual approaches to understand the actual leverage indigenous peoples have in deciding their political status and freely pursue their social and cultural development including education (Shaw 2004). On the education side of the equation, the query as to what counts as indigenous education and how to translate knowledge and rights into curriculum and learning is not dismissive of political and economic development. Using an interdisciplinary approach, this thesis looks at those dimensions of the right to self-determination that connect the political and education realms of Nunavut and Greenland.

Just as a theoretical framework was required to examine the interplay of public and Inuit aims, a methodological one was needed to look at the different levels at which such intersections operate. Keeping in mind that Inuit political pursuits cut across local, national and regional arenas (Shadian 2010, Grant 2010) I adapted an ethnographic frame
based on Marcus’s (1998 and 1989) notion of multi-sited research. Assuming that macro-constructs of the world order manifest in different localities, I designed a contextual comparison model. Such design allowed for honouring the history of Nunavut and its Nunavut Arctic College, as well as Greenland and Ilisimatusarfik, its university. Setting the context, comparison becomes the means towards tracing distinct trajectories of the Inuit right to self-determination.

To bring the contextual comparison model into life, I used documentary and participatory research methods. I began by documenting the history of Inuit prior to contact and colonial ruling to the present to thread the ancestral weight of the Inuit right to self-determination. Paying particular attention to distinct Inuit and colonial education worldviews, my historical account sheds light on how the different dimensions of this right can project into Nunavut Arctic College in Nunavut and Ilisimatusarfik in Greenland. The secondary research questions that informed the background section are:

**Table 1 Secondary research questions documentary analysis**

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Secondary research questions</th>
<th>Documentary analysis</th>
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<tr>
<td>What counts as Inuit self-determination in Nunavut and Greenland?</td>
<td>Literature review and archival document revision of the history of Inuit people in Greenland and what is now Nunavut.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How is the Inuit right to self-determination projected from the governments of Nunavut and Greenland into post-secondary education institutions?</td>
<td>Interpretation of the right to self-determination in documents and statements relevant to Inuit people’s rights in the juridical literature.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Following a participatory research approach, I proceeded to share my textual understandings and theoretical interpretations with administrators, faculty, and instructors in both postsecondary education institutions. With them and through exploring the ways in which they relate the work they do to Inuit aims, I rewrote the historical context and mapped the connections between postsecondary education and the social, cultural, and economic dimensions of the indigenous right to self-determination. The secondary research questions that informed the findings of this thesis are as follows:

**Table 2 Secondary research questions informing fieldwork**

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Secondary research question</th>
<th>Methodology</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What political, social, and economic dimensions of the Inuit right to self-determination are taken up by Ilisimatusarfik and Nunavut Arctic College?</td>
<td>Participatory research fieldwork: Open conversations with Nunavut Arctic College and Ilisimatusarfik’s instructors, faculty, and administrators.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What are the effective meanings of Inuit self-determination at Ilisimatusarfik and Nunavut Arctic College?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>How do Ilisimatusarfik and Nunavut Arctic College code Inuit self-determination to fit their public mandates?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are Ilisimatusarfik and Nunavut Arctic College taking up Inuit circumpolar aims?</td>
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By documenting Inuit self-determination in text and in action, this thesis contributes to the knowledge on the role postsecondary education plays in reconciling disparate worldviews. Certainly, the ways in which postsecondary education is distinctively organized in Greenland and Nunavut reveals who Inuit are and envision themselves to be, shaping the status of their actual and ideal polities.

In the second chapter of my thesis, I relate the history of education in Greenland and Nunavut as it relates to distinct colonial and post-colonial histories and the achieved
political status of Inuit. Justifying the focus of my study, I elaborate on how different trajectories of Inuit self-determination play out in the socio-political context of the Arctic region.

The third chapter construes an interdisciplinary theoretical framework to connect sovereignty, the indigenous right to self-determination and education. Drawing from relevant political science literature I identify two major bodies of literature. The first one circumscribes the right to self-determination to the right to culture, while the second one defines it as the means to decolonizing. Looking for constructs that would allow for both bodies to overlap, a theoretical alternative is introduced by examining the right to self-determination in terms of contingent sovereignty. These three streams are then related to the literature on indigenous education. These theoretical relationships provide the basis for my methodological approach outlined in the fourth chapter. Indeed, by applying the construct of contingency to the right to self-determination, the methodology ought to allow for looking at different scales (i.e., local, national, regional) and dimensions (i.e., political, social, economic, and cultural) of the indigenous right to self-determination. The methodological framework guides the design of this study and the choice of methods for gaining insight from documents and participants in the field.

The fifth and sixth chapters express and discuss the findings of my fieldwork relating it to relevant documentation. The four dimensions of the indigenous right to self-determination (i.e., political, social, economic, and cultural) compose the major sections in chapter five. Here I draw attention to distinct ways of making sense of the Inuit right to self-determination rooted in the historical context of Nunavut and Greenland. In chapter six I revisit the research question within its theoretical framework highlighting
theoretical challenges and methodological considerations. This chapter ends with what I deem the main contribution of this thesis and the future areas of research.
Chapter Two: Historical Context and Literature Review

2.1. Nunavut and Greenland: Education, the birth of self-determination as a right and its links to sovereignty issues.

As a right, self-determination applies to peoples entitled to determine their status without external interference. Paradoxically, the collective consciousness of being “a people” evolves from a sustained external interference. Such is the case of Greenland and Nunavut where the awareness of ethnic, cultural, and linguistic distinctiveness arose from colonial ruling shaping the trajectories for Inuit to assert their right to pursue freely their destinies. From a world where the social and sacred spheres of life are indistinct, to one where boundaries amongst them are drawn, education has carried the purpose of codifying knowledge systems that would shape Inuit political trajectories.

Prior to theoretically addressing the right to self-determination and its underpinning relationships to postsecondary education nowadays, I deem it important to review the historical context, weaving in the foundational elements of education in Greenland and Nunavut. Here, I would like to start by recounting Inuit education as it evolved over the millennia prior to and alongside colonial ruling.

Understood as passing-on knowledge intrinsically linked to living and learning on the land, Inuit education was part of everyday life (Bennet and Rowley 2004, McGregor 2010, Rasmussen 1976). Fully integrated into all dimensions of life, learning preceded and transcended the individual, securing the skills to succeed in a hunter-gatherer nomadic society tied by kinship. Although it is difficult to generalize education practices amongst different Inuit groups, stories from Elders convey learning as vicarious
experiences (learning by observation and practice) and as advice from the older
generations to the younger ones. The narrative and experiential transmission of
knowledge shaped societal roles mostly by gender and age. Regarded as a key to
endurance, experience, skill, and knowledge appeared to stratify and and/or equalize
social relationships:

Sometimes if a girl had often gone hunting with her father at an early age, she
would be as capable a hunter as any man. She would also be respected as
such...Some men also were good at sewing and could do housework themselves.
They would reach the same level of skill as any good woman. So, a man could do
housework as well as a woman. This was not considered bad at all. As a matter of
fact, it was considered all for the good. (James Muckpah, Tununirmiut, Inuit
Elder, 1979, 5 quoted in Bennet and Rowley 2004, 15)

Even as far as AD 1000 the Thule culture, known today as Inuit, exhibited
stratified social structures along the lines of skill and technology that persisted over time.
Archaeologist Robert McGhee (1978 and 2010) ties Inuit social stratification with whale
hunting, an activity that involved strict social conventions including a system of honours
to acknowledge hunting expedition captains (e.g. mouth to jaw tattoos). Indivisible from
knowledge, the hunting of larger mammals was made feasible by the development of
complex technologies that benefited from the trade across the Bering Strait route.\(^5\) The
skill in the production, adoption, and usage of technology and its passing on over the
generations, made feasible the fast expansion in the range of Inuit settlements in
particular territories (miut) from Alaska to Greenland (with most of the expansion
occurring between AD 1250 and 1350). Their occupancy and understanding of these

\(^5\) Inuit developed a sophisticated system of harpoon heads, lines, drags, and floats which they used in conjunction with
boats to take whales. Along with hunting tools, Inuit developed clothing that has not yet been surpassed for Arctic
winter use, and large open skin-covered boats capable of transporting an entire camp. Hunting tools used iron
technology developed by Han Dynasty Metallurgists in China and adopted by Inuit through trade (Mc Ghee 2010,
Doubleday 1988).
particular territories “led to differences in dialects, clothing styles, hunting techniques, and beliefs” (Bennet and Rowley 2004, 339).

Over the past several centuries, Inuit developed a sophisticated knowledge relating to their life on the land and the cosmos. Indivisible from space, their understanding of time in seasonal grounds and lunar months corresponds to the changes in the ice, the direction of the wind, the position of the stars, faunal migrations, the presence or absence of the sun, etc (Peter 1999). Accessible only to shamans (angakkuq - angakkut), invisible spiritual forces reside with the physical world influencing the rhythms and disruptions of nature (Aupilaarjuk et al. 1999). Knowledge is here woven within cosmological narratives of the universe. In words of Andreas Roepstorff (2003, 117) such narratives establish a “conceptualisation of what is out there (an ontology), a method to validate and examine it (an epistemology) and a prescription for how people should ideally relate to it (an ethics)”.

Largely dependent on a collective memory as it relates to everyday life, Inuit oral tradition carries an ontology of nature and an ethics of the interaction amongst its beings. Only recently have researchers acknowledged the complex knowledge systems embedded in Inuit oral tradition. Ingrained in it, is a culturally patterned way of experiencing, constructing and representing history that is intrinsically linked to the production of knowledge. Strictly sticking to facts and sources, Inuit construction of the past follows empirical connections that are reticent to generalizations regarding cause-effect relationships because of their lack of ihuma, or reason (Omura 2005 in Berkes 2009, 198). This was made more accessible to me through the belief that all objects, animate and inanimate, contained an inua or inner soul. Recognition of inua lies at the centre of
life on the land where mutual recognition of each other’s soul, (e.g., the animal’s soul and that of the hunter), is the knowledge predicament of proficient hunting. In a workshop I attended in Nunavut, the notion that knowledge happens in the relationship amongst beings was presented to us.\(^6\) If the experience on the land is taken for granted with the confidence that it can be replicated, the facilitator argued, one may lose perspective of all the unknowns and put oneself in danger.

Using story telling as a knowledge vehicle and names as signifiers, Inuit access a collective memory carrying a sense of belonging, locality, and continuity (Nuttall 1992). Inuit names of places for instance, are repositories of toponymical and geographical knowledge (Collignon 2006, Aporta 2009) essential to navigation and way finding:

All the lakes where you can find fish or caribou have names. That is the only way we can travel. The one way we can recognise lakes is by their names. All the large mountains and hills, they have names. Sometimes we name them on account of their size or because of their shape. The names of places, of camps and lakes, are all important to us; for that is the way we travel, with names. We could go anywhere, even to a strange place, simply because places are named. That would be how we find our way. It is the way we can find how far we are from camp or from the next camp. Most of the names you come across when you are travelling are very old. Our ancestors named them because that is where they travelled. (Dominique Tungilik. Arviligjuarmiut, Brody 1976, 198 in Bennet and Rowley, 2004, 113)

Equally relevant are Inuit naming practices. Each person’s name is linked to a deceased relative carrying the name-soul (isuma) that protects him-her throughout their life (Bennet and Rowley, 2004). In words of Charles Macdonald, the sociological significance of this belief is “the incorporation of the person into kinship relations …that radically depart from his/her biological configuration of origin.” (Mcdonald 2009, 10).

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\(^6\) The workshop was part of the Triennial Nunavut Arctic College Professional Development Conference: Katinniq, 2011. The conference took place in August, 2011.
With knowledge shaped by living on the land, Inuit education encompasses “ways of learning, ways of doing and ways of being that are deeply rooted in cultural practices and social relationships” (McGregor 2010, 38). From a cosmological point of view, the separation of knowledge from living on the land results in irrelevance, as it is the land that shapes Inuit experience of the world (Amagoalik 2007). Such separation is precisely what colonization and settlement brought to Inuit homeland, severing Inuit cosmology from institutional forms of education. As will become clear in the building of colonial and postcolonial histories, the distinct approaches to education in Greenland and what is now Nunavut, created different trajectories for Inuit cosmology to find a place and a purpose in the contemporary world of the Arctic.

2.2. Kalaallit Nunaat: Greenland the land of the Kalaallit

2.2.1. Ties to Europe

The history of Greenland peoples can be traced to the late 10th century with the arrival of Norsemen (Arneborg et al. 2002, Goldbach 2000). Closely related to the Vikings, Norsemen brought European civilisation to Greenland with farms, churches, monasteries, and a diocese. Their sustained trade with Norway led to an agreement in 1261 whereby Norsemen became tributary to the kingdom of Norway (Sørensen 2006, 11, Logan 1992, Permanent Court of International Justice 1933, [20]). This agreement was the first constitutional basis of Danish sovereignty over Greenland, which came into full effect when Denmark and Norway became a double monarchy in 1380 (Goldbach
Norsemen lived in Greenland for about 450 years disappearing completely for reasons that are still contested by the scientific community.\footnote{Arguments have been made for causes such as deteriorating climate, overgrazing, epidemic diseases, inbreeding, English pirates, hostile “Eskimos”, a dwindling market for export of walrus tusks, the lack of technology borrowing from Inuit or a combination of these (McGhee 2010, Arneborg, et al. 2002, Arneborg 1996, McGovern and Perdikaris, 2000).}

The Thule culture arrived in Greenland after a long migration eastward from Alaska between AD 1000 and AD 1200 settling first in the northwest (McGhee 2010, Goldbach 2000). It took over two centuries for Norsemen to first contact the Thule people. Inuit ancestors and Norsemen seemed to have lived next to each other. Norsemen sagas along with historical and archaeological accounts reveal that relationships between these two peoples were likely shaped by intermittent competition for resources and irregular trade (Mackenzie-Brown 2000). While there is no evidence of sustained technology and knowledge exchange, one thing the Thule culture certainly inherited from Norsemen is the allegiance of Greenland to the Dano-Norwegian Crown.

The administration of the various countries under the sovereignty of the Dano-Norwegian Crown was centralized in Copenhagen (Permanent Court of International Justice 1933 [22]) and, as a result, Denmark took on a leading role. Even though the Dano-Norwegian Crown claimed Greenland as one of its dependencies, there was no sustained relationship in the centuries that followed the monarchical union. Such was the distance between Copenhagen and Greenland that it was not until the 17\textsuperscript{th} century that the Crown realized Norsemen might have disappeared (Harries 1931, Sørensen 2006, 11).

In 1636, King Christian IV conceded to the Burgomaster of Copenhagen and some of its citizens a monopoly over the navigation and trading in Greenland. Altogether, the 1636 Danish - Norwegian concession indicates an active interest in Greenland and its marine riches (Marquardt 2006) and a clear attempt to assert sovereignty through
permanent Scandinavian occupation. Tying the Crown’s intention to a personal quest to find his fellow long-lost Christians, (i.e., Norsemen), Norwegian Lutheran Pastor Hans Egede took on the mission of colonizing Greenland (Carne 1832). After years of failed attempts Pastor Egede gained official support from his diocese, granted on the basis of colonial commercial engagement (Marquardt 2006, 144; Carne 1832, 189). Supported by Norwegian merchants, Egede formed the “Bergen Trading Company” and set sail to Greenland in 1721.

The Bergen Trading Company was granted a royal charter in 1723. The charter placed the whole country of Greenland at the company’s disposal (Marquardt 2006) with the King reserving his “sovereignty, absolutum dominium and hereditary rights” (Permanent Court of International Justice 1933, [28]). One important clause of the royal charter was the instruction that “natives” were to be treated kindly and not to be taken as slaves as Pastor Egede first anticipated.\(^8\) For around fifty years, the Crown would regulate the protection of Greenlanders from the external influence of private companies to which it granted royal concession (Permanent Court of International Justice 1933 [31]). In 1776 the King brought concessions to private persons to an end taking over the political administration of his realm’s settlements and trade through The Royal Greenlandic Trade Department (RGTD). It is this Dano-Norwegian enterprise that formalized colonial ruling shaped by the principle of keeping Inuit from European influence yet “civilizing them” to assure social compliance to mercantile principles (Goldbach 2000, Loukacheva 2007).

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\(^8\) Egede’s idea was to establish a Norwegian fishing and farming colony and finance it through the coercion and slavery of Inuit (Bobé 1952, Marquardt 2006).
A policy of “positive isolation” (Sørensen, 2006) and “economic paternalism” (Nutall 1992) was the means of sustaining trade in hunting products until approximately 1920 when the fishing industry was introduced (Petersen 1995). Interestingly, while preserving the culture of hunting was crucial to the maintenance of trade, other cultural practices and beliefs were at odds with Christian beliefs. The question of what gets to be preserved and what gets to be changed is one that runs through the origins and evolution of education from Egede’s times to nowadays.

Whereas the trade monopoly and the sustained exercise of Danish-Norwegian sovereignty over Greenland took over 50 years to shape, the Christian mission found fertile grounds very early on. Christianity brought literacy and, with literacy, the early stages of schooling. By the time the RGTD started operations both the Lutheran and Moravian missions had settled in Greenland.

Established in 1733 the Moravian mission practically overtook the Lutheran mission in number of converts (Cranz 1767). By introducing instrumental music and promoting drama and singing, they were able to translate not only the words but also the soul of the gospel into Greenlandic language and culture (Kjøergard and Kjøergard 2003). The Greenlandic Soul was woven into a Moravian Christian Enlightenment through the establishment of schools in both the main stations and the outstations, the publication of myths and sagas and the ongoing contact with centres in Europe through periodicals and letters (David Cranz 1767, Carne 1832, Kjøergard 2011). Although the Moravian church handed over the work in Greenland to the Lutheran Church in 1899, its cultural and spiritual legacy is part of Greenland’s societal fabric. Not surprisingly, the

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9 By the end of the 19th century there were six main stations with nine schools, as well as 28 outstations with 24 schools (Cranz, 1767).

While the Lutheran and Moravian approach to the mission differed from each other, both laid the foundations for the development of the Greenlandic language: Kalaallisut. The work of the Moravians laid the groundwork of a long tradition of grammar-writing to make Greenlandic translatable and ultimately standardized (Gad 1971, Carne 1832). The foundational Lutheran practice of reaching souls in their native tongue so that Inuit could be on their own as Christians proved crucial to Inuit appropriation of their written language and ultimately its survival (Kjærergard 2011).

2.2.2. Education in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: The consolidation of Danish rule and ethnicity awareness

With Kalaallisut developing to adapt to a foreign worldview, missionary schooling coexisted with Inuit education on the land until the end of the colonial period in 1950. However, the transmission of Christian beliefs intersected with Inuit cosmology. The Lutheran and Moravian missions introduced new sources of knowledge whereby the shaman (angaanqaq) and the elders ceased to be the sole knowledge bearers. With missionary education, youth gained a new status. As early as 1724, Greenlandic youth were sent to Copenhagen to experience the European ways and relate back their experiences and new knowledge (Carne 1832, Harbsmeier 2007). During the eighteenth century a few young men got ordained as Pastors in Copenhagen, legitimately taking on the responsibility of spreading the gospel upon their return (Carne 1832). As the liberal ideas of the Enlightenment philosophers became more and more prominent in the early nineteen hundreds, more systematic efforts were put in place for Greenlandic youth to
become as “civilized and educated as possible” in order to influence the rest of the population (Rud 2009, Marquardt 2006). The Lockean principle that “man is not born with a destiny” introduced a civic education “closely connected with endeavors to strengthen the multi-national United Monarchy” (Korsgaard 2000, 313). With the institutionalization of education, new social orders were being introduced to coexist with the existing and emerging ones.

Along with education, RGTD brought new social roles that would ultimately stratify society. In 1782, the Kingdom introduced “The Danish Instrux”, a legal instrument concerned with trade and wage regulations. Under this regulatory framework Inuit were to keep their “national occupation” as proficient hunters sustaining the trade monopoly of RGTD. The idea of preserving hunting went along with the idea of protecting Inuit from Western Civilization to prevent their ways from getting spoiled by the luxuries Danish and Norwegians were used to (Rud 2009, Marquardt 2006; Boel and Thuesen, 2010). However not all Greenlanders were to preserve their ways. The Instrux ruled “mixed blood boys” to be educated to function within the ranks of RGTD (Bobé, 1936, 368 quoted in Rud 2009, 33). By 1850 about 10 percent of the adult male Greenland population made their living as employees, which proportionally meant that there was one employee for every six to eight hunters (Marquardt 2010, 56). This social differentiation between employees who had access to Danish ways and hunters who were protected from them, formally introduced a wage earning socioeconomic layer (Thomsen 1996).

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, education became the means to shape Greenland’s elite. The Greenland Commission tabled two approaches by 1808: education
at home by establishing a Lutheran college to educate teachers in Greenland and
education abroad by sending Greenlander boys to Denmark to learn Danish ways and
customs. The war that ended the Dano-Norwegian monarchy delayed the consolidation of
these education developments for two decades. At long last, around 1837, a systematic
practice of educating Greenlanders in Copenhagen started. Soon after in 1844, a Royal
Decree formalized the establishment of two seminary colleges in Greenland (Wilhjelm
1997 quoted in Rud 2009, 37). With the creation of these two colleges, schooling became
general by the second half of the nineteenth century. Starting with higher learning and
then reaching the wider population, Greenland not only became self-sufficient in the
supply of teachers but also a great majority of Greenlanders were able to read and write

Education at the colleges carried the “preservation vs. civilization” arguments
introduced by the Instrux. The northern college in Jakobshavn (now Ilulissat) was more
liberal and open to the influence of Danish civilization, while the southern college in
Godthab (now Nuuk) was more protectionist and sceptical of introducing Danish ways
into Greenland. Interestingly, Søren Rud (2009) argues, these two positions fed the
debate over whether or not to shift from a monopoly to a free trade. Prominent in the
1850’s, this debate revealed the paternalist approach that characterized the relationships
between Denmark and Greenland. Free trade meant that “real” Greenlanders would
disappear whilst the population of mixed blood people would increase (Marquardt 2006).
Monopoly meant an active role in preserving the “real” Greenland. At the centre of this
debate was the question of what constitutes a “real” Greenlander. The tangible depiction

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10 From time to time, this practice would be contested for its assimilationist approach feeding the debates on cultural preservation.
epitomizing “real” Greenlanders, was that of the hunter surviving in a hostile environment. And, with the triumph of the preservationist approach in 1862, education was shaped by the principle of preserving Greenlanders’ national occupation, advancing the native language and nurturing a Christian spiritual life (International Court of Justice The Hague 1993). The elite of mixed blood young men were then trained both in Greenland and in Copenhagen to embody a precise admixture of indigenous cultural traits and specific “civilized” Danish traits (Rud 2009, 36).

At the turn of the century, Danish rule was well established with thirteen colonies in West Greenland administered locally through councils where Greenlanders were represented by proficient sealers. The legitimacy of Denmark’s rule lay in this early expression of democracy and the implementation of education designed for Greenlanders to cope with “modern” civilization while protecting the operational aspects of Greenlandic culture from the outside world. Finn Lynge, a former consultant for Greenland Affairs at the Ministry of Foreign affairs, summarized the Greenland-Danish education fusion in a 1993 public sitting at The Hague International Court of Justice, as follows:

The last part of the 19th Century witnessed a surge in spiritual life. Illiteracy already had been eradicated. Now a catechists’ college ensured the decisive native influence on the substance of the church’s commitment to the advancement of the people; a native-language newspaper saw the light of the day in 1861, appearing still today; native pictorial art made great strides; and much high-quality, religious poetry was written, greatly treasured by the people (International Court of Justice The Hague 1993, 15)

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11 Built in 1879, Grønlænderhjemmet was the boarding house for Greenlanders in Denmark from 1880 until 1896. While in use, it functioned as an instrument for the colonial administration to control the civilising process in order to ensure that Greenlanders did not lose their connection with their Inuit background (Rud 2009, 29).
The integration of Danish and Greenland culture was instrumental in consolidating the colony. The preservation of the national occupation and its prominence in local politics sustained the trade in Greenlandic products and the operation of the trading posts. Education at the 96 schools and the 2 colleges integrated the functions of the church into the life of West Greenland differentiating the trading posts from the smaller settlements. The overall administration centralized in Copenhagen positioned Denmark as the “motherland” with the moral duty to protect the Greenland nation.

The colonial trilogy of preservation, education, and protection consolidated ethnic-based social stratification, as illustrated by income distribution numbers at the end of the eighteen hundreds. People from the colonial motherland representing the Danish realm as civil servants earned the highest incomes. And while at a senior level income amongst Danish and Greenlander RGTD employees was not significantly different, income disparities became apparent at the bottom of the wage pyramid. At middle and entry-level positions salaries for Danes were 1.5 to 2 times higher than for Greenlanders (mixed-blood). Furthermore, there were vertical and horizontal differences amongst the indigenous Greenlandic population depending not only whether they were employed by RGTD or by the mission but also whether they were hunters trading in their goods to RGTD, or whether they were subsistence hunters. Income disparities were also found amongst trading posts, creating a geographic marker for socioeconomic stratification (Marquardt 2010, 58-69, Sørensen 2006).

Ethnic differentiation amongst Greenlanders was also fed by references to East Greenland. Ilisimatusarfik professor Karen Langaard, investigated *Atuagagdlitit* (Greenlandic newspaper) articles from 1861 to the end of the First World War and found
not only that West Greenlanders distinguished themselves from East Greenlanders but also that this differentiation was instrumental to the construction of the ethnic-national identity. West Greenlanders, Langgård states, considered their eastern relatives, the Tunumiut, “pagan”, “uncivilized”, and even “violent”. She even found similar appellatives stereotyping other Inuit groups outside Greenland. While pejorative stereotypes against East Greenlanders and other Inuit groups may predate colonization, Langgård argues, they became associated with the civilizing project. Difference hence legitimized Danish colonial rule in that “West Greenlanders could view themselves as the civilized people who could save their uncivilised countrymen from the darkness” (Langgård 2010, 199).

In simple words, the closer a Greenlander related to Danish lineage and/or Danish ways, the higher the income and, what is more, the more “civilized” and progressive they would consider themselves to be. With Denmark closing off Greenland to the world (i.e., through trade monopoly) and restraining access to what they deemed a world Greenlanders were not ready for, Danishness became the epitome of progress. Not surprisingly, with the development of democracy in Western Greenland at the beginning of the 20th century, Greenlanders would champion the introduction of more Danish content into education.

In the early nineteen hundreds full parliamentary government was achieved in Denmark giving political parties a greater say in issues that were formerly resolved without wider consultation. Under the new political system the colonial relationship with Greenland came under scrutiny with the Radical Left Party supporting rule by the people and intellectual freedom (Sørensen 2006). With Danish civil servants working in
Greenland, including the head of the teacher training college in Nuuk backing up these principles, a piece of Greenland specific legislation was passed in 1905 separating trade from civil administration.

The new law introduced the first School Act by which the teacher training college in Godthab (Nuuk) was enlarged and the one in Jakobshavn (Iluissat) was closed due to declining enrolment numbers. Although subjects were still predominantly religious, a curriculum reform introduced new subjects reflecting the spirit of the Act, that is, achieving a ‘higher culture’ (Olsen 1994, Langgård 2002, Sørensen 2006). Certainly, the first high-school curriculum was introduced making it possible for students to go on to boarding schools and further their seven-year compulsory education in Julianehåb (now Qaortoq), Gothåb (now Nuuk), and Egedesminde (now Aasiaat) (Gynther 1980).

The elite of young Greenlanders that were selected to undertake higher levels of education in Denmark began criticizing Greenland’s compulsory education for being antiquated (Olsen 1994, Harries 1931). At the centre of their criticism was the lack of Danish instruction in schools preventing wider access to knowledge. Knud Rasmussen, echoed the idea of introducing Danish as a teaching language after meeting Inuit in Alaska who were able to speak English in addition to their mother tongue.12 Rasmussen’s prominent influence supported the demand of Greenlanders in the service of the church and the trade for better opportunities to learn Danish in schools. In January of 1925, the Danish parliament supported the compulsory teaching of Danish for all children ages seven to fourteen (Kleivan 1979).

12Knud Rasmussen, a Greenlander-Danish polar explorer, completed the longest dog sledge journey in history across the top of the Arctic American Continent between 1921 - 1924. Knud Rasmussen travelled from Thule, east Greenland through Canada and Alaska to Nome at the Bering Sea. This expedition was the first attempt to piece together the history of Inuit people from an Inuit perspective. See Report of the fifth Thule Expedition, 1921-1924: the Danish Expedition to Arctic North America in charge of Knud Rasmussen (1946).
Seen as a tool for greater enlightenment, learning Danish came to symbolize access to a bigger literature and wider horizons of knowledge at a moment of significant economic and technological shifts. By the mid to late 1920s two Provincial Councils were already organized to represent Greenlanders’ opinion legitimately at the Danish Parliament. On the economic front, a decline in seal hunting and the establishment of the fishing industry favoured the migration from smaller settlements to bigger ones, increasing Greenlanders’ participation in the colonial occupation structure. Mining and sheep breeding were the other two developments to consolidate settlement to the point that between eighty and ninety percent of all waged occupations were performed by Greenlanders. Along with a wage economy came consumption fuelled by the increased transatlantic tonnage capacity to import goods. Technologically speaking, the introduction of wireless telegraphy and short wave transmitters expanded Greenland’s communication capacity, which, until then, was limited to the monthly newspaper *Atuagagdluitit.* Change brought an awareness of the need to ‘prepare for a future’ when Greenland would finally open to the world.

As the Danish language became associated with progress and access, a national identity began to emerge, displacing the ‘real Greenlander’ archetype. With shared language, history, and love for the country as the core signifiers, identity became less of an occupation (i.e., hunting) and more of a political pursuit. At the time of the outbreak of World War II, national identity could be best described as a vision of “Greenlanders constituting a distinct people with the possibility of obtaining a place amongst the civilized or ‘mature’ nations of the world” (Boel and Thuesen 2010, 24) always in
reference to its ‘motherland’. This is best illustrated in Lund's patriotic poem, "Nunarput Utoqqarsuarnngoravit" adopted as Greenland’s national anthem in 1916:

Our country, who has become so old
Your head all covered with white hair.
Always held us, your children, in your bosom
Providing the riches of your coasts.
As middle children in the family we blossomed here Greenland,
We want to call ourselves before your proud and honourable head.
With a burning desire to develop what you have to give, renewing,
Removing your obstacles our desire to move is forward, forward.
The way of matured societies is our zealous goal to attain;
The effect of speech and letters we long to behold.
Humbleness is not the course Greenland wake up and be proud!
A dignified life is our goal; courageously take a stand (Lund and Frederiksen 1952, 658).

The outbreak of World War II and more precisely, the German occupation of Denmark in 1940, brought Greenland’s isolation to a halt. Henrik Kauffman, the Danish ambassador of the United States at the time, signed an agreement on his own initiative authorizing the United States to defend Greenland and the American Continent from German occupation (United States Department of State 1941). Although education did not experience any reforms, political and economic shifts furthered Greenland’s positioning to negotiate its visions for modernizing the system. Between 1941 and 1945, the standard of living rose due to increased production and trade, resulting in higher earnings for both producers and employees (Beukel et al. 2010). Also, Greenland came under one united administration centralized in Nuuk and wielding enhanced authority.

Aiming at national unification to prevent Greenland from shifting allegiances, Eske Brun, the governor of Greenland, established a Danish-language newspaper and radio broadcasting station that would deliver the news from the world in the Danish language.

13 Denmark was referred to as a ‘mother’ with regard to Greenland, evoking the image of a woman protecting their immature children until they come of age. According to Boel and Thuesen, “Greenlanders judged 1945 to be that very moment” (1993, 14).
As a result, the war years intensified the demand for access to the Danish language to be an active part of the world (Boel and Thuesen 1993, Sørensen 2006).

During the post war years, Greenland expected Denmark to resume its sovereignty over the island. This time, however, Greenland was better positioned to table its demands, including those referring to education. Unambiguously, Greenland requested for Danish to be the language of instruction as the means to achieve equality as voiced by a hunter at the Provincial Council hearing of 1945:

The people of Greenland now understand the need for learning Danish. We do not want to lose our nationality as Greenlanders, but we are eager to widen our horizons and to be able to read Danish books and newspapers. Language difficulties are responsible for the lack of contact between the Danes and Greenlanders (Hunter Egede Boassen, De fornene Grønlandske Landsraads Forhandlinger 1945, 469. Quoted in Kleivan 1979, 121)

Thus, the end of the war carried the aspiration to develop and measure up to economic and cultural standards of other nations. Being part of the Kingdom of Denmark it was only reasonable to meet the standards of fellow Danes:

Let’s say it openly: we want development within the Danish realm and within its framework of social, political, economic and cultural equality. Similar demands, similar duties, similar opportunities for Dane and Greenlander, or in other words, we want to create out of the Greenlander a good Danish citizen (College Teacher, Augo Lygne Grønlandsposten November 1, 1945. Quoted in Boel and Thuesen 1993, 28).

A few post-war uncertainties needed to be cleared before creating a new framework for Danish - Greenland relationships. First Denmark needed to settle the United States’ request to have continued military presence, on the basis of the 1951 North Atlantic Treaty. After arduous negotiations, Denmark and the United States signed this treaty demarcating defence areas from society areas. As argued by Beukel, Jensen, and Rytter (2010) the treaty brought certainty regarding Denmark’s sovereignty over
Greenland in the new international order. However recognized, sovereignty by the allies did not mean Greenland was integrated into the Kingdom of Denmark. At stake was the phasing out of Greenland’s colonial status in compliance with Chapter XI - Article 73 of the United Nations Charter (1945) endorsed by Denmark. To this end, Denmark declared Greenland a non-self governing territory in 1947 and became accountable to the United Nations for Greenland’s economic, social, and education conditions, until deciding on its post-colonial status (Charter of the United Nations and statute of the International Court of Justice 1947).

In 1952 the Special United Nations Political and Decolonization Committee (Fourth Committee) laid down the factors not only for determining self-government but also for the free association with the metropolitan country (United Nations 1952). Relevant to this study, resolution 648 VII of 1952 requested governments to comply with these factors when deciding on the status of a colony, taking into account the principle of “self-determination of peoples” that is, “the manifestation of the freely expressed will of the peoples in relation to the determination of their national and international status for the purposes of Chapter XI of the Charter” (United Nations 1952 Articles 7b and 7c, 563). In case of opting for free association, governments would have to demonstrate people’s political advancement and guarantee their legislative representation and full citizenship on the same basis as other inhabitants (United Nations 1952, Resolution 648 VII, 564).

Greenlanders’ demands for equal status found momentum with the international context created by the 1945 United Nations Charter. Thus, adhering to the wishes freely

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14 Chapter XI of the United Nations Charter established the principle of international accountability. Under this principle Members became accountable for the administration of non-self-governing territories under their rule. For instance, Article 73 in this chapter, made mandatory for the Members to transmit a report to the Secretary General of the United Nations on a regular basis (United Nations Charter 1945).
expressed by the people of Greenland through their chosen representatives, the Danish Constitution was changed in 1953 to integrate Greenland as a part of the Danish Realm.\textsuperscript{15} Irrevocably, in 1954, the United Nations took note of Greenland’s integration into the Danish Realm acknowledging the people of Greenland “had freely exercised their right to self-determination” and achieved “equal constitutional and administrative basis with the other parts of Denmark” (United Nations 1954, Resolution 849-IX, 323).

Tied to the right to equality, self-determination was projected into the postcolonial reorganization of Greenland. Paradoxically, assimilation policies became the means to equalize, accelerating Greenland’s modernization through an unprecedented Danization process. Danization policies were aimed at raising Greenlanders’ standard of living through slowly freeing the economy and preparing Greenlanders to function in a competitive market. However, the equalizing reforms of the Fifties and Sixties intensified development at such a scale that they deepened Greenland’s financial dependency on the state and Danish private capital.

At the outset of the 1950s, Denmark put forward a concentration policy to reach and serve a larger population towards equalisation. The relocation of large populations was reached by concentrating investment where industrialized fisheries could be established. Accordingly, concentration occurred in larger settlements where modernization was most rapid, with Nuuk being consolidated as a centre. Education was also implicated in this development when the Act of 1950 legitimized a de facto centralized school board in Nuuk and made the instruction of the Danish language mandatory, starting with the larger settlements (Act No. 274 of May 27, 1950 Quoted in

\textsuperscript{15} There are doubts on whether belonging to the Danish Crown was endorsed by all the people given the fact that there is no evidence Greenlanders were aware of all alternatives of integration including independence, free-association, and the Faroese self-government model (Sørensen 2006).
The effect of aligning education to concentration was an increase in participation numbers and a decrease in coverage. Between 1950 and 1958 the number of school children rose by 19 percent and the number of classrooms went up by 23 percent, while the number of places with a school decreased 15 percent (Beretninger vedr. Grønland 1960, Quoted in Sørensen, 2006).

The introduction of Danish also brought significant changes in education. First it increased the need for importing Danish teachers to meet the needs of a growing school population and a decreasing number of Greenlander teachers. Second, the growing need for Danish teachers made Greenland’s teachers’ college less relevant in terms of responding to new reforms. To put things into perspective, the ratio between teachers trained in Greenland and teachers trained in Denmark went from 10:1 in 1952 to 1:2 in 1970. Third, the emphasis on Danish worked against the development of the Greenlandic language. Not only did Greenlandic readers become dated but also the number of Greenlandic lessons per week decreased by half especially between 1960 and 1967 when instruction in the native language was postponed to the third grade of elementary school (Gynther, 1980).

Education policies had an effect on postsecondary education. The Act No. 274 of 1950 moved teacher training to Denmark, downgrading the college in Nuuk to elementary education (Grades 1 and 2). The side effect of this measure was a structural salary gap between Danish and Greenlander teachers discouraging the latter from pursuing a teaching career. Such salary gaps were exacerbated by the fact that Danish teachers would get a subsidy to teach in Greenland (Sørensen, 2006, Olsen 1994).

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16 The school board members consisting of the Governor of Greenland, the Church Dean for Greenland and the Director of Education for Greenland, were all based in Nuuk.
Economic disparities in the provision of Greenlandic teachers had severe societal impacts. Danish teachers outnumbered Greenlandic ones and these teachers rarely integrated into Greenlandic communities. The alienating effects of Danish teachers taking over education without being part of Greenland’s society are best described in a research paper published by Hobart and Brant in 1965:

The situation… is intensified by the practice, where a Danish teacher is sent to a small community, of placing him in authority over the native teacher who has taught there all of his life. As a result it commonly happens that an extremely young and professionally immature teacher, perhaps only twenty-one years old and newly graduated from teacher training, is placed over a Greenlander, forty or fifty years of age, who has taught in this community for two or three decades. The policies and procedures of the native teacher are modified by the Dane, which implies that the native teacher is incompetent. Inevitably the native teacher’s morale and self-respect suffer drastically. In a number of communities we heard of native teachers who in this circumstance had become listless, uncaring, and often increasingly given to alcoholism (Hobart and Brant 1965, 54-55).

A reform in 1964 established teacher education parity in Greenland and Denmark with the college having to impart a Danish curriculum. This reform hardly had time to consolidate, as there were doubts whether Greenlanders would be able to cope with higher education standards. Lost in the debate over whether teachers’ training in Nuuk should follow the Danish model, or support the advancement of Greenlandic language learning for the purposes of teaching, Greenland’s postsecondary education institution was pushed to the margins.

Implementing a vocational curriculum to involve young Greenlanders in “modernizing” Greenland was another missed opportunity during the Danization period. Legislation to provide and control apprenticeships was introduced in 1963 and a technical school was inaugurated in Nuuk in 1965 to train artisans, technicians, fishermen, seamen and navigators (Denmark Ministeriet for Grønland, 1966). However a fully-fledged dual
vocational training system, making its programming equivalent to the Danish EFG preparing young people for jobs, was not fully implemented until 1978.\textsuperscript{17} Even when practical components were introduced, the school’s capacity was limited with respect to the accelerated modernization process (Goldbach 2000). As a result, vocational training did not make possible the participation of Greenlander skilled workers in ways that could bring it back to pre-war levels.\textsuperscript{18}

It would be difficult to argue that Greenlanders did not partake in the education reforms that took place during the fifties and sixties. However, while their opinion was increasingly taken into account through the evolving politics of representation, their involvement in the implementation and running of education plans and programs was limited in all sectors, with perhaps the exception of health services.\textsuperscript{19} Even when taking into account some exceptions, the situation by the end of the sixties was one of a demoralized people, whose native language was quickly falling behind, whose new language had no connection with everyday life and whose skills were not appropriate for taking forward the development of their own society. This is how Aqqaluk Lynge, president of the Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC) recounts modernization times:

More schools, clinics, and hospitals were built, and above all, new housing. We watched in astonishment while southern craftsmen worked, buildings rising one after another. When all the buildings were erected, the construction workers went away, leaving us standing there with our hands in our pockets. We were a newly urbanized people, not knowing where to start. We were losing our old ancient skills of hunting and fishing, and gaining a “general knowledge”, which we could take back to the village, and yet not really make much use of. This situation

\textsuperscript{17} The system became operational through Act No. 580 on Labour and Social Services and Act No. 582 on Professional Education (Om Arbejds- Og Socialvæsenet, Lov Nr. 582 Af 1978-11-29 1978, Om Erhvervsmæssige Uddannelser, Lov Nr. 582 Af 1978-11-29 1978).

\textsuperscript{18} Greenlanders comprised less than 25 percent of skilled workers by the end of the 1960s against 90 percent before World War II (Sørensen 2006).

\textsuperscript{19} The tuberculosis crisis at the end of the war brought in the required organizational infrastructure to run a countrywide system staffed with nurses and midwives trained in Denmark. (Denmark Ministeriet for Grønland 1966).
rapidly became frustrating. The need to once again become independent was mounting, nothing could stop it any longer (Lynge 1993, 77).

Not surprisingly, by the beginning of the seventies, there was a generalized awareness that education had failed Greenlanders. Not only was there a fear that the Greenlandic language was endangered, but that its people could die with it. This fear resuscitated the Greenlandic national spirit with a twist. Greenlandicness, or the consciousness of belonging to a distinct ethnic group, would now feed the quest for recognition of difference.

The Greenlanders will cease to exist as a people, and history will accuse the Danes of having committed genocide, even though it may have been unwittingly and with the best intentions, which in my eyes makes it so much the worse. The alternative is one based on the highest degree of self-determination possible (Olsen 1976 Quoted in Haglund 1976, 78).

The right to self-determination was related to, but distinct from, ethnic nationalism. During the Sixties and Seventies the young Greenlandic elite, who had been educated in Denmark, organized themselves and spearheaded a Greenlandic nationalist movement. Three political parties emerged making visible the paradox that Danization had accentuated social and ethnic boundaries. Education debates along nationalist lines oscillated between a) making sure that Greenlandic teachers would not be left behind (i.e., in salaries and career advancement), while persisting in making education in Greenland and Denmark alike; b) making a more Greenlandic Greenland while guaranteeing cohesion between Denmark and Greenland; and c) creating a more independent self-governed Greenland with control over its education system. A series of hearings in the early Seventies regarding the future of the Greenlandic school system led to a proposal for the creation of a system “based on Greenlandic conditions with the native language having greater importance and with the content of courses and the
general aims of the school directed towards Greenland’s prevailing social and occupational conditions (Gynther, 1980 page 42).  

A new Greenlandic model for education was postponed a few years until the establishment of Home Rule. Requested by Greenland’s political parties the Minister for Greenland appointed a commission to draft the plans for self-government (Dahl 2010, Graugaard 2009, Sørensen 2006). Around the same time, in the summer 1977, a preparatory conference was held in Barrow, Alaska, to create the Inuit Circumpolar Conference, now the Inuit Circumpolar Council. This meeting informed the Home Rule negotiations as Greenland became aware of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) signed into law by United States President Richard Nixon. Aqqaluk Lynge, president of ICC, contends that ANCSA not only reinforced Greenlandic people’s desire for self-determination but also influenced the Home Rule negotiations to include the rights of the permanent population to the land, waters, and non-renewable resources (Lynge 1993).

The Greenland Home Rule Act (The Prime Minister's Office of Denmark, 1978) was approved with 73 percent of the Greenlandic population agreeing to the establishment of Home Rule in 1979. The emphasis on Greenlandic distinctiveness that characterized the negotiations with Denmark and the increased awareness concerning Inuit origin, culture, history, and rights championed by the ICC, inaugurated a period of Greenlandization. Marked by the construction of the Greenlandic identity to redefine Greenland - Denmark relationships and the pursuit of self-determination in a wider political arena, education was set to realize a more Greenlandic Greenland.

21 Particularly Siumut (left-centre), Atassut (centre-right), and Inuit Ataqatigiit (left)
2.2.3. Education for a more Greenlandic Greenland

Developing the bureaucratic meanings of Greenlandicness became a fundamental task in the transition to Home Rule. Prior to decolonization, Greenlander meant people from Greenland - mainly Inuit, and Greenlandic their language, that is Kalaallisut.

During Danization, Greenlander came to mean people born and living in Greenland including those with Inuit, Danish and mixed ancestry. In the Home Rule era, Greenlandic referred to Inuit born in Greenland. With “Greenlandic” designating Inuit ancestry and “Greenlander” citizenship rights, the task ahead was that of creating a Greenlandic public education system. The first and obvious step was to review the language policy. Act No.1 of 1980 confirmed Greenlandic as the language of instruction during the first three years of school and increased the time allotted for Greenlandic subjects including history of Greenland, Eskimo religion, and sealing/fishing (Om Folkehøjskoler, Landstingsforordning Nr. 1 Af 1980-10-16 1980). It also organized education in a municipal school system mostly to support settlement schools and preserve elements of the Greenlandic ways still alive outside the economic centres (Goldbach 2000, Rasmussen 2008). Responding to the new Home Rule Government decentralization policy, teacher training progressively introduced a 4-year field-based program of which only the last year had to be completed in the Nuuk campus. All in all, less than ten years after the education act, the ratio of Greenlandic to Danish teachers was 2:1 (Statistics Greenland 2006A).

The foundation of the Inuit Institute, forerunner to the University of Greenland, was also a significant step towards building a Greenlandic Home Rule. Created by act of legislation (Act No 11, 1981) the aim of the Institute was to pursue research and
education in Greenlandic cultural legacy as a whole (*Om Uddannelsessstøtte Ydet Af Grønlands Hjemmestyre 1981*). Suitably, the original Inuit Institute offered two-year academic study programs in Greenlandic grammar, literature, history, and political science within a Greenlandic framework. Education in the Institute provided graduates with a Greenland Bachelor of Arts (BA) level degree transferrable to Danish Universities. In the words of founding faculty member Per Langgård, “the Inuit Institute was a near-classic example of a community college or local university teaching local subjects to local students in accordance to the intentions of local politicians” (2002, 88).

Issues regarding the institute’s capacity to keep up with a holistic approach to education, led to the introduction of the *University Act* (Act No. 3 1989) substituting the Inuit Institute (*Om Ilisimatusarfik, Landstingslov Nr. 3 Af 1989-05-09 1989*). Under the new act Ilisimatusarfik, the University of Greenland, was established with the mandate to provide education, conduct research, and disseminate knowledge on scientific methods and results. Accordingly, it moved higher education away from the Greenlandic nation-building aims that inaugurated the Inuit Institute, prioritizing professional skills over questions of ethnicity. From an Inuit institute to a university for Greenlanders, Ilisimatusarfik was chartered to prepare a limited number of students for posts in the clergy, education, cultural work, and administration (Langgård 2002, Goldbach 2000).

The new university act was passed at the outset of socio-economic circumstances that would shape the education system throughout the nineties. The Home Rule’s program to modernise Greenland’s economic fabric while supporting traditional living in the settlements proved far from feasible to implement. With no return on the investments to promote industrial development, (mostly in the fishing sector) and a heavily subsidized
development policy, the Home Rule Authority increased its debt margins, bringing Greenland to a financial crisis. In 1989, the language of economic rationality made its way to the political agenda leaving fewer opportunities for shaping a Greenlandic system of education (Sørensen 2006).

In 1990 a new Education Act (*Om Folkeskolen Landstingsforordning Nr. 10 Af 1990-10-25 1990*) came into effect endorsing a western comprehensive education system extending the hours of academic subjects that would prepare students to pursue tertiary studies in Greenland or in Denmark. The Act of 1990 also provided for non-compulsory upper-secondary (academic and vocational streams), post-upper secondary (gymnasium and vocational), and tertiary levels (vocational, professional, and university). Other legislation consolidating the institutional framework of Greenland’s education system followed this new Act. Three developments are especially relevant to postsecondary education:

1. The creation of *Inerisaavik*, The Centre for pedagogical development and in-service training of teachers, in 1991. The Centre was created to insure that curriculum, teaching practices, and learning, develop in accordance with the development of Greenlandic society.

2. The re-organization of vocational training providing for local initial training through apprenticeships (*Om Styrelsen Af Erhvervsuddannelsesområdet, Hjemmestyrebekendtgørelse Nr. 20 Af 1991-05-27 1991*). The intention of this modification was to lower the rate of youth unemployment as well as to provide training alternatives for youth aside from vocational schools.
3. The introduction of a new University Act (Om Ilisimatusarfik, Landstingslov Nr. 16 Af 1996-10-31 1996) expanding the terms of Ilismatusarfik’s collegial governance and institutional autonomy. This Act mirrors the Danish University Act of 1993.22

Ahead of Denmark in one respect, the University Act in Greenland adhered Ilisimatusarfik to the European Community Bologna model by adopting the European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System (ECTS).

Throughout the Nineties Greenlanders managed to consolidate a Danish system of education with some Greenlandic modifications attempting to improve local outreach. Overall, new measures accounted for an increase in the quantity of qualified Greenlandic teachers. Indeed, compulsory schooling (Grades 2 to 9) both in towns and settlements (around 80 percent) achieved almost universal net participation. However net participation rates in upper secondary levels remained around 45 percent throughout the nineties. Of greater and continuing concern is the gap between net participation in the towns (around 55 percent) and the settlements (around 3 percent) (Statistics Greenland 2010).

The vocational system in all three levels of training (basic, intermediary, and advanced) also proved unsuccessful in raising the education bar in the trades. On the verge of a new millennium, the modified Danish basic vocational training (EFG) model was deemed inefficient with completion rates plummeting year after year during the nineties (from 46 percent in 1993 to 14 percent in 1999) (Statistics Greenland 2003).

All in all, the nineties saw an appropriation of a Danish education system providing opportunities to those who lived in proximity to the towns and who were

22The act introduced a centralized governance structure with decentralized decision bodies in the university sector University Act Order No. 334 7 May 1993  (OECD 2005)
proficient in the Danish language. The following illustration depicts a general scheme of Greenland’s education system at the turn of the millennium.

Table 3 Greenland’s education system by the end of the nineties

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grad</th>
<th>Language of Instruction</th>
<th>Institutions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Danish*</td>
<td>Bachelor Degree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Danish*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Danish*</td>
<td>Professional Degree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Danish*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Danish*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tertiary Level

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<th>Institutions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>12</td>
<td>Danish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Predominantly Danish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Predominantly Danish</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
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Upper Secondary level

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grad</th>
<th>Language of Instruction</th>
<th>Institutions</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Greenlandic - Danish - English</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Greenlandic - Danish - English</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Greenlandic - Danish - English</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Greenlandic - Danish</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Greenlandic - Danish</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Greenlandic - Danish</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Greenlandic</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Greenlandic</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Greenlandic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Compulsory education

*Except for Greenlandic Linguistics - Literature and professional programs where Greenlandic is required for practice (e.g. Journalism

Source: Author’s compilation from Statistical yearbook 2001-2002 (Statistics Greenland 2003) and Statistics Greenland Databank

2.2.4. From Nation Building to State Formation: Ilisimatusarfik and the Greenland Self-Government

The modernizing path pursued by the Danish government and then by the Greenland Home Rule Government has run parallel to Inuit mobilization around the

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23 With data from cross tabulations within the following tables:
Enrolment in vocational education and training programmes, by sector, school, gender, age and time.
Enrolment in upper secondary level education by sector, school, gender, age and time.
Enrolment in medium and long-cycle higher education, by sector, gender, age, school and time.
circumpolar world projecting into education through non-governmental channels.

Amidst trying to settle rights to non-renewable resources with their respective states, Inuit rights to harvest renewable resources has become the target of organizations for the protection of the environment, namely the International Fund for Animal Welfare (IFAW) and Greenpeace. The activism of such organizations has greatly influenced the international regulation of hunting activities to which Inuit have responded collectively demanding compliance with convened indigenous rights. In 1993 for instance, the Inuit Circumpolar Council host an Arctic Leaders’ Summit to discuss strategies regarding subsistence rights, traditional ecological knowledge and indigenous representation in Arctic related fora.

Participation in International fora, including the International Circumpolar Council as well as the newly created Arctic Council (1996), brought the need to strengthen the role of indigenous peoples in the wider international system of nation-states. In 1997, Greenlander Ingmar Egede founded the International Center of Indigenous Peoples (ITCIP). Focusing on literacy in international organizations, covenants, and legal instruments, ITCIP brings together indigenous leaders with the aim of enabling them to act effectively on matters of indigenous rights and sustainable development. Of the two-week annual sessions hosted by ITCIP, one day is allocated to

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24 I specifically refer to Convention ILO 169. Adopted in 1989, Convention 169 legally bindings its signatories to protect indigenous peoples against discrimination and safeguard their livelihoods. This includes more specifically the following articles in Part VI of the Convention – Education and Means of Communication:

- Article 26 on equal accesses to education
- Article 27 on participation and cooperation in designing, formulating and implementing education programmes and on the right to establish own education institutions and facilities
- Article 28 on teaching children to read and write in their own indigenous language
- Article 29 on imparting general knowledge and skills that will help children to participate fully and on an equal footing in their own community and in the national community (International Labour Organization 1989).
understanding how “Greenlanders run their own affairs, sometimes in partnership with their former colonizer” (ITCIP 2013).

The indigenous rights momentum of the Nineties also championed developments in the area of research. During the Eighties research became a source of contention as people felt victimized by the way it was conducted. Introduced by the Greenland Home Rule in 1997 and under the responsibility of the Ministry of Culture, Education, Research and Clerical matters, the research policy aimed at assuring knowledge that contributes to the sustainable development of the country (Greenland Ministry of Culture, Education, Research and Clerical Matters, 1997). Accordingly, the Home Rule established several research institutions for Greenland to appropriate and produce its own knowledge. Ilisimatusarfik, the Greenland Institute on Natural Resources, The Greenland National Museum and Archives and Statistics Greenland were all created during the first two decades of the Home Rule.

In the early 2000s two streams of thought permeated the education arena, bringing new reforms to the system. The first stream stems from the challenges in sustaining traditional livelihoods in the face of continued environmental pressures of global magnitude. The second stream stems from the settlement of rights to non-renewable resources. Should education re-skill Greenlandic hunters in support of alternative income generating activities, or maintain the traditional knowledge and expertise that has been kept by them? Should the system respond to new economic sectors? Should education position Greenland within the Arctic Region? These questions would shape new education developments in the first decade of the 2000s.
In 1999, The Home Rule deemed it necessary to revise Greenland’s position within the unity of the realm after having taken over “practically all fields of responsibility that may be transferred under the Home Rule Act” (The Greenland-Danish Self Government Commission 2008, 3). Appointed in 2004, the Greenland-Danish Self-Government Commission endorsed a Self-Government Arrangement scheduling the control of the mineral resource area, the administration of justice, legislative capacity, and financial regulation (White Paper No. 1497). The Commission also drafted an agreement for taking over unforeseen fields of responsibility. Of relevance to the postsecondary education sector was the proposal for economic self-sustainability reducing Government subsidies to “zero kroner” overtime. Pairing subsidy reductions with mineral resources exploitation returns, the commission’s proposal tied increased Self-Government with increased Greenland economic responsibility.25

In May 2008, the Commission handed over its White Paper to the Greenlandic and the Danish premiers. A guiding referendum was held in Greenland on November of the same year with 75.5 percent of Greenlanders voting for the introduction of Self-Government. On the summer solstice of 2009, the Act on Greenland Self-Government (Act no. 473 of 12 June 2009) came into force replacing the Greenland Home Rule arrangement established in 1979 (Greenland and Denmark 2009).

The crafting and achievement of the Self-Government Act created a context for Greenland to access the world economy independently. With a new economy in the horizon that would gradually substitute Danish block grants, the language of demand-

25 The block grants from the Danish state are hereby fixed at 2007 levels. Accordingly 50 percent of earnings from mineral exploitation exceeding 75 mio. DKK would be subtracted from the annual block grant (The Greenland-Danish Self Government Commission 2008).
driven education and cost-efficient governance permeated the education system, especially at the upper secondary and tertiary levels from 2000 onwards.


Granted on the basis of the “Greenland Treaty” of 1984, the Home Rule sought the European Community’s cooperation to implement its Education Programme. The first phase of the GEP (2006-2012) targeted two main groups: 1) elementary school leavers; and 2) unskilled workers under 50 who are unemployed, or in threatened trades and/ or breadwinners (Greenland Ministry of Culture, Education, Research and The Church, 2006). Overall the first phase portrays a strategic move towards a demand-oriented education targeting employment in the primary and secondary sectors of the economy.

26 Following a consultative referendum in 1982, Greenland withdrew from the European Community on 1 February 1985, when the Treaty of Withdrawal of 13 March 1984 (“the Greenland Treaty”) came into force and Greenland became one of the Overseas Countries and Territories (OCTs) associated with the Community. The Greenland Treaty emphasises cooperation and development aspects. More precisely, its preamble refers to "arrangements being introduced which permit close and lasting links between the Community and Greenland to be maintained and mutual interests, notably the development needs of Greenland, to be taken into account". Until now, cooperation had been restricted to the fisheries sector (Council of the European Union 2006).
Four years into the programme the gains in student participation in upper secondary, medium, and long cycle education (25 percent in average) were offset by annual drop-out rates that continue to oscillate between 20 and 25 percent. The qualitative evaluation of the program highlights the problem that the system is not prepared for the multiple transitions students have to go through to pursue higher levels of education. From Greenlandic to Danish, from compulsory school to upper-levels, from settlements to towns, students are required to function in two very distinct cultural realms. Moving forward, the programme evaluation recommends, *culture* cannot be taken lightly (Watt Boolse, 2010).

While higher education was meant to be the focus of the second phase of the GEP (2013-2020), there are some provisions in the first one that involved Ilisimatusarfik. These included the creation of new programs with a focus on social and health services, enrolment increases, diversification of program delivery, and improvement of research capacity. Encompassing these objectives, the GEP proposed the building of a University Park in Nuuk. In 2007, Ilimmarfik was inaugurated, grouping all research institutions including Ilisimatusarfik, Statistics Greenland, the National Archives, the National Library, and the professional schools (Greenland Ministry of Culture, Education, Research and The Church 2006, Greenland Ministry of Labour and Vocational Training 2007).

The preoccupation for culturally relevant education has run in parallel to that of preparing for a globalizing world. Alongside the General Education Programme certain developments display efforts that intersect with both. In 2002 a new school act reforming compulsory education (Act No. 8 of 21 May, 2002) was introduced after a broad
consultation. People from North America and Scandinavia with experience in indigenous education participated in several conferences bringing together schoolteachers, administrators, parents, and municipal politicians. With the purpose of creating a flexible school system, the new act introduced Atuarfítsialak or The Good School reform. Atuarfítsialak aims at developing knowledge of Greenlandic culture as well as other cultures to build “a sense of responsibility towards society and its interaction with nature” (Triformål Samt Fagformål Og Læringsmål for Folkeskolens Fag Og Fagområder, Hjemmestyrebekendtgørelse Nr. 16 Af 2003-06-24 2003).

The preoccupation with culture also reached the upper-secondary education level. In 2008 a new regulation amended the general education curriculum for grades 10-12, which was essentially Danish, integrating Greenland-related content in the subjects: Arts, Philosophy, Geography, History, Sport, Music, Psychology, Religion, and Social Studies. Accordingly, the reform enforces the participation of Greenlandic teachers in upper-secondary education (Om Ændring Af Bekendtgørelse Om Grønlands Gymnasiale Uddannelse Og Om Studieforberedende Enkeltfagsundervisning, Bekendtgørelse Nr. 764 Af 2008-07-11 2008).

As reforms in compulsory and upper-secondary levels aim at shaping an education that is reflective of Greenland’s geographic, demographic, and social conditions, the university sector experienced a new reform along the lines of the 2003 Danish University Act. In November 2007, a new University act was introduced by act of legislation (Om Ilisimatusarfik Landstingslov Nr. 19 Af 2007-11-19 2007) changing Ilisimatusarfik’s governance, administration, employment, and program structure.
As Greenland achieves self-government, Ilisimatusarfik consolidates a Danish university model that is responsive to its society. Nothing in the new university act provides for linking higher education with Inuit culture, leaving to the Board to define the terms under which Ilisimatusarfik serves a society envisioning statehood by reducing its economic ties to Denmark and an indigenous society asserting its rights through non-governmental channels. With the act’s inclusion of “society” as the *raison d’être* of Ilisimatusarfik, Greenland’s university is positioned to address or avoid conflictive aims while remaining true to the principles of academic freedom and institutional autonomy. It is precisely for these principles that Ilisimatusarfik offers a window to look at the symbolic and material underpinnings of Greenlanders right to self-determination.

2.3. *Nunavut: Our land*

2.3.1. Explorers and settlers

As told by the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK), Inuit recognize *Sivullirmiut*, as the first people crossing the Arctic eastward from the north coast of Alaska to as far as southern Greenland. Overtime the *Sivullirmiut* established living and hunting grounds differentiated by regions. Such regional groups have remained reasonably stable up to the present time (Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami 2004).

Based on the knowledge that has been passed on over generations, Canadian Inuit recognize *Sivullirmiut* to be their earliest ancestors whose way of life resembles that of a new wave of ancestors arriving from Alaska about 1000 years ago. *Taissumanialungmiut*, are Inuit immediate ancestors who developed the technology and skills required to harvest the large whales of the northern seas. Eventually displacing the *Sivullirmiut*, the

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27 *Sivullirmiut* are known by archaeologists as the Dorset Culture (500 BCE–1500 CE).
28 *Taissumanialungmiut* are known by archaeologists as the Thule Culture (AD 1000).
Taissumanialungmiut developed a trading relationship with the Norse through which they acquired metal tools perfecting their hunting technologies (Library and Archives Canada 2005, McGhee 2010). By the time of the Little Ice Age in the sixteenth century the Taissumanialungmiut had already had contact with European whalers, traders, and explorers. Trading furs, ivory, skins, baleen and other goods with European merchants in exchange for metal tools and wooden boats, drove the contact between the immediate ancestors of Inuit and the Europeans (McGhee 2010). Except for technological improvements, these early trade relationships appeared of no consequence in the lives of the Taissumanialungmiut (Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2004). However, there was more at stake than exploration and trade. The expansion of the Kingdoms supporting mercantile endeavours set the stage for an eventual transition to sustained contact and colonization.

Between […] 1576 and […] 1848, about 22 explorers entered our territory. Not all of these had any direct impact on the course of our recent history. Nevertheless, with each trip, the map of the Arctic became more European and then our land itself started to be claimed by outsiders (Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami 2004, 10).

Indeed, mapping the Arctic and searching for a trade route in the northern sea became a crucial task after Spain and Portugal gained full control of the sea routes to China and the East Indies by virtue of the Papal Treaty of Tordesillas of 1494.29 Relevant to Canadian-Arctic history and to the Canadian Inuit in particular, is the chain of events preceding French and British actions. Challenging the Treaty of Tordesillas and the subsequent Treaty of Zaragoza (1529), the King of France convinced Pope Clement VII to modify the papal bulls for other Kingdoms to earn title to unclaimed lands in the New World. The French approach originated the idea that colonization could protect discovery

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29 Signed by Pope Alexander VI following the return of Christopher Columbus, the Tratado de Tordesillas of June 7, 1494 divided the lands outside Europe between Portugal and Spain along a meridian 370 leagues off the west coast of Africa (Tordesillas 1494 1994).
claims. The British followed a different approach by cutting ties to the Roman Catholic Church, removing all formal obstacles (i.e. papal bulls) for English privateers to explore new trade routes (Grant 2010, Draper 1857).

Attempts of France and Britain to expand their lands and maritime routes carved the beginnings of commercial activity under colonial auspice. Between 1525 and 1541 the already established trade route along the St. Lawrence River, became the axis of the French empire in North America. Of special relevance, was Martin Frobisher’s arrival to Baffin Island in 1576 in search of the Northwest Passage making it the first time a European claimed possession of Arctic land in the name of Queen Elizabeth I of England. Frobisher’s somewhat successful return to London furthered British’s efforts to conquer the Northwest route and explore the gold riches of the Circumpolar World. Although subsequent voyages proved unsuccessful in material riches, Frobisher’s expeditions set a precedent for further exploring and taking actual possession of the territories north of the 60th parallel (Cooke 2003).

During the seventeenth century the whaling industry was flourishing while the British and the Dutch explorers were attempting to find the Northwest Passage. The charting of British explorers led to further explorations for the British realm to expand trading opportunities along the Hudson’s Bay and Straits.30 When King Charles II “claimed all the territory which the discovery of the Straits and Bay confer on the British Crown” (Draper, 1857, 6), he conceded Royal Charter to “The Company of Adventures of England Trading into the Hudson’s Bay” otherwise known as the “The Hudson’s Bay Company” (HBC). Governed by his cousin, Prince Rupert of the Rhine, the HBC

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30 In 1960 King Charles II backed two exploratory voyages confirming that trading along Hudson’s bay would allow access to the northwest bypassing the St.Lawrence river (Grant 2010).
Charter reckoned and reputed Rupert’s Land as one of the British Plantations or Colonies in America (King Charles II 1884).

Under the assumption that Rupert’s land was *Terra nullius*, that is a land belonging to no one, the HBC was given the power to exercise governance on behalf of the British Crown while pursuing its own interests. All through the Royal Charter there is no provision making the HBC responsible for the wellbeing of the Native traders they came in commercial relationship with, or the families living along the trading posts it established. Thus, for over 150 years, fur trading became the basis for British sovereignty over a vast territory without any investment in the colonial project (Grant 2010, Canada Crown Lands Department 1857).

Throughout the eighteenth century, the HBC trade routes along Hudson’s Bay proved of strategic importance, so much so, that it became the theatre for ongoing struggles with French merchants over trading territories and rights. In the early 1800s the North West Company from Montreal was at continuous war with HBC. By the time the conflict came to a resolution through a forced merger in 1821, the North West Company had expanded to what was to become Western Canada. Accordingly, the merger extended HBC’s exclusive trade rights from Labrador to the Pacific and from the Pacific Northwest to the Arctic Ocean (*Empire of the Bay* 1998, HBC Heritage 2012, Brown, 1980, Davies 1966). Extended rights came with new responsibilities. In fact, the amended Royal Charter of 1842 (restated in 1859) made HBC responsible for the care of

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31 *Terra nullius* derives from Roman law and is used in international law to describe territory, which has never been subject to the sovereignty of any state.

32 The North West Company was formed in 1783 by fur traders of Montreal and the biggest competitor of HBC.

33 Several circumstances forced the merging of the North West Company and the Hudson’s Bay Company including: crisis of the fur industry by over-harvesting of the beaver, the Destruction of one of the North West Company’s Post by the Americans during the War of 1812, Competition with American Free Traders and the Battle of Seven Oaks. All these circumstances weakened the position of the North West Company leaving it with no choice but to agree to a merger.
Aboriginal peoples, the promotion of settlement, and the mapping of the vast territory it was granted (Canada Crown Lands Department 1857, McNeil 1982, Grant 2010). It is only in the mid eighteen fifties then, that territorial expansion and mercantile ventures were linked to missionary work.

Given that most of HBC’s activities were conducted in subarctic Canada, missions would initially establish themselves in First Nations and Métis territories. While it would take a few decades for missions to get established in what is now Nunavut (1894), missionary work along western and southern HBC trading posts had a deep effect on the spread of literacy in Inuktitut dialects. 34 For instance, the introduction of a syllabic system to fit the Cree language proved so successful in expanding literacy by word of mouth that Anglican missionaries adapted it to the Eskimo dialects of Eastern Arctic. Edmund James Peck, the Anglican missionary who developed the Inuktitut syllabics, succeeded in teaching the orthography to Inuit of Little Whale River who passed the system along from one to another. 35 The use of syllabics was generalized in Baffin Island, almost two decades before the establishment of the first missionary station that far north in 1894 (Macpherson 1991, 32, Brooks 1970).

During the first two hundred years of European transit and settlement in subarctic Canada and explorations in Arctic Canada, no whalers wintered in the Arctic hence Inuit patterns of seasonal land remained for the most part unaffected. This would change with the arrival of American, English, and Scottish whalers who established year round

34 The first missions established in Eastern Arctic around 1894 (Macpherson 1991).
35 In the 1840’s the HBC encouraged the establishment of the English Wesleyan Church in Cree territory to stop the southward drift of First Nations’ free traders. Reverend James Evans, who converted the Upper Canada Ojibwa to Christianity and translated the Bible in their tongue by creating a Syllabic script, was chosen to pioneer conversion in the territory given to the HBC. Modifying the Syllabic system to fit the Cree language Evans succeeded in introducing a written language so simple that literacy spread rapidly amongst the Cree population through word of mouth (Macpherson 1991, 32).
stations in Pond Inlet and Cumberland Sound between 1840 and 1850. With the peak of the whaling industry in 1870s, HBC also expanded its trading posts northward (Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami 2004, Bonesteel 2008). It is around this time that Canada bought Rupert’s Land gaining control over Arctic lands and peoples. At the turn of the century, the combination of increased settlement, trade expansion, and territorial transfers would bring a dramatic shift in Inuit way of life.

When the provinces of Canada (now Ontario and Quebec), Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick were united into one Dominion under the Crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland on 1 July 1867, Canada was given jurisdiction over the welfare of the Provinces to promote the interests of the British Empire (Canada 1971). Establishing a federation with specific division of powers, provincial governments retained authority over local matters including education. The federal government was given authority over national interests, including the right to legislate in matters related to “Indians and Lands Reserved for Indians” (Ibid, S. 91(24)). Under this specific provision, the Parliament of Canada enacted the Indian Act of 1876 outlining legal rights for registered Indians, their bands and the system of Indian reserves (Canada 1981). The Indian Act would extend the federal government’s power to make laws affecting “Indians” to Inuit 1939.

The British North America Act of 1867 also provided for the admittance of Rupert’s Land and the North-western Territory or either of them into Canada (Canada 1971, S. 146). When Canada pursued the admission of these two territories, the British Parliament passed an Act granting the HBC powers to sell its rights and privileges over Rupert’s Land. Both territories entered confederation on July 15, 1870 under the name of
Northwest Territories once the terms and conditions of the sale of Rupert’s Land were negotiated with the HBC.

The Northwest Territories inherited boundary uncertainties as the northern limits of the HBC territory had never been conclusively settled and the status of adjacent islands in the Arctic was indeterminate. Avoiding a potential contravention of the Monroe Doctrine, the United Kingdom transferred the Arctic islands to Canada in 1880.\textsuperscript{36} By way of this transfer, “the territories in question were subject to measures of sovereignty and control, both before and after the transaction was completed” (Smith 1963, 69). With a vague definition of the lands that had been transferred, the Northwest Territories were gradually whittled away to create new provinces and add land to existing ones. By 1905, the Parliament of Canada had created the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan and the Yukon Territory, from portions of the land that comprised the Northwest Territories. It had also conveyed land to Quebec, Ontario, and Manitoba (Yellowknife 2008). The boundaries of the new territory were set in 1912 and remained fixed until the creation of Nunavut in 1999.

For a few years there was an expectation that the Northwest Territories would attain provincial status. But in 1905, after the creation of Saskatchewan and Alberta, the territory returned to its colonial constitutional status of 1870 with a Commissioner and appointed Territorial Council governing the territory from Ottawa until 1966. For most of these years, the federal government maintained an official policy of keeping Aboriginal and Inuit living a “traditional” way of life; hence it was reluctant to either increase funding for missionary societies or develop a system of education in the North

\textsuperscript{36} Without clarity on colonial boundaries, Britain’s assertion of title to the Arctic territories would have contravened the Monroe Doctrine. According to the Monroe Doctrine, European nations’ attempts to colonize land in the Americas are deemed as acts of aggression requiring U.S. intervention.
(Canada 1980, Macpherson 1991, Bonesteel 2008). The preservationist argument is debatable when considering other developments that affected Inuit livelihoods. This brings me back to the history of the HBC, the missions along the trading posts, and the beginnings of missionary education.

When the HBC negotiated the terms and conditions for surrendering their privileges, it gained the right to continue trading operations without special taxes or tariffs, along with acres of land both adjacent to existing posts and further west (Newman 1987 quoted in Grant 2010, 141). Minimum regulations and economic momentum led to the HBC’s expansion in the late eighteen and early nineteen hundreds.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the depletion of bowhead whale resources and the decline in the demand for baleen marked the economic shift towards exploitation of fox fur. Incentives to intensify Inuit productivity diverted Inuit from their traditional subsistence activities. 37 With a decreased range of resources, families became reliant on the food the HBC provided prompting Inuit to live a semi-nomadic life and making missionary work feasible (Bonesteel 2008, Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami 2004, Defalco and Dunn, 1972). With the aid of government grants and charity from the Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches, missions provided basic education and health services around HBC posts in the Eastern Arctic (Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami 2004, Macpherson 1991, Duffy 1988). Missionary Education started with day schools where classes were held during the short periods when Inuit congregated around the trading posts with the occasional attempt of camp teaching. All in all this meant a few hours of Christian teachings a few times a year aiming at preserving Inuit occupations and kinship relationships and eradicating the Inuit belief system (Macpherson 1991, 33).

37 Incentives included credit for firearms and ammunition and a high price for fox pelts.
Four missionary residential schools where Inuit children attended were established in the Northwest Territories before federal ones opened in the Fifties. In very small numbers, Inuit children would spend four to five years in these schools learning English, essential mathematics and some basic health training (Macpherson 1991). All things considered, missionary education in this period served conversion purposes and was never systemically conceived to adapt schooling to nomadic societies.

A limited education in coverage and depth, missionary work had a more direct influence through health services than education. By 1940 there were eleven hospitals in the Northwest Territories, nine of which were operated by missions (Bonesteel 2008). Paraphrasing a missionary quoted in the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami heritage narrative, medical work helped building up an influence, which became a dominant factor in turning people to Christ (Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami 2004, 13). Arguably, such influence became stronger in the 1930s with the sharp decline of the fur trade exacerbating reliance on missionary dispensaries. Counteracting the moral and physical impact of intensified commercial activity, missionary work grew to be indispensable for Inuit survival in the newly introduced boom and bust cycles of the economy.

Missionaries were not the only ones performing the scarce welfare work. Since the transfer of the Arctic islands, the Royal Northwest Mountain Police (NWMP) now the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), established posts to keep pace with the expansion of HBC and missionary activity. While the original purpose of the RCMP was that of ensuring Canadian sovereignty over its Arctic territory and resources, it has also

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38 Prior to 1955 less than 15 percent of school aged Inuit children were enrolled in residential schools in The Northwest Territories (Igloliorte 2010).
39 The fur trade peaked in the 1920s and then declined after 1930 because of overtrapping, the development of legislation to protect Arctic wildlife and falling prices for furs based on market surplus (Diubaldo 1992).
40 That is alcoholism, malnourishment, and diseases for which Inuit had no remedy including measles, influenza, syphilis, and tuberculosis.
served the role of acculturating Inuit to the Canadian legal system (Bonesteel 2008). Although independent from the church, the RCMP policing duties legitimized missionaries’ Christian conversion efforts.41 Handing over economic enterprises to privateers and social services to the police and the Church, Canada governed at a distance complying with the minimum necessary to assert sovereignty over its Arctic territories.

The 1930s economic depression and the participation of the United States of America in World War II coincided with the shift in the relationship between the Government of Canada and Inuit. The collapse of fox pelt prices and the scarcity of land resources created widespread starvation among Inuit across the Arctic prompting the federal government to issue relief to Inuit. The costs of the relief program revealed the lack of clarity on the status of Inuit, as they were neither provided for in the Indian Act nor in the Northwest Territories Act. In 1939, the Supreme Court extended the federal government power to make laws affecting Indians granted by the Indian Act, apply to Inuit (Bonesteel 2008, Diubaldo 1992). Even though the path was now clear to develop a comprehensive Inuit policy, the onset of World War II delayed government attempts to do so. Paradoxically, the War itself was a catalyst for sustained federal interest in the north.

As related in my historic narrative for Greenland, when World War II broke in 1939, the American government focused on protecting the North Atlantic region transportation routes and on establishing defence lines against possible attacks. At that time, the United States and Canada signed the Ogdensburg Agreement (1940) under which they were to coordinate the defence of North America. As part of the agreement,

41 According to several RCMP reports of the 1920s and 1930s the ‘triumph’ of Christian over Inuit belief systems and shamanism represented a reduction in the type of crime the RCMP typically prosecuted (Hamlet of Chesterfield Inlet 2012).
Canada leased several British bases to the United States granting permission to American service people to be stationed across the Canadian Arctic. During the early forties, American army personnel heavily criticized the Canadian government’s “preservationist” policies designed to keep Inuit living a traditional way of life (Bonesteel 2008).

The United States’ intentions to expand Arctic infrastructure for commercial and defence purposes sparked Canadian sovereignty fears. Aiming at greater presence in the North, the government decided to re-examine its welfare policies towards Inuit. In 1944 the government requested a series of studies to investigate the situation of Northern Education (Macpherson 1991).\(^\text{42}\) It was only then when the government decided to provide Northern communities with the same quality of programming as that of southern Canada. Part of an overall “Northern Vision”, education, along with housing and health, was tied to the creation of settled Inuit communities that would live off the waged exploitation of non-renewable resources (Grant 1991, Bonesteel 2008). Given their crown-ward status, Inuit and First Nations education became the responsibility of the federal government while education of white children and Métis, were under the responsibility of the Northwest Territorial Government. This division operated until after 1970 (Macpherson 1991).

2.3.2. High modernism and education in the Eastern Arctic bypassing the land and its people

The spirit of Cold War deterrence tainted federal intervention in the Eastern Arctic. Designed and implemented in a highly militarized Arctic, Canada’s modernization policies served the purposes of building a national identity standing on a

\(^{42}\) Between 1944 and 1951 a number of reports were written on the state of Canadian education in the Northwest Territories including: The 1944 Moore report, the 1947 Wright Report, The 1947 McKinnon Report and The 1951 Low Report.
conquered “True North strong and free”.\textsuperscript{43} Sovereignty came at the expense of assimilating the \textit{True North} to the national life of southern Canada (Farish and Lackenbauer 2009).

Modernizing the Arctic became an act of engineering that would envision new technologies to transform an equally machinated environment. The imagined “North” soon became the site for U.S.-Canadian scientific missions and military interventions along with government-led social experiments. By the late Fifties the establishment of research stations and the construction of defence project sites like the Distant Early Warning Line (DEW Line) nurtured the futuristic vision that the government foresaw for the North.\textsuperscript{44} Take for instance the Prime Minister John G. Diefenbaker’s speech inaugurating the 1958 election campaign, the year after the DEW Line was finished:

As far as the Arctic is concerned, how many of you here knew the pioneers in Western Canada? I saw the early days here. Here in Winnipeg in 1909, when the vast movement was taking place into the Western plains, they had imagination. There is a new imagination now. The Arctic. We intend to carry out the legislative programme of Arctic research, to develop Arctic routes, to develop those vast hidden resources the last few years have revealed. Plans to improve the St. Lawrence and the Hudson Bay route. Plans to increase self-government in the Yukon and Northwest Territories. We can see one or two provinces there (Diefenbaker 1958, quoted in Byers 2009A).

The creation of defence project sites in cooperation with the United States created an opportunity for the government to enact a relocation policy in the high Arctic (Resolute Bay). A well-developed experiment was put forward “to work out a method by which Eskimos may be trained to replace white employees in the north” (Tester and

\textsuperscript{43} This is a line from Canada’s National Anthem adopted on July 1, 1980. This line has remained unchanged from the original patriotic poem “O Canada” by Weir, written in the late nineteenth century (Canadian Heritage 2011).

\textsuperscript{44} In 1951 the DEW Line construction commenced as a joint Canada–United States of America cooperation project. Radar early warning stations were placed to counter the Soviet air threat against North America. This project was the precursor to the 1957 North American Air Defence Command Agreement (NORAD) to coordinate defence in North America (National Defence and the Canadian Forces 2005).
Kulchyski 1994, 138). Arguably, such replacement was unfeasible by design as the experiment only provided for menial and seasonal employment in order to preserve “the native ways” of hunting and trapping during the summertime. With no education and training mechanisms in place to bridge skill and cultural gaps and the harshness of the high Arctic environment for which relocated Inuit were unprepared, the experiment resulted in a failed attempt to introduce a sustainable wage economy and preserve a subsistence economy (Grant 1991, Duffy 1988, Farish and Lackenbauer 2009, Qikiqtani Inuit Association 2010).

Cooperation during the Cold War was conceived at the same time as the government of Canada was taking control over the welfare of northern communities. The first social policy realizing Canada’s responsibility for Inuit and thus recognizing their citizenship, was “The Family Allowance”. The Family Allowance marked the transition from charity work to welfare policies requiring federal presence in Inuit territories. To effectively do this, the establishment of government agencies throughout the fifties was accompanied by a policy of administrative relocation. The dominant idea that Inuit were on the verge of extinction made government led relocation a moral duty. However, the survival of northern peoples was not the only thing at stake. Canada’s need to assert sovereignty over untapped mineral and oil riches was also woven into the social planning of the Eastern Arctic. Justified by humanitarian and sovereignty principles, relocation

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45 Part of Canada’s post-war reconstruction plan, the Family allowance was intended to support parents with the costs of raising children after the war. The Family Allowance became universal in 1944 and Inuit became eligible within one year when the Department of National Health and Welfare was made responsible for their wellbeing (Duffy 1988, Kitchen 1987).

46 By 1953, a classification system had been developed to guide policy makers. The system provided three scenarios to assess when the only option for Inuit was relocation: 1. In areas where the natural resources would support the inhabitants, it was decided that their basic way of life was to be maintained. 2. In areas where permanent white settlements existed, Inuit would be educated to adapt to this new situation. 3. In areas, which could not continue to support the present population, attempts would be made to move Inuit to areas with greater natural resources (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples 1997, Volume 1 - Looking Forward Looking Back. Part Two: False Assumptions and a Failed Relationship, chapter 11 - Relocation of Aboriginal Communities, page 438)
found little political resistance (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples 1997, Qikiqtani Inuit Association 2010). On the ground however, dismissing the subjects of government rationales proved deficient and ineffective, making relocation extremely traumatic:

I don’t know exactly what the year was but I was about 6-7 years old. We had to move to Pond Inlet from Mount Herodier. A teacher came down to our camp and told us that we had to go to school. ... Knowing there was no housing in Pond Inlet, we ended up in a tent near the river. The whole winter we stayed in the tent. It was so difficult for us. We didn’t have any food to eat. Every morning we woke up to everything frozen. ... We left everything at our camp. We didn’t have anything in the tent except for sleeping bags, pots, cups. All I remember is my grandmother trying to use a teapot to cook with. And that was for the whole winter. Our grandpa in the winter would try to pick up some cardboard boxes and put them in around and inside the tent, and when we had enough snow, he would build an igloo around the tent to keep us warm. It was difficult for us, not knowing, coming to the community like that and not having housing (Apphia Kiliktee of Pond Inlet, quoted in Qikiqtani Inuit Association 2010, 14).

The welfare infrastructure developed during the fifties and sixties was only part of a more comprehensive plan to solve the “Eskimo problem”. All in all assimilation policies were justified by the government’s intention to develop a full-fledged wage economy (i.e., via defence projects and resource based development) that would eventually complement the already eroded traditional one. Hence, when government education effectively established in the Eastern Arctic in 1953 the policy route carried the purpose of enabling Inuit participation in a future wage economy (Library and Archives Canada 1957-1976). However, federal controlled schools were designed to deliver basic

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47 The “Eskimo Problem” was a term first used in “The Future of Canadian Eskimos” conference in May 1952. It was used to denote the unstable nature of Arctic Economy, Inuit poor health and the growing dependence on government benefits. Seeing the hunting economy as doomed the government sought the development of the North through mining and petroleum exploration. The aim became then to prepare Inuit to participate in the wage economy (NAC RG22, volume 254, file 40-8-1, volume 2 [1949-1952], quoted in Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples Volume 1 - Looking Forward Looking Back. Part Two: False Assumptions and a Failed Relationship - Chapter 11 - Relocation of Aboriginal Communities 1997, reference No. 152).

48 Federal government education effectively established with the appointment of the sub-Committee on Eskimo Education in 1952 (which lasted until 1960) and the creation of the Arctic Education District in 1953 under the
education borrowed from the south (English literacy, numeracy and basic social and natural sciences), manual instruction (craftsmanship, sewing and handicrafts), and the promotion of health and survival (Sub-Committee on Eskimo Education 1952 quoted in Macpherson 1991, 116).49 Far from the original policy intentions, a system of non-denominational day and residential schools along with denominational hostels expanded between the late fifties enrolling over 1000 Inuit students (from over a 100 in late forties) in 25 schools in the Arctic Education District (Canada 1960).50

Schooling affected Inuit families not only by increasing the pressure to relocate but also by sending their children away from home.51 In fact hostel and residential schooling removed children from their parents’ care for up to ten months of each year (Bonesteel 2008, 82). Here is how residential school survivor Peter Irniq puts it:

We weren’t able to communicate with our parents for the entire nine months that we were in Chesterfield Inlet. We just didn’t have communication facilities; no telephones. I remember I got two letters from my mother that particular year in 1958 and 1959 (Igloliorte 2010, 3)

There were also cases where the government sent children to the south to attend public junior, high, and postsecondary schools as part of an experiment of social engineering (Greenwald et al. 2009). By 1964 75 percent of school-aged Inuit children had attended residential schools. As truth would be told later on, Inuit children underwent long-term hardships in the system from physical and sexual abuse, to the systematic

49 The Book of Wisdom for Eskimos was the most salient tool for promoting health and survival in the Eastern Arctic. It was a non-religious book published in English and in syllabics by the Department of National Health and Welfare and the Bureau of Northwest Territories and Yukon Affairs. (Harper 2012).
50 The federal government delegated control of hostels to the Anglican and Catholic churches. As contended by Dave King, this was done in part as a compromise with the churches after removing their control over education of Inuit and First Nations (King 2006).
51 For families to receive social assistance (i.e., family allowance) their children were often required to attend school. The location of schools in larger northern settlements was one of a number of factors encouraging migration to these communities (Qikiqtani Inuit Association 2010, Inuit Tapirrit Kanatami 2004).
undermining their language and culture (Igloliorte 2010). Even more troublesome was the fact that no jobs awaited the young Inuit who underwent this early government education system. “As a result, the region became a place of high unemployment where formerly self-sufficient families often had little choice but to become dependent on social assistance” (Qikiqtani Inuit Association 2010, 28).

In the early sixties criticism of the school system came to a head exposing the defects in the *Northern Vision*. Concerned by the failures of government education and its alienation effects, principals, teachers, and practitioners working in the Arctic District urged for an education reform:

> Reform is urgently needed, for the product of this educational system is a young Eskimo or Indian who despises his own traditions, and who not only does not know how to live as his fathers lived but who does not know enough of Canadian culture and technology to be integrated successfully into it either. (Don Hepburn, Assistant Principal of Sir Alexander Mackenzie School in Inuvik, 1961, quoted in Macpherson 1991, 162)

Pressures from educators influenced minor reforms including a new curriculum and materials that were more relevant to Inuit life. They also influenced the creation of training programs to sensitize southern teachers as well as courses for Inuit classroom assistants to address language and cultural barriers to teaching and learning (Macpherson 1991, McGregor 2010). Of particular interest to the eventual establishment of Nunavut Arctic College, was the creation of community centres where adult education was delivered through federal day schools in approximately 49 communities.

The sixties also saw the birth of vocational training when government allocated funding to create a facility that would bring together Inuit boys and girls. Even though Cambridge Bay, Baker Lake, and Iqaluit were considered as possible vocational centres, the Department of Northern Affairs opted for opening a federal residential school at the
Churchill military post in Manitoba. The Churchill Manitoba Vocational Centre provided secondary education and pre-vocational training to about 1200 Inuit youth from Nunavut and northern Quebec between 1964 and 1974 (The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada 2012, King 2006). Underfunding and the federal *laissez faire* approach to education limited the potential of this endeavor serving mostly assimilation and acculturation purposes. Legislation on vocational education would have to wait for territorial devolution and decentralization to have it established closer to Inuit communities.

Alongside the federal intervention to create an education-system, cooperative initiatives emerged in the immediate post-war years providing an alternative to overcome the limitations of an underdeveloped state. Through the creation of the Eskimo Loan Fund in the late Fifties, Inuit received assistance to harvest and commercialize fish as well as to provide services (e.g., telephone, food stores, ammunitons supply, etc). One of the most successful examples was the creation of the West Baffin Eskimo Co-operative in Cape Dorset. Inaugurated by James Houston (Shaumirk’s) and Kananginak Pootoogook in 1958, this printmaking shop introduced educational programming for co-operative members bringing sustainable income opportunities for the community (Alsop 2010).

More art co-operatives developed in various Arctic communities most notably Holman Island, Pangnirtung, Puvungnituk, and Baker Lake. Inuit art hit the international art markets defying depictions of poverty, malnourishment, and decay through which federal interventionism was justified.
The co-operative movement offered Inuit a political voice that involved turning state mechanisms of assimilation into forms of resistance (Mitchel 1996). In a similar fashion, the survivors of residential schools would use their acquired knowledge and networks to make the government accountable for its one-sided experiments. A new Inuit political movement was brewing at the time the Northwest Territories was taking over the responsibility for education in the Eastern Arctic. With the emergence of an Inuit political elite and a government “closer” to home, education would meet the right to self-determination.

2.3.3. Decentralization to the lowest level of incorporated government

Under direct jurisdiction of the federal government, developments in the Eastern Arctic differed from those of the western Northwest Territories where political and economic events were prompting territorial administrative division. In 1966 the federal government appointed an advisory commission on the development of a Government in the Northwest Territories. Under the leadership of Dean Carrothers, a report was produced recommending against division and endorsing a united government with a constitution reflective of the diversity of the Northwest Territories (Canada 1966). As a result of Carrothers’ recommendations, federally administered programs including education, welfare, economic development, and municipal affairs were transferred to the newly created territorial government (Consolidation of the Constitution Acts, 1867 to 1982: 1980)

52 The commission was formed on the demands of the white population for greater self-government through the division of the Northwest Territories into a western province and an eastern territory. Even though the proposed severance would greatly affect Inuit homeland, the Eastern Arctic was not represented on the advisory council.
On Carrothers’ recommendation, Eastern Arctic schools came under the jurisdiction of the new central administration in 1970. A year later, the Department of Education embarked on the project of building a territorial education system responsive to the cultures and languages of the region. Advocating for local control of education and student centred schools, in 1977 the Commissioner of the Northwest Territories enacted an Education Ordinance providing for the organization of the education system into districts with their respective local education authority and community education committees. This was the first time that local authorities were given the right to decide on the language of instruction, establish programs of study, and use locally relevant pedagogical materials as they deemed appropriate (Northwest Territories 1977).

New directions in education did not address the problem of local capacity to develop curriculum in a given native language. Furthermore, restrictions regarding the creation of universities in the Northwest Territories limited the local capacity of hiring teachers prepared to carry out the Ordinance, especially at advanced levels of education.\footnote{Part III, Section 82 of the Ordinance states: “No university or degree-granting institution, whatever name, nor any institution purporting to be a university or purporting to grant degrees, shall be established or created in the territories except under the express authority of an Ordinance of the Northwest Territories; and no institution shall be operated as a university in the Territories without written authorization of the Commissioner.” (Northwest Territories 1977, 56) Part V, Section 83, of the Ordinance states “No person shall be employed as a teacher in the education system of the Territories unless he holds a certificate of qualification to teach issued by the Commissioner in accordance with the regulations.” (Northwest Territories 1977, 57).}

In an attempt to be locally relevant, the ordinance appeared to have removed governmental responsibility for facilitating education at a local level. Around the same time the Commissioner assented to the ordinance, the voices of First Nations, Métis, and Inuit were becoming louder in asserting their right to take control over their destinies. Their political organization and mobilization would determine further changes in education running parallel to the creation of Nunavut.
Prior to the creation of regional councils in 1977, Inuit were already politically organized under the umbrella of Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC) now Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK). Established in 1971, ITC created a forum for Inuit from across the Arctic to discuss issues regarding oil and gas exploration, hunting and trapping quotas and education policies. At stake was the establishment of appropriate mechanisms for Inuit to claim their rights formally, in the midst of the Government’s intention to further assimilate First Nations and Inuit by terminating their constitutional status (Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami 2004, Canada 1969). Inuit Tapirisat of Canada developed regional associations in the Central and Eastern Arctic to lobby for collective action. Young Inuit educated at secondary and vocational schools in Ottawa, Churchill, and Yellowknife, became the political leaders who paved the road to the creation of strong self-governing regions by asserting Inuit cultural legacy and indigenous rights (Greenwald et al. 2009, Duffy 1988).

The organization of Inuit in different councils coincided with the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry commissioned by the federal government in 1974 to investigate the social, environmental, and economic impact of a proposed gas pipeline that would run through the Mackenzie River Valley of the Northwest Territories. Tapping into the nascent political movements, the resulting report shifted the balance of power, making Inuit and First Nations’ policy players. After hearing the testimony of diverse groups for over two years, Mr. Justice Thomas Berger recommended delaying the construction of the pipeline to allow for the settlement of native claims, the strengthening of renewable resources, and the development of environmental preservation mechanisms. Relevant to education is Berger’s proposal to decentralize the Northwest Territories government to the local communities as a means “for the expression of native ideas of self-
determination within the context of our constitutional tradition” (Berger 1977, 219).

Central to self-determination, was gaining control over compulsory education and to establish vocational training (i.e., trades training) at major northern communities. An expensive proposition but a compelling one, the Berger report made the case for political institutions in the north to reflect the common interest of First Nations, Métis, and Inuit (Berger 1977, 218)

Tying development to aboriginal rights, Jane King reflects, the Berger report was instrumental in turning education into a rights claim (King 1998). In the years to follow, Northwest Territories education policy would follow a rights approach, translated into culturally relevant compulsory education and geographically accessible demand-driven vocational training.

Ten years after the Carrothers’ report recommending a revision of the new territorial constitution, the federal government put together a third report in response to Berger’s recommendations. Produced by C.M. Drury, a federal government representative, this new report proposes the future direction of the government of the Northwest Territories accounting for land claims negotiations already in progress with Inuit. According to Drury’s report, a new Northwest Territories constitution provide for aboriginal rights claims by devolving powers to local governments. In the education sector this meant community jurisdiction over compulsory education and territorial jurisdiction over secondary and postsecondary education. Recommending the devolution of powers to the local level while maintaining public

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54 Indeed, at the time of the report, Inuit Tapirisat of Canada had submitted a proposal for the political development of Nunavut as a separate territory from the Northwest Territories.
government structures, the Drury report offered a compromised solution that envisioned shared native and territorial governance of education (Canada 1980, 27).

Entrenched as a territorial and local policy strategy whereby local encompassed Inuit, First Nations, and Métis claims, a Special Committee in Education was appointed by the Northwest Territories Legislative Assembly in 1980. Amongst the appointed leaders to participate in this Committee was Tagak Curley, the founding member and first president of Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, who championed Inuit control over education. *Learning: Tradition and Change in the Northwest Territories* (Northwest Territories 1982), the Special Committee’s report, would shape the era of education decentralization to the lowest level of incorporated government. The report recommended legislation to provide for a decentralized education system.

Key to addressing relevance in education was the training of teachers. In this respect, the Committee recommended increasing the number of First Nations and Inuit teachers using field based programs and improving teacher training by assuring university recognition of the Northwest Territories certification program. Furthermore, the report recommended certifying classroom assistants, who would realize language objectives. These recommendations aimed not only at improving quality and quantity of teachers but also at reducing the high teacher turnover that had characterized education in the communities.

An important piece in the configuration of the system was the recommendation to create an Arctic college combining features of universities, technical institutes, community colleges and manpower planning agencies. With an eastern and a western campus, this college would provide adult education (academic upgrading and
prevocational training), post-school programs (grade 11 and 12), and vocational training (integrated or not into post-school programs). Linked to the education system but autonomous from it, the college would expand with the economic development of the Northwest Territories to deliver university - transfer programs eventually.

*Learning: Tradition and Change in the Northwest Territories* not only provided for a local arrangement to provide culturally relevant education but it also recognized the regional configuration of the territory missing in the Education Ordinance of 1977. The Committee’s recommendations made their way into the Education Ordinance of 1985, legitimately enabling Inuit to take control over the administration of education in the Eastern Arctic. Moreover, the legislation act of 1986 establishing the Arctic College at arms-length from the government, enabled the college to build its programming on existing regional and local capacity. Within three years, Community Learning Centres across the North joined the College system, assuring post-school and adult education programming in most communities. Soon, the College became the centre for vocational, postsecondary education, and research programming. Of all the decentralization efforts that followed the Committee’s report, the college would be the only one to survive the creation of Nunavut.

Localization proved effective in devolving education to Inuit community leaders organized in divisional boards. As Heather McGregor (2010, 116-117) demonstrates, schooling during the ‘local period’ “identified, reintroduced and practiced aspects of Inuit Education”. Culture-based schooling was reinforced in 1991 with a new territorial ten-year strategic framework in response to the legacy of mission and residential schools (Northwest Territories 1994 B). Emphasizing coordinated and networked support for
culture, language, and heritage at the community level, the new framework influenced the
design of Inuuqatigiit, the first curriculum from an Inuit perspective (Northwest Territories 1996). The incorporation of Inuit traditions in curriculum development along with the development of materials in Inuktitut and the collaborative work between the divisional boards and with the Teachers Education Program (TEP), contributed to the participation rates of Inuit students. Indeed between 1990 and 1999 enrolments increased by 41 percent (from 5720 to 8060 students correspondingly) for an overall participation rate of 93 percent of school age pupils. Furthermore the direct involvement in creating post-schooling programming in every community, ended the necessity for residential schooling by 1998, increasing almost five times the number of Inuit high school graduates (from 21 in 1990 to 115 in 1999) (Canada, Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 2000).

2.3.4. The creation of Canada’s newest Territory

Decentralization and localization policies were developing in simultaneity to land claims negotiations between Inuit and the Crown. In fact, the Tunngavik Federation of Nunavut was created in 1982 to replace the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada and represent Inuit in the negotiation of a land claim settlement in the Eastern Arctic. With territorial division on the horizon, the government of the Northwest Territories relocated the head office of Arctic College, dividing it between Fort Smith and Iqaluit. In 1994, the Government of Northwest Territories passed the Public Colleges Act establishing Nunavut Arctic College (Northwest Territories, 1994 A). Preceding the creation of

55 In April 1982, the Legislative Assembly of the Northwest Territories held a plebiscite regarding territorial division into two entities: Denendeh to the West and Nunavut to the East. With the majority in favour of division, The Tunngavik Federation of Nunavut was established to work in collaboration with the Secretariat of the Dene/Metis Nation and the territorial government in determining the borders of the land claim areas (Nunavut Implementation Commission 1995 and 1996)
Nunavut, the college’s act is the only Northwest Territories education legislation that is still in force.

The land claims negotiation between the Tunngavik Federation of Nunavut and the Crown started the same year Canada patriated its constitution, recognizing fundamental rights and freedoms of its multicultural heritage. Of particular interest is the guarantee that “certain rights and freedoms shall not be construed so as to abrogate or derogate from any aboriginal, treaty or other rights or freedoms that pertain to aboriginal peoples” (Canada, 1986, S. 25).\textsuperscript{56} Hence, when the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement was passed providing constitutional certainty and clarity of rights for Eastern Arctic Inuit, it certainly challenged governance principles within the Canadian political framework.\textsuperscript{57}

First Inuit economic and political rights are granted without prejudice to aboriginal claims outside the settlement area. In other words, Inuit rights are recognized under the constitutional frameworks of Nunavut and Canada. Second, the granting of legislative powers presupposes territorial cohesion of peoples who until then recognized their local structures over a territorial government as legitimate authorities. Third, while constitutionally Nunavut is a public government overseeing all Nunavummiut, it is assumed as a de-facto self-government for the Inuit Nunavummiut by virtue of the

\textsuperscript{56} Such rights and freedoms include (a) any rights or freedoms that have been recognized by the Royal Proclamation of October 7, 1763; (b) any rights or freedoms that now exist by way of land claims agreements or may be so acquired (Canada, 1986).

\textsuperscript{57} Certainty and clarity of rights include: a) Title to approximately 350,000 square kilometres of land including mineral rights to 9.2 percent of it. b) Equal representation of Inuit with government on a new set of wildlife management resource management and environmental boards. c) The right to harvest wildlife on land and waters throughout the Nunavut settlement area. d) Capital transfer payments of over one billion Canadian dollars payable to Inuit over 14 years. e) Thirteen million Dollars for a Training Trust fund. f) Share of federal government royalties for Nunavut Inuit from oil, gas, and mineral development on Crown lands. g) Negotiation rights with industry for economic and social benefits from non renewable resource development where Inuit own surface title. h) The right of first refusal on renewable resources development in the Nunavut Settlement Area. i) The establishment of the new Territory of Nunavut with its own Legislative Assembly and public government (Tunngavik Federation of Nunavut and Canada 1993).
Nunavut Land Claims Agreement.\textsuperscript{58} Related to this assumption, the public desire was for the government to be geographically close to Nunavut’s communities and to be reflective of Inuit interests granted by the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement (Nunavut Implementation Commission 1995 and 1996). In this context, education for Inuit Nunavummiut should meet Nunavut Land Claims Agreement provisions without diminishing the rights of non-Inuit Nunavummiut minorities as per the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

When the territory of Nunavut was created in 1999 (Canada 2010) the K-12 education system was de-localized. Indeed, soon after the first elected Government took possession, the divisional boards of education were dissolved with all programs and services transferred to the newly created Nunavut Department of Education. As stated by Heather McGregor the “new vision of a territory where Inuit could establish consistent cultural policies outweighed priorities at the local level” (McGregor 2010, 149).

Such cultural policies would take time to develop and implement. Indeed the first governmental plan \textit{The Bathurst Mandate: Pinasuaqtavut}, estimated it would take ten years for the system to have a “made in Nunavut” curriculum that is reflective of cultural and language differences in the communities and delivers on academic excellence (Nunavut, 1999). Committing to re-writing the curriculum on these terms, the Bathurst mandate endorsed \textit{Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit}, or Inuit knowledge, as the bedrock of Nunavut’s education. This foundational framework would become the means through which the government of Nunavut would comply with Article 32 of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement stating “all social and cultural policies, programs, and services; should

\textsuperscript{58} In a publication entitled “Nunavut: Our Land, Our People”, the Tunngavik Federation of Nunavut highlights that one of its features is “the inclusion of a political accord, that provides for the establishment of the new Territory of Nunavut and through this a form of self government for the Nunavut Inuit” (Nunavut Tunngavik Inc. 1993,9).
reflect Inuit goals and objectives” (Tunngavik Federation of Nunavut and Canada 1993 Article 32, 223).

Along with culture, the Bathurst Mandate also pledged support for training a Nunavut based workforce in compliance with Article 23 of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement encouraging Inuit participation in government employment (Tunngavik Federation of Nunavut and Canada 1993 Article 23, 191). This endeavor would be immediately taken up by Nunavut Arctic College.

Almost immediately after the Bathurst mandate affirmed Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit as the backbone of government’s priorities, the Minister of Culture, Language Elders and Youth in 2000 appointed a task force to make recommendations in this regard (Timpson 2009). Voicing discontent over the cultural clash between Inuit culture and the structure of the new public government, the task force recommended for Nunavut to incorporate itself into Inuit Qaujumajatuqangit by following six guiding principles. Such principles would ensure the development of a corporate culture that builds on the Inuit fundamental relationships (The Inuit Qaujimajatuqanginnut Task Force 2002). In its second plan Pinasuaqtavut 2004-2009, the government endorsed the six Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit guiding principles plus two as follows:

Table 4 Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit guiding principles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Principles</th>
<th>Denotation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inuuqatigiitsiarniq</td>
<td>Respecting others, relationships and caring for people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tunnganarniq</td>
<td>Fostering good spirit by being open, welcoming and inclusive.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pijitsirniq</td>
<td>Serving and providing for family and/or community.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aajiiqatigiinniq</td>
<td>Decision making through discussion and consensus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pilimmaksarniq/Pijariuqsarniq</td>
<td>Development of skills through practice, effort and action.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Early on in the life of Nunavut, the territorial education capacity proved insufficient to carry forward the government’s cultural mandate and the Land Claims Agreement provisions regarding Inuit representation in government. Indeed, government plans appear unrealistic when around 30 percent of Nunavut students graduating each year from high school and a smaller percentage (around 3 percent) pursuing post-secondary studies (Fraser, 2010). Such is the conclusion Conciliator Thomas R. Berger arrived at when examining Article 23 of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement 2005. 59 In his report, Berger advocates for a strong program of bilingual education towards greater employment leading to greater Inuit self-determination in Nunavut (Berger 2006, xii). Berger’s recommendations echo governmental efforts towards revitalizing the Inuit Language and increase its role in the territory. The main thrust of such efforts is the introduction of new legislation. Passed in 2008, Nunavut’s first Education and Language Acts regulate the language use in the public and private sectors, the language of education and the legal rights for speakers of Inuktitut, Inuinnaqtun, alongside the constitutional rights enjoyed by English and French speakers in Canada (Nunavut 2009A, 2009B, and 2009C). Specifically pertaining education, the Nunavut Education Act (Nunavut 2009A) and the Inuit Language Protection Act (Nunavut 2009B) provide

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59 Thomas R. Berger was appointed Conciliator to explore new approaches to the implementation of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement. After dealing with the funding of the boards and commissions responsible for the management of land and resources, he examined Article 23.
for Inuit language to be the language of instruction in all school grades by 2019.\textsuperscript{60}

The impact of complementary and overlapping regulations, policies, and strategies in the preservation and revitalization of language and culture remains to be seen. In a context of education uncertainty, Nunavut Arctic College appears to carry forward evolving government and Nunavut Tunngavik Inc. strategies and plans regarding human resources and economic development. Over the past decade Nunavut Arctic College has delivered staff development courses, Inuktitut and Inuinnaqtun language courses for government employees and other specialized training non-accredited initiatives, to meet Inuit representation annual targets (Nunavut 2001 - 2010).

Since the creation of Nunavut, two strategic links between postsecondary education and the government have been consolidated namely, professional education and training in key areas of public services (e.g., health, education, law), as well as the qualification of a labour force that meets the Land Claims Agreement provisions on employment and self-reliance (e.g., adult learning initiative, Inuit employment plan, Inuit representation in government posts, economic development agreements). The college offers a wide range of programs from adult learning programs and vocational certificates and diplomas to undergraduate and graduate degrees enrolling an overall average of 1200 students per year in 25 communities. With no degree granting capacity, the college has developed sustained partnerships with universities in the south to offer permanent and short-term professional training in education, nursing, and law. Of particular relevance is the Nunavut Training Teachers Program, which has evolved from a two-year diploma to a five year Bachelor of Education, In partnership with University of

\textsuperscript{60} The Inuit Language is defined in the Inuit Language Protection Act as Inuinnaqtun in or near Kugluktuk, Cambridge Bay, Bathurst Inlet and Umingmaktuuq; Inuktitut in or near all other communities; or both, as prescribed by different regulations (Nunavut 2012)
Regina, the program is currently offered in 11 communities enrolling about 90 students (Nunavut 2012, 22). The Nunavut Research Institute completes the picture of the college’s comprehensiveness. A division of the college, the institute is mandated to identify community needs for research and technology as well as to provide assistance in polar research (Nunavut Arctic College 2012).

As Nunavut moves towards further devolution to take responsibility over exploitable public lands to develop the territorial economic base, Nunavut Arctic College appears to be a place where political, socioeconomic, and cultural aims converge. It is here that language and culture need to be codified for the training of professionals that would realize Nunavut’s aims. This does not go without its own challenges, given the pace at which K-12 education is evolving to graduate more Inuit students. Here, the college jumps in, creating a parallel route for adult learners to access higher levels of education. The breadth of programming is also expanded by the foreseen emergence of the private sector requiring skilled workers in upcoming industries. Multiple missions appear to be taken up by the college, positioning itself as the government’s first stop to implement initiatives arising from the wider political and economic national and regional context. By the same token, its responsiveness faces the limitations of a society that is still in the process of building a territorial allegiance. It is in this push and pull of government responsiveness and communities’ needs, that the right to self determination may find ground to continue to relate to postsecondary education in Nunavut.

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61 In 2008, the Government of Canada, the Government of Nunavut and the Nunavut Tunngavik Inc. Inuit organization, signed a protocol setting the path for Nunavut Devolution (Canada, Nunavut and Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated 2008).

62 As stated in Nunavut Arctic College Annual Report 2010, post secondary enrollments are particularly influenced by federal or territorial priorities making funding for training available. With regained interest in the Arctic by Canadian Government, funding has been promised in areas of adult education and training in resource-based areas.
2.4. Greenland, Nunavut and the wider context posing challenges for postsecondary education

In previous pages I have relayed the histories of Greenland and Nunavut as they weave in Inuit “people” consciousness and education. In defining their political status within Denmark and Canada respectively, Inuit have gained constitutional certainties through different avenues. Nunavut is the result of Inuit rights claims in the context of Canada’s nation-building, while Greenland is the product of nation-building prevailing over ethnic claims. In the process of achieving further devolution of powers, Nunavut has become a de-facto Inuit self-government following the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement provisions on public governance. By contrast, Greenland has achieved self-government status envisioning full independence by reducing ties to Denmark and increasing ties to the region(s) it belongs to.

Different political processes translate into distinct approaches to postsecondary education. Nunavut does not have the institutional differentiation that Greenland has; hence one institution, Nunavut Arctic College, acts as the territorial postsecondary education system. In Greenland, institutional differentiation has consolidated a system similar to that of Denmark, which separates vocational, professional, and academic education at a tertiary level. Despite systemic differences, both governments face similar issues stemming from the population’s readiness to access, benefit, value, and ultimately contribute to the building of Greenland and Nunavut respectively. Shortages in skilled labour to staff government organizations and fill vacancies in developing sectors of the economy is perhaps one of the biggest challenges to sustain both political and economic autonomy in each jurisdiction. In Greenland, youth educated in western institutions tend
to emigrate to Denmark or elsewhere in Europe. Conversely, youth educated traditionally prefer to stay in the settlements practicing traditional ways of life (Last 2010, The Greenland-Danish Self-Government Commission 2008, Rønning and Wiborg 2008). In Nunavut overall educational attainment is significantly lower than in the rest of Canada with only 3 percent of Inuit Nunavummiut holding a university degree. Hence, despite Nunavut Land Claims Agreement provisions towards Inuit representativeness, the unemployment rate is five times higher for Inuit (20.3 percent) than non-Inuit Nunavummiut (3.1 percent) (Statistics Canada 2008).

The development of education and specifically postsecondary education in Nunavut and Greenland reveals the intricacies of consolidating a political entity that is still subject to further devolution of powers. Following the history of these two polities, one cannot dismiss the connection between devolution and what is at stake in the geopolitical theatre of the Arctic. The search for the elusive Northwest Passage, the quest to conquer the “remote North” and its riches, and even the use of this assumed “terra nullius” as a centre of international operations, have all shaped the social organization of Arctic peoples. As Inuit gain international leverage to decide on the course of economic development and environmental protection of their lands, the renewed quest for sovereign rights over Arctic resources has the potential to reconfigure people’s allegiances.

The global magnitude of climate change along with the estimates of potential riches in the Arctic (Nicol 2010, Grant 2010), have prompted the rebirth of a public

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63 The ratio of Greenlanders pursuing postsecondary studies abroad and Greenlanders pursuing them locally is 3 to 1 (Statistics Greenland, 2009). Free access to postsecondary education in Denmark and the rest of Europe accounts for this disparity.
64 In the towns, 58 per cent of the adults have vocational or upper secondary school, while the corresponding figure in the villages is 32 per cent (Statistics Greenland 2012A)
focus on the circumpolar North. In the mid 2000s, research findings warned governments about the annual ice shrinking effects of global warming (Lacroix 2006, Mudie and Rochon 2005, Byers 2009B, Hassol 2004). The changing conditions of the ice in the Arctic will likely free the Northwest Passage for longer periods of time creating a route between Europe and Asia that is substantially shorter and hence more trade efficient than the Panama Canal. This route was ice-free in the summer of 2007 for the first time since satellite monitoring began in 1978 (National Snow and Ice Data Centre 2007). The commercial advantages of this new route along with other untapped resources underlie recent international cooperation agreements between Arctic countries through the Arctic Council or by means of intergovernmental declarations as is the case of the Arctic-Five.65

On the domestic front, governments are also turning their faces northward. Between 2008 and 2011 Russia, Norway, Canada, Denmark-Greenland, and the United States (the Arctic Five) have released an Arctic strategy or policy. There are two common threads in all five strategies: the improvement of surveillance capabilities (i.e. military capacity) along with provisions to explore and exploit energy and natural resources (i.e. oil, gas, minerals, fisheries); and protecting the wellbeing of indigenous peoples and northerners in general (Canada 2008, United States 2009, Commission of the European Communities 2008, Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2008).

Judging from Arctic-Five strategies and government policy statements, sovereignty continues to be defined largely in terms of economic and political security of states (Pharand 2008, Türk 2010). However, Arctic sovereignty is no longer simply a legal

65 The 2008 Ilulissat Declaration by the five Arctic countries - Arctic-Five (Russia, Canada, the United States, Norway and Denmark) reaffirmed their cooperation “… based on mutual trust and transparency, inter alia, through timely exchange of data and analyses” (Arctic Five, 2008).
right over territories. Not only does sovereignty now integrate authority over adjacent waters and ice cover, the air above, and the sea-bed (Türk 2010); but also includes the recognition of the human and environmental security corresponding to the political goals of indigenous peoples of the North (Grant 2010, Zellen 2009, Shadian 2010). The legitimate recognition of ancestral lands brought about by indigenous claims’ settlements, and self-governance agreements, is challenging nation-state based notions of sovereignty. Indigenous peoples are now active participants with a role in the conduct of international affairs in the Arctic (Shadian 2010, Louchakeva 2009, Grant 2010). The Arctic Council is a case in point. Since its inception in 1996, Greenland is a council member with Denmark and Arctic Indigenous representatives hold permanent participation status entailing full consulting rights on Arctic issues (Arctic Council 2013).  

In this forum the Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC) represents Inuit peoples’ political interests, asserting their rights beyond those claimed within the legal frameworks of Arctic nation-states. As argued by Shadian (2010), the ICC is more than an Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) as it provides a collective transnational identity that challenges traditional notions of sovereignty in international relations:

Sovereignty is relocated from bounded state territories to the process of collective political identity and institution construction. Throughout this process, the power or importance of physical territory does not disappear but rather becomes subsumed under ongoing political contestation over the symbolic meanings of physical space more generally (Shadian 2010, 485).

Inuit sovereignty entails the pursuit of different yet related aims. First sovereignty entails the right to participate in international affairs as a non-state political actor (Shadian 2010). This aim is key to achieve recognition of international conventions

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66 Representatives include: Aleut International Association (AIA); Arctic Athabaskan Council (AAC); Gwich'in Council International (GCI); Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC); Saami Council; Russian Arctic Indigenous Peoples of the North (RAIPON).
regarding indigenous peoples’ rights. In 2009 for instance, the ICC issued an Inuit Declaration on Sovereignty in the Arctic affirming their right to partake in Arctic sovereignty discussions in a manner comparable to Arctic Council deliberations (A Circumpolar Inuit Declaration on Sovereignty in the Arctic, 2009 point 2.6).

Second, sovereignty aims at positioning indigenous peoples as “stewards” on issues of global concern, specifically environmental sustainability. As Shadian (2010) points out, indigenous stewardship is un-problematically linked to sustainable development in international legislation.67

Third, sovereignty also aims at reframing the relationship between indigenous groups and the nation state. Sovereignty is inextricably linked to indigenous self-determination defined through political rights to territory, resource development, and cultural autonomy (Ladner and Dick 2009, Niezen 2000). International lobbying as the means to assert sovereignty represents the “use of international bodies of states to overcome the domestic abuses of states themselves” (Niezen 2000, 122). The Circumpolar Inuit Declaration on Sovereignty in the Arctic (2009) provides an example of the linkage between self-determination and sovereignty:

The actions of Arctic peoples and states, the interactions between them, and the conduct of international relations must give primary respect to the need for global environmental security, the need for peaceful resolution of disputes, and the inextricable linkages between issues of sovereignty and sovereign rights in the Arctic and Inuit self-determination and other rights (Inuit Circumpolar Council 2009, [S] 3.2).

Devolution processes reaffirm not only citizenship status but also Inuit rights,

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67 Examples where indigenous stewardship has been written into legislation include the Brundtland Report, Chapter 26 of Agenda 21, ILO 169, the United Nations Permanent Forum for Indigenous Issues and the 2001 Stockholm Convention on Persistent Organic Pollutants (POPs) (Shadian 2010,488).
reconfiguring their relationships beyond the boundaries of Arctic states. This double allegiance to the region and to the state bifurcates the avenue for political action. This bifurcation adds to the challenges to international cooperation with respect to the Arctic, its riches and its social and environmental challenges (Türk 2010). A rapidly changing region with available resources poses not only the question of *who owns the Arctic?* (Byers 2009), but how are indigenous peoples going to benefit from the potential riches global warming brings and, most importantly, how and through what means would Inuit address the unavoidable conflict between environmental protection and development. These two questions open up new avenues for exploring the relationships between postsecondary education and the right to self-determination within and beyond political administration boundaries. At this point in time postsecondary education is a settled enough institution through which one can access the economic, social, and cultural dimensions of the right to self-determination operating at the verge of yet another major transition. This leads me to the next section where different theoretical strands bring conceptual avenues to examine the relationships between sovereignty - the Inuit right to self-determination and post-secondary education.
Chapter Three: Theoretical Framework

3.1. Self-determination and Sovereignty

Self-determination and sovereignty are far from one-dimensional constructs in a post-Westphalian world order challenged by the intensification of regional and global relationships (Linklater 1998, Falk 1998, Held 1995). While the Westphalian definition of sovereignty is generally accepted in international law (Türk 2010) the concept is highly problematic when applied to issues regarding Arctic jurisdiction. Legally codified by the basic principles of territorial integrity, border inviolability, and supremacy of the state (Griffiths 2008), sovereignty in legal terms is challenged by sovereignty in factual ones. Legal (or de Jure) sovereignty took its present shape during the early seventeenth century and was closely connected to the law of sea (Grant 2010). As it applies to the Arctic, de jure sovereignty is founded on a notion that proprietary rights were set out in the laws of an organized state, hence: “the land of pre-state people without such law was therefore legally vacant” (Dickason 1993 quoted in Grant 2010, 18). In the current state of affairs, not only proprietary rights over land are being challenged by the untapped riches in adjacent waters and ice cover, and the sea-bed, but by self-determination of indigenous peoples claiming sovereignty over their ancestral lands (Dodds 2010). As forecasted by Osherenko and Young (1989), Arctic coastal states (i.e., Arctic Five) will have to seek their interests in a world where indigenous peoples are no longer invisible to the eyes of the state.
Many scholars are challenging realist assumptions that nation-states continue to be the only sovereign actors in an anarchic international system. Krasner (1999), Rosenau (1990), Agnew (2005), and Sassen (2006) argue for an analytical framework to understand sovereignty within the larger processes of change that increased participation of non-state actors in foreign affairs, including the dispossessed. This argument taps on issues regarding gaps and limitations in the way the legal definition of the right to self-determination applies to indigenous peoples (Henriksen 2002, Gudelevičiūte, 2005).

Self-determination became a component of international law in the context of decolonization. As an element of decolonization, self-determination reinforced state structures. For instance, under international law there is no recognition of sub-state groups as separate peoples. International law precludes from invoking the principle of self-determination unless ‘a people’ means the entire population of an internationally recognized separate territorial unit (Gudelevičiūte 2005, Morgan 2004). In Morgan’s words, the enforcement of the right to self-determination brings about political challenges evoking fears “that its recognition could lead to secession and territorial dismemberment” (2004, 482). To safeguard territorial integrity and territorial unity the doctrine of self-determination, is interpreted as a right for national groups to participate in governance rather than a right to secede from the state. This is known as internal self-determination applicable to peoples once they have achieved statehood (Senese 1989).

The United Nations declaration on the rights of indigenous peoples (2007) refers to the principle of self-determination in internal terms referring mostly to the right of effective governance within sovereign states (Article 4). Accordingly states are to

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68 Anarchy in international relations theory is a concept holding that the world system lacks of a sovereign worldwide government. There is thus no hierarchically superior coercive power that can resolve disputes, enforce law, or order the system like there is in domestic politics. See (Morgenthau 1978, Gilpin 2004, Waltz 2008),
effectively grant self-determination through political autonomy arrangements (i.e., self-government). A paradox therefore emerges for indigenous peoples in the convergence of sovereignty, territory, and nationality as they are concretely excluded from power over territory at the same moment that their claims to autonomy are legitimised. Interestingly, the negotiation of autonomy often trespasses national boundaries not only because indigenous people are often citizens of different nations states, as is the case of Inuit peoples but also because indigenous cultural politics are grounded on contexts of global magnitude (e.g., exploitation of natural resources and environmental security) (Henriksen 2001, Ladner and Dick 2008, Shadian 2010, Lâm 2000). This global dimension sets in motion, renewed claims to people self-determination constantly challenging autonomy arrangements. As such “the right of self-determination should be regarded as a ‘process right’ rather then a right to a pre-defined outcome” (Henriksen 2001, 14).

The fact that indigenous peoples worldwide advocate for and seek greater autonomy beyond the boundaries of the state, leads into different theoretical approaches regarding their right to self-determination. I have grouped such approaches in three theoretical strands. A first theoretical strand identifies the right to self-determination strictly as an issue of internal sovereignty. Accordingly, this right is enacted through the achievement of legitimate authorities within the boundaries of the state retaining control over external affairs and those matters that affect all groups within it (Keal 2003 quoted in Shadian 2010, Rosenau 1997, Deloria 1984, Primeau and Corntassel 1995). This strand focuses on gaining state guarantees to secure international recognition of collective rights (Deloria 1984, Primeau and Corntassel 1995). As modelled in figure 1, access to the international arena by indigenous groups is channelled through the appropriate state
recourses. Equally, international instruments (i.e., United Nations covenants and rights declarations) are accessed to gain leverage over collective rights at a domestic level. Self-determination is hereby defined in the capacity to influence the state to comply with international commitments towards the restitution of indigenous cultural, social, and economic rights. Such capacity appears to be unleashed in the effective use of people identifiers used by nation states and the international community. Having to resort to claims of distinctiveness to be recognized as peoples and ultimately exert pressure on national and local governments, exercising indigenous self-determination overemphasizes the preservation and promotion of people’s traditions, history, and attachments to specific territories. This emphasis on cultural rights, over political, social, and economic ones, aims at preserving the territorial integrity foundation of international relations.

Figure 1 Theoretical strand # 1: Self-determination as the right to culture
The right to self-determination framed as a right to culture is delinked from notions of sovereignty providing a “secure and relatively uncontroversial means by which to protect the rights of indigenous people, if not peoples, internationally” (Engle 2010, 6). Not surprisingly, state-sovereignty preservationist theoretical approaches have been highly influential in international relations where the emphasis on the right to culture has become “the dominant discursive and legal vehicle for making indigenous claims” (Engle 2010, 7).

A second theoretical strand recognizes that indigenous peoples have not been decolonized even when the nation-states of which they are citizens, have gained independence from their former colonizers (Wilmer 1993, Henriksen 2001, Otto 1996). Wilmer (1993) argues that decolonizing, as an ongoing struggle to achieve recognition and autonomy within the respective state, has often turned to the international political and legal systems seeking greater domestic attention and leverage. The utmost avenue to bring the struggle to the international arena is the legitimate right to self-determination as recognized by international law. While Wilmer (1993) suggests that the international system is indeed in the process of becoming more sensitive to indigenous struggles, Henriksen (2001, 16) believes that it has yet to decolonize and regard the right to autonomy and the right to self-government as principles of customary international law “falling within the wider framework of the right to self-determination”. As such, “indigenous cultural politics are not limited to the dynamics of locality but also pertain to broader arenas of action” (Escárcega 2010, 5). By action, decolonizing theorists and activists mean the contestation of the interests served by the architecture of the modern

As depicted in figure 2, decolonizing aims at the coexistence of indigenous sovereignty and state sovereignty with equal access to the international arena. Therefore, self-determination is a process of perpetual resistance where the idea of a sovereign collectivity is preserved and realized by indigenous peoples from an oblique position contiguous with the state - but discontinuous with it - that intervenes in state practices (Bhabha, 2003).

Figure 2 Theoretical strand 2: Self-determination as decolonizing

A third theoretical strand looks at reframing sovereignty beyond the international system of nation states. Shaw (2002) and Niezen (2000) accentuate the fact that the international system is based in the same Eurocentric models indigenous peoples are struggling against. In response to this quandary, Shaw (2002) proposes an ontological
shift from self-determination as a constitutive right in the legal international system, to sovereignty as political struggle and power construction. Under this framework, sovereignty plays out in the process of political interaction. Cox (1998) locates the process of political interaction in terms of *spaces of dependence* and *spaces of engagement*. While *spaces of dependence* are defined in terms of localized relations reliant on the people’s legitimate ability to exercise power over their land and its resources (e.g., devolution agreements), *spaces of engagement* are those “in which the politics of securing a space of dependence unfolds” (Cox 1998, 2). Following Cox’s argument, sovereignty is contingent to the capacity to associate freely with other actors (in terms of Cox: networks or associations) to exert greater influence on a decision affecting local spaces (or spaces of dependence). Playing out in the political interaction that occurs between both constructed spaces, people’s sovereignty blurs the divide line of the state making it more permeable to influences beyond its boundaries.

Reflecting on Cox’s constructs to understand the post-Westphalian order Inuit people have introduced into the political arena of the Arctic region, Shadian (2010, 495-496) draws a connection between the right to self-determination and the notion of contingent sovereignty. Locating Inuit sovereignty within the intersection between Inuit physical ties to the Arctic land (i.e., spaces of Inuit governance) and the role of the ICC in the international community (i.e., spaces of engagement), Inuit sovereignty is contingent on regional and global processes. Shaping and shaped by Inuit political aspirations for self-determination, Inuit sovereignty is “brought to fruition through local, regional and international institutions and economic ventures” (Shadian 2010, 502). Figure 3
illustrates the sorts of relations that continuously redefine the terms of self-determination and Inuit contingent sovereignty.

Each of the three theoretical strands offering an approach to indigenous self-determination as it concerns sovereignty has practical implications. The first strand has been instrumental in ‘softening’ self-determination that is, removing the potential for secessionist or resistance movements by emphasizing cultural rights. This discursive emphasis, present in international instruments such as the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007), legitimates individual rights each of them playing out in different strategies displacing the aims of indigenous political projects as a whole (Engle 2010, Henriksen 2001). Seen as the right to culture, indigenous self-determination risks falling into discourses of authenticity that could result in
mainstreaming essentialist forms of recognition (Spivak 1999). However, as Escárcega (2010) points out, essentialist forms are also political claims appropriated by indigenous peoples to negotiate their entitlement to live according to their customs, traditions, and status as peoples within a political entity. The conundrum here is for governments to define the basis of peoplehood (e.g., linguistic, ethnic, religious, or national) and provide for a distinct way of life that reflects the political culture and constitutional frameworks of the dominant society. This is achieved by mainstreaming minority rights towards building multiethnic nations. Indeed existing forms of political autonomy granted to indigenous groups around the world are not different from those granted to minorities and other peoples (Loukacheva 2005). Subsumed to public governance arrangements, international instruments serve the purpose of raising awareness on indigenous issues by way of sanctioning breaches by states of universal standards of justice as established within the human and indigenous rights UN doctrine.

Underpinning indigenous peoples’ struggle, the second strand upholds self-determination as a decolonizing practice towards a legitimate recognition of sovereignty under the rule of law. Equating self-determination to sovereignty entails the restitution of indigenous collective rights. Under this strand indigenous rights as protected in the United Nations and other international covenants are considered “inadequate to enunciate indigenous claims to land, languages, self-government, and religious practices such as protection of sacred sites” (Trask 2002, [S]18). The restitution of rights in indigenous terms granting distributional sovereignty in the international arena, would entail a radical

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69 Henriksen identifies four types of autonomy arrangements a) political institutions (e.g. Saami Parliaments in Finland, Norway, and Sweden), b) autonomous jurisdictions based on indigenous ancestries (e.g. the Comarca: Kuna Yala in Panama) and c) autonomy within the State, (e.g. Nunavut and the Indigenous autonomous regions in the Philippines), d) indigenous overseas autonomy (e.g. Greenland) (Henriksen 2001, 18).
change in the way rights play out in institutional spaces, a true co-existence between indigenous and western institutions. Self-determination is the ongoing appropriation of forms of association with the rest of society, the state, and surrounding states, “that would safeguard their distinctive identities and special relationships to their territories” (Lâm 2000, 135).

Conceptualizing the contingencies between sovereignty and indigenous power, the third theoretical strand locates self-determination within the processes of instituting political action in shifting boundaries (Shadian 2010). Sovereignty as a contingent concept, escapes mainstreaming in international legal regimes while operating in the intersections of the local (space of dependence - governance) and the global (space of engagement) (Cox 1998). Self-determination manifests in networks and time-bound strategic alliances engaging the local with the global mobilizing power. Through this continuous engagement indigenous peoples redefine political aspirations for self-determination in the spaces of dependence. With the focus on concrete causes, predictable outcomes become the sources of legitimacy and ultimately political influence.

Each of the three strands I present here offers a theoretical insight on how the right to self-determination preserves or unsettles conventional understandings of sovereignty. Operating at different scales one could argue, indigenous peoples have more than one avenue to assert their rights and / or resist hegemonic forces.

When significant gains in political autonomy and recognition have been achieved, as is the case of Inuit in Nunavut and Greenland, education cannot escape playing a strategic role in articulating indigenous rights, decolonizing aims, and political and economic engagement at multiple planes. In the next section I draw a parallel between
these theoretical strands looking at indigenous self-determination from a macro perspective and the literature on indigenous education and the politics of knowledge. The overlaps amongst these two bodies of literature will allow me to examine how the right to self-determination relates to post-secondary education in Nunavut and Greenland at the present time in conceptual terms.

3.2. Post-secondary Education: A right or the means for the right to self-determination?

For indigenous peoples, Doxtater (2004, 620) states, “knowledge is the exercise of self-determination”. I take this statement as a discursive thread for reviewing the literature on indigenous education with respect to the three theoretical strands outlined in the previous section: self-determination as a right to culture, self-determination as decolonizing, and self-determination as people’s contingent sovereignty.

As indigenous peoples increasingly take control over their day-to-day affairs the need for advanced levels of education grows. Such need meets the recognition of the indigenous right to establish and control their educational systems (United Nations, 2007 Articles 14 and 15). What does indigenous control entail? The literature emphasizes two different aims: development and decolonizing.

Advocating for education as an essential need for human development in the circumpolar region, Rasmussen, Barhnardt and Keskitalo (2010) argue for the expansion of, and access to, postsecondary education opportunities within the wider domains of societal change. The literature on access documents a myriad of initiatives addressing deficits in student outcomes under the framework of equity policies. Such policies translate into programs focusing on student outreach, student retention, and student success targeting underrepresentation and high dropout rates affecting indigenous
students in postsecondary institutions. Overall, access and equity policies emphasize inclusion of indigenous students in mainstream education pathways. What is the meaning of mainstream education in the Arctic? The Arctic Council Human Development Report defines it as the formal process “whereby nations perpetuate their values and beliefs from one generation to the next, including science, art, sport, and other facets of culture” (Stefansson Arctic Institute 2004, 169). The underlying principle is that mainstream education (i.e., prioritizing national standards) is more likely to arm students with the human capital required to succeed in society at large (Spence et al. 2007, Rasmussen et al. 2010). How does mainstream education remain relevant in a context that is self-proclaimed distinct? This question takes the literature on a tangent that applies more directly to localities where indigenous peoples are the majority or, to put it in broader terms, where diversity is not the main concern.

Proponents of access in human capital terms recognize the value of situated knowledge, that is, knowledge linked to local realities and ethnicity. However they see no long-term benefits of exclusive indigenous institutions, especially if they aim at resisting pressure from the outside. Rather than a political role then, postsecondary education is seen as an institution where disparities in learning and knowledge are formally addressed. On the learning side of the spectrum, the literature emphasizes the role of a culturally appropriate education for students to have a sense of place upon which a broader knowledge of the rest of the world can be built (Barnhardt 2008). Here, postsecondary education is called upon to foster culture not only as a student access and engagement
strategy but also as a means to build a local perspective on economic growth and social wellbeing (Nord 2002). In this body of literature, the differentiation between “local perspectives” (also referred as “traditional” “indigenous” and “non-western” knowledge) and “science” (also referred as knowledge) makes the case for bridging two opposed worlds. Such opposition carries the working assumption that “local knowledge” brings alternative ways to approach economic development that are more sustainable and responsible, mostly in environmental terms (Sillitoe and Marzano 2009, Bicker et al. 2004, Sable et al. 2007, Barnhardt, 2008). The assumed linkage between local knowledge and environmental sustainability is believed to make education both situated and relevant to the broader economic context where future graduates would self-reliantly belong.

Critical to human development and sustainability education approaches to indigenous education, the decolonizing literature draws our attention to the “soul wound” caused by colonial assimilation and acculturation (Duran et al., 1998). The education problem is not that of mutual inclusion (i.e., modern and traditional, developed and developing) to achieve societal goals (largely defined by nation-states), but that of redressing the historical causes of indigenous exclusion. On the knowledge side of the equation, proponents of decolonizing approaches to education contend the diffusion of western knowledge, has spread the belief in universal truths instituting what counts as real, normal, and true while severing the cognitive from the aesthetic and spiritual aspects of life (Battiste 2000, Kuokkanen 2007). Coded in universal laws, are predicated on representations of the colonized Other\textsuperscript{71} predicated on notions of static, timeless, and

\textsuperscript{71} The term Other (with a capital O) denotes an unequal relationship as a result of the subordination of one group over an Other group from which resources are exploited. According to Said (1979), the process of Othering has everything
pristine cultures (Smith 1999, Stern 2006). Romantic depictions freezing the Other’s life system in time and space, exalt the forms of a reconstructed past disregarding the knowledge that, operating in the present, is at odds with western canons of validation. Removed from the contemporary world, formal education becomes the bridge to the future and so the colonized subject comes to believe in the naturalness of his/her subordination (Smith, 1999, Memmi 1967, Said 1979, Maracle 1996, Rahmena 2001). Relaying itself on the colonized, mental domination, as Memmi (1967) calls it, is a more sophisticated form of colonial ruling. It perpetuates itself even in discourses of liberation and human rights, precisely because colonial philosophies and epistemologies remain uncontested in mainstream education (Cajete 2000, Nandy 1988 and 2008, Smith 1999, Battiste 2000 and 2009, Kuokkanen 2007, Abdi 2012).

In recent years, scholars and educators are revaluing indigenous knowledge to instigate decolonizing platforms of development in education. While no universal perspective on indigenous knowledge exists, its holistic orientation appears to be a unifying idea. Holism of indigenous knowledge finds expression in the relationships between people, their ecosystems and the other living beings and spirits that share their lands (Battiste 2000). As a knowledge–practice–belief complex, indigenous knowledge includes an intimacy with the place where it evolves. Such evolution includes rules and norms about interacting with an environment in flux and a worldview shaping the way people make observations, make sense of their observations and learn (Berkes and Berkes 2009). The notion of constant flux as a qualifier of holistic knowledge challenges the distinction between knowing (as a process) and knowledge (as a body). The lack of such

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to do with knowledge, and power acting through knowledge, to achieve a particular agenda in its goal of political domination.
distinction is best understood as the indivisibility between concept and practices. Knowledge is practice and practice is experience passed and accumulated through generations (Battiste 2000 and 2009, Cajete 2000, Kuokkanen, 2007). Tungilik (1999) describes how this knowledge–practice–belief complex is manifest in Inuit knowledge. Privileging first hand personal experience over abstracted or coded information Tungilik argues, Inuit knowledge does not value generalizations. It is cumulative and experiential knowledge rooted in Inuit spiritual life that cannot be abstracted from the people who carry it.

Decolonizing education literature advocates for recognition of indigenous knowledge as an independent epistemic entity. What would this recognition entail in postsecondary education? Or, more specifically, how does that which cannot be abstracted become codified in an educational setting? I was able to trace two trends responding to this query. The first one proposes decolonizing existing postsecondary education institutions through practices that acknowledge colonial history from the eyes of the colonized (Brady 1994, Smith 1999, Memmi 1965, Sykes 1996). Indigenous literatures document several initiatives including: a critical examination of the curriculum in the way it reproduces dominant ways of knowing (Beare 1993, Teasdale and Rhea 2000), the integration of decolonizing methodologies into research practices (Smith 1999, Brown and Strega, 2005, Grande 2004, Absolon 2008, Pulitano 2003), the creation of spaces for indigenous knowledge scholarship (Thaman 2003), the validation of indigenous spirituality in teaching - learning and research (Kirkness and Barnhardt 2001), and the integration of oral knowledge into literate pedagogy and scholarship (Archibald 2008).
A second approach proposes decolonizing through reclaiming knowledge “not to obliterate the past but radically reconfigure the relationships between past and present” (Dion 2009). This literature sees postsecondary education (teaching/learning and research) as the site to exercise self-determination that is, the site to construct knowledge in accordance with self-determined definitions of what is real and what is valuable today (Brant Castellano 2004, 102). The underlying principle is that resistance to colonization has been maintained to the present hence indigenous knowledge remains “unsubjugated, sovereign, and ignored” (Doxteter 2004, 620). Decolonization manifests itself as a practical resistance to assimilation through intellectual activism and empowerment of individuals and communities (Doxteter 2004, Kuokkanen 2007, Mihesuah and Wilson, 2002). In frank contrast to the notion that indigenous knowledge disappeared with colonization, this approach puts emphasis on its self-generating nature and its role in cultural survival hence advocating for a new type of education:

Decolonizing knowledge commences the process for reengaging indigenous knowledge with a practiced culture rather than merely a performative culture. From here on we emancipate indigenous knowledge of governance, sovereignty, agriculture, architecture, mathematics, astronomy, communications, medicine and healing. Thus, the intellectual diligence of indigenous scholars marks the beginning of what we could now call decolonial era (Doxteter 2004, 629).

The two major approaches to indigenous education, human development and decolonizing, epistemologically connect with two of the theoretical strands regarding self-determination and sovereignty. The literature on development appears to follow the same lines as the literature regarding self-determination as a right to culture focusing on culturally appropriate education to equalize outcomes. Indigenous knowledge is here mainstreamed to meet expectations of inclusion, representation, and local relevance. The decolonizing literature locates self-determination in the restitution for equal standing of
indigenous and non-indigenous knowledge, where knowledge is central to political action (Warrior 1994). Education here builds on the struggle for restitution of indigenous rights, nourishes alternatives to colonial and neo-colonial intervention and/or promotes engagement to assert sovereign rights beyond the boundaries of the nation-state.

Reflecting on the history of Greenland and Nunavut as it pertains to education, one cannot dismiss the political and material forces involved in the construction of peoplehood and the different ways in which self-determination is understood and institutionalized. If one assumes human development and decolonization as divergent constructs reflecting distinct interpretations of the right to self-determination, contingency would appear to be a suitable conjecture to make these constructs context specific. Indeed, the theoretical strand of contingent sovereignty may have a place in education theory if we look at post-secondary education as both a space of dependence and space of engagement. The premise at work here is that when taking into account the indigenous right to self-determination, the local, the national and the global are political dimensions operating in post-secondary education. This premise particularly applies to Nunavut and Greenland. With public governments serving an Inuit majority population, responding to the economic potential of the region’s untapped resources and stewarding territorial vulnerability to environmental threats; Greenlanders and Nunavummiut face the tensions between development and decolonizing stemming from the differences between western and Inuit worldviews and their symbolic legacy.

In overlapping the theoretical strands conceptualizing sovereignty and self-determination with indigenous education approaches, one can easily draw the following connections:
1. When self-determination is conceived within a framework of internal sovereignty, an emphasis on cultural rights turns education into one of the institutional carriers of culture. Since post-secondary education has as one of its main purposes preparing people for the labour market, culture is understood as indigenous ways to be woven into mainstream programs and content to increase student participation and motivate perseverance, graduation, and ultimately ease the pathway to employment. Employment relies on economic development, which under an indigenous rights framework of internal sovereignty, is understood in terms of people’s livelihoods and environmental sustainability. With sustainability as a significant lever of the organized indigenous cause, constructs of what constitutes local come to encompass culture and as such may permeate postsecondary education programming and content.

2. When self-determination is seen as decolonizing, an emphasis on resistance to the dominant society is projected into post-secondary education. The focus here is to introduce decolonizing into research, curriculum, and learning practices in existing postsecondary education institutions or to create indigenous-specific institutions and/or programs. Here indigenous education approaches take western approaches as a counterpoint accounting for constructs of colonialism, neo-colonialism, classism, sexism, and racism. As such, it often assumes that no one approach (be it deemed traditional, indigenous, non-western, critical, environmental, local, or sustainable) is able to provide a one best-way solution to social ailments affecting indigenous peoples.

3. Given that, the right to indigenous self-determination is neither fully settled within the framework of internal sovereignty nor within the parameters of secession, the
The construct of contingent sovereignty serves the purpose of introducing a theoretical opening to define the intersections between development and decolonizing. Applying this construct to the education literature allows for a break in the theoretical cycle of reproducing dichotomies operating in indigenous-sensitive approaches. By looking at postsecondary education institutions as sites where indigenous education is contingent on the political and economic milieu, one is able to examine how such institutions operate in shifting boundaries realizing ideas of human development and decolonizing. The value in introducing contingency lies in looking at these contrasting constructs working in simultaneity implicating postsecondary education in the politics and economics of indigenous peoples’ rights.

Figure 4 illustrates the relationships between different bodies of literature.

Figure 4 Relationships between sovereignty, self-determination as related and Indigenous education

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When applying the theoretical strands pertaining to sovereignty and the right to self-determination to the literature on indigenous education, the right to self-determination is broken up in different rights (mostly economic, social and cultural), which can become ends in themselves and/or the means towards achieving an indigenous people’s cause. How these rights are interpreted and made effective is made accessible through the ways postsecondary education institutions take them up in practice. Hence, by contextualizing each of the three connections drawn here, one can access not only the effective terms of indigenous self-determination but how they fit in the wider context of sovereignty and rights in a geopolitically sensitive environment. Contextualizing then entails unpacking ubiquitous constructs to appreciate what counts as “culture”, “local”, “global”, and ultimately “indigeneity”.

Contextualizing the key constructs theories depart from, allows for looking at the points in which different takes on the indigenous right to self-determination converge and diverge in postsecondary education. Concentrating on the points of convergence and divergence makes it theoretically feasible to delve into the thesis that postsecondary education exhibits the effective meanings of the indigenous right to self-determination. Indeed, it is here that one can examine working syntheses of public and indigenous education approaches, operating against the backdrop of economic, social, territorial, political, and geopolitical forces as in the case of Nunavut and Greenland. Undoubtedly, this open theoretical framework necessitates a methodological one to examine the layers of the problematic at hand. This is the focus of the next chapter.
Chapter Four: Methodology

4.1. Methodological grounds

My research query aims at investigating the relationships between Inuit self-determination and post-secondary education in Nunavut and Greenland. The local, national, and regional dimensions of their political status, and the different avenues that Inuit self-determination might enter upon, are accessed through the trajectories of two postsecondary education institutions: Ilisimatusarfik, the University of Greenland and Nunavut Arctic College. Linked to devolution processes, these two institutions face the tensions between development and decolonizing which the literature portrays. The way Ilisimatusarfik and the Nunavut Arctic College resolve these tensions informs how people allegiances materialize in operating notions of the right to self-determination.

As reviewed in the literature, Inuit self-determination is not only a localized political aim but also a ubiquitous construct open to different interpretations along geopolitical lines. This particular aspect carries methodological concerns to better reflect the interconnectivity of social phenomena in different contexts. Scholars in different fields interested in social realities cutting across state-bound units have offered a few methodological insights. Marcus (1989, 1998) proposes moving beyond local sites in order to connect local enactment to national and global processes. He argues for a multi-sited research design that traces “cultural formations across and within multiple sites of activity that destabilize the distinction, for example, between life-world and system” (Marcus 1998, 80). Marcus’s methodological approach echoes Gupta and Ferguson’s (1997) critique of the notion of cultures being discrete, object-like phenomena occupying
a discrete space otherwise known as locality. On the whole these authors endorse Appadurai’s approach to the cultural study of globalization acknowledging the emergence of social phenomena that are manifested in “intensely local forms but have contexts that are anything but local” (Appadurai 2001, 6). Culturalist movements, Appadurai argues (1996), contain dispersed and diverse forms of transnational allegiance and affiliation, and as such are de-territorialized. For Inuit people, this does not mean that the power of the physical territory disappears, but that it is rather subsumed in the “political contestation over the symbolic meanings of physical space more generally” (Shadian 2010, 485).

Influenced by new insights to approach societal changes in contemporary times, scholars in the field of comparative education are fostering a methodological discussion to contextually compare polities. Cowen (2000) calls for studying societies at the point of transition “to read the forces of history in the interplay of the domestic and the international in the construction of educational patterns” (p. 339). Building on Cowen’s focus, Carney (2009, 7) looks at the instances when transnational policies and practices strike globally to gain insights into “the interconnectivity of politics, history, and culture across localities at a time when these three elements are often dismissed”. Along similar lines Marginson and Rhoades (2002), Steiner-Khamsi (2004), and Vavrus and Bartlett (2006) encourage the use of methodologies to analyse different agencies, layers, and historical conditions to unpack how education systems and institutions are implicated locally, nationally, and globally. In the quest for a methodological approach to diverse and diffuse phenomena, institutions become anchoring realities and as such educational
sites can be “read as distillations of crucial political and economic messages, including the redefinitions of the past and the visions of the future” (Cowen 2000, 341).

Understanding postsecondary education institutions as embodiments of political, economic, and social shifts, my study focuses on the effective meanings of Inuit self-determination. As recounted in chapter two, formal education in Greenland and Nunavut has been shaped by the tension between colonial assimilation and acculturation and the preservation and development of Inuit ways. In this tension an Inuit consciousness has emerged implicating education in the quest for self-determination. As the Arctic region becomes geopolitically prominent, education is also concerned with projected environmental shifts that are likely to intensify the cultural and socioeconomic changes Inuit have experienced in the past century. Multiple and conflicting messages projected into education are taken up by particular institutions embedded in their immediate and not so immediate contexts. Recounting the current realities of Ilisimatusarfik as the first University of Greenland, and Nunavut Arctic College as the de facto postsecondary education system in Nunavut, the purpose of this thesis is to compare both institutions to access the effective meaning of the indigenous right to self-determination from below. Comparability is given not only by focusing on the rationales accounting for institutional and jurisdictional differences and similarities, but by juxtaposing textual and contextual instances of analysis as different takes on the study object (Marcus 1998, Loukacheva 2009, Cowen 2000).

At the textual instance the focus is on the interpretation of documents accounting for societal transitions in the Arctic that compress political and economic power into educational forms. Documents here are seen as artifacts that shed light on the creation,
reception, circulation, and instrumentalization of social organization (Riles 2006). Thus, document interpretation entails looking at the ways Inuit self-determination is coded relative to the time, place, sources, and intended audiences of particular texts. As well, it involves looking at how such codes are replicated in other documents extending the meanings of Inuit self-determination into institutional forms and practices. Document interpretation will bring an account of the assumed relationships between text and meaning and the broader ideological frameworks within which such relationships take shape (Riles 2006). Making my assumptions visible allows for an open conversation where interpretations are disclosed and discussed towards a collaborative endeavour that makes context readable.

At the contextual instance, the focus is on lived experiences and stories that thread political aims and socio-economic imperatives into education practices. I define lived experience in Bakhtinian terms, as something that acquires meaning when it is expressed (Bakhtin 1986). Thus, lived experiences manifest orally in conversations that provide an important framework for analysing multiple speaking positions, including mine. A participatory research approach was chosen to disclose the tensions and contradictions I found along the way and unpack the effective meanings of Inuit self-determination in the lives of people devoting their time to postsecondary education.

4.2. Applying research methods to this study

The overarching idea to move from methodological considerations to actual methods is that of overlaying the results of textual interpretation and participatory research to provide different epistemological angles building on one another. The reading of legal and policy documents allowed me to capture the ways societal transitions are
formalized in both Ilisimatusarfik and Nunavut Arctic College. My first reading was intended to draw connections through which I could trace different approaches to education and the disparate colonial and decolonizing values operating in the life of these institutions. An exercise in preparation for fieldwork, documentary analysis became the object of participatory research, that which triggered open discussions on how participants’ experiences relate to Inuit peoples right to self-determination expressed as their right to pursue freely their economic, social and cultural development.

Participatory research in this thesis refers to open conversations with instructors, faculty and administrators at Ilisimatusarfik and Nunavut Arctic College. The terms of participatory research constitute the ethical backbone of this study. Doing research in the homeland of Inuit is regulated to assure respect for indigenous rights and recognition of indigenous knowledge and intellectual property. Accordingly, I designed my research in stages to build rapport with the people who were willing to participate in my study. Overall, conversations created the space for sharing our experiences, discussing our assumptions, and collaborating in the interpretation of problematic themes. Taking also the time to reflect on each conversation, I wrote a personal letter to each participant summarizing what I learned from our interaction and the ideas that struck a cord in relationship to my research. Conversations and ongoing correspondence informed the different relationships between self-determination and postsecondary education as accounted for in the findings discussed in chapter 6.

Departing from participants’ experience, postsecondary education is examined in the interplay of political, social, cultural, and economic conditions at this point in time. Contextual comparison is hence a tool to explore how institutional policies,
programming, teaching, learning and research at Ilisimatusarfik and the Nunavut Arctic College, resolve incompatibilities embedded in the multiple missions with which education is concerned.

The relationships between Inuit self-determination and postsecondary education in Nunavut and Greenland are discussed upon presenting the findings I collaboratively arrived at. Here, the use of a contextual comparison points towards theoretical problems to better reflect the intersections of the force of colonial and postcolonial history and the configuration of social structures substantiating indigenous claims to peoplehood.

4.3. Research stages

This research followed five stages: Ethical Approval, Exploratory visits, document interpretation, participatory research fieldwork, and contextual comparison.

Ethical Approval

The proposal for this study was granted ethical approval, after undergoing University of Toronto Research Ethics Board delegated review process (See Appendix 1). At this point, I was able to apply for the Nunavut Research License by submitting a summary of my proposal translated into Inuktitut and Inuinnaqtun to the Nunavut Research Institute. Upon consultation with several community councils where Nunavut Arctic College operates, I was granted a license to conduct research in Nunavut in July 2011 (See Appendix 2). I did not have to undergo a licensing process to conduct research in Greenland where I gained institutional consent during my second field trip to Nuuk in November, 2011 (See Appendix 3)
Exploratory visits

I decided to visit Nunavut Arctic College and Ilisimatusarfik to share my proposal, discuss how to make it more relevant to participants, gather relevant archival material and documentation, as well as informally connect with instructors and administrators. I visited Ilisimatusarfik for the first time in May 2011 as a participant of the Eighth International PhD Seminar on Arctic Societies (IPSAS) hosted by Greenland’s university. Here, I presented my proposal and shared ideas with Ilisimatusarfik professors and administrators who informally engaged in my research.

I visited Nunavut Arctic College on the occasion of its “Katinniq” Professional Development Conference held on August 2011. Here I participated in plenary sessions and various workshops sharing experiences and thoughts with instructors and administrators working in the regional campuses and in the community learning centres. I stayed in Iqaluit after the conference and was able to engage in several conversations that turned my exploratory visit into a research one. I was also invited to participate in several activities to inaugurate the beginning of the school year.

Document interpretation

My exploratory visits allowed me to make an informed selection of bibliographic, archival, and documentary material. Most of this information allowed me to map the historical context against which I could start examining the relationships between Inuit self-determination and post-secondary education. In my reading of institutional documents I traced the relationships between Inuit self-determination and postsecondary education the literature portrays focusing on explicit or implicit references to the right to culture, development, decolonizing, and indigenous knowledge.
Documents gave me a broad understanding of where the institutions were at, the missions they are responding to and the potential areas of tension. Accordingly, I was able to discuss my interpretations and gain insight on how such constructs operate on the everyday of Ilisimatusarfik and Nunavut Arctic College. Overall I looked at over two hundred documents as follows:

Table 5 Documentary analyses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ilisimatusarfik</th>
<th>Nunavut Arctic College</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Legal Documents</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutional Policy Documents</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutional Reports</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Board minutes</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Program - curriculum related documents</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Academic Publications by faculty/instructors</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>132</strong></td>
<td><strong>132</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Documents were categorized and annotated. Summaries were also created for relevant content of all legal documents, institutional reports, and board minutes. Annotations and summaries were used in conversations as way to prepare myself and establish rapport with every participant. Hence I would read these summaries before meeting a participant and make notes on themes I thought might emerge given the position of the participant.

Participatory research fieldwork

I visited Ilisimatusarfik in Nuuk and Nunavut Arctic College in Iqaluit during the fall of 2011. Having met some instructors, professors, and administrators during my exploratory visits, I was able to engage in conversations with thirty-one participants of which 25 had formally given consent (See Appendix 4). While work in the field totalled
nine weeks, I continued to communicate with over half of the participants during the winter and spring of 2012. Each conversation addressed different themes in an open-ended manner building from participants’ experience and my understandings as an outsider and a fellow educator who had invested some time in documenting the institutions they work at. All of them received a personal letter summarizing our conversation and highlighting the insights I gained from our interaction (See Appendix 5). Most participants (20) replied to my letter with some of them adding new ideas to my summary. All conversations informed the themes discussed in the findings chapter of this thesis.

### Table 6 Number of participants by institution

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ilisimatusarfik</th>
<th>Nunavut Arctic College</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Administrators</strong></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Faculty/Instructors</strong></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Government officers related to the university / college</strong>*</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Off record Faculty/Instructors</strong></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total summaries sent</strong></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total replies to summaries</strong></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*As referred by recruited participants

### Contextual comparison

Departing from the conversation summaries and going back to their corresponding transcriptions, I traced the way in which faculty and administrators’ work assume the indigenous right to self-determination as it pertains to Inuit. As drawn from the historical background and the different theoretical strands, addressing the effective meanings this right poses requires contextualizing the four dimensions this right encompasses namely Inuit right to determine freely their political status and pursue freely their economic, social, and cultural development.
Contextualizing hereby means unpacking the political meaning of peoplehood and its operating principles for “society”, “culture”, and “economy” within the theoretical continuum drawn by dichotomies and contingencies between development and decolonizing. Accordingly, I brought together different conversations by dimension looking for how participants reflect on them in relationship to Inuit self-determination in Nunavut and Greenland. Reiterative topics emerging from different conversations were substantiated by documents to depict existing ranges in people’s opinions. I organized the material following the four dimensions of the indigenous right to self-determination as defined in the United Nations Declaration of Indigenous Peoples Rights (2007 Article No. 3). Accordingly, political status as well as economic, social and cultural development, became the major threads I used to organize the material as shown in the following table:

Table 7 Organization of deocumentary analysis and conversations by emerging themes and focus

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimension</th>
<th>Emerging Themes</th>
<th>Focus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Political status</td>
<td>Mission of the institution with respect to governmental goals, and Inuit people’s aims</td>
<td>Institutions’ position with respect to peoplehood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Institutions’ position with respect to governance arrangement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Colonial and post-colonial relationships</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social development</td>
<td>Meanings of social development operating in program development and the organization of teaching, learning, research, student services, and other services outside the institution</td>
<td>The role of postsecondary education in promoting Inuit social development as taken up by the institution.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural development</td>
<td>Understandings of culture operating in program development and the organization of teaching, learning, research and student services.</td>
<td>Inuit culture as codified in programs, curriculum and delivery of postsecondary education.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Inuit culture as envisioned in wider contexts</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The different accents in these emerging themes determined the organization of findings leading to a wider discussion on the different relationships between the indigenous right to self-determination and post-secondary education and the repercussions for both theory and practice.

4.4. Methodological limitations

When I conceived this study, I was only remotely aware of the differences between Greenland and Nunavut and, most importantly, between Nunavut Arctic College and Ilisimatusarfik. I thought that such differences stemmed from different colonial experiences and focused on the historical course of Inuit political resistance and action. In other words, my point of departure was that of assuming indigenous peoples as politically distinct from the wider society. This assumption has methodological implications whereby I would have had to differentiate Inuit from non-Inuit participants and perhaps interview only Inuit participants. In my exploratory visits I realized that such distinctions do not stem from being Inuit or non-Inuit / Greenlander or Greenlandic, but from where people position themselves in relation to indigeneity. It is in the ways professors, instructors, and administrators related to Inuitness or Greenlandicness that I was able to converse about the issues that concern them on a day-to-day basis. While under an indigenous lens this study might be limited in pinpointing which perspectives are
uniquely Inuit, but I believe it is closer to the reality of Ilisimatusarfik and Nunavut Arctic College where, as I will later discuss, the idea of belonging to the wider society is instrumental to the definition of Inuit self-determination in operational terms.

Another limitation of this study relates to language barriers. For most of the participants in this study including myself, English is a second language. Undoubtedly, the lack of a common language and background affected our ability to explore nuances in our train of thought. While creating a space for interacting both in person and in writing may have compensated communication shortcomings, I believe there are ideas that may have escaped this qualitative study.
Chapter Five: Findings

5.1. The people: Determining political status

Inquiring about “the people” touches both on imagined communities and actual collectivities. My point of departure, as relayed in chapter two, was that multiple people allegiances unsettle the mission of education institutions. This became more apparent to me as I conversed with professors, instructors, and administrators in Greenland and Nunavut who made me aware of who “the people” are from an institutional standpoint. Here the history and mission of Ilisimatusarfik and Nunavut Arctic College respectively interweave the different meanings of people operating in the everyday of postsecondary education.

The history of Ilisimatusarfik came up in different conversations revealing a distinction between the people the university serves and the people on whom it bases its academic programming. Reflecting the principles of the Greenland Home Rule Government, Ilisimatusarfik makes no distinction between Greenlandic people of Inuit ancestry and the wider population born in Greenland with mixed ancestry. In organizing its functions around one people, the university aligned to Greenland’s nation building aims. Taking Greenlanders as a whole, the university was established to produce the knowledge to substantiate a national identity. As Ilisimatusarfik’s Vice Rector Uffe Jakobsen relates:

Nation building was a matter of regaining the Greenlandic language, establishing

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72 The context of these conversations was the International Ph.D School for Studies of Arctic Societies (IPSSAS) during its 8th seminar which took place in Kangerlussuaq/Nuuk, Greenland from May 20 to May 30, 2011.
a common Greenlandic history, maintaining a common culture etc. and in this way, strengthening the national identity and creating the nation as an imagined community.  

During the first decades of the Greenland Home Rule, the government adopted several measures to gain societal cohesiveness, appropriating Danish bureaucratic structures and systems and its new university was no exception. Strategically adopting a Danish model with a “limited selection of programs” and a focus on Greenlandic humanities and social sciences, Ilisimatusarfik was established to serve a symbolic as well as a functional purpose. Symbolically, the university would nationalize the knowledge of Greenlandic people’s ancestry. Functionally, the university would avoid using sparse money in duplicating programs that were already available to Greenlanders in Denmark:

I believe it to be a very clever decision to focus on Greenlandic culture. That is Greenlandic language, Greenlandic history and the Greenlandic present situation and avoid using sparse money for, for instance, departments in Architecture or whatever it has, so I believe it to be a very nice and a very premeditated strategy to build a small university with a clear focus on the Greenlandic angle and to have the professors employed here do their research in Arctic topics and Greenlandic topics. This is not the place to go if you want to do your research on say for instance, the Crusades of Medieval Europe or Northern Britain. You’d better study somewhere else. The money has to be used for very focused topics. And it is [a] very symbolic thing that if you want to know something about for instance, Greenlandic culture, you don’t have to go somewhere else, [that] the natural place to go is the University of Greenland.

During the first two decades of the Greenland Home Rule Government, this institution of higher learning became a place for Greenlanders to learn about Greenlandic people through discipline-based topics (i.e., History, Sociology, Anthropology, Theology, and Linguistics). Run and delivered by Danish administrators and professors,

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73 Uffe Jakobsen (Vice Rector Ilisimatusarfik), email communication with author, November 17, 2011.
74 Thorkild Kjaergaard (Professor, Ilisimatusarfik), conversation with author, November 23, 2011.
75 Ole Marquardt (Professor and former Rector, Ilisimatusarfik), conversation with author, November 23, 2011.
Ilisimatusarfik evolved into Greenland’s “ivory tower”. As related by several participants, such qualifier implies an institutional detachment from its society privileging professors’ independence to produce knowledge:

I think the university has really been the university world alone… I think it has been too isolated because it is and was a university where you really respected the independence of the research. But it is not a university that, you know, has a reputation for collaborating with the outside. The research has been done pretty much in their [professors’] offices, going back in literature and so on.

Mimicking the Danish University Act of 2003, the new Greenland’s University Act of 2007 mandated a relationship with society as part of the Ilisimatusarfik’s mission. Hereby, society is no longer conceived as an indirect and somewhat uncertain recipient of knowledge, but a concrete actor to which the university is accountable. Indeed, with the new act, it is the expectation of the government for Greenland’s university to participate in public debate and contribute to the development of the country and the wider Arctic region (Om Ilisimatusarfik Landstingslov Nr. 19 Af 2007-11-19 2007). For Ilisimatusarfik’s faculty and administrators the relationship to society has come to mean the opening up of the “ivory tower” by means of a board of governors replacing the university’s collegial governance structure. With six out of eleven members appointed by the government, the board has unsettled the university status quo:

I think it is very hard to get rid of the university as an ivory tower. It is one of the images I think universities will die with probably. In one of our first board meetings, [back] in 2009, one of the members used the phrase ‘the hidden university’ and that was one of the board members living furthest away from the university. Nevertheless that notion became part of the discourse and it is, it is fair

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76 This term was used in several open conversations during my visits. It was recorded in four conversations as follows: Birger Poppel (Chief Statistics Greenland and Ilisimatusarfik Board Member), conversation with author, November 24, 2011. Per Langgård (Chief Advisor, Greenland Language Secretariat, Ilimmarfik University Park), conversation with author, November 27, 2011. Tine Pars (Rector, Ilisimatusarfik), conversations with author November 21, 2011. Mariia Simonsen (Professor, Ilisimatusarfik), conversation with author, November 28, 2011.

77 Tine Pars (Rector, Ilisimatusarfik), conversations with author November 21, 2011.
to say, it is the ambition not only of the chairman but [also] of the majority of the board to change the university. They operate with this picture in mind that this closed entity is not living up to modern standards.\(^\text{78}\)

Until now, we have had the privilege of being untouched in a way we could keep going as we have done all the time. I feel happy about this wonderful privilege that in this country, after only 25 years of university we have a very well working, class education, that is at an international level, we write books, we participate in congresses, make a name of Greenland and the university of Greenland known at international congresses in Europe and in North America. With the new law Greenland wants to make its university bigger, include more [programs], institute a university board, and a new governance system.\(^\text{79}\)

Along with a new governance structure, the new act broadened Ilisimatusarfik’s delivery base by merging Greenland’s professional schools into the classical university. Accordingly, by the beginning of the 2008-2009 academic year, Ilisimatusarfik expanded its programs to include applied degrees and diplomas as follows:

**Table 8 Ilisimatusarfik schools - programs**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Schools/ Departments</th>
<th>Credentials</th>
<th>First year undergraduate enrolments 2011-2012</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Classical University</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School of theology</td>
<td>Bachelor of Arts (3 years)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School of social sciences</td>
<td>Bachelor of Arts (3 years) Master of Arts (2 years)</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School of cultural and social history</td>
<td>Bachelor of Arts (3 years) Master of Arts (2 years)</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language, literature and media</td>
<td>Bachelor of Arts (3 years) Master of Arts (2 years)</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PhD in Arctic culture, language , and society (3 years)</td>
<td></td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Professional Schools</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teacher training (Ilinniarfissuaq)</td>
<td>Academic diploma (3 years) Professional Bachelor (4 - 4.5 years) Professional Master (2 years)</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education science (Inerisaavik)</td>
<td>Academic Diploma (varies) Master of Education (2 years)</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Journalism (Tusagassionermik Immikkoortortaqqarfiq)</td>
<td>Professional Bachelor (3.5 years)</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nursing (Peqqissaanermik)</td>
<td>Certificates in Health Care (6 months - 1)</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{78}\) B Birger Poppel (Chief Statistics Greenland and Ilisimatusarfik Board Member), conversation with author, November 24, 2011.  
\(^{79}\) Aage Rydstrom-Paulsen (Dean of the School of Theology and former Rector, Ilisimatusarfik), conversation with author, November 24, 2011.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Schools/ Departments</th>
<th>Credentials</th>
<th>First year undergraduate enrolments 2011-2012</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ilinniarfik)</td>
<td>year)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Professional Bachelor (4 - 4.5 years)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Master of Health Sciences (2 years)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social conditions - social work (Isimaginninnermi Immikkoortortaqarfik)</td>
<td>Professional Bachelor (3.5 years)</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business language and Translation</td>
<td>Professional Bachelor (3.5 years)</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Office of the Rector, Ilisimatusarfik

The merger of professional schools is not free from controversy. Internally, professors are concerned about the quality of higher education at Ilisimatusarfik, specifically when considering new hiring policies. Since the new act requires professors to have a doctorate degree, the board has decided to recruit Greenlanders who, short of graduate credentials, agree to earn a doctorate degree within six years from their appointment. Originally intended for professional faculty, the policy now applies to all new faculty positions. This new policy aims at both expanding the hiring pool for university professors and, perhaps most importantly, increasing the representation of Greenlanders in faculty positions. This first affirmative-action-like policy in the history of the university reveals the uneasiness over having education at Greenland’s university delivered by Danish professors:

…we also have to accept that it is like we have a little brother syndrome that we are not good enough, that we are not good enough in Greenland, that what we do is not good enough. We have to get away from that…Our board members are reflecting on that…Instead of recruiting professors from the Danish system… we want to have some of our own.

Putting the new act into historical perspective, linguist Per Langgård suggests, that rather than opening up the university to society, new policies add to what appears to

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80 Information provided in electronic format by Rector, Tine Pars on November 18, 2011.
81 Ole Marquardt (Professor and former Rector, Ilisimatusarfik), conversation with author, November 23, 2011.
82 Tine Pars (Rector, Ilisimatusarfik), conversations with author, November 21, 2011.
be a pattern of re-polarizing the system along nationalist lines:

... around the mid eighties...[when] the Inuit Institute was abandoned and came into Ilisimatusarfik, [it] moved away from trying to create something that is ‘glocal’, taking traditional academic values and looking at them critically with Greenlandic glasses. [But] we imported quite a lot of professors that are Danes, with no experience in Greenland and no knowledge of the Greenlandic language, and they created a university system that was extremely Danish. The experiment was lost and it worked like that for twenty years or so, and something had to be done about it, that’s true. I fully agree – I fully understand the political opinion that had the idea that this is an ivory tower, that it is very closed. Yes, it [the university] has had nothing to do with society. So, it was opened-up but as a top down political installation and the base was broadened. The schools of journalism, nursing, and teacher training were put in the same university and the board came and tried to Greenlandize the whole system. But what I see is that they are now dragging the university to the ditch we historically tried to avoid in 1984, namely the “too local” ditch.83

The merging of professional programs that are directly related to social services (i.e., teacher training, nursing, social work) and the public interest (i.e., journalism), and the introduction of affirmative-action hiring policies by the board, is perceived as a dilemma between having a “too local” institution and “a true university” where “universal” knowledge is promoted to understand local, regional, and global problems.84 Such a generalized perception at Ilisimatusarfik reflects views on board decisions rather than the act itself, which undoubtedly endorses what is deemed a “universal” university model.85 Accordingly Ilisimatusarfik is opening-up locally and regionally even when this is not visible for all involved. To illustrate this “opening-up” I compiled information on

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83 Per Langgård (Chief Advisor, Greenland Language Secretariat, Ilimmarfik University Park), conversation with author, November 27, 2011. Other professors concur with this analysis including, Professor Thorkild Kjaergaard, Statistics Greenland Chief and Ilisimatusarfik Board Member Birger Poppel, and Professor Gitte Trondheim. Conversations were recorded between November 21 and November 30th, 2011.

84 Birger Poppel (Chief Statistics Greenland and Ilisimatusarfik Board Member), conversation with author, November 24, 2011.

85 Ole Marquardt (Professor and former Rector, Ilisimatusarfik), conversation with author, November 23, 2011.

86 In the act “society” does not only entail Greenland but also extends to the Arctic region. Furthermore, the act endorses the principle of academic freedom and the use of scientific methods in conducting research and providing research based education. In this sense the act endorses a European university model that is deemed “universal” by professors and administrators at Ilisimatusarfik (Om Ilisimatusarfik Landstingslov Nr. 19 Af 2007-11-19 2007, Chapter 1).
several activities people referred to that gave me some indication of what “society” is coming to mean in Greenland. Since 2008, when the new act came into effect and Ilisimatusarfik effectively moved to the newly built University Park Ilimmarfik, the university has increased its activity domestically and abroad. In fact the professional programs have decentralized university training activities from Nuuk to the rest of the country. In addition, the proximity to the National Archives, Language Secretariat, The Greenland Institute for Natural Resources, and Statistics Greenland has expanded Ilisimatusarfik’s collaboration with other centres of research. When looking at activities abroad, the university appears to be expanding its relationships both geographically and sector-wise as shown in the following table.

Table 9 Ilisimatusarfik relationships abroad

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>University Partnerships</th>
<th>Nordic Region</th>
<th>Europe</th>
<th>North America</th>
<th>Arctic Region</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Roskilde Universitet</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>University of Alaska</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aalborg Universitet</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dartmouth College</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Københavns Universitet</td>
<td>University of Alaska</td>
<td></td>
<td>Montana State University</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University of Akureyri</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University Networks</td>
<td>Danish Agency for Universities and</td>
<td>European Commission</td>
<td>University of the Arctic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

86 The school for education science delivers seminars a wide range of courses and continuing education in many municipalities. The teacher training school has a decentralized program allowing students to undertake the program in their home town. Students attending the nursing school do a clinical study / internship throughout the coast at hospitals, health centres and nursing stations. Internships in social work and journalism are also undertaken throughout the country (Conversations with professional school coordinators, Ilisimatusarfik, November 18-30).

87 For instance a new professor has been hired conjointly by the university and Greenland’s Centre for Climate Research at the Institute of Natural resources to research the human dimensions of climate change. The collaboration between the Institute and the university has resulted in various public events bringing together different sectors of society including governmental and non-governmental organizations. The inaugural Icelandic Greenlandic Arctic Science Days organized by the Icelandic Cooperation Committee on Arctic Issues, Ilisimatusarfik, University of Greenland and the Greenland Climate Research Centre are an example of this. Taking place at the University during September 2012, these encounters serve the purpose of sharing knowledge and research results from the scientific milieu of Iceland and Greenland.

88 NORDPLUS is the Nordic Council of Ministers' exchange program for teachers and students at Nordic universities, högskoler, professions schools, colleges and other higher education institutions.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nordic Region</th>
<th>Europe</th>
<th>North America</th>
<th>Arctic Region</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Internationalisation NORDPLUS&lt;sup&gt;88&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Program (ERASMUS)&lt;sup&gt;89&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td>International PhD School for Studies in Arctic Societies IPSSAS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research oriented networks/partnerships</td>
<td>U.S. National Science Foundation</td>
<td>Institute for Circumpolar Health Research International Polar Year</td>
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<tr>
<td>Inter-sector networks</td>
<td>NordForsk Board&lt;sup&gt;90&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td>Arctic Dialog&lt;sup&gt;91&lt;/sup&gt; Survey of Living Conditions in the Arctic&lt;sup&gt;92&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Personal conversations, administrators and professors Ilisimatusarfik May 2011 and November 2011

In displaying these activities in which professors and administrators have engaged, one could argue that there is more to the act than the perceived localizing of Greenland’s university. However, these university efforts appear inconsequential to faculty members who are yet to see the results of such expanding relationships, which for the most part appear to be circumscribed to dialogues and encounters that are yet to materialize into actual programming.

All along what I found is that neither localizing nor globalizing (or opening up, to use participants’ qualifiers of the situation) at Ilisimatusarfik, have fully settled in the ethos of the university. After all, as several professors pointed out, the university is still

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<sup>88</sup>Ilisimatusarfik was granted the ERASMUS University Charter in 2010 required to participate in ERASMUS programs. Ilisimatusarfik is now involved in International exchange student and faculty programs.

<sup>89</sup>The NordForsk Board brings together representatives from Nordic countries’ national research councils, higher education institutions and businesses to discuss research and innovation in the Nordic Region.

<sup>90</sup>The Arctic Dialogue is an annual resource development (oil and gas) stakeholder dialogue organized by Ilisimatusarfik, Norway’s University of Nordland, the International, MGIMO University in Moscow, Russia, and HBW Resources.

<sup>91</sup>The Survey of living conditions in the Arctic (SLiCA) is an international joint effort of research and indigenous people to measure and understand living conditions in the Arctic. SLiCA is funded by: Nordic Council of Ministers (NMR), The Greenland Home Rule Government, The Commission for Scientific Research in Greenland (KVUG) The Barents Secretariat, Nordic Arctic Research Programme (NARP), Danish Research Council for the Social Sciences (SSF), Swedish Research Council for the Social Sciences, Ministry of the interior – Dept. of municipalities, Norway, The Joint Committee on Research Councils for Nordic Countries (NOSS), Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC), National Science Foundation (NSF), and Statistics Canada.
adapting to the legal and institutional framework introduced by the new Act. What is interesting is the generalized sense of transition for everyone I had a conversation with. This sense has to do with the new responsibilities Greenland has undertaken. With Self-government and statehood aspirations, there is a call for the university to be more responsive to resource extraction development. This statement by Vice-rector Uffe Jakobsen encompasses what I heard from Ilisimatusarfik’s administrators:

The law on self-government from 2009 codified a change of perspective from national identity to sovereignty work. Based on the right to self-determination, state formation rather than nation building became the goal, although a distant goal. An independent state, however, presupposes a sustainable economy. When Greenland eventually achieves statehood, the yearly grant from Denmark that today enables the Greenlandic welfare society will no longer be available. Thus, economic development for Greenland becomes a matter of not only welfare but also sovereignty. Therefore, extractive industries as mining and oil and gas exploration have become instrumental of economic development for the purpose of enabling the goal of political independence. For the University of Greenland this means that new study programmes must be developed to serve the need of highly skilled labour not only in the humanities and social sciences but also in natural and technical sciences in order to qualify candidates not only for jobs in school, museums, public administration etc. but for productive activity in connection with the development of extractive industries.

With this rationale in mind, a proposal to change the university act has been tabled by the Ministry of Education, Research, and Nordic Cooperation. In his view, “the university should be the crown jewel of the country’s education system”. In operational terms, this means removing professional programs from the university as “they do not belong to a real university”, and “raising the bar” up to Nordic and International standards. In the actual proposal, the ministry recommends the establishment of a university-college offering the professional programmes that are currently under

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93 Ole Marquardt (Professor and former Rector, Ilisimatusarfik), conversation with author, November 23, 2011. Aage Rydstrom-Paulsen (Dean of the School of Theology and former Rector, Ilisimatusarfik), conversation with author, November 24, 2011.
94 Uffe Jakobsen (Vice Rector Ilisimatusarfik), email conversation with author, November 17, 2011.
95 Palle Christiansen (Greenland’s Minister of Education, Research, and Nordic Cooperation), conversation with author, November 22, 2011.
Ilisimatusarfik, and going back to the classical university adding a program in resource development and removing theology (Greenland Ministry of Education, Research, and Nordic Cooperation 2012). As for other programs, the plan is to send students abroad so they can see “there is another way of thinking around the world”. The overall vision is, in words of the minister, to increase the number of inhabitants with higher education “before Greenland can be independent in the future”. Reflecting on bringing an international dimension into higher education via increasing the numbers of students abroad, I wondered about brain drain. Sharing this concern took me to the following rationale threaded in the ministerial proposal for an education strategy (Greenland Ministry of Education, Research, and Nordic Cooperation 2012):

1. If the government requires more people to be educated at a higher level so as to not rely on foreign labour it should invest in higher education,

2. It does not pay off to expand higher education in Greenland as there are not enough resources (especially human) to sustain an education that meets international standards,

3. Sending Greenlanders abroad is not only more cost efficient but also exposes students to “the world”,

4. Returning to the country should be an individual choice made attractive by the prospects of a booming economy, and

5. Creating incentives for brain gain attracting talent from all over the world will compensate brain drain.

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96 At the moment of my conversation the minister was negotiating student exchange programs with Universities In Denmark, Germany, France, Canada and China. Palle Christiansen (Greenland’s Minister of Education, Research, and Nordic Cooperation), conversation with author, November 22, 2011.

97 Ibid.
Where does Ilisimatusarfik fit in this rationale? At this point in time, the ministry’s proposal is still under consultation so it is hard to speculate. Regardless of the outcome, the ministry’s proposal has made explicit the idea that the university should be opened not only to Greenland’s society but also to the world. Carrying the notion of people as “global citizens”, openness is now resonating with the right to self-determination as it comes to mean statehood. In this context, peoplehood is seen beyond the optics of ethnic nationalism, through an envisioned nation-state shaped by ideals of cosmopolitanism. This ideal is visually represented at Ilisimatusarfik. The photograph series *The Quiet Diversity* by Greenlandic artist Julie Edel Hardenberg, comes to mind. Exhibited in the main atrium of Ilisimatusarfik, this series portray the visual diversity in today’s Greenland as the product of people crossing linguistic and geographic divides.

Reflecting on these photographs, Vice Rector Uffe Jakobsen said to me “this is people now”.

Following the principles of a public government by way of endorsing an all-encompassing identifier for people, the university has taken up Greenland’s nation-building and now state-accessing aims. All along, there is a formal understanding of people as a whole that does not give way to internal differentiation along ethnic lines. Even when there is an attempt to introduce affirmative-action-like policies, differentiation remains external that is, between Greenlanders and others (mostly Danish). With people being unambiguously defined as Greenlanders, the micro-politics

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98 Ilisimatusarfik professors Jette Rygaard and Birgit Kleist Pedersen have conducted research looking at representations of Greenlander’s identity. The gist of their research provides insight on emerging cultural messages in the media and in the arts welcoming metropolitan values including multiculturalism and ethnic diversity (Rygaard 2010, Pedersen 2010) University of Copenhagen Professor Kristen Thisted contends these postcolonial messages are still part of negotiating and challenging ethnic descriptions produced from the vantage point of the colonizers. Such messages serve the purpose of positioning and market Greenland in the era of self-government (Thisted 2011).
of ethnic differentiation remain on the fringe of Ilismatusarfik’s institutional organization and planning. This, I found, is an important differentiator when comparing postsecondary education in Greenland and Nunavut.

My experience in Nunavut reveals a distinct positioning of “people” when compared to Greenland. In texts and in conversations, I found an emphatic distinction between Inuit, Nunavut Land Claims Agreement beneficiaries, Nunavummiut, and Qallunaat as well as Northerner and Southerner. I also became aware of distinctions between Inuit communities. As people assert their differences, Crown institutions operating at a territorial level such as Nunavut Arctic College, strive to serve the communities in diverse ways.

As conveyed in the background section, the creation of Nunavut Arctic College was legislated in 1994, when an amendment to the Arctic College Act (Bill 7) effectively split the college to provide postsecondary education in the territory-to-be. Inheriting the formal principles that legislated Arctic College, the college was invested in “advancing life long learning of Northern adults” throughout the Arctic and in “making the benefits of traditional and southern science more available” (Nunavut Arctic College 1988). In 2004, when the government organized its action plan for the Second Legislative Assembly along Inuit Qaujimagajatuqangit principles, the college’s board of governors adopted the territorial direction in the development of their newly mandated multiyear strategic plans. In doing so, it defined its constituents:

Whereas the Board of Governors of Nunavut Arctic College recognizes that Inuit

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99 At the time the college aligned with government strategic aims and principles, a Supplementary Appropriation (Bill 2 - Supplementary Appropriation (O&M) No. 2, 2004-05) was approved in the Legislative Assembly for “one-time bridge funding” to address the College’s deficit and to assist it “in implementing recommended improvements in management effectiveness and accountability”. A territorial wide consultation process took place during 2005 to define the terms of such improvements (Alagalak and Barnabas 2006).
are the vast majority of students at the College; and whereas the Board also recognizes that Nunavut is unique in Canada in that it came into being at the behest of the Inuit through the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement; therefore be it resolved that Inuit ways of learning and knowing, Inuit traditional knowledge and Inuit culture shall be the foundation for all programs, all curricula and designs for capital projects of the College, effective immediately; be it further resolved that any academic programs or curricula so developed shall to the greatest extent possible be delivered in Inuktitut or Inuinnaqtun; and be it further resolved that any academic programs or curricula so developed must also adhere to stringent academic standards and preserve the principle of transferability of credits to other learning institutions (Nunavut Arctic College Board of Governors 2004).

Aligning with government long-range strategic plans (Pinasuaqtavut 2004-2009 and later Tampatá 2009-2013), the college has gradually territorialized its mission statement:

To strengthen the people and communities of Nunavut by providing life-long learning opportunities for Nunavummiut adults by appropriately delivering quality career programs developed with input from our partners throughout the Arctic, and by making the benefits of Inuit traditional knowledge and southern science more accessible (Nunavut Arctic College 2008A).

Bringing the terms of its mission together, Nunavut Arctic College aims at making training and education accessible and relevant for Nunavummiut living in the twenty-five communities where the college is present. Carrying Inuit values into living and making a living in the north, the notion of relevance at Nunavut Arctic College is one that purposely combines tradition and modernity, Inuit and southern ways:

We are preparing people for the wage economy, and we have to do it in a manner that respects traditional knowledge and that is primarily for Inuit in the north. Now the north is changing, the job market is shifting, you are going from a government sector driving employment to an evolving private sector. And it will shift in the future. This resource development stuff will just drive that deeper and drive it home. You know, where people will be working shifts of two weeks in and two weeks out, that will be normal. That will be as normal as 9 to 5 became normal, cause that was foreign too. And the role of the college is that we get people prepared for this changing wage economy and a concern for everything else. I think that when you really throw the last card on the table that is what it is really all about for us… I think within the college, if you get people to graduate from a university program, and it is made for the north, and they have their
language skills, and the content is influenced by the culture, and they are respectful of that, and it is taught in a way that is consistent, somehow to me that is part of the modern world.\textsuperscript{100}

In the past six years, the college has consolidated its presence in every community to fulfill its role. Facilitated by a decentralized structure, annual training activities are programmed at a local level based on the systematic input of adult educators running the Community Learning Centres (CLCs). Their insights also inform government’s funding priorities for human resource development as provided for in the Nunavut Financial Administration Act (Nunavut 2011, Part IX). Here is how this capacity is seen from the standpoint of the college:

Being completely decentralized and being present in every community allows us to essentially reach a much broader scope of students. The amount of students that we have are not coming out of high school, there are people that are returning to school, so, allowing them to stay in their communities is something that is really essential because if you move two or three or ten people from their community it has a huge impact. So essentially we have the ability to reach those students in their communities and to offer them programs that are tailored to their needs. So basic adult education is always offered but other programs like the northern teacher education program, environmental technology program, etc., those types of programs are kind of hand picked and provided to communities where there is a need. I think mostly we are focused in giving them as much of a chance as possible for them to stay in their community for as long as possible.\textsuperscript{101}

Examining the programs offered at the college, local relevance is intrinsically tied to building community capacity within the territorial framework. Postsecondary programs in education, social services, health services, and management are geared towards assuring Inuit will carry forward their cultural legacy in the public configuration of their homeland. The Northern Teaching Education Degree Program in partnership with the University of Regina (NTEP) is a case in point. Indeed, increasing Inuit teachers is

\textsuperscript{100} Michael Shouldice (President, Nunavut Arctic College), conversation with author, August 24, 2011.
\textsuperscript{101} Eric Corneau (Coordinator, Policy and Planning, Nunavut Arctic College), conversation with author August 29, 2011.
essential to making bilingual and culturally relevant education feasible as envisioned by
the new Education and Language Acts:

You know we want to control our destiny, we want to be respectful of the culture, and we
don’t want Inuktitut to die out while recognizing these things change. And Inuit
themselves have to decide what stays and what goes in a modern world. It is
just a process of social change. I am hopeful in the degrees because when we have
nursing degrees and education degrees, those folks are the ones that are going to
develop materials for young people. 102

Designed to meet the unique conditions of life in the Arctic, programs in the
trades and resource technology are geared to build the territory’s infrastructure and
economy base. In the past five years the government has invested in developing trades
training capacity with different regional emphasis offering programs that are unique to
the North. On the supply side of the equation, locally delivered trades training offers an
opportunity for retaining students and increasing the number of graduates that, staying
close to home, could fill the jobs that currently go to southerners:

People generally want to stay close to home in Nunavut. This (new trade centre)
is a means of being gainfully employed in Nunavut. We have an extreme shortage
of skilled journeypersons in the North, and there's a lot of work for them here. 103

Art and design programs combine both traditional and contemporary techniques to place
Inuit pieces in national and international markets. The Fur Production and Design
program is a good example of this. Combining the experience of Inuit seamstresses and
industrial standards for fur production, students have managed to produce award-winning
designs showcased in Canada and abroad. 104

Recently, Nunavut Arctic College has introduced the Environmental Technology

102 Michael Shouldice (President, Nunavut Arctic College), conversation with author, August 24, 2011.
103 David Ittinuar, Director of Trades, Mining and Transportation Nunavut Arctic College (Quenneville 2010).
104 Posters of student designers include Rosie Audliak of Quikiqtarjuaq won first place for her sealskin fashion
design in the 2010 Fur-reinvented national student design contest in Montreal. Other students include Meeka Kilabuk
and Karliin Aariak who were chosen by the Fur Council of Canada to represent Canada in the International Design
Competition in Milan. Instructor, (Nunavut Arctic College), conversation with author, August 31, 2011.
diploma program to build the research skills to eventually grant a bachelor degree in this field:

We have a two-year diploma now. We want to create a three-year program which we are calling an Advanced Emphasis Diploma, an Advanced Diploma we are starting with University of New Brunswick, we will have five geomatics courses, all done online through the University of New Brunswick. We are also beginning the discussions to, now that we have this third year, maybe we’ll have a BSc in Environmental Management within 3 or 4 years. We are building that capacity so we can be degree granting and a 4-year program.105

Adult education and career development complete the program range at Nunavut Arctic College. From the beginning of the college’s life, adult education has addressed learners’ under-preparedness to pursue further formal education (e.g., graduating from high-school) or to improve opportunities for income generation (e.g., pre-trades programs). Career development is the college’s response to Article 23 of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement preparing Inuit for employment opportunities in the government. Inuit currently represent less than 50 percent of all government employees.106 The following table shows the number of programs delivered in 2011 by credential type, location, and learners’ distribution:

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105 Mary Ellen Thomas (Senior Research Officer, Nunavut Research Institute), conversation with author, September 01, 2011.
106 Michael Shouldice (President, Nunavut Arctic College), conversation with author, August 24, 2011.
Eric Corneau (Coordinator, Policy and Planning, Nunavut Arctic College), conversation with author August 29, 2011
Table 10 Number of programs by credential type, location, and learners 2010

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Programs by credential type</th>
<th>Number of programs</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Qiikiqtani Region</td>
<td>Kivalliq Region</td>
<td>Kitikmeot Region</td>
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<tr>
<td>Credit programs</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>Post-secondary Certificate</td>
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<td>Certificate Diploma and</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Degree Programs</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Arts and Design</td>
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<tr>
<td>Science and technology</td>
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<td>Other - services</td>
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<td>Vocational training</td>
<td>10%</td>
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<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>NLCA Article 23</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Career development</td>
<td>Non specified</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100% N=1333 (2010)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Calendar 2009-2010 - Annual report, 2006-2010
Note: Numbers are approximate as by-program enrolment numbers were not available

While the intent is to bring training and education closer to where people are, the reality is that local capacity to deliver different programs is limited. Indeed, one of the biggest challenges of delivering programs to the lowest level of incorporated government is the availability of human resources. Over the years the college has invested in training bilingual beneficiaries in every community to provide and coordinate adult basic education and upgrading in the local Community Learning Centres. Higher levels of training rely on southern Canadians who have limited exposure to life in the North and Inuit culture. This accounts for high instructor turnover affecting student persistence:

If it is their [the instructors] first time in the North how do you teach in that culture. You don’t really understand anything yourself. All of your value systems are coming from the south and it doesn’t apply here. And you get a lot of tension
in the classroom. And usually what would happen in that case is one of two things, either students start dropping out at an incredibly fast rate like, if we start with a group of twelve students in a small community that is big, that is huge, if we managed to graduate those twelve Nunavut would still be behind but it would make some progress. What typically happens is that it goes down to three that graduate. And a lot of that is because, well I don’t like to say it but, the instructors cannot relate to them and students would start dropping out.107

High instructor turnover is not only related to adequate experience to teach in the north and specifically in Nunavut. It is also related to hiring restrictions stemming from the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement108 creating job uncertainty for outsiders affecting their sense of belonging:

It becomes a big choice to live here permanently. For our family it has been exciting but it is also…it has its social impacts because you do feel that you are always an outsider, you are a minority in their home, you do feel excluded. And it is true for all areas of life because people don’t have permanent jobs. They have three-year contracts. So in terms of employment, you have that insecurity that in three years when your contract is done, you are not going to get your job back and you are not going to stay. So all those things I think are huge factors in how retention of human resources happens and how that division [between beneficiaries and Qallunaat] happens as well.109

Constraints to keep southern instructors affect education outcomes at a moment when qualifying beneficiaries to take over public services, including education, is an unpredictable work in progress. In this context, reliance on southerners for teaching and learning appears inevitable:

Because then again, there are 33,000 people in the territory on a vast land. How do you, I hate to use this word, ‘groom’ students to go to university or to go to higher education if they don’t have those basic things and as well they don’t have the interest to go into those things. I think that part of this huge challenge the

107 Instructor (NTEP Program Nunavut Arctic College), conversation with author, August 26, 2011 and October 05, 2011.
108 The Government of Nunavut is obligated under Article 23 of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement to have a public service that is representative of the Nunavummiut—that is, a public service that has 85 percent of positions staffed with beneficiaries of the Agreement in all occupational categories. As such, Nunavut Arctic College prioritizes beneficiaries pursuing a career at Nunavut Arctic College. As in other public service positions within the government, con-beneficiaries occupying positions at the college do so under term employment. See 2010 March Report of the Auditor General of Canada (Fraser 2010).
territory faces, is that without that critical mass, and if again, if the Inuit employment plan is to have 80 percent or 85 percent representation in the government, in the public service, that fundamentally means that every single graduate from high-school is expected to become a public servant. Is that really what the territory wants for the future? For their children’s future? Do they want them all to be public servants and to work in the government?  

As reflected in the previous statement human resources challenges reveal that the focus on Inuit employment may overshadow the development of a critical mass necessary for people to take control over their destinies. This dilemma is at the centre of the wider debate of having a Canadian university “north of 60°”. In 2011, the three territorial ministers signed a Memorandum of Understanding expressing their commitment to explore joint strategies for university development. Within this agreement there is an expectation for Nunavut Arctic College to take up this role. As a Crown Agency of the Government of Nunavut from which it receives its principal funding, the college is invested in developing training programs that are “accessible, culturally relevant, and geared to labour-market needs” (Nunavut Arctic College 2008A). In the current state of affairs, changing the college act to gain degree-granting capacity is generating concerns regarding institutional readiness. While increasing the number of college-university partnerships to offer degrees is seen as a step towards building research and critical thinking into the ethos of the college, such programs are tied to territorial targets and

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110 Eric Corneau (Coordinator, Policy and Planning, Nunavut Arctic College), conversation with author August 29, 2011.

111 This is not a new issue – a University of Canada North was first proposed in the 1970s – but it is one that has never been satisfactorily resolved. In recent years the idea of opening a university “north of 60°” has populated the media (Stauch 2011). In 2009 The Walter and Duncan Gordon Foundation initiated a project to facilitate a pan-northern/national conversation with regard to the future of advanced post-secondary education in the Canadian North, exploring in particular the idea of a university in Canada’s Far North. Colleges in the territories were included in the consultation reflecting on whether a new postsecondary education institution is feasible and desirable (Stevenson 2010). The National Strategy for Inuit Education put forward in 2011 by Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami also contemplates the creation of a university in Inuit Nunangat (Inuit homeland in Canada) National Committee on Inuit Education 2011.

112 This Memorandum of Understanding is between The Government of the Northwest Territories, (herein represented by the Minister of Education, Culture and Employment), The Government of the Yukon, (represented by the Minister of Education), and The Government of Nunavut, (represented by the Minister of Education and the Minister Responsible for Nunavut Arctic College). (Nunavut, Yukon, and Northwest Territories 2011).
foreseen labour needs. All things considered, building a critical mass to foster a more robust civil society and a space for critical development and inquiry has not been made part of the college’s mission because “people are not there yet”. Moving at the pace of the people it serves, Nunavut Arctic College it is not ready yet to either become a made-in-Nunavut degree granting institution:

We are not a degree granting institution at this time. Some have proposed creating a Bachelor of Philosophy. I think that is a great idea but we are not at that stage yet. Because we are trying to get people out of high school and get math skills. We have 240 high school graduates a year, which is a great number but not a significant number with these 5000 new jobs in the horizon. So we are in this race where we want to take advantage of all of these things [economic opportunities derived from resource extraction development].

Now isn’t the time. I only say that, again, it is my (opinion). There has to be a preparation for immersing in it. Our students are not prepared for that. One thing we often talk about in Arctic College is that we don’t have a transition between college preparation and where people are in college preparation. If someone doesn’t have formal education we have college foundations but college foundations doesn’t really prepare students yet for a university level. It is preparing them for college but not university. So when I talk about a process I am talking about moving from where people are to college foundations to university prep. And I don’t think we have that area yet that will prepare students at the levels that we have. Now that is an understatement, because I know we have two university programs. But I think what we need is time.... There is too much rush to get people out to where they need to be. To translate that into university again, I think whatever southern models we have for university, we can’t have that here. We need to have something else. It still needs to be a university but it has to be a very Nunavut specific institution.

Perhaps there is more at stake than population readiness when it comes to furthering higher levels of education in Nunavut. Political will and commitment are also at stake. On this respect, uncertainty has surmounted especially after federal cuts

113 This quote is taken from four different conversations with Nunavut Arctic College Administrators that took place between August 26 and September 02, 2011 in Iqaluit.
114 Michael Shouldice (President, Nunavut Arctic College), conversation with author, August 24, 2011.
115 Administrator (Nunavut Arctic College), conversation with author, August 30, 2011.
supporting the University of the Arctic came into effect.\textsuperscript{116} These cuts have come to represent an opening door for territories to think about higher education in their own terms. In Nunavut for instance, the Ilitturvik University society hoped for funds to be redirected to initiatives founded in the North.\textsuperscript{117} Awaiting developments on territorial higher education initiatives, Nunavut Arctic College decided to remain part of the network furthering its commitment by offering all online programming through University of the Arctic free of charge for all Nunavummiut to minimize the impact of funding cuts while increasing opportunities for more people to access university credit courses (Canadian Broadcast Corporation 2011).

By way of putting people at the centre of its programming, Nunavut Arctic College positions itself in proximity to Inuit - Nunavummiut. In this context the college is adapting to the territory’s opportunities and constraints community-by-community, and learner-by-learner. When I arrived to Iqaluit in August 2011, hunters had just succeeded in harvesting a bowhead whale after more than a hundred years since the species had been off-limits. Reflecting on this celebratory event, the now president of the college made me aware of how the college strives to be in sync with the people:

People got the bowhead whale and celebrated and shared. That was a happy time, you know. The town was busy, you know. People skipped work and we don’t care because we know the bowhead whale is more important. Thank goodness we don’t care about that stuff. It’s like what you reminded me this morning with the blur between the office and the home, you know. I really liked that. In a way our courses are longer. We don’t tell our students to go home study and beat their best friend. We tell them to study with their best friend and both get a great mark. We

\textsuperscript{116} Since the launch of University of the Arctic in 2001, the Federal government (through the Departments of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, Aboriginal and Northern Affairs, and Human Resources Development) had contributed under 4 million to develop university programming. Federal funding was cut to about $150,000 from more than $700,000 a year (Canadian Broadcast Corporation 2011)

\textsuperscript{117} Ilitturvik is a University Society founded by graduates of the first law program in collaboration with University of Victoria and Nunavut Arctic College. The society advocates for the creation of an Iqaluit-based university for Nunavut-based scholarship and activism and help inject an Inuit perspective that’s sometimes ignored in discussions on Arctic issues such as mining, sovereignty and climate change. (Rogers 2011, Crawford 2011)
are not exclusive, we are not interested if you get 97.5 or 96.5. If you both get 85, hey that is good for you. It is about collaborative work. So we are not an Ivy League school, we don’t have that ethos, we are not there.\textsuperscript{118}

Building on collaboration, Nunavut Arctic College is a place to attend on an “as needed” basis providing the support to navigate sociopolitical fluctuations outside of the higher education hierarchy that operates in southern Canada:

Someone once said to me that we live in a new age. We don’t live in an age where people go into classrooms and follow a curriculum and learn out of textbooks. We live in a new age where learning is chaotic, where everything is: students drop-in, students drop-out and when they can and maybe they get a textbook and maybe you go to the internet. This is what this college is about. It is about chaos but it is also about purpose. Sometimes to the outsider and sometimes even to the insider it looks totally chaotic. But overall it’s got a pretty clear purpose of moving people from A to B maybe several times in their life, maybe the start in an upgrading program and they leave an upgrading program, then they come into a certificate program and then they leave a certificate program, then they go into a diploma program and they may be finished the diploma program and then ten years later they are coming back and they are doing a university certificate course. The college is taking wherever you are today and where you want to be and that may not follow any clear path. It is chaos. And that is really what the college is about.\textsuperscript{119}

Following “the people” in different conversations regarding Nunavut Arctic College and Ilisimatusarfik, reveals that institutional differences mirror political trajectories. As a university, Ilisimatusarfik is invested in knowledge production and transmission of Greenlandic-related subjects in the Dane-European tradition. Aligned to Greenland’s nation building aims, the university was legitimated mostly by its symbolic value. At a time when the country is paving its road towards independence, Ilisimatusarfik’s is yet to find a place where identity and ancestry is delinked from state formation. As the Minister of Education, Research and Nordic Cooperation puts it:

\textsuperscript{118} Michael Shouldice (President, Nunavut Arctic College), conversation with author, August 24, 2011.
\textsuperscript{119} Mary Ellen Thomas (Senior Research Officer, Nunavut Research Institute), conversation with author, September 01, 2011.
…if our culture doesn’t develop it will collapse. You cannot just maintain a
culture in one way, forever. And if you don’t develop your culture and if you
don’t let your culture change due to the global climate and the global culture, all
the inputs that you get from abroad. And if you don’t send some of your culture
input, from your country abroad, then you will just be isolated and you won’t
develop and that would be a problem. So, by [raising] educational skills you will
also change the culture, you will develop the culture because people will look at
your society in a different way. Before you do that you cannot gain independence.
But that will be on the same level as you see in some countries in Africa. And,
with my deepest respect to those countries but that is not what I want for
Greenland. I want an economic, political, independent Greenland. Where we
know who we are and we know what we can and we know what to do in the
future to be able to obtain this independence by the things that we do.  

The comparison to African countries as a metaphor to depict underdevelopment
was also used by a participant in Nunavut Arctic College making me aware of contrasting
realities in Nunavut and Greenland configuring the postsecondary education landscape.

While in Greenland the aim is to sustain and increase Danish levels of welfare as the
country gains independence, in Nunavut the struggle is to deal with the consequences of
severe poverty:

And we can talk about self-actualization and self-independence and sovereignty
and all kinds of things but until Nunavut gets its basic needs, until the people in
Nunavut get their basic needs for shelter, for safety, for food, for education ... I
mean did you look at the newspaper today? Seven out of ten children are
malnourished. Seven out of ten! Where else in Canada? Where else in Canada?
This is Canada’s Somalia. But it is not in the media’s attention. Our military’s
focus is on military sovereignty, mapping, who’s going to claim the north-pole...I
mean we are the past, we are not where other Canadian citizens think Canada
should be and until we are, until we have the same rights and expectations as
other parts of Canada we are going to be the backwater of Canada. You know,
there is a little joke that we don’t like statistics in Nunavut because we are always
the worst in everything, We are the worst for sexually transmitted diseases, we are
the worst for suicide, we are the worst for overcrowding, we are the worst for
maternal death rates, we are the worst for everything! So why do we listen to any
of these statistics anymore cause we already know we are the worst.  

120 Palle Christiansen (Greenland’s Minister of Education, Research, and Nordic Cooperation), conversation with
author, November 22, 2011.
121 Mary Ellen Thomas (Senior Research Officer, Nunavut Research Institute), conversation with author, September 01,
2011.
With a focus on building local capacity Nunavut Arctic College is invested in developing the skills necessary in the short run of communities and regions, delaying the education necessary for the long run of the territory. In a context of urgency, the college takes on different mandates that draw a picture of who Nunavummiut are. Institutional assumptions of who “the people” are and where they are influence who accesses postsecondary education institutions to carry forward the pursuit of economic, social and cultural development in people’s terms. With both Nunavut and Greenland facing geographic and population density challenges, the question of who gets educated at a postsecondary level allowed me to explore the social aspects of the right to self-determination. This is the query that informs the following section.

5.2. Reaching and persisting in postsecondary education: the social aspects of the right to self-determination

As related in the background section, reaching higher levels of education is indicative of geographic, demographic, and societal conditions in Nunavut and Greenland. In both territories inhabitants are predominantly based in small, dispersed settlements or incorporated communities and a few larger cities or regional centres affecting the breadth, depth, and quality of education. In Nunavut, efforts to bring high school level education to all communities have doubled the number of high school graduates in the past decade bringing the graduation rates from 18 percent in 2000 to 38 percent in 2010 (Brockington 2011). However, as argued in an annual report by Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated (2007), increases in high school graduation rates can be explained by the rising birth rate and do not necessarily indicate a significant change in the current ratio of graduates to the general population, or an overall improvement in the
delivery of education. Overall, the proportion of Nunavummiut between 25 and 64 years of age who have attained any certificate, diploma, or degree is significantly lower (54 percent) than the rest of Canadians (82 percent) (Statistics Canada 2009). Perhaps more relevant in the political context of Nunavut are ethnic disparities in educational attainment. In 2006, 3 out of 10 Inuit aged 25 to 64 had attained a certificate, diploma, or degree school diploma, compared to 7 out of 10 of their non-Inuit counterparts (Statistics Canada 2011A). As illustrated in the following graph, gaps between Inuit and non-Inuit educational attainment are less pronounced in skilled trades apprenticeship programs, and more pronounced at a postsecondary level. As argued by former president of Nunavut Arctic College Daniel Vandermeulen, this is indicative of a lack of federal commitment to capacity building for more academic oriented education from Kindergarten to University (Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development 40th Parliament 2009).

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122 The population of Nunavut is young and growing with a median age of 20 compared to 40 for the total Canadian population (Inuit Tunngavik Incorporated 2007, 13)
While it is difficult to draw a direct comparison between Greenland and Nunavut in terms of educational attainment, there are some figures that bring some insights to population disparities. In Greenland 35 percent of the population between 25 and 64 years of age has achieved upper secondary education (including both academic and vocational streams) equivalent to less than half the figure for Denmark (84 percent) (Statistics Greenland 2012B, OECD 2012). Pronounced differences are also found within Greenland. For instance the proportion of Greenlanders living in the settlements having achieved upper secondary education is almost a third (17 percent) of that in the cities (50 percent)\(^{123}\). It is interesting to note however, that disparities in high-school graduation rates are less pronounced as only 4 percent points separate those in cities (23.5 percent)

\(^{123}\) The numbers reflect the proportion of the population between 25 and 64 years of age having achieved at least upper secondary education in Greenland or high school certificate or equivalent in Nunavut. In Greenland the gap is wider with 50 percent of the urban and 17 percent of the rural population having achieved at least upper secondary education (Statistics Greenland 2012B).
from settlement residents (19.5)\textsuperscript{124}. This is indicative of outmigration patterns, as people who leave smaller settlements to pursue high school education are unlikely to return due to the lack of jobs outside traditional subsistence activities and difficult living conditions. This same conditions account for the over-representation of women amongst migrants. In 1993, 17 percent of young men and women between 17 and 24 years would migrate to the larger towns. Over the years this figure has stabilized at around 23 percent for young men. For women the figure has more than doubled to 37 percent (Statistics Greenland 2013) and it is still trending up. According to Ilisimatusarfik’s researcher and board member Birger Poppel, the correspondence between gender imbalanced migration patterns and education lies in the characteristics of the economy. With uncertain development of the private sector, the public one became the sole reliable source of employment especially in priority areas of the government.\textsuperscript{125}

Outmigration of students does not stop in the larger cities. Given the narrow supply of postsecondary programs in Greenland and the facilities to study in Denmark\textsuperscript{126}, around 60 percent of all postsecondary students pursuing bachelor degree programs and 30 percent of those pursuing short-cycle programs enroll in Danish institutions\textsuperscript{127}. While there are no official figures of students’ rate of return it is estimated that at least one third of the Greenlander students going to Denmark remain there (OECD 2011). Here too Greenlander women are overrepresented. In 2007, 13,500 Greenlanders lived in Denmark.

\textsuperscript{124} The graduation rate was calculated by dividing the number of graduates with the average of the 17 and 18 year-old population for the years 2007, 2008, 2009, and 2010. This is the formula used in Canada. Source of Data: Greenland Statistics Databank (Statistics Greenland 2012B).

\textsuperscript{125} Birger Poppel (Chief Statistics Greenland and Ilisimatusarfik Board Member), conversation with author, November 24, 2011.

\textsuperscript{126} If students meet admission criteria they are eligible to scholarships and stipends to move to Denmark and pursue postsecondary education at a non-university and university level. Stipends include family allowances and annual travel allowances.

\textsuperscript{127} Each year around 160 students enroll in professional and academic degree programs, and around 260 enroll in short cycle postsecondary programs (certificate and diploma programs). (Statistics Greenland 2012C)
of which 60 percent were women (Statistics Greenland 2009).

Statistic figures suggest that ethnicity is an education marker in Nunavut the same way geography and gender are in Greenland. These three dimensions operate in the institutional discourses of Nunavut Arctic College and Ilismatusarfik giving us a glimpse of the social dimension of the Inuit right to self-determination. Ethnicity, I found, is intrinsically connected to living off the land and as such, in both Nunavut and Greenland it is linked to geography. Interestingly, in Greenland where there is a formal avoidance of differentiating people by ethnicity, place of birth is the key differentiator informing policy. In Nunavut where there is an administrative structure striving to minimize gaps between regional centres and communities, ethnicity, given by beneficiary status, is the key differentiator. In actual conversations however, both dimensions interweave with gender as a thread, bringing up similar challenges affecting postsecondary education institutions in particular ways.

The presence of Nunavut Arctic College in every community and its institutional commitment to government aims gave me a glance of how the three differentiators operate on a day-to-day basis. For people working at the college there is a clear distinction between the centre and the communities operating under two viewpoints. One recurrent perception is that life in the communities is “as Inuit as it gets” that is, people are “connected to the land”, “care about each other”, and are “welcoming”. This is contrasted with life in the regional centres, described as a “mini Toronto” where “no one cares”, “no one is connected”, and people are “disinterested”. For instance, people living in Iqaluit, where Inuit are barely a majority (58 percent of the population), are perceived as “anglo-centred”, or “euro-centred” meaning a lack of sensitivity for Inuit colonial
history. The second viewpoint is that life in the communities is harsh and in a way that is where the real challenges for delivering adult and postsecondary education lie. Harshness is defined by a “lack of distraction” and a “lack of occupation prospects” exacerbating the cycle of substance abuse, domestic violence, and suicide throughout the territory. The message I got was that the further people are from the centres the more the intersection between indigeneity and societal challenges affect student access to the programs that the college offers. Following learners’ paths will allow me to characterize the above-mentioned intersections between ethnicity, geography, and gender. While 4 out of 10 Nunavummiut students would graduate from high school, it is very unlikely that they would pursue postsecondary education right after (Statistics Canada 2009). Young Inuit tend to extend their high school education and delay further education, a situation that appears to be more prominent in the communities:

I am yet to see one young student coming straight from high school. You might in Iqaluit but in the communities it is different. I am in what is considered the community program where you bring things to the communities. And you don’t see young students, you see mostly middle-age students. In fact I find that in the communities people tend to extend their high school as long as possible. Legally they are allowed to be in high school until they are 21. So they will often drop out at the end of the year, either don’t come back, or they might come back and they will extend that until they are 21 because, again, there is no jobs [sic], they really don’t know what they want to do, they are bored out there, all their friends are in the school, so “I rather go to school” right? There is no interest in graduating, it is just something to do. So they will start families very young, I mean really young. Grade 8 is the big cut off. Yes. Lot of them drop out in grade 8 usually. And then a big portion drops out in Grade 9. And mostly that group, and it is large. Such is life, they have kids, go to the store, buy a few things, get the cheque every month, life goes on.128.

A typical Nunavut Arctic College learner would be a 30-40 year old parent, most

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128 Instructor (Nunavut Teacher Education Program, Nunavut Arctic College), conversation, August 26, 2011.
likely a mother,\textsuperscript{129} enrolled as a mature student.\textsuperscript{130} There are no statistics regarding mobility from communities to a regional campus to pursue education but judging from the conversations I had, most Inuit learners stay at home where their families are:

[Nunavut Arctic College] brings the program to the communities because the Inuit, as a rule, don’t want to leave their communities. It is different in Iqaluit where they have students from other communities right? But the Inuit generally want the program to come to them. And that is a cultural thing, it is family ties, and reasons that perhaps I don’t even understand. They don’t really want to leave their communities.\textsuperscript{131}

Based on its institutional mandate, the college accommodates to Nunavut’s demographics not only by shortening the distance between home and school and offering child-care options for students but also by providing student services to minimize barriers to access. While facilitating access is common in Canada’s colleges, Nunavut has specific regulations stemming from the territorial arrangements Inuit achieved. The Financial Assistance for Nunavut Students program (FANS) illustrates this. The program provides grants, loans, and scholarships depending on whether they are beneficiaries of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement, or are residents of Nunavut but not beneficiaries under the agreement. All in all, beneficiaries receive a basic grant to cover tuition and are eligible to supplementary grants to cover books and living expenses. Loans are available to all Nunavummiut (including beneficiaries) to cover such expenses and scholarships are given on academic merit basis (Office of the Auditor General of Canada 2007).

Accommodation is a word that is often used at Nunavut Arctic College referring to programs and practices designed with Inuit students in mind. Amongst student programs, Applied Suicide Intervention Skills Training (ASIST) and Prior Learning

\textsuperscript{129} As a matter of fact women are overrepresented in postsecondary education. 77 percent of the student population in postsecondary programs are women (Statistics Canada 2013A).

\textsuperscript{130} Mature status refers to students who are 19 years of age or older by the first day of college and do not have a high school diploma or GED certificate. Mature students are still required to complete course prerequisite

\textsuperscript{131} Instructor (Nunavut Teacher Education Program, Nunavut Arctic College), conversation, August 26, 2011.
Assessment and Recognition (PLAR) are illustrative of the college’s proximity to the people and specifically to Inuit. ASIST is the college’s response to the rising suicide rates in the territory especially affecting potential and actual students. Delivered by the college throughout the territory, ASIST is intended to help instructors, counselors, and students recognize risk factors for suicide and direct people towards help. PLAR is a portfolio process that has been adopted by colleges throughout Canada to help adults demonstrate and obtain recognition for learning that they acquire outside of formal education settings. At Nunavut Arctic College the PLAR curriculum was developed with the communities to specifically “help Inuit to regain confidence in themselves” while formally recognizing learners’ experience. Paraphrasing PLAR project manager Jennifer Archer, the process at Nunavut Arctic College follows an indigenous / holistic approach looking at experience as a way of connecting people back to their land, language, culture, and identities and, in doing so, facilitating the process of reclaiming self-sovereignty creating a space for healing. Under this customized framework for prior learning recognition, the college has opened a space for students to enable learning.

Through PLAR students are able to see where they are. It is an exercise of introspection that will allow us [instructors] to work on their self-esteem first.

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132 Suicide rates have increased in the past decade causing great concern in the territory. For instance, in the age-standardized suicide rate per 100,000 inhabitants went up from 101 in 2005 to 112 in 2009. The rate for Canada in the same period of time was 22 with no significant changes. Men are 4 to 5 times more likely to commit suicide than women (Statistics Canada 2012). In 2011, there were 34 suicides Nunavut compared to 21 in 2009 (Canadian Broadcast Corporation 2012).

133 Extracted from conversations as follows: Eric Corneau (Coordinator, Policy and Planning, Nunavut Arctic College), conversation with author August 29, 2011 Administrator (Nunavut Arctic College), conversation with author August 25-30, 2011.

134 Extracted from conversations as follows: Jennifer Archer (PLAR Project Manager, Nunavut Arctic College), conversation with author April 19 and July 1st, 2012

135 Particularly the approach used by the First Nations Technical Institute where a holistic model of PLAR has been used for over 20 year. Developed by Paul Zakos, Diane Hill, Banakonda Kennedy-Kish Bell, the portfolio process was grounded in Anishinaahe and Haudenosaunee traditional teachings to holistically acknowledge all dimensions of learners’ being. Jennifer Archer (PLAR Project Manager, Nunavut Arctic College), conversation with author April 19 and July 1st, 2012
Then we can move towards some academic subjects and then finish with hands-on learning.\textsuperscript{136}

As PLAR is being implemented throughout the college to unleash learners’ emotional readiness to start a postsecondary program, academic preparedness is something instructors deal with on a day-to-day basis. In several conversations I was told that Inuit learners tend to excel in science and struggle with academic subjects requiring higher levels of English and mathematics. For some, the issue at hand is not just learners’ bilingual or numerical skills but also a question of un-relatedness whereby content and content delivery has not accounted for Inuit ways. For instance, in subjects where Inuit traditions or customs are threaded into the content, learners appear to be more engaged than in those where there is not such connection.\textsuperscript{137} In point of fact, postsecondary programs need to follow academic standards relying on Inuit knowledge that neither instructors carry nor is codified in curriculum, content, and delivery. In this context, instructors are invested in accommodating teaching and learning to learners’ academic needs without undermining content:

I found that, especially with the Inuit students, English is a big thing. Uhm I find that that is an area or a skill that needs to really be worked on throughout the years that they spend in a [postsecondary level] program. And I know we do cater to that. We have our English and math tutor, and we organize blocks or chunks throughout the week as needed by the student to go for this tutoring to have their work checked. But you don’t prioritize so that content comes last, actually it is the top of the list because as an educator you are there to deliver content, but you do have to keep all in mind everybody learns differently. You also need to understand where that student is coming from as well. Right? So that is just part\textsuperscript{136} Instructor (Nunavut Arctic College), conversation with author, August 31, 2011 and October 19, 2011.\textsuperscript{137} Programs where Inuit traditions and customs have been threaded into the curriculum include the Environmental Technology Program, Fur Design and Production, Jewelry, and Midwifery. Extracted from conversations as follows: Eric Corneau (Coordinator, Policy and Planning, Nunavut Arctic College), conversation with author August 29, 2011 Mary Ellen Thomas (Senior Research Officer, Nunavut Research Institute), conversation with author, September 01, 2011. Michael Shouldice (President, Nunavut Arctic College), conversation with author, August 24, 2011.
of the job, I guess, over here. So content comes first but you have to accommodate all of the ‘baggage’, for lack of a better word, that comes with the teaching up here. And that comes with being culturally sensitive and relevant and all of that cause that is the culture up here.138

I was told many stories illustrating how instructors, and college staff accommodate to students’ life situations and academic realities allowing for different ways to access, persist, and graduate from a postsecondary program. Accommodating without lowering the standards is deemed a way of relating postsecondary education to the Inuit right to self-determination:

No, you don’t change the standards! But we have to respect the fact that people learn differently. Everywhere. And this is what people are trying to understand in education everywhere. How to take people to where they need to be in creative ways? That is what I think needs to be done. When we talk about self-determination, which means accommodation, you know, giving people more time. For example in an exam situation, it doesn’t mean you are lowering standards if you give somebody an extra half an hour because that person needs the time to be able to really comprehend the material. That is what I mean… a creative way to getting people to where they need to be.139

Behind this analogy between self-determination and accommodation, lies an acknowledgement of Nunavut’s colonial history necessitating time for Inuit to slowly build trust and confidence in the education system:

If you get students that are older, like my generation [40-50 years old] or slightly younger, the formal education system is not a good experience for some of them. They kind of shy away from the experience: ‘I don’t want to be here, at school. I remember all the horrible things that happened to me at school, in that school’ So our job as a college is to show this college is not that.... The education system, the formal education system, is so new to the north and we have been expected to jump on that fast track train because that is the education train we are expected to jump on and be part of, in a very short time. So our job…we don’t expect everybody to jump on that fast track train, we are hoping it is slow enough for people to jump on comfortably. We want it to be a comfortable pace where people are very comfortable in being part of it so it becomes their train. Yes their train, and that’s how I see my life, is that we have been expected… the train itself is a

138 Instructor (Bachelor of Science in Nursing, Arctic Nursing, Nunavut Arctic College), conversation with author, August 25 and August 30, 2011.
139 Administrator (Nunavut Arctic College), conversation with author August 25-30, 2011.
foreign thing, that’s like the school. We don’t have trains up here, but I’ve seen a train it is really fast, you cannot run and jump on it unless it goes very slow. But we cannot ignore that train, it will always go through because the track is there permanently.  

Accommodation without lowering standards is also a principle at Ilisimatusarfik applying to all candidates who qualify to pursue higher education programs, that is, high school graduates who have passed an entrance examination both in Danish and Greenlandic. Accordingly, accommodation for students admitted into their program of choice is financial rather than academic. Not only tuition at Ilisimatusarfik is free of charge but also all undergraduate students are entitled to education support grants (or Staten Uddannelsesstøtte) covering education related expenses, parental support, accommodation, travel expenses, and medical expenses. The amount of the grant varies according to relocation costs with mothers coming from a settlement receiving a higher amount than students with no dependents (*Om Uddannelsesstøtte, Hjemmestyrebekendtgørelse Nr. 8 Af 2008-03-27 2008*).

The combination of academic standards, having financial support, and staying in Greenland, appears to influence student persistence at a postsecondary level. Indeed dropout rates tend to be lower amongst students attending university programs, especially in Greenland (i.e., at Ilisimatusarfik), than non-university programs as shown in the following graph. Furthermore, dropout rates and graduation rates at Ilisimatusarfik (18 percent and 40 percent respectively) are comparable to those in Danish universities (18 percent and 45 percent respectively) (*OECD 2010, Table A4.1*).

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140 Pesee Pitsiulak - Stevens (Dean, Nunatta Campus, Nunavut Arctic College), conversation August 30, 2011.
141 The valid entrance examinations include the Greenland Recognized Exam (GU)-or Danish qualifying exam Danish qualifying exam (HF). Required scores by subject vary by area of study. Required Danish and Greenlandic language levels also apply differ by program. Information extracted from conversations as follows: Ole Marquardt (Professor and former Rector, Ilisimatusarfik), conversation with author, November 23, 2011. Thorkild Kjaergaard (Professor, Ilisimatusarfik), conversation with author, November 23, 2011.
Graph 2 2011 Dropout rates relative to student attendance in Greenland and Outside Greenland Postsecondary Education Institutions

Societal conditions in Nunavut and Greenland are comparable especially when referring to psychosocial ailments affecting the young population. However, students at Greenland’s university appear not to be as much at risk as are students at Nunavut Arctic College. One of the possible reasons I was given has to do with the fact that higher education students are not only bilingual but bicultural, that is, able to navigate the Danish codes embedded in Greenland’s social institutions. In general, students reaching Ilisimatusarfik are at the pinnacle of Greenland’s society enjoying more opportunities for employment in Greenland and with that, a steady income to pursue.

142 Suicide is one of the social ailments affecting Greenlanders as much as Nunavummiut. The age-standardized suicide rate per 100,000 inhabitants in Greenland was 70.5 in 2009 compared to 17 in Denmark. Unlike Nunavut, the suicide rate has decreased in the past decade. As in Nunavut more men commit suicide than women (ratio 3:1). The ratio differs when comparing men and women living in the settlements (2:1) and in the towns (3:1). Young Greenlanders between the ages of 15 and 24 are the most affected by suicide (Statistics Greenland 2012E).

143 Mariia Simonsen (Professor and Coordinator Journalism Program, Ilisimatusarfik), conversation with author, November 28, 2011.
Puju - Carl Christian Olsen (Director of Greenland Language Secretariat; Chairman of Greenland Language Committee; and Chairman of Greenland Place Names Authority as well as Chairman of ICC Language Commission), conversation with author, November 27, 2011.
Per Langgård (Chef Advisor Greenland Language Secretariat, Ilimmarfik University Park), conversation with author, November 27, 2011.
traditional activities.\textsuperscript{144} This does not mean that the university is dismissive of social and living conditions of all Greenlanders. The relationship however, is mediated by theory as produced and transmitted at Ilisimatusarfik. As a matter of fact, a significant number of publications produced by the university’s faculty are dedicated to the understanding of social conditions through different epistemological lenses within discipline boundaries.\textsuperscript{145}  

Applied research is expected to evolve as professional schools increase their research capacity to deal directly with the issues affecting the health, education, and wellbeing of Greenlanders.\textsuperscript{146}

Almost three decades from the inception of the university, Ilisimatusarfik has contributed to the consolidation of a a home grown elite in charge of Greenland affairs while maintaining an almost perfect balance between the small number of qualified candidates and the limited number of programs, and career opportunities in the public sector:

We have no problems in combining our education with later professional life. That means that our candidates are useful in society. We produce teachers, nurses, linguists, etc. In my small department of theology we produce people who become typically pastors of the Lutheran church of Greenland. This is a country where 95 percent of the population are baptized in the Lutheran church. And we have about 15 students and produce 2 or 3 bachelors a year. We feel very happy about it and they are only 25 - 30 positions for pastors in this country, this is a small country, with a small population and therefore we should not educate too many it would be terrible to have some unemployment in this business. So we

\textsuperscript{144} A combination of traditional activities and cash employment is the prevailing lifestyle of Greenlanders. For those who have less access to higher levels of formal education, tradition and subsistence are indistinguishable. For those who attend university and gain steady income through employment, traditional activities are pursued as part of leisure. Birger Poppel (Chief Statistics Greenland and Ilisimatusarfik Board Member), conversation with author, November 24, 2011.

\textsuperscript{145} I read 40 articles and reviewed 90 abstracts of published work by Ilisimatusarfik faculty between 1995 and 2010. I found that around 30 percent of the articles brought some insight on Greenland’s social conditions in relationship to colonial history, postcolonial realities, and contemporary conditions where global and local realities intersect. Articles within the disciplines of history, linguistics, literature, theology, political science, political economy, and anthropology vary widely in their epistemological approaches. I identified four clear trends on this respect positivism, critical theory, post-colonialism, and post-structuralism.

\textsuperscript{146} Tine Pars (Rector, Ilisimatusarfik), conversation with author, November 21, 2011.
have to make a deed out of this necessity that we will be small and we will be very few. That is our condition.147

In the midst of change, the university faces more pressure to diversify its programs and expand its mandate from the social sciences to other fields. As one could expect, there are different attitudes towards change. What is interesting though, is not whether people agree or disagree on the direction the university might be heading, but how it relates to self-determination and ultimately independence. For those who are more cautious, the university should be attentive “not to cannibalize all of it and take all good students” and leave room for qualified Greenlanders to gain the expertise where it is best developed and bring it back thus minimizing dependence on Danish doctors, dentists, and lawyers to mention a few.148 For those who lean towards change, it is important to build local capacity for research and learning in new areas of development. In principle, these two positions would not necessarily contradict each other. Ilisimatusarfik could deliver new programs (e.g., resource base development management, climate change) along with the ones it currently offers, while other programs could continue to be offered abroad (e.g., medicine, law, dentistry). With the actual size of the population qualified to pursue higher education studies, program diversification necessitates higher graduation rates from upper secondary level, which in turn requires bringing young people closer to the urban centres, a measure very reminiscent of the Danization period:

I am very honest so that it almost hurts them when I say this. I tell them [people living in the settlements] ‘as long as you live in a village one thousand kilometers away from the rest of civilization this is the kind of living you will always have’. We cannot afford to help everybody so we have to prioritize the funds that we have and of course I would put the money in those baskets where I help the most people. Right now when you go to the two last classes of primary school and you

147 Aage Rydstrom-Paulsen (Dean of the School of Theology and former Rector, Ilisimatusarfik), conversation with author, November 24, 2011.
148 Thorkild Kjaergaard (Professor, Ilisimatusarfik), conversation with author, November 23, 2011.
come from the village to the cities to continue on to secondary education, I can see it is already too late to catch up with the skills that the kids in the cities have. So I say: ‘the last four years of the primary school you will have a new offer to go to the cities, and I know you are only 13 years old you are not ready to leave your parents, so - I say - I want to create homes for you and your parents, and your family to leave the village and go to the city so that the kids could be educated’. When they have the education, if the parents want to move back to the village, yes that is fine, that is their choosing. But I cannot accept if the parents say they will stay in the village no matter what that means for our kids. I tell the parents they should make decisions that is pro the kids and not against the kids.\textsuperscript{149}

Further urbanization tied to diversification of higher education is a working discourse sustained in the de-romanticization of life on the settlements. As it was explained to me, the idea that the level of dysfunction found in the settlements has been inflicted from the outside, has led to a generalized misconception that preserving what is left of traditional livelihoods and resuscitating what got lost through colonization, would restore the balance lost. The reality shows, according to participants in this research, there is a bigger system at play compelling further knowledge to enable the persistence of traditional ways. This is how linguist Per Langgård puts it:

\begin{quote}
We are a part of the bigger system. There is nothing to it. If this society should survive in the traditional way, people have to be qualified in the big system way. But if you are not able to cope with this ugly monster out there, then your local culture will die. As simple as that! That was my bottom line then [when I worked at a small settlement] and it was kind of a shock to the society [scholarly society of linguists], I tell you. I really was spanked in public those days [early days of the Home Rule], because the paradigm was that our social problems are inflicted from the outside, and then I came saying, no! Social problems come from the inside because people are not able to cope with the outside. It’s politically incorrect, but I’m sure it’s true.\textsuperscript{150}
\end{quote}

The idea that tradition is living knowledge made more relevant by its clashes with new knowledge, evolved during my correspondence with different participants. It became clearer to me, that Ilisimatusarfik’s scholars are cautious about objectifying tradition by

\textsuperscript{149} Palle Christiansen (Greenland’s Minister of Education, Research, and Nordic Cooperation), conversation with author, November 22, 2011.
\textsuperscript{150} Per Langgård (Chef Advisor Greenland Language Secretariat, Ilimmarfik University Park), conversation with author, November 27. 2011
identifying it with past ways and, more importantly making it indistinguishable from culture. Discussing the idea of becoming versant in Qallunaat knowledge as a way to preserve Inuit tradition with people at Nunavut Arctic College, I found a contrasting position. As articulated by PLAR Project Manager Jennifer Archer, privileging Qallunaat knowledge is equivalent to endorsing a form of “repressive tolerance” whereby Inuit culture continues to be dwarfed by the dominant culture around it.\textsuperscript{151} By way of juxtaposing these two distinct positions, I will thread derivative operational meanings of “culture” as they pertain to the relationships between Inuit self-determination and postsecondary education in Nunavut and Greenland.

\textbf{5.3. Inuit culture and the Inuit right to culture}

The histories of Ilisimatusarfik and Nunavut Arctic College are woven by an institutional preoccupation with Inuit culture. While differing in their missions, both institutions and the people working in them have grappled with ways of understanding, translating, and codifying Inuit culture. In my reading of documents and during my fieldwork, I recognized two recurring narratives connecting Inuit culture to postsecondary education. The first one has to do with knowledge referred to, sometimes interchangeably, as ‘Inuit’ ‘traditional’ and/or ‘local’ knowledge. The second narrative pertains to ‘Inuit language’ as distinct yet related to Inuit culture / knowledge. Subject to interpretation, both themes have made postsecondary education in Nunavut and Greenland context specific.

When qualified as traditional knowledge, Inuit culture is interpreted in two ways. On the

\textsuperscript{151} Jennifer Archer (PLAR Project Manager, Nunavut Arctic College), conversation with author April 19 and July 1\textsuperscript{st}, 2012
one hand, there is a prevalent feeling that Inuit knowledge is dying, leaving behind a sense of loss and disconnectedness amongst Inuit people. What is more, with the extinction of ancestral knowledge, important information may never be available to humanity at large. Invested in understanding the past as a way to the future, Nunavut Arctic College has integrated this interpretation of culture into its corporate organization (by endorsing *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit*) and into its programming and services. Examples of this include the involvement of Elders in adult learning and curriculum development, the incorporation of traditional knowledge into postsecondary programs when appropriate, and the publication of materials to preserve traditional knowledge. By putting Inuit traditional knowledge at the centre of all programs it is the college’s intention to bring two traditions together, the Inuit and the *Qallunaat*:

The new world cannot cancel the Inuit world. And I often talk about taking the best of both worlds, and if you have that, that is how much richer you are. One half is your culture, one half is the new world and even though it is not half and half totally, one day it becomes a whole thing. My personal belief, which I try to bring here is that we are in Nunavut. Lets celebrate Inuit culture and Inuit language alongside the traditional educational culture of a college or a school. We cannot cancel one or the other out and make the other one “IT”. We bring them together by making our Inuit studies sort of the centre of all our programs as a foundation.

As mentioned in the previous quote from Dean Pesee Pitsiulak - Stevens ‘Inuit-studies’ is the foundation for all culturally relevant programs at the college. Benefitting

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152 Programs that have embedded traditional skills include: Nunavut Teacher Education Program, Fur design & production, Midwifery, Inuit studies, Environmental Technology.
The following Nunavut Arctic College publications are important resources for transmitting traditional knowledge as recuperated from Elders:

1. Inuit Heritage Trust project Map of culturally significant geographical locations Anijaarniq, a reference resource on Inuit Landskills and Wayfinding,
3. Memory and History in Nunavut Series.

153 Pesee Pitsiulak - Stevens (Dean, Nunatta Campus, Nunavut Arctic College), conversation with author August 30, 2011.
from collaborations between Inuit Elders and Inuit studies scholars from universities in southern Canada and abroad, the work produced in this program has created an important foundation of preserved Inuit traditional knowledge. However, this knowledge does not necessarily transfer to other programs and specifically to the classroom.

Postsecondary education instructors I spoke with are conscious of their limitations to bring in traditional skills they are not carriers of. Relying on elders, Inuit knowledge does not always create a bicultural condition whereby students could eventually switch back and forth depending on the circumstances. Hence, while the institutional intention is to have Inuit knowledge at the centre of all programs, in the day-to-day of the college it works as awareness of ways past:

We try in the nursing curriculum, as hard as we can, to incorporate a lot of Inuit culture. So for example one of my classes we interviewed an Elder to know how they [the elders] define health, what they think health is, what they think illness is, and their experiences with health and illness. She spoke about maternity practices and child rearing practices in Inuit culture, like when she was growing up. But then you know, younger generations when they hear these stories some of them don’t know how to react, they are like ‘oh my god, really?’ ‘They did that?’ ‘that is not sanitary?’ But some of these practices surprisingly are more effective than what we have out there today. So, it is about opening the minds of the younger generation. They are the ones that will be carrying the torch; they need to be aware of the past before they move forward to the future.

Reflecting on the actual college capacity to act upon its corporate principle of integrating Inuit culture and knowledge, administrators believe there is work to be done to understand and codify *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* into curriculum, teaching and learning. This work requires building a research foundation, conceivably embedded in the Nunavut

154 Scholars who have contributed to Inuit Studies program at Nunavut Arctic College include: Frédéric Laugrand (Laval University), Jarich Oosten (Leiden University), Michèle Therrien (National Institute of Oriental Languages and Civilisations) Wim Rasing (Nijmegen), Jean Briggs (Memorial University), Bernard Saladin d’Anglure (Laval University), Stéphane Kolb (Laval University), Louis-Jacques Dorais (Laval University), and Susan Sammons (Laval University).

155 Radhika Shastri (Instructor Bachelor of Science in Nursing, Arctic Nursing, Nunavut Arctic College), conversation August 30, 2011.
Teacher Training Program, contingent on expertise, political will, and external funding:

I think a lot of people have a fantastic handle on what traditional knowledge is, but to create that bridge between both [Qallunaat and traditional] is something that is really difficult. I think one of the important things is for the college to try and develop that training and capacity, particularly through the teaching education program. I think there is going to have to be a really big investment from, I would say, the private sector, public sector, and Inuit organizations into that if that is going to become a priority for Nunavut particularly. So I think at one point some of these organizations will have to put the money where the mouth is and try to invest more money into these programs and initiatives. This is where really important research is going to happen because I don’t think the amount of knowledge is there to create those bridges. They have their traditional knowledge but that is also, I would argue to some level, reducing as time goes. So to amass that knowledge, and to collect it, and to, you know, make something with it, is … I think is urgent. Otherwise a lot of it will be gone … or it will be so altered that you know someone may argue that is not traditional knowledge anymore. That is one of the challenges but it is also an opportunity.156

As related before, the identification of past traditions with culture is something professors at Ilisimatusarfik are cautious about. This brings me to the second interpretation of Inuit culture as it relates to traditional knowledge. The key concept here is appropriation. According to this viewpoint, traditions mutate as people make customs and practices their own. The focus here is not on the authenticity or uniqueness of a practice but on how practices become culturally meaningful and relevant. This is an important value at Ilisimatusarfik tied to the university principle of academic freedom.157

As it was conveyed to me, pursuing fixed ideas of Greenlandicness, would not only limit knowledge to the colonial situation but would also prevent the university from objectively understanding Greenlandic’s worldview.158 Considering reliability and

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156 Eric Corneau (Coordinator, Policy and Planning, Nunavut Arctic College), conversation with author August 29, 2011.
157 The principle of Academic Freedom is endorsed in the University Acts of 1996 (Act No. 16) and 2007 (Act No. 19) (Om Ilisimatusarfik. Landstingslov Nr. 16 Af 1996-10-31 1996, Chapter 1 Paragraph 2, Om Ilisimatusarfik Landstingslov Nr. 19 Af 2007-11-19 2007, Chapter 1 Paragraph 2)
158 Robert Petersen, first Inuit Institute head and first rector of Ilisimatusarfik, believed that ethnic boundaries between
objectivity as the basis on which academic freedom is granted, the idea of creating an
Inuit-Greenlandic university was objectionable. At the outset, before becoming
Ilisimatusarfik, the Inuit institute was invested in pursuing academic knowledge as seen
from a local standpoint:

One has to say, if we are really honest, that the university started as an experiment
to create say, an academia based on Inuit culture in a global world. We struggled
on how to navigate these two cliffs here. We very often banged our head into the
same wall as you do with early feminism for instance: That we feel our
Greenlandicness, we feel our culture, but an outsider cannot understand it. So
what we did in those days, and what we did at the university, was to say
‘somehow this knowledge must be put on a form so you don’t have to feel it’.
You must be able to tell about it somehow, in a way that we can understand. That
offer the possibility and verifiability, and these are the kind of values that underlie
research at the university. [We were] trying to create something that is “glocal”,
taking traditional academic values and looking at them critically with Greenlandic
glasses.\(^{159}\)

Ilismatusarfik scholars’ and administrators’ use of the word ‘local’ when referring
to Inuit or Greenlandic culture and knowledge deserves special attention. As articulated
in different conversations, ‘local’ means that which is seen through a Greenlandic gaze
granted that such gaze is not fixed to tradition or ethnicity. As conveyed previously, the
idea of nurturing a local perspective was lost as Danish professors with no personal
connection to Greenland and with no knowledge of Greenlandic took over the teaching
and research missions of the university. As a result, Ilismatusarfik consolidated as an
‘ivory tower’ where “there is no room for sharing knowledge of Inuit”.\(^{160}\) Not

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\(^{159}\) Petersen was quoted by three participants at Ilismatusarfik.
\(^{160}\) Puju - Carl Christian Olsen (Director of Greenland Language Secretariat; Chairman of Greenland Language
Committee; and Chairman of Greenland Place Names Authority as well as Chairman of ICC Language Commission),
conversation with author, November 27, 2011.

Greenlanders and Danish were explicitly blurred and politically transcended at the time of Home Rule. While colonial
attitudes to “help Greenlanders” were still present, he believed they were perpetuated by both Danish and Greenlandic
people. Hence, he saw no point in limiting knowledge to the colonial situation with Denmark especially when
considering more pervasive intellectual dogmas coming from international rights organizations (See Petersen 1995).
‘the local’ into its mission and functions:

The way of looking at research here is a European one. Local knowledge is not a focus. I know it is very strong in Canada and some have …especially the ICC\textsuperscript{161} have been focusing a little on this. Also Robert Petersen [Ilisimatusarfik’s first rector], he was a kind of representative for this local knowledge thing. But in the university this it is not seen as something special, the local knowledge issue. It is not a project in itself. It is like…and maybe the difference is that we have the majority in the country, we are our own country, and being in Canada where it is a minority, you have to focus on your own rights and indigenous rights and so, maybe it is a big issue there.\textsuperscript{162}

The comment by Ilisimatusarfik’s rector regarding indigenous rights adds a political dimension to the ‘local’ that appears of no consequence to the university.

However, as seen in the discussion regarding new hiring policies favouring Greenlanders, this political dimension is at present reiterating colonial tensions are not a thing of the past. In few instances for example, I heard that the university is yet to acknowledge Greenlandic traditional knowledge:

In this university the actual problem is that you deal with the European research traditions. We don’t have the possibility of interpreting our own knowledge because the tools are interpreted three or four degrees of separation. Inuit have been used as informants, but the interpreting of the data is not Inuit. This interpreting is … it is like when you are together with Alaskan Inuit and the situation is quite different. Because they have, to some extent, two choices: to interpret their own knowledge vis-à-vis the European or the American. And the Danish scientists have been very heavy on telling that it is possible to have some interpretation of traditional knowledge from a Greenland point of view. But there is a gap between American understanding of our traditional knowledge and the Danish understanding of traditional knowledge.\textsuperscript{163}

I traced this push for traditional knowledge in circumpolar programs in which the

\textsuperscript{161} At the beginning of 2009, Ilisimatusarfik’s board of directors at received an ICC request for the university to participate in the creation of a Centre of Indigenous Studies. The board did not accept this request.

\textsuperscript{162} Tine Pars (Rector, Ilisimatusarfik), conversation with author, November 21, 2011.

\textsuperscript{163} Puju - Carl Christian Olsen (Director of Greenland Language Secretariat; Chairman of Greenland Language Committee; and Chairman of Greenland Place Names Authority as well as Chairman of ICC Language Commission), conversation with author, November 27, 2011.
university has participated.\textsuperscript{164} Judging by these programs, there seems to be regained institutional momentum for ‘local’ perspectives including traditional ones especially in initiatives of Arctic interest. A good example of this is “The Climate and Society Research Group” linking Ilisimatusarfik, the Greenland Climate Research Centre, and the University of Alberta. Inaugurating a new research agenda for Ilisimatusarfik, research will focus on local perceptions of, and adaptation strategies to, environmental change.\textsuperscript{165} Interestingly, these new approaches are not directly tied to colonial relationships but to the use of all available knowledge to understand emerging problems of environmental and geopolitical magnitude. While this trend may be seen as a sign of “reverse colonization”, using a concept elaborated by Ilisimatusarfik’s professor Jette Rygaard, traditional/local knowledge is acknowledged within scholarly frameworks preventing the politicization of research and learning at Ilisimatusarfik.\textsuperscript{166}

Is there a mechanism at Nunavut Arctic College preventing the politicization of postsecondary education in a similar fashion to the principle of academic freedom espoused at Ilisimatusarfik? With its mission being vocational and not academic oriented, Inuit knowledge is here adapted to serve the purposes of cultural relevance, to which the college is committed to community by community. As the history of the college

\textsuperscript{164} Amongst those:
1. Survey of Living Conditions in the Arctic (SLiCA) measuring prevalence of traditional practices, indigenous languages, and subsistence economy amongst Inuit, Saami, and the Indigenous Peoples of Chukotka.
2. The Inuulluataarneq research project mentoring indigenous students from U.S, Canada and Greenland.
3. International Polar Year 2007-2008 hosted at Ilisimatusarfik and with a strong presence of ICC advocating for traditional ways and Inuit culture as integral to Arctic Science.
4. University of the Arctic Network promoting the competency of members in northern research and knowledge generation, including traditional knowledge. Rector Tine Pars is a member of the Board.
5. Research conducted at Inerisaavik, Ilisimatusarfik’s Institute of Education Sciences investigating indigenous education practices in different parts of the world including as Polynesia, Australia, New Zealand.

\textsuperscript{165} Tine Pars (Rector, Ilisimatusarfik), conversation with author, November 21, 2011.
Mark Nuttall (Professor, Greenland Climate Research Centre - Ilisimatusarfik and Greenland Climate Research Centre), introduction to faculty facilitated by Rector Tine Pars, November 23, 2011.

\textsuperscript{166} Rygaard uses Giddens construct of ‘reversed colonization’ by which Western cultures integrate so-called ‘traditional knowledge’ as part of the New Age mentality. Paper presented at 15th Nordic Conference on Media and Communication Research, Island, August 12-16 2001.
suggests, culture is here codified as an Inuit right formally acknowledged by Nunavut Land Claims Agreement (specifically through Article 23), and the Government of Nunavut (specifically through the department of culture and heritage). This right is translated into preservation of Inuit culture as it serves the purposes of sustaining the new territory in Inuit terms. Hence the focus of the college is on integrating Inuit traditions and knowledge to support Inuit learners and increase their representativeness in government positions and participation in the nascent labour market. In this context, culturally relevant principles and practices are already an alternative to colonial impositions of the past. With an emphasis on pedagogy, the decolonizing language does not traverse the institution:

I have actually heard [people at the college] say: ‘Well colonization didn't happen in Nunavut’. It [Colonization] is not a dialogue that happens [at the college]. I think there are a few reasons for that. One is that the focus has been on reclaiming Inuit culture. That is the focus, which is inherently decolonizing, right? That is what one thinks it is. Even so, I think it's still important to have that dialogue. Like I think it's still important for those ideas to be out there in different ways so that people can engage with them in different ways and different levels. Like to change their worldview you have to get them to step out of their own conditioning and their own worldview you and their own marinating in Eurocentrism, and get them out of that. Like, so much of what I see in terms of curriculum and stuff in Nunavut is a de-politicization of what’s being presented. Because colonization is ‘over’.

Similar to Ilisimatusarfik, where there is no institutional endorsement of decolonizing education, I found some instances were the language of political resistance

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167 Article 32 of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement sets out the right of Inuit to have a say in developing the Government’s cultural policies and programs and how they are delivered to Inuit. This is formalized through the Department of Cultural and Heritage, which provides leadership within the Government of Nunavut in the development and implementation of policies, programs, and services aimed at strengthening the culture, language, heritage and physical activity of Nunavummiut.

168 Jennifer Archer (PLAR Project Manager, Nunavut Arctic College), conversation with author April 19 and July 1st, 2012.
permeated Nunavut Arctic College. In all cases, Canadian postsecondary institutions were involved in bringing in an indigenous approach to education to enable Inuit people take full control over their own destinies. There are signs that Inuit participation in these programs brings back the language of self-determination to the education agenda. An example of this is the creation of the Akitisiraq law school society advocating for a second cohort of the law school as it relates to Inuit interests, and the Ilitturvik University Society advocating for the creation of an Inuit university to tackle Arctic sovereignty issues. One could argue that while the college does not take up a cultural mandate as a measure of political resistance, its programs open new realities that may have a re-politicizing effect beyond institutional boundaries:

Giving a value and recognizing a small community’s place in the world and finding the ways to project that outside, that is what the college can do. If we look at University of the Arctic, or of other opportunities that exist whether students are going to Dalhousie or to Regina to do internships or whether it is a partnership with Isuma with whom we can essentially provide the tools necessary for students to communicate with others and also be received. And the college opens those doors, and provides those opportunities, moving more towards an extremely positive movement of self-determination establishing a solid foundation, which is very critical for the territory as well.

Thus far, I have tried to convey the ways in which Inuit culture translates into knowledge qualifiers that are reflective of Nunavut and Greenland’s political trails.

Along with knowledge, language narratives within Nunavut Arctic College and

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169 These instances include:
1. The development of the PLAR curriculum incorporated a healing component acknowledging the trauma of residential schools and recognizing ongoing mistrust on formal education.
2. The Master of Education offered with the University of PEI has introduced decolonizing practices into the teaching and learning,
3. The first Akitisiraq law school program in collaboration with University of Victoria included a colonial legal history component incorporating Aboriginal and Northern perspectives.

170 Isuma (Inuktituk for “to think”) is an Inuit production company renowned for its Cannes award winning film Atanarjuaq: The fast runner. In 2011, Isuma filed for receivership. Its film library is now part of Nunavut Arctic College.

171 Eric Corneau (Coordinator, Policy and Planning, Nunavut Arctic College), conversation with author August 29, 2011.
Ilisimatusarfik take distinct approaches that add to the relationships between postsecondary education and the cultural dimensions of the Inuit right to self-determination. In different conversations, these relationships were conveyed to me along three themes: a) Inuit language preservation and revitalization b) Inuit language development c) the use of official languages.

Inuit language preservation and revitalization is the premise informing legislation and policy in Nunavut. The Nunavut Official Language Act, the Inuit Language Protection Act introduced in 2008 and Uqausivut, the accompanying 2011 strategy; are public attempts to make Inuktitut and Inuinnaqtun the languages of Nunavut’s everyday life in the midst of a clear decline in their usage giving way to English.172 This aim brings the challenge of making sure that those who speak the Inuit language, carry it forward and those who do not, learn it to be able to operate in the territory. With this broad principle in mind, Nunavut Arctic College serves the purpose of a) assuring the Inuit language is alive by taking on Inuit teacher training b) teaching Inuktitut and Inuinnaqtun as a first language, and c) teaching Inuktitut and Inuinnaqtun as a second language.

From the outset, the college had limited resources to pursue language-related programming. While Inuktitut and Inuinnaqtun were taught at the college, the teaching materials were dated and produced in the south. This prompted the development of materials and programs in house, involving Elders in a permanent language committee to assure local relevance. This has resulted in an increasing number of publications and the introduction of Inuktutit courses (for speakers and non-speakers) made mandatory for

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172 According to 2006 census data, 70 percent of Nunavummiut reported the Inuit Language as their mother tongue, with only 54 percent identifying it as the main language used in their home. In comparison, while only 26 percent of Nunavummiut reported English as their mother tongue, 44 percent identified English as the main or only language used at home (Nunavut 2011)
some trades, certificate, diploma, and degree programs. However, such efforts are insufficient. There are major issues affecting the college’s capacity to make the government’s policy effective. This involves the capacity to deliver Inuit language programming in the dialects of every community.

I attended a workshop to involve Nunavut Arctic College staff in publishing learning materials. After a brief report on Inuktitut material published by and available at the college, a discussion on language quality was initiated by one of the participants. Instructors referred to how poorly translated Inuktitut books “humiliate” learners, mostly unilingual ones, who do not recognize the orthography or grammar of these materials. What is more, instructors often feel compelled to revise these materials to conform to the dialect of instruction. Neither paid nor trained to do this job, instructors and adult educators were requesting to increase support for language development at the college. A particular remark by one of the participants stating that Inuit Languages are overshadowed by cultural programming, caught my attention. For this instructor the fact of the matter was that there is a clear investment into codifying and integrating Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit but not into developing the language from a linguistic point of view to “go beyond transcriptions of stories told by the Elders”. To truly create an Inuktutit literature that crosscuts college programming, this participant contended, a policy on language standardization has to become effective.

The topic of standardization of the Inuit Languages is a sensitive one mostly because it implies the delinking of language from the Inuit traditional knowledge carried

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173 The following programs have a mandatory Inuit language course integrated into the curriculum: Nunavut Teacher Education Program, Mine training, Jewellery and Metal Work, College foundations, Inuit language and culture and Office administration. (Nunavut Arctic College 2011)

174 The workshop was facilitated by Neil Christopher and Pelagie Owlijoot in Iqaluit August 26, 2011 as part of the Katinniq: The Triannual Nunavut Arctic College Professional Development Conference in Iqaluit.
in different dialects. When preservation of culture trumps language development, the focus is on bringing back figures and forms that honour Inuit heritage and ancestry.

But the college also has the mandate to make Inuktitut and Inuinnaqtun functional to the public government, business, and expanding economic domains. This is precisely the intention of *Uqausivut*, the new comprehensive plan pursuant of Nunavut Language Acts supporting standardization of Inuit language. The question here is whether a policy and a comprehensive plan is enough to make of Inuit languages the everyday tongue of life in Nunavut today:

> In the process of keeping the language, there are people like myself who I call the friends of Inuktitut’ and we speak some Inuktitut and we respect it. We go out of our way in our jobs to make sure that it gets prominence, that young people see it as having worth, value and importance. So for example all the signage where my campus is, is in Inuktitut first. If it is in the wall it doesn’t get missed. Little things like that have to be there because it would take a heartbeat to loose the language. So in my job can I write a proposal to get more money, I can say yes to a process, I could do all these things; these is where the friends of Inuktitut hang out and there have been a lot of us over the years. On the other side of that equation Inuit themselves, if they stand up and say: ‘We are not interested anymore’ it will be done. So a critical piece on that is that parents, and children use the language; and the government and all pull together that people actually speak it and speak it well. So CBC radio, TV, bilingual services on the telephone for the government services, all of those things… they are all critical. And the college falls in to the friends of Inuktitut category, in my mind anyway.

Amongst the ‘friends of Inuktitut’, the college has a governmental mandate, now endorsed by *Uqausivut* (Nunavut 2012), to partake in the revitalization of Inuit language through:

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175 As widely discussed during Katinniq: The Triannual Nunavut Arctic College Professional Development Conference in Iqaluit (August 22-26 2011)
176 As contended by Pesee Pitsiulak - Stevens (Dean, Nunatta Campus, Nunavut Arctic College), conversation August 30, 2011.
177 The Acts provided the establishment of and independent body of experts, the Inuit Uqausinginnik Taiguusiliuqtiit to expand knowledge and expertise with respect to development and standardization of Inuit language in all areas under the legislation. Supporting Inuit Uqausinginnik Taiguusiliuqtiit is one of the government’s implementation priorities for 2012-13 to 2015-16. Standardization and development priorities include: Inuit language for modern government and business, consensus on common standards written language writing system, assistance in reviewing spelling and proper use of terminology, undertaking and/or supervising research on Inuktitut, sharing information regarding development and standardization, administer language award program. (Nunavut 2012, 22)
178 Michael Shouldice (President, Nunavut Arctic College), conversation with author, August 24, 2011.
1. Support bilingual K-12 teacher education.179

2. Develop and deliver adult education Inuit language and culture programs.

3. Increase the production of bilingual learning and teaching materials and publications.

The effectiveness of these three major responsibilities the college takes up will rely largely on the progress in language development and standardization under the responsibility of Inuit Uqausinginnik Taiggusiliuqtitt (Inuit Language Authority). Thus far, an orthography committee has been established to review options for a standardized written form, following consultations with Nunavummiut (Nunavut 2012, 22). When few Inuit language native speakers have reached a high enough level to develop Made-in-Nunavut Inuit language standards, gaining consensus may prove a larger endeavour and standardization itself.

Judging by the experience in Greenland with respect to language policy, it takes more than political will to keep a language alive. Expert knowledge is also required to describe language in objective terms and create dictionaries and primers not only for instructional purposes but also for communication ones.180 Indeed Greenland has used a standardized written and spoken language since the Sixties, which allowed for developing Kalaallisut as a whole.181 Once standardized, language, research, and development were enabled first through Ilisimatusarfik’s department of Greenlandic Language and

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179 This support is framed under Qalattuq, the 10-year Educator Training Strategy (2006-2016) between the Department of Education and Nunavut Arctic College. The strategy has been instrumental in expanding the Nunavut Teachers Education Program in all regions of Nunavut to increase accessibility to training, as well as other Educator Training programs aimed at improving the quality of teaching in Inuktitut at the middle and high school levels. Such programs include the Aboriginal Language Specialist Certificate (Nunavut Department of Education and Nunavut Arctic College 2006)

180 Puju - Carl Christian Olsen (Director of Greenland Language Secretariat; Chairman of Greenland Language Committee; and Chairman of Greenland Place Names Authority as well as Chairman of ICC Language Commission), conversation with author, November 27, 2011.

181 Kalaallisut writing standards were developed out of the mid-western Greenlandic and supplemented by northern Greenland’s vocabulary for hunting on the ice, which was missing in the shepherding south of Greenland. The extensive orthographic reform undertaken in 1973 made the script easier to learn resulting in a boost in Greenlandic literacy.
Literature, and later through the Greenland Language Secretariat created in 1999.

Delinking language from culture, Greenland took the tough road to ensure Kalaallisut runs at the pace of change:

Our Rector at the time [1984] Robert Petersen had a very explicit idea about letting these policies inside the university and his basic assumption was that what we need in Greenland is not language preservation, and that was the starting point for everything. It is hard. I mean, cultural plurality, and diversity, is beautiful and needed, obviously. But somehow there is a limit, because a message must be spread. And to spread it you need to standardize it somehow. And if you are not allowed to standardize it, then you cannot spread it and it is going to die. And on the official Greenland side there has been no mercy, actually ever. It has been ‘we are one country, we need one standard’. You can speak your language as much as you like too, but you must be able to cope with the national standards. Bottom line still is that, it might be that elders do not like it, but there is no way around it. Language that does not survive in the cyberspace will not survive because that is the only way you can produce fast enough for a small group of people to compete in the real world. You cannot keep the world out, the world is here and you have to survive in this world.  

The situation of Kalaallisut in Greenland, is different from that of Inuktitut and Inuinnaqtun in Nunavut. Kalaallisut is the everyday language of over 90 percent of Greenland’s population and seems in no way endangered (Rasmussen 2008). However, that Kalaallisut is alive and strong does not mean that it can carry all the tasks of society. At the university, for instance, Danish and now English are undoubtedly the upholders of most of Ilisimatusarfik’s knowledge production and transmission. Notwithstanding internal tensions regarding the limited usage of Kalaallisut, the university is invested in using the three languages for teaching and research dissemination. In the president’s view, including English in the mix is a way for the university to attract more students and professors and prevent further isolation. In the process of opening up, embracing different

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182 Per Langgård (Chef Advisor Greenland Language Secretariat, Ilimmarfik University Park), conversation with author, November 27, 2011.
183 Tensions have arisen since the change in Ilisimatusarfik’s governance structure. External board members have been pushing for the expansion in the usage of Greenlandic at the university stressing the need to hire more professors for whom Greenlandic is the mother tongue. As discussed earlier, professors resist affirmative action hiring policies that would affect the access to, and development of, knowledge.
languages appears as a necessity. Reflecting on this, Puju Carl Christian Olsen, Chairman of the Greenland Language Secretariat believes that the “very beautiful priorities of cultural determination” should not “push away language development”, one of the pillars of adaptation and appropriation.¹⁸⁴

Kalaallisut standardization and development in Greenland have enabled language innovation. The integration of new terminology is expanding the use of Kalaallisut to different professional domains and the creation of new technology is opening up new sources for language learning and production.¹⁸⁵ This capacity to adapt language to new sources of information and media explains why Kalaallisut is one of most vital minority languages in the world.¹⁸⁶

Following the Greenland experience, Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami is now wading into the debate around the standardization of Inuktitut in Canada as part of the Inuit National Education Strategy. For this purpose it has created a task force to explore the introduction of a standardized writing system spearheaded by CBC - North broadcaster Kevin Kablutsia (George 2012). Even though it is too early to assess whether the task will overcome a deeply rooted opposition that goes back to the Seventies, the language debate hints at the leverage Inuit organizations have in education policy. Connecting nationally and regionally, Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami is likely to influence public postsecondary education policy in very distinct jurisdictions of Canada by tying language to Inuit

¹⁸⁴ Puju - Carl Christian Olsen (Director of Greenland Language Secretariat; Chairman of Greenland Language Committee; and Chairman of Greenland Place Names Authority as well as Chairman of ICC Language Commission), conversation with author, November 27, 2011.
¹⁸⁵ The Greenland language secretariat has introduced new technical terminology applicable to the judiciary system, Environmental Technology, Health services, IT and Journalism. This terminology has involved the work of multidisciplinary teams of experts. It has also developed several tools of popular use including: Spell checker, Greenlandic – English online dictionary, linguistic aids (including Corpus query, live analysis, word analyser, and word generators) and a Greenlandic Speech machine for blind students.
¹⁸⁶ Kalaallisut and some Sami languages that have written standards (spoken by around 20 thousand people), are considered the only indigenous languages that are not endangered.
education outcomes. However, since the federal government is not bound to follow other jurisdictions’ official language laws, commitment for language development is lacking. Indeed, since 2009 when Prime Minister Stephen Harper launched the Northern Strategy, funding for education has only been allocated for adult learning and trades training. Six years after Thomas R. Berger made a case for a comprehensive bilingual education tied to the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement, Nunavut is still in the process of developing the mechanisms for its language policies to be effective throughout the territory. As stated by Mary Ellen Thomas from the Nunavut Research Institute, social issues are prioritized making it difficult to look ahead:

I suspect Greenland has more university degrees because of its longer history and peoples’ ability to get education in Copenhagen, and by its ability to teach three languages in the public education system. Not only do they learn Greenlandic but [also] Danish and English. And all three languages are taught in the school system. In Canada we cannot teach English and French right. If you can’t get English and French right, imagine English, French and Inuktitut! And what are we learning from systems like Greenland that teach three languages, or Switzerland or other countries where multilingual learning takes place? We can’t get it right in Canada. And that is a question I haven’t figured out. And you have to look at the social conditions. Governments will always look at those things first. So where do the resources go? They go to housing, they go to health care, they go to all kinds of other things. And education is not there…the urgent always takes priority. It is like Maslow’s hierarchy of needs. If people are hungry, if people don't have a house to live in, if they need heat in their house, if the water system is not working, how can we teach them? Right now we are really trying to fill these basic needs.187

Following the Greenland model for language development may take more than political consensus at a local and territorial level as well as financial support from the federal government. My sense after talking with different administrators at the college is that it also takes nurturing a critical mass to lift some of the bureaucratic weight from language preservation and promotion initiatives. This implies, if one follows Greenland’s

187 Mary Ellen Thomas (Senior Research Officer, Nunavut Research Institute), conversation with author, September 01, 2011.
pathway, decentring knowledge from the elders to younger generations and using experts in the development of tools to create linkages between the Inuit language, English, and French. Allocating the required resources to support Inuit language development in Nunavut to the extent it has developed in Greenland will require a long term commitment to *Uqausivut* and a sustained political will. Legitimizing language policies beyond the governmental apparatus however, will likely remain one of the main territorial and federal challenges in fulfilling Inuit political aspirations.

At the same time as Nunavut emphasizes Inuit cultural heritage and the consequent preservation of a societal status quo where the Elders continue to be the knowledge bearers, Greenland is heading, and has for a while, towards assuring that its citizens are not left behind its European and global counterparts. In both cases the indigenous identity is defined and re-defined in the relationships with the wider nation and/or region. In Nunavut, indigenous identification processes are legitimated by governmental structures that ought to translate ‘culture’ into bureaucratic codes and rights. In Greenland the prospect of independence legitimizes the idea of a global involvement for which non-culture-centred higher learning is required. Accordingly, the reference point in both places differs, with Nunavut looking at Canada when comparing and differentiating its education system and Greenland projecting regionally and globally. At Nunavut Arctic College culture and language are rights tied to the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement. At Ilsimatusarfik culture and language are study objects, subject to emerging epistemologies including post-colonial ones. The difference between cultural self-consciousness and culture lies in the level of struggle, and the struggle, in the terms of political devolution:
I think here in Greenland we have different expectations and a different position from other natives. We definitely identify with each other, we belong in some way, our humour, everything. But their struggles are different. In North America they struggle for their land and to reclaim their knowledge and language. Here we are in an island, we don’t think of ourselves as connected to the land and our language is not dying, it is alive and we use it everyday. I know we have it good.\textsuperscript{188}

It is in the struggle for the ancestral land tied to cultural reclaim that one can trace disparate trajectories of the Inuit right to self-determination. These trajectories have a clear material thread that I was able to access through different narratives at Nunavut Arctic College and Ilisimatusarfik. Here, the relationship between postsecondary education and the economy consolidates the direction Nunavut and Greenland are effectively taking with respect to people’s destinies. This last pillar is the matter of the following section.

5.4. *Postsecondary education and the economy of Nunavut and Greenland*

As already related in different sections livelihoods in Nunavut and Greenland vary by geography, ethnicity, and gender. In Nunavut for example, 57 percent of household adults living in Iqaluit the capital, participate in subsistence activities while the figure is 71 percent for the rest of Nunavut. This gap is the same in Greenland (14 percent) even though fewer household adults participate in subsistence activities (47 percent in Nuuk vs. 61 percent in the rest of the country) (Poppel et al. 2007). Subsistence activities complement the cash economy and other sources of income. The participation in subsistence activities, even when recreational, contributes to household economies, healthy diets, cultural continuity and social cohesion. The fact that the wage economy is limited and skewed due to reliance on transfer payments from Canada and

\textsuperscript{188} Student, (Ilisimatusarfik), conversation with author, November 23, 2011.
Denmark has somewhat contributed to the endurance of subsistence activities for the most part outside the purview of postsecondary education programming.

Postsecondary education opens an interesting window to look at the dynamics of the wage economy and social stratification. With economic cycles of boom and bust, government employment is a mainstay of the wage economy in Nunavut and Greenland. Certainly, the proportion of the experienced and skilled labour force that works in the public sector is respectively 41 percent and 51 percent, excluding employees in service outlets established to support government needs. Over twenty years after achieving a Home Rule government, Greenlandization policies and increased higher education levels have resulted in a public sector comprised by a Greenlander majority (86 percent) (Statistics Greenland 2012F). The situation in Nunavut is progressing with 50 percent of Inuit occupying government positions in 2012 compared to 41 percent in 2001 (Nunavut Department of Human Resources Planning and Strategic Priorities Division 2012).

The composition of the public sector mirrors postsecondary education gender imbalances previously described earlier in this chapter. In 2011 for example, the ratio between women and men working in Greenland’s public sector was 2:1 (Statistics Greenland 2012F). In Nunavut, the ratio is similar when taking into account Inuit and non-Inuit public sector employees. It is important to note however that when taking into account ethnic dimensions that are jurisdiction-specific, ratios differ. For instance, in Nunavut the women to men ratio widen 3:1 when exclusively looking at Inuit beneficiary employees. In Greenland the ratio narrows to almost 1:1 when looking at public sector figures in the settlements. While in principle these figures are not comparable, I found

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In 2011 the number of women beneficiaries was 1200 compared to 380 men beneficiaries approximately. There is no significant gender disparity in non-beneficiaries with 800 female employees compared to 700 male employees (Nunavut Department of Human Resources 2012, 38)
they are relatable and quite important when looking at economic planning.

Previously in this chapter I conveyed Greenland’s outmigration reality creating not only gender population imbalance in small villages but also an economic differentiation between cities and settlements. Following the lines of nation building, the urban elite has carried on the task of creating a rights base for the society at large. For instance, the social mobilization of young educated women has gradually allowed for the institutionalization of equal opportunity rights leading to the Greenland Home Rule Government Equal Opportunity Law adopted in 2003 (Om Ændring Af Landstingslov Om Grønlands Ligestillingsråd Landstingslov Nr. 8 Af 2003-04-11 2003). With this law, attention is paid to equal participation opportunities at home (e.g., childrearing) and in the public sphere (e.g., civic activities and labour market at large). Providing for economic redistribution, the equal opportunity law has been instrumental in appropriating a Nordic-Greenlandic modeled welfare state in the context of the Greenland Home Rule Government (Kahlig 2010). In this sense, Greenlanders took on the role of compensating for sectors of society that cannot compete on an equal basis in the productive life of Greenland. An important legacy of Greenland’s female elite, the formal preoccupation for the social welfare granted in equal opportunity rights, represents a shift from differentiation in colonial terms to socioeconomic ones.

In Nunavut the sense is that women are the upholders of the Nunavut project in a context that has championed indigenous rights over gender equity. Not surprisingly,
the overriding perception is that men are the leaders of the Inuit cause. Indeed the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement does not specifically provide for women’s rights or socioeconomic rights. In this context, the socioeconomic divide along gender lines occurs within the communities where people tend to stay with the expectation that the government will localize its social services. As one could gather from the social and cultural aspects of education depicted in this chapter, adult and elder women have found a place in government services tied to the cultural mandates of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement. Precisely, these skills are ill required to make the principles of *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* publically effective and to revitalize and preserve the Inuit language. Short of formal skills and lacking the motivation to do an office job, young people and men are not often compelled to apply for jobs in the public sector. With an underdeveloped private sector, the young population has yet to fully participate in the wage economy. The socioeconomic divides operating along gender and age lines, appear to create tensions that are likely taken up by the utmost local unit, that is, the family unit.

Times are changing and culture is great but culture also needs to change with the time as well. So if the husband throws them [women] out of the house, they [women] are left out in the Arctic cold with their kids literally...And then not only that but the stigma that goes with it, and the community is very small, so they are scared like if they go and say something or charge their husband for abuse or whatever it may be, an elder in that community might say ‘it's a no –no!’ So they don’t want to go against their community, they don’t want to go against them. I know that a lot of men they feel threatened when their wives or girlfriends - they feel threatened when they find out they are going to get an education or - so they get discouraged, not so much discouraged but unsupported. So it is very

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193 In September 2010, a Women’s leadership summit took place in Iqaluit. The Summit brought together approximately 200 women from across Nunavut who discussed their role and the barriers they face to perform it. Recognition of leadership was discussed as one of the barriers women face in a context where men are seen as the champions of Inuit rights (Qulliit Nunavut Status of Women Council 2011, Appendix A).

194 Amongst Nunavummiut youth for instance, the unemployment rate has reached 34.1 percent., with significant differences between large and small communities (Statistics Canada 2013B, 2011, and 2010).
Navigating and negotiating such tensions, women are effectively carrying Inuit political aims within the government framework of Nunavut and in doing so, leaving men behind:

We are divided and sometimes it can be problematic. What I have found is that the women are out in the community working and this provides a problem for the men. This is what I have heard. This is what I have seen. I taught at the [X] program and I know how difficult it was for the women to survive in my program because the men did not understand why they were in school. I know I am over-generalizing, but I’ve heard the stories. Listen! I’ve heard a lot of that. So you have a lot of women in school and the men are still doing the traditional work like hunting, they were expected to be the breadwinners, yet the women are making more money. Women are now graduating as teachers, as nurses and making more money than people down south. And it is a tough thing for the men to understand. So I think the women are very progressive. In terms of our conversation of self-determination, I think there is a part of society that is moving towards it and a part that is very traditional. That is such a tough thing to negotiate for families.196

While equal opportunity to enjoy a full and productive life is granted by the Nunavut Human Rights Act, its application is to be done within an Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit framework and without prejudice to the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement.197 Accordingly, compatibility between different constitutional frameworks and their interpretation within an Inuit majority jurisdiction is a work in progress that requires a wider participation in the labour force for it to make effective sense.198

Gender relationships give a glimpse of the socio-economic configurations of Nunavut and Greenland shaping the context in which non-renewable resource extraction is being negotiated. While both jurisdictions are aiming at self-reliance, the economic

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195 Radhika Shastri (Instructor Bachelor of Science in Nursing, Arctic Nursing, Nunavut Arctic College), conversation August 30, 2011.
196 Administrator (Nunavut Arctic College), conversation with author August 25-30, 2011.
197 The Nunavut Human Rights Act was passed into law by the Legislative Assembly on November 05, 2003 (Nunavut, 2003).
198 Mary Ellen Thomas (Senior Research Officer, Nunavut Research Institute), conversation with author, September 01, 2011.
Eric Corneau (Coordinator, Policy and Planning, Nunavut Arctic College), conversation with author August 29, 2011.
accent is tainted by distinct urgencies. Greenland’s interest is in effectively reducing its economic ties to Denmark while maintaining its Nordic welfare system. Nunavut’s interest is to generate employment to reduce reliance on federal transfer payments and income support. Generating the income to address social inequities appears to be imperative to the new Canadian territory at a time when the biggest island of the world is looking into opening up its economic base. These are the urgencies currently projecting into Nunavut Arctic College and Ilisimatusarfik respectively.

Given its mission and position, Ilisimatusarfik is less concerned about leveraging socioeconomic differences via preparing students for the new economy and more about the role of the university in understanding development in the context of Greenland. I became aware of two debates taking place here. The first one has to do with the role of the university in compensating for democratic deficits and the second to the university’s relationship with development’s stakeholders.

Through different initiatives the university is striving to act on its constitutional democratic mandate and partake in the public debate generating awareness of the different dimensions of resource development. In 2011 for instance, the university hosted Greenland’s first oil and gas key stakeholder dialog with representatives from government, industry, community leaders, academia and NGO’s. Reflecting on the event, Birger Poppel, Ilisimatusarfik’s conference convener, believes the university is Greenland’s legitimate actor to convoke and facilitate an informed discussion that addresses the questions that are yet to be asked by the wider population:

Mining and oil exploitation is where the hopes and fears are. And the predictions

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199 Government transfers in 2010 constituted 22 percent of total personal income, a figure that hasn’t varied significantly since 2001. Furthermore, it is estimated that 75 percent of Nunavut’s households receive income support at some point of any given year in the past decade. At current participation and employment rates, income support is deemed unsustainable (Statistics Canada 2011B).
are that will both bring jobs and some people think prosperity should be able to make us self-reliant. And for sure there is potential but would it benefit us or somebody else? That is a question that remains unanswered. When I see different projects developing, the lack of inclusion of people in the process and what the companies can get away with not telling, or not answering, I think you need to have someone actually telling people ‘well it might create jobs, but most jobs will go in the construction phase to people outside Greenland, there might be 300-500 jobs once the mines start producing… and what are the societal costs, what would the cultural and environmental costs [be]?’ In public hearings [for example] some local people did not know they do not own the ground they live on. So you can see that there are hoops and there are concerns… And we [the university] are meant to have the integrity so that people trust [the information they are given]. And there is trust that when the university goes in to an activity like this it has a legitimate role. And I see that as one of the things we should do. One of the things that we can do on an informed basis is try to compensate for the democratic deficits that I think are part of our society. This is the way I can say it in my own words.200

As the university participates in the public realm, it exposes itself to the controversies of resource development pushing some form of political alignment. *Avataq*, the most critical environmental NGO in Greenland working closely with the Inuit Circumpolar Council, declined to participate in the Arctic Dialog as a sign of mistrust on the involvement of multinational companies. On the other end of the ideological spectrum, the establishment of a foundation funded by industry partners and administered by Ilisimatusarfik has been tabled as a result of the dialog. With some concerns regarding academic freedom, this initiative may find momentum when considering the university is strategically contemplating establishing partnerships with companies.201 This linkage is warranted in the university’s mandate to relate to society at large:

People here are very…researchers are very… you know… keen in keeping the respect for the university of having this solid [scholarship] and what they are worried about when they hear me talking about inviting the business or the private

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200 Birger Poppel (Chief Statistics Greenland and Ilisimatusarfik Board Member), conversation with author, November 24, 2011.

201 The intention to involve companies in research and training at Ilisimatusarfik is stated in the 2011 university’s strategic plan. The president and vice-president of Ilisimatusarfik confirmed this intention in the conversations I held with them in November, 2011.
sector. [Professors ask:] ‘Do we have to make research that is defined only by them?’ ‘What about the critical voice [of the university]?’ So yes. This is going to be new. If we succeed inviting the private sector in, we will have to have a lot of discussion on how to respect and build a university for the society and not only about the society.\textsuperscript{202}

The emphasis on expanding the university’s interaction with the outside world by means of private partnerships is not merely a sign of responsiveness to society. It is also a move to survive a major shift if Greenland becomes independent from Denmark. Would the university continue to be funded to the same extent? Will it continue to educate Greenlanders? And will its focus on Greenland endure? These questions were raised in conversations I held with Ilisimatusarfik professors who, dubious about the imminence of independence, believe the resource development discourse is pushing a rapid and somewhat erratic institutional change.\textsuperscript{203}

At Nunavut Arctic College the move from a government sector driving the economy to a private one is raising concerns regarding the territorial and community capacity to keep up with change. One of the biggest concerns has to do with the human capacity required to operate mining operations. Currently, four mines are being considered with Inuit employment quotas of around 30 percent. This means that the mines will be competing for trades people who are already in short supply in Nunavut. Furthermore, mining operations require a great diversity of professional, skilled, and semi-skilled labour willing to work a two-weeks-in, two-weeks-out schedule. This is likely to attract more men than women which will supposedly bring this sector of Nunavut’s society that is deemed as “falling behind”, to the wage economy.\textsuperscript{204}

\textsuperscript{202}Tine Pars (Rector, Ilisimatusarfik), conversations with author November 21, 2011.
\textsuperscript{203}Thorkild Kjaergaard (Professor, Ilisimatusarfik), conversation with author, November 23, 2011.
Ole Marquardt (Professor and former Rector, Ilisimatusarfik), conversation with author, November 23, 2011.
\textsuperscript{204}Evidence from the Northwest Territories suggests that jobs in mining appeals to, people between the ages of 18 and 30 and without children, and people who are somewhat older whose children are 18 years of age or older. Even when
cautionary note, this is likely to bring an extra burden on women especially young mothers.\textsuperscript{205} With 5000 jobs in the mining horizon, migrant labour is expected to fill positions in the mines as well as vacancies in the public sector. Even if mechanisms are in place to offset labour demands, there is also a concern regarding people’s vocation and cultural readiness to participate in non-renewable resource exploitation. In this respect concerns have been raised given the absenteeism and turnover of the Inuit workforce in currently active mining projects, an issue raised at the Nunavut Mining Symposium in Iqaluit April 19, 2012.\textsuperscript{206}

Reliance on migrants is the second issue the college needs to take into account in its planning. Without a workforce plan, it is difficult to know what type of training will be required for people coming to Nunavut. Indeed there is a responsibility to fulfill the mandates of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement limiting the capacity to offer job security (and) exacerbating personnel turnover. In these circumstances, the college is committed to plan for predictable and non-predictable labour force demands while anticipating the potential impacts of the expected change:

We are really going to try to bring as many people to the north that want to do that and be part of that [development]. And that is a big number. I mean we have lost sight of the fact that we need nurses, we need administrators, we need leaders...yes. And you know gearing up we need a strategy, a workforce strategy. A job strategy is not a workforce strategy. And we are in that, we are right in the middle of the workforce strategy moment with the college. That is why we are pushing ahead with so many plans. We are in the flow just like everybody else. And we try not to be responsive after the fact. We are trying to predict a little bit of this and gear up to be able to do it.\textsuperscript{207}

\textsuperscript{205} This concern was raised by three participants as follows: Instructor (NTEP Program Nunavut Arctic College), conversation with author, August 26, 2011 and October 05, 2011. Instructor (Nunavut Arctic College), conversation with author, August 31, 2011. Eric Corneau (Coordinator, Policy and Planning, Nunavut Arctic College), conversation with author August 29, 2011

\textsuperscript{206} During the symposium, delegates from mining companies (e.g. Agnico-Eagle’s) reported turnover rates of around 80 percent (Bell 2012).

\textsuperscript{207} Michael Shouldice (President, Nunavut Arctic College) conversation with author, August 24, 2011.
If we see resource development come and 300 or 500 or 1000 workers coming to Iqaluit from all parts of the world, how well our community will be ready for it? And, how well Inuit will be ready for it? These are very good questions but is very close. And we are looking at the communities that are being affected by development. We got a five-year SSHRC grant to establish the base line data so that we know how our communities are going to be impacted.\(^{208}\)

As the college “gears up” to anticipate the multiple directions of an emerging economic landscape, Inuit self-determination becomes a pressing concern. What happens if Inuit are not the majority in their territory? What if the public sector does not reach Inuit representativeness to carry on the cultural mandate? Will the college be sufficient to train outsiders (Qallunaat) to carry the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement stipulations forward? Is that desirable? Raised in different conversations, these queries signal a personal concern from those invested in making the college relevant to the government, the economy and, most importantly, to the communities it serves. This tripartite distinction is particularly relevant when considering that not all communities may participate on equal terms in the economic boom. The running thought here is that a shift in the balance between Inuit and Qallunaat will affect the regional centres but not the smaller communities. This viewpoint is granted in the fact that fertility rates in Nunavut remain high with 50 percent of the population under the age of 25, that Inuit tend to stay in their communities, and that most of the migrant work will likely locate in Iqaluit, Rankin Inlet, and Cambridge Bay or in the self-contained mining camps.\(^{209}\) With this data in mind, education demands and outcomes are expected to vary geographically creating a territorial differentiation whereby the centres “jump on the fast train of development” and the smaller communities maintain the ties to the land aided by the Nunavut

\(^{208}\) Mary Ellen Thomas (Senior Research Officer, Nunavut Research Institute), conversation with author, September 01, 2011.
How could a college react and respond to these distinct demands? At Nunavut Arctic College, training people for two sectors (i.e., public and private) goes side by side with creating a space for Inuit to heal, know who they are, and decide for themselves what of the *Qallunaat* world they want to bring into their lives. With the pace of change however, these two worlds are likely to become further apart, with one portion of the college providing postsecondary education to a bicultural and even multicultural constituency living in the regional centres, and the other providing adult education in the smaller communities compensating for K-12 education shortcomings. A sign perhaps, that social stratification is an inevitable byproduct of development.

As we see these survivors of the school system and their children come through the school system we are going to see a very different world. But there are survivors out there and they are going to be the new leaders and they will have a lot more expectations about their children making it through the school system, but it then creates a whole different differentiation from a time where the Inuit were all like each other, to a time were we have very low education and very high education. And if you look back in Canadian history, and if you look back into First Nations history it was the Métis, the people of both cultures, who made the bridge in Canadian history. And we are seeing this new elite middle class bicultural, sometimes tri-cultural group coming into existence, and it will make a whole new world.

Nunavut Arctic College’s assessment of the territory’s economic prospects leads to a social stratification similar to Greenland’s. However, if one takes into serious account labour force planning in Nunavut and Greenland, the picture may continue to offer us information of the distinct trajectories of the right to self-determination. Not

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210 Jennifer Archer (PLAR Project Manager, Nunavut Arctic College), conversation with author April 19 and July 01, 2012
Pesee Pitsiulak - Stevens (Dean, Nunatta Campus, Nunavut Arctic College), conversation August 30, 2011
211 Jennifer Archer (PLAR Project Manager, Nunavut Arctic College), conversation with author April 19 and July 01, 2012
212 Mary Ellen Thomas (Senior Research Officer, Nunavut Research Institute), conversation with author, September 01, 2011.
without its opponents, Greenland is moving towards the direction of bringing foreign workers to cover unskilled job vacancies to be on oilrigs, or in mine shafts.\footnote{This is an interesting shift since the previous education plan focused mostly on preparing unskilled Greenlanders to fill the vacancies in the new economy. Since the achievement of self-government, the discussion has shifted towards migrant labour. As of November 2012, plans were already on the table for a 12 billion kroner iron ore mine that alone would increase the country’s population of 57,000 people by nearly four percent. A new law is expected to be approved by the end of 2012 allowing the import of foreign workers to establish new operations paid at wages below what Greenlanders workers would earn (Krærup and Jacobsen, 2012).} This position frees some of the training and education weight to focus on the skills Greenland is invested in. Indeed, most of the funding for education is being directed towards program development in science and technology associated with oil, gas, and mineral exploitation, as well as climate change. With this focus, the Artek Technology Centre, the Mining Centre in Sisimiut, and the Nature Institute are at the centre of government’s workforce development and knowledge base priorities.\footnote{The Greenland government decided in 2007 to build a new mining school in Sisimiut to meet the national goal of training at least 1,500 Greenlanders for the mining industry. The mining school is now collaborating with other Nordic Universities to contribute to the development of curriculum. Students coming from every community in Greenland live in residence in Sisimiut, where they work through a curriculum that concentrates on mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, social studies and the history of technology, as well as courses in the Danish, Greenlandic and English languages. Palle Christiansen (Greenland’s Minister of Education, Research, and Nordic Cooperation), conversation with author, November 22, 2011. See also Bell (2011).} Accordingly, the capacity of these institutions is being built through partnerships with other Nordic institutions towards decreasing reliance on foreign workers for jobs that require academic, research, and/or specialized skills (Greenland Ministry of Education, Research and Nordic Cooperation 2012).

Labour wise, Nunavut’s priority to prepare Inuit for the upcoming jobs is separated from strategies regarding research and building knowledge capacity. Over the years, the Nunavut Research Institute, which is part of Nunavut Arctic College, has provided logistical support, communications and accommodation to researchers coming from different parts of the world. Through different partnerships\footnote{Partnerships include The Geological Survey of Canada, Dalhousie University, Resources and Sustainable Development in the Arctic, and International Polar Year.} the institute is now
involved in teaching and learning through the Environmental Technology Program, which is aimed at attracting more men to postsecondary education. While the institute is invested in the transmission and production of scientific knowledge that links economic development, environmental change, and *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit*, it is yet to articulate to governmental labour force plans.\(^{216}\) As a matter of fact, related annual plans focus on unemployed individuals requiring re-skilling with no stipulations on the other side of the spectrum providing for skilled workers who could eventually occupy middle and upper level cross-section positions (Nunavut Department of Education 2010, Human Resources and Skills Development Canada 2009, Nunavut and Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated 2011). In this policy context, core programming at Nunavut Arctic College is taking precedence due to immediate demand. Still, part of the college’s plan is to continue to invest resources to pursue higher learning activities to be prepared to meet growing demands in both sides of the occupational spectrum.\(^{217}\) There is a hope that this bottom-up approach can eventually catch up, feeding the labour market with skilled workers who will influence change from a place different than the government.\(^{218}\)

Economic momentum is shaping the way the Self-Government of Greenland and the Government of Nunavut are positioning Inuit aims. In Greenland, envisioned independence tied with effective economic constraints has pushed the political agenda towards openness whereby Denmark is just one of many actors the country is doing business with. Equally, postsecondary education is re-defining its mission in a context where national identity is being trumped by sovereignty. Ilisimatusarfik is here in a

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\(^{216}\) Mary Ellen Thomas (Senior Research Officer, Nunavut Research Institute), conversation with author, September 01, 2011.

\(^{217}\) Eric Corneau (Coordinator, Policy and Planning, Nunavut Arctic College), conversation with author August 29, 2011.

\(^{218}\) Michael Shouldice (President, Nunavut Arctic College), conversation with author, August 24, 2011.
vulnerable position as its symbolic value is no longer enough to justify its presence. The new education strategy provides for an exhaustive evaluation of all programs towards implementing a cost-effective internationalized university. Interestingly internationalization is seen as a measure to rationalize program offerings in Greenland by calculating government’s return on investment (Greenland Ministry of Education, Research and Nordic Cooperation 2012). Paradoxically, as Greenland envisions accessing the world of nations, it appears to be stripping its university from its nation building mandates.

In Nunavut, policies and strategies revolving around economic development appear to target social deficits and Inuit representativeness. The college is here an arm of the government invested in meeting government targets while remaining true to the local communities it serves. However, this has not limited the college’s autonomy to pursue other type of endeavors that go beyond Nunavut’s waged labour development plans. The aim here is for the college to slow the pace of change and prepare Inuit to benefit from it at all levels, as stipulated by the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement. But education is not enough. In the words of mediator Tony Penikett, further devolution is required to see fulfillment of the constitutional journey following Inuit claims settlement and the creation of the territory. Despite Federal commitment to devolution, as stated in Canada’s Northern Strategy of 2009, Ottawa has yet to appoint a negotiator. With no resource management responsibilities, the territory has no true leverage in its development plans.

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219 Tony Penikett is a senior fellow on native treaty issues and a visiting professor for the Undergraduate Semester in Dialogue at Simon Fraser University. He has also worked at the Walter and Duncan Gordon Foundation and for West Coast Environmental Law. He gave a lecture at the Munk Centre on Thursday, October 6, 2011. I asked him what would devolution bring in view of rapid economic change. In his view, devolution will create the actual safeguards to change for which no strategy can prepare.
This is something the college cannot compensate for.\textsuperscript{220}

At a macro level, as Ilisimatusarfik’s associated researcher Damien Degeorges (2012) contends, Greenland will become vulnerable to foreign investors in the absence of Denmark. What I learned from Ilisimatusarfik is that vulnerability is coming from within. As Greenland moves towards statehood, it risks its welfare base covering all Greenlanders. And while Nunavut is somewhat protected within the constitutional framework of Canada, what I learned at Nunavut Arctic College is that people are still to gain trust and build productive allegiances to the territory and the Crown. In both places the message I got is that economic development is not the same as people’s self-reliance, as it leads to (further) social stratification increasing reliance on equalizing intervention via welfare policies (Greenland) or claims agreements (Nunavut). With accelerating socioeconomic stratification, “peoplehood” proves to be an elusive construct of nation-building and/or ethnic cohesiveness.

Drawn from the standpoint of postsecondary education, socioeconomic stratification produces new platforms for Inuit people(s) to define the terms for self-determination. Within both jurisdictions it all appears to boil down to economic performance and social safeguards to sustain collective cohesiveness. One must not forget however, that Inuit act beyond their nation states struggling for the recognition of their ancestral connection to their homeland land. The Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC) is here an important voice pushing for a human and indigenous rights economic development framework. In 2011, ICC issued a new “Circumpolar Inuit Declaration on Resource Development Principles in Inuit Nunaat” (Inuit Circumpolar Council 2011). In this declaration, Inuit from Alaska, Canada, Greenland, and Chukotka position

\textsuperscript{220} Research Officer (Nunavut Arctic College), conversation with author, September 01, 2011.
themselves as active observers of resource development. Without opposing it, Inuit welcome collaborations with developers provided their commitment to economic diversification through education and other forms of social development, physical infrastructure, and non-extractive industries. Enacting these principles, Inuit organizations in Canada (ICC-Canada and Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami) and Greenland (ICC-Greenland), are making sure that no Inuit are left behind within the frameworks of their public jurisdictions.

From a regional platform to a local one, Inuit lobbying is carrying forward the right to self-determination pushing not only states and multinational companies but also their self-governments. In a modern nomadic way, Inuit are drawing new maps crossing institutional boundaries in taking control of their destinies. In this sense, self-determination appears to surpass any public expectations and, as such, exceed the capacity of postsecondary education to take on new missions.
Chapter Six: Discussion and Conclusions

6.1. Recapitulating findings

The present study looked at the trajectories of two postsecondary education institutions taking on the public mandates of the Greenland Home Rule, now the Self Government of Greenland, and the Nunavut territory. In both jurisdictions the public realm has accommodated Inuit aims within governance structures inherited from Denmark and Canada. As a result, public services including postsecondary education, weigh in on an ancestral past, a challenging present, and an imagined future all playing out in the geopolitically sensitive scenario of the Arctic. Following the terms of the indigenous right to self-determination as it relates to sovereignty, I proposed to look at how its political, social, cultural, and economic development dimensions, manifest themselves in the organization of training and higher education at Nunavut Arctic College and Ilisimatusarfik respectively. In looking at a context crosscutting local, national, and regional boundaries from the standpoint of two education institutions, I was able to depict collaboratively the ways in which Inuit self-determination effectively manifests in the everyday of postsecondary education.

Politically speaking, we see two very distinct political arrangements defining who the “people” are and delineating particular socioeconomic accents. As history would tell, Greenland’s colonial, decolonizing, and postcolonial trajectories are threaded by an ambivalent relationship with Denmark partially resolved at different stages through public structures to guarantee equal rights. The nationalist period that led to the Home
Rule Government with its emphasis on Greenlandic identity gave birth to Ilisimatusarfik, an institution that would intellectualize Inuit culture and society to understand the modern world through a local gaze. The experiment was lost within a short period of time and a Danish university was created, mirroring a societal tendency to stress a Danish-Nordic and a Greenlandic identity. The consolidation of a bicultural subsector of society was granted on settlement outmigration that, paired with education, strengthened an elite. Greenland’s educated elite was instrumental in appropriating and legitimizing the Danish welfare system that recognizes universal rights. With universal rights encompassing indigenous rights, Greenland’s legislation does not incorporate Inuit specific rights. In other words, Greenland’s political organization works under the premise that differences are ideological rather than ethnic, absorbing dissent along party lines. As a result, self-determination is assumed as a right that, achieved at Home Rule by all Greenlanders, has enabled Greenland’s statehood pursuits. Against this backdrop, the university is redefining its role as it seeks to be a player in the “opening up” of Greenland.

If I had to pick one qualifier of Greenland’s current situation it would certainly be the idea of “opening up”. What I gathered from different conversations is the inverse relationship between reducing ties to Denmark and increasing ties to global actors including multinational companies, regional organizations, lobbyists, etc. Obviously, there may be better sites to follow these interactions than the university itself. However, Ilisimatusarfik displays an interesting reality playing out in the institutional alignment to outside actors and the resistance from its long-standing faculty. Since the passing of Act 19 (Om Ilisimatusarfik Landstingslov Nr. 19 Af 2007-11-19 2007), the university has been branching off in its partnerships with other institutions in the Nordic region and
entertaining relationships with resource development companies. Internally, faculty are concerned about the precarious balance between openness and academic freedom. At the core of these tensions is the freezing up of Denmark’s transfers inducing the re-missioning of the university to become more regional. Provided for in the latest education strategies, the university appears to be viewing the Arctic region as a study object that incorporates a scientific rather than political preoccupation of “the local”. As such, geopolitical and economic linkages rather than circumpolar activist actions towards furthering indigenous peoples’ rights define Ilisimutusarfik’s current direction.

At the beginning of my fieldwork, I was under the assumption that the Inuit Circumpolar Council would project its Inuit mandate to the university. This thought was based on the Council’s statement on education and how active the Greenlandic Inuit are in the organization. What I found is a resistance of the university to open itself to indigenous aims. An example of this is Ilisimutusarfik’s negative response to hosting the Centre of Inuit Studies proposed by the Inuit Circumpolar Council right after the new act was passed. A university for Greenlanders as opposed to a Greenlandic university, Ilisimutusarfik was perhaps destined by its own design, to intellectualize Inuit language, history, culture, and social conditions using a universalist framework. In doing so, it has enabled the communicability of knowledge about Greenlanders. This, I believe, is a very important asset for negotiating people’s interest in a contested context. In other words, the university has contributed to the appropriation of disciplinary knowledge about Greenlanders encompassing Inuit. In doing so, it has removed itself from the political notion of indigenous peoples’ rights operating at a circumpolar level.
If Greenland’s university has played a symbolic role in the consolidation of the Home Rule Government, Nunavut Arctic College’s role has been predominantly functional. As a training institution mostly preoccupied with vocational learning and applied knowledge, the college does not think itself as an agent of Inuit self-determination even when its mandate is tied to the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement. What is interesting in this context is the institutional commitment, permeating all programming, to address the barriers that Inuit face to own the government they have carved out for themselves. As a Crown institution, it operates in a system that, through the Nunavut Land Claims Agreements, recognizes Canada’s sovereignty rights over its Arctic territories. In this legal context, the college’s cultural and social emphasis is one of the vehicles to legitimize the public structure of the territory rather than engage in Inuit pursuit of further devolution. As such, *public* has come to mean presence in all communities, endorsement of *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* as the foundation of all programs, and accommodation of students’ academic and emotional needs. Through this responsiveness, the college aims at integrating Inuit students into mainstream Canadian education pathways.

Nunavut Arctic College uses Inuit cultural principles, codified by Inuit organizations and made available to the Nunavut government. As such, the only territorial postsecondary education institution is at the tail end of the bureaucratic understanding of “Inuit Culture”. Certainly, the college has become an arm of the government that appropriates cultural codes into a Canadian-type college to reduce social barriers to education and meet human capital expectations. As one could gather from the findings section, the college attempts to do so as it develops the capacity to grant degrees
and fully embark on applied research. However, the resources are neither in place nor does there appear to be a political urgency to follow through. The right to develop Inuit culture, as a dimension of the indigenous right to self-determination, is hence circumscribed to access and equity without mainstream content being effectively influenced by Inuit cosmologies.

While championing access and equity could be written off from a decolonizing perspective, the college has not fully dismissed the colonial “soul wound” inflicted by education itself. The proximity between the college and Inuit people makes the colonial pain visible and unavoidable. It is in programs such as the Prior Learning Assessment and Recognition (PLAR) and the Suicide Prevention Training (ASIST), that I saw healing processes being integrated into the ethos of the college. Perhaps more telling is the personal investment amongst people working at the college. In every single conversation I had, instructors and administrators expressed their efforts in facilitating effective Inuit ownership and control of their territory. Without endorsing a college-wide decolonizing framework, there is an institutional but mostly personal commitment to the social, cultural, and economic dimensions of Inuit self-determination. An inescapable investment I must add, when dealing with the practicalities of running programs in every community. Here, decolonizing does not articulate to a critical discourse challenging “southern” or “western” ways of knowing but to the functional ways of bridging the past of the homeland and the present of the territory. Paraphrasing Inuit elder Meeka Arnakaq’s words “education is not a one-culture affair, it is not an Inuk affair, it is not limited to one culture or another. It is a way of keeping up with the times”. 221

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221 These words were pronounced during the Qulliq lighting ceremony inaugurating the 2011 – 2012 school year, on August 23, 2011.
Following the ways in which the college navigates life in the communities, I became aware of the effective distance between Inuit political engagement at a circumpolar level, and the actual capacity to run the territory. Similar to my experience in Greenland, I expected postsecondary education in Nunavut to be influenced by Inuit engagement in Arctic affairs. What I found was a distance between life in the communities and sovereignty affairs. With pending devolution for Inuit in Nunavut to effectively exercise power over their land and its resources, effective engagement with the Arctic to the point that education is affected continues to depend on the political will of the Federal government. At this point in time, I could not find any effective instance through which I could thread the Inuit Circumpolar Council – Canada or the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami influence over postsecondary education in Nunavut. What is more, I could not find policy or programming ties between Nunavut Arctic College and the National Inuit Education Strategy articulating a pan-arctic dimension tied to Inuit self-determination. All in all, Inuit mobilization at a national and regional level does not appear to be a force effectively taken up by Nunavut’s postsecondary education.

All things considered, Nunavut Arctic College takes up Inuit aims as they pertain to public governance. In doing so, it remains confined to localized spaces compelling the college to accommodate to the life of the communities.

Mary May Simon, chair of the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami’s Committee on Inuit Education, who is currently leading the National Inuit Education Strategy, is often quoted as stating that Canadian sovereignty over the Arctic begins at home meaning that “Canada cannot successfully assert its national agenda in the Arctic while ignoring the state of civil society in the Arctic” (Simon 2009, 251). While Nunavut Arctic College is
not involved in such advocacy, it certainly contributes to communities that are still in the process of appropriating territorial institutions and practices.

Mirroring public governance arrangements, postsecondary education in Nunavut and Greenland is more than one step removed from Inuit political mobilization at a circumpolar level. The table in the Appendix No. 6 summarizes this “mirroring” for each dimension of the Inuit right to self-determination.

6.2. Revisiting the research question within its theoretical framework. What are the relationships between Inuit self-determination and postsecondary education in Nunavut and Greenland?

In summarizing my findings, I used the word “mirroring” to illustrate the nature of the relationships between Inuit self-determination and postsecondary education in Nunavut and Greenland. In using this word, I hinted at how, by virtue of the public government arrangements, autonomous postsecondary education institutions are positioned to mitigate the political sensitivities aroused by the right to self-determination.

In the theoretical framework section I found connecting lines between the relationship between sovereignty and self-determination and indigenous education approaches. Such connecting lines are drawn by ubiquitous constructs referring to culture, development, and decolonizing that require contextualization.

When conceived within a framework of internal sovereignty, the right to self-determination, theoretically speaking, operates as a right to culture delinked from secession aspirations. Such is the legal framework in Greenland and Nunavut where the public arrangements have secured uncontroversial means to protect the rights of the people. As such, human development has become an over-determining factor in defining the operational terms of the right to self-determination. Understood as the ability of the
people to partake in an evolving polity, human development is what makes postsecondary education of utmost importance for navigating new governance systems. In this sense, both Ilisimatusarfik and Nunavut Arctic College had taken on a human development public mandate. At a functional level, human development has been taken up in both institutions by training and educating the human resources required to carry on government aims that combine both the desires of the people and the building of the new polity. Of particular relevance has been the training of teachers enabling effective control over public services essential to carry cultural and language mandates without contravening the canons of the education systems in Canada and Denmark.

Alongside the functional role postsecondary education plays, there is an ideological vein contextualizing human development. Here the mission of postsecondary education institutions fitting wider public expectations shapes context. In its first strategic plan, Ilismatusarfik’s mission statement connects research and the production of knowledge with welfare and culture, democracy, and the respect for human rights to support Greenland’s participation in global sustainable development (Ilisimatusarfik 2011). This institutional investment in sustainable development is not substantiated by a clear pursuit of local knowledge production, as the literature would suggest (Sillitoe and Marzano 2009, Bicker et al. 2004, Sable et al. 2007, Barnhardt 2008). What we find is an institutional positioning in the Arctic region with no institutional commitment to a people’s cause keeping the university “free” of political interference. Interestingly the university does not appear to be protecting its “freedom” from the interference of private companies. Certainly, the Euro-universal framework under which the university operates, along with its geographic location, mirrors Greenland’s leverage in the region.
Thus the university can be a “partner” in development by virtue of its “neutral” position with respect to Inuit rights, and legitimize its participation by the fact that it is the University of Greenland, the University of Greenlanders.

In contrast, at least at first glance, Nunavut Arctic College dives into the indigenous rights milieu championing the Inuit right to culture as the means to redress socioeconomic gaps stemming from a history of federal neglect. Here the college is a key institution actualizing access and equity principles and accommodating a diverse population in terms of postsecondary education preparedness without modifying standards or outcomes. Accommodation has come to mean codifying Inuit culture, appropriating *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit*, and remaining close to the communities and mostly to adult learners. While the aim is also to build on a local perspective on economic growth and social wellbeing (Barnhardt 2008, Nord 2002) human capital capacity to develop a local perspective to the point it can have at least an equal standing with mainstream curriculum teaching and learning is insufficient. With the explicit mandate to increase beneficiaries’ participation in a diversifying labour force, and K-12 education deficiencies, numbers are not adding up for Inuit to effectively take control over their government and their economy. One could argue that Ilisimatusarfik faces the same issue. However, it is important to highlight that compensating for socioeconomic gaps is not the mandate of Greenland’s first university as it is of Nunavut Arctic College. Hence, while the college can expand and has expanded its mission to go side by side with the configuration of the territory, it has to pace itself to the pace of beneficiaries to own and legitimate the territorial configuration of their homeland. Undoubtedly, enduring
poverty amongst the population overrides any form of Inuit-oriented bureaucratic legitimacy the government and even postsecondary education can achieve.

In theory, human development approaches to indigenous education depoliticize indigenous rights while decolonizing ones aim at reclaiming indigeneity to reconfigure the relationships with the dominant society. However, the way Ilisimatusarfik and Nunavut Arctic College take up the Inuit right to self-determination, gives rise to the question of whether decolonizing can be thought from a non-antagonistic perspective especially once indigenous peoples have achieved some form of autonomy within internal sovereignty framework. Let’s take the predecessor of Ilisimatusarfik, the Inuit Institute, as an important example in Greenland. Ten years into the Greenland Home Rule Government it was clear that ethnicity was not enough to carry on the tasks of a self-governing people. At this point education at the Inuit Institute was not only becoming irrelevant to the priorities of a modern Greenland society but also impracticable outside the scope local Greenlandic affairs pertaining heritage and culture. Adopting a Euro-Danish approach, the creation of Ilisimatusarfik represents a shift within the discourse of Greenlandicness whereby being able to manage both local (deemed Greenlandic) and academic values (deemed Danish–Nordic) is seen as enrichment, and potential. As stated by Per Langgård (2002, 99) “It is certainly true that any culture needs to know its past to understand its present. But it is as true that the elements of a contemporary culture are part of the culture even if they are not reflected in the old culture”. Certainly, navigating local and academic values is still a privilege. However, as history tells us, it is Greenland’s educated elite who have steered the country towards independence.
Decolonizing approaches to education are keen in highlighting the point that self-governance does not mean people are free from a colonial mentality (Duran et al., 1998, Smith, 1999, Memmi 1967, Said 1979, Maracle 1996, Rahmena 2001, Cajete 2000, Nandy 1988 and 2008, Smith 1999, Battiste 2000 and 2009, Kuokkanen 2007, Abdi 2012). What we see in Greenland that projects into Ilisimatusarfik is what I would call a conscientious recognition and appropriation of colonial history. Here I justify differentiating recognition and appropriation of Greenlandic and Danish heritage from pure colonial assimilation in the academic discourse that happens in the university regarding culture. It is because “culture” as a construct is deliberately delinked from the discourse of indigenous rights, that decolonizing is delinked from social justice. Yes, this de-linking is certainly threaded in Greenland’s colonial history, but what is relevant today is that issues regarding equity are no longer in the hands of the colonizer. By taking over this role from Denmark the issue at hand is not that of decolonizing but the socioeconomic distance between the Greenlandic elite and the rest of the population. Since this distance is implicitly drawn by ethnicity, Ilisimatusarfik professors believe a sector of the population asserting Greenlandicness may become more prominent as the relationship with Denmark ceases to be politically and economically unifying. In the current state of affairs for instance, Inuit and environmental organizations are holding town hall sessions throughout Greenland regarding resource development. While there is no opposition from these groups to large-scale executive projects, Inuit are aiming at securing participation of the civil-society in Greenland’s economic affairs, legitimizing environmental safeguards, and promoting the rights of indigenous peoples. If, as the ICC - Greenland communiqués portray, the passing of mining legislation lies on the
recognition of indigenous rights as distinct from Greenlander rights, the terms of their
governance could be challenged by unaddressed socioeconomic differences made more
prominent by Inuit participation in the Arctic arena.

The case of Nunavut as seen through its postsecondary education institution,
differs from Greenland in that internal sovereignty is understood as an Inuit right distinct
from Nunavummiut-Canadian rights. The constitutional recognition of Inuit rights within
the structure of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement gives special consideration to the
values and knowledge of Inuit. As Natalia Loukacheva (2007) points out, the creation of
Nunavut followed a 1970s vision of indigenous rights inadequate to address the
challenges of protecting cultural rights that are tied to life on the land while securing
economical sustainability by means of land exploitation. Economical sustainability is
indeed fundamental to sustain government mandates and the protection / promotion of
cultural rights. The way two conflicting aims are being targeted suggests a process of
internal differentiation, whereby “Inuit culture” is alive in the communities and
endangered in the regional centres. This differentiation is also socioeconomic with
communities’ unemployment rates doubling and even tripling those in the Iqaluit, Rankin
Inlet and Cambridge Bay. Interestingly, postsecondary education is not centred where
employment is, but de-centred where people are. Hence, while the language of
decolonizing is not explicit in defining these programs, it is certain that the college is
invested in gaining the trust of Inuit after a history of education failure and trauma.
Decolonizing is here less about political resistance to all things Canadian and more about
accommodating beneficiaries’ under-preparedness to meet territorial skills’ requirements.
This bottom-up approach serves the unintended purpose of preserving the status quo in a
territory that, still at an embryonic stage, may be challenged by inevitable shifts in Inuit values and traditional livelihoods. It is because of this that a piece of the postsecondary education system is missing. Nunavut Arctic College may work as a de facto system offering a wide range of programming to address immediate practical matters, but it lacks the institutional framework to distance itself from local demands that are yet to find economic anchors. By distancing itself I mean the capacity to dedicate time and resources to research not only to develop culture and language but also to partake in the struggle for new knowledge that may or not be in accordance with government precepts or even with a generalized eagerness to preserve the old culture. A university, by virtue of its constituting principle of academic freedom, is the first answer that comes to mind to this lack of home grown critical mass. Two proposals are on the works on this respect. The first one is spearheaded by the Itturvik University Society, which envisions a publicly funded Inuit university that embeds Inuit knowledge and values. The second one is part of the wider Inuit education strategy led by the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami calling for a university that “validates Inuit thinking and reflects the political, economic and social realities of Inuit Nunangat” (National Committee on Inuit Education 2011, 87). This proposal is particularly interesting, given it would be conceived and created outside the public governance framework of Nunavut and yet within the constitutional Canadian framework of Aboriginal and treaty rights. In both cases however, the intention is to formalize Inuit knowledge advancing the cultural dimension of Inuit self-determination as a catalyser for the social and economic ones. This aim resonates with a decolonizing framework even when political resistance, just as in the case of Nunavut Arctic College, is not an explicit part of any of the proposals.

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222 Inuit Nunangat includes the four Inuit regions in Canada.
So far, I have related a context in which, different to what the theory suggests, human development and decolonizing approaches to postsecondary education go side by side. The distances between theory and practice are related to political contingencies shaping the mission of Ilisimatusarfik and Nunavut Arctic College. Transposing the notion of contingent sovereignty to look at postsecondary education allowed me to unpack the direction of these missions. Applying Cox’s (1998) constructs of spaces of dependence and spaces of engagement to understand the intersection between the local and the global, enabled the possibility of establishing institutional tendencies that certainly give us a glimpse of what Inuit self-determination effectively means.

Ilisimatusarfik, exhibits a tendency towards establishing spaces of engagement mirroring Greenland’s pressing need to divert its economic base from Danish subsidization and make external sovereignty feasible. Here the space of dependence, otherwise “the local,” is effectively used as a political lever to attract regional focus. Nunavut Arctic College reveals a tendency towards securing “the local” by making government aims effectual within the boundaries of its own institutional capacity and mandate. What Nunavut Arctic College mission and functions reveal is how the Crown’s constitutional responsibility and accountability for Inuit welfare outweighs the leverage Inuit have gained in Arctic affairs.

Reflecting the distinct political momentums of Greenland and Nunavut, Ilisimatusarfik’s tendency to “open up”, and Nunavut Arctic College’s to “zoom in”, allows for thinking of Inuit self determination in a new light especially when considering vulnerabilities stemming from population size and economic subsistence. Opening up while minimizing the social welfare base, is likely to contribute to widening the socioeconomic gap between Greenland’s urban and settlement population while pushing
outmigration. Zooming in may contribute to preserving the communities and their population making it difficult for building a people allegiance to the Nunavut territory. Paradoxically, as different as these two approaches appear to be, both approaches may exacerbate the political divide between traditional and cosmopolitan ideals.

The fact that exercising the right to people’s self-determination does not guarantee the preservation of unifying principles of peoplehood as in the case of Inuit in Nunavut and Greenland, supports Henriksen’s (2001) idea that we should regard it as a process right with no predefined outcomes. This is precisely because the ideologies that have nurtured the Inuit struggle for self-determination in Nunavut and Greenland are not the same as the ones that materialize and sustain it. Postsecondary education appears to inherit both the spirit of the struggle and the practicalities of running the achieved polities. As taken up by Nunavut Arctic College and Ilisimatusarfik, the right to self-determination brings about social reorganizations and with them, new elites, new exclusions, and renewed relationships with capital. These reorganizations are neither fixed in an ideology of resistance or environmental stewardship, nor can they be reduced to colonial or post-colonial relationships.

6.3. Theoretical challenges and methodological considerations

The theoretical challenges of considering indigenous self-determination as a process right offer interesting avenues for addressing indigenous postsecondary education. I find three important challenges as follows:

1. **Culture as a contingency.** Human development and decolonizing approaches to indigenous education over-emphasize the need to nurture “indigenous culture” as
a means to address education deficits, bring an alternative to education and / or resist the dominant society. Far from being one-dimensional, indigenous culture is an unstable construct contingent to the sociopolitical and economic milieu where it is situated. Integrating “indigenous culture” into postsecondary education policy, curriculum, and learning necessitates reading culture through such contingencies legitimizing formal education with all its colonial and post-colonial weight. In doing so it also contributes to redefining ethnic, geography, age, and gender boundaries as seen in the case of Nunavut and Greenland.

2. **Decolonizing approaches when indigenous peoples have control over their education systems.** Decolonizing approaches look at postsecondary education as the space for redressing the consequences of colonial ruling and resisting neocolonial pressures. The theoretical challenge is to develop decolonizing approaches when indigenous peoples are in control over their education systems. This is especially challenging considering that, ideologically speaking, indigenous people are not a cohesive collective and what might be deemed colonial or neocolonial may as well be indigenous.

3. **Indigenous people(s) is (are) not an ideologically cohesive collective** The assumption that an indigenous “people” (in this case Inuit) and even indigenous peoples (of the world) are a cohesive collective does not escape the universalist thought indigenous peoples struggle against. This assumption effaces socioeconomic and cultural differences between and within indigenous groups that may not only perpetuate a colonial mentality in a post-colonial world but also add an indigeneity dimension to social stratification and social exclusion. The
theoretical challenge is to look at developing indigenous knowledges as they pertain to the local in order to contribute towards indigenous peoples gaining effective control over their destinies, land, and resources. This brings me to the challenge on indigenous knowledge.

4. **Indigenous knowledge is knowledge.** Deeming indigenous knowledge as a legitimate knowledge to tackle the problems we face today, especially those related to environmental sustainability, there is still work to be done to codify and translate it in objective terms for it to make it to postsecondary education curriculum, teaching and learning, and in particular, research. It is important to consider the wider contexts that produce “the indigenous” along with the resources that are allocated to such production. In considering these contexts one may realize that what reaches education systems is fragments of traditional wisdom serving the purpose of feeding mainstream knowledge. In point of fact indigenous knowledge, as living knowledge, may be far removed from the centres of knowledge transmission and production as one could argue from the experience regarding Inuit knowledge at Nunavut Arctic College and Ilisimatusarfik.

The four theoretical implications I here succinctly refer to, point at the need for contextualization in researching issues regarding curriculum, teaching, learning, and research as pertaining to indigenous postsecondary education. Three elements prove vital to methodologically carry on this task.

1. **Text and context:** Participatory research methods allow for gaining perspective on how laws, statutes, policies and even political rhetoric operate in the day to day
of the institutions. Similarly, textual information is also relevant to supporting participants’ narratives regarding their experience. In other words, it is not about assessing the accuracy of textual and narrative information but about piecing it together in the way it is experienced to depict the situation of postsecondary education in relationship with indigenous aims.

2. **Comparability:** Document analysis and interpretation substantiated with participatory research fieldwork and vice versa, is not enough to gain context. Comparability is also required for threading trajectories as well as putting side-by-side possibilities of related issues in contemporary times. This exercise implies an interdisciplinary approach to look at issues from different fields of expertise. If postsecondary education is to be responsive to indigenous peoples rights, it has no choice but to take serious account of the frameworks under which these rights operate as well as their political interpretations. Hence, theoretical challenges are paired with methodological ones that guide the future directions of this research.

3. **Dialog and disclosure:** Relevance and application of findings is one of the critical issues when conducting research pertaining indigenous peoples. While participatory approaches may mitigate the distance between research and the researched, they do not solve the disassociation between academic scholarship and the pragmatics of postsecondary education. For this reason, the methodology should conceive different instances of dialog to share assumptions, queries, and findings that could, but not necessarily, be of use to participants and their institutions.
These three methodological elements create an ethical framework that is responsive to indigenous people’s concerns with respect to research without predetermining the relevance and applicability of findings. Theoretical challenges and methodological considerations such as the ones I here present, leads me to reflect on the contributions this research makes and the lines of research it opens.

6.4. Contribution and future areas of research

This thesis has raised a number of issues in the relationship between the Inuit right to self-determination and postsecondary education in Nunavut and Greenland. In selecting Nunavut Arctic College and Ilisimatusarfik respectively, this research has looked at how peoples’ self-determination trickle down to the day-to-day realities of postsecondary education institutions bringing to life a rather ambiguous right. Indeed, I believe one of the contributions of this research is that of examining different facets of the indigenous right to self-determination from the standpoint of education and specifically postsecondary education. To do so, research had to allow for reflecting on the history of education in Greenland and Nunavut against the backdrop of political and economic shifts. History set the background against which the different dimensions of the Inuit right to self-determination could be considered.

Looking at the indigenous right to self-determination from a legal standpoint in order to systematize the way it is viewed in the indigenous education literature is perhaps the main theoretical contribution of my thesis. The theoretical exercise of looking at contingencies between the right to culture and decolonizing approaches to indigenous self-determination, proved quite relevant to the situation in Greenland and Nunavut for two particular reasons. First Greenlanders and Nunavummiut-Inuit have de jure control
over their non-indigenous public education systems. This creates a condition whereby Inuit aims and public aims ought to find some form of synthesis between Inuit and mainstream education. Second, Inuit environmental stewardship is at odds with the expected resource-based economic boom on which the future of achieved self-governance relies. Hence, postsecondary education is faced with bringing together seemingly opposing ideals. All in all, the indigenous education literature was missing a general outline to look at peoples’ rights once indigenous self-determination has materialized in some form of self-governance.

Bringing together texts and personal narratives and communicating with participants from the moment I started my fieldwork throughout the writing process is a methodological contribution of my thesis. In creating a space for an open dialog, I did not hold back in my assumptions motivating participants’ insights on how postsecondary education relates to indigenous self-determination in Nunavut and Greenland. Through them, I realized that the ideological forces behind the indigenous right to indigenous self-determination are not the same as those that sustain self-governance. There are many implications to this finding as discussed previously in this chapter, but perhaps the most significant one for indigenous related post-secondary education scholarship is that self-determination does not equate to social justice. Thus, indigenous nations are not necessarily the ones that create opportunities to advance indigenous agendas to re-build their relationships with the colonial states, but rather indigenous groups that continue to be active after some form of devolution has taken place. The aims of activist indigenous groups may compete with the pressure to self-sustain public systems in which indigenous peoples are invested.
One of the meta-narratives my thesis calls into question is that of seeing indigenous peoples as the carriers of unbroken traditions that flourished until the arrival of the colonizer. In seeing indigenous ways as dynamic processes producing cultural narratives that appropriate ideas, policies, and legal norms that traverse the world, new avenues of research emerge to move beyond binary tensions between the colonizer and the colonized. Given the political achievements of indigenous peoples around the world, I deem it important to take their vantage position as a point of departure in the production of indigenous education scholarship.

In this particular historical moment, the indigenous vantage point is that of carrying a living knowledge sanctioned by subsistence activities that define ethnic difference in material terms. Tied to the land, this living knowledge speaks the language of contemporary politics and as such is globally integrated. Environmental sustainability, the preservation of traditional livelihoods, and the imperative need to address social ailments, are indeed powerful narratives crosscutting political boundaries of social organization. The political and economic investment in these narratives produces knowledge that bypasses academic boundaries. Aside from initiatives Ilisimatusarfik and Nunavut Arctic College have embarked on, during my fieldwork I came across different instances where such knowledge was being developed, bringing together disciplinary and non-disciplinary approaches to comprehend different dimensions of environmental change. What I find particularly interesting in these new developments is the treatment

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223 Of particular relevance are collaborative efforts between scientists and Inuit to assess climate change in historical perspective (see for example the 2010 film Qapirangajuq: Inuit Knowledge and Climate Change, which documents the knowledge and experience of the Inuit hunting communities who speak from the front line of environmental changes in the 21st century). Another interesting instance is that of developing the legal instruments to assess environmental and human impacts of resource development and set the terms of agreements between indigenous communities and companies (see for example Leduc 2006).
of experiences of Inuit as illustrative of larger social processes overcoming the single overriding of identity politics.

Documenting the decentred production of knowledge that is currently taking place in environmentally sensitive areas of global importance where indigenous peoples live and have lived for time immemorial (e.g., Arctic Region, Amazon region) may reinvigorate the idea of an indigenous postsecondary education. Driven by struggles over their rights, this knowledge is a powerful means to inform peoples’ free pursuit of economic, social, and cultural development. There is indeed room for developing a nuanced and dynamic knowledge that upholds the right to indigenous self-determination. I believe universities and colleges are well positioned to document and further such knowledge. This undoubtedly calls upon principles of academic freedom and institutional autonomy to invest in developing knowledge initiatives that, transcending disciplinary and even institutional boundaries, may not be aligned to self-governmental time-bound strategic goals.
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Appendix 1 University of Toronto Ethics Approval and Renewal

PROTOCOL REFERENCE # 26374
May 14, 2011

Dr. Creso Sá
Department of Theory and Policy Studies
OISE/University of Toronto
252 Bloor St. West
Toronto, ON M5S 1V6

Ms. Olga Patricia Gaviria
Department of Theory and Policy Studies
OISE/University of Toronto
252 Bloor St. West
Toronto, ON M5S 1V6

Dear Dr. Sá and Ms. Gaviria:

Re: Your research protocol entitled, “Self-determination and Postsecondary education: The Inuit and the Circumpolar North”

ETHICS APPROVAL

Original Approval Date: May 14, 2011
Expiry Date: May 13, 2012
Continuing Review Level: 1

We are writing to advise you that the Social Sciences, Humanities and Education Research Ethics Board has granted approval to the above-named research study under the REB’s delegated review process. Your study has been approved for a period of one year and ongoing projects must be renewed prior to the expiry date.

All your most recently submitted documents have been approved for use in this study.

Any changes to the approved protocol or consent materials must be reviewed and approved through the amendment process prior to its implementation. Any adverse or unanticipated events should be reported to the Office of Research Ethics as soon as possible.

Please ensure that you submit an Annual Renewal Form or a Study Completion Report 15 to 30 days prior to the expiry date of your study. Note that annual renewals for studies cannot be accepted more than 30 days prior to the date of expiry, as per federal and international policies.

If your research has funding attached, please contact the relevant Research Funding Officer in Research Services to ensure that your funds are released.

Best wishes for the successful completion of your project.

Yours sincerely,

Dean Sharpe, Ph.D.
Research Ethics Board Manager--Social Sciences and Humanities

OFFICE OF RESEARCH ETHICS
McMurrich Building, 12 Queen’s Park Crescent West, 2nd Floor, Toronto, ON M5S 1S8 Canada
Tel: +1 416 946-3273 • Fax: +1 416 946-5763 • ethics.review@utoronto.ca • http://www.research.utoronto.ca/for-researchers-administrators/ethics/
Dear Dr. Sa and Olga Patricia Gaviria,

Re: Your research protocol entitled, "Self-determination and postsecondary education: The Inuit and the Circumpolar North"

ETHICS APPROVAL

Original Approval Date: May 14, 2011
Expiry Date: May 13, 2013
Continuing Review Level: 1
Renewal: 1 of 4

We are writing to advise you that you have been granted annual renewal of ethics approval to the above-referenced research protocol through the Research Ethics Board (REB) delegated process. Please note that all protocols involving ongoing data collection or interaction with human participants are subject to re-evaluation after 5 years. Ongoing research under this protocol must be renewed prior to the expiry date.

Please ensure that you submit an Annual Renewal Form or a Study Completion Report 15 to 30 days prior to the expiry date of your protocol. Note that annual renewals for protocols cannot be accepted more than 30 days prior to the date of expiry as per our guidelines.

Any changes to the approved protocol or consent materials must be reviewed and approved through the amendment process prior to its implementation. Any adverse or unanticipated events should be reported to the Office of Research Ethics as soon as possible. If your research is funded by a third party, please contact the assigned Research Funding Officer in Research Services to ensure that your funds are released.

Best wishes for the successful completion of your research.

Yours sincerely,

Margaret Schneider, Ph.D.,
C.Psych
REB Chair

Dean Sharpe, Ph.D.
REB Manager

OFFICE OF RESEARCH ETHICS
McMurrich Building, 12 Queen's Park Crescent West, 2nd Floor, Toronto, ON M5S 1S8 Canada
Tel: +1 416 946-3273 Fax: +1 416 946-5763 ethics.review@utoronto.ca http://www.research.utoronto.ca/for-researchers-administrators/ethics/
Appendix 2 Nunavut Research License Year 1 and Year 2

Nunavummi Qaujisaqtulirijikkut / Nunavut Research Institute
Box 1720, Iqaluit, NU X0A 0H0
Phone: (867) 979-7279 Fax: (867) 979-7139 E-mail: mosha.cote@articcollegen.ca

SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH LICENSE
LICENSE # 0506711N-M

ISSUED TO: Patricia Gaviria
University of Toronto
1407-552 Wellington Street West
Toronto, Ontario
M5V 2V5 Canada

TEAM MEMBERS: P. Gaviria, C. Sa

AFFILIATION: University of Toronto

TITLE: Self-determination and postsecondary education: The Inuit and the Circumpolar North

OBJECTIVES OF RESEARCH:

- Discuss with college administrators and faculty how their everyday work relates to the social and economic needs of Nunavut and Greenland, and specifically of the Inuit people.
- Experience how Inuit ways are integrated into education practices at Nunavut Arctic College.
- Compare Inuit approaches to postsecondary education against the political history of Greenland and Nunavut.

DATA COLLECTION IN NU:
DATES: August 01, 2011 to December 31, 2011
LOCATION: Iqaluit, Rankin Inlet, Cambridge Bay

Scientific Research License 0506711N-M expires on December 31, 2011
Issued at Iqaluit, NU on July 15, 2011

Mary Ellen Thomas
Science Advisor
SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH LICENSE

LICENSE # 05 002 12R-M

ISSUED TO: Patricia Gaviria
University of Toronto
1407-552 Wellington Street West
Toronto, Ontario
M5V 2Y5 Canada
416 427 6736

TEAM MEMBERS: P.Gaviria, C.Sa

AFFILIATION: University of Toronto

TITLE: Self-determination and postsecondary education: The Inuit and the Circumpolar North

OBJECTIVES OF RESEARCH:
Discuss with college administrators and faculty how their everyday work relates to the social and economic needs of Nunavut and Greenland, and specifically of the Inuit people.
Experience how Inuit ways are integrated into education practices at Nunavut Arctic College
Compare Inuit approaches to postsecondary education against the political history of Greenland and Nunavut.

TERMS & CONDITIONS:

DATA COLLECTION IN NU:
DATES: August 01, 2012-December 31, 2012
LOCATION: Iqaluit, Rankin Inlet, Cambridge Bay

Scientific Research License 05 002 12R-M expires on December 31, 2012
Issued at Iqaluit, NU on January 10, 2012

Mary Ellen Thomas
Science Advisor
Appendix 3 University of Greenland letter of institutional consent

November 18, 2011

Ilisimatusarfik, University of Greenland

Ilimmarfik, Manutooq 1
Box 1061
3900 Nuuk

Attention: Tine Pars

Rector,
Ilisimatusarfik, University of Greenland

Dear Tine,

I am a PhD Candidate in the Theory & Policy Studies in Education Department at OISE/UT and am currently conducting a research project that involves Ilisimatusarfik, The University of Greenland. I am doing this study under the supervision of Professor Creso Sá in the Department of Theory and Policy Studies in Education, at The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education/University of Toronto. Accordingly, it has received ethical approval by the University of Toronto.

The purpose of my dissertation is to examine the evolution of two postsecondary institutions namely, Nunavut Arctic College and Ilisimatusarfik University of Greenland, in relationship to Nunavut and Greenland’s political achievements, and economic prospects. Through face-to-face conversations I am exploring the way administrators’ and professors’ everyday work relates to the social and economic needs of Nunavut and Greenland, and specifically of Inuit people. Through everyday narratives, I am documenting approaches to postsecondary education as they relate to the political history of Inuit in Greenland and Nunavut.

Administrators and faculty participating in this study are being invited based on their involvement in making decisions that influence change in postsecondary education.

The study involves the use of participatory research. Hence, I am holding conversations with participants regarding the work they do. In turn, they receive a reflective summary of our conversation including the information I will be using in my dissertation and other forms of public presentation. All participants will be well informed about the nature of the study and their participation, including the assurance that they may withdraw at any time. In addition they may request that any information, whether in written form or audio-recorded, be eliminated from the project. Participants will at no time be judged or evaluated, and will at no time be at risk of harm. In compliance with the Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act of Canada, participants will be assured that their involvement is confidential and that the institution will have no access to the individual records of the information they provide. As well, no participant will be identifiable unless otherwise specified by she/he.

The information gathered from our conversations will be kept in strict confidence and stored in password protected electronic format in my computer and a back up hard-drive. Accordingly, all digital data that are identifiable to individual participants will be encrypted to ensure security and confidentiality of the data. All information will be reported in such a way that individual persons will
not be identified. As the main postsecondary institution in your jurisdiction, your institution will be identified for the purposes of illustrating the way education links to cultural, political, and economic aims. All data collected will be used for the purposes of a PhD thesis and perhaps for subsequent research articles. All raw data (i.e. transcripts, field notes) will be destroyed five years after the completion of the study.

The final outcome of this research will be a thesis and a summary of results of which you will receive a copy. I envision these findings to benefit your institution not only by bringing information that enriches decision-making at a systemic level, but also by gaining knowledge on different approaches to postsecondary education in related contexts. Additionally, by discussing how postsecondary education relates to Inuit political and economic goals, individual participants will gain awareness of the contribution their work makes.

If you have any questions, please feel free to contact me at 416-427-6736 or at patricia.gaviria@utoronto.ca. You may contact my supervisor Professor Creso Sa at 416-978-1206 or at c.sa@utoronto.ca. You may also contact the University of Toronto Office of Research Ethics at ethics.review@utoronto.ca or 416-947-3273, for questions or concerns about your rights as a participant institution.
I thank you in advance for your cooperation and support,
Sincerely

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Patricia Gaviria</th>
<th>Creso Sá</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PhD Candidate, Theory and Policy Studies in Education</td>
<td>Professor, Theory and Policy Studies in Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OISE/University of Toronto</td>
<td>OISE/University of Toronto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Address: 1407-552 Wellington Street W.</td>
<td>Address: 252 Bloor Street West, 6th fl,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toronto, ON M5V2V5</td>
<td>Toronto, Ontario M5S 1V6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phone Number 416 427 6736</td>
<td>Phone Number 416-978-1206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Email Address: <a href="mailto:patricia.gaviria@utoronto.ca">patricia.gaviria@utoronto.ca</a></td>
<td>Email Address: <a href="mailto:c.sa@utoronto.ca">c.sa@utoronto.ca</a></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By signing below, you are granting consent your institution to participate in the study, you have received a copy of this letter, and you are fully aware of the conditions above.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Signed</th>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TINE PAWS</td>
<td>WIN PEC</td>
<td>ILISINAUSARAK</td>
<td>18/11/2011</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Please keep a copy of this form for your records.
Appendix 4 Participant letters of consent

INFORMED CONSENT LETTER TEMPLATE
(reproduced in duplicate on TPS OISE-UT letterhead)

<<INSERT DATE>>

Dear <<INSERT NAME>>, 

The purpose of this study is to examine the evolution of two postsecondary institutions namely, Nunavut Arctic College and Ilisimatusarfik University of Greenland, in relationship to Nunavut and Greenland’s political achievements, and economic prospects. The <<INSERT NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS>> administrators and faculty participating in this study were selected based on their involvement in making decisions that influence change in postsecondary education. In addition, a balance between male and female has been sought.

I am conducting this research under the supervision of Professor Creso Sá in the Department of Theory and Policy Studies in Education, at The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education/University of Toronto. The data is being collected for the purposes of a PhD thesis and perhaps for subsequent research articles.

One of the study’s areas of focus concerns <<INSERT THEME(S)>> initiatives at <<INSERT NAME OF INSTITUTION>>. I found your name and contact information on your school’s website at <<INSERT SPECIFICS>>. Based on your trajectory and involvement in <<INSERT SPECIFIC POSITION OF PARTICIPANT>>, I believe your opinions regarding various aspects of <<INSERT THEME>> will be of great value to this study.

If you agree to participate, our face-to-face conversation will take place at a location, date, and time of your convenience between <<INSERT DATE>> and <<INSERT DATE>>. This conversation will last between one and one and a half hours. With your permission, our conversation will be audio taped to ensure the information we discuss is accurately recorded. An interpreter will be available to you if you wish to hold this conversation in <<INSERT LANGUAGE>>. Interpreters will be required to sign a confidentiality agreement prior to your participation. Your participation is voluntary, and you may decline to address a particular issue within our conversation, or withdraw at any time without any negative consequences. If you decide to withdraw, your records will be immediately destroyed. At no time will value judgments be placed on your opinions nor will any evaluation be made of your effectiveness in performing your work. As well, at no time will you be at risk of harm.

Shortly after our encounter, I will send you a summary of our conversation reflecting on the issues we discussed. You may comment, add or subtract information, and/or make the necessary changes to this summary. After your amendments I will send you our final summary for your records. This will be the information I will be using in my final dissertation and other reports or public presentations. You will be notified if, for some reason, I require to add information to this summary from the original recording. The estimated time commitment of your participation ranges between 2 and 8 hours distributed over a twelve-month period. This includes the time we invest in our conversation, the time you dedicate to reflect on the summary of our conversation, and the time you may have to invest if you agree to address further questions I may have.

---

224 Themes include: Access and equity, human capital, curriculum design, teaching and learning, language, research and national and international linkages

225 Specifics refer to the context in which the name was found other than staff directory e.g., “I found your name in the report regarding student retention at Nunavut Arctic College”
The information recorded during our conversation will be kept in strict confidence and stored in password protected electronic format in my computer and a backup hard-drive. Accordingly, all digital data that are identifiable to individual participants will be encrypted to ensure security and confidentiality of the data. Only my supervisor Professor Creso Sá and myself will have access to this information. All raw data will be destroyed five years after the completion of the study. Be assured that your institution will not access the information provided by you.

I intend to make public presentations and publish the results of the study. While the name of your institution will be used, you will not be identified in any form of public sharing of findings unless requested by your initials below. In this case, your name will follow your quotes or paraphrases upon your review and final consent.

The final outcome of this research will be a thesis. I envision our findings will benefit your institution not only by bringing information that enriches decision-making at a systemic level, but also by gaining knowledge on different approaches to postsecondary education in related contexts. Additionally, by discussing how postsecondary education relates to Inuit political and economic goals, you will gain awareness of the contribution your every day work makes in the wider context of <<INSERT JURISDICTION>>.

If you have any questions, please feel free to contact me at 416-427-6736 or at patricia.gaviria@utoronto.ca. You may contact my supervisor Professor Creso Sa at 416-978-1206 or at c.sa@utoronto.ca. You may also contact the University of Toronto Office of Research Ethics at ethics.review@utoronto.ca or 416-947-3273, as well as the <<CORRESPONDING ETHICS APPROVAL BOARD/RESEARCH LICENSE>>, for questions or concerns about your rights as a participant institution.

I thank you in advance for your cooperation and support,

Sincerely

Patricia Gaviria
PhD Candidate, Theory and Policy Studies in Education
OISE/University of Toronto
Address: 1407-552 Wellington Street W.
Toronto, ON M5V2V5
Phone Number 416 427 6736
Email Address: patricia.gaviria@utoronto.ca

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OISE/University of Toronto
Address: 252 Bloor Street West, 6th fl,
Toronto, Ontario M5S 1V6
Phone Number 416-978-1206
Email Address: c.sa@utoronto.ca

By signing below, you are granting consent to your institution to participate in the study, you have received a copy of this letter, and you are fully aware of the conditions above.

Name
Signed
Institution
Date
Please keep a copy of this form for your records.
Appendix 5 Template for letter to participants summarizing conversation

Objectives

1. Creating a working summary for participants to comment on
2. Make participants aware of the information that will be used in the final analysis of the thesis
3. Allow for participants to keep a copy of the conversation they participated in

Content

The working summary may include the following information:

- Relevant information about the participant (as institutionally and individually consented)
- The ways contradictions, overlaps, gaps and doubts I came with; were addressed during the conversation.
- The ways Inuit self-determination relates to the work participants do
- The definition of Inuit self-determination or one of its dimensions we reached during the conversation
- Anecdotes/stories/quotes

Notes: Content will be updated with participants
Appendix 6 Relationship between each dimension of the Inuit right to self-determination and postsecondary education in Nunavut and Greenland

Indigenous Self-determination:
The right to freely determine their **political status** and freely pursue their **economic, social, and cultural** development (United Nations Declaration of Indigenous Peoples Rights, 2007)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimension</th>
<th>Greenland</th>
<th>Ilisimatusarfik</th>
<th>Nunavut</th>
<th>Nunavut Arctic College</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Political status of “the people”</td>
<td>People are all Greenlanders regardless of ethnic ancestry.</td>
<td>University was created in the Home Rule era playing a symbolic role in the building of the new polity.</td>
<td>Inuit are beneficiaries of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement. Inuit beneficiaries constitute the majority of Nunavummiut.</td>
<td>As a Crown Corporation, Nunavut Arctic College serves Nunavummiut taking on the governance principles of Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Legislation and regulation pertaining education does not take into account diversity among various Inuit groups.</td>
<td>While conceived as an experiment to put forward a Greenlandic model for learning, Ilisimatusarfik evolved into a Dano-European university with a specialized focus on Greenland. This focus is achieved though disciplinary lenses.</td>
<td>Nunavut has a consensus-based government serving all Nunavummiut. It is governed by the principles of Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit. These principles have been incorporated into all government decisions and public services.</td>
<td>Local relevance is intrinsically tied to building community capacity within the territorial framework.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Diversity among various Inuit groups in the process of constructing a Greenlandic ethnic, national identity is processed in a multiparty system.</td>
<td>Greenland’s University is compelled to expand its scope from Greenland to the Arctic Region.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Postsecondary programs are geared towards assuring Inuit will carry forward their cultural legacy in the public configuration of their homeland.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Greenland’s aim is to sustain and increase Danish levels of welfare as the country gains independence</td>
<td>Greenland’s university operates within a differentiated postsecondary education system whereby higher education is distinct from vocational</td>
<td></td>
<td>Nunavut Arctic College works as a de-facto postsecondary education system present in twenty-five communities offering trades training, adult learning and higher education.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Greenland’s system has functioned to advance the geopolitical positioning in the Arctic Region.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Nunavut Arctic College is invested in developing the skills necessary in the short run for communities and regions,</td>
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<td>Social development</td>
<td>While internal self-determination pertains to all Greenlanders, the population is far for homogeneous. There are ethnic differences between West Greenlandic and East Greenlandic, socioeconomic differences between Greenlanders living in the towns and in the settlements. Geography, gender, and migration patterns are markers of socioeconomic positioning. Diversity is formally addressed through universal rights frameworks encompassing socioeconomic rights, women rights and indigenous rights.</td>
<td>The university endorses in its mission respect for universal human rights. As such, tuition-less system applies to all students paired with a system of education support grants. Geography and gender are predictors of student pursuance of higher education. Students have to move to the capital to enrol in higher education programs. Ilisimatusarfik does not offer distance learning. Ilisimatusarfik has served the purposes of consolidating a home-grown elite in charge of Greenland affairs. Ilisimatusarfik is now required to “raise the bar” to reach higher education standards comparable to the Nordic Region.</td>
<td>Internal self-determination pertains to Inuit, creating social differentiations along ethnic lines. There are ethnic disparities in educational attainment indicative of a lack of federal commitment to capacity building for more academic oriented K-12 education. The further people are from the regional centres the more societal challenges affect student access to the programs that the college offers. Severe poverty affecting emotional wellbeing of Nunavummiut, especially Inuit Nunavummiut is one of the biggest territorial challenges.</td>
<td>Nunavut Arctic College aims at making training and education accessible and relevant for Nunavummiut living in the twenty-five communities where the college is present. The college accommodates Nunavut’s demographics not only by shortening the distance between home and school, and offering child-care options for students but also by providing student services to minimize barriers to access and student persistence. Accommodation of students needs also to take on emotional and mental challenges affecting students. Emotional wellbeing is associated with cultural approaches to services, teaching and learning. Accommodation without lowering education standards is a fine balance the College strives for in its programming.</td>
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<td>Cultural</td>
<td>Culture is seen as a representation of Greenlander’s identity and as such</td>
<td>Internal differences amongst Greenlandic people and cultural traditions are a</td>
<td>Nunavut is governed under the principles of Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit deemed</td>
<td>Endorsing Inuit traditions and traditional knowledge (associated with ancestral knowledge) is a way to offset</td>
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<td>development</td>
<td>is heterogeneous. Biculturalism (Danish and Greenlandic) and Cosmopolitanism</td>
<td>study object addressed through disciplinary codes. Scholarly speaking, tradition</td>
<td>applicable to the modern era. Inuit culture is an Inuit right acknowledged</td>
<td>dominant Qallunaat culture. The college’s capacity (human and academic) to develop traditional</td>
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<td>(adopting principles of diversity) are linked to the urban elite.</td>
<td>as living knowledge made more relevant by its clashes with new knowledge.</td>
<td>Inuit Land Claims Agreement</td>
<td>knowledge limits its applicability to the modern era.</td>
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<td>Language development policies and regulation have taken precedence over</td>
<td>Greenlandic / Inuit knowledge is not fixed in tradition or ethnicity. Its</td>
<td>Inuit culture has taken precedence over language development.</td>
<td>The focus of the college is on integrating Inuit traditions and knowledge to support Inuit learners and increase their representativeness in government positions and participation in the nascent labour market.</td>
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<td>cultural development. Greenlandic was the principal language during Home</td>
<td>legitimacy lies on offering a local perspective on issues of global magnitude.</td>
<td>Inuit language preservation and revitalization is the premise informing</td>
<td>Nunavut Arctic College serves the purpose of a) assuring the Inuit language is alive by</td>
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<td>Rule.</td>
<td>Since becoming a university in the late eighties, Ilisimatusarfik has shown</td>
<td>legislation and policy in Nunavut.</td>
<td>graduating Inuit teachers b) teaching Inuktut and Inuinnaqtun as a first language, and c)</td>
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<td>Greenlandic is the official language since achieving Self-government</td>
<td>little institutional interest in introducing ‘a local perspective into its</td>
<td>Language development policy and practice requires Inuit language</td>
<td>teaching Inuktitut and Inuinnaqtun as a second language.</td>
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<td>Greenlandic is the veryday language of over 90 percent of Greenland’s</td>
<td>mission, functions, and programming. An interest in developing a local</td>
<td>standardization, a contested issue in the territory.</td>
<td>The college had limited resources to pursue Inuit language-related research and development.</td>
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<td>population.</td>
<td>approach to knowledge is inaugurating a new research agenda for Ilisimatusarfik.</td>
<td>Federal government is not bound to follow other jurisdictions language laws.</td>
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<td>Students at Ilisimatusarfik not only bilingual but bicultural, that is, able to</td>
<td>Accordingly commitment for language development is lacking.</td>
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<td>navigate Danish codes embedded in Greenland’s social institutions.</td>
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<td>Ilisimatusarfik has contributed to the research and development of the</td>
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<td>standardized Greenlandic language and literature.</td>
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<td>Ilisimatusarfik is invested in using Greenlandic, Danish, and English for</td>
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<td>teaching and research dissemination.</td>
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<td>Economic</td>
<td>Greenland’s public sector is the mainstay of the waged economy.</td>
<td>With Self-government and statehood aspirations there is a call for the</td>
<td>Nunavut’s public sector is the mainstay of the waged economy.</td>
<td>Education as the means to meet Inuit representation quotas</td>
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<td>Development</td>
<td>Greenlanders still rely on subsistence economy (54 percent of the population).</td>
<td>university to be more responsive to resource extraction development.</td>
<td>Inuit still rely on subsistence economy (64 percent) jeopardized by new economic development.</td>
<td>Human capital development</td>
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<td>Statehood aspirations are tied to reducing economic reliance on social transfers from Denmark.</td>
<td>In the context of an evolving private sector, the university is expected to</td>
<td>Nunavut is still subject to devolution agreements to gain jurisdiction over its resources.</td>
<td>Nunavut Arctic College is embarked in a workforce strategy to prepare for</td>
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<td>With Self-government, Greenland now has full control over its resources.</td>
<td>partake in the public debate of the different dimensions of resource development.</td>
<td>Nunavut’s economic future lies in resource extraction development.</td>
<td>upcoming labour force demands. This includes impact assessment base line development.</td>
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<td>Greenland’s economic future lies in resource extraction development</td>
<td>Ilisimatusarfik is contemplating establishing partnerships with resource</td>
<td>The gains from expected development (in employment and royalties) are subject to provisions in the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement.</td>
<td>Nunavut Arctic College does not have the capacity to feed the demand for semi-skilled and skilled labour in upcoming industries.</td>
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<td>extraction companies.</td>
<td>Education demands and outcomes are expected to vary geographically creating a territorial differentiation</td>
<td>Nunavut Arctic Colleges is likely to differentiate its programming territorially consolidating adult learning in the communities and post secondary education in the regional centers.</td>
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