

Education in Inuit Nunangat: A Quantitative Examination of Factors Contributing to the
Educational Attainments of Inuit

Sina Pourfarzaneh

Major Research Paper submitted to the Faculty of Graduate and
Postdoctoral Studies In partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the Master of Arts in Sociology

School of Sociological and Anthropological Studies
Faculty of Social Sciences
University of Ottawa

Supervisor: Dr. Willow Scobie

Evaluator: Dr. Gustave Goldmann

May 2020

CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	4
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	5
CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION	6
Statement of Problem	8
Purpose of the Study	9
Research Questions	9
Assumptions of the Study	9
Summary	10
CHAPTER 2: HISTORICAL CONTEXT	12
Traditional Education.....	12
Institutional Education	13
CHAPTER 3: EDUCATION IN INUIT NUNANGAT	17
Educational Attainments	17
Post-Secondary Education.....	21
Available Programs	21
CHAPTER 4: INFLUENTIAL FACTORS	25
Residential Schools	25
Involvement in Education	29
Language	31
Residence	35
CHAPTER 5: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	38
Sociocultural Learning Theory.....	39
CHAPTER 6: METHODOLOGY	43
Data	43
Study Sample.....	44
Measures.....	45
CHAPTER 7: FINDINGS & ANALYSIS.....	47
CHAPTER 8: DISCUSSION & CONCLUSION.....	51
Discussion	51
Implications.....	54

Limitations	55
Conclusion.....	55
REFERENCES	57
APPENDIX.....	64
Syntax.....	64

ABSTRACT

The literature identifies that Inuit lag behind the non-Inuit population in terms of education credentials. The gap in the rates of post-secondary education diplomas and degrees are even greater. Studies indicate that the lack of educational achievement by Inuit is mainly linked to the emergence of residential schools and its long-lasting destructive impacts in the Arctic. Moreover, the literature suggests that some deficiencies in Inuit Nunangat such as the absence of a university and lack of post-secondary education programs affect Inuit's participation in advanced education. This research study uses data from the 2012 Aboriginal Peoples Survey to see how factors such as age, place of residence, the involvement of family members in education, first language learned in childhood, and residential school attendance contribute to the rate of attainment by Inuit in post-secondary education. The findings of this study reveal that, by age, the likelihood of having university education increases. Inuit who living outside of Inuit Nunangat are more likely to have post-secondary credentials. The involvement of family members in student education enhances the likelihood of having higher education achievements. Those Inuit who learned English as their first language in childhood are more likely to have completed advanced education. Finally, having the experience of attending residential schooling by the student or family members increases the likelihood of having university-level credentials.

Keywords: Inuit; Educational Attainments; Residential Schools; Post-Secondary Education; Family Involvement; Language

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my deep gratitude to Dr. Willow Scobie, my research supervisor, for her patient guidance, and her valuable and constructive suggestions during the development of this research study. I would also like to offer my sincere appreciation to Dr. Gustave Goldmann for taking the time to review this research paper, and for his valuable advice and assistance in doing the statistical data analysis. They have been great teachers who have helped me to get to this place in my academic life, and this project would not be nearly as good without their help.

My thanks also extended to my friends and colleagues in the department of Sociological and Anthropological Studies at the University of Ottawa.

Finally, I would especially like to thank my parents, who have been extremely supportive of me and made countless sacrifices throughout this entire process.

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

Education in Inuit Nunangat: A Quantitative Examination of Factors Contributing to the Educational Attainments of Inuit

The educational system in the Canadian Arctic has been a complex phenomenon that has undergone a series of changes. Control of education was first taken away from Inuit and entrusted to churches, then passed to federal, territorial, and provincial governments, before being returned to Inuit again through land claims and self-government agreements (The Nunavut Agreement, 2010). Historically, education in Inuit Nunangat has colonial roots and is interwoven with federal and provincial actions and policies (Kennedy-Dalseg, 2014). The emergence of residential schools in the 1940s, which were established to assimilate Inuit into Canadian culture, is a blatant example of colonialism in the North.

For millennia, education in the North occurred on an informal basis where family members had the responsibility of preparing children to be successful in a hunter-gatherer society. The acquisition of environmental knowledge was of great importance as Inuit were dependent on the landscape/seascape for their survival (McGregor, 2008). The imposition of residential schools, which brought in formal schooling for Inuit children, changed the traditional ways of education in the Arctic. This new education method was in sharp contrast with Inuit cultural values and resulted in destructive consequences (see the Truth and Reconciliation Report, 2015).

Recently, education in Inuit Nunangat has received substantial attention and is a predominant concern for Inuit, and educating Inuit youth has become a collective priority across the Canadian Arctic (Audla, 2014). Despite the undertaking of initiatives at the federal, provincial, and territorial levels to improve educational attainments among Inuit, their graduation rates remain

well below the national average, and the numbers are even lower when it comes to post-secondary education (Bonesteel & Anderson, 2008; Lalonde, 2017; McGregor, 2008; Rodon et al., 2014; Simon, 2011; Taylor, de la Sablonnière, & Bourgeois, 2014). Since the 1960s, initiatives have been put into place in order to make education more relevant to Inuit (McGregor, 2008). Additionally, post-secondary education courses and programs have been accessible for Inuit throughout Inuit Nunangat since the 1960s, which emerged in the Arctic in reaction or response to economic pressures and opportunities and can be classified into three main categories of academic, vocational/technical, and cultural-linguistic programs (Rodon, 2014).

Despite these initiatives, between 1999 and 2009 the high school graduation rate in Inuit Nunangat was 39%, while the national average was 78.3% (Rodon et al., 2014). In Nunavut, the high school graduation rate varies between 25% and 30%, whereas a considerably lower number of students pursue university education (McGregor, 2008). Furthermore, in 2006, the university degree completion rate among Inuit was only 2.7% (Rodon et al., 2014). Achieving advanced credentials in education is of great significance as it enables individuals to obtain secure and well-paying jobs, and will increase the possibilities that were not previously available to women and members of other minority groups (Wotherspoon, 1998). In the Arctic, most of the public service positions, for example, which are available for Inuit, require some post-secondary or professional qualification (T. Berger, 2006; Bonesteel & Anderson, 2008). The objective of hiring Inuit to staff public service positions is to increase their participation in government employment in the Nunavut Settlement Area to a representative level (The Nunavut Agreement, 2010).

Although these types of data are useful for measuring students' progress in education, they also shed light on the limits of perspectives that ignore how settings such as education "fit" some students culturally and not others (Fryberg et al., 2013). These data do not mirror, for instance,

unique languages and cultural traditions of Indigenous people nor the impact of colonization or their desire for cultural and linguistic revitalization (Fryberg et al., 2013). Consequently, this study is framed within the viewpoint that the learning environment and the cultural values it promotes affect the attainments of students in education.

Significant disparities in the educational achievement of Inuit and the rest of Canada led to research regarding the influential factors that contribute to low graduation rates and prevent Inuit students from pursuing advanced education. Studies suggest that the content and curricula of education programs, inadequate housing, the language of instruction, absence of a northern university, and lack of programs of interest are among the interrelated factors that impact educational attainments of Inuit, characterized as a “crisis” by Thomas R. Berger in his 2006 report to the Government of Canada (T. Berger, 2006; Bonesteel & Anderson, 2008; McGregor, 2008; Rodon, 2014). In his report, T. Berger (2006) proposes that establishing a comprehensive bilingual education system would improve the academic progress of Inuit students and thus qualify them for government positions.

Statement of Problem

Concerning the attainment of educational credentials, studies reveal that Inuit lag behind the non-Inuit population of Canada. Although there is a growing body of research that addresses the impacts of various factors on students’ achievements (Rodon et al., 2015), the number of studies examining factors contributing to the advanced education of Inuit is limited, and very little statistical data and analysis regarding their participation in post-secondary programs are available.

Purpose of the Study

The primary purpose of this study is to discover what factors affect the educational achievement of Inuit. The second purpose is to understand the factors that prevent Inuit from completing post-secondary education. Specifically, the research examines factors such as individuals' age, place of residence, the first language learned, attendance at residential schools, and involvement of family members in education examined quantitatively to understand how these predictors impact the participation of Inuit in post-secondary education. Understanding the learning dynamics of Inuit students is necessary and findings of this research will guide policymakers, authorities, and institutions to apply needed actions to close the educational gap between Inuit and the rest of Canada and to give Inuit better educational experiences.

Research Questions

This study guided by two research questions:

1. which factors contribute to the educational attainment of Inuit?
2. What are the obstacles that prevent Inuit from completing Post-Secondary education?

Assumptions of the Study

This study makes multiple assumptions regarding the educational attainment of Inuit. Although education can be defined in many different ways, in this research education is understood to be an institutionalized process and concentrates on educational attainment in formal schooling organizations and institutions.

Studies show that families have always played a crucial role in educating children in the Arctic, and language (Inuktitut and Inuinnaqtun in Canada) has always been one of the main instruments of Inuit identity. Moreover, the literature suggests that the establishment of residential

schools and the elements that characterized the schooling system, such as forbidding the use of Inuktitut in schools and the non-participation of Inuit in the education of children, negatively impacted the educational achievements of the Inuit. Hence, this research assumes that Inuit who learned Inuktitut as their first language, and those students whose families are involved in their education, have higher education credentials.

Furthermore, studies link low educational attainments of Inuit to issues such as inadequate/over-crowded housing, absence of a northern university, and lack of post-secondary programs in the Arctic. Accordingly, it is presumed that the Inuit who resided outside of Inuit Nunangat are more likely to have higher attainments in education.

Summary

Participation of more Inuit in education and closing the educational gap with the rest of Canada is gaining interest across Inuit Nunangat, and increasing attention is being given to contributing factors that impact educational achievements in the North.

In this chapter, a rationale for conducting this research study is presented. A brief historical overview regarding education in the Canadian Arctic is introduced and the educational credential rates of Inuit demonstrated. Two research questions that guide this study are also presented. In chapter 2, a historical context regarding education in the Canadian Arctic is introduced to explain how the schooling system has changed over time. In chapter 3, some statistics about the educational achievement of Inuit and the availability of post-secondary education are discussed. Subsequently, chapter 4 investigates the factors contributing to Inuit educational achievements, specifically concerning post-secondary education. In chapter 5, the theoretical framework of this study is presented. Framed within the Sociocultural Learning Theory, this research study provides

a perspective that the process of learning is largely related to a learner's environment and culture. Chapter 6 includes a detailed presentation of the research data and methodology utilized to answer the second research question of the study. In chapter 7, the results of the logistic regression model are presented. Finally, a summary of the research, discussion about the findings, limitations of the study, and policy implications are discussed in chapter 8.

CHAPTER 2: HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Traditional Education

For thousands of years, Inuit have lived in and traveled the Circumpolar regions, including the Canadian Arctic, and relied upon their traditional way of knowing to survive (Usher, 2000). Before contact with Europeans and others, Inuit had a nomadic lifestyle with minimal contact for trade, etc., and thus were dependent on local natural resources, relationships, and innovative tools and skills that were in sync with the environment of the North (Eshet, 2015; McGregor, 2010; Simon, 2011). The land and sea were of great importance to Inuit since they relied on mammals (seals, caribou, whales, etc.), fish, and plants for food, as well as using animals' skins, fur, bones, and other parts for clothing, tools (for hunting, sewing, etc), and for pleasure such as jewelry and games (Eshet, 2015).

Inuit lived in groups comprised loosely of family units (including adopted children and extended family members that joined and left depending on the hunting/fishing circumstances, for example) where adults were responsible for educating children and teaching them survival skills such as hunting and sewing (Irwin, 1989). This kind of education was crucial to the well-being and survival of families in the north (McGregor, 2008). According to McGregor (2008), traditional education was locally-driven and happened within the community. Elders took particular interest in children's education by setting examples for them, and children had to learn traditional skills through observation rather than instruction. In other words, education was related to the environment in which Inuit lived and learning processes were integrated into everyday life.

During this period, the purpose of education was to transmit environmental knowledge to Inuit children and prepare them to be successful in a hunter-gatherer society, relating to seasonal hunting and care activities, as well as snow, ice, and weather patterns (Irwin, 1989; McGregor,

2008). McGregor (2008) labels environmental knowledge as one of the crucial components of Inuit education as learners needed to be prepared to survive and maintain a strong relationship with the land. These were the features of education that, according to McGregor (2008), were successful for Inuit in the past. Nevertheless, this traditional way of life and education changed drastically as a result of increased contact with non-Inuit, (McKechnie, 2015). Non-Inuit brought their system of schooling into the Arctic and changed the lives of Inuit children forever (McGregor, 2008).

Institutional Education

During the 1950s, the Government of Canada introduced a new system of education and learning in the Arctic that aimed to assimilate Inuit into the Canadian culture. Additionally, Inuit were forced to relocate from the land into settlements. This resulted in extreme social, economic, and political changes in the Canadian Arctic including disruption of traditional education processes (Bonesteel & Anderson, 2008; Damas, 2002; Irwin, 1989; McGregor, 2010). The impact of living in settlements included lower death rates, but also introduced “unemployment” (Irwin, 1989; McKechnie, 2015). Resettlement was associated with health and social services and lowered the rate of infant mortality (Irwin, 1989) and thus had an impact on the demographic make-up of Inuit.

Nevertheless, forced relocation negatively impacted their everyday lives. By establishing permanent settlements, the federal government encouraged, coerced, or forced Inuit to discontinue their nomadic lifestyle (McGregor, 2008). Consequently, Inuit lost their autonomy in the North as their self-reliance on the subsistence-based economy, seasonal activities, and their cultural and political independence were all interrupted (McGregor, 2008). According to McGregor, the forced erasure of the traditional subsistence economy was the first consequence of Inuit colonization, resulting in significant economic dependence. One of the mandates of the federal government programs was to transition Inuit to a wage economy (Bonesteel & Anderson, 2008; McGregor,

2008). Thus, some Inuit who were not able or chose to discontinue the traditional life of hunting and trapping entered wage employment by working for the Hudson's Bay Company, the RCMP, or construction projects such as the Dew Line (Irwin, 1989). As a result, cultural practices such as traditional education were significantly compromised (McGregor, 2008).

Initially, job opportunities were very limited (Irwin, 1989), and the labor market was dominated by non-Inuit (P. Berger et al, 2014). Irwin (1989) notes that the white population dominated the labor market and was rarely unemployed because they were more formally educated. Further, Stern (1999) states that working within traditional Euro-Canadian structures was unappealing to Inuit since wage employment was rigid and in contrast to Inuit values such as hunting, and autonomy. To encourage employment for Inuit during the 1950s and 1960s, the strategic location of Canada's northern regions during the Cold War (between the US and the USSR) created the conditions for construction projects related to the Distant Early Warning (DEW) line sites; the federal government also facilitated investment in the development of mining (Bonesteel & Anderson, 2008). However, most of the job opportunities were seasonal or short-term and compelled Inuit to learn English, acquire specialized training, and adapt themselves to an unfamiliar employment culture (Bonesteel & Anderson, 2008).

Concerning education and schooling, changes were profound and destructive. Attending school for school-age Inuit children was mandated by the government, and mission schools were established in the Arctic (P. Berger et al., 2014; Irwin, 1989; McGregor, 2008). With the advent of residential schools, Inuit children were forcibly separated from their parents, and as a result, the responsibility for education was taken away from Inuit and entrusted to non-Inuit teachers (McGregor, 2008). The government of Canada pursued specific goals with the establishment of residential schools. The main objective was to assimilate Inuit into Euro-Canadian culture as these

schools had Euro-centric religious principals and coerced Inuit children to use English or French instead of Inuktitut (P. Berger et al., 2014; Lalonde, 2017; McGregor, 2008; McKechnie, 2015). McGregor (2008) states that the impact of mission schools was significant since they disrupted the traditional ways of learning of the Inuit. The purposes of mission schools and their impact in the Arctic will be discussed comprehensively in chapter 4 as attending of residential schools is considered to be among the factors contributing to the achievements of Inuit in education.

In order to reclaim their children, Inuit undertook initiatives to reshape the education system in the North as they became involved in education as teacher assistants, teachers, and members of local school boards (McGregor, 2008). In 1960, in response to these pressures, representatives from the federal government of Canada outlined a proposal that Inuit children should be instructed in Indigenous languages for the first two years of their schooling, and encouraged Inuit to be trained as teachers, fostering the establishment of teacher training programs in 1967 (ITK, 2017).

In the 1970s, the responsibility for education transferred to the government of the North West Territories (NWT). Shortly after that, some suggestions were put forward to remold the schooling system and make it more relevant to Inuit. Initiatives such as the use of Inuktitut and Inuit instructors in classrooms, as well as integrating culturally relevant content (McGregor, 2008). In 1971, the NWT government made it mandatory that Inuit children should be taught in Inuktitut from kindergarten to grade 3 and that culturally-relevant curricula across the North should be developed (ITK, 2017; McGregor, 2008). In spite of these programs, education was still alienating for Inuit children. McGregor (2008) links this issue to the fact that non-Inuit were still in charge of decision-making and controlled education in the Arctic.

The School Ordinances for the Northwest Territories of 1977 authorized local decision-making and, as a result, Inuit parents and community members were able to weigh in on educational decisions. This started a new chapter in the history of education in the North (Bonesteel & Anderson, 2008; McGregor, 2008). These Ordinances brought in changes to the schooling system in the Arctic, specifically promoting culturally relevant materials, introducing responsiveness to local needs, and employing local staff for the delivery of cultural and lifestyle programs, and instituted that the language of instruction would be Inuktitut for kindergarten and grades one and two (McGregor, 2008). The involvement of the community and Inuit values in the education system was a positive step.

The purpose of the next chapter is to address the current elements of education in Inuit Nunangat in terms of graduation rates to better understand the educational achievements of Inuit. Moreover, the availability of post-secondary education programs for Inuit will be investigated.

CHAPTER 3: EDUCATION IN INUIT NUNANGAT

Educational Attainments

Studies reveal that there is a high dropout rate among Inuit students. The majority do not graduate from high school. According to Lalonde (2017), the low educational achievements of Inuit indicate that the current schooling system in Inuit Nunangat is failing to meet the needs of Inuit students. Consequently, there is a growing concern in the Arctic that Inuit are not acquiring the skills needed to succeed in the wage-based economy nor the required skills for subsistence living, leaving them caught in the “Two Worlds” (Lalonde, 2017). According to T. Berger (2006), schools are supposed to prepare students with the needed skills to obtain employment; however, the current education system in Nunavut is not graduating enough qualified students. He specifically addresses the issue of language and states that the current students are not fluent or literate in either Inuktitut or English (T. Berger, 2006). Furthermore, the new generation of Inuit youth is not acquiring adequate environmental knowledge and land skills (Lalonde, 2017). Lalonde (2017) notes that, because of formal education, Inuit youth are spending less time on the land with family members and therefore they are not learning the necessary skills for subsistence practices (Lalonde, 2017).

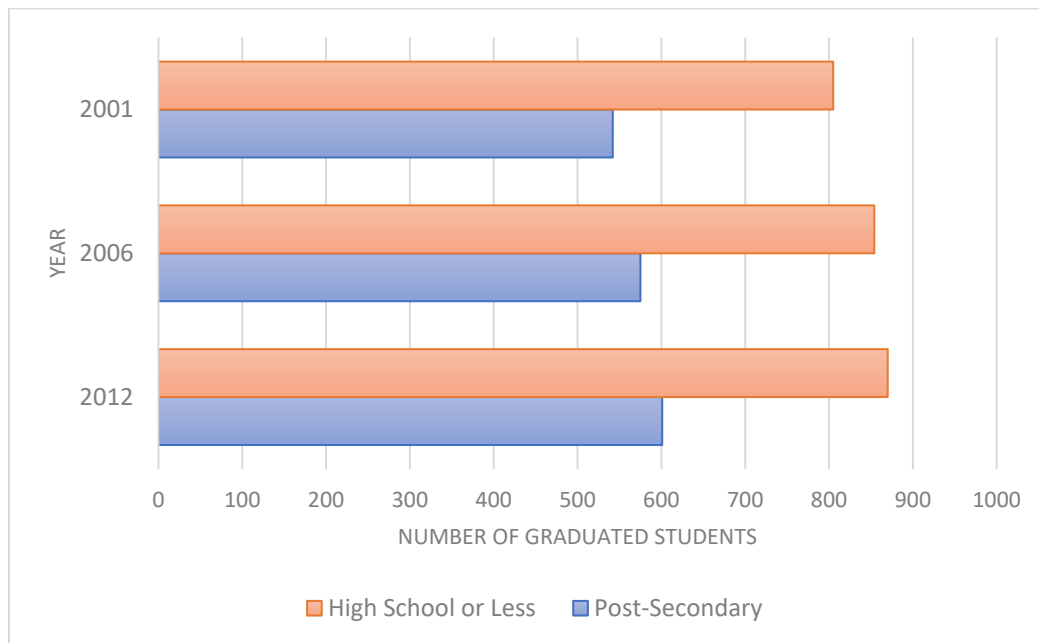
The high school non-completion rate among Inuit is approximately 75% (ITK, 2011). In 2013, more than half of Inuit students in the NWT were not able to obtain their secondary diploma (Lalonde, 2017). The numbers in Nunavut were not much different. In 2011, approximately 67% of Inuit had not finished high school (Rodon et al., 2015). Despite Inuit and non-Inuit efforts, only 47% of Inuit students complete high school (Nunavut Bureau of Statistics, 2019), and almost none of them continue their studies to obtain university degrees (Dorais & Sammons, 2002).

Some scholars link the low rates of school completion to the characteristics of educational institutions (Campbell, 2015; Wotherspoon, 1998). Concerning Inuit Nunangat, low graduation rates can be explained for several reasons, including the generational trauma from residential schools. Traumatic experiences of Inuit children in mission schools, misalignment of curriculum and language of instruction with Inuit culture, and the apparent contradiction between Inuit traditional ways of education and new schooling systems may all have an impact. Pelly (2014) notes that, by looking at low attendance and graduation rates through the cultural and language alienation perspective, it reflects symptoms of systemic malfunction, rather than as the single cause of student failure. Regarding language, T. Berger (2006) believes that the education system in Nunavut “is a bilingual system in name only, one that produces young adults who, by and large, cannot function properly in either English (because they never catch up with the English curriculum) or Inuktitut (because they learn only an immature version of their first language before switching to English)” (p. xi).

Since 1981, the rate of Inuit who have completed high school and college have improved (Bonesteel & Anderson, 2008); nonetheless, the completion rate for university degrees remains relatively low as it increased from 1.6% in 1981 to 2.7% in 2006 (Rodon et al., 2014). Attaining post-secondary credentials is important for Inuit for many reasons. According to Simon (2014), the communities across Inuit Nunangat are dealing with economic, social, and environmental pressures at a rapid pace and in order to fully engage Inuit in the rising number of economic and public administration opportunities, more Inuit with university degrees is required. To that end, she states, advanced education must be relevant to the lives of Inuit students by integrating both Inuit and Euro-Canadian knowledge in terms of the delivery of courses and the focus of research (Simon, 2014).

Moreover, there is a link between post-secondary degrees and employment rates in the Arctic. Most of the occupations held by Inuit are at the lower end of the pay scales with fewer responsibilities (Audla, 2014). According to Audla (2014), these outcomes are associated with low levels of education as many of the higher-paying jobs such as management and professional positions require advanced education. By stating that there are not enough Inuit with needed qualifications to fill the professional positions, Audla (2014) argues that only formal education can change the situation. Similarly, T. Berger (2006) also stresses that many government occupations in Nunavut need professional qualifications. Further, Simon (2014) underlines that Inuit Nunangat needs Inuit university-educated policy specialists, analysts, and managers to be equal partners and leaders in policy-making and decision-making, as stated in the Circumpolar Declaration on Resource Development (Simon, 2014).

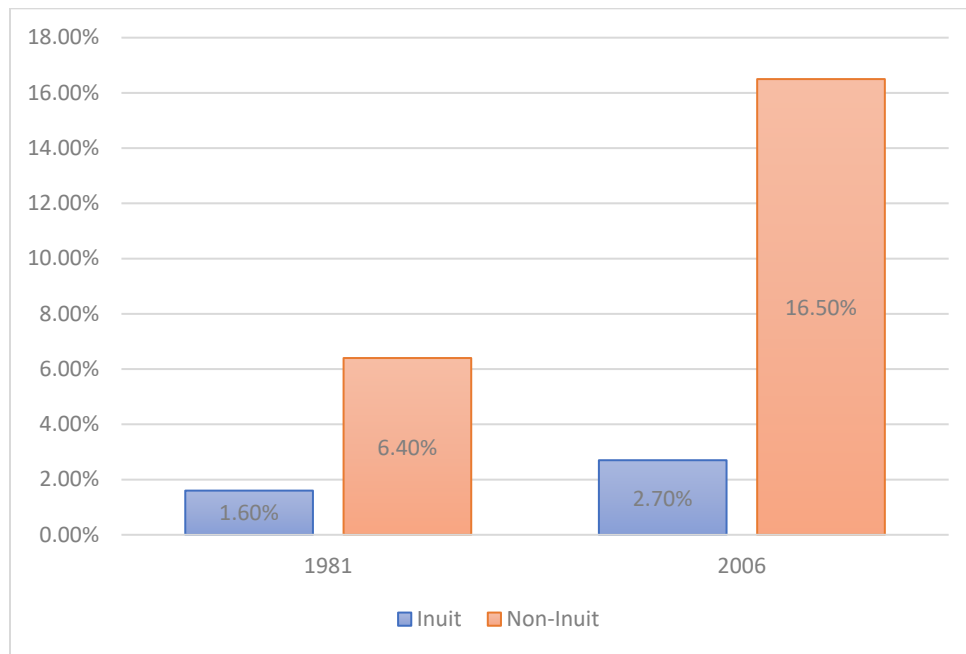
Figure 1 illustrates the highest level of education attained by 19 to 45 year olds Inuit who participated in the Aboriginal Peoples Survey conducted in 2001, 2006, and 2012. The trend shows a gradual increase in the educational attainment of Inuit from 2001 to 2012, both in high school and post-secondary. In 2001, roughly 800 Inuit students had completed high school or less. This number climbed to just below 850 in 2006, before jumping to 870 in 2012. However, the figures are smaller when it comes to post-secondary education. About 550 Inuit had some type of post-secondary certificate, diploma, or degree in 2001, before a gradual increase to 575 in 2006 and just over 600 in 2012 (Statistics Canada, Aboriginal Peoples Survey, 2001; 2006; 2012). Additionally, it is noteworthy that only 3 students had completed university degrees in 2001 and this number jumped to 47 in 2006 among the 19 to 45 year olds (Statistics Canada, Aboriginal Peoples Survey, 2001; 2006; 2012).

Figure 1-Highest Level of Education Attained Among Inuit Aged 19-45

Source: Statistics Canada, Aboriginal Peoples Survey, 2001, 2006, 2012.

In addition to low educational attainment, there is also a considerable gap between the educational achievements of Inuit and non-Inuit. Looking at Indigenous people as a whole, Wotherspoon (2014) notes that Aboriginal people in Canada have lower educational attainment in comparison to the rest of the country. Concerning Nunavut, between 1999 and 2009, whereas the high school graduation rate increased to 39%, it was still well below the Canadian average, which was around 78% (Rodon et al., 2014). Furthermore, regarding the university completion rate, the difference between Inuit and non-Inuit was more significant. As mentioned earlier, the completion rate of university degrees among Inuit rose from 1.6% in 1981 to 2.7% in 2006; however, during the same period, this percentage for non-Inuit was 6.4% in 1981 and increased to 16.5% in 2006 (Rodon et al., 2014). Figure 2 better demonstrates the notable gap between university degree completion of Inuit and non-Inuit between 1981 and 2006.

Figure 2- University Degree Completion Rate amongst Inuit and non-Inuit from 1981 to 2006



Post-Secondary Education

Although Inuit students' enrolment in universities is increasing steadily, the university education “deficit” in the Arctic is growing, and the university graduation rates between Inuit and the rest of the country is widening (Rodon et al., 2015). There are several explanations for this educational gap such as the impact of residential schools and the colonial roots of the formal education system, lack of funding and post-secondary education programs, uneven quality of education, and the absence of a university in the Arctic (Rodon et al., 2015). Therefore, residential schooling and its destructive legacies in the North is not the only explanation for educational disparities between Inuit and the rest of Canada as some structural issues in Inuit Nunangat are also at play. These factors are comprehensively examined in the rest of this research study.

Available Programs

Studies suggest that the lack of post-secondary education opportunities is one of the factors contributing to the low educational achievements of Inuit (Rodon et al., 2015). Since the 1970s,

initiatives were undertaken in the Arctic to facilitate access to university-based education. Some programs have been available for Inuit students through a partnership with southern universities, and others have been offered throughout Inuit Nunangat. For instance, Arctic College and Aurora College in the NWT offer a variety of post-secondary programs at centralized and satellite campuses across Inuit Nunangat; on the other hand, some programs are offered through a collaboration of colleges in the North and post-secondary institutions in the South (Bonesteel & Anderson, 2008). Programs such as the Akitsiraq Law Program, which is provided by a collaboration between Arctic College and the University of Victoria, a teacher-training program offered by a partnership between Kativik School Board in Nunavik and McGill University, the Nunavut Master of Education Program, which is accessible through a partnership with the University of Prince Edward Island, and the Bachelor of Social Work Program delivered by a cooperation between Nunatsiavut Government and Memorial University are among the programs that are available (Simon, 2014). Nevertheless, these programs are usually offered periodically, and most of Inuit must leave the region and go to southern universities to obtain a university degree (Bonesteel & Anderson, 2008). There are also some challenges in the South for Inuit students as they encounter loneliness, difficulties with adaptation, funding, etc. (Rodon, 2014). Further, post-secondary courses and programs offered in southern universities do not have a northern focus, are rarely adapted to Inuit culture, and are not taught in Inuktitut (Rodon et al., 2015).

During the colonial period, most of the instructors in the Canadian Arctic were non-Inuit. However, it was a long-term desire for Inuit to use northerner teachers in schools and classrooms to better integrate Inuit values such as culturally relevant curricula and Inuktitut in education. Therefore, most of the university-based programs created for Inuit were in response to this appeal. The creation of the Kativik School Board in Nunavik is the first Inuit-controlled school board and

one of the first steps to involve Inuit in post-secondary education. The relevance of education to Inuit culture, promoting standards of educational attainments consistent with the rest of the country, and making students ready for university-based education opportunities were among the school board's main objectives (Bonesteel & Anderson, 2008).

To provide culturally pertinent education for Inuit, some communities in the North recruited Inuit classroom assistants, but those assistants were not fully certified as teachers. As a result, in 1975, a teacher-training program developed for Inuit in Nunavik with the collaboration of Kativik School Board and McGill University (Bonesteel & Anderson, 2008). In this program, Inuit who were classroom assistants and able to speak advanced Inuktitut were qualified to complete a four-year teacher-training program (Bonesteel & Anderson, 2008). A similar program also exists in Nunavut and is called Northern Teacher Education Program (NTEP), which is offered at Arctic College in Iqaluit, but it is also available on a rotating basis among Nunavut's districts (Bonesteel & Anderson, 2008; Lalonde, 2017). Through NTEP, Inuit can acquire a certificate in Native and Northern Education or a Bachelor of Education (Lalonde, 2017). Employing locally trained instructors in schools and increasing job opportunities for Inuit were among the advantages of NTEP (Bonesteel & Anderson, 2008).

Another program available for Inuit is the Nunavut Sivuniksavut (NS) program. At the outset, it was a unique college program in terms of its content and nature of delivery in Ottawa that was supposed to train fieldworkers who could inform Inuit in the North about what was happening regarding the negotiations in Ottawa (Angus & Mearns, 2014). Over time, the program emerged as one of the Nunavut's leading educational programs, which taught Inuit students about their language, culture, history, and land claim agreements to help them become "leaders" in the Arctic, specifically Nunavut (Angus & Mearns, 2014). Angus & Mearns (2014) argue that the

program's most substantial result is its influence on the attitudes of students both individually and collectively as Inuit. Additionally, living in Ottawa provides them with more opportunities in terms of educational and career goals.

To increase the number of students in post-secondary education and to facilitate their participation, some programs were also established in Inuit Nunangat. In particular, the Post-Secondary Student Support Program (PSSSP) was initially created to help Status Indian and Inuit students with post-secondary education costs, books, relocation, and cost of living (Bonesteel & Anderson, 2008). Specifically critiquing the impact of the program in the most eastern Inuit region, Lane (2014) argues that Inuit students were often unprepared to meet academic challenges, as well as social, cultural, financial, and mental demands. She believes that Inuit students were not proactive nor prepared to plan for their future, and heavily relied on the Nunatsiavut Government in terms of their preparation for post-secondary education (Lane, 2014).

By acknowledging several issues among post-secondary students in Nunatsiavut such as high dropout rates, poor attendance, unreadiness for post-secondary studies, etc., PSSSP came to a resolution that a proactive approach is required to prepare Inuit students and increase their success rate in advanced education (Lane, 2014). In response, an Education Counsellor position, funded under the PSSSP, was implemented in schools in order to guide high school students toward post-secondary education (Lane, 2014). This program turned out to be a success as improvements were observed in graduation rates, attendance, and grades, as well as less dependency on PSSSP assistance (Lane, 2014). Moreover, PSSSP found that a large number of students from Nunatsiavut participate in post-secondary education (ITK, 2017).

CHAPTER 4: INFLUENTIAL FACTORS

Many studies attribute the low educational achievements of Inuit to historical factors and the impacts of residential schools. Before contact with non-Inuit, Inuit parents and elders were responsible for educating the children; however, as a result of colonization and with the establishment of mission schools, this role was forcibly removed from them and assigned to non-Inuit. Even though after a while Inuit became involved in educating their children again, it was still non-Inuit who were making decisions and controlling education. In recent decades, Inuit have requested to take control of the education system to mirror their ways of knowing, being, and doing (ITK, 2017; McGregor, 2008). Hence, the involvement of family members in students' education and its impacts is addressed.

Further, another consequence of the establishment of mission schools was its impact on the capacity of children to speak their own language. Inuktitut and Inuinnaqtun are of great importance to Inuit as they are one of the symbols of identity across the North. However, as part of the assimilation processes, missionaries prohibited children from speaking their first language in schools and instead forced Inuit children to speak either English or French (McKechnie, 2015). Over the years, there have been many changes in the language of instruction in schools, but it is clear that residential schools have had long-lasting impacts on the language system in the North. Enduring effects of mission schools on the subject of language in the schooling system are discussed comprehensively below.

Residential Schools

For more than a century, the main objectives of Canada's Aboriginal policy were to eradicate Aboriginal governments; disregard Aboriginal rights; terminate the Treaties; and cause Aboriginal peoples to cease to exist as distinct legal, social, cultural, religious, and racial entities

in Canada (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015a). The reason the Canadian government pursued this policy was that it wished to divest itself from the legal and financial commitments to Indigenous people and take control over their land and resources, and the establishment of residential schools was an essential component of this policy (TRC, 2015a).

By sending the children to residential schools, the purpose of the government of Canada was not to educate them, but mainly to break their link to their culture and identity, and to assimilate them into the Canadian mainstream against their will (TRC, 2015a). McKechnie (2015) reaffirms that education was not the primary objective of mission schools; indeed, they were seeking to convert Indigenous people to Christianity, educate them in English or French, and coerce them to forgo all aspects of their own culture. Likewise, P. Berger et al. (2014) note that the aim of mission schools was assimilation and preparing a workforce for an industrial economy. Furthermore, the schooling system had a Eurocentric religious basis, which conflicted with Inuit epistemologies (Bonesteel & Anderson, 2008; Rasmussen, 2001).

Compared to the rest of Canada, residential schooling in the North requires its own consideration as its history is so recent and intergenerational impacts and the legacy of schools can still be felt in the Arctic (TRC, 2015b). As with First Nations in southern Canada, missionaries established and funded residential and day schools for Inuit children in the North (Bonesteel & Anderson, 2008). The foundation of mission schools in the Canadian North dates back to 1845 when the arrival of two Oblate priests at Red River marked the beginning of a period of extreme Catholic missionary work across the region (TRC, 2015b). During that period, educational goals were just limited to religious instructions and the ability to read and write (TRC, 2015b). Until the mid-twentieth century, since there was no prospect of economic advancement in the North, the federal government was not prepared to negotiate with northern Aboriginal peoples nor was it

interested in creating any sort of school in the region (TRC, 2015b). That is, the Canadian government continued an official policy of supporting Inuit to maintain their traditional way of life and was unwilling to increase funding for missionaries or develop a federal system of education in the Arctic (Bonesteel & Anderson, 2008). Nevertheless, during the 1950s, and as a result of significant oil and mineral discoveries in the Northwest Territories, the federal government attempted to declare its political authority over the Canadian Arctic. Therefore, the mission-school era came to an end as the federal government of Canada expanded the schooling in the Arctic by opening day schools and a number of large and small hostels (TRC, 2015b). The functions of hostels were similar to residential schools but more efficiently accommodated Inuit students (Bonesteel & Anderson, 2008). Nevertheless, hostels and residential schooling separated children from their parents for several months each year and resulted in cultural alienation among Inuit children and parents (Bonesteel & Anderson, 2008).

The federal day schools mostly underlined two main elements: “English-language training, and the values, skills, and knowledge embedded in the curriculum of southern Canadian schools” (TRC, 2015b, p. 87). Despite the early recognition of the need for a northern curriculum, day schools continued to employ southern curricula through the period from 1955 to the 1970s. Inuit students were instructed using a curriculum developed for southern schools, using non-Inuit content (TRC, 2015b). Although curricula differed from one school to another, all of them stressed immersion in the dominant Canadian culture and forbid any connection to students’ own culture and traditions (Eshet, 2015). Life in residential schools for Inuit children was lonely and alien. They were taken from their parents mostly without their consent, lived in institutions that were underfunded and understaffed, and educated in an alien language and setting, which had no relevance to their culture or their future (TRC, 2015b). Most survivors of residential schools

described their time at the schools as deeply painful and damaging, as they were separated from their parents and communities, and were thrown into schools where their relationship with adults was harsh and sometimes physically and/or sexually abusive (Eshet, 2015).

The changes caused by schools were profound and at the same time in sharp contrast to traditional ways of education and learning. T. Berger (2006) attributes the establishment of schools to the separation of Indigenous people from their culture. (see also McKechnie 2015). According to Irwin (1989), residential schools fractured the sense of self of Inuit children. On the one hand, they spent their winters in school practicing non-Inuit education and embedded in a process of enculturation; on the other hand, they spent the summer learning traditional practices with their parents (Irwin, 1989). Eshet (2015) notes that, as a result of being educated in a grey zone between two competing cultures, Indigenous students reported feeling socially disoriented and insufficiently educated.

Studies indicate that relocation of Inuit from their land and the tensions imposed on them by residential schools led to a collective and individual hurt in Inuit communities, described as “intergenerational trauma” (Eshet, 2015; McKechnie, 2015; Taylor et al., 2014;). According to McKechnie (2015), employing the language of trauma resonates profoundly in Indigenous communities as a way of conveying the individual and collective pain of a community. Concerning the experiences of Inuit students in residential schools, Eshet (2015) states that “many students suffered lifelong trauma, which has also been passed on to children and grandchildren” (Eshet, 2015, p. 53). Poor educational results and traumatic experiences that Inuit encountered in residential schools such as abuse, sexual assault, humiliation, etc., contribute to their lack of ability to succeed in academic education in the future (McKechnie, 2015). According to Taylor et al. (2014), the collective trauma experienced by Inuit as a result of colonization (such as residential

schools) affected all aspects of their culture and identity such as worldviews, beliefs, attitudes, and ways of life.

A new mandatory module is being taught in the Arctic, and students are learning about the history and legacies of residential schools. The development of this module is an attempt by Inuit toward reconciliation to reconnect to their autonomous past (Fowler & Willett, 2014). This module is being delivered in NWT and Nunavut in all grade 10 classes, and Inuit leaders want their children to acquire knowledge about the past to give them hope for the future (Fowler & Willett, 2014). Although approximately twenty-five years have passed since the closure of the last residential school, the negative effects continue to be felt in the North. The current education system is emerging from the long shadow of mission schools, which greatly affected Inuit communities (ITK, 2011). Inuit believe that the education system should be such that it encourages students to spend more time in schools and regain the confidence they lost because of the impact of residential schools on their family members (ITK, 2011). Lalonde (2017) states that the current schooling system, however, is still based on a curriculum that is regulated by the Canadian government and reflects southern values.

Involvement in Education

If we understand that the main origin of all social institutions is the family, then the beginning of education should be sought in the family. In the past, the family was responsible for all the functions that were necessary for the survival of social life, including education; however, as societies became more complex, the family lost many of the functions that were related to education and those responsibilities entrusted to schools and other educational institutions. Concerning Inuit, as a result of contact with non-Inuit, learning changed drastically, and the parents and community members were no longer responsible for children's education. McGregor (2013)

states that environmental knowledge, experiential learning, and caring between educator and learner were the most significant aspects of Inuit schooling; however, the Canadian government was pursuing other purposes. Over time, many attempts have been made to bring education control back to the Inuit, and these efforts have been successful to some extent on some fronts. Nevertheless, studies have suggested that the roots of colonialism still can be seen in the education system (P. Berger et al., 2014; McKechnie, 2015).

McKechnie (2015) believes that acculturation of Inuit continues as schools are still based on southern models, staffed by non-Inuit, and employing southern curriculum, values, and norms. P. Berger et al. (2014) also believe that colonial roots are still present in Nunavut and non-Inuit are still in charge of education. He believes that this lack of local control is affecting Inuit students' success and well-being, so replacing non-Inuit with locals would provide an opportunity for creating schools according to the wishes of the Inuit. P. Berger et al. (2014) addresses the issue of community involvement in schooling and states that control of education by the community enhances the achievements of Indigenous students. McKechnie (2015) emphasizes Inuit dissatisfaction with the current schooling system in Nunavut and notes that parents and community members' engagement is needed to create a schooling system that benefits Inuit society and culture. Similarly, Audla (2014) notes that the re-engagement of parents in children's education is vital for the success of schools in the Arctic.

To improve the results in Inuit education, the National Strategy on Inuit Education 2011 identifies that there is a need for mobilizing parents and developing leaders in the educational system (National Committee on Inuit Education, 2011). Inuit have always stated that the education system must proceed according to their ways of knowing, social values, and language and that parental involvement and Inuit leadership is needed to achieve this goal (Walton et al., 2014).

Parents' engagement and Inuit leadership enhance the schooling system in different ways. For instance, Jacob Jaypoody, the DEA Chair in Clyde River has expressed that the involvement of parents and community members will encourage students in their education (Walton et al., 2014). Furthermore, having an Inuk as the principal of education will give Inuit a feeling that the schools belong to the community, which is the aspiration of the Education Act in Nunavut and the National Strategy on Inuit Education (Walton et al., 2014).

Inuit community involvement in education is one of the key findings of Silta Associates (2007). Concerning the factors related to the success of Inuit in post-secondary programs, Silta Associates (2007) note that “Programs must be developed, delivered and administered by Inuit educators or non-Inuit who have lived and taught successfully in Inuit communities, who support student-centered learning, and understand the nature of Inuit education and culture” (p. 22). McKechnie (2015) states that the purpose of education is to benefit Inuit society and culture, and in doing so, parents and community members must engage in educational discourse. Rodon et al. (2014) also underline the importance of local participation in the education system and suggest that involvement of communities, teachers, leaders, and students in designing and implementing education programs would make post-secondary education more accessible for Inuit. Since some studies indicate that involvement of locals would increase students’ attainments in the Arctic (P. Berger et al., 2014; McGregor, 2013), therefore, it is necessary to examine the engagement of parents and family in the schooling system to understand how it affects students’ educational achievements.

Language

Arguably, among all the forms of social interaction, the language spoken by the members of a society is the most significant and lasting source of identity, similarity, and culture of that

society. One of the regions in which the language is of particular importance is the Canadian Arctic, where Inuit language is a crucial component of Inuit culture. As McKechnie (2015) states, Indigenous identity is tightly attached to land, history, and language. Regarding the significance of Inuktitut, T. Berger (2006) states that “Inuktitut is the vessel in which the traditional knowledge of the Inuit, and their culture, have been preserved through the transition from life on the land to modern community life” (p. 101) and there is a collective tendency among Inuit to avoid weakening of their language. In the 2001 Census, 80% of Inuit in Nunavut reported that they speak Inuktitut (as cited in T. Berger, 2006). T. Berger (2006) believes that this maintenance of language is quite exceptional and link it to their historical isolation and regional dominance.

The subject of language and its relation to education in the Canadian Arctic is not a new topic. It was previously reported that language was one of the components targeted by non-Inuit through residential schools to assimilate Inuit into Canadian values as the schools were using English as language instruction. Since 1970, however, the schooling system in the Arctic moved towards bilingual education, and today the Government of North West Territories and Government of Nunavut are providing the “early-exit” education (Pelly, 2014). In Nunavut, according to the 2008 Education Act, students have the right to receive bilingual education in an Inuit language, English, or French (Lalonde, 2017).

In the “early-exit immersion” model, from kindergarten through grades 3/4, the language of instruction is Inuktitut, but Inuit children soon will be drawn to studying in a non-Inuit environment with non-Inuit teachers as English will become the sole language of instruction in grades 4/5 (P. Berger et al., 2014; Pelly, 2014). T. Berger (2006) believes that this sudden change in the language of instruction is a substantial contributing factor for student dropout rates, which provides students with an insufficient foundation in either language. Similarly, P. Berger et al.

(2014) reaffirm that Inuit students are learning in the wrong language. According to them, Inuit want English to be taught in schools, but many students state that using English as the language of instruction harms their learning in school. Inuit students stressed that using English as the language of instruction makes learning more difficult and the education becomes discouraging for them because instructors talk too fast, the vocabulary is difficult, and things are not always explained clearly (P. Berger et al., 2014).

According to T. Berger (2006), one of the methods to achieve the goal of Article 23 in Nunavut is to establish a comprehensive bilingual education in Inuktitut and English. In 2006, T. Berger completed “The Nunavut Project” and discussed the fundamental changes required in the schooling system to fulfill Article 23 of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement. He states that both English and Inuktitut are of great importance. The Government of Nunavut wants to establish Inuktitut as the main language of the workplace; however, when it comes to scientific and technical knowledge or when contact with the outside world is needed, English will be the principal language (T. Berger, 2006). He states that English is the language of colonialism, but when used by Inuit, it is a language with which they can communicate with Canada and the rest of the world.

Regarding the importance of English, T. Berger (2006) states that advanced education requires English. T. Berger’s argument is validated by Rodon et al.’s (2015) research about Inuit post-secondary students' experiences in the South. They found that 82% of their participants were fluent in English. Despite emphasizing the importance of Inuktitut, 64% of students stated that 0 to 25% of the time, Inuit languages are rarely or never used in their classes, while only 11% reported that Aboriginal languages were employed more than three-quarters of the time (Rodon et al., 2015). Furthermore, Rodon et al.’s (2014) project about Inuit involvement in university education across Canada reveals that the Inuit who speak Inuktitut at home are inclined to be less

successful in terms of education and job. Their results demonstrate that 54% of Inuit who graduate from high school speak English at home, compared to 46% who speak an Inuit language. Moreover, speaking an Inuit language at home has increased the likelihood of students dropping out of high school (Rodon, 2014).

T. Berger (2006) notes that “Nunavut needs a generation of executives and managers, computer software designers, architects, audiologists, nurses, doctors, lawyers, accountants, x-ray technicians, RCMP members and, of course, teachers” and these programs are very unlikely to be offered in Inuktitut (T. Berger, 2006, p. 43). As a result, the main goal of the education system must be preparing students who can succeed in the English programs offered in the South, which will make them qualified for the available jobs in the government (T. Berger, 2006). Rodon et al. (2014) note that programs that are offered by southern universities are rarely adapted to Inuit culture as the available post-secondary courses necessarily do not have a Northern context nor are they taught in Inuit languages. Nevertheless, T. Berger (2006) argues that English cannot be the sole language of instruction in the schooling system in Nunavut for several reasons.

First, Nunavut is a bilingual society, and Inuktitut remains the first-learned language for children and the most-used language at home (T. Berger, 2006). Second, it has been revealed that the promotion of the first language will improve the academic use of students’ second language; at the same time, noting that decreased ability in the first language reduces academic achievement (T. Berger, 2006). Third, as previously mentioned, Inuktitut is a significant component of Inuit culture and identity, and there is a collective desire among the Inuit to keep their language (T. Berger, 2006).

Given the value that Inuktitut has for Inuit and the impact that language has on their employment and education, it is necessary to examine this factor to understand how and to what degree it affects the educational attainments of Inuit. Based on the literature, it can be hypothesized that Inuktitut plays a prominent role in education and that Inuit are more inclined to use Aboriginal languages in school.

Residence

Arguably, the factors influencing Inuit education, specifically post-secondary education, are systemic inequities in Inuit Nunangat. Housing conditions are an important aspect of inequities, such that housing conditions in Nunavut fall below the Canadian standards (Simon, 2011). According to Statistics Canada, 54% of Nunavut residents live in “crowded” conditions, in comparison to 7% of the Canadian average (Statistics Canada, as cited in T. Berger, 2006). The housing crisis in Inuit Nunangat is one of the reasons for the significant educational gap between Inuit and non-Inuit (ITK, 2016).

Some scholars believe that many problems facing the Canadian Arctic today are rooted in history and are consequences of colonialism. For instance, McKechnie (2015) linked issues such as unemployment, overcrowded housing, etc. to the tensions created by residential schools, which had negative intergenerational effects on Inuit. It has been reported in the Inuit Nunangat Housing Strategy (2019) that the housing crisis in the Canadian Arctic is a vital impediment for healthy living, education, and employment amongst Inuit (ITK, 2019). Many communities in the Canadian Arctic face substantial housing problems such as overcrowding, insufficient heat, and high costs of maintenance and repairs (ITK, 2016). These factors have consequences such as higher rates of illnesses and domestic violence, as well as lower rates of education for young Inuit (Bonesteel & Anderson, 2008; Dyke & Patterson, 2017; ITK, 2016). Bonesteel & Anderson (2008) relate low

educational rates among Inuit to the presence of socio-economic barriers such as overcrowded housing and unemployment in the Arctic, which discourage students' school attendance, and state that improving Inuit's quality of life in terms of housing and employment will have indirect positive effects on their educational achievements.

According to Dyck & Patterson (2017), the housing conditions in the Canadian Arctic have reached a crisis level. They note that, because of overcrowding, there are only a few places for children and youth to study or do their homework, and in some households, since there are not enough spaces, children take turns sleeping (Dyke & Patterson, 2017). Inuit children and youth have specified housing needs such as having a quiet place for studying and doing homework; however, these necessities often are not met in the North as a result of overcrowding (ITK, 2016).

Numerous studies suggest that the current housing crisis in the Arctic affects graduation rates among Inuit students and their academic achievements. At the 2017 Inuit Education Forum, the housing crisis was among the barriers affecting educational goals in Inuit territories. For instance, the housing crisis impacts the hiring and retaining of good educators (ITK, 2017). According to the same report, in 2011, 40% of Inuit lived in crowded homes in contrast to only 4% of the non-Inuit population in Canada. Based on the ITK report (2016), housing availability is a decisive factor in individuals' decision to pursue education. For instance, in Nunavik, up to 90% of students drop out of high school, and the insufficiency of housing contributes to that (Parliament of Canada, 2016).

Nevertheless, Rodon et al.'s (2014) research regarding the accessibility of post-secondary education in Inuit Nunangat illustrates that housing issues are not limited to the north, but also there are challenges for students in the south. Their findings reveal that, in the North, there are

shortages of housing and post-secondary programs, while in the South, there are problems such as loneliness, adaptation, and funding. Moreover, their results demonstrate that Inuit post-secondary students are more likely to live (65%), to work (53%), or desire to work in their community (67%). Participants stated that in the Arctic there is an insufficient number of housing units for students and their families, while for students who are not married or do not have children, the cost of renting a vacant unit would be very high. As a result, to pay the rent, they need to find a job that might affect their academic success. On the other hand, students pursuing advanced education in the South note that non-profit housing is limited for Inuit, and the costs are excessively high for students who are dependent on funding to pay their tuition and living expenses (Rodon et al., 2015).

In addition to the housing crisis, Rodon et al. (2015) state that the absence of a university-level post-secondary institution in Inuit Nunangat is problematic, and it is one of the contributing factors to low university-level participation rates. Their respondents reported that lack of adequate housing and facilities are among the disadvantages of pursuing post-secondary education in the North, while in the South they had access to more resources, facilities, activities, as well as a larger number of courses and programs (Rodon et al., 2015). Another problem that the participants mentioned in Rodon et al.'s (2015) research was that many of them are parents with children, and it is extremely difficult for them to leave their homes and go to the south to receive post-secondary education.

CHAPTER 5: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The continuity and survival of any society requires that all of its beliefs, values, tendencies, knowledge, and the culture of that society in general, be passed on to new generations. One of the mechanisms of this transmission is education. According to Wotherspoon (1998), education is a crucial component of our social existence and whether it occurs in formal or informal settings, education helps to form a person's personality as well as life choices and opportunities. Additionally, through education, individuals acquire the life skills needed to meet the challenges of everyday life. These skills vary according to the type of society in which the individual lives. In some traditional societies, for example, acquiring skills such as hunting was of great importance, while in modern societies, proficiency to succeed in the wage economy labor force is viewed as a necessity. Education can be considered a social issue and a special aspect of social activities that have always existed in societies. As stated by Wotherspoon (1998), "education can be so highly integrated into our social environment that we give little thought to its nature and purposes" (p. 1).

Thus, it is crucial to analyze education to determine the extent to which it can be explained from a sociological point of view. According to Wotherspoon (1998), sociologists are interested in education because they consider it to be central to human social experiences as well as individuals' direct and indirect relations with each other.

The analysis of educational structures, practices, and outcomes can help us to understand, for example, what kinds of values, beliefs, and ideologies prevail in a given society, how people come to learn about and become organized within their social structures, and how open and democratic that society is. (Wotherspoon, 1998, p. 2)

From a sociological perspective, education can be defined both as a process and a social institution. Sociologists often equate education with "socialization" and believe that education is a societal mechanism that preserves and transmits culture. Emile Durkheim conceptualized

education as a system that conveys society's culture and social order to new generations (Dworkin et al, 2013). In other words, education is an instrument that ensures social and cultural continuity of society. Nevertheless, defining education more specifically, one could say that education is a process by which individuals are subject to the learning of certain knowledge, skills, and behaviors in schooling organizations and institutions. That is, education is identified with formal institutions such as schools, colleges, universities, and other structured institutions and learning processes. Education, in this context, tends to be linked with teachers, texts, skills, knowledge, credentials, policy, and public representation (Wotherspoon, 1998).

There is research to suggest that when systems fail, such as when students exhibit low educational achievements or drop out of school, the educational institutions are responsible. According to Wotherspoon (1998), psychologists, educational administrators, and sociologists all employ similar frameworks to investigate school leaving (drop out) circumstances. Psychologists are interested in determining the personality characteristics of students who drop out of school in contrast with those who stay in school; educational administrators want to identify strategies to keep students in school longer; sociologists are concerned with understanding how features of school organization contribute to school leaving. Campbell (2015) states that some sociological research focuses on who drops out of school and why. To answer this question, Campbell (2015) argues that institutional features such as academic climate and disciplinary policies increase the likelihood of school-leaving (dropping out).

Sociocultural Learning Theory

This research is framed within Sociocultural Learning Theory, which is a sociological and psychological theory based on the idea that a learner's environment and the surroundings play a crucial role in a student's advancement (Vygotsky, 1978, as cited in Wang et al., 2011). Overall,

sociocultural theories are rooted in the contributions of Lev Vygotsky, a Soviet psychologist from the early 1900s who believed that human activities occur in cultural contexts and are mediated by social and cultural processes which can be best understood when explored in their historical development (Nasir & Hand, 2006; John-Steiner & Mahn, 1996). That is, sociocultural approaches posit that social and cultural processes are vital to the learning process and emphasize the importance of an individual's interactions with other people, objects, and events in students' learning (Nasir & Hand, 2006; Wang et al., 2011).

In the sociocultural theory of learning, particular importance has been given to "social interactions". According to Vygotsky's sociocultural approach, the process of learning is related to the interaction between the learner and the social environment, which includes peers, parents, and teachers (Dworkin et al., 2013). This concept in Vygotsky's sociocultural learning theory is in contrast to Jean Piaget's (1896-1980) Cognitive-Constructivist Theory. While Piaget portrayed children as lone learners and defined learning as something that could not precede the universal stages of development, Vygotsky believed that a child's cultural development occurs firstly on the social level, and secondly, on the individual level (Bligh, 2014). In other words, Vygotsky has interpreted learning as a "social" phenomenon, rather than a purely psychological one (Bligh, 2014). Therefore, based on this theory, an individual is indivisible from the social, and the process of learning does have a fundamental social and cultural basis. Vygotsky's concept of the Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD) acknowledges this understanding (Maged, 2014).

Vygotsky defined the ZPD as "[t]he distance between the actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem-solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers" (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 85, as cited in Wang et al., 2011). The ZPD outlines what can be accomplished

by an individual when acting alone and what the same person can achieve with the help of others (Lantolf, 2000; Peer & McClendon, 2002). In other words, this concept underlines that one's learning can be increased by the support of parents, peers, teachers, or more knowledgeable others.

Thus, according to sociocultural learning theory, one's learning is related to social interactions and, we can assume that individual learning is affected by different environments and cultures. In examining racial differences on school achievement, early sociocultural approaches believed that biological and cultural deficiencies impact learning processes and outcome; however, this viewpoint changed when scholars in education, sociology, and psychology began to argue that minority children were not "deficient" in their learning process and development, but simply "different" from those who come from the dominant culture (Nasir & Hand, 2006). An Indigenous child, for example, may possess a great deal of knowledge regarding their everyday social activities outside the school setting, whilst this knowledge is rarely acknowledged in school institutions (Wotherspoon, 1998).

According to Maged (2014), all individuals are socially and culturally positioned, and whether coming from dominant or minority cultural backgrounds, students have fundamental sociocultural learning needs. From this perspective, learners' successes in education depend on fulfilling their cultural and social needs in the learning environment. Nevertheless, sometimes these needs are not met for all students as some of them find themselves in an environment that is culturally alienating and intellectually oppressive (Maged, 2014). There are alternative ways in institutionalized education, which see the world differently and resist the official knowledge and hegemony which is called the "silencing" process by Wotherspoon (1998). He states that silencing functions in two ways. First, silencing exists when specific matters are excluded or discouraged in the classroom and, secondly, it occurs when the lives, interests, and experiences of a certain group

are made irrelevant in the schooling process (Wotherspoon, 1998). Fivush (2010) differentiated between “being silenced” and “being silent”; when being silenced is conceived as imposed and indicates a loss of power and self for marginalized groups within the dominant culture, while being silent represents one’s power.

Wotherspoon (1998) further states that schools and other educational institutions, by using “the curriculum” or “business at hand”, determine what is important and what is not. In the process of silencing, some topics and themes, although essential in learners’ lives, are placed outside of what comes to be defined and discussed in the classroom. This “cultural mismatch” in the learning setting impacts the participation of a certain group in education and their achievements (Fryberg et al., 2013; Wotherspoon, 1998). When the norms and values promoted by the learning institution or teachers are akin to those of the students, the educational context is regarded as a “cultural match”. When the norms and values are not similar, the school setting is considered a “cultural mismatch” which result in undermining of one’s potential success in school (Fryberg et al., 2013). Likewise, Maged (2014) has also stated that a student who comes from a different socio-cultural background struggles to learn in a learning setting infused with dominant cultural values. In the context of cultural difference paradigm, we can assume that pedagogical strategies such as the inclusion of culturally relevant curriculum, and increased involvement of family members in student’s education will facilitate one’s learning process.

CHAPTER 6: METHODOLOGY

Data

The analysis of this research study is based on the Aboriginal Peoples Survey (APS) conducted in 2012. The APS was chosen because the sample of Inuit respondents in APS is much larger than other general population surveys. The 2012 APS is a national survey that aims to gather data on the social and economic conditions of First Nations People living off reserves, Metis, and Inuit aged six years and over (Statistics Canada, 2012). Its objective is to identify the needs of Aboriginal People in Canada and focuses on themes such as education, health, language, income, housing, and mobility (Statistics Canada, 2012). To improve the well-being of Aboriginal¹ people, the APS prepares essential statistics to inform policy and programming activities and it is also a useful source of data for a variety of stakeholders such as Aboriginal organizations, communities, service providers, researchers, governments and the general public (Statistics Canada, 2012). The survey is implemented by Statistics Canada and the funding is provided by three federal departments: Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada², Health Canada and Employment and Social Development Canada (formerly called Human Resources and Skills Development Canada) (Statistics Canada, 2012).

The data collection of the survey started on February 6, 2012, and ended on July 31, 2012 (Statistics Canada, 2012). Over 50,000 individuals, 6 years of age and older, were selected to participate in the survey, and the response rate was 76% (Statistics Canada, 2012). The survey participants were composed of Aboriginal identity population of Canada, who were at least 6 years

¹ For the purposes of consistency, I will use the term 'Aboriginal' in this section, although the author recognizes that Indigenous is a term preferred by many.

² Now called Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada

of age and as of February 1, 2012, and were living in private dwellings excluding individuals living on Indian reserves and settlements and in certain First Nations communities in Yukon and the Northwest Territories (NWT) (Statistics Canada, 2012). Regarding sampling procedure, it can be said that the APS has a three-phase design in which the first two phases correspond to the selection of the National Household Survey sample the third phase corresponds to the selection of the APS sample (Statistics Canada, 2012).

The survey questions were delivered in two ways. Computer Assisted Telephone Interviews (CATI) for participants for whom there was a telephone number on the sample file, and Computer Assisted Personal Interviews (CAPI) for individuals who did not have a telephone number or even when the telephone number was available, they could not be contacted (Statistics Canada, 2012). Interviews were carried out in the official language of the respondent's choice. For Inuit territories, the questionnaire was translated as a paper copy into Inuktitut (Baffin dialect) and an Inuktitut audio recording of the questionnaire was provided to help interviewers with potential language challenges in the field (Statistics Canada, 2012). Of the 38,150 individuals who completed the questionnaire, approximately 9,740 non-Aboriginal respondents excluded from the APS, therefore, the total number of Aboriginal people included in the 2012 APS database is approximately 28,410 (Statistics Canada, 2012).

Study Sample

Since the research analysis is about the highest level of education attained by individuals, participants under the age of 19 years were excluded from the analysis. Therefore all the respondents have had a chance to complete either secondary or post-secondary education. Also, those over the age of 44 were excluded from the analysis since there were not any respondents over 44 years of age who indicated their family involvement in school. The sample study used in

the analysis is 1,003 individuals consisted of APS respondents who were between the ages of 19 and 44 and self-identified as Inuit. This study sample also takes into account those who are excluded from the analysis due to the other covariates that are used in the model, such as residential school attendance, place of residence, the involvement of family members in education, and first language learned.

Measures

The analysis uses the highest level of education attained by respondents as the dependent variable. This derived variable reveals an individual's highest level of schooling achieved using a collapsed classification. To be able to use logistic regression for the analysis, this variable operationalized and transformed into a dichotomous variable. The Logistic Regression model is used to estimate the factors which influence the highest level of education attained by respondents. Individuals for whom their highest educational achievement was high school or less coded as "Secondary", and participants who attained the educational level of beyond high school coded as "Post-Secondary".

Respondents' residence status consisted of three categories. This derived variable demonstrates whether the individual has only lived inside Inuit Nunangat, lived outside the region, or has lived both inside and outside Inuit Nunangat. Further, Respondents' first language indicates whether an individual's first language learned at home in childhood was an Aboriginal language or not.

Parental or family involvement with school illustrates whether an individual's parent(s), guardian(s) or other family members are/have been engaged with the person's school. Involvement in school includes: attending a school event in which the student participated; volunteering in the

student's class or assisting with a class event; assisting elsewhere in the school including in the library or computer room; taking part in fundraising for the school; participation in other activities at school.

The residential school status of respondents indicates whether the participant and/or a family member ever attended a residential school or federal industrial school. This indicator operationalized and transformed into a dichotomous variable. Situations where only the participants attended a residential school, or where the respondent family members such as parent(s), grandparent(s) or other family members attended the residential schools coded as "Respondent or Family attended". Situations where neither the respondents nor family members attended residential schools coded as "Neither attended".

CHAPTER 7: FINDINGS & ANALYSIS

The results were computed by Stata and Logistic Regression was employed to calculate the Odds Ratios estimates. Similar to other regression analyses, logistic regression is a predictive analysis that is used to describe the relationship between one dependent dichotomous variable and one or more independent variables. Therefore, the purpose of our Logistic Regression is to understand whether the age group of individuals, place of residence, family involvement in school, residential school attendance, and the first language learned influenced the educational attainments of Inuit in 2012. Table 1 illustrates the results of the Logistic Regression model. The research results and interpretation are based on 0.1 level of significance which means that the findings have a 90% chance of being true. In other words, significance levels indicate how likely a pattern in the data is due to chance.

Table 1- Results of Logistic Regression Model

Number of Observation = 1003		
Prob > Chi ² = 0.0000		
Pseudo R ² = 0.1007		
	Odds Ratio	P > Z
<u>Dependent Variable:</u> Highest Level of Education Attained		
Age (<i>In reference to: Between age 19-24</i>)		
Between ages 25-34	1.874	0.005
Between ages 35-44	2.933	0.000
Residence (<i>In reference to: Has only lived inside</i>)		
Has only lived outside	2.191	0.035
Lived inside and outside	3.240	0.000
Family Involvement (<i>In reference to: Family members involved</i>)		
Family members not involved	0.699	0.061
Residential School Attendance (<i>In reference to: Respondent or family members attended</i>)		
Neither Attended	0.619	0.053
First Language Learned (<i>In reference to: Learn Aboriginal Language</i>)		
Didn't learn Aboriginal Language	1.735	0.003
_cons	0.293	0.000

In evaluating the Logistic Regression model, we need to pay attention to the overall fit of the model to the data. Looking at the Chi-Squared statistics, we can see that the P-value is less than our significance level ($0.00 < 0.1$), so we conclude that our model is statistically significant and there is an association between our dependent variable and independent variables. Furthermore, we need to look at the Pseudo R², which essentially reveals the strength of the model and shows how well our model fits the data. We observed that the Logistic Regression comes out with Pseudo R² of 0.1007 which is acceptable in assessing the strength of the model. All results in

our model were statistically significant at the 10% significance level and we interpret the results in terms of Odds Ratios, which represent the constant effect of our independent variables, on the likelihood that one outcome will occur.

In our findings, the age group of respondents was a significant variable. The odds were higher in older age groups. In comparison to individuals in the age group of 19-24, respondents who were between 25-34 years of age were 87% more likely to have completed post-secondary education. The odds ratios were even higher for participants who were between 35-44 years of age as they were 2.9 times more likely to have attained post-secondary education degrees, compared to individuals in the age group of 19-24. Therefore, it can be said that, by age, the likelihood of completing advanced education has increased among Inuit in the 2012 APS.

An individual's place of residence was another significant predictor. The odds of having completed post-secondary education for Inuit who only lived outside Inuit Nunangat were 2.2 times of respondents who only resided inside the region. On the other hand, the likelihood was 3.2 times higher for Inuit who resided both inside and outside the Canadian Arctic, compared to Inuit who only lived inside Inuit Nunangat.

Parental and family involvement in school also proved to be a significant indicator at a 10% level of significance. In comparison to respondents who their family members involved with the school, Inuit who their parents or family members did not participate in school activities were 30% less likely to have post-secondary educational attainments.

Attendance of residential schools was another significant predictor for Inuit educational attainments. Participants who neither themselves nor their family members attended residential

schools were 38% less likely to have completed advanced education, in contrast to respondents who either themselves or family members attended residential schools.

Respondents' first language learned at home in childhood was also a significant variable. In such a way that the Inuit whose first language learned was not Aboriginal languages in childhood were 73% more likely to have completed post-secondary education, compared to individuals who learned Aboriginal languages as their first language.

CHAPTER 8: DISCUSSION & CONCLUSION

The previous chapter provided the findings of this study. This chapter includes a discussion of the results, limitations of the study, and policy implications of the findings. The chapter concludes with a summary regarding the findings of this research study.

Discussion

In chapter 4 of this research study, five predictors were presented around the post-secondary educational attainments of Inuit. The contributing factors extracted from the literature included the place of residence, family involvement in education, residential school attendance, and language. Moreover, an additional indicator was also added to the study. Since little was found regarding the age group of post-secondary graduate students in the literature, it is important to understand to what extent the age of individuals affects the level of education of Inuit.

According to the 2012 APS, the odds ratios were higher in older age groups, and by age, the likelihood of attaining post-secondary education degrees has increased. This result differs from the results obtained in Canada as, in 2006, younger age cohorts in the country had higher attainments in post-secondary education (J. Berger et al., 2009). In Canada, individuals between the ages of 25 and 34 had the highest post-secondary achievement rate (67%), followed by those aged 35 to 44 (65%) and those who were between the ages of 45 to 54. In other words, unlike Inuit, post-secondary educational attainments of Canadians have declined by age (J. Berger et al., 2009).

Based on the literature, structural deficiencies in Inuit Nunangat, directly and indirectly, impact the educational achievements of Inuit. The findings of this research study are consistent with the literature and illustrate that Inuit living outside of Inuit Nunangat have higher education. It has already been documented in other research (Bonesteel & Anderson, 2008; Dyke & Patterson, 2017;

ITK, 2019; ITK, 2016) that the housing crisis in the Arctic, which is associated with issues such as overcrowded homes and lack of space for studying, affect the education of Inuit.

In addition to the housing crisis, studies also suggest that the absence of a university and lack of post-secondary programs affect educational attainments of Inuit (Rodon, 2014; Rodon et al., 2015). Furthermore, high school education in Inuit Nunangat does not prepare Inuit youth adequately for post-secondary education (Rodon et al., 2015). The results of this research enlighten the debate that there are better conditions in the South for Inuit who wish to pursue post-secondary education. Findings reveal that individuals who only lived or had the experience of living outside Inuit Nunangat were more likely to have completed post-secondary education. Better housing in the South allows students to have adequate space for studying. Moreover, in the South, Inuit students have more choices in terms of university and college programs.

Concerning the involvement of Inuit in schools and education, consistency was found between the results of this study and what has been documented in the literature. Based on the literature, lack of Inuit engagement in the schooling system is one of the factors contributing to the educational achievements of Inuit students (Audla, 2014; P. Berger et al., 2014; Bonesteel & Anderson, 2008; McKechnie, 2015; Silta Associates, 2007; Walton et al., 2014). The findings of this research study demonstrate that the involvement of family members in education has affected the educational attainments of Inuit students and increased the likelihood of pursuing post-secondary education. As previously mentioned, the success of students in education depends on fulfilling their sociocultural learning needs in the learning environment. In this sense, Inuit have better sociocultural competence to control the educational system in Inuit Nunangat education, since they are culturally and linguistically similar to students and have considerable knowledge regarding the sociocultural background of the Inuit students.

Surprisingly, regarding the impacts of residential schools on educational attainments of Inuit, the findings of this research study are not consistent with the literature, at least with regards to post-secondary education. The results of this study reveal that Inuit who either themselves or their family member attended residential schools are more likely to have completed post-secondary education. The destructive consequences of residential schools are documented in this research paper. It was illustrated that, instead of traditional ways of education, Inuit children mandated to attend residential schools became subject to formal schooling. Additionally, it was mentioned that residential schools prohibited the use of Inuktitut in schools, and Inuit children were instructed in English.

Although the literature suggests that these assimilative approaches negatively impacted the achievements of Inuit in education, findings of this research show that attending residential schools had a positive effect on post-secondary education attainment. It is argued that most of the Inuit students who wish to pursue post-secondary education must leave Inuit Nunangat and go to the South as there are more opportunities for them in terms of universities and programs. Given that most of the post-secondary institutions in Canada employ formal schooling and the language of instruction is either English or French, these results indicate that Inuit who experienced the effect of residential schools were more likely to complete post-secondary education.

Finally, the findings of this research study demonstrate that Inuit who learned English as their first language in childhood are more likely to have completed post-secondary education. This result is consistent with the findings of Rodon et al.'s (2015) research project as they also found that Inuit who speak Inuktitut at home are less successful in educational achievements. Similarly, T. Berger (2006) notes that knowing the English language is required for advanced education. As previously mentioned, the language of instruction in the vast majority of post-secondary institutions in Canada

is either English or French. As participants in the study of Rodon et al. (2015) report, Inuit languages were rarely or never employed in their post-secondary classes.

T. Berger's (2006) proposal regarding the establishment of comprehensive bilingual education in Inuktitut and English, which is on the foundation of the current early-exit model, would be effective in Inuit Nunangat. That is, developing a new program in which the language of instruction remains to be Inuktitut from kindergarten through grade 3/4, but the English language, as T. Berger states, is introduced "earlier", whether as the language of instruction or subject of study, will benefit Inuit students.

Implications

The findings of this study have implications for policymakers, authorities, and educational institutions. Perhaps the most important step is to motivate Inuit students to keep them in education. Employing a curriculum that is culturally and linguistically relevant to Inuit values, as well as involvement in education by Inuit who know the learning needs and socio-cultural background of the students can decrease students' school drop out. Moreover, the housing crisis and overcrowded homes is another factor affecting the education of Inuit. Creating spaces where the students can study and do their homework would increase the school completion rates.

Concerning post-secondary education, the first and foremost initiative could be establishing a northern university in Inuit Nunangat. A university, which staffed by locals, and offers programs adapted to Inuit culture and values would increase the participation rate of Inuit students in university education. As stated by Rodon et al. (2015), developing programs, which are focused on Inuktitut, is field-based, and include elders will ensure the programs reflect Inuit realities and meet students' learning needs.

Furthermore, as T. Berger (2006) states, establishing a comprehensive bilingual education system in Inuit Nunangat is needed to improve the educational attainments of Inuit students, specifically in terms of post-secondary education. This research study demonstrated that preparing students who are skilled in both Inuktitut and English, not only improves the educational attainments of Inuit but also increases their involvement in government employment.

Limitations

Statistical analysis of this research study has some limitations. The findings of this research are based on the APS, carried out in 2012, so, perhaps, conducting another research that utilizes a more recent version of the APS would result in different outcomes. Furthermore, since the population of Inuit in Canada is small, the sample of Inuit in the 2012 APS was relatively small, and this factor precluded the examination of various aspects of Inuit's education, particularly in terms of post-secondary education. In order to conduct a more comprehensive research, a more robust data is needed.

Conclusion

This research study illustrates that the attainments of Inuit in education are closely related to their learning environment. In the context of this study, the emergence of residential schools is of particular importance since they fully disrupted the traditional way of education in the Arctic and brought in a new schooling system, which was in direct contrast with Inuit cultural values. Therefore, it can be said that the low participation rate of Inuit in institutional education is linked to the lifelong damaging effects of residential schools.

This study also investigates the participation of Inuit in post-secondary education. The findings demonstrate that parents and family involvement in education positively influence the

achievements of Inuit in advanced education. Further, this research reveals that, by age, the attainments of Inuit students in university education increases, which is in contrast to the results in the rest of the country. As expected, those Inuit who lived outside of Inuit Nunangat had higher education credentials, which is linked to the fact that there are more options for Inuit students in terms of universities and programs. Moreover, Inuit who learned English as their first language had higher attainments in post-secondary education, which is justified by the fact that most of the post-secondary institutions in Canada employ either English or French as the language of instruction. Finally, this study discloses that attending residential schools by students or their family members has increased their attainments in post-secondary education. Therefore, having the experience of formal education is positively correlated with university-level education.

REFERENCES

- Angus, M., Mearns, B. (2014). Post-Secondary Success, The little program that could: Nunavut Sivuniksavut's unique & effective approach to post-secondary education for Inuit youth. *Northern Public Affairs*. Special Issue 2014, 66-69.
- Audla, T. (2014). Guest Editorial, A Collective Call to Action. *Northern Public Affairs*. Special Issue 2014, 11.
- Berger, P., Thomas, P., Porfilio, B., Gorlewski, J., & Carr, P. (2014). Changing the Colonial Context to Address School Underperformance in Nunavut. In *Social Context Reform: A Pedagogy of Equity and Opportunity* (1st ed., pp. 87–105).
<https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315765334-6>
- Berger, T. (2006). The Nunavut project conciliator's final report: Nunavut land claims agreement: implementation contract negotiations for the second planning period, 2003-2013. Vancouver, B.C: Bull, Housser & Tupper.
- Berger, J., Parkin, A., Junor, S., & Motte, A. (2009). *The price of knowledge access and student finance in Canada (4th ed.)*. Montreal, Que: Canada Millenium Scholarship Foundation.
- Bligh, C. (2014). The silent experiences of young bilingual learners: a sociocultural study into the silent period. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-6209-797-1>
- Bonesteel, S., & Anderson, E. (2008). *Canada's relationship with Inuit a history of policy and program development*. Ottawa, Ont: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada.

Campbell, C. (2015). High School Dropouts After They Exit School: Challenges and Directions for Sociological Research. *Sociology Compass*, 9(7), 619–629.

<https://doi.org/10.1111/soc4.12279>

Damas, D. (2002). *Arctic migrants/Arctic villagers the transformation of Inuit settlement in the central Arctic*. Montreal, Que: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Dorais, L.-J., & Sammons, S. (2002). *Language in Nunavut: Discourse and identity in the Baffin region*. Iqaluit, Canada: Nunavut Arctic College.

Dyck, L., & Patterson, D. (2017). *We Can Do Better: Housing in Inuit Nunangat*. Ottawa, ON, CA: Senate Canada.

Dworkin, A., Ballantine, J., Antikainen, A., Barbosa, M. L., Konstantinovskiy, D., Saha, L., Essack, S., Chang, J., Vryonides, M., & Teodoro, A. (2013). The sociology of education. Sociopedia. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2056846013122>.

Eshet, D. (2015). *Stolen Lives: The Indigenous Peoples of Canada and the Indian Residential Schools*. Toronto, ON, Canada: Facing History and Ourselves.

Fivush, R. (2010). Speaking silence: The social construction of silence in autobiographical and cultural narratives. *Memory: Silence and Memory*, 18(2), 88–98.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/09658210903029404>

Fowler, L., Willett, M. (2014). Innovative Approaches, Learning about the residential school system in Canada. *Northern Public Affairs*. Special Issue 2014, 40-41.

Fryberg, S., Troop-Gordon, W., D'Arrisso, A., Flores, H., Ponizovskiy, V., Ranney, J., Mandour, T., Tootoosis, C., Robinson, S., Russo, N., & Burack, J. (2013). Cultural Mismatch and

- the Education of Aboriginal Youths: The Interplay of Cultural Identities and Teacher Ratings. *Developmental Psychology*, 49(1), 72–79. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0029056>
- Irwin, C. (1989). *Lords of the Arctic: Wards of the State. The Growing Inuit Population, Arctic Resettlement and their Effects on Social and Economic Change—A Summary Report.* Ottawa: Canadian Arctic Resource Committee. *Northern Perspectives*. 17(1)
- Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK). (2019). *Inuit Nunangat Housing Strategy.* Ottawa: ITK.
- Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK). (2017). (re)Visioning success in Inuit education: A report of the 2017 Inuit Education Forum. Ottawa: ITK.
- Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK). (2016). *Youth Perspectives on Housing in Inuit Nunangat.* Ottawa: ITK.
- Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK). (2011). *First Canadians, Canadians First: National Strategy on Inuit Education 2011.* National Committee on Inuit Education, Ottawa: ITK.
- John-Steiner, V., & Mahn, H. (1996). Sociocultural approaches to learning and development: A Vygotskian framework. *Educational Psychologist*, 31(3-4), 191–206. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00461520.1996.9653266>
- Kennedy-Dalseg, S. (2014). Letter from the Editor, Education in Inuit Nunangat: A fine balance. *Northern Public Affairs*. 2. Special Issue (2014): 4-5.
- Lalonde, G. (2017). Inuit Perceptions of Learning and Formal Education in the Canadian Arctic.
- Lane, J. (2014). Innovative Approaches, Change Can Happen: A proactive approach to post-secondary preparation. *Northern Public Affairs*. Special Issue 2014, 34-35.

Lantolf, J. (2000). Introducing socio-cultural theory. *Sociocultural theory and second language learning*. 1-26.

Maged, S. (2014). Breaking the silence of exclusion: examining the complexities of teacher education for cultural diversity. *Educational Research for Policy and Practice*, 13(3), 181–197. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10671-013-9157-1>

McGregor, H. (2013). Situating Nunavut education with indigenous education in Canada. (Report). *Canadian Journal of Education*, 36(2), 87–118.

McGregor, H. (2010). *Inuit education and schools in the Eastern Arctic*. Vancouver: UBC Press.

McGregor, H. (2008). Inuit education and formal schooling in the eastern Arctic (ProQuest Dissertations Publishing). Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com/docview/304356158/>

McKechnie, J. (2015). Education as Reconciliation: Resorting Inuit Nunangat. *Journal of Curriculum and Teaching*, 4(1), 56–67. <https://doi.org/10.5430/jct.v4n1p56>

Nasir, N., & Hand, V. (2006). Exploring Sociocultural Perspectives on Race, Culture, and Learning. *Review of Educational Research*, 76(4), 449–475. <https://doi.org/10.3102/00346543076004449>

National Committee on Inuit Education. (2011). *First Canadians, Canadians First: National Strategy on Inuit Education 2011*. Ottawa, ON: Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami.

Nunavut Bureau of Statistics. (2019). Nunavut secondary school graduates, 1999 to 2017. Retrieved from <https://www.gov.nu.ca/executive-and-intergovernmental-affairs/information/social-data>

- Parliament of Canada. (2016). *Proceedings of the Standing Senate Committee on Aboriginal Peoples*. Issue 7 - Evidence - May 11, 2016. Retrieved from <https://sencanada.ca/en/Content/Sen/committee/421/appa/07ev-52586-e>
- Peer, K., McClendon, R., & Peer, K. (2002). Sociocultural Learning Theory in Practice: Implications for Athletic Training Educators. *Journal of Athletic Training*, 37(4 Suppl), S136–S140. Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com/docview/1859415164/>
- Pelly, L. (2014). Nunavut Agreement, Language, learning, & the promise of Nunavut. *Northern Public Affairs*. Special Issue 2014, 61-65.
- Rasmussen, D. (2001). Qallunology: A Pedagogy for the Oppressor. *Canadian Journal of Native Education*, 25(2), 105–116.
- Rodon, T. (2014). Improving Access to University Education in the Canadian Arctic (University Education), ArcticNet Annual Research Compendium (2013-2014), 1-21.
- Rodon, T., Walton, F., Abele, F., Kennedy Dalseg, S., O'Leary, D., & Lévesque, F. (2014). Post-Secondary Success, Post-Secondary education in Inuit Nunangat: Learning from Past Experiences and Listening to Students' Voices. *Northern Public Affairs*. 70-75.
- Rodon, T., Lévesque, F., Kennedy Dalseg, S., Wald, S., Strong-Wilson, T., Asghar, A., Éthier, M., Carter, M., Starr, L. (2015). Qallunaaliaqtut: Inuit Students' Experiences of Postsecondary Education in the South. *McGill Journal of Education*, 50 (1), 97–118. <https://doi.org/10.7202/1036108ar>
- Silta Associates. (2007). Post-secondary case studies in Inuit education: A Discussion Paper. Ottawa, ON: Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami.

Simon, M. (2014). Guest Editorial, A time For Bold Action. *Northern Public Affairs*. Special Issue 2014, 6-7.

Simon, M. (2011). Canadian Inuit: Where we have been and where we are going. *International Journal*, 66(4), 879–891.

Statistics Canada. (2012). Aboriginal Peoples Survey (APS). Retrieved from <https://www23.statcan.gc.ca/imdb/p2SV.pl?Function=getSurvey&Id=109115>

Statistics Canada. (2006). Aboriginal Peoples Survey (APS). Retrieved from <https://www23.statcan.gc.ca/imdb/p2SV.pl?Function=getSurvey&Id=28330>

Statistics Canada. (2001). Aboriginal Peoples Survey (APS). Retrieved from <https://www23.statcan.gc.ca/imdb/p2SV.pl?Function=getSurvey&Id=4291>

Stern, P. (1999). Learning to Be Smart: An Exploration of the Culture of Intelligence in a Canadian Inuit Community. *American Anthropologist*, 101(3), 502–514.
<https://doi.org/10.1525/aa.1999.101.3.502>

Taylor, D., de la Sablonnière, R., & Bourgeois, L. F. (2014). Community Empowerment, Genuine community ownership of Northern education: From theory to practice. *Northern Public Affairs*. Special Issue 2014, 55-59.

The Nunavut Agreement. (2010). *Agreement Between the Inuit of the Nunavut Settlement Area and Her Majesty the Queen in right of Canada*. Ottawa, ON: Nunavut Tunngavik and the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development and Federal Interlocutor for Métis and Non-Status Indians.

Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. (2015a). *Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future: Summary of the final report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada*. Ottawa.

Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. (2015b). *The Inuit and Northern experience*. Montreal: Published for the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada by McGill-Queen's University Press.

Usher, P. (2000). Traditional ecological knowledge in environmental assessment and management. *Arctic*, 53(2), 183–193. <https://doi.org/10.14430/arctic849>

Walton, F., O'Leary, D., Metuq, L., Hainnu, J., Pitsiulak, S., Flaherty, E., Eejeesiak, N., Merkosak, J., & Wheatley, K. (2014). Inuit Leadership, “This school feels like ours now; it belongs to the community”: Engaging parents & Inuit educational leaders in policy change in Nunavut. *Northern Public Affairs*. Special Issue 2014, 49-52.

Wang, L., Bruce, C., & Hughes, H. (2011). Sociocultural Theories and their Application in Information Literacy Research and Education. *Australian Academic & Research Libraries*, 42(4), 296–308. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00048623.2011.10722242>

Wotherspoon, T. (2014). Seeking reform of Indigenous education in Canada: Democratic progress or democratic colonialism? *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples*, 10(4), 323–339. <https://doi.org/10.1177/117718011401000402>

Wotherspoon, T. (1998). *The sociology of education in Canada: critical perspectives*. Toronto: Oxford University Press.

APPENDIX**Syntax**

*Factors Contributing to Post-Secondary Educational Attainments of Inuit.

*Dependent variable:

*Highest level education attained: dhlosgg (Education)

*Independent Variables:

* age_yrsg - Age Group of Respondents

* dincommg - Residence Inside/Outside Inuit Nunangat

* dfaminvg - Parental/Family Involvement With School

* dflabo - First Language child learned

* drschatg - Residential School Attendance

*Generate Integer Weight

```
gen pumfwghti=int(round(pumfwght,1))
```

```
codebook pumfwghti
```

*Generate Normalized weight

```
gen pumfwghtn=pumfwght/38.83031
```

```
codebook pumfwghtn
```

*Define the Study Population

```
drop popint
```

```
gen popint=0
```

```
replace popint=1 if (didentg==3 & age_yrsg>=5)
```

```
tab popint
```

```
tab didentg
```

```
tab popint didentg
```

```
tab popint [fw=pumfwghti]
```

```
*Generate Dependent Variable
```

```
recode dhlosgg (4/6=1 "Post-Secondary") (1/3=0 "Secondary") (else=.), gen (education)
```

```
tab dhlosgg education
```

```
tab education [fw=pumfwghti] if popint==1
```

```
*Recode Residential School Attendance
```

```
recode drschatg (1/4=1 "respondent or family attended") (5=2 "neither attended") (else=.), gen  
(rschool)
```

```
tab rschool education
```

```
tab rschool [fw=pumfwghti] if popint==1
```

```
*Analyse the Relationships Between Dependent Variable & Independent Variables
```

```
spearman education age_yrsg if popint==1
```

```
tab2 education dincommg [fw=pumfwghti] if popint==1, chi2
```

tab2 education dincommg [fw=pumfwghti] if popint==1, gamma

tab2 education dfaminvg [fw=pumfwghti] if popint==1, chi2

tab2 education dfaminvg [fw=pumfwghti] if popint==1, gamma

tab2 education dflabo [fw=pumfwghti] if popint==1, chi2

tab2 education dflabo [fw=pumfwghti] if popint==1, gamma

tab2 education rschool [fw=pumfwghti] if popint==1, chi2

tab2 education rschool [fw=pumfwghti] if popint==1, gamma

*Analyse the Relationship between Independent Variables

tab2 age_yrsg dincommg [fw=pumfwghti] if popint==1, chi2

tab2 age_yrsg dincommg [fw=pumfwghti] if popint==1, gamma

tab2 age_yrsg dfaminvg [fw=pumfwghti] if popint==1, chi2

tab2 age_yrsg dfaminvg [fw=pumfwghti] if popint==1, gamma

tab2 age_yrsg dflabo [fw=pumfwghti] if popint==1, chi2

tab2 age_yrsg dflabo [fw=pumfwghti] if popint==1, gamma

tab2 age_yrsg rschool [fw=pumfwghti] if popint==1, chi2

tab2 age_yrsg rschool [fw=pumfwghti] if popint==1, gamma

tab2 dincommg dfaminvg [fw=pumfwghti] if popint==1, V

lambda dincommg dfaminvg [fw=pumfwghti] if popint==1

tab2 dincommg dflabo [fw=pumfwghti] if popint==1, V

lambda dincommg dflabo [fw=pumfwghti] if popint==1

tab2 dincommg rschool [fw=pumfwghti] if popint==1, V

lambda dincommg rschool [fw=pumfwghti] if popint==1

tab2 dfaminvg dflabo [fw=pumfwghti] if popint==1, V

lambda dfaminvg dflabo [fw=pumfwghti] if popint==1

tab2 dfaminvg rschool [fw=pumfwghti] if popint==1, V

lambda dfaminvg rschool [fw=pumfwghti] if popint==1

tab2 dflabo rschool [fw=pumfwghti] if popint==1, V

lambda dflabo rschool [fw=pumfwghti] if popint==1

*Construct the Logistic Models

logistic education i.age_yrsg if popint==1 [pw=pumfwghtn]

logistic education i.age_yrsg i.dincommg if popint==1 [pw=pumfwghtn]

logistic education i.age_yrsg i.dincommg i.dfaminvg if popint==1 [pw=pumfwghtn]

logistic education i.age_yrsg i.dincommg i.dfaminvg i.rschool if popint==1 [pw=pumfwghtn]

logistic education i.age_yrsg i.dincommg i.dfaminvg i.rschool i.dflabo if popint==1

[pw=pumfwghtn]

*Test the Validity and Robustness of Our Model

*Test for Collinearity

```
quietly logistic education i.age_yrsg i.dincommg i.dfaminvg i.rschool i.dflabo if popint==1  
[pw=pumfwght]
```

```
collin age_yrsg dincommg dfaminvg rschool dflabo
```

*Test the Specification of The Model With Linktest

```
quietly logistic education i.age_yrsg i.dincommg i.dfaminvg i.rschool i.dflabo if popint==1  
[pw=pumfwght]
```

```
linktest, nolog
```

*Test for Goodness of Fit. H_0 : The Model Fits the Data

```
quietly logistic education i.age_yrsg i.dincommg i.dfaminvg i.rschool i.dflabo if popint==1  
[fw=pumfwghti]
```

```
estat gof
```

*Test for Influential Observations, Using Pregibon's Influence Statistic "delta beta" (dbeta)

```
quietly logistic education i.age_yrsg i.dincommg i.dfaminvg i.rschool i.dflabo if popint==1  
[fw=pumfwghti]
```

```
predict p
```

```
predict db, dbeta
```

```
scatter db p, mlabel(pumfid)
```