

**ILISIMATUSARFIK,
GRØNLANDS UNIVERSITET
INSTITUT FOR KULTUR, SPROG OG HISTORIE**



SPECIALAFHANDLING:

The Implementation of Indigenous Languages in Higher Education

*The Use of Indigenous Languages in Academia: A Comparative Study of Sámi
Allaskuvla- Sámi University of Applied Sciences and Ilisimatusarfik –
University of Greenland*

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*This thesis is dedicated to all the Indigenous scholars,
keep doing what you believe in,
and never lose faith.*

Preface

When I was studying Indigenous studies in Norway, I went to Guovdageaidnu to attend a reindeer herding conference at Sámi Allaskuvla- Sámi University of Applied Sciences in 2022. This was the first time I was in an Indigenous led University. It left me with a big impression and inspiration to change things for the better in our higher education. Students were able to express their Indigenous knowledge, through strengthening their language terminologies and history through taking back their narrative. The programs are held in Sámi, the students, professors and the employees are required to have a certain level of speaking Sámi languages, which motivates Sápmi academics to become professors and encourage Sápmi people to have an education, that feels like home, or something that they can relate to. When I attended the reindeer herding conference, an acquaintance asked me: ‘why don’t you have a university like a Sámi University in Greenland?’. I kind of laughed at first, but then I thought about it more and more afterwards. What requires having a university that is fully led by traditional knowledge and own their language terminologies? What is an Indigenous Institution? Those questions kept running in my head, so I decided to do a full research on Sámi Allaskuvla.

When I came back home, I got inspired to write my master’s thesis about it and decided to do further research. I travelled back to Guovdageaidnu to collect data and do interviews. This gave me an inspiration and reflection on our own higher education in Greenland. Throughout my higher education I have not been able to use my own traditional knowledge as a valuable knowledgebase. I struggled throughout my education in terms of my language because I could not express the knowledge gained through my own native tongue. As someone who has been experiencing education in Greenland at first hand, I have an understanding that it is not only me, who have been struggling in terms of languages used in higher education.

Indigenous languages have an important role, on strengthening the cultural heritage, because language is connected to knowledge. We need to strengthen our Indigenous languages (*kalaallisut*) as well as terminologies for them to survive in academia. Indigenous languages have been suppressed, and it is important to acknowledge that our languages are still strong and must have more space in the educational system.

“Indigenous peoples’ cooperation supports academic and societal decolonization and reconciliation. Sámi University collaborates with other Indigenous institutions to promote

indigenous education models and systems” (SAMAS.no)¹. From my perspective, it is a possibility that we in Greenland could be inspired by, rather than copying the Danish education system that came under The Act on Greenland Self-Government in 2009.

On ILO Convention (No. 169) under ‘Education and Means of Communication’ Article 27-28 it says:

...Education programmes and services for the peoples concerned shall be developed and implemented in co-operation with them to address their special needs, and shall incorporate their histories, their knowledge and technologies, their value systems and their further social, economic and cultural aspirations (ILO C.169, 1989).

Furthermore, it also states: ‘the development and practice of the indigenous languages of the peoples shall be taken to preservation and promotion’ (ibid.).

In Greenland, what kind of education do we want in our country? Is our higher education system culturally safe in terms of *Kalaallisut* language? Is it a matter of Internalized oppression that we are normalizing through westernized education system?

Or are we so internally colonized, that we are unable to clearly see that are actually structuralized systems that help preserve a colonial mindset? What are the challenges the students at University of Greenland face in terms of the official language *Kalaallisut*? Those kinds of questions came up when reflecting on our own higher education in our society. I think it is important to acknowledge that, every person has the right to have an education, no matter what language barriers that comes along.

Atuarluarina/ Good reading!

Linda Arnavaraq

Nuuk, April 2024

¹ (Sami Allaskuvla- Sami University of Applied Sciences, website: <https://sammas.no/en/node/156>)

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I am also thankful to the Sámi Allaskuvla- Sámi University of Applied Sciences for a heartfelt welcome and flexibility. I also want to thank Ilisimatusarfik- University of Greenland for the travel grant, for my main fieldwork period. I want to thank Marina Tonkopeeva for the help during my fieldwork, accommodate me and helped my way through, and for making everything easier for me.

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Abstract: Are Indigenous Languages valued enough inside Academia?

This research focuses on the status of Greenlandic Inuit language *Kalaallisut*, utilized at the University of Greenland - Ilisimatusarfik. By looking into language strategies and policies of Greenlandic Inuit language. This thesis will mainly focus on the interviews with bachelor and master's students from University of Greenland. What is the status on utilizing Indigenous languages, in academia in Greenland? To gain different perspectives and worldviews on my research, I compare to Sámi University of Applied Sciences – Sámi Allaskuvla located in Guovdageaidnu, Norway. What are the values on combining Indigenous languages and traditional knowledge in higher education? I will look into language strategies and policies as well as interviews discussing the research topic. To answer my research question, I present the socio-structural factors and differences on both institutions.

Keywords: Indigenous scholars, Higher Education, Indigenous languages, Ilisimatusarfik, Colonization, Decolonization, Indigenous Knowledge, Sami Allaskuvla.

Abstrakti: Nunaqaqqaartut oqaasii ilinniartitaanerup iluani naleqartinneqarpat?

Misissuinerup qitiutippaa kalaallisut oqaatsit ilisimatusarnerup iluani sumi inissisimaneri qanorlu atorneqartigineri. Ilisimatusarfiup oqaatsit tungaatigut anguniagaat aammalu oqaatsit tungaatigut politikki isiginiarneqassaaq. Misissuinerup iluani bachelorimi aammalu kandidatimi ilinniartunik apersuinerit qitiutinneqassapput. Kalaallisut oqaatsit nunatsinni ilisimatusarnerup iluani sumut killippat? Isiginnittaatsit assigiinngitsut anguniarlugit, Sami Universitetimut *Sami Allaskuvlamut* sanilliussivunga, Guovdageaidnu, Norgemiittumut. Sámi Allaskuvlami suunuku pingaartinneqartut nunaqaqqaartutut oqaatsit aammalu nunaqavissutut ilisimasat aallaavigalugit ilisimatusarnermi? Oqaatsit tungaatigut anguniagaat, oqaatsinut politikki aammalu apersuinerit saqqummiunneqassapput. Misissugara paasiniarlugu sumiiffiisa assigiinngissusaat aammalu ilisimatusarfittut aallaaviisa assigiinnginneri iserfigissavakka.

Oqaatsit paasinnissutissat: Ilisimatusarneq, Ilinniartitaaneq, Nunaqaqqaartut oqaasii, Ilisimatusarfik, Nunasiaataaneq, Nunasiaataajunnaarneq, Nunaqavissutut ilisimasat, Sami Allaskuvla.

1. Chapter: Introduction

This thesis explores the utilization and the implementation of the indigenous languages in higher education. The research took place in Guovdageaidnu, Norway at Sami Allaskuvla- Sami University of Applied Sciences and at Ilisimatusarfik- University of Greenland. First of all, I looked at the historical development of both institutions.

Thereafter, I analyse language policies, strategies, and the historical development on both universities with a demonstration on basis of a timeline. To contribute to an understanding of the utilization of indigenous languages in both institutions, qualitative data was used for semi-structured interviews on students, principals and professors. For the purpose of comparison, I looked into the Sami Allaskuvla- Sámi University of Applied Sciences. To have an understanding on how the university was developed, I conducted interviews with the people who have been involved with the establishment of Sami University, and I will also make a timeline of the history of Sami University. I additionally, examined the university's collective values and looked into what came up during the period of the establishment of the university by analysing Indigenous self-determination through higher education.

Based on the results of this analysis, which suggests on the research objectives and student interviews, it is argued that students at Ilisimatusarfik- University of Greenland face language challenges during their education. Are the interviewed students at Ilisimatusarfik satisfied with the utilization of Indigenous *kalaallisut* language throughout their education? To have a greater understanding, I will compare Sami University of Applied Sciences and Ilisimatusarfik- University of Greenland, by looking at the socio-structural factors and differences and delve into what their values are in their institutions.

1.1 Hypothesis

I argue that utilizing Indigenous languages in academia is crucial for maintaining the resilience on Indigenous knowledge. Because if Indigenous languages is not being utilized enough in academia, certain terminologies start to disappear. Knowledge comes with language. The utilization on Indigenous language in academia is a tool for survival of traditional knowledge. I argue that academia is ruled by western concepts. I consider that you also colonize yourself with western concepts, western perception and misconceptions of your own history that came from western history books. It is important to reconnect indigenous ways of knowing and to be able to make indigenous knowledge a part of research in

academia, and to see traditional knowledge as a science based valued knowledge system in itself.

1.2 Research Questions

My primary research questions in my thesis are:

- 1) Is the official Indigenous language of Greenland, kalaallisut, being used at Ilisimatusarfik and to what extent?
- 2) What kind of language strategies and policies are being used?
- 3) Do the students meet language challenges during their education at Ilisimatusarfik? If so, how do the students cope and how do they feel about their situation?

Secondary questions:

- 1) How did the Sami Allaskuvla- Sámi University of Applied Sciences provide their Indigenous language at their university?
- 2) What are the socio-structural factors and differences between Ilisimatusarfik and Sámi Allaskuvla, and when do they appear?

1.3 Methodology

This anthropology and indigenous studies master thesis is shaped within the fields of history and indigenous education; I use a qualitative research approach because it is suitable for my research topic and enabled me to collect detailed research data about the specific topic. Important for my approach to methodology is Linda Tuhiwai Smith's (1999) book *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, and Rubow's (et.al) (2018) *Antropologiske Projekter*, guidelines on doing qualitative research interviews. I have conducted fieldwork in Sápmi, Norway, Finland and Greenland in 2023 and 2024. Given the lack of literature in my case study, I have had to conduct fieldwork including primary research to find all the necessary information and background information in order to be able to write a comprehensive timeline of the history.

The reason why I choose Linda Tuhiwai Smith's (1999) book *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* for my approach to methodology is that, according to Tuhiwai Smith, Indigenous methodologies tend to approach cultural protocols, values and behaviours as an integral part of methodology. They are factors to be built into

research explicitly, to be thought about reflexively, to be declared openly as part of the research design, to be discussed as part of the results of a study and to be disseminated back to the people in culturally appropriate ways and in a language that can be understood (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999). Smith's concepts are in many ways relevant for my approach to my methodology, because as an Indigenous scholar, doing research collection among Indigenous peoples is important to remember one's role. According to Smith (1999), In Inuit society in my home and at my university I am an 'insider', as an Inuk woman researching within Inuit society. I hope that I can contribute with an insider perspective in my research. Additionally, I am an Indigenous researcher doing research in Norway, in another Indigenous community, in another indigenous context with another indigenous people involved, specifically the Sámi people. In that sense, I am an 'outsider' (Smith 1999), but I bring my perspectives as an Indigenous person with me, I am familiar with Indigenous cultures' history of colonization, oppression and assimilation, and I have knowledge on Sámi history because I have been studying Indigenous Studies in Norway and have lived with Sámi people for a period of time. Therefore, I have some knowledge of Sápmi and its culture and history.

As Smith (1999:139) writes, "The outside 'expert' role has been and continues to be problematic for indigenous communities", and this was something I wanted to avoid during my fieldtrip to Guovdageaidnu, Norway. For me *'reporting back'* to the people and *'sharing knowledge'* (Smith 1999:15) is essential because my informants have shared their time, opinions and knowledge with me. It was important for me to bear that in mind, when approaching my methodology. Most importantly, Smith have examined, some researchers have taken a theoretical approach to an issue and through their analysis have shown new ways of thinking about problems of concern to Indigenous peoples. There is still so little material that addresses the issues Indigenous researchers face, which will also be discussed in my analysis in chapter 3. As Smith said, 'The book is written primarily to help ourselves'. Tuhiwai Smith argues that Indigenous peoples as an international group have had to challenge, understand, and have a shared language when talking about the history, the sociology, the psychology and the politics of imperialism and colonialism as an epic story telling of huge devastation, struggles and persistent survival. The talk about the colonial past is embedded in the political discourse, our storytelling and other common-sense ways of passing on both a narrative of history and an attitude about history (Smith, 1999: 145). There are more obvious concepts such as self-determination or sovereignty, which are used commonly in Indigenous discourses that will also be focused on Chapter 5.

Decolonization is a process, which is engaged with imperialism and colonialism at multiple levels. When doing research, one of those levels are concerns with having a more critical understanding of the underlying assumptions. The argument on how I will use this methodology is because, those mentioned concepts appears in the analysis of my research that Smith also examined in her book (Smith 1999).

Smith further discusses that Indigenous people's ways of approaching allows Indigenous scholars to decolonize theories, develop Indigenous methodologies and use Indigenous epistemology; these approaches allow Indigenous scholars to make visible on what is special and needed, what is meaningful and logical in respect of Indigenous peoples' own understanding of themselves and the World. These processes will allow Indigenous scholars to have their own frames from Western epistemologies, which is different from Indigenous ways of thinking. When choosing a theory and methodology, it is important for me to choose a theory from a perspective of Indigenous epistemology, that breaks free from the frames of Western epistemologies. Simply denied, methodology is about how research does or should proceed. Nevertheless, methodology is a body of approaches, and the main aim is to ensure that the research on Indigenous issues can be carried out in a more respectful, ethical sympathetic, beneficial way, and seen from the viewpoint of Indigenous peoples. This methodological approach of my research is rather a historical, cultural and Indigenous led perspective rather than political nor sociological perspective, since it is out of the scope of this thesis.

1.3.1 Data Collection: Overview

During my field work in Guovdageaidnu, Norway, I have talked to researchers Ole-Henrik Magga and Johan Klemet Kalstad who had huge impact on the development of Sami Allaskuvla- Sami University of Applied Sciences. They were kind enough to meet me and give me information about my research topic. I have done *qualitative semi-structured audio-recorded interviews* with informants who were involved in the development of Sami Allaskuvla. Principals, professors and students both in Ilisimatusarfik and Sami Allaskuvla were also interviewed. I have also done *participant observation* in Guovdageaidnu, Norway at Sami University of Applied Sciences. I have additionally looked at the books and articles at the library of Sami Allaskuvla, to look into the history and the development of the university. The main means of data collection for my research were the interviews and the

articles studies, together with research on written documents both at Ilisimatusarfik and Sami Allaskuvla.

While conducting research for my master's thesis at Ilisimatusarfik – University of Greenland in 2023, I did semi structured interviews with 3 female students and 2 male students, 1 from the administrative office, the Rector, 3 teachers at Ilisimatusarfik, one from the department of culture and social history, one from language literature and media, and one from the department of Journalism. Because I had previously conducted semi-structured interviews, I had already prepared an interview guide that I used when interviewing the students and teachers; I then revised the guide for the interviews at Sami Allaskuvla. The questions were somewhat the same, but I already had background knowledge on both institutions, I revised questions slightly, for them to fit for both different institutions and the context of these interviews that are conducted in. Most of the interviews were face-to-face, except for 5 informants were via Zoom call, and I let the informants decide where the setting should be in and let them speak in a language, they feel comfortable with. Given that the method of this thesis has a comparative approach, I did the same when doing a research at Sami Allaskuvla- Sami University of Applied Sciences. My approach to my data collection in Kautokeino, was first and foremost, contacting the international cooperation office at Sami Allaskuvla, and they assisted me on who I should have a contact with. I had already conducted an informal meeting with Johan Klemet Kalstad who had a huge impact on the development of Sami Allaskuvla, where he gave me background information, personal experiences, history of the development and gave me materials to read before conducting formal research interviews. Being knowledgeable about the topic was an advantage because I became aware of which other information is needed.

I conducted my main fieldwork in the spring of 2023, including interviewing sessions at Ilisimatusarfik and Guovdageaidnu, Norway. The materials I conducted at Sami Allaskuvla and Ilisimatusarfik were library books, reading articles, and research books and internal archival documents of Ilisimatusarfik about building language policy. All my data collection was done in the spring of 2023, and the writing and the rest of the research came to place after giving it a break, and continuation began in the year of 2024 in April.

1.3.2 Qualitative Interviews

Qualitative semi-structural interviews: All together, I interviewed 19 informants. Since the method is a comparative approach, it was important to ensure that the collected data from Sámi Allaskuvla and Ilisimatusarfik were balanced. At Ilisimatusarfik, the student interviews included 5 students: 3 women and 2 men, and the same composition was maintained at Sámi Allaskuvla. I also interviewed Rectors from both universities, 3 teachers who also talked about the history from both universities, and one from the administrative office at Ilisimatusarfik. The purpose of interviewing a person from the administrative office at Ilisimatusarfik, is that at Sami Allaskuvla the fundamental language in administration is held in Sámi, so there was no point on interviewing about the dynamic on the communication. On the other hand, during my data collection at Ilisimatusarfik, I found it important to interview one person from the administrative office to do an interview regarding the communicative dynamics of the languages used in the administration.

Since there are 19 informants, I made a representative selection choosing those most relevant to my research: The conducted interviews of students were most from the language department. At Ilisimatusarfik, I interviewed 4 students from culture and social history and 1 from the teaching education. I wanted to interview students from different departments, but it depended on the availability of various students.

I conducted interviews with informants at Sámi Allaskuvla, primarily in English, except for two which were conducted in Norwegian. These two informants and I had communicated exclusively in Norwegian since we met, and they felt comfortable speaking Norwegian during the interviews. I accepted this to ensure my informants felt at ease expressing themselves and sharing their opinions. I also had informal conversations with the new rector, Liv Inger Somby, who got appointed as the new rector while I was collecting data research at Sami Allaskuvla, I had an informal conversation with her about her future vision and her opinion on the language used and the importance on utilizing traditional knowledge in higher education.

Prior doing an interview with Johan Klemet Kalstad and Ole-Henrik Magga I sent them my notes, for them to see and prepare them for the formal interview. I met them at Sami Allaskuvla at their office, which they decided themselves on the time and location. I wanted it to be a casual conversation, because I want the conversation to feel comfortable. It was along with a 'walking conversation', where the informant tells what we see in the building, the meanings of various arts, describing buildings, places and nature. I wanted 'walking

conversation' method because the talk becomes more natural and informal, which also includes sitting conversations, which the rector kindly provided me a room for my interviews.

The second part of the qualitative, or oral data research, were semi-structured interviews with Greenlandic students at Ilisimatusarfik. The rector, and 3 teachers from the department of culture and social history, language literature and media, and journalism. The purpose of interviewing the rector was to look at the vision and values of the institution, to look at the language policies, language strategies at Ilisimatusarfik, and the background history of Ilisimatusarfik. This was mainly for them to make a statement for the institution and for me to pinpoint the differences and similarities on the oral and written communicated values on both institutions. The interviews with students were my key informants. It was important for me to balance the genders of my informants, and to have informants that are not only from the department of culture and social history, but also in another department. But it was difficult to find willing volunteers to interview from other departments as well.

All of my formal informants at Ilisimatusarfik gave me their *informed consent* since it is a requirement at ilisimatusarfik to do so, and they agreed to their names being used in my thesis, except for one who wished to be anonymous. Margaret Kovach (2009:14) writes that using names honours Indigenous peoples' oral conversations, and "(...) is an act of sharing through personal narrative (...)". I wanted to honour my informants' knowledge and give them credit in my thesis. I only gave my informants a written informed consent, since it is about individuals' expressions and opinions that is going to be delved into.

At Sámi Allaskuvla, I gave them a verbal informed consent, since I had a written approved consent from the institution. Based on the semi structured interview guide, I asked approximately the same questions for all the student informants, but my interviews were flexible, in a conversational style. Topics came up and stories were shared that were not originally planned in the guide (cf. Bryman 2016). All their interviews were crucial for my research, and I am most grateful to all my informants for sharing their stories and knowledge with me.

The reason for using qualitative approach for my informants, is that I wanted in depth their opinions and various perspectives of their own experiences and expressions. I did not want to use quantitative data method where the answers can provide 'black and white' answers. I wanted the communication to flow, that could help and provide substance to my thesis, based on the collected data and interviews. My data collection was at the institution of Sámi

Allaskuvla and Ilisimatusarfik. Since the institutions during my fieldtrip were specific, I only needed the agreement paper from the Sámi university, saying that I am allowed to do a data collection at the Sami University and my application got accepted (Appendix 1). I offered to present my research and it is also written in the informed consent. It was important for me to respect all the collected data that was researched upon both universities. The reason for conducting many interviews is that I wanted multiple perspectives so that I could choose a selective representation on, which ones I want to use in my analysis.

1.3.3 Observation and participant observation

Observation: During my fieldwork, I observed the settings at Sami Allaskuvla- Sami University of Applied Sciences. Since it was during easter holiday, it was not possible for me to attend the classes myself. I travelled from Nuuk to Norway and had to drive from Alta to Guovdageaidnu.

Participant observation: In Guovdageaidnu, Norway, in addition to conducting the interview, Lena Susanne Kvernmo Gaup and her Greenlandic husband Frederik Lennert were kind enough to bring me to Guovdageaidnu from Alta airport, where I stayed for 2 weeks. Lena Susanne who is also a teacher at Sami Allaskuvla was my gate opener and helped me throughout my travelling and conducting data at Sami Allaskuvla and showed me around the institution and told me how this institution is today.

1.3.4 Ethical considerations and my role as a researcher

Ethical considerations have been important while interviewing people. It is important to protect the participants in your research, to not cause any harm, or invade their privacy (Bryman 2016). Furthermore, I have an ethical responsibility to the communities where I did my research (Smith 1999). Before conducting interviews, I told the informants about my research and the purpose of it. When I did my data collection at Sami Allaskuvla, I did a verbal informed consent and did receive a paper statement where it is written that the institution of Sami Allaskuvla has allowed me to conduct research at their institution, whereas at Ilisimatusarfik I had a written informed consent form for my informants to sign on, since it is required to do so at Ilisimatusarfik. When doing a verbal informed consent, I asked my informants first of all, if it was okay to record the interview, or if it is okay for me to use their names in my master thesis, I also told them that the recordings are only intended

to be used for my master thesis only, and that they will be deleted after my master thesis has been completed, which all of them agreed to. Before getting to my interviews, I told the purpose of my master thesis, excluding my own perspective and opinion about the topic. I told them that their knowledge would be an important contribution in a relatively unknown part of our educational system. I also let them know I will send my master's thesis to all of my informants, beforehand.

I also informed them about the interview process, and that interviews would only be used for my research. I also sent an application to the international cooperation office to do research at their institution, which got accepted (Appendix 1). In addition, ethical considerations are important because Sámi people and other indigenous people have empirically had negative experiences with research and researchers. According to Smith (1999), outside researchers have been 'extracting' knowledge' from indigenous societies, without bringing anything back to the community. In addition, Porsanger and Guttorm (2011) write that it has been common in Sápmi that information 'disappeared' into the outside world, and the Sámi traditional bearers and communities have considered to be inappropriate that their information seldom had returned to them, although they have shared their knowledge with outside researchers.

As I have mentioned earlier, in Inuit society in my home and at my university I am an 'insider', as an Inuk woman researching within Inuit society. I hope that I can contribute with an insider perspective in my research. Additionally, I am an Indigenous researcher doing research in Norway, in another Indigenous community, in another indigenous context with another indigenous people involved, the Sámi people. In that sense, I am an 'outsider' (Smith 1999), but I bring my perspectives as an indigenous person with me, I am familiar with indigenous cultures' history of colonization and assimilation, and I have knowledge on Sámi history because I have been studying Indigenous Studies in Norway and have lived with Sámi people for a while. I have some knowledge of Sápmi and its culture and history.

As Smith (1999:139) writes, "The outside 'expert' role has been and continues to be problematic for indigenous communities", and this is something I wanted to avoid during my research. For me *'reporting back'* to the people and *'sharing knowledge'* (Smith 1999:15) is essential because my informants have shared their time, space and knowledge with me.

It is also important to note that all of my informants are non-English speakers as their first language, I think it is important to acknowledge that in my research interviews.

I am also writing my master thesis in English, mainly because I think it is important that all the informants being able to understand what you write about them. As Indigenous people, we have been facing a lot of misinterpretations through mis conceptualization by the western Worldview. To give back to the people, to show respect and acknowledgments are crucial as powerful tools. Luckily, I felt welcomed at Sami Allaskuvla and felt fully supported to do my research from both universities.

1.3.5 Problems with the data collection

It has been difficult conducting extensive fieldwork due to travelling and planning. During my research, I have experienced difficulties reviewing, analysing and narrowing down my approach to the material, due to extensive amount of data I collected. Not all the materials I collected for this thesis has been fully utilized, including some of the interviews. Storing the data for a year can affect memory recall, making it challenging to remember the details after such a period. However, all of the materials were organized in the same folder and document, making it easier to locate when needed.

The main challenge was the travelling, it was difficult to travel during easter break, which is a huge event in Sámi culture. Travelling during holidays was a challenge, where everyone was away for holidays, and everything was closed, or people were not present at the university. But fortunately, I could interview 5 students from Sami Allaskuvla and teachers as well. Even though I interviewed teachers during their holiday break, I am glad that they had time for a meeting. Also, most of the students had exams during the period and was away from the town. But gladly I could interview them via Zoom call. Since it was during the easter break, I could not attend the classes at Sami Allaskuvla and do participant observation there.

There was a corona virus outbreak during easter break when I was in Guovdageaidnu collecting my data, where many of my informants and I got infected. Therefore, I was sick for 5 days when I was there and could not meet my informants face to face. Thereby, I had to move some of the planned interviews for another day due to sickness, I could not go out. It was also post pandemic, that the virus was still going on.

It is important to note that most collected materials at Sami Allaskuvla was written in Sápmi. I was grateful to be able to read and understand in Norwegian, that I could read some of the translated articles if they are not written in English. Some of the materials and interviews

were conducted in Norwegian, since I could understand them and have lived in Norway for quite some time. It was no problem, but I was well aware that some words can cause misunderstanding.

There were many offices and institutions that were closed during the easter break. I could have gone to the archive to see the historical development of the university and have an insight of what happened during the period of 1970s, but it requires more planning and contacting the right people that I had not have enough time for. If it was for the thorough planning, it would have been more a successful fieldwork. But overall, I could go into the library and look for the physical and online books that have special access.

Even though I interviewed a large cohort of students, the answers were largely homogenous, rather than giving a more nuanced picture. Even though, the answers were homogenous, most of the answers proved my hypothesis of my research (chapter 4).

The transportation to smaller towns were difficult when not having a car. There was also no transportation during the holidays. The bus lines were closed. Fortunately, during the last period, my acquaintances offered to drive me from Alta airport to Kautokeino and back, which is a two-and-a-half-hour drive. I am grateful for their kindness, as I would not have been able to reach the Kautokeino village from the airport without their help. But most importantly, I conducted most of the research and data that I needed, the documents might not give me the whole picture, because my fieldwork was limited, the duration was 2 weeks, but the fieldwork at Ilisimatusarfik was longer, since I was writing my thesis at the university.

1.3.6 Literature review

To get to my analysis and social structural factors, I got inspired by Rauna Kuokkanen's book "Restructuring Relations", since it offers a comprehensive exploration of Indigenous self-determination, governance and gender dynamics within the context of settler colonialism. Kuokkanen critically examines the complexities of Indigenous-state relations and the challenges Indigenous communities face in asserting their rights and sovereignty. Kuokkanen mainly examines the concept of Indigenous self-determination and implications of governance structures. The tension between Indigenous governance systems and how colonial legacies continue to shape power dynamics. This indicates the power of universities and governance inside of Indigenous populations. Kuokkanen engages with the role of

international human rights frameworks and Indigenous rights and self-determination. Focusing on the decolonial approach that recognizes the inherent rights of Indigenous peoples to govern their own affairs.

Second, the outcome of the used literature in the thesis is the book *The Handbook of Indigenous Education* (2019), and discuss what they have delved into, this is to see other perspectives and to understand what Indigenous people's rights are inside of higher education that I am about to examine in my analysis.

According to *The Handbook of Indigenous Education* (McKinley, 2019), Indigenous education systems are often teared down by colonial exploitation. The United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) drew attention that Indigenous people's right to teach our own histories, languages, worldviews and literature. To have autonomy of our education systems and institutions, to utilize cultural methods on teaching and learning in our own language. Under education there are constantly changing policies, but on the other hand, Indigenous peoples have been stuck in assimilationist frameworks by lacking on addressing the rights of indigenous people's languages, culture and knowledge. It is discussed that single forward-thinking official, implements the Indigenous education initiatives (McKinley, 2019: vii). Moreover, this concept will mainly be examined and focused on, on chapter 3.

Additionally, McKinley claims that having own terminologies inside curriculum is still lacking, and research methodologies tend to grapple with dominant language and definitions, and finding ways on utilizing the colonizer's language for decolonial analyses and pointing insights from Indigenous worldviews and values:

It is still rare to have indigenous knowledge included in curriculum, to have Indigenous perspectives included across curriculum, to have Indigenous experiences of colonization fully recognized in history, or to have Indigenous perspectives included across curriculum (McKinley, 2019:4).

The United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), adopted by the General Assembly in 2007 states on the Article 14, this expresses some keys of the realization of education, stating:

1. Indigenous Peoples have the right to establish and control their educational systems and institutions providing education in their own languages, in a manner appropriate to their cultural methods of teaching and learning.
2. States shall, in conjunction with indigenous peoples, take effective measures, in order for indigenous individuals, particularly children, including those living outside their communities, to have access, when possible, to an education in their own culture and provided in their own language (ibid.).

This UNDRIP stating and the evidence was used to support Indigenous peoples on some regions to build their education, especially in primary schools in terms of language and knowledge reclamation.

At last, for the body of my approach to my analysis is an article "Indigenizing Education: Historical Perspectives and Present Challenges in Sámi Education" by Torjer Olsen & Piggja Keskitalo (2021) will be utilized. Olsen and Keskitalo delve into the historical and contemporary challenges of Sámi education, offering critical insights into the ongoing process of indigenizing education in Sámi communities. It navigates the complex colonial legacies, assimilation policies and cultural revitalization efforts to provide an understanding of the educational experiences of the Sápmi. Sámi's own political awakening affected the development of Sámi education in the beginning of 1900's (Keskitalo, 2021:1).

The concept of indigenizing education entails a process of decolonization, cultural and language revitalization within educational institutions. Olsen and Keskitalo examine the various strategies by Sámi educators to Indigenize curriculum, pedagogy, and institutional structures. The importance of centering Sámi perspectives, languages and ways of knowing in educational practices. This gives an insight and understanding of the perspectives that Sápmi faces inside higher education. Keskitalo also states:

In the past 20 years, the practice of researching state-Sámi relationships and education have been followed by more critical studies, inspired by postcolonial and Indigenous studies (ibid.f).

This statement also appears in the analysis of the informants that will be examined in chapter 4. The article chapter carries a theoretical perspective connected to decolonization, inspired by Indigenous studies (ibid.). According to Keskitalo and Olsen, leading up to 1997, came the first Sámi national curriculum, the growing recognition appeared as proof of Indigenization as shown also in the current national curricula (ibid.). It is also argued that Sámi programs

struggle to find teachers with the combined competence of language and pedagogy in teaching. Since the focus of Sámi education is on Norway, the article of Keskitalo et al. is also aimed to present more detail about Norwegian Sámi education and what it entails. As they have stated, “educational systems tend to be based on the needs of majorities, that is on the needs of mainstream society” (ibid.:5). Furthermore, it is said “A historical perspective is required when discussing educational systems and colonisation. As colonial states have changed, educational systems have changed, too” (ibid.:f).

At last, Olsen and Keskitalo assess the challenges of Sámi education, including issues of language revitalization and the ongoing impact of colonialism and othering in education system. Exploring the tensions between state-controlled educational system and on the other hand the community-led efforts to reclaim Indigenous knowledge and self-determination and the need for collaborative approaches that prioritize Sápmi beliefs and values, which will also be discussed in chapter 4 in Sámi context (Keskitalo et al. 2021).

1.3.7 Language used in the thesis

The reason why I choose to write my master’s thesis about indigenous languages in English, is because I want all my informants to be able to understand and read my thesis, since they are going to accept their part of the thesis before I submit. I want to show solidarity for other Indigenous groups as well, since English is a universal language. All my interviews at Sami Allaskuvla were conducted in English and one in Norwegian. Most of my literature materials that I am mainly using in this thesis are written in English as well.

All my informants do not have English as their first language, neither do I. English is my 3rd language, but I think it would be a place where it all connects us. I have conducted interviews in Greenlandic, Danish, Norwegian and English. I have conducted interviews in Greenlandic and Danish at the university of Greenland, and English and Norwegian when conducting interviews at Sami Allaskuvla. Then I have transcribed the interviews and translating them into English only when using them as a quotation. It has been a double work, but I was also aware when doing translations, the meaning of the words changes, and it can be critical (Rubow 2018). But it was important as a researcher that is conducting interviews, that my informants should feel comfortable in the language that they are speaking, since they are expressing themselves, and I want them to express themselves in a language that they are comfortable with, as long as we understand each other and we both are comfortable with the

chosen language. It has been successful, but I was also aware that there are a large number of sources of materials that is to be transcribed.

1.3.8 Informant list

It is important for me to acknowledge every single one of my informants. To have balanced informants for my comparison method, I have interviewed 5 students at Sami Allaskuvla (3 women and 2 men), as well as at the University of Greenland, one anonymous. I have interviewed rectors from both universities, 3 professors from both universities, and one from administration at the University of Greenland. It was only important to interview one from the administration since all administration work at Sami Allaskuvla is held in Sápmi. When conducting interviews at Sami Allaskuvla, I gave them an informed consent, where all of them agreed to. When communicating my informed consent, I mention everything that is said under the written informed consent. Since it was not a requirement to have a written informed consent at Sami Allaskuvla, it was important for me to have an agreement paper of approval for me to do research at Sami Allaskuvla, which I received. During interviews at Ilisimatusarfik, I had signed written informed consent form prior the interviews, since it is a requirement at Ilisimatusarfik. Since it is about individuals' themselves' expressions and opinions it was more important for me to have a signed informed consent paper with the individuals.

Informants at Ilisimatusarfik- University of Greenland:

- Gitte Adler Reimer (Rector)
- Camilla Kleemann Andersen (Adjunkt)
- Qivioq Iøvstrøm (Adjunkt)
- Naja Paulsen (Adjunkt)

Students:

- Mora M. Kruse
- Tara Jeremiasen Platou
- Tina Kûitse
- Nicholas Rosing-Petersen (Informal conversation)
- Anonymous

Administration:

- Nina Brandt (Administrative officer)

Informants at Sámi Allaskuvla- Sami University of Applied Sciences:

- Laila Susanne Varsi (Former Rector)
- Johan Klemet Karlstad (Professor)
- Ole Henrik Magga (Former Professor)
- Mai-Britt Utsi (Professor)

Students:

- Alena Gerasimova
- Alina Shaborishina
- Maret Anne Nystad
- John Kuhmunen
- Dag Andreas Balto

1.4 Limitations

This thesis is an extensive work with different perspectives. The scope of this thesis is: This thesis will mainly focus on the interviews of bachelor and master students from University of Greenland. What is the status on utilizing indigenous languages, in higher education in Greenland?

To gain different perspectives and worldviews on my research, I compare the Sámi University of Applied Sciences – Sámi Allaskuvla located in Guovdageaidnu, Norway. What Indigenous languages are being utilized in the institution? What are the strategies being used? To answer my research question, I present the socio-structural factors and differences, as well as Interviews with the principal of the Sami University, and did various interviews with the students.

The method is a comparative approach, examining traditional and Indigenous knowledge through the lens of languages. The reason for choosing Sámi Allaskuvla for comparison, is because it is the body of my research analysis, I want to research how it was possible to make an Indigenous institution and use that as an inspiration for other Indigenous groups as well, especially for Greenlanders since we have high self-determination. Indigenous languages are very much linked to indigenous knowledge. I want to know the status on specific indigenous

languages being used inside of academia and to what extent? What are the values? This is focused on history, culture and anthropology rather than social science, sociology nor political ideologies or views. This is to understand where the indigenous languages being put in different perspectives and different regions? There are a lot of things that could be included in this extensive thesis topic, but political views and sociological perspectives are outside of the scope. The presented concepts that are discussed in the Theoretical Conceptual Framing in Chapter 2, are the ones that are going to be focused, that are inside the scope. I will not delve into the body of languages because I am going to discuss practical status on the utilization of two main languages (Kalaallisut and Sápmi) at Ilisimatusarfik and Sámi Allaskuvla and therefore delve into the effects on students. However, it was important to acknowledge different dialects in kalaallisut and Sápmi languages, therefore I will delve into the so-called dialects and examine regional language policies before I capture the universities' language policies and strategies in my analysis. As much as the topic is about languages, this thesis does not have a linguistic analytical approach. It is rather about an understanding of decolonizing methodologies in academia and traditional knowledge that comes with Indigenous languages that are linked to way of knowing. It is focused on how this ideology has a valuable view in the academic sphere.

The following provides a brief overview of the research objectives and organization of chapters of the thesis.

1.5 Outline of the thesis

The introduction chapter introduces the topic, hypothesis, the research questions, and the methodology. I have conducted qualitative research with a focus on interviews, articles, and research on written published sources. The present study takes a qualitative case study approach to analyse the utilization on *Kalaallisut* language at Ilisimatusarfik. Qualitative methodology encourages detailed description and fits the objectives to document the circumstances surrounding language policies and strategies in terms of language usage from students' and principals' point of views and perspectives.

Chapter two explores the Theoretical Conceptual Framing, that are important for the analysis, about traditional knowledge as an academic knowledge. I will discuss the importance of the usage of indigenous terminologies, different ways of knowing and language resiliency in academia.

Chapter three describes a case study analysis on the utilization of Indigenous *kalaallisut* language at the University of Greenland, through the lens of Indigenous methodologies, self-determination and culture. To get to my analysis I will present the background history and the development of Ilisimatusarfik (University of Greenland) with a timeline. Thereafter, I will examine the interviews and look into the language strategies, policies and assets on the usage of Greenlandic language.

Chapter four analyses the model of the institution (Sámi Allaskuvla). For the purpose of comparison, I will look into the Sami Allaskuvla- Sámi University of Applied Sciences to look at the development and the process of building the institution. As well as through making a timeline about the history and development of Sámi University. I will look into the shared goals, values and strategies. I will use semi-structural interviews and participatory observations with students, professors and principals. To balance the comparison method, I will also look into the socio-structural factors on why it was important to make a Sámi University, what came up during the period of 1970s in terms of Self-determination among Indigenous peoples?

Chapter five will discuss the based on the results of this analysis, which suggests on chapter 4, I will discuss what requires on making an Indigenous Institution? I will also look into the Socio-structural factors and differences of the position, Ilisimatusarfik and Sami Allaskuvla has nation wise in terms of Self-determination.

2. Chapter: Theoretical Conceptual Framing

In this conceptual framing, I am going to utilize *Spirit & Reason* by Vine Deloria from 1999 and *Decolonizing Methodologies* by Linda Tuhiwai Smith from 1999. The reason why I choose those as a framing, is that they both talk about the importance on utilizing Indigenous knowledge and worldviews inside of academia and higher education. It reflects my Empiri and my informants' arguments and speaks volume on the whole idea of the thesis to have an understanding for the reader of what those concepts are.

In the following two books that I am going to examine, I first and foremost want to give a disclaimer that both of the books are from 1999, and from my understanding both of the authors are generalizing the word 'Indigenous peoples'. From my perspective, it is important not to generalize Indigenous peoples, because we are so diverse and come from different places. I think the author chose these words in order to contrast the issues of their research

and captures the word ‘indigenous peoples’ when they are talking about the specific indigenous groups that they are examining, which is Maori and Native Americans. I am using those theories to frame and contextualize my topic. When saying ‘Indigenous peoples’ is not referring to all Indigenous groups.

This idea of conceptual framing is the frame of this thesis. Political discourses or social science theories will not be discussed in this thesis, since it is out of the scope of the thesis. I will use those concepts that I will mention further, to have an understanding of the framing, when talking about *Indigenous scholars, higher education, self-determination, internalized oppression and indigenous knowledge*. That is how I will use those concepts and frame the analysis based on those concepts that are in the scope of the thesis.

2.1 Indigenous and Decolonizing Studies in Education (Vine Deloria Jr.)

In this theoretical framework, I am going to discuss the concepts that were raised in Vine Deloria Jr’s book *Spirit & Reason* (1999). The reason for choosing this as a theory is that Deloria delves into education and Indigenous knowledge at the same time. Deloria discusses different concepts that can be understood as an Indigenous scholar. How to understand decolonization and different methodologies that are relevant for the analysis and the interviews that I have made with students and professors (see Chapter 4). As Deloria have stated, the concept of self-determination arises in 1970s in international relations and Indigenous organizations. Even though it is focused on the Native American context, it is important to include the concepts that also applies for other Indigenous groups as well:

While an increasing number of Indian students are mastering the language and theoretical frame- works of Western knowledge, there remain the feelings of incompleteness and inadequacy about what has been learned (Deloria, 1999:126).

Deloria in his book, discusses the Indigenous scholars’ perspectives in a Native American context. While Linda Tuhiwai Smith discusses the realities that Indigenous Maori scholars face. Even though the contexts are different, the arguments also apply to multiple Indigenous scholar’s as well. As Deloria had discussed in his book, about self-determination, this also applies to Sámi:

It was a concept that originally surfaced in international relations to de- scribe the desire of formerly colonized peoples to break free from their European oppressors and take control over their own lives (Deloria, 1999:124).

According to Deloria, self-determination was set into the table in the 1970s internationally and among Indigenous organizations. In my analysis I will discuss further on Chapter 5, of what came up during 1970s in terms of self-determination. I will now delve into different concepts that Deloria Jr. examines:

Indigenous Education Models:

According to Deloria, collective community values, mutual respect and cooperation are the priorities when making a fundamental model of Indigenous Education. The role of community elders and knowledge holders should be the mentors for practical learning. The model of Indigenous Education entails, cultural knowledge on the transmission of Indigenous languages, storytelling, narrative and traditional knowledge incorporating reflection. Deloria furthermore. Even though Deloria is in the Native American context, he states Native American knowledge is designed to make statements, they include everything that is known about the experience even without no firm conclusions are reached (Deloria, 1999: 13).

Cultural Preservation and Revitalization:

Cultural continuity is advocating for integration of Indigenous cultural practises, ceremonies and traditions into curriculum. Language revitalization supports and recognizes language as a carrier of cultural knowledge, worldview and identity. Deloria shows critique on Western education on the Eurocentric biases and the dominance of western perspective theories. Deloria clarifies that the inclusion of Indigenous narratives and epistemologies should be in the educational landscape. Deloria paraphrased the assimilation policies and critiques historical and contemporary educational policies that aim to assimilate Indigenous peoples into dominant cultures (Deloria, 1999:64f).

Empowerment through Education:

When underlying Self-Determination, Deloria contrasted education as a catalyst for Indigenous self-determination and sovereignty. Promoting interdisciplinary approaches that bridges Indigenous knowledge and Western academic disciplines fosters a more holistic understanding of different kinds of worldviews through integration of knowledge. It also encourages critical thinking and innovation through the synthesis of diverse knowledge systems (Deloria, 1999:130f).

This knowledge that served our ancestors so well emerges from time to time when modern scientists advocate a novel interpretation of data and, in order to claim some

historical roots for their ideas, as new ideas are forbidden in academia (Deloria, 1999: 130).

Deloria further states:

ancient or tribal peoples are cited as societies that once used certain practices or held certain beliefs (ibid.).

Even though this book was written in 1999, Deloria's arguments still exist to this day. When it comes to research, Indigenous or local people's perspectives are still seen as societal or as 'local knowledge'. Multiple indigenous scholars tend to step on both worldviews, where they can see both perspectives in academia and their traditional knowledge. This argument also appears in the interviews of Greenlandic students (chapter 3), where they express, facing the western worldviews of their own history.

2.2 Concepts: Decolonizing Methodology in Higher Education and Self- Determination (Linda Tuhiwai Smith)

I am going to emphasize *Decolonizing Methodologies* by Linda Tuhiwai Smith from 1999. As Smith (1999) says in her book: "...Writing is part of theorizing and writing is part of history" (Smith, 1999: 29). I understand it in a way that the author claims that history books about indigenous peoples were wrongly presented, because Smith furthermore discusses:

...from another perspective writing and especially writing theory are very intimidating ideas for many indigenous students. Having been immersed in the Western academy which claims theory as thoroughly Western, which has constructed all the rules by which the indigenous world has been theorized, indigenous voices have been overwhelmingly silenced (Smith, 1999:29).

According to Smith, colonial education and knowledge systems have imperial impositions. Smith critically examines how colonial education systems have imposed western knowledge paradigms and curricula on Indigenous communities, that are often undermined or erased. Smith claims that the impacts of colonial education on Indigenous identities, languages and cultural practises leads to cultural erasure and loss of Indigenous epistemologies (ibid.).

Decolonizing Education:

As Smith states:

Decolonization, however, does not mean and had not meant a total rejection of all theory or research or Western knowledge. Rather, it is about centring our concerns and world views and then coming to know and understand theory and research from our own perspectives and for our own purposes (Smith, 1999:39).

It is about reclaiming Indigenous knowledge. Smith advocated decolonization of education through revitalization, validation and integration of Indigenous knowledge, languages and perspectives into educational curriculum. Decolonizing education is presented as a pathway to empower Indigenous communities, fostering self-determination, cultural reclamation and educational sovereignty (ibid.).

However, Smith situated Indigenous education within the broader context of global Indigenous movements, highlighting shared struggles and aspirations for educational revitalization. Smith situates the importance of knowledge exchange, collaboration and solidarity among Indigenous scholars, researchers globally to promote Indigenous led educational reforms and innovations (Smith, 1999:135).

This theoretical conceptual framing focused specifically on the education aspect in *Decolonizing Methodologies* by Linda Tuhiwai Smith. It examines critical aspects of colonial education systems, call for decolonizing education, the importance of Indigenous epistemologies and the advocacy for ethical, inclusive educational practises that honour Indigenous way of knowing and experiences that is going to be reflected and captured in my analysis by my informants in the following chapters 3 and 4.

When examining various mechanisms on the fundamental values of the University of Greenland, it is clear the difference between Sami Allaskuvla and Ilisimatusarfik, before I delve into the interviews, I find it important to discuss the question on why Ilisimatusarfik is different from Sami Allaskuvla. Why is Ilisimatusarfik still in a western paradigm? When delving into the mechanisms on the matter of the question, I will discuss some mechanisms that I find relevant for the situation of Ilisimatusarfik. I now find it important to go into governmental and educational oppression on languages, before I delve into the interviews of the student. I find it relevant to have an understanding of the background meaning of internalized oppression. Therefore, I will also include *lateral violence* that links to the book *Internalized Oppression* from 2014 written by an associate professor of Psychology, E. J. R. David. David discusses in his book that many indigenous groups, or the people who have been oppressed tend to suppress their society and their people as well. It comes with where

internalized oppression operates on an individual as well as a group level to maintain power structures that benefit the oppressors. The more oppressed we feel, the more we internalize it. It also leads to *intragroup fragmentation*, where it prevents group members from connecting with one another and causes *intragroup conflict*. Oppressed group members may begin to discriminate against each other and choose to emulate and identify with oppressors (David, 2014:10). David states that this situation is not surprising because when the oppressed is consistently and systematically devaluated, the oppressor becomes the model of acceptable humanity. “To effectively emulate the oppressor, the oppressed must devalue his or her own group membership and reject his or her culture” (ibid.f). It may cause oppressed groups to victimize each other, similar to intragroup violence, anger toward the oppressor is redirected to those who are equally vulnerable. Also, internal colonialism links to classic colonialism that the society is characterized by social inequalities or devaluation of oppressed groups’ cultures and languages. Now that we have a brief introduction of the background of *Internalized Oppression*, I will delve into lateral violence. *Lateral Violence* in other words is, instead of directing their anger at the oppressor, these community aggressors now direct their anger at their own peers or community members. It is a learned behavior as a result of colonialism methods of governing and developing a society (Native Women’s Association of Canada, 2023:1).

When a powerful oppressor has directed oppression against a group for a period of time, members of the oppressed group feel powerless to fight back and they eventually turn their anger against each other (ibid.)

The reason for including those two concepts, is because when talking about indigenous knowledge and languages in institutions and workplaces, it appears in my research that multiple of my informants have faced more or less the discussed situations of realities either among themselves or with themselves internally. Those two concepts also appear in my interviews with students and principals. I will now delve into the interviews with Greenlandic students and teachers.

3. Chapter: Status on the Utilization of Greenlandic Inuit Language at the University of Greenland

3.1 Background History of Ilisimatusarfik- University of Greenland

Inuit are Indigenous groups of the Arctic, from Greenland, Canada, Alaska and Chukotka. The broader Inuit population is estimated to be more than 180,000. Kalaallisut language stems from Inuit languages. Among Inuit dialects are Iñupiatun, Inuvialuktun, Inuinnaqtun, Inuktitut, Inuktun, Kalaallisut and Tunumiisut (Jessen Williamson, 2024)².

In 1845 Ilinniartissuaq, which is a teacher's college was established. During the following years, content education was brought in line with Danish standards, where Danish teachers and administrators were hired. Greenlandic School Act of 1967 was by far identical to Danish school-law, where Danish law of teacher education was applied to Ilinniartissuaq in 1964. After the establishment of Home Rule in 1979, the language of instructions was both Danish and Kalaallisut (Olsen, *Alaska Native Knowledge Networks*: 2006).

In the 70s it was significant to build a university after the Home Rule in 1979. 1970s was a political movement for Greenland, where there are conferences and gatherings and political movements where Greenland saw the establishment of the classical westernized form of representative democracy through formation of the political parties. Ilisimatusarfik- University of Greenland originally started as Inuit Institute in 1983, with Robert Petersen as a Rector. However, after Robert Petersen's retirement in 1995, Inuit Institute Act was replaced by an act, where the framework for setting up Ilisimatusarfik, became reality, where the university then got divided into three departments. Greenlandic language and literature, culture and society and administration. The departments offered studies at a B.A and M.A levels (ibid.).

In 1995 until 1999, Claus Andreasen became rector and took over the university of Greenland. In the book of *Cultural and Social Research in Greenland from 95/96, Essays in Honour of Robert Petersen*, under the preface, Andreasen states: "... We, his successors, are now obligated to maintain and to expand his work and the networks affiliated with the university" (Andreasen, 1996:10). As I have understood this phrase, it sounds like the author is pinpointing to determine that it is now their time to take over the Inuit Institute that Robert Petersen had initially built. For what has happened since then, is interesting to look at.

² (Britannica: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Inuit-people> Viewed: 24 May 2024)

When we go further into the essays, under the page 184, it says: “Greenlandic is not an ideology, it is a language like all other languages” (Langgård, 1996:184). Under the notes it says:

Many Greenlandic specialists, especially in the first few years after graduation, have great problems expressing their professional opinions in Greenlandic, a situation that has wrongly been termed *semilingualism* (ibid.:186).

According to Langgård's demonstrations, it is clear in the years of 1996, the Greenlandic language at the University of Greenland was not acknowledged nor recognized as an academic language. Which it also has been discussed previously that Greenlandic language is not seen as an ideology.

According to a conference that was held at Ilisimatusarfik in 23-24 May 2024, about Language ideologies and inequality with a perspective on the Arctic. Under a presentation with Marie Maegaard and Naja Blytmann Trondhjem: *Variation and colonial linguistics in Kalaallit Nunaat – the subtle coloniality of language*. It is argued that, in the first 200 years of colonialism, the local language was a dominating language in Kalaallit Nunaat, and it was supported by a newspapers, schools, and teacher training schools. However, from 1953 up until 1979, there is this period of *danification* and the danish was seen as the only valuable language to learn when it came to education and career. This meant downgrading of *Kalaallit oqaasii*, in schools and danish was installed from the first year of schooling. With the Home Rule Government in 1979, a renewed focus on local language develops, and kalaallisut is again the language of instruction in school. With the further independence gained in 2009 a new language law is implemented. It meant to strengthen the use of Kalaallit Oqaasii in the public sector, in schools, and in public and private organizations (Maegaard & Trondhjem, 2024)³. If we recap the events that has happened in terms of language in the education system in Greenland:

1814: Danish as the only official language

1979: Danish and Kalaallit oqaasii as official languages

2009: Kalaallit oqaasii as the only official language (ibid.).

However, danish is still used in public administration, the health care sector and in higher education. There are limited opportunities for citizens who do not have competences in Danish. Subtle coloniality of language, is not only a question of the colonizer's language

³ Conference on Language ideologies and Inequality with a perspective on the Arctic (24 May 2024)

dominating the sociolinguistic landscape but also colonial influence in the standardization process, and the developing teaching materials about Kalaallit oqaasii are meant for people who have kalaallisut as first language, but the materials for Greenlandic speakers are developed by foreigners who have foreign language (ibid.). It is clear that Greenlandic language has been a minority language in Greenland under colonialism for 200 years, before 2009 where Greenlandic language became the official language. It also had effect on language in education, where Greenlandic language was not acknowledged and suppressed.

The National language Act came in 2010, after the Self Government Act in 2009. The languages of Kalaallit Nunaat, is defined in the National Language Act as the official language of Kalaallit Nunaat. Under the Act it is described three main dialects, from Avanersuaq, Tunu and Kitaa (Greenland Parliament Act No. 7 of May 19th, 2010 §3)⁴. However, the standard language in education in Greenland is Kitaa (west Greenlandic). After the years, higher education was still facing standardization of languages in academia. According to the sources that had been discussed, kalaallisut has been suffered in the discussed years inside academia in terms of utilizing Indigenous terminologies and promoting Indigenous knowledge.

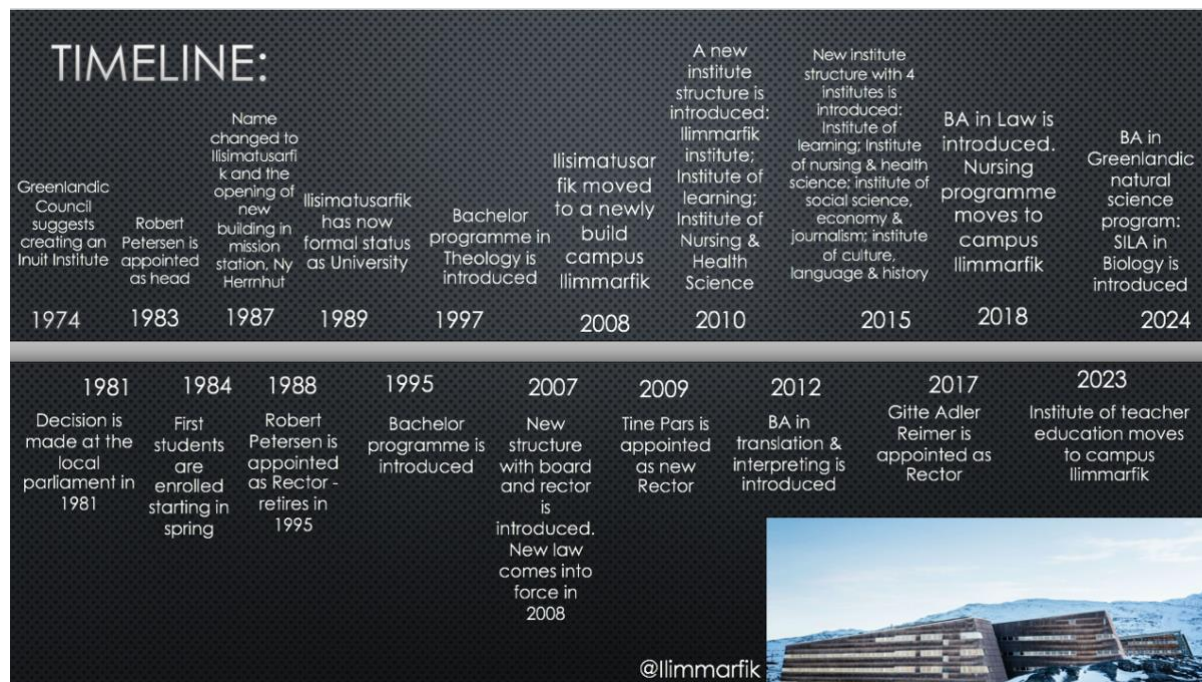
Back when the Inuit Institute was built, there are danish workers that came from Denmark to work at the University, still to this day. When thinking about *fødestedskriteriet*⁵ that was introduced in 1964 and repealed first in 1991 (formally speaking) it also applied to the Inuit Institute, but there is no language supplement for Greenlandic speaking teachers that works extra for translations for students, because it is seen as discrimination (Appendix 10).

Significant events had happened during the next decade. I will now present a timeline on the years of special events from 1974-2024.

⁴ https://nalunaarutit.gl/groenlandsk-lovgivning/2010/ltl-07-2010?sc_lang=da (viewed: 24 May 2024)

⁵ Fødestedskriteriet: The **Birthplace Criterion** was a set of regulations used from June 1, 1964, until 1991 in connection with salary and employment conditions for civil servants in Greenland. [Økonomisk politik i Grønland : Boserup, Mogens : Free Download, Borrow, and Streaming : Internet Archive](#)

3.2 Timeline



Figur 1⁶

This timetable analyses an overview of significant events in the history of Ilisimatusarfik that have been discussed. It includes the establishment, renaming, special events, and ongoing efforts to advance education and research in Greenland.

3.3 Strategy and Assets on the Greenlandic Language

I will now delve into language policies and strategies of Ilisimatusarfik- University of Greenland. I will also look up on the governmental language strategies and laws inside education in Greenland.

First, I will look into language policies that the Rector was kind enough to provide me with various documents of Ilisimatusarfik's language policies and strategies. According to a language policy that was approved on 4th October 2022 it says under *Forskningspraksis og -formidling*: "En del af denne målsætning er at styrke forskning på grønlandsk og at udvikle en grønlandsk fagterminologi og et grønlandsk fagsprog, hvor dette er relevant" (Sprogpolitik Ilisimatusarfik, 2022). Stating that part of this objective is to strengthen research in Greenlandic and develop a Greenlandic technical terminology and language where relevant. Thereafter under the topic '*Udvikling af sprogkompetencer*' (development of language competences), in the third part it says: "For det grønlandske sprogs vedkommende er det et

⁶ <https://uk.uni.gl/about-us/history/> (Viewed: 25 May 2024)

langsigtet mål, at der udvikles fagligt såvel som i daglig brug og i højere grad implementeres indenfor institutionens akademiske områder” (Sprogpolitik, Ilisimatusarfik, 2022). Stating as far as the Greenlandic language is concerned, it is a long-term goal to develop academically as well as in daily use and to a greater extent implement within the institution’s academic areas. It is clear that further development on utilizing the Greenlandic terms and language is wanted. What is important to note, it that it is not said that Kalaallisut is the first language at the university, rather it is a communication language at university, as it is said under ‘*Kommunikation*’. It is said that the university is a parallel language institution- with Greenlandic and danish as the most used languages- whereas there is a focus on the increased usage of other languages, especially English for Internationalization of the University.

In the language research centre of Ilisimatusarfik, there are three main focuses: 1) that the Greenlandic language is studied and communicated by Greenlanders for Greenlanders, 2) to get a database of knowledge about the Greenlandic language, 3) documentation on Greenlandic dialects (Sprogforskningcenteret Ilisimatusarfik)⁷. As a starting point, when looking at the language policies, they are formed by the idea of parallel linguicism. While doing a documentation archives on what Ilisimatusarfik has been using when making a language policy. In the documents of Stellenbosch University, it is written:

Language at SU should promote access to and success in academic, administrative, professional and social contexts, and should not constitute a barrier to students or staff (...) to ensure no direct or indirect unfair discrimination against present or prospective SU staff and students (Language Policy of Stellenbosch University, 2016: 6).

This was used under the seminar about language policies at Ilisimatusarfik in 2017, where they have looked into this language policy strategy, whereas under the language policy of Ilisimatusarfik it is written:

Det er vigtigt at styrke både forståelsen og brugen af grønlandsk og dansk som arbejdssprog blandt medarbejdere og studerende, da dette kan være med til at nedbryde sprogbarrierer og fremme formidling og gensidig forståelse (Sprogpolitik, 2022).

It clarifies that there are some language barriers with students, teachers, workers and administration when it comes to parallel language institution. Furthermore, when looking at the various curriculums from different departments. When applying to Ilisimatusarfik, it is

⁷ <https://da.uni.gl/forskning/sprogforskningcenteret-ilisimatusarfik/> (Viewed: 25 May 2024)

written that it is required from some of the departments to must have passed Greenlandic as a subject at a sufficient level. If not, it is required to write a special paper to the administration office (Studieordninger, 2022). When examining the *Bemærkninger til Lovforslaget*, under the national language policy of Greenland, under page 2, it says: “Lov om Grønlands Selvstyre indeholder ingen bestemmelser om undervisning I det danske sprog” (Bemærkninger til Lovforslaget, 2009:2). Under the national language policy that initiated in 2009, it says law under the Self-Rule Act, it states that it does not contain any provisions about teaching in Danish language. Ilisimatusarfik had implemented the national language policy, in a way it says in the national policy under §20 it says to develop multiple languages in terms of globalization is important. §20 is to be interpreted as Greenlandic, Danish and English should be implemented in lectures and teaching. When examining the internal document archives that the Rector provided me, I looked at the fundamental principles when making a language policy at Ilisimatusarfik from 2016. It says Ilisimatusarfik is responsible on discussing the chosen languages. For instance, during the meeting they have discussed the topics of when to use Greenlandic? When to communicate in Danish and English. Ilisimatusarfik also implemented §20 in the language law, that danish can also be utilized in the official institutions.

When examining language policy in the governmental level, after looking into Parliament Act No. 7 Of 19 May 2010 On Language Policy, under the documents *Bemærkninger til lovforslaget, 1. Baggrunden om lovforslaget* from 29 september 2009 in the last part, on page 2 it says:

Det grønlandske sprog er en central del af det grønlandske folks kulturelle identitet.

Sproget har således en kulturbærende funktion, der skal bevares, styrkes og samtidig udvikles. Sproget er samtidigt det mest udviklede kommunikationsredskab.

Furthermore it says:

I forbindelse med udarbejdelsen af nærværende forslag, har det ligget Naalakkersuisut på sinde at være yderst opmærksom på det grønlandske sprogs dualistiske identitet, både som kulturbærende og som kommunikationsredskab. Manglende sproglige kvalifikationer udelukker ikke blot personen fra samfundslivet, men det udelukker også personen fra de velfærdsgoder som en videregående uddannelse giver mulighed

for (Bemærkninger til lovforslaget, 2009)⁸.

When making a language policy, one of the remarks were, that lack of language qualifications not only exclude the person from social life, but it excludes also the person from the welfare benefits that higher education provides for. When examining that sentence, it already had been a difficult situation that the government had to face in previous years. I understand it in a way, that the government also wants to make a difference on the apparent language barriers that the government already was aware of in terms of education. This even more proves the point that the Greenlandic language is more or less a minority language inside of higher education. Furthermore, in the document it says: “(...) I de fleste uddannelsesinstitutioner er undervisningsproget og undervisningsmaterialerne overvejende dansk. Det samme gælder for undervisere og forskere I gymnasier, erhvervsuddannelser og videregående uddannelser” (ibid.: 3). When looking back before Act No. 7 Of 19 May 2010 On Language Policy was approved, danish language was the main language under education, and Greenlandic language as a communication language inside of institutions. Only after the new act in 2010 there has been improvements and developments in terms of using Greenlandic inside higher education.

When analysing the strategy for 2021-28 of Ilisimatusarfik in the last objective, nr 6 it says: Ilisimatusarfik will ensure focus on language, whereas there are six points. Objective number 6 says that Greenland University has an obligation to contribute to the development of the Greenlandic language, and that this will be done through by focusing on all the three languages, which are Greenlandic, Danish and English. As a special focus on Greenlandic as a cultural language (Ilisimatusarfik strategy 2021-28). Based on the background information, I understand this document differently, because when especially Ilisimatusarfik wanting to focus on the further development on the Greenlandic language as an objective, I am putting a question mark on the fact that on how they are focusing on it. It says it will be done through focusing on other two languages as well, which are Danish and English. Furthermore, it continues that Greenlandic will be used as a cultural language. I understand it in a way as a daily language, and not necessarily implemented as an administrative and executive language. When examining six points, it does not say anything about contributing on building kalaallit terminologies, which Oqaasileriffik is still working on building. Instead, it says: “Strengthen the students' competences and prerequisites for successful studies by

⁸ https://nalunaarutit.gl/-/media/lovfiler/2010/forarbejder/l_nr_07-2010_bemaerk_dk.pdf (viewed: 26 May 2004)

encouraging students to acquire more language skills, offer language courses in Greenlandic, Danish and English (...)” (ibid.). This says that when strengthening those three languages, the goal is that they must be in the same level with each other. In that way it is believed that multilingualism could be a strength: “Address and remove existing language barriers so that multilingualism can become a strength” (ibid.). As it is written, there are existing language barriers at Ilisimatusarfik, but it is believed utilizing more languages is a strength, instead of stabilizing and improving mediation. Because when focusing on all three languages, there will be no stable position on language.

3.3.1 Acknowledgement of Dialects

According to Act No. 7 Of 19 May 2010 On Language Policy from the Government of Greenland, it is written Greenlandic has three dialects, which is Inughuit, Iivisut and Kitaamiusut. There are distinct dialect variations within these main dialects. There is a written common language in Kalaallisut. The written Greenlandic standard language is Kitaamiusut, (west Greenlandic). It was first in the form of spelling, and later in the form of the spoken language. This standard language was gradually institutionalized in the form of dictionaries and grammar (Bemærkninger til lovforslaget, 2009). Even though there are three acknowledged dialects in Greenland, each city and village of Greenland also have different dialects as well.

It is important to keep in mind that, if Inughuit and Iivit wants to obtain an education, they also need to learn west Greenlandic. As Ilimmarfik is a parallel language institution, it is already a huge requirement for Inughuit and Iivit to know multiple languages and to be able to fully convey in those languages. In that sense, it appears that Inughuit and Iivit oqaasii are suppressed in Greenland.

3.4 Interviews with Greenlandic Academics

3.4.1 Principals

During my conducted interview on 22nd May 2023 with the Rector of Ilisimatusarfik, Gitte Adler Reimer, I used semi structured interview method, I had 14 questions in total, and it is an audio-recorded interview with a duration of 31:39 minutes (Appendix 2).

My main focus in the interview is to collect information on the matter of her visions and her opinion on the matter of languages used at the university. The reason why I wanted to

interview the rector is, because I wanted to have an insight look about her opinion in regard to Greenlandic languages inside academia and on what Ilisimatusarfik's role is, society wise. Reimer has been a rector for 6 years. One of the main subjects Reimer has been working on was language policies at the university. According to Reimer, language policy of Ilisimatusarfik is relatively new and is still developing. Reimer mentions that they are working on a Greenlandic interpreter for the oral exams, so that the Greenlandic speaking students would be able to do exams in their native language. But there are some obstacles that Ilisimatusarfik needs to be aware of. Reimer clarifies that first of all, they need to find a relevant interpreter, the examining periods will be longer, what if the interpreter says another word than the student have expressed in another language? What if the student sends a complaint? All of those questions need to be clarified, that is why it was important for them to examine and confirm how, who and when they will proceed on this idea. It is also a matter of fact on building written guidelines and rules. The rector is optimistic about this new project that they will now proceed, because it will give the students to be able to fully express themselves in their own language that they feel most comfortable with, so it does not affect their grade. It appears when initially working on a language policy, many students have wished for interpreters during exams. Ilisimatusarfik has been working on that matter since 2018, and in 2023 it is time for demonstrating the project. The new project was published by KNR News as a written article. In this article, Reimer states that the Greenlandic students gets a higher grade when proceeding exams in their own language, therefore Ilisimatusarfik is giving an opportunity for the Greenlandic students for the first time, to have an interpreter during oral exams:

Ilinniagartuunngornialli oqaatsit ilitsoqqussatik misilitsinnerminni atoraangamikkit angusilluarnerusarput. Ilisimatusarfik taamaammat tamatuminnga periarfissiivoq (Rytoft, KNR 2023).

Even the principal at the University of Greenland is aware of how much difference it makes, when expressing knowledge through own native language is more beneficial than expressing knowledge in another language. Even the utilized language during oral exams is affecting student's grades. This makes it clear that most of the students at Ilisimatusarfik are facing language barriers. Not only the students but also the university. This also applies to my hypothesis and methodology, on the importance of expressing knowledge in a native language, clarifies when utilizing Indigenous knowledge through own terminologies strengthens Indigenous scholars' own way of knowing. Rather than, attempting to translate

their knowledge into different terminologies that does not resonate with Indigenous scholars' way of knowing.

I asked further, if published writings and articles from Ilisimatusarfik are translated into Greenlandic. Reimer mentions that it is a must to do so. They desire to employ an interpreter for Greenlandic, because for instance, the study curriculums still need to be translated into Greenlandic. Ilisimatusarfik being a parallel language institution in Greenland, it is important for them to translate any article into Greenlandic. From my understanding in the interview, from the principals' perspective, kalaallisut is still forming inside of the institution as a working language. It is still not there yet, but it is still forming, as Reimer said in the interview. I asked Reimer if she thinks Greenlandic language is important inside academia. Reimer replies:

Ija, pingaaruteqarput. (...) Ilisimatusarnerup naleqassusaa pingaaruteqarpoq tamaginnut kalaallisut oqaluttuinnaanngitsunut kisianni nunatsinni tamaginni nunalinnut, paasilluarneqarnissaanut, ilisimatusartut paasititsiniaasariaqarput, pingaaruteqarpoq taanna (Appendix 2).

Reimer was more focused on the society for the Greenlandic speakers. How Ilisimatusarfik has a role for the society, not necessarily the importance on the Greenlandic language itself. But Reimer clarifies, the importance on the utilization of the Greenlandic language for the inclusion and the role Ilisimatusarfik has nation wise. Reimer mentions it is important for students to be able to proceed oral examination in their own language, it should not be student's problem that there is in need for Greenlandic speaking teachers and professors. It is also written in the law of Act No. 7 Of 19 May 2010 on Language Policy that there must be provided a language course for the employees of the institution for them to learn Greenlandic, there are also courses at Ilisimatusarfik, which provides Greenlandic language courses.

In the strategy goal nr 6. It is written that language should be focused on the institution. They have built different centers including a language center. It was crucial to build a language center because it seemed that Greenlandic language was suffering at the university.

(...) Nammineerluta pilersipparput, pisariaqavissormat aammalu Kalaallit oqaasii sapagineqartutut isikkoqalermata, imaluunniit pisariaqavissulermat Kalaallit oqaasii annertusarneqarnerunissaat (Appendix 2).

Additionally, Reimer mentions that there is a struggle on finding Greenlandic speaking teachers everywhere in Greenland, that there is always in need for that. Also, it is mentioned

that even though in the language policy of Ilisimatusarfik it is written that the three languages should be focused. But the Rector expresses that in the last few years it was even more crucial to focus on the Greenlandic language sooner than later, before it crumbles inside academia. Although, it was also important to mention that comparing other Inuit from Canada and Alaska, the utilization on the Greenlandic language is still strong. We cannot say that our language has disappeared, because it is not happening. Reimer clarifies, if the Greenlandic language is struggling in higher education, students should not be the ones who should be struggling. It should be the education itself that should fight for it for the purpose of their students. Speaking of the students, I will now delve into the realities of the students.

3.4.2 Students

I interviewed a bachelor student from culture and social history, named Mora M Kruse. It took place at Ilisimatusarfik on 9th May 2023 at 11:00AM. The interview was semi-structured and audio-recorded interview and was held in Greenlandic (Appendix 9). The purpose of the interview was to focus on her perspective on the language used during her education and to look at the effects of the implemented languages on students.

Kruse grew up speaking Greenlandic and it is her mother tongue. Throughout her education she learned Danish and English. During the interview, Kruse mentions she has challenges when remitting in Danish and English but understands better when reading in Danish and English. When tackling the challenges language wise, she does her best to practise and overcome the challenges. She had noticed that it is difficult to some, who have a hard time understanding multiple languages in their education. Kruse finds it crucial that Greenlandic plays a role inside academia, in her opinion Greenlanders need research articles that are written in Greenlandic. Kruse clarifies that there are so many clever Greenlanders who pursues education but stops because they cannot fully understand Danish. Kruse emphasizes, that there should be more Greenlandic speaking teachers in Greenland that can approach and communicate their knowledge in their own language for the society. In her opinion, Greenland will not go any further if the Greenlandic language is not implemented in higher education. If Greenlandic speakers have more space inside academia, the knowledge will travel faster into the society. When proceeding exams, it is mostly held in Danish and Greenlandic, but they ask first if it is possible to have exams in Greenlandic. Most students are finding a way to have exams in Greenlandic. Kruse expresses she can fully attend the discussions and fully understand when the class is held in Greenlandic, but she also expresses

that it also depends on how the person proceeds information oneself, because even though one can understand Danish or English, it is different on how one understands the information because there can be some who has a hard time expressing their own opinions in another language.

When asking on what languages are mostly used in the classroom, Kruse replies, it depends on who the teacher is. For instance, if the teacher is a Greenlandic speaker, it is more likely that the class is more engaged in the discussions. Kruse also mentions that the class helps each other if someone cannot express themselves fully in Danish or English. Additionally, she mentions if the teacher is a Greenlandic speaking teacher, the class and the presentations are fully held in Greenlandic because she thinks it is important. I asked her how the dynamic works if they have a classmate that does not understand in Greenlandic. Kruse replies, the presentations continue to be Greenlandic and she finds it fascinating because as she had experienced, if someone cannot understand in Greenlandic then the whole lecture or any other presentation will be held in Danish. But now it is the opposite, which is eye-opening for her to experience. Kruse clarifies, it depends on who the teacher is and the teacher's values. But is it important to note that the homework materials are mostly in Danish or English, but the lectures are held in Greenlandic if the teacher is a Greenlandic speaking teacher. Usually, non-Greenlandic speakers are informed in the classroom when they are about to do groupwork, what the assignment contains. In that way, the non-Greenlandic speakers can understand and follow the lectures.

When it comes to this situation it also appears to be crucial for the non-Greenlandic speakers to interview on how they feel about the language used in the classroom. I interviewed one from culture and social history, and one informal conversation. Those two I have encountered are Danish speakers. I interviewed them separately on how they feel about the languages used at Ilisimatusarfik during their classes. When encountering an informal conversation with a Danish speaking student, he expressed that if you need to write in Greenlandic, for instance an exam paper, you first need to ask for it. He thinks that it's strange, because there are students who only speaks Greenlandic and that it should not be such thing that you should ask, 'is it okay if I speak Greenlandic?'. He further explains, it is also written in the law that Greenlandic is the official language in Greenland, but apparently there are other language policies at Ilisimatusarfik.

I also conducted a formal semi-structured interview with a student from culture and social history, who is a Danish speaker. It took place at Ilisimatusarfik on 2nd of June 2023 at 13:00,

the duration was 21:34 minutes, (Appendix 4). I found it important to have an insight and understand his perspective when it comes to the language dynamics in class. He expresses during the discussions in the class among themselves, it is usually in Greenlandic because the class is more comfortable in speaking Greenlandic. Otherwise, the language changes a lot during lectures, depending on who the teacher is. He also expresses that he cannot write academic Greenlandic, that is the one he avoids. Also, when the lecture is held in Greenlandic, it is easy for him to phase out, because his Greenlandic skills are almost forgotten. He tackles the challenge on having a little break in between and after he can listen to the lectures again afterwards. He further explains, if the studies were 100% Greenlandic, then he would have not completed his education, or get as far as he did. He understands the materials that are written in Danish and English, but when it comes to Greenlandic it is always the classmates that he goes to, for translation, otherwise it is a bit difficult with the Greenlandic. He also expresses that it is mostly English that is used when it comes to the reading materials and lectures. He clarifies during the classes, there is no one really talking in the classes or have discussion when the lecture is held in English, but it was one of the requirements to have skills in English in that education. He expresses that they were the first group that could write their assignments in Greenlandic, and it was in 2020, hence it was introduced. He expresses he has no concerns with the utilization on the Greenlandic language in higher education because now the focus is a lot on the Greenlandic language or which language should be used. According to him, during the oral exams there is a chance that one can speak Greenlandic during the exams if the examiners are Greenlandic. He usually mixes languages during the oral exams, usually switches back and forth from Danish to English, because it is where the terminologies are. It also applies to Danish and Kalaallisut, where you switch up languages to explain the terminologies in Danish or English. It was new to him that the whole lecture was held in Greenlandic, and it was challenging for him, but he went through it with no problems. Lastly, he expresses that skills in English are one of the most important if you want to get an education at Ilisimatusarfik, because most of the reading materials and some lectures are in English, but all in all you need to be good at all three languages (Appendix 4).

When thinking about the different Greenlandic dialects, I found it important to have a talk with students from Inughuit and Iivit. I wanted to have an insight on what it is like, when the standard language in education is west Greenlandic, also having to have skills both in Danish

and English. I interviewed one who was born in Qaanaaq and one student who has ancestors from Tunu (East of Greenland).

Tina Kûitse is originally from Tunu (East of Greenland). The semi-structured and audio-recorded interview took place at Ilisimatusarfik on 23 May 2023 at 15:00 (Appendix 5). Kûitse got her bachelor's degree in 2017 at culture and social history and now she only needs to submit her master's thesis to pursue her master's degree. I asked her which languages were mostly used during her education, it was all held in Danish, but there were some occasions, where they had Greenlandic teachers, where the discussions among students could take place in Greenlandic, but the lectures in Danish. English was not really used back then; it was mostly in Danish. If they don't understand some Danish, they try to translate it into Greenlandic among themselves. Even though, occasionally they had a Greenlandic teacher, the lectures were held in Danish, because they had easier time when explaining the terminologies and terms, because there are no clear terminologies in Greenlandic, according to her; the academic language was in Danish. Kûitse expresses that luckily, she has no problem with Danish or English, at the same time also with West and East Greenlandic. But she had encountered having classmates who cannot express themselves either in Danish or English, they were more hesitant even though they were really clever. It was a requirement to go to exams in Danish or English, with a possibility to go to the exams in Greenlandic. But when she tried to go to the exams in Greenlandic, she did not know any Greenlandic terms or terminologies, because she did not know any academic Greenlandic because throughout her education it has only been in Danish, where she normalized it, because she is not used to use the standardized educational language of Greenland. She had experienced when Eastern Greenlandic speakers come to the west, they need 3-6 months to adapt to the language and learn the language. She states that there are a lot of consequences when facing this situation because expressing knowledge in a different language is way different, where they have also experienced discrimination inside their own country, because they have a different culture where it also appears in their language as well.

Kûitse clarifies that Kalaallisut is really important in academia, because language is part of identity. When we put our atmosphere into words, we understand better, where we are. The lost Greenlandic terminologies usually have a very strong meaning behind them. She could remember her dad usually corrected her Eastern Greenlandic dialect. For instance, one word can mean a lot of things, and can be used to so many things, where it has a clear message. She states that where they are, they have customized and adapted their languages. She

expresses that language and terms holds a lot of knowledge. Kûitse's argument resonates with what Smith had examined in her book that language adapts to atmosphere and climate, when we try to express the atmosphere in another language, the terms starts to disappear because they are not relevant, it also comes with academic languages, this argument also proves my hypothesis in my research.

I asked her what could be the consequences if we don't use Kalaallisut inside academia? She replied, research had already shown identity crisis, which also comes with the ignorance on the language. She further explains that elders in her community holds a lot of wisdom and knowledge, in terms of what they have gone through, throughout our history. If we don't use Kalaallisut in academia, indigenous scholars would have very limited access to do research and education. Indigenous scholars hold a lot of internal knowledge, where no one else has. There are different ways of communicating knowledge, but we have a knowledge that comes from our native language. According to Kûitse, a sense of ownership in knowledge is needed. When the education has centralized the western knowledge there was not much space for Indigenous knowledge, according to her there is not much of Indigenous knowledge that is used in higher education in Greenland. She determines language comes with knowledge and mentality (way of thinking); it comes with how we see the World. She thinks *Iivit oqaasii* is a knowledge system in itself, where they have normalized to learn Western Greenlandic and Danish, where she had been taught as a child if she does not learn Kitaamiusut and Danish, she does not have a future or education, and this mentality is generational. The saying "kitaamiusut qallunaatullu ilikkanngikkuit siunissaqanngilatit" (Audio-recorded interview), is also links to *Internalized Oppression* and *lateral violence*, that the oppressed people starts to suppress themselves as a group of people.

But she clarifies if she does not know her own language, she will not know herself and her identity. If one's own language is not valued nor acknowledged, it also affects one's self-esteem, because language also comes with identity. She had a hard time learning Danish, where she got punished, and it effect on her identity and self-esteem as a person. She hopes that in Greenland, we will realize how much our language holds and how much power it holds, they are the ones that let us know where we are, who we are, and where we are going. She had experienced, throughout her education that Kalaallisut is not valued, because they say that the words are too long, no one wants to read it. If we want to develop and improve as a society, we need to use our own language. She expresses her opinion, if Ilisimatusarfik

decides to utilize only the Greenlandic language, there are going to be a lot of Greenlanders who wants to pursue an education and serve the society.

I also interviewed one student who was born in Qaanaaq. Tara Jeremiasen Platou is a student in a teacher training education, she does not speak the Inughuit dialect, although she can understand the dialect from her childhood. The interview took place at Ilimmarfik on 31 of May at 13:00 (Appendix 6). I wanted to interview her because she is from the teacher training department. She expresses that kids nowadays are speaking more and more English. She wants to become a teacher to protect the Greenlandic language to teach and provide the children to have space and express themselves in Kalaallisut. She states that everyone in the class can speak Greenlandic, therefore when there is a Greenlandic teacher, everything is held in Greenlandic. There are some people in the class who cannot fully understand Danish, so when there is a lecture in Danish the classmates helps the students to translate the lecture. There is a lot of translation in the class among teachers and students, where they have normalized it. When there are a lot of translation in the class, unfortunately there are a lot of terms that are difficult to translate into Greenlandic. Recently, there is a possibility to hand in assignments in Greenlandic. She is used to write in Danish on all of the assignments, then she decided to write in Greenlandic. When she started, the terms and terminologies in Greenlandic disappeared, and she realized she does not know any of the Greenlandic terms, and all of the materials she is going to use are in Danish, so there was a lot of translation. It was a bit difficult for her to write in Greenlandic. In that way the utilization of the Greenlandic language is lacking, and she said that it is normal to see a lot of misspellings on news and newspapers because a lot of the products are translated from Danish to Greenlandic, and not the other way around. According to her, there is a lot of multi-linguicism where everything is all mixed, it can get heavy in some days. She had noticed when the class is about to present in Greenlandic, the students are more engaged and include a lot more to the presentation, whereas when it is in Danish, it is quieter and more difficult. She also expresses that it is time to build and develop Greenlandic terminologies and terms to strengthen the academic language in higher education (Appendix 6).

According to *Decolonizing Methodologies* by Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Indigenous peoples represent the unfinished business of decolonization. Research became institutionalised in the colonies, not just through academic disciplines, but through learned and scientific societies and scholarly networks. The transplanting of research institutions, including universities, from the imperial centres of Europe enabled local scientific interests to be organized and

embedded in the colonial system. Which leads us to Indigenous knowledge and methodologies. For thousands of years, Indigenous knowledge has been researched. The terms 'Indigenous' may be significantly a new term from the 1970s when the international Indigenous movement was at its peak, but Indigenous knowledge has been living with Indigenous peoples throughout the years. Indigenous knowledge has been oppressed by the scientific researchers, and the knowledge holders are suppressed by the western academic researchers, in a way that Indigenous knowledge is not scientific enough because it is not a western concept or a western worldview. According to Linda Tuhiwai Smith, the word 'research' might be the dirtiest word among Indigenous peoples. It can mean in a way that Indigenous academics struggle to understand western academic worldviews when studying Indigenous matters from a western mentality and point of view. Indigenous academics can both have a western concept of discussing specific topics and still have their own perspective on Indigenous way of thinking, for example of nature, animals and art. Education itself is colonized by having western mentality and concepts, that most of them is not the mentality we have as Indigenous. By education we as Indigenous academics, colonize ourselves too, by learning the history from a western point of view, also at the same time having Indigenous point of view and seeing history as a slightly different concept than the 'ideal' way of seeing or studying history in that sense.

3.4.3 Teachers

I conducted interviews with three Greenlandic teachers from department of Journalism, language literature and media, and culture and social history at Ilisimatusarfik.

Naja Paulsen is a teacher in the department of Journalism, she teaches rhetoric and communication. The interview was conducted via Teams on 9th May 2023 at 13:00. I wanted to interview Paulsen in terms of the background development of Ilisimatusarfik, and her teaching experience in language research throughout the years (Appendix 10).

According to Paulsen, Greenlandic languages in higher education is really important, of course there are challenges, but it does not mean there is no way. The journalism department is setting a focus on Greenlandic language, that is why there are Greenlandic terms and terminologies inside journalism, it was in cooperation with Oqaasileriffik. It is really in the practise on utilizing kalaallisut, because it is one of the requirements to know Greenlandic language. Paulsen suggests it would be good to provide the students with courses on

academic Greenlandic writing. Courses on academic Danish and English are provided but not Greenlandic. According to her, that is why most of the students complete their education being more comfortable writing Danish or English. She says it is time for demanding more for the purpose of our language. Paulsen further explains, there are a lot of staff who does not really think about what the language policy says or what the law says. There are a lot of students who are not used to have lectures in Greenlandic. According to Paulsen, it is important to have a fundamental language before you fully utilize another language. Paulsen expresses, it is important to emphasize, when it comes to University, Greenlandic languages needs to be prioritized because they are linked to identity, it is important to have a fundamental language and it needs to be respected, when it is an international university.

I also, interviewed Qivioq Løvstrøm who is a teacher at the faculty of Culture and Social History. It took place at her office at Ilisimatusarfik on 11 May 2023 at 13:00, the duration was 38:49 minutes (Appendix 7). According to Løvstrøm, her work and value is to Indigenize and decolonizing our history, on how we can re-write our history from our perspective in our own books.

Uannut pingaaruteqarsimavoq ilinniartut aamma nammineq toqqaannartumik aamma ilinniartitsisuminngaaniit paasissagaat atualikkagut qallunaanit allanneqarnikuupput, taamaammat kukkuneqarsinnaapput. Tatiginassusaat aamma apeqquuserneqarsinnaavoq (Appendix 7).

During her work as a teacher at Ilisimatusarfik, her lectures are held in Greenlandic, because in her opinion, it is important to utilize Greenlandic language in academia. But her power points are written in Danish because she is aware of not everyone in the class understands in Greenlandic.

Uaa aamma pingaartissimavara kalaallisut oqaatsigut atorlugit ilinniartitsinissara. Taamaammat soorunalimi nalunngilluinnarpara, ilinniartut ilai kalaallisut pikkorippallaanngitsut, taamaammat powerpointimi slidekka qallunaatut allaqqasarput (ibid.).

Løvstrøm has encountered some non-Greenlandic speakers gets sad, thinking it was a personal attack for them. But Løvstrøm clarifies that it is not a personal attack for anyone. It is the way she is going to hold her lecture, and that needs to be respected. She further explains that the power point presentation is in danish and if she said something that is not written in the power point presentation, she explains it in danish to them, in that way from her

opinion, non-Greenlandic speakers will not miss out on anything. The non-Greenlandic speaker agrees to that idea, and even to this day she had learned to speak in Greenlandic.

Løvstrøm took that as an example because she explained that in Greenland, we bully them who cannot speak in Greenlandic, that was why the non-Greenlandic speaking student got personally attacked in the first place. That is why each time she is going to have a lecture she needed to explain why the lecture is going to be held in Greenlandic, so no one will get offended. She also explains when the lecture was held in kalaallisut, the students are more engaged in the discussion, in that way they don't lose certain words or trying to translate every word in their head. They are not hesitated to express their opinion in their own language. She had noticed how fast the information can get to students when it is held in Greenlandic, in that way their opinions were clearer and the ability to be critical on the topic:

Taanna maluginikuuara uanga kalaallisut saqqummiikuugaangama akornimminni aamma oqallinnialeraangamik nipitunerusarput, oqaasissatik annaaneq ajorpaat, nutserniarsarisariaqannginnamikku, kannuginnginnamikku kalaallisut oqallinnissartik. Taamaasilluni aamma malunnartorjuusarpoq paasissutissaq qanoq sukkatigisumik paasineqarnersut nalilersorneqarnersut, taavalu aamma ilinniartut nammineq isummerfigisinnaalertaraat sukkanerusumik, taamaammat assut malunnarsimavoq (ibid.).

Løvstrøm has also experienced the students saying that they were not used to have lectures in Greenlandic and asked her if she can hold a lecture in Danish instead. She agreed to that and held a lecture in Danish. When the discussions started among students, there were barely discussions. During the evaluations she expressed:

(...) Naamik ippigivarput, assut paatsoornartaqattaalerpoq. Nalullugu una teori imaluunniit una concepteq iluamik paasisimanerlugu. Taava oqallinnissaq aamma ittoornarseriataarluni. Sunaaffa aamma taanna assut aporfigisaraat (ibid.).

It appears that the students did not really get the theories nor the concepts. They were unsure if they have gotten or understood the theories. In that sense, it became hesitant to discuss the concepts. Løvstrøm understood the challenging situations and realities that the students face. In the next lecture she held it in Greenlandic, so that the students can decide which is better for them. They discussed that the lecture in kalaallisut was better, as well as for the non-Greenlandic speakers because during the discussions in class, the Greenlandic students are more engaged. Løvstrøm also clarifies that there are a lot of terms that are not in Greenlandic, that is why it was hard for them to discuss the terms. During her lectures, she had discussed

with the students on the usage of the terms and terminologies, where they have made a list on the interpretations of terms in Greenlandic, where they will send the list to Oqaasileriffik.

(...) Oqaatsit ilai pigereertarpagut kisianni apequtaalluni qaqugukkut atorneqarnersut isumai aamma allannngortaramik. Taava taamaammat tulluarneq ajorlutik toqqaannartumik nutsernissai. Tamakkua aamma misissorujoorpagut massakkt. Uggornartorjuuvoq ikittuaraagatta afdelingitsinni kalaallisut ilinniartitsisut marluinnaagatta, taamaammat aamma ineriartortisinissamut aamma ilinniartut oqaloqatigisariaqartarlugit taavalu assut oqalleqatigeqqaarlugit aatsaat saqqummiussisarluta oqaatsimik (ibid.).

I asked Løvstrøm how the examination goes with the students, which language does the students prefer during exams? She answered, when she first started as a teacher at the University, that her students must be able to write in Greenlandic, and be able to proceed the exams in Greenlandic, and to be judged by the censor and by her in Greenlandic. She further explains, even though there were multiple challenges my class was the first ones that were able to go to exams in Greenlandic.

Taamaasillunilu aamma takuneqarsinnaavoq, statistiki isigissagutsigu siornatigut tassani angusisarsimasut, siullerpaarpaamik dumpertoqanngilaq, historisk metodemi tamarmik angusipput ingerlalluartorjuullutik, nammineq oqaatsitik atorlugit nalilersuisinnaanertik misissuisinnaanertik, taavalu aamma eqqarsartariaasertik takutissinnaagamikku, oqaatsitik aporfignagit, tassani malunnartorjuuvoq karakterigittorjuullutik, aamma ernumaginagu paasinarnertik imaluunniit paatsoorneqarnertik (ibid.).

Løvstrøm expresses also the students who did not had any opportunity to go to exams in their own language, and who had challenges in their grade. They got A or B in their oral exams. It shows they utilized their own language where they were comfortable. In her opinion there is no doubt how much the language is for students, where there are no challenges language wise and express themselves freely. It was obvious for Løvstrøm to experience that in the first hand. She further explains that it is respected that we are in Greenland, and that it does not mean if we go into Ilisimatusarfik that we need to speak in Danish.

I asked her about her own opinion on the utilization on the Greenlandic language at Ilisimatusarfik. She expresses that it depends on what your studies are, but at the department of Culture and Social History curriculum on terminologies is needed. She also clarifies acknowledging Greenlandic dialects is needed, especially acknowledging them not only as dialects but also language systems in itself. She expresses that Ilisimatusarfik needs to be

more aware of those discussions, engage with them and have influence on them because she expresses that it is what is needed at Ilisimatusarfik.

I asked if she face challenges when utilizing kalaallisut? She said when she first started at Ilisimatusarfik 8 years ago, she only spoke in Danish. Her classmates taught her Greenlandic. Throughout her education she learned about her own history, Greenlandic history. When gaining knowledge on who she came from, she fully started learning Greenlandic. I asked if there is a lot of translation when publishing articles and research? She clarifies at her department, there is no translations into Greenlandic and they do not promote it in Greenlandic. She expresses she implements indigenous knowledge in her lectures when it is relevant. It is important for her that traditional knowledge is centralized in academia, where it has not been acknowledged before.

I also interviewed one from Language literature and media department, Camilla Kleemann-Andersen. Kleemann-Andersen is a teacher and Phd student at Ilisimatusarfik, she is researching greenlandic dialects, stigmatization on languages and ideologies. I conducted the interview at her office at Ilisimatusarfik on 8th May 2023, the duration is 1:09:17 (Appendix 8).

The reason for interviewing Kleemann-Andersen, is because she is a researcher on Greenlandic languages, and is a teacher in Greenlandic grammar (Fonetik) and morphology. She expresses that there is also suppression on different dialects in Greenland. When asking which language, she uses the most during her lectures, she answered it is really mixed. Sometimes it is easier for her to hold a lecture in danish, but it is important for her that the students should be able to express themselves in Greenlandic and go to exams in Greenlandic. She took that as an example for instance, when talking about theories, it is important to take examples from Greenland, and it will be easier for students to discuss and explain the theories better. She said it is clear that Greenlandic teachers are working more because of a lot of translations, but it is not obvious in the system that they are working more. In the department of language, literature and media they are utilizing a lot of kalaallisut, where she had only encountered utilizing kalaallisut when they hold exams. One of the requirements when wanting to pursue that studies, is you need to have had Greenlandic as a subject in A level, and kalaallisut needs to be your mother tongue, if not you need to write a special paper to the university. She feels like the university is still far to the society, like they are separated.

(...) Equngasorujussuartut isigivara. Uffa uagut karriererniarluta imaluunniit qaffassarniarluta aallerfigigutsigit inuiaqatigiit aaliangersimasut, taavalu inuiaqatigiit taakkoqqissaat ilisimasat maanga isersinnaanatik. Taanna eqqarsaatigisarpara, qanoq tunniusseqqissinnaanerlunga (Appendix 8).

The lack of involving the society and the gap between them got me thinking, that the conveying in Greenlandic and getting back to the society is lacking as Kleemann-Andersen has mentioned during the interview. I asked where the Greenlandic language lay in academia, she answered that they are evolving slowly but they are still far away. There are few Greenlandic speaking workers, and she clarifies that in Nunavut, the teachers have language supplements according to their skill in languages, but there is no such thing at Ilisimatusarfik, because it is seen as discrimination. Additionally, she mentions when she first started working in Ilisimatusarfik, she was the only Greenlander in her department. She also mentions that there are no Greenlandic standardized terms in academia, that is what is missing. “Jeg synes det er et demokratisk problem, hvis det nationale universitet ikke kan formidle den viden som de producerer her i landet” (Appendix 8). Kleemann-Andersen further explains that in the administration, they are using the minority language in Greenland, which is danish. According to Kleemann-Andersen the danish language is a power language in Greenland.

Kalaallisut oqaasillit inatsisit malitassat qallunaatut allanneqariarlutik ullut 14-it atortarpaat taakkua nutsertillugit malitassat, jeg synes det er meget symbolsk, qanoq oqaatsit inissisimatinneqarnersut. Qanorlu majoritetit tulluussartigisussaanersut minoritetinut.

She further explains:

Ersarissigaluttuinnarpoq suli nunasiaataanerup kinguneri atorigit taavalu taamaammat immaa oqaatsit pillugit oqallinneq taamak misigissusilersorneqartigisartooq suli timitsinni malugisinnaagatsigit taakkua naligiinnginnerat, naapertuilluannginnerat. Ersinngitsuusaaraluartut kisianni suli atuullutik, taamaammat oqaatsit symbolskiusorujussuusarput ersersitsisuusaramik assigiinngissutsinik (Appendix 8).

According to Kleemann-Andersen the way the neo-colonialism was managed, was through education and government. Those are the institutions that have the most danish speakers. Where we have power is also visible on the language used. She further explains, that it is obvious inside cultural work, it is held in Greenlandic, but inside administration or inside law it is still held in danish in higher education. After the interview with Camilla Kleemann-Andersen it appears to be crucial to interview one from the administration.

3.4.4 Administration

While conducting fieldwork at Ilisimatusarfik, it appeared to be important to interview one from the administration office. The reason for conducting an interview is, I want to collect information on how the language dynamics work at the parallel language institution, and which language is mostly used in their everyday office work. I interviewed Nina Brandt who is an administrative officer at Ilisimatusarfik. It took place at Ilisimatusarfik on 2nd of June 2023 at 10:00AM, the duration of the interview is 12:57 minutes (Appendix 3). The method I am using is a semi-structured interview, and it is an audio-recorded interview. It is important for me to get to the point and only talk about the language dynamics at the office. Nina Brandt is a danish speaker, we held the interview in danish. Nina Brandt has worked at Ilisimatusarfik since 2005 and has followed the development of Ilisimatusarfik since then.

I asked, which language is used at the administration and in her everyday workplace, she answered it is in danish. It is not only language that is used, but mostly used. Brandt additionally mentions that she can understand some Greenlandic, but not enough. She receives some emails from students that is written in Greenlandic, she usually forwards the messages to the Greenlandic speaking co-workers. The dynamic is that they share their competences with each other. If one cannot understand a certain language, they send it to one another. Otherwise, she asks the student to write or speak in danish because she cannot understand Greenlandic, and 9 out of 10 agrees to speak to her in danish. On the other hand, during the meetings or gatherings are mostly held in Greenlandic. Which she expresses that she means she will not understand what is being said. She clarifies, it varies a lot, but there is always space for both languages. She clarifies that their boss is good at clarifying and takes the workers into account on, which language is going to be used during the presentations. Additionally, she mentions that both Greenlandic and danish languages are most important, because they are just as many Greenlandic as Danish. Brandt also mentions that she encounters more and more that the students approaches in English, and it is something that is new to her. Additionally, she said that Greenlandic is especially important because the population is so small and it's important to preserve the language.

When looking into the language power dynamics, according to Ng and Deng it is argued that language in itself has no power, but it has an influence and control by the power behind the speaker. For instance, if someone wants to speak in Greenlandic, some ask the person to

regulate into danish, but if a student or a teacher wants to express themselves in Greenlandic, they need to ask for permission first, for instance in the exams or lectures:

... language is viewed as having no power of its own and yet can produce influence and control by revealing the power behind the speaker. Language also reflects the collective/historical power of the language community that uses it (Ng, 2022:4).

Language power dynamics is about how language reflects or challenges the current power among individuals or groups. Although it is said language is viewed as having no power. However, research on the power of language takes the view that language has power of its own, this power allows a language to maintain the power behind it and create influence (ibid.).

3.5 Socio-Structural Factors

University of Greenland is a Humanities focused university and the only university of Greenland. Where there occurs various critics as the only Ilisimatusarfik. Greenland has self-government and has determination in the country as the majorities. “The normative foundation of self-government is the exercise of autonomous decision-making over collective affairs” (Kuokkanen, 2019:60). According to Kuokkanen, only Greenland can be considered to have achieved true self-government among Indigenous peoples in the Arctic. Formally, however Greenland does not represent Indigenous self-government and is not based on international norms related to Indigenous people’s rights (ibid.:62). In that way, the government has full responsibility of the University of Greenland. Further, Kuokkanen examines that Home Rule 1979, was characterized by its state-like structure and its efforts to build state apparatus by copying the institutional model directly from Denmark (ibid.:66). However, two decades later, the Self-Rule Act 2009, establishes new political and legal opportunities for Greenland. Most important of these is the Mineral resources, two other issues of major significance include the recognition of the Kalaallit as a people in international law and adoption of kalaallisut as the official language. However, within the framework, Denmark retains the control of the constitution, citizenship, Supreme Court, foreign affairs, defence and currency; however, Denmark is expected to involve Greenland in foreign affairs and security matters that affects Greenland (ibid.). Moreover, Kuokkanen had examined what the former politicians expressed in regard to the government’s system. Failure to consider Inuit values has not changed under Self-Rule. Kuokkanen cited Henriette

Rasmussen: “Greenland Self-Government is unquestionably a Danish model” Rasmussen further explains: “Our whole administration is done by outsiders” (ibid.:68). After examining Kuokkanen’s book, it gives a reflection on the system of Ilisimatusarfik. In the neo-colonialism, the most affected areas are the government and education. As Kleemann-Andersen also had expressed during her interview, neo-colonialism is faster and more extreme than the colonialism itself (Appendix 8). This reflection might not give me the whole picture, but the systematic and administrative work on both institutions is questionable on who really is in charge of the authorities in the background.

3.6 Sub-Conclusion: Role of Indigenous Language Kalaallisut at Ilisimatusarfik – University of Greenland

During my analysis, I have come across the utilization and implementation of kalaallisut and dialects at Ilisimatusarfik, I analyzed my research by focusing on interviewing the rector, students, teachers and administration. In the language policy of Ilisimatusarfik it says, the languages used are Greenlandic, Danish and English, those three languages need to be developed. It does not necessarily say Greenlandic language is the number one priority language at the university, but there are parallel language priorities at the University. It also shows through my interviews that the lectures are held in Greenlandic, only when the teacher is a Greenlandic speaking teacher. Many students have expressed they are not used to utilize the kalaallisut during their education. However, teachers have expressed that the students are more engaged when the lectures are held in Greenlandic and they can express themselves freely, where it also occurs in their grades. When utilizing their own language, they get a higher grade.

It also appears that students face challenges in their education in terms of language barriers, that the language policy had expressed. When they face the challenges, they usually go to their classmates for translation, and it is something that the students cope with among students and help each other. During my interview with the rector, Reimer expressed this must not be student’s problem when they face language barriers, whereas it should be the education’s problem that the students face the language barriers, that is why they are working on a project on utilizing an interpreter during oral exams. On the language policy of Ilisimatusarfik, it says their goal is to develop terms and terminologies in Greenlandic that needs to be implemented at Ilisimatusarfik., it has not happened yet in all departments.

Administration is mostly held in Danish, but it is not the only language used, but the dominating language used. As Kruse had expressed during the interview, there is lacking communication between Ilisimatusarfik and the society, when there are too many languages used at the university, where Kalaallisut is sometimes forgotten, where communicating knowledge to the society is not practised enough in Kalaallisut. Kleemann-Andersen and Naja Paulsen had expressed that there is no language-supplement for Greenlanders for translating in Greenlandic, where it also occurs for extra work for the Greenlandic scholars deal with as teachers, and there is no promotion for Greenlandic scholars because it is seen as discrimination.

I will now analyse and examine how Sámi Allaskuvla- Sami University of Applied Sciences implements their Indigenous language and traditional knowledge in higher education.

4. Chapter: Sámi Allaskuvla- Sámi University of Applied Sciences

4.1 Historical Background and Development of Sámi Allaskuvla- Sámi University of Applied Sciences

Sami University of Applied Sciences (SUAS) is a cross-border education and research institution. SUAS is part of the Norwegian university and of Applied Sciences sector⁹.

According to the book of *Sámi Instituhitta- 30 jagi: Nordisk Samisk institutt- 30 år* from 2005 of Isak Keskitalo, says Nordic Sami Institute officially established in 1973/74 with Aslak Nils Sara as the head. In 1968 Tuure Salo, Eric Carlsson and Jon Leirfall submitted a proposal to the Nordisk Råd to establish an institute to promote Sami languages, culture and social life. Nordisk Ministerråd appointed on 29 April 1972 an interim board for further investigation of the institute with college director Jon Teigland as manager and consultant Svein Nossen as secretary. The interim government's proposal was that there should be three sections with joint administration and that it should be located in Kautokeino. The opening took place in 1974 (Keskitalo, 2005: 30). In that way Nordic Sami Institute (NSI) was established. NSI is now a Nordic institution that is connected to Sami Allaskuvla/Sami University College. As Tuure Salo, Eric Carlsson and Jon Leirfall had proposed, NSI's

⁹ (<https://samas.no/en/node/298>)

purpose is to strengthen and develop Sámi languages, culture and social life, where Nordic Council of Ministers finances the main part of this.

Thereafter, according to Jan Henry Keskitalo in his book *Sami Allaskuvla 20 jagi*, official opening of Sámi University College took place on 1st of November in 1989, Sami Allaskuvla was first a Sami University College. This meant a long-time development of the institute became a University college, that Sámi have wished for and worked for in a long time to have a Sámi teacher training program. This further developed into implementing other higher education programs that are taught in Sámi in Sámi settings, where it also provided opportunities to develop educational alternatives that are better suited for the needs of the Sámi society (Keskitalo, 2008: 9).

This desire is to break free from colonial past and it is closely linked to the rights to self-determination in research, language and culture. According to Tuhiwai-Smith, one of the important parts of decolonizing process is through research. Justifying knowledge about their life, the world, and connections between different phenomena to develop their culture and identity (Smith, 1999: 173).

Moreover, the official opening of Sámi Allaskuvla took place on November 1, 1989. Sámi Allaskuvla is an indigenous Sámi language institution of higher education and research. The first educational programs were in teacher education and traditional handicrafts, like duodji. According to Porsanger, previous organizational models for Sámi education had failed to implement a Sámi-based approach to education and learning (Porsanger, 2019: 971).

According to my data collection and informants, in Sámi Allaskuvla, the Northern Sámi language is the most utilized language in various subjects, in instruction, research and tuition. Sámi Indigenous language is the working language, it also applies for administration. This means there are no language policies because it is a fundamental institutional language. Indigenous knowledge is scientific approved knowledge and has been treated equally valid in curriculum and content of all study programs and inside research. In that way, Sami University of Applied Sciences is one of a few Indigenous institutions, which has educational programs in the Indigenous language (ibid.).

In the 1980-1990s, Sámi took responsibility for the future of their Indigenous language. Smith argues that the transformation in indigenous education is one of the critical sites of struggle for Indigenous societies. Smith took it as an example, for Maori and other Indigenous peoples, it requires a shift from being reactive to being proactive around their

own aspirations and taking autonomous control. Linda Tuhiwai Smith argues in her book, that in connection with the Maori language revitalization practices, the 1980s Smith calls for ‘a revolution in thinking’ meaning taking responsibility “to make change for themselves and not wait for other people’s permission” (Smith, 2011: 16). This also happened in Greenland, where previously Inuit Institute became a university.

However, the transformation action in education among the Norwegian Sámi in the mid-1980s was focused on school education (Porsanger, 2019: 974). At that time, there were only Norwegian primary schools in the traditional Sámi areas. These schools had a so-called “Sami supplement” that consisted of some thematic additions to the national teaching programs, concerning the use of the Sámi language and basic facts about the Sámi population (Keskitalo 2008: 71). According to Keskitalo, it was obvious that schooling of this type did not cover the needs of the Sámi society; neither did it give any positive input into the development of the Sámi communities.

The establishment of Sámi Allaskuvla was directly connected to a clarity articulated awareness of the needs of Sámi society of that time, and a long-term struggle to maintain, strengthen, and develop Sámi identity, language, culture, and society. Sámi themselves were confident about doing things for themselves, framing arguments to the Norwegians educational and political authorities, arguing for the need for funding of a specific Sámi language teacher education, with the supplement of the UNDRIP Declaration. The Nordic Sámi Institute chose methodologies that focused on the Sámi language, traditional knowledge and experiences, healing and empowerment, and capacity building. The first Sámi research institution was ahead of its time by paying attention to these crucial methodological issues long before the concept of Indigenous methodologies was introduced in the late 1990s. According to Porsanger, the focus of Sámi language education has been a controversial because of many limitations, obstacles and challenges. However, Sámi Allaskuvla has been successfully grown and advanced from being a small university college with focus on teaching education to become a Sámi University of Applied Sciences with bachelor, master and doctoral programs. Furthermore, SUAS is being owned by Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research, therefore the institution needs to deal with regular framework and general educational policy and reforms (ibid.).

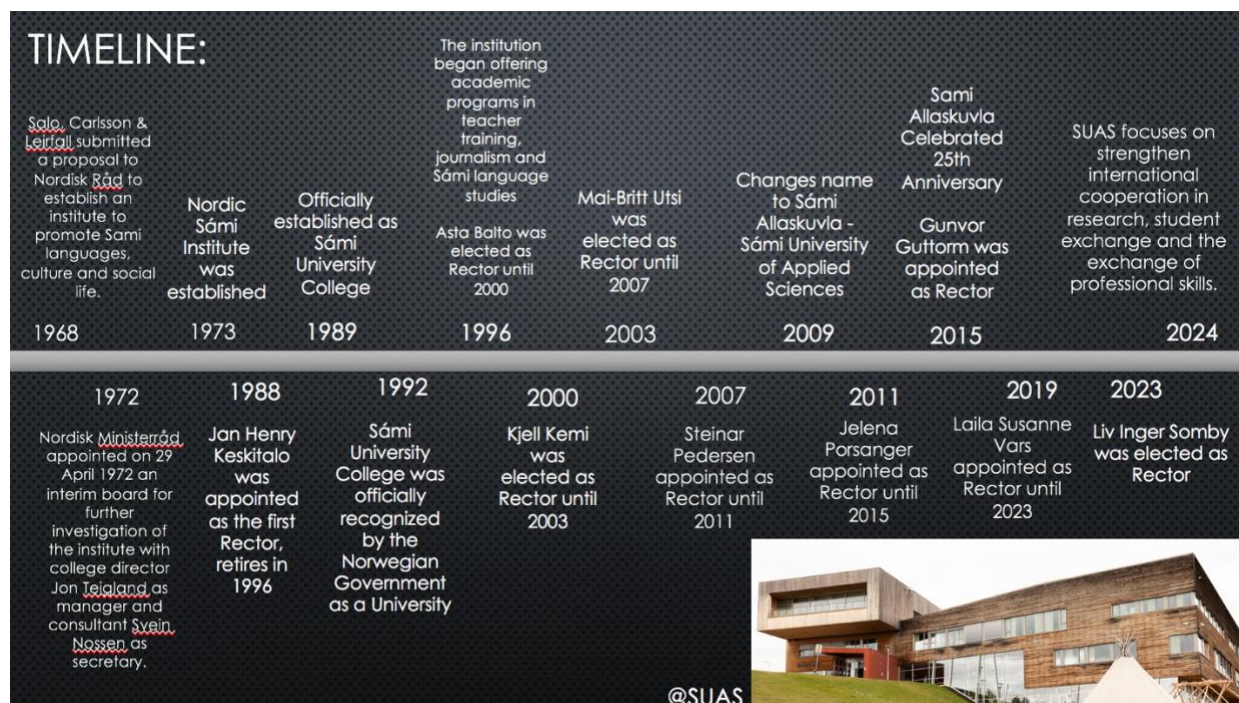
Key areas at Sami Allaskuvla are:

- Linguistics

- Culture
- Reindeer husbandry and other traditional industries
- Traditional knowledge and place names
- The modern society and history
- Jurisprudence at local, national and international levels and other fields
- SUAS actively promotes Sámi research as an integral part of the Indigenous research.

SUAS is the legacy of former Nordic Sámi Institute. As a member institution of World Indigenous Nations Higher Education Consortium (WINHEC), the Sámi University College research activity follows the WINHEC Research Standards (*Sami Allaskuvla website*)¹⁰.

4.2 Timeline:



Figur 2¹¹

I have made a timeline according to what I have collected in my research, and according to what my informants have provided me with their information. This timeline shows the history of development and special events of Sámi Allaskuvla. Throughout its history, SUAS has played a crucial role on empowering Sámi values in education by providing various opportunities for higher education and revitalization on Sámi language and traditional knowledge.

¹⁰ (<https://sammas.no/en/node/156>)

¹¹ (Interview with Ole-Henrik Magga)

Since there is a high gap between the years 1973-88 on the timeline, I will present the main events here. The first magazine of the institute, “Dieđot” was published in three languages in Marts 1974. In the 1970s, the Nordic Sami Council had several committees that had tasks within the institute’s field of work. The Sami Language Board was given a secretariat at the institute, and researcher Ole-Henrik Magga was chairman of the board until a new joint Northern Sami orthography was launched in 1979. The joint Lule and Southern Sami orthography was also codified. Enare and Eastern Sami have orthographies prepared at Finnish universities (Keskitalo, 2005: 31). From 1974 onwards, the institute participated through Aslak Nils Sara, in the development of a global indigenous people’s organization, and the institute contributed with organizing efforts and interpretation at the first indigenous people’s conference in Georgetown, Port Alberni, Canberra and Kiruna in the 1980s. The institute also participated in similar conferences in the context of UNESCO on behalf of the Norwegian National Commission, and hosted a conference in Kautokeino, and prepared a report from it. When SUAS was established in 1989, Sámi students were given the opportunity of higher education in their own language for the first time. Former institute researcher Ole Henrik Magga was the head of the UN’s Permanent Forum for Indigenous Issues. In 1981, the institute moved into new premises in the culture house in Kautokeino, after having participated in the planning of the building, which won the Sámi Beaivváš Teáhter (ibid.f).

4.3 Share goals and Strategies of Sámi Allaskuvla

Sami Allaskuvla is a science-based traditional knowledge led university college, that is located in Norway. It is one of few institutions of higher education, that mainly operates in Indigenous language. The institution’s overall language policy is Northern Sámi, and it should be the main language for all activities. Its vision is to be ‘a Sámi and Indigenous University where Sámi language is heard and read daily, and the values and mind-set of Sámi and other Indigenous peoples are at the centre’ (Strategi 2022-26). There is no language policy at Sami Allaskuvla, since Sámi is a fundamental language in the institution. However, in their strategy for 2022-26, it states that Sami languages should be the main language used, for staff, students and administration. According to my data collection through interviews and participant observation, northern Sámi is spoken by scientific and administrative staff, as well as the kitchen personnel and by cleaning staff. Northern Sámi is utilized in management and service as the most common language for communication at SUAS. Proficiency in one of the

Sámi languages is required for permanent positions at the institution. All courses, except for the masters programme are taught in Northern Sámi. It is important to note that Sami Allaskuvla only covers Northern Sámi only, but in their most recent strategy on number 5, it says:

“Nasjonalt senter for samisk I opplæringa skal bidra til å utvikle likeverdig og tilpasset muntlig og skriftlig opplæring bade I og på samisk, først og fremst på nordsamisk, lulesamisk og sørsamisk” (Strategi 2022-2026).

According to my informants, the most language used at the university is northern Sámi, but it shows also that their goal is to include other courses of Sámi languages other than northern Sámi. As mentioned above, Sami Allaskuvla’s language policy is not outlined in a language policy document, but language is present in more overarching policy documents, because it is a fundamental institutional language, most central is the strategy of visions and goals of SUAS, Strategiplan 2022-26 (Thingnes, 2020: 158). In the strategy of Sami Allaskuvla for 2022-26, it clearly states that Sami traditional knowledge, culture and Sami languages are the cornerstones of their education. However, under the governmental language policy of Norway, it states that academic language must be in Norwegian (St.meld, 2008:35).

Nevertheless, according to the Lovdata Act relating to language, under section 5, it says: “Sami languages and Norwegian are languages of equal value. They have equal standing under Chapter 3 of the Sami Act” (Lovdata, Sproklåva)¹². According to the most recent Nordic language policy declaration from 2024, it is also acknowledged Sami and Greenlandic languages are the indigenous languages and ensures preservation and development on Indigenous languages in the Nordic countries are the minority languages (Nordiskministerråd, 2024). The Sámi Act, article 5-1 makes it clear that Sámi and Norwegian have equal language status in Norway (Solbakk, 2018:7).

Although Sami Allaskuvla does not have a written document of language strategies, the closest to it, is the Strategy for 2022-26. According to the most recent strategy, under the shared goals and strategies, is written:

“The Sámi University of Applied Sciences (SUAS) is a leading Sámi-language institution of higher education and research, building competence at a high level and contributing to the promotion of Sámi autonomy, sustainable Sámi businesses and communities” (Strategi 2022-2026).

¹²(<https://lovdata.no/dokument/NLE/lov/2021-05-21-42>)

SUAS strives to achieve the UN International decade of Indigenous languages (IDIL) by strengthening the Sámi content in their education programmes and boost visibility of the different Sámi languages, and offer educations in more Sámi languages. SUAS also wants to strengthen internationally relevant education programmes in dialogue with other indigenous institutions, like former Rector Varsi also have mentioned that it would be possible to have a law education in the programmes that other Indigenous groups could be interested in and take part in. Under the shared goals and visions, it is written that SUAS will:

- Establish a new bachelor programme in the social sciences
- Consider establishing a master's programme in reindeer husbandry
- Renew and develop journalism education
- Strengthen collaboration with UiT on sámi nursing education
- Strengthen the indigenous rights research community and indigenous collaboration (ibid.).

SUAS meets the requirements for being an Indigenous institution, based on the WINHEC accreditation system. This recognition certifies that activities of SUAS are based on Sámi traditional knowledge and the rights of Sámi as Indigenous people. One of their goals is to enhance Indigenous collaboration, it should support academic and societal decolonization and reconciliation.

4.3.1 Acknowledgement of Sámi Languages

Sámi are the only Indigenous peoples in Europe, they are one people in 4 nation states- Norway, Finland, Sweden and Russia. Norway has recognized Sámi as Indigenous peoples through Sámi Act, Article 110a of the Constitution and ILO Convention 169 on Indigenous Peoples and Tribal Peoples in independent states, which was adopted in 1988, it states: “It is the responsibility of the authorities of the State to create conditions enabling the Sámi people to preserve and develop its language, culture and way of life” (The Constitution of Norway, 1988)¹³. Although, Sámi people in Norway are recognized both as Indigenous peoples and minorities, they are recognized as minorities in Finland, Sweden and Russia. Sámi have lived in the areas of Fenno-Scandinavia or Kola Peninsula, it is estimated that the Sámi people to be about 40,000 in Norway, 20,000 in Sweden, 7,500 in Finland and 2,000 in Russia. Sámi

¹³ (The protection of minority rights in Norway with reference to the Sami people: <https://www.tribunalconstitucional.ad/sites/default/files/documents-ponencias/H-NORWAY.pdf>)

language has ten main dialects from Ter-Sámi, Kildin, Akkala, Skolte, Enare, North, Lule, Pite, Ume and South-Sámi. Ter-Sámi and South-Sámi will not be able to understand each other, while neighbors can communicate (Solbakk, 2018:3).

4.4 Interviews with Indigenous Scholars

4.4.1 Principals

I interviewed the Rector of Sami University of Applied Sciences, Laila Susanne Vars, on 19 April 2023 at 09:00AM, the duration of the interview is 1:11:16 minutes. The ideal focus of the interview is, I want to discuss the strategies, values and goals for SUAS, the model and structure of the Indigenous institution. Laila Susanne Vars is a lawyer by profession, a human rights lawyer and have a doctoral degree in international law and in Sámi law. Vars is a member of the Expert Mechanism on the Rights of Indigenous peoples, which is a human rights body. It is a body under the UN Human Rights Council. Vars gave me an inside perspective on her previous goals, ideas and values of the Indigenous institution, and expressed some of the main challenges that occurs throughout her position in the institution. Vars expressed Sámi demanded a Sámi language-based university, Sámi languages as academic languages, as scientific languages, as languages used for publications, for research, and to work on terminology in different aspects. Vars also mentioned, that the university does not have a language policy, because Sámi is the fundamental language at the university. She expressed, that they are encouraging the students to write in Sámi, and they give extra credentials for writing articles in Sámi languages, and then translate them into another language. They have the funding as she mentioned for the translation of publications. Sámi dieđalaš áigečála was established in 1994 – five years after SUAS – as the first Sámi scientific journal. The channel with the second highest number of publications, is the multilingual journal Dieđut. It publishes texts in the most central languages in Sámi, and English. The reason why they encourage Sámi academics to write in their native language, is because they truly believe that a lot of the development of Sámi languages as academic languages happens when you actually write for instance, in law, in social sciences, in teaching, in reindeer herding. Developing rich terminology in Sámi language is very difficult to translate. Vars expresses it is important to produce academic texts, articles in Sámi languages because it helps on developing terminologies, and it helps the students to develop their academic language. They use a lot of the funding for translation, but it is because the Norwegian authorities don't read Sámi. Everything that is decided on the board needs to be

translated into Norwegian, all the communication with authorities needs to be in Scandinavian language, but internal documents are in Sámi (Appendix 11). Sami University is the only Sámi university in the World. It is a tool for being able to have academic self-determination. Or is it a paradox that all of their funding comes from the Norwegian Ministry of Research and Education that limits the level of self-determination? Since they own this university, it is the Norwegian government that owns all the state universities, which means that they are not a private university. In that way they still have to make sure that all their activities are in line with the requirements from the ministry. It can be argued that this limits the academic self-determination to some point. However, Sami University and Sami Parliament have an open dialogue, having a platform to discuss with the Sámi politicians about their needs, their aims and what they can provide for the community for the Sámi people. Sámi University and the Sámi Parliament have two meetings a year, they have meetings with the highest level of politicians at the Sámi Parliament in Norway and the director of the Sámi University. They are the main supporters of academic self-determination, since academic institutions have been used in the assimilation process and in the colonial context, using universities as tools to suppress the Sámi people, to colonize, Varsi further explains:

...We have a Sámi university, this should be a tool to reconcile with the past and to make our own strong academic environments, that can actually be part of the conversation and to correct some of those wrongs, very racist ideas that the Western universities have been one of the main players in the colonization of the Sámi (...) now we're slowly rebuilding (Appendix 11).

Varsi additionally, came across the discussion about the university being a northern Sámi university, and not utilizing other Sámi languages. Varsi mentioned this internal oppression, that the people who have been colonized faces, that the colonization has made them more critical to themselves and tend to attack their own people, this also links to lateral violence that I have discussed and presented earlier in the interviews. It appears here, where the oppressed people have an attitude to their group as well.

4.4.2 Professors

I interviewed one of the former rectors of SUAS. Mai-Britt Utsi has been a rector from 2003-07. I conducted the interview via Zoom on 17 April 2023, the duration was 1:11:41. I wanted to discuss the implementation of Sámi languages when teaching, since she is a teacher at

Sámi Allaskuvla, and was involved in the initial development of Sámi Allaskuvla prior the opening of 2009. Utsi is an assistant professor in Sámi literature, teacher training programme and Sámi language in bachelor and master level. During the initial years of Sámi Institute in 1990s, Mai Britt Utsi describes: “We didn’t accept that our knowledge wasn’t at the same level as Western knowledge, because our knowledge is not the same” (Appendix 12). Utsi further explains that language is linked to identity and knowledge, the knowledge system lays in words. When asking about the challenges in building the Indigenous institute, she expresses that challenges, first of all, is their own colonized minds, she had discovered a long time ago, because they didn’t believe in themselves at first, but then they realized how rich their traditional knowledge is, and how rich their language is. But she expresses that it wasn’t easy, because their colonized minds were also playing a role when trying to take a huge step forward (ibid.).

It was interesting to get an insight of what the challenges were, when building an Indigenous institution. According to the interviews with Ole-Henrik Magga and Johan Klemet Kalstad, there were a lot of stories and challenges they had to face throughout the development. I had the pleasure to be talking with Ole-Henrik Magga and Johan Klemet Kalstad who had a huge impact on the development history and the initial ideas on building Sámi Allaskuvla, which was previously was a Nordisk Samisk Institut (NSI). Magga and Kalstad had close cooperation during the development of Sámi Institute. They have collided remembrance on the history of the development and sharing the fundamental values on the institute.

Before conducting the formal interview with Kalstad, we had an informal meeting beforehand. We talked about what could be relevant for discussing in the interview and he gave me an insight and background knowledge, so that I could form my questions better. I conducted a formal semi-structured interview with Kalstad on 18 April 2023 at 9:30AM at Diehdosiida- Sami Allaskuvla. The duration was 44:31 minutes. The purpose of the interview is to have a background knowledge on the history of Sámi Allaskuvla and get an insight of his perspective and experiences. Johan Klemet Kalstad is currently a prof. Emeritus at Sámi University. Kalstad is a dr. polit. from UiT-Arctic University of Norway on Reindeer Herding and Sámi culture, he has written articles about traditional knowledge and Sámi Politics. His work consists of Sámi language as an academic language and has previously been the head of the Nordic Sámi Institute (Appendix 14).

According to Kalstad, during a Conference in 1970, is where the idea on having a Sámi Institute came to action. This idea has been discussed for decades. It is now in 1970s that Israel Rong took responsibility on having a Sámi institute. “Men det ville vært spennende med flere sånne urfolksinstitusjoner i verden som støtter opp på dette” Appendix 14). He mentions that it would have been interesting, if more indigenous institutions stood up and supported the idea on having an indigenous institution. Kalstad also discussed the history of the development that I have been mentioning earlier in the background history of Sámi Allaskuvla.

Ole Henrik Magga is a Sámi politician and linguist. Magga was the first president of Sámi Parliament from 1989-97. Magga has been a professor at the University of Oslo, UiT- Arctic University of Norway and at the Sámi University working with the Sámi languages. In 1986, Magga became the first Sámi to achieve a doctorate in his own mother tongue, in Sámi¹⁴. I conducted the interview with professor Magga at Sámi Allaskuvla on 19 April 2023 at 12:00, the duration was 1:38:17. The purpose of the interview is for him to tell the story and have a picture of his remembrance on the development and the history of NSI. I wanted the interview to be a conversational dialogue about the utilization and the importance of Indigenous languages in academia.

According to Magga, the language must be used in practise, if it is supposed to exist and develop. That was the main reason why they needed their own institution. It is the usage that makes you learn; it is the usage that is crucial. Magga states that 1970s were crucial for self-determination for Indigenous peoples, although they experienced a lot of criticism from the ministries, they pushed through on making the NSI, but it was not easy. “If you want it, and use the power you have, there are no limits” (Appendix 13). According to Magga, an Indigenous institution is where Indigenous peoples themselves set the frameworks for their activities and manage them:

Et språk må brukes i praksis, hvis det skal eksistere og utvikle seg. Det som er hovedsaken for en institusjon som samisk språk, samisk høyskole og nordisk samisk institutt, er at vi har en institusjon som arbeider på vårt eget språk. Ellers så forsvinner det helt slett (Appendix 13).

During the 1970s, it was crucial for a lot of Indigenous peoples, it was a movement for self-determination. When fighting for self-determination there are a lot of challenges. According

¹⁴(https://snl.no/Ole_Henrik_Magga)

to Magga, during the initial development of NSI, there have been a lot of work with very little work materials and staff. They have faced a lot of political criticism, but that did not change the fact their own opinion. According to him, it was difficult in the beginning but after a while it has improved and grew a lot. The situation 50 years ago, is not the situation now. Additionally, what this education brings is, Saami who have not been growing up using their own native language, have the opportunity to learn their language, not only as a communication tool but also in an academic level. It is part of the reconciliation process. I asked him, what requires on making an Indigenous institution, he answers it is an institution of belonging, it is about listening to what their people have taught them, that came from their own knowledge. It is not an institution, where there is a focus on what the outsiders have determined on who they are. It is about connecting and collaborating with neighbors that will only make the institution even stronger (Appendix 13). According to Magga, an Indigenous institution is, where Indigenous peoples themselves set frameworks for their activities and manage them. Magga continues, that it does not help when a university has an institution that has a focus on Sámi education. It is good in itself, but it takes away the authenticity and it is not an Indigenous institution, when it is under a leadership of outsiders. You do not practice what Sámi needs most in a society, but rather it is focused on the need of others. Sámi university have been misunderstood a lot in the beginning. It is closed to its own environment; therefore, they did not want a university in a bigger city. It is understood in a way that they wanted to protect their own environment when the initial idea is misunderstood a lot, they were determined for the institution to be in a Sámi area, where there a majority population of Sámi people. That is why it was crucial to have a collaboration and contact with the people, to hear what the society wants and need. Magga also told that in the beginning, the Sámi institute has been monitored by the police, where all their phone calls have been recorded, there was a lot of suspicion and mis inspection of the institute, but they had nothing to hide.

When talking about the term traditional knowledge as an academic knowledge, he mentions that he does not see a big difference between traditional knowledge and scientific knowledge, because it is the same thing for humans, on how they collect knowledge about a specific object. There is a wide variety of terminology, it is the usage and the needs that tell you which words you need to use. It is the usage that is most important in language, that is what keeps the language alive. Not only as a tool for communication but also when expressing

knowledge. According to Magga, Sámi have their own way of expressing their own terms and terminology.

Language is such an important part of people's lives; it just needs to be supported. Fortunately, we have come so far. Now there is an understanding of it, also internationally. We have done a lot of research on, how quickly the minority language disappears. It is a scary thing (Appendix 13).

According to Magga, it requires a lot of willing and strength as a people to build an institution of their own. There were multiple factors on how it was possible making an Indigenous and a Nordic institution that developed in the meantime, which I will discuss under the Socio-structural factors, but now in order to see another perspective of how Sami Allaskuvla is today, the experiences of students will be discussed.

4.4.3 Students

I conducted interview with a bachelor student at SUAS, Maret Anne Nystad via Zoom on 18 April 2023 at 11:30AM. Nystad is studying Sámi language and literature. She expressed that most of the lectures are held in Sámi, only on some occasions guest lectures cannot understand Sámi, that the lecture is held in Norwegian, but she expressed for someone who does not speak Sámi would not be able to do the degree. "you have the teachers and other students that know your culture, and you share the same traditions and beliefs" (Appendix 15). Nystad expressed, when she was studying in another university, she has not experienced belonging, in a way that her classmates did not share the same culture as she has. Whereas, at SUAS, the teachers and her classmates share the same culture and beliefs. The reason why she wanted to study at Sámi Allaskuvla, is that she wanted to improve her own native language and not letting the Norwegian language affect her Sámi language. I asked what languages are utilized during exams, she replied that it is always in Sámi, to be specific, it is in northern Sámi (Appendix 15).

I also conducted an interview with a former SUAS student, Alena Gerasimova via Zoom on 17 April 2023 at 09:00, the duration is 31:27 minutes. She is an Indigenous Evenki from reindeer herding family in the district of Yakutia, which is in Siberia, Russia. Gerasimova grew up with reindeer herding. She started studying Sámi language in a course introduction for one semester in 2022. Her mother tongue is Evenki language and Russian. The reason for her to start studying at Sámi Allaskuvla, is because her partner is Sámi who is a reindeer

herder. In her class there are people with Sámi background who wants to learn their native language, there were 5 foreigners in the class as well. We discussed the challenges and the barriers of the language used in her education. She expressed, that as non-Sámi speakers, they were struggling more than others, because everything was held in Sámi and she cannot understand in Norwegian, it was intense for her.

In order to apply for Sámi Allaskuvla for bachelor's or master's, it is required to know Northern Sámi language in a higher level. If not, it is required to take Sámi language courses, and after completing the courses, you can apply for bachelors and masters. I asked about what she thinks about the Indigenous language being a fundamental language as a university, she responded:

I was so impressed the first time I saw that institution, because they did an amazing job. (...) Sámi language, it was dying out, before with all the colonization and all. And they were able to restore it to the extent that they have higher education in their language (Appendix 16).

Gerasimova expressed that it was an inspiration for a lot of Indigenous peoples from her community. She states that it is very important that Indigenous languages being utilized and implemented fully in higher education, especially in Indigenous communities, for the sake of the language resilience (ibid.).

I also conducted an interview with an international student, Arina Shaborishina via Zoom on 1 May 2023 at 10:30, the duration was 32:03 minutes. Shaborishina is from Lovozero, a small village in Murmansk region, Russia. Her dialect is kildin Sámi, which is different from Northern Sámi, but her mother tongue is Russian. She is a bachelor student in Sami linguistics and literature. She had the same challenges when learning Sámi in textbooks, where she had to translate from Sámi to Norwegian to English to Russian. Which also means that they do double, or even triple the work for only translating textbooks. Also, all of the exams are held in academic Sámi (Appendix 17).

To have an insight on the Sámi from the Norwegian and Swedish side, I interviewed Dag Andreas Balto and Josef Kuhmunen. Dag Andreas Balto is a bachelor student in Sámi language and literature. I interviewed Balto via Zoom on 3 May 2023 at 12:30, the duration was 30:03 minutes. Although his studies are mainly held in Sámi, he clarifies that he also had two classes that was held in Norwegian, in a pedagogy class, but then they had an interpreter during the lectures, with the microphones. In this way, the Sámi students from the Finnish

side could hear the interpreter through the headphones, thus, there is also interpretation during lectures (Appendix 18).

Sámi Allaskuvla made students realize how their traditional knowledge and language is important, although they may not have realized it by themselves, but when reflecting on it, it made them feel proud that they have a place and education that they resonate with and connect to very well.

Lastly, I also conducted an informal conversation interview with Josef Kuhmunen from the Swedish side of Sámi in Jokkmok. It took place at Sámi Allaskuvla on 14 April 2023. Kuhmunen is a bachelor student in Sámi languages and he expressed that, Sámi language have been oppressed for a long time, as the Swedish state have tried to almost take it away, where the children were not allowed to speak Sámi. It has been a long journey to even be in this situation. Furthermore, I will delve into on how it was possible to make an Indigenous institution, Sámi University.

4.5 Socio-Structural Factors

Through WINHEC, Sámi Allaskuvla has gained formal status as an Indigenous Institution. It is important for SUAS. In 2018, the accreditation was renewed. SUAS receive their main funding from the Norwegian government through The Ministry of Education and Integration. It also applies for research grants from the Research Council of Norway and other organizations. When examining the basis for Norwegian Sámi Policy, the state of Norway has been established on the territory of two peoples, the Norwegians and Sámi, and that both peoples have the same right to and are equally entitled to be able to develop their cultures and languages. However, it does not mean they have equal rights in the country, as the minorities in Norway. Concern for Sámi interests is to be included in the formulation of policy in all relevant areas. The responsibility of the Norwegian Government is to contribute to international Indigenous policy and to cooperate with the other Nordic countries. Norwegian legislation that forms the legal basis for Sámi policy is primarily derived from, The Constitution, article 110a, Act of 12 June 1987 no 56 on the Sámi Parliament and The Sámi Act.

According to Johan Klemet Kalstad in his speech from the *Nordisk Samisk Institut 30 år*, he said: “Forskerne ved NSI anla et innenfraperspektiv i sin forskning. I dag er det stor enighet om at et innenfraperspektiv er et utgangspunkt for forståelse av samfunnsmessige

fenomen” (Sámi Instituhtta- 30 jagi, 2005:43). This resulted that they have now full responsibility to re-write their own history from their own perspective. This also in a way is a huge step for determining their own narrative.

While Indigenous political mobilization in Canada and Greenland has resulted in land claims and self-government agreements, Sámi land rights are only partially recognized in Finnmark. In Sweden, legislation states that the Sámi Parliament is not a self-government institution, but a state authority that is responsible for Sámi affairs. Nevertheless, in the Finnish side of Sámi, they have been considered a small ethnic group with no legitimate claim to specific rights. This is obvious, where Sámi are recognized as Indigenous groups as well as minority groups, whereas in Sweden and Finland, they are not recognized as Indigenous peoples, rather a minority groups in the country (Kuokkanen, 2019: 79). Sámi Parliament is rather a consultative or advisory body rather than a self-governing institution. Norway has the majority population of Sámi people, which had the most progressive Sámi policy since 1980s. However, assimilation policies in Norway has been more explicit and intense, with the Norwegianization than it is in Sweden and Finland. The Norwegianization process was officially a policy up until 1959, where it got replaced by integration (ibid.f). Especially in Finland, Sámi rights and self-government in cultural terms is an example of such culturalization and turning Sámi rights into minority rights (ibid.:90). According to Magga, the reason for the Sámi institution was built only within the period of 3 years, it was because the Norwegian Government felt the need of duty, the duty to owe Sámi. According to him, it is not the worst country to build and institution for Sámi people and get support from the Norwegian Ministry. The fundamental values that Magga had when building the NSI, were human rights, the culture preservation and development. The tradition that was well known in the Nordic countries, is that the Sámi people have their own way of knowing and distinct culture (Appendix 13).

4.6 Sub-conclusion: The Importance on Utilizing Traditional Knowledge in Academia

I have now come across how the Sámi Allaskuvla- Sámi University of Applied Sciences provide their Indigenous languages in their university. We have also come across the challenges on building the Sámi University, and how they have overcome it. We delved into the socio-structural factors on how Sámi University was possible. When talking about the socio-structural factors it was also the UNDRIP declaration that played a crucial role on making the institution, also the Norwegian law, saying that the language of Norwegian and Sámi should be considered as equal. They took that as a tool for making the institution in the

first place. The education programme in Sámi language and literature aim to help strengthen Sámi languages and Sámi identity, and are central in ensuring the transfer of Sámi language proficiency, culture and values to future generations. To answer my research question, I have found it important to interview most of the student from the language and literature program, because I find their response to be crucial for my analysis and Empiri. According to my interviews at SUAS, it made it clear that it is important for them to utilize their native language not only as an everyday communication language, but also to utilize it in academia, as an institutional language. Most of my informants have expressed how Sámi Allaskuvla has provided the indigenous language at the institution, and what kind of factors played a role on developing the Sámi University. They were able to make an institution, with their own frameworks, that is not copy pasted by any other institution. Although, the model of the institution is based on the indigenous methodologies, it does not resonate with the western perception on what a University should be like. They have set their own definitions and perceptions according to their values, goals and shared vision for the University, what it should look like and how they want the university to develop. It also occurred during the interviews with a couple of students, the Sámi university is an inspiration to a lot of Indigenous communities, and the institution wishes to collaborate more with other Indigenous institutions and scholars.

5. Chapter: Comparison

5.1 Ilisimatusarfik & Sámi Allaskuvla

I have now analysed both institutions' development and language policies and strategies. I will now compare both territories' different realities in terms of self-determination. This comparison approach will focus on the socio-structural factors and differences. As I have discussed the difference on both language strategies in the analysis, this comparison chapter will have a focus on the different governmental policy positions in terms of Indigenous self-determination. However, if we shortly mention and compare the language strategies between Ilisimatusarfik and Sámi Allaskuvla, it appears to be that the main difference is in the discourse of the minority and majority language differences. If we go into cultural policies, there has always been a strong link between education and cultural policy in Norway, and the substance has been carrying out cultural values. According to Keskitalo, there are three main political partners forming the Sámi cultural policy: The state authorities (parliament,

government and ministry), the Sámi authority (the Sámi Parliament) with its subcommittees and councils and the professional and political organizations. After all the Sámi movements, the Norwegian authorities gave active support, and this could not have been without activities on local level. Therefore, it is important to mention that local and regional activities form the cultural arena, where the cultural policy comes to its function (Keskitalo et al. 1994: 56). It is important for the activities and motivation for the organizations to have the support from the societal level, for both language development and ways of creating equal opportunities for both organizations and societies' opportunities to express cultural belonging. It is believed that the educational system will always be a bridge between the local stage and the national level. Language development without a fully operating school system in Sámi language seems to be impossible (ibid.). That was the strength of building the Sámi University. When looking at the situation in Greenland and Ilisimatusarfik, according to the interviews of teachers, they have states that the connection between the university and the majority of the society is lacking nation wise. Where Sami Allaskuvla cannot be built without the foundation of their language, Ilisimatusarfik has three main languages to focus on. In addition, as I have discussed, in their language strategy, it does not necessarily say that Greenlandic is the main language of implementing knowledge rather it says, it should be utilized in a communicative manner. It also states in their language policy, that all three languages should be seen as equal, Greenlandic language seems to be forgotten when it comes to internal documents at Ilisimatusarfik, were most of the documents are first written in Danish (Chapter 3).

5.1.1 Kalaallisut

This section will have an approach on the examination of the informants from Ilisimatusarfik. It will examine the results and similarities of the answers, and the main challenges that most of the informants face throughout their education. The outcome of the interviews has been somewhat unsurprising, because I have been experiencing the realities in the first hand, in terms of what language challenges the students' face in their studies. Among the most frequently discussed barriers were:

- the lack of opportunity to practice native language in higher education;
- the lack of proficiency in academic native language;
- the perception that Danish is a better vehicle for academic success;
- the teaching of isolated terminologies of Greenlandic vocabulary items; and

- the Greenlandic language not being put as the main language through teaching materials.

In addition, some widespread misconceptions about utilizing Greenlandic language in teaching and learning, were identified as serious barriers to success of native language maintenance and transmission. The misconceptions included:

- there is a lack of Greenlandic translators;
- the Greenlandic language is too long and difficult, you need special training to teach your own language; and
- there is a lack of Greenlandic terminologies: and
- it is discrimination if we add language supplement in Greenlandic language.
- there is no future for Greenlandic language in education and the future
- if we don't learn Danish, we don't have a future.

Among the conclusions on which there seemed to be strong agreement by informants were:

- there is lack of communication between the society and the university;
- there should be teaching in Greenlandic language;
- the exams should be held in Greenlandic both oral and written exams, without giving any consent; and
- Greenlandic language is not a dying language among the society.
- Greenlandic students have higher grades when expressing themselves in their own native language.

Although this last opinion is frequently expressed in the interviews, according to a Report on the Nordic Minority Languages of 2022, it is said:

West Greenlandic is 'Vulnerable' according to UNESCO. East Greenlandic is spoken on the East coast by (estimated) 3,000 persons. In the high Arctic around Qaanaaq the archaic dialect of Inuktun is spoken by (estimated) less than 500 persons. Both East Greenlandic and Inuktun are 'Definitely endangered' according to UNESCO (Report on the Nordic Minority Languages, 2022:5).

Based on this background information, I understand this document differently because, in a way West Greenlandic language could be vulnerable inside higher education in Greenland. The fact that, most of the students and teachers first and foremost give consent if they want to express themselves in Greenlandic, and for others to accept that the presentation will be in

Greenlandic only, I will argue in that way it is vulnerable, if we put this into an education discourse. When talking about East Greenlandic in higher education, there is no space inside higher education. West Greenlandic is seen as vulnerable, because there are less than 100.000 West Greenlandic speakers (ibid.).

5.1.2 Sámi

When we move to the results of my informants at Sámi Allaskuvla. Saamis formed a remarkable and distinct way of adjusting their economy to the natural resources, developing a knowledge base that is well documented and can be identified as terminology in the language, and through the cultural values reflected by the present Sámi society (Keskitalo, 1994:51). Sámi University also helps the national authority of what is in need of their society, and how to sustainably develop blue economy through their traditional knowledge. Saamis did not stop on the discussion of the ‘language being too difficult or too long’. After the analysis of Sámi language strategies, it proves my research hypothesis where utilizing Indigenous languages in academia is crucial for maintaining the resilience on Indigenous knowledge. Because if Indigenous languages is not being utilized enough in academia, certain terminologies start to disappear. Knowledge comes with language. The utilization on Indigenous language in academia is a tool for survival of traditional knowledge. I argue that academia is ruled by western concepts. I consider that you also colonize yourself with western concepts, western perception and misconceptions of your own history that came from western history books. It is important to reconnect indigenous ways of knowing and to be able to make indigenous knowledge a part of research in academia, and to see traditional knowledge as a science based valued knowledge system in itself. As Ole-Henrik Magga have discussed, we already have our own terminologies in our own language, there is no such thing as you make your own terminology from scratch (Appendix 13). After interacting with these experts, and students the most discussed challenges were:

- facing the authorities’ criticism on building the Sámi College University,
- their own colonized minds;
- the criticism on the most utilized Sámi language, Northern Sámi; and
- the extra work for the non-Norwegian speaking students.

Addition to that, according to Porsanger, the establishment of Sámi allaskuvla was directly connected to an awareness of the needs of Sámi society of that time, and a long-term struggle

to maintain, strengthen, and develop Sámi language and identity. Sámi as the minority population they needed an education that covers their own knowledge, identity and language. Whereas, Greenlandic is the majority language in Greenland, the Inuit institute was built long before the Greenlandic language was set as an official language. Inuit Institute was built in 1981. It was after Greenland gained Home Rule in 1979. This means the Greenlandic language was seen as a minority language in Greenland, which also means inside education. It can be discussed if it was a long-term issue that Greenlandic language is struggling inside higher education, but there are also divided opinions to that matter, which I will discuss further in the next section.

5.2 Self-determination: Majority vs. Minority

When examining the language power dynamics, the majority language represents a greater power in language use; It is a language power. Norway and Denmark have ratified the ILO Convention 169, but Sweden and Finland have not done it yet. When looking at the language power dynamics, it is the majority language that is utilized the most. According to Alfredsson, special rights are needed to realize equal enjoyment and to put them in a position comparable with the majority population. Although, such special measure do not constitute privileges; they are rooted in the principle of equal enjoyment just as is non-discrimination. “Special measures to the benefit of minorities and indigenous peoples exist mainly in the fields of education, culture, language and religion” (Alfredsson, et.al, 1994:13). Alfredsson further explains:

...Only communal enjoyment of human rights with groups using native language, running their own schools, benefiting from access to other services provided by the group for the group by way of internal autonomy or self-government...

He further explains:

... and participating as groups in the political and economic affairs of states will allow for the right to be different and otherwise approximate circumstances which the majority takes for granted (ibid.f.).

This argument is clear when discussing the minority and majority language power dynamics, where Indigenous peoples have special rights, where the majority usually takes for granted. This applies to Sámi University, where communal values are benefitted through language and culture, where they feel seen at the University through fully utilizing their own native

language in higher education. Whereas, this situation can be discussed, where in Greenland, it is clearly written in the law that Kalaallisut is the official and the majority language of Greenland, but the situation might be different in the institutions of higher education or the authorities. According to the language policies that I have gathered at Ilisimatusarfik, it appears that Danish and Greenlandic languages are seen as equal and used equally in the institution. However, the students might not have the same skills in Danish as Greenlandic, in terms of academia. We can also look at it the other way around, where Greenlandic academia is not utilized enough at Ilisimatusarfik, where the students have a difficult time writing academic Greenlandic, because there is a lack of used and stable terms and terminologies in Greenlandic from various departments at Ilisimatusarfik. Where the students and staff are used to writing Danish, where they also have internalized the norm, and see it as a normal situation, that academic Greenlandic has a little space at Ilisimatusarfik. According to Alfredsson: "If collective rights are rejected and preferential treatment is denied, the equal enjoyment of all human rights by minorities and indigenous peoples will never be realized" (ibid.). This argument also applies very well to the statement of one teacher from Ilisimatusarfik, where she states that there is no equality when working as a Greenlandic teacher, where there is extra work, and have to do double work when translating most of the materials, where there is no language supplement in a position, where Greenlandic language is needed more than ever, especially Greenlandic teachers at Ilisimatusarfik (Appendix 8). Although, the national measures are not always perfect, they are not necessarily consistent and are still subject to improvement. It is arguable, when discussing if Kalaallisut is the main and official language in higher education at the University of Greenland. As my informants have shown, most of the lectures and materials are held in Danish, but on some occasions it is held in Kalaallisut. According to the language policy of Ilisimatusarfik, it clearly says that Kalaallisut and Danish should be equal in teaching, whereas Kalaallisut should be the communicated language in the institution. I understand it that way, where official documents should be in Danish, and the communicated language among workers and students is in Greenlandic. Nevertheless, most of the documents are not always translated into Greenlandic. It is argued for the lack of people who can translate into Greenlandic. When we look into Sámi University, it is argued whether they have full determination on their institution, as the former Rector, Varsi has discussed. It is owned by the Ministry of Norway, and all of the official documents should be translated into Norwegian, so the authorities can read the documents. Sámi University has full determination, when it comes to internal policies, but when it comes to the official and national policies, they are the minorities. In Greenland, the

situation is, we are the majority people of Greenland, but when it comes to foreign affairs, we are the minorities. When talking about *Kalaallisut*, it is the official language of Greenland since 2009. It is only 15 years ago, since we gained self-government in 2009. It is arguable if higher education has been following when it comes to language, and language power dynamics, or if it still needs improvements. Because when it comes to the language policy of Ilisimatusarfik, all three languages are seen as equal: Greenlandic, Danish and English. It does not necessarily say that Greenlandic is the main language at Ilisimatusarfik. When there is a lot of translations going on at Ilisimatusarfik, it appears that Greenlandic is usually forgotten, when it comes to written documents. But it appears to be important when it comes to communicated language, for instance, in terms of presentations, lectures, seminars, conferences etc. Where usually the written information is mostly written in Danish rather than Greenlandic. It can be argued if there is a similarity there, where official documents are first and foremost written in Danish, and thereafter, if possible written in Greenlandic. The situation at Sámi University, is that the official documents must be translated into Norwegian, whereas at Ilismatusarfik, the documents are first written in Danish and thereafter in Greenlandic, because the official language is Greenlandic. It is clear now, in a way *Kalaallisut* is a minority language at Ilisimatusarfik, if we see the internal documents are mostly in Danish, where they need to be translated into Greenlandic. If that is the case, for instance, at Sámi Allaskuvla, the internal documents are first and foremost written in Sámi and then translated into another language afterwards. Here we can see the majority language is in northern Sámi at Sami Allaskuvla, where the minority language at Ilisimatusarfik is Greenlandic. I find it interesting, where in Greenland's higher education, the majority language or the most utilized language is not in *Kalaallisut*, where there is full self-determination in Greenland.

I will now delve into the different realities, to further investigate the similarities and differences on both institutions in the governmental sphere.

5.3 Socio-structural Differences: Similarities and differences

When implementing Indigenous self-determination, Greenland had achieved the most extensive degree of Indigenous self-determination in the world. On the other hand, Sámi Parliaments hold symbolic significance, but do not have jurisdiction over their own affairs. The implementation of self-determination in Sámi is further complicated of the political discourse surrounding self-determination (Kuokkanen, 2019:98).

According to Jan Henry Keskitalo, the former Head of the Sami College, states that education is formalized and institutionalized through the last 300-400 years, and normally have been initiated and delivered by state authorities and by groups of power to declare their own educational system, and being equal to state operated systems, or the power and independency to operate outside such systems. Education delivered through state operated systems in the normal way of organizing education in the Nordic countries. Nevertheless, Indigenous people, aboriginal peoples or tribe peoples did not form such kind of organized systems of education in the same sense. However, this does not mean they did not have well organized upbringing and schooling for the children. The Nordic countries developed their educational systems, as a part of the development of their democratic systems, it was mainly to meet the purpose of the major population in the states. Education was also the only way of carrying out the cultural policy of the state authorities (Keskitalo, 1994:50f). After being said that, it was also a way of controlling a society in the years of colonialism, because education is a concept all over the world in all societies as a necessary way of delivering knowledge, skills, norms, values and attitudes from one generation to another. This means, it depends on which skills, whose values or knowledge are being utilized? Whose values are in the discussion? This goes back to the theory of this paper research. Throughout the years of colonization through education, oppressed people have been controlled in a way of knowledge, values and skills, which they often compare to western scales and western values, that does not fit into our scales or our way of seeing valuable knowledge. Sámi education in its natural sense is then a part of this picture, being not more than the striven for the Sámi society to have a future, based on its need for knowledge, skills and values. When we move to the picture of Ilisimatusarfik, through the lens of having three languages who are equal in higher education can seem unclear whose values, knowledge or skills are being seen as useful for the society. Does Ilisimatusarfik have an ongoing dialogue with the society of Greenland? Is the society benefiting from Ilisimatusarfik? Or who is benefiting? Whose values are seen as beneficial to the society? To discuss more of this situation, I will now discuss the questions that came up during my research.

6. Discussion

In this chapter, I will discuss the hypothesis based on the results of my analysis, to reach my conclusion of this research. First off, I will delve into the educational system of Greenland.

It is argued that the ongoing dialogue between Ilisimatusarfik and the society is lacking. The utilized language does not speak to the majority of the society. The educational systems meet Greenlandic terminologies to some degree through their standardized core curriculums. Nevertheless, the control of the educational system is mainly outside the local communities.

If we extract Keskitalo's discussion about the strategies of independency in education, he describes that independency can be reached to a higher degree using two strategies: To let the traditional knowledge be the base for the process of production and combine it with the use of the native language, and to let the school- knowledge be the support to further improvement of products and knowledge. At the primary stage, this can be done through designing the core curriculums and subject curriculums to reflect in form and substance the processes, values and attitudes that reflect the Inuit and Greenlandic identity. The language has to have a central role and focus. And the secondary stage one need to have a focus on the language development but with broader multilingual aspect (Keskitalo et al. 1994:54). I argue this argument had initially been one of the values when building the Inuit Institute.

The foundation of the Inuit Institute had a significant impact towards building a Greenlandic Home Rule. "the aim of the institute was to pursue research and education in Greenlandic cultural legacy as a whole" (Gaviria, 2013:35f). It is discussed Inuit Institute was built within Greenlandic framework. Gaviria states that issues on keeping a holistic approach to Greenlandic ethnicity disappeared under the University Act:

Issues regarding the institute's capacity to keep up with a holistic approach to education, led to the introduction to the *University Act* (Act No. 3 1989) substituting the Inuit Institute (ibid.f).

University of Greenland therefore sat focus on scientific methods and moved higher education away from the Greenlandic nation building and questions of ethnicity, and resulted the university starting to prioritize professional skills. Gaviria also discussed that the 1990 Education Act endorsed a Western comprehensive education system. After the 90's Greenlanders integrated a Danish system of education with some Greenlandic adjustments to improve local outreach (ibid.). While Saamis were strengthening Sámi University College in 90s, on the other hand Greenlanders were implementing the Danish educational system. Furthermore, Gaviria examines and illustrates the language of instructions in the Greenlandic education system in 1990s: in upper secondary level, the instruction of language was both Danish and Greenlandic, while in tertiary level was predominantly in Danish, and lastly the

professional degree was all held in Danish (ibid.:39). It can be discussed if the education system had changed since then. According to my collected data, it appears that the copy pasted Danish education system in Greenland had been strengthened throughout the years. When looking into the academic Greenlandic language, I would argue the Greenlandic language is vulnerable within higher education in Greenland. Although, according to some of my informants, it is expressed that the lectures are held in Greenlandic accordingly, when they have a Greenlandic teacher, but in most cases the academic materials are instructed in Danish or English.

We will now discuss the hypothesis of this research. In my research, I argue that utilizing Indigenous languages in academia is crucial for maintaining the resilience on Indigenous knowledge. Because if Indigenous languages is not being utilized enough in academia, certain terminologies start to disappear. Knowledge comes with language. The utilization on Indigenous language in academia is a tool for survival of traditional knowledge. I argue that academia is ruled by Western concepts. I consider that you also colonize yourself with Western concepts, Western perception and misconceptions of your own history that came from western history books. It is important to reconnect indigenous ways of knowing and to be able to make Indigenous knowledge a part of research in academia, and to see traditional knowledge as a science based valuable knowledge system in itself. Sámi Allaskuvla has clear collective fundamental values, where they have fought for the ministry to establish their own institution. It can be discussed if Ilisimatusarfik is lacking collective fundamental values or collective identity. If we delve into *Internalized Oppression*, where suppressed people go against each other, have divided opinions and start supporting the oppressor. This mechanism could be one of the reasons why the only university of Greenland is practising western paradigms. Whose values are utilized, when Danish teachers are teaching Inuit values and way of knowing and put them into western concepts? It is unsurprising if the Greenlandic terminologies and words have started to disappear, when the higher education of Greenland have not been following when the Greenlandic official language was sat in 2009. As one professor at Sámi Allaskuvla had expressed: “The most challenging part on building a Sámi institution was our colonized minds” (Appendix 12). In my hypothesis I argue that you also colonize yourself with western concepts and utilize the misconceptions of your own history that came from history books. It can be argued if Ilisimatusarfik had implemented Indigenous knowledge as a valuable scientific knowledge. Whereas it is argued in the *Internalized Oppression* that the colonized begin to regard their culture and identity as less worth, and

accept that they, as colonized inferior. Have we implemented this mentality, where western paradigms have higher status, or do we need to realize the value of our own knowledge and language?

According to my collected data and analysis in Greenland, it is clear the dominated and mostly used language is Danish in higher education.

7. Conclusion

In this last and final chapter, I will begin by summarizing the most important main results from the thesis. In this conclusion, I will identify the most important points from each chapter.

In the introductory chapter, I introduced the outcome of the methodological approach of my thesis in connection with the methods of the qualitative interviews and the overview of the collected data, including the hypothesis and research questions. I included ethical considerations and my role as a researcher, limitations of the thesis and presented the outline of the thesis.

In the second chapter, I introduced the theoretical conceptual framing, and presented the main concepts of the thesis and the fundamental framing of the research.

In the third chapter, I examined the collected data at Ilisimatusarfik and examined the language policies, strategies and the realities that the students face in their education. In the analysis of this chapter, one of the main results are the three languages, Greenlandic, Danish and English should be the main languages at Ilisimatusarfik and they are the fundamental languages and must be seen as equal. Whereas, in the language policy of Ilisimatusarfik, it does not necessarily say Greenlandic language is the priority language, but should be practised as a communicative language. It also shows the lectures are held in Greenlandic, only when the teacher is a Greenlandic speaking teacher. Many students have expressed they are not used to utilizing Kalaallisut throughout the higher education in Greenland. However, teachers have expressed that the students are more engaged when the lectures are held in Greenlandic and they can express themselves freely, where it is also affecting their grades when they express themselves in Greenlandic during oral exams. It also appears that students face challenges in their education in terms of language barriers. I will demonstrate the clear bullet points that I have discussed in chapter 3 here:

Among the most frequently discussed barriers were:

- the lack of opportunity to practice native language in higher education;
- the lack of proficiency in academic native language;
- the perception that Danish is a better vehicle for academic success;
- the teaching of isolated terminologies of Greenlandic vocabulary items; and
- the Greenlandic language not being put as the main language through teaching materials.

Among the conclusions on which there seemed to be strong agreement by informants were:

- there is lack of communication between the society and the university;
- there should be teaching in Greenlandic language;
- the exams should be held in Greenlandic both oral and written exams, without giving any consent; and
- Greenlandic language is not a dying language among the society.
- Greenlandic students have higher grades when expressing themselves in their own native language.

In the fourth chapter, I analysed how the Sámi Allaskuvla- Sámi University of Applied Sciences provide their Indigenous languages in their university and the challenges on building Sámi University. We delved into the socio-structural factors on how Sámi University was possible. When talking about the socio-structural factors it was also the UNDRIP declaration that played a crucial role on making the institution, also the Norwegian law, saying that the language of Norwegian and Sámi should be considered as equal. They took that as a tool for making the institution in the first place. The education programme in Sámi language and literature aim to help strengthen Sámi languages and Sámi identity, and are central in ensuring the transfer of Sámi language proficiency, culture and values for future generations. According to my interviews at SUAS, it made it clear that it is important for them to utilize their native language not only as an everyday communication language, but also to utilize it in academia, as an institutional language. They were able to make an institution, with their own framework, that is not copy pasted system. Although, the model of the institution is based on the indigenous methodologies, it does not resonate with the western perception on what a University should look like. They have set their own definitions and perceptions according to their values, goals and shared vision for the University, what it should look like and on how they want the university to develop. It also occurred during the

interviews with a couple of students, that the Sámi university is an inspiration to a lot of Indigenous communities, and the institution wishes to collaborate more with other Indigenous institutions and scholars.

After interacting with these experts, and students the most discussed challenges were:

- facing the authorities' criticism on building the Sámi College University,
- their own colonized minds;
- the criticism on the most utilized Sámi language, Northern Sámi; and
- the extra work for the non-Norwegian speaking students.

In the fifth chapter, I compared the socio-structural factors and self-determination in education on both institutions. Although I had homogenous answers, my hypothesis got proved when interviewing students from Sámi Allaskuvla. It appears that they are more exposed to the value of traditional knowledge, therefore can discuss the meaning behind the concepts of my hypothesis. There are different cultural and linguistic values between both universities, the other being the main university of the majority people, and the other being the only university in Sámi region, utilizing the minority language in the country. Nevertheless, the Northern Sámi is the majority language in the region.

Sámi education and education in Greenland can be said to be a result of a long history and societal development processes, which should be examined and dealt with today. This concerns the Greenlandic linguistic choices in higher education, when it comes to taking care of their linguistic choices, and their own terminologies. Higher Education needs to deliver curricula in Indigenous knowledge terminologies, for this reason, teachers can do their job in a contemporary education based on inclusive education needs. If other languages keep being dominant in higher education, it seems hard for Greenlandic language to develop and be strengthened in terms of Greenlandic in academia. Within the field of Indigenous education, critical thinking about educational systems is expected from the point of view of Indigenous people. That was the case of this thesis and research, where I wanted to have critical students who express themselves from their point of view. It must be admitted that discomfort have been felt in order to deliver the realities and barriers that the students face in their education. The boundaries that the Danish-speaking students have expressed may be blurry in some cases, but on the other hand, they are also facing language barriers in their education, not only the Greenlandic students but also some Danish-speaking students. According to what my informants have expressed in chapter 3. It also applies for Sámi University, where they

have also faced language barriers, which came as a surprise to me. Because it was unclear to me that the Sámi university was also facing language barriers, not only from international students but also when it comes to dialects in Sámi. Where it is also been discussed that the Sámi University is only utilizing the Northern Sámi language.

Nevertheless, I argue, the reason why the Sámi had and still have a strong unity on collective values, is because according to *Internalized oppression*, the minority people have an easier time redirecting their aggression towards oppressors. Whereas, in Greenland we redirect our anger and aggression towards ourselves, since we are the majority who have high self-determination. There we can also see, the divided opinions where the people easily can go against each other (David E.J.R, 2019).

As a result, I became aware of the problem of the word usage *Indigenous* in academic matters, is that it can be generalising for the people that are distinct from the society. It is important not to generalise the people that can lead to misconceptions or misrepresentation. As Smith have stated (Smith 1999), the value is that Indigenous scholars allow what is special and needed, to make things visible of what is meaningful in respect of Indigenous peoples' own understanding of themselves and the World.

In other cases, lacking respect of the knowledge and the knowledge holders have been experienced in some various of perspectives in different communities and groups. Lacking wisdom of the culture and mentality of the people, that leads to misrepresentation. As Edward Said have stated, 'otherness' or 'otherhood' is what makes it a phenomenon by academic researchers, the "unknowingness" of the specific groups of people (Said 2003).

Research results of this thesis have therefore shown that the higher education in Greenland must adapt the terminologies that already exists. This research additionally shows, the curriculums must adapt to the Greenlandic terms and terminologies.

Postscriptum

I will conclude with a plea and a hope that this research contributes in its own way, on highlighting the importance on strengthening the Greenlandic language in academia. As the only university of Greenland, it is responsible on putting Indigenous terminologies into the curriculums.

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