

Rethinking Bilingualism



A sociolinguistic analysis of language planning
and education legislation in Greenland



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Thesis Submitted for the Degree:
Master of Philosophy in Indigenous Studies
Faculty of Social Science, University of Tromsø
Norway, November 2009

Acknowledgements

Thanks to

My supervisor Anna-Riitta Lindgren at the Department of Language and Linguistics at Tromsø University.

Jennifer Dunn at McGill University in Montreal, Canada, for proofreading this thesis.

Anna Margrethe Helene Lange for kindly letting me use the photograph on the front page, that shows Anna herself and her friend.

My roommates Heidi Reinholdtsen, Henriette Moseng and Lill Tove Veimæl for giving me a joyful home in Tromsø while writing this thesis.

My parents Lisbeth Søvndahl Pedersen and Bruno Hansen. My grandmother *ningiu*, Gerda Søvndahl Pedersen, my little brother Jakob Søvndahl Skovaa and my stepfather Carl-Aage Skovaa.

Abstract

Many indigenous peoples' languages in the world are endangered. But the special case in Greenland is the fact that Greenlandic is not an endangered language, even though less than 56,000 people speak Greenlandic. In fact, Greenlandic is spreading in Greenlandic society. The challenge in Greenland is rather how to educate Greenlanders to become functionally bilingual in Greenlandic and Danish, considering the vast varieties of bilingual skills that exist.

Greenland has been a Danish colony since 1721 but achieved Home Rule in 1979 and an increased form of self-determination called 'Self Rule' in 2009. With the introduction of Self Rule the Greenlandic language has raised its status and become *the official language* in Greenland. Greenland is dependent on the annual block grant that it receives from the Danish state. In order for the country to create a self-sustaining economy, Greenland needs to invest in education. Today it is crucial for young Greenlanders wanting a further education to learn Danish, because Greenland lacks educational material and books in Greenlandic. But the amount of people who receive a further education is limited due to lack of Danish skills. The amount of people who will go on to receive further education in the future is crucial in the process of increased self-determination.

Analysing official documents at macro level, i.e. at government level, this Master's thesis studies the sociolinguistic paradoxes within the contemporary official language policy and planning situation in Greenland, concentrating primarily on language education policy in Greenlandic state schools. Factors affecting language policy in Greenland are those of: history, decolonisation, language emancipation, self-determination, nationalism, ideology and power. This Master's thesis argues that one of the critical issues in official Greenlandic language policy is the absence of a clear definition of the status and role of the Danish language in Greenlandic society, which needs to be clarified more professionally at legislative, political and pedagogical levels. The second critical issue is the approach to an effective bilingual education system where pupils become functionally bilingual. Additionally there is a lack of defining terms such as *mother tongue*, *second language*, *foreign language*, *bilingualism* and *multilingualism* in depth in a Greenlandic context; terms which ought to be used in a more adequate and conscious manner by policymakers and pedagogical leaders.

Key words: sociology of multilingualism, Greenland, indigenous peoples, self-determination, bilingualism, education legislation, language policy and planning.

Resumé

Mange oprindelige folks sprog i verden er truede. Men den specielle situation i Grønland er den at grønlandsk ikke er en truet sprog, selvom sproget tales af færre end 56 000 mennesker. Faktisk spreder grønlandsk sig i det grønlandske samfund. Udfordringen i Grønland er snarere hvordan man uddanner grønlænderne til at blive funktionelt tosprogede på grønlandsk og dansk, taget i betragtning af de forskellige variationer indenfor tosprogethed der findes.

Grønland har været en dansk koloni siden 1721, men opnåede hjemmestyre i 1979 og en øget form for selvbestemmelse kaldet 'selvstyre' i 2009. Med indførelsen af selvstyre har det grønlandske sprog hævet sin status og er blevet *det officielle sprog* i Grønland. Grønland er afhængig af det årlige bloktilskud, som landet modtager fra den danske stat. For at Grønland kan skabe en selv bærende økonomi, må landet investere i uddannelse. I dag er det afgørende for unge grønlændere, der ønsker en videregående uddannelse at lære dansk, fordi Grønland mangler undervisningsmateriale og bøger på grønlandsk. Men antallet af unge grønlændere, der opnår en videregående uddannelse er begrænset på grund af manglen på danskundskaber. Antallet af mennesker, der i fremtiden får en uddannelse er afgørende i processen mod øget selvbestemmelse.

Ved at analysere officielle dokumenter på makro-niveau, dvs. på regeringsplan, undersøger dette speciale de sociolingvistiske paradokser i den nuværende officielle sprogpolitik- og planlægning i Grønland, hvor fokus primært er på sprog indenfor uddannelsespolitikken i de grønlandske folkeskoler. Faktorer der påvirker sprogpolitik i Grønland er: historie, afkolonisering, sproglig emancipation, selvbestemmelse, nationalisme, ideologi og magt. Dette speciale hævder, at et af de kritiske spørgsmål i den officielle grønlandske sprogpolitik er manglen på en klar definition af det danske sprogs status og rolle i det grønlandske samfund, som bør afklares mere professionelt på lovgivningsmæssige, politiske og pædagogiske niveauer. Det andet kritiske spørgsmål handler om hvordan man opnår et effektivt uddannelsessystem der målrettet lærer eleverne at blive tosprogede. Ydermere savnes en definition af begreber såsom *modersmål*, *andetsprog*, *fremmedsprog*, *tosprogethed* og *flersprogethed* i en grønlandsk kontekst, begreber som bør bruges på en mere hensigtsmæssig og bevidst måde af politikere og pædagogiske ledere.

Nøgleord: sociolingvistik, Grønland (Kalaallit Nunaat), oprindelige folk (urfolk), selvbestemmelse, tosprogethed, uddannelsespolitik, sprogpolitik og sprogplanlægning

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“We want independence and we need all forces. It is a scandal to exclude Greenlanders from having an education just because they can’t speak Danish. What do they need Danish for in childcare institutions and in nursing homes?”

Hans Enoksen

Former Premier of Greenland Government
Sermitsiaq, February 8, 2008, my translation

1 Greenland in transition

The overall political goal Greenlanders desire is to become independent from the Danish state. Greenland wants to live off of its own resources and not be dependent on the annual block grant that it receives from Denmark, which is more than half of Greenland’s income.

The key to an increasingly self-sustaining Greenlandic economy is to raise the population’s level of education, but progress has been very slow. The expert committee on Greenland’s economy believes that state schools need to be prioritised (Grønlands Økonomi 2009:54). Greenland has long been suffering from a lack of well-educated Greenlanders, and as a consequence it has had to ‘import’ labour, primarily from Denmark.

Even though education is recognized as one of the most valuable investments for Greenland’s future, today only one-third of the population¹ has further education, i.e. any education in addition to ten years of public schooling. Only fifteen percent of the pupils graduating from state schools continue immediately with further education. But, after two years only forty percent are still continuing with their education. Lack of language skills is a significant obstacle for many pupils as it is necessary to know Danish in almost all branches of study (Uddannelsesplan 2005:2).

¹ People who are between 15 to 62-years-old

If young people want to attend further education they can choose from only a limited number of study programs in Greenland, for example nursing, education and journalism, or from one of the five different master's degrees offered at *Ilisimatusarfik*, which is the University of Greenland situated in Nuuk. Even these studies also required a basic knowledge in Danish. Educational opportunities in Greenland are limited; consequently, most young people choose to continue their studies in Denmark. There are 500 adult *Kalaallit* (Greenlandic) students and 250 *Kalaallit* teenagers at boarding schools in Denmark (Hertling 2009). The teenagers are there primarily because they need to improve their Danish. The adult students have no other option than to move to Denmark if they want a further or a higher education. In Denmark there are four 'Greenlandic houses' in four major cities, which are important gathering places and cultural centres for *Kalaallit* or people interested in Greenland. Three of the houses offer student residences and all *Kalaallit* students are provided with support and guidance from the employees, as moving to Denmark is a 'cultural shock' for many *Kalaallit*. There are significant social networks between the *Kalaallit* students living in Denmark. They have their own associations, football teams etc. During about five years of study in Denmark, many *Kalaallit* become extremely connected to Denmark, they have Danish friends, some have married a Dane and perhaps had children there. Some *Kalaallit* even choose to continue living in Denmark after having finished their studies. For many *Kalaallit* it is easier studying in Denmark than studying in other foreign countries, because in Denmark there are vital Greenlandic social networks. According to a study based on the national register and civil registration numbers carried out by the 'North Atlantic Group'², it is claimed that there are 18,563 *Kalaallit* living in Denmark (Sermitsiaq Nov. 8, 2007). My initial concerns in this thesis are thus centred on the issues of the necessity for Greenlanders to travel outside of Greenland for further education and the language paradoxes within the educational system as a whole in Greenland.

Because of Greenland's special relationship with Denmark, being a former colony and today politically *belonging* to Denmark, two languages are spoken: Greenlandic and Danish (Betænking 2003:Chap.6.2). Of central importance for Greenlanders is that the

² *Den Nordatlantiske Gruppe* is a group of *Kalaallit* and Faroese members of the national parliament of Denmark (www.dnag.dk)

Greenlandic language is an active, vital and living language, which is not in danger of extinction (Arbejdsgruppen 2001:32). When the Greenland Home Rule government was established in 1979, the Home Rule Act was put through; in section 9 it stated that Greenlandic should be the principal language of Greenland. It also stated that Danish had to be thoroughly taught, and that either language could be used for official purposes (The Greenland Home Rule Act, English version, appendix 1).

However, since 1979 there has been an ongoing debate about language use. At times the debate has been harsh and dominated by very personal attitudes. In any case, everyone seems to agree that Greenlandic is the principal language of the country. On June 21, 2009 Greenland received an increased form of self-determination called 'Self Rule' and Greenlandic is now *the official* language. Still, it seems that there continues to be wide disagreement concerning the role of the Danish language. According to the Greenland Language Secretariat³ Danish language is not a national language, neither is it a foreign language among other foreign languages, but it has a special unclear status (Arbejdsgruppen 2001:7).

This thesis focuses on *language policy and planning*, and concentrates primarily on *language education policy* in Greenlandic state schools. These foci are addressed through the following research questions:

Language policy and planning:

What is the current official language policy and planning situation in Greenland? What can explain the factors of importance for that situation and what are the paradoxes within these?

Language education policy:

What is the official language education policy in the state school system as of today? Is there coherence between national language policy and language education policy and what are the paradoxes within these?

³ The Language Secretariat is called *Oqaasileriffik* in Greenlandic

The objective of the thesis is thus:

To analyse the current language policy and planning situation with the intention of examining its coherence with the language education policy.

Focus is on language policy in the state schools since these are national, official institutions whose language use frameworks have been built up by national educational policies and are thus dependent on the demands and expectations from both the national and local society. State schools are where children first meet with professional teaching and they spend ten years of their lives there. Consequently, the school as a public institution heavily influences society in Greenland and vice versa. There are at least two interdependent social spheres, which are affected by state schooling. The first is the educational system as a whole, i.e. further education and the correlative number of well-educated people in the society. This first sphere is closely related to the Home Rule government education policy, which basically outlines the need for more educated people (Uddannelsesplan 2005). Secondly, there is an obvious link between state schooling, education policy and increased self-determination.

In the Greenlandic context national language policy and the quality of the school system nowadays plays an important role in the whole society. State schooling shape peoples' language knowledge, skills and attitudes, and is the foundation for an individual's choice in further education. The amount of people who will go on to receive further education in the future is crucial to the process of increased self-determination. Though it is not possible to say for sure what I can contribute with writing this thesis, I can outline what I *hope* to contribute with. I have three areas of intended contribution to the debate about language policy and the question on self-determination in Greenland. First, I hope that the study will contribute to a broader understanding of these issues through an in-depth analysis of perspectives, and promote further discussion of which socio-political factors and motives that influence language policy. Secondly, I hope to contribute to a broader discussion of the intentions of the language education policy in particular. Thirdly, I wish to contribute to a less debated topic, which is centred on how language policy and language education policy can influence the question of self-determination and independence.

The primary target group of this thesis is my supervisor and the master's students attending the Master's Programme in Indigenous Studies at the University of Tromsø, Norway. The secondary target group is much wider and includes students interested in sociolinguistics, Arctic indigenous peoples and those who are interested in the self-determination process and language challenges. Another target group is of course the people living in Greenland who are affected by the national and educational language policy. Lastly, I welcome people who have a personal interest in the Greenlandic society specifically to read the thesis.

A comment concerning the terminology needs to be clarified. Throughout the thesis I will use different terms describing the Greenlandic educational system. In Greenland there is no distinction between primary school/elementary school and secondary school, which is why I will use the term *state school*. State schooling covers grades one to ten. Children are six years old when entering state schools and are usually fifteen or sixteen years old when graduating. Furthermore, I will use the word *gymnasium*, which is the European secondary school that prepares students for university. *Gymnasium* is a three-year education and is accessible to students who have graduated from state schools and have been declared suitable. When using the term *further education* I refer to all kinds of education taken after state school. *Continuing education* will be used synonymously with *further education*. Higher education refers to education achieved at a college or university.

Furthermore a comment on ethnicity might be useful. The term 'Greenlander' will be used when referring to a person living in Greenland or someone who sees himself/herself as a Greenlander. To emphasize the distinct ethnic dynamics at play within the term 'Greenlander', the terms *Kalaaleq* (singular) and *Kalaallit* (plural) will be used to distinguish Greenlanders of indigenous heritage from Greenlanders of Danish heritage in situations where their interests are or were clearly divergent.

The structure of this thesis is divided into six chapters. Chapter two gives a deeper introduction to the historical, political, linguistic and demographic changes in Greenland in recent years. Relevant research conducted until today is presented, and the challenges and paradoxes concerning language planning are accounted for. Chapter three focus on the methodological considerations, the methods in general and the

theoretical framework. Chapter four is a threefold analysis starting with an international focus, later turning to the language policy in a Greenlandic context, and ending with an analysis of the language education policy. Chapter five sums up the results from all the previous chapters and outlines the factors of importance for language policy and planning, including the challenges within the language education policy. The final chapter discusses some critical issues, puts the contemporary and future language planning situation into broader perspectives and sums up the paradoxes and ambiguities in the Greenlandic language planning situation.

*"Greenland without Greenlandic is like a
kayak without its skin cover"*

Ulloriannuaq Kristiansen, Journalist
Rosing Olsen 2005:161, my translation

2 Overcoming old barriers and facing new challenges

In his book *Planning Language, Planning Inequality* (1991) Tollefson argues that language planning must be understood, examined and analysed in its historical context and within social and political systems in order to understand what historical and structural pressures lead to a particular policy and plan (Tollefson 1991:32-37). In order to present the complexities within language policy in Greenland there is a need to introduce the history and the socio-political situation.

2.1 History within a socio-political framework

In this introduction to the historical background of Greenland I have chosen to focus on three important phases: colonisation, modernisation and self-determination. Geographically Greenland is part of the North American continent but geo-politically it is part of Europe; politically it is part of the Kingdom of Denmark. There are approximately 56,000 people living in Greenland, all of whom live on the coastline and are concentrated primarily on the southwest coast. According to historians Greenland has been inhabited by *Kalaallit/Inuit* or Greenlanders for approximately 4000 years (Gad 1984:11-25).

2.1.1 Colonisation and modernisation

In the period from 986 to the beginning of 1400 AD the Norsemen or Vikings inhabited southern Greenland (Gad 1984:28-83). They disappeared in mysterious circumstances, which resulted in the Danish King Frederik sending the priest Hans Egede to Greenland in 1721 with the purpose of finding the lost Norsemen (Gad 1984:144). Hans Egede did not find the Norsemen. Instead he found *Inuit* people and began proselytising. From

approximately 1850 AD onwards the Evangelical-Lutheran church was solidly established (Gad 1984:222). From 1721 Greenland thus became colonised and it basically meant two things: the introduction of Christianity and capitalism. The Royal Greenland Trade⁴ company was founded and had a monopoly on goods sold (Gad 1984:178).

The United Nations was founded following the Second World War and Denmark became a member state. At the UN general assembly in 1951, colonised countries were on top of the agenda, putting Denmark in an awkward position as a coloniser of Greenland. The Danish representative therefore expressed the wish to make Greenland an equal part of Denmark. Hence in 1953 Greenland gained status as a *county*, and with that the colonial relationship officially ended and the modernisation process started (Rosing Olsen 2005:38-41).

Modernisation started in the 1950s with the political strategies known as ‘G-50’ and ‘G-60’. These were commissions that put forward modernisation plans for Greenland. Modernisation, according to the commissions, basically meant that Greenland should have the same living standards as Denmark within political, societal and cultural standards (Rosing Olsen, 2005:95-99). Modernisation meant that Greenland developed from being a hunting-based society to becoming a society based on fisheries, with the aim of becoming an industrialised country (Ibid.:49). The whole society in Greenland changed drastically during the 1950s and 1960s. Fishing boats, appartaining equipment and factories were introduced, which added new forms of livelihoods for families. Women that previously had stayed at home and taken care of the children now began to work in the factories. Houses and apartment blocks were built. People were essentially forced to move to the cities because they were guaranteed loans there. In 1950 45% of the population lived in the cities and twenty years later that number had increased to 70% (Ibid.:50). Health conditions improved and tuberculosis was eradicated. This meant that the population number exploded from 20,800 in 1945 to 46,000 in 1970 (Ibid.:58).

⁴ *Kongelige Grønlandske Handel* (in short ‘KGH’) in Danish

During the period of colonisation many Greenlanders developed a deep belief in authority which took a long time to lose. Living side by side, conflicts occurred between *Kalaallit* and Danes. The Danes held leadership positions, and had better salaries. In addition, they had better houses, and superior water and heating systems. Many *Kalaallit* felt discriminated against; they felt that the Danes were condescending towards them and even scornful (Rosing Olsen 2005:70). Since colonial times it had become customary to pay *Kalaallit* and Danes different wages (Ibid.:70). In 1964 the *birthplace criteria*⁵ was introduced. It basically meant that only persons born outside of Greenland and who had acquired a job in Greenland while still living in Denmark could have higher wages (Ibid.:120). In other words it was beneficial to the Danes and not the *Kalaallit*. *Kalaallit* were extremely disappointed with this policy and, despite massive criticism that the arrangement was racist, the *birthplace criteria* was not abolished until 1990 (Ibid.:128-130).

Modernisation meant a boost in the school system, in the healthcare system and in the business sector. This process of modernisation, which took 200 years in Denmark, happened in twenty years in Greenland (Rosing Olsen 2005:98). Along with modernisation came agitation, insecurity, inferiority complexes, alcohol abuse and criminality among many *Kalaallit* people (Ibid.:51). These problems are still evident today, and developed out of *Kalaallit* people's detachment from the modernisation process. During the modernisation process *Kalaallit* were only witnessing these changes, but they were not participating in the process themselves, and did not have any influence in the decision-making process (Ibid.:59+79).

A commission was appointed in 1955 with the aim of examining the consequences of these societal changes and one of the conclusions put forward in 1958 was this:

“When two cultures meet – and one is superior to the other with regards to technology and material goods, development is at stake. You can get new houses, boats, fishing tools, fishing houses, but can one apply a new view of life? ...If everything is new but it has been made by others, then how is one to feel at home in this new bright world?” (Rosing Olsen 2005:63, my translation).

⁵ In Danish it was called *Fødestedskriteriet*

2.1.2 Increasing self-determination

Political awakening truly exploded in the 1970s. Municipalities were organized, four political parties were formed and discussion forums appeared. Greenland participated in indigenous gatherings and a commission with the aim of examining the possibilities of introducing a Home Rule government was established in 1975 (Rosing Olsen 2005:153-227). The commission was led by seven *Kalaallit* members and seven Danish members. Negotiations between Greenland and Denmark started and the biggest conflict was over property rights (Ibid.:227). The main reason that Greenland wanted Home Rule was that many Greenlanders were not satisfied being a *county* within the Danish realm, especially when Greenland automatically became a member of the European Union (the former European Community) as a consequence of Denmark voting 'yes' in 1972, even though 70.3% of the population in Greenland were against EC-membership. In 1979 Home Rule government was introduced in Greenland (nanoq.gl). As Jørgen Fleischer, former responsible editor at *Atuagagdliutit*⁶, has explained; the introduction of the Home Rule arrangement was a result of the resistance towards the discrimination between *Kalaallit* and Danes (Fleischer 1999:208).

Today Greenland is a self-governing autonomous country within the Danish realm. The Greenland Home Rule (now replaced by Self Rule) is a public government divided into two main sections: an executive body/government (*Naalakkersuisut/Landsstyre*) and a publicly elected assembly/parliament (*Inatsisartut/Landsting*). Participation in the government is not based on Greenlandic ethnicity. Anyone who is a Danish citizen, has lived in Greenland for more than six months, and is older than 18 can vote for and be elected to the Parliament (Broderstad & Dahl 2004:94). There are 31 members of Parliament in all. In order to form a government the party or coalition must hold at least 16 seats.

Saami lawyer John B. Henriksen has stated:

“Greenland Home Rule may be the best example of a progressive and far-reaching indigenous self-government arrangement, including both internal as well as external aspects of the right to self-determination” (Henriksen 1999:19).

⁶ One of the two national newspapers that exist in Greenland

But since Greenland Home Rule was born in May 1979, politicians have expressed increased dissatisfaction with the arrangement, which is why in 1999/2000 the Home Rule government appointed a Greenlandic Self-Government Commission with the aim of re-evaluating Greenland's position within the Danish Realm. In 2004 yet a new commission (the Greenlandic-Danish Self-Government Commission) was established and it has dealt with issues such as language, raw materials, the economy, business developments and questions of international law among many others (Selvstyre 2008). As a consequence of the Greenlandic-Danish commission's preparatory report, there was a referendum held in Greenland on the introduction of self-government on November 25, 2008. This day marked a new milestone in Greenland's history, as the majority of the population acknowledged that Self Rule was a good idea and voted yes. Self Rule in the Greenlandic context means that Greenland will take over a number of administrative tasks such as handling criminal courts, border controls, raw material extraction regulations etc. (appendix two). Self Rule entered into force on the Greenlandic national day of June 21, 2009, and was celebrated with a massive national party precisely thirty years after the Greenland Home Rule was introduced. However, the Danish constitution is still in force in Greenland and every Greenlander continues to be a Danish citizen. Despite Self Rule Greenland still does not control foreign affairs (treaties), fiscal policy, military defence, criminal law (higher courts of appeal) and principles concerning law of succession, family and property law (Selvstyre 2008:5). One of the most contentious disputes in the negotiations of the latest commission was the question of raw materials extraction. There is a great deal of speculation, and hope, that Greenland possesses large oil reserves, but no deposits have been found to this day.

2.2 The political situation today

As of June 2009 the political landscape changed drastically. There are four major political parties in Greenland, the social democratic *Siumut*, the liberal/conservative *Atassut*, the socialist *Inuit Ataqatigiit* and finally *Demokraatit* (the Democrats). There is also the smaller party called *Katusseqatigiit Partiiat* (Union of Candidates). *Siumut* has been leading the cabinet since 1979, usually in coalition with *Inuit Ataqatigiit* or *Atassut*. In the period 2005 to 2009 *Siumut* was in coalition with *Atassut*. It is however crucial to note a major change in the political landscape in Greenland, as

nongovernmental organisation *International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs* (IWGIA) summarises:

“In recent years, the political picture in Greenland has become more complex and can no longer be described as a traditional dichotomy between liberalism and socialism, these party labels to a large extent not being valid. Much depends upon the person in charge of the political party or fraction thereof.” (IWGIA 2006:34)

The former premier of Greenland, Hans Enoksen, and his party Siumut, did on several occasions declare that they aspired independence from Denmark (Sermitsiaq Feb. 8, 2008). *Siumut* has been the leading party in the ‘Greenlandisation ideology’, which will be further elaborated on in chapter five. Not all Greenlanders think independence is the solution. Many are questioning whether it is realistic in terms of human resources, the economic situation and being ‘left outside’ of an evermore globalised world (Sermitsiaq Nov. 8, 2008). Greenland receives an annual block grant of 3.4 billion Danish Kroner from the Danish state, which is 57% of Greenland’s GDP and is Greenland’s largest source of income (Den Økonomiske Udvikling i Grønland 2009:46). Even though Denmark has stated that it does endorse Greenlandic independence (Åhrén 2007:94), it will cut the annual block grant immediately if Greenland decides to separate. Consequently, economic matters are crucial with regards to independence.

On June 2, 2009, there was a Parliamentary election and for the first time ever, *Inuit Ataqatigiit* is now in coalition with the *Democrats* and *Katusseqatigiit Partiiat*. June 2009 was historical in two ways: a new socialist government came to power and Greenland gained increased self-determination with the introduction of Self Rule.

2.3 The linguistic landscape

Greenlandic is the majority language in Greenland but a minority language within the Danish realm. It has been officially recognised by the Greenland Language Secretariat (*Oqaasileriffik*) that Greenlandic is no longer a threatened language (Arbejdsgruppen 2001:32+42). Greenlandic belongs to the *Inuppiik* Eskimo dialect; the other two Eskimo dialects are Yupik and Aleut, according to Svend Kolte, who is a postgraduate in *Eskimology* from University of Copenhagen (Kolte 1999:86-87). There are three main

dialects within the Greenlandic language: Thule-dialect, East and West Greenlandic. These ‘dialects’ could actually be considered distinct languages, argues Svend Kolte, since each of the dialects are different with regards to grammar, pronunciation and vocabulary, and because they are not mutually intelligible (Ibid.:88). Personally I speak West Greenlandic and I do not understand neither East Greenlandic nor Thule-dialect. West Greenlandic is spoken by the majority of the population (at least 40,000) and is thus considered the largest or main dialect in Greenland. West Greenlandic is dominant in the public; within the media and within public administration (Ibid.:88-89). There has not been any political will to promote Thule-dialect or East Greenlandic, Svend Kolte argues, which is why there are no textbooks in schools in these dialects (Ibid.:89).

Today there are approximately 56,000 people living in Greenland. From a statistical survey carried out in 1994 by Thomas Andersen at Greenland Statistics concerning the population’s language use, it is stated that thirty-six percent (36%) of the population is monolingual in Greenlandic. The Danish-speaking monolingual group accounts for 11.9%. There are thirteen percent (13%) who are bilinguals⁷. 35.3% have Greenlandic as their mother tongue and speak Danish very well, whereas 3.7% have Danish as their mother tongue and speak Greenlandic very well. But in the report it is stated that the two monolingual groups do speak a little Danish and Greenlandic respectively (rapport nr. 8 1996:3, appendix 8). It is noteworthy that the survey does not define ‘Greenlandic’; i.e. it is uncertain whether it refers to Thule-dialect, West or East Greenlandic or all of them. In chapter five and six the concept of ‘bilingualism’ in the Greenlandic context will be further elaborated on and discussed.

As the above numbers indicate, the linguistic picture is quite mixed. The Greenland Language Secretariat *Oqaasileriffik* stresses that several of the below mentioned terms within bilingualism are hardly ever used accurately in literature (Arbejdsgruppen 2001:32). A ‘mother tongue’ is a person’s first language and it is the language one speaks best, stated by *Oqaasileriffik*; and as such a person can have two mother tongues, for example the ‘naturally bilinguals’, see definition further below (Ibid.:32). *Oqaasileriffik* claims that the terms *second language*⁸ and *foreign language*⁹ have been

⁷ In the report the bilinguals are called: *Dobbeltsprogede*

⁸ “Andetsprog”

⁹ “Fremmedsprog”

used to differentiate a ‘domestic foreign language’ from a ‘foreign language’ respectively, i.e. in the Greenlandic context Danish would be the ‘domestic foreign language’ whereas English would be a foreign language. The distinction is not common, according to *Oqaasileriffik* and the terms will not be used by *Oqaasileriffik* (Ibid.:32-33). *Oqaasileriffik* argues that an ‘official language’ is the language that according to a constitution is the nation’s language (Ibid.:33). When it comes to bilingualism, there are a range of different types of bilinguals, according to *Oqaasileriffik*, which are as follows: an ‘individually bilingual’ is a person who uses several languages in his/her daily life; it is a term that includes all types of bilinguals. In Greenland the term *Dobbeltsproget* is common within the concept of bilingualism, according to *Oqaasileriffik*, but is not recognised in literature and *Oqaasileriffik* prefers not to use the term (Ibid.:34). A ‘balanced bilingual’ is a person who has a high competence (or almost) at mother tongue level in two languages. A ‘dominated bilingual’ is an individual with some competencies in another language. Most Greenlanders are dominated bilinguals, claims *Oqaasileriffik*, because their Danish proficiency is far from a mother tongue level (Ibid.:34). A ‘naturally bilingual’ is a person who, according to *Oqaasileriffik*, has been taught several languages without formal schooling. Lastly ‘culturally bilingual’ is a kind of bilingualism obtained by formal schooling and education, according to *Oqaasileriffik* (Ibid.:35). Theories concerning the concept of bilingualism will be elaborated on in chapter 3.2.4 and will be discussed in chapter six.

The ‘problem’, or rather challenge, in Greenland is that there is no registry that accounts for language skills. There are very few surveys concerning the spreading of and the quality of the Greenlandic language. Yet another problem in surveying language skills is the shifting attitudes to the languages, according to Andersen from Greenland Statistics (Andersen 2007). Andersen argues that consistent surveys of language skills are necessary for three reasons: 1) to support or refute empirical research 2) to monitor the language’s development steadily and continuously and 3) to monitor children’s language skills (Andersen 2007).

According to a Nordic research survey called SLiCA¹⁰ *Kalaallit* consider the Greenlandic language to be very important to their identity, especially amongst people living in the villages. Factors important to Greenlandic identity are: work, the language, perception of nature, eating Greenlandic food, upbringing, hunting and fishing amongst several others (Sermitsiaq April 8 2009/www.arcticlivingconditions.org). The SLiCA survey aims at examining the living conditions among Arctic indigenous peoples in Greenland, Canada, Alaska, Sweden, Norway and Russia. The SLiCA survey in Greenland was conducted by Birger Poppel, professor at University of Greenland, and included 1,200 interviews in towns and villages carried out in 2006 (SLiCA 2006).

2.3.1 Changing language statuses

It has had consequences that *Kalaallit* and Danes have had to live side by side in Greenland for centuries, especially with regards to language preference and status. From the time of colonisation in 1721 until 1950, approximately, the language of instruction in schools was Greenlandic. In the middle of the 1920s the idea that Danish should have a more dominant position in society spread, including among *Kalaallit*, mainly because knowledge of Danish would open many doors. At that time the Danish language and Danish culture were highly admired and honoured (Gad 1984:261-264).

From 1925 Danish was introduced in the schools as a supplementary language to Greenlandic. Then came the 1950s, known as the ‘Danification’ (assimilation) period (Rosing Olsen, 2005:75). The education legislation in 1967 was mainly based on the idea that the school system should resemble the Danish one as much as possible (Inerisaavik 2007:23). At a conference held in 1970 about Greenland’s future, language was among other items on the agenda. The Danish advisor for Greenland’s Committee and political scientist Mogens Boserup said that Greenlandic was a hindrance for equal opportunity with the Danes and that it had to be eradicated, to which Ulloriannuaq Kristiansen, a journalist, replied that Greenland without Greenlandic is like a kayak without its skin cover (Rosing Olsen 2005:161).

¹⁰ SLiCA is a shortening of ‘Survey of Living Conditions in the Arctic’

When the Home Rule government was established in 1979, the Greenland Home Rule Act was passed and it stated that Greenlandic should be the principal language, Danish had to be thoroughly taught and that either language could be used for official purposes (The Greenland Home Rule Act, English version). Accordingly, from 1950 until 1994 the pupils were separated into two streams; a Danish stream and a Greenlandic stream taught in each language, though from 1979 on Greenlandic was compulsory for pupils in the Danish stream as well (Langgård 2001:30-31). In 1988 many parents criticised the school system saying that the division of Danish and Greenlandic streams was not contemporary, since many children were of mixed ancestry and the parents didn't want to choose between a Greenlandic or a Danish stream. In the Danish stream the pupils would only receive two hours of study in Greenlandic per week and in the Greenlandic stream the pupils would not receive lessons in Danish at all until the third grade (Møller 1988:115). Then in 1990 a new education legislation was adopted and a fundamental change took place. The schools became integrated, meaning that all pupils, no matter mother tongue, would be placed in the same class (Langgård 2001:30-31). In May 2002 yet another education legislation (or school reform) called *Atuarfitsialak*¹¹ came into force, which will be analysed in depth in chapter four.

2.4 Research conducted until today

Per Langgård is a Senior Advisor at the Language Secretariat in Greenland. In 1992 he wrote an article based on a project among school children in Nuuk. Langgård explains that the linguistic picture is extremely mixed, i.e. people have very different linguistic and bilingual skills (1992:107), and the languages have had very shifting statuses. The status of Greenlandic has increased since the 1960s, according to Langgård (1992:108). In the 1960s and beginning of 1970s Danish had a very high status, but in the 1970s and beginning of 1980s Danish had a very low status. However, according to Langgård, by the end of 1980s the Danish language once again had a high status (1992:119). Langgård is of the opinion that as long as Greenland is part of Denmark, people in Greenland will need three languages (Greenlandic, Danish and English) in order to face future challenges (1992:127).

¹¹ Meaning 'The Good School'

In 2001 he wrote a paper that sought to account for the language domains. Langgård writes that the language situation in Greenland consists of: a) a strong national language, b) a diglossic situation and c) a political will to 'bring home' as many language domains to Greenland as possible. State schooling is a social domain that has been 'brought home' to Greenland. 'The Good School' legislation pursues, Langgård claims, an assimilationist approach of those pupils who do not yet speak Greenlandic via a transient bilingual school (Langgård 2001:33). Further education and research continue to take place in Denmark or by Danes, claims Langgård, for example, the majority of the researchers at the University of Greenland are Danes, Langgård points out (2001:39). The publicly elected Parliament is dominated by *Kalaallit* while the central administration is run by Danes, i.e. public officers are usually higher educated Danes (2001:41).

Jørgen Gimbel and **Anne Holmen (1999)** have carried out an empirical research project in state schools in Nuuk covering the first three years of the integrated stream program from 1994 to 1997. They found several interesting findings, which will be explained in chapter five.

Karen Langgård (2001) is a professor at *Ilisimatusarfik* - the University of Greenland in Nuuk, where she teaches Greenlandic grammar and literature. In 2001 she wrote a paper concerning the language use and language attitudes among students at the *gymnasium* in Nuuk based on 27 interviews carried out in 1998. Students with mixed mother tongues are in the same class except when the subject is Greenlandic, then there are three levels: A-level for mother tongue students, B-level for Greenlandic taught as a second language and C-level for Greenlandic taught as a foreign language (2001:240-242). Apart from this, Langgård writes that the conditions for using Greenlandic in the *gymnasium* are quite poor, since almost all the staff is Danish people (2001:240). Students whose mother tongue is Greenlandic seem to switch to Danish when a monolingual Danish speaker enters the conversation and if the subject is of interest to that person (2001:247). Usually the Danish-speaking students who try to speak Greenlandic are laughed at, whereas this does not happen when it is the opposite situation (2001:249-250). Generally students have a pragmatic attitude to the usage of Danish, even though many Greenlandic-speaking students have a hard time attending

classes taught entirely in Danish together with mother tongue speakers of Danish (2001:253).

Henrik Skydsberg (2001) has published a report that studies the factors that are decisive in young people beginning and completing an education based on 1,716 questionnaires from people born in 1970, 1975 and 1980. The study was financed by the Ministry of Culture, Education, Church and Research in Greenland. The report concludes that the people who typically finish an education are mostly women who grew up in towns. The parent's educational background play an important role, implying that the higher education the parents have, the more likely it is that their children will have an education (2001:4). The lack of Danish language plays a crucial role for many young people who choose *not* to have a further education (2001:5). The main reasons why teenagers *never even start* a further education is that they would rather earn money, they were tired of school, or because they did not know Danish well enough and had poor grades in school (2001:45-46). Young people from villages have indicated that language problems have been a major factor influencing their decision to quit the education system (2001:39-40). The Danish-speaking respondents to the survey were the most educated, followed by the bilinguals and lastly the *almost* bilingual Greenlandic-speaking people (2001:16-17). The report also concludes that people born in 1980 are more monolingual in Greenlandic or Danish than people born in 1975 or 1970 (2001:5).

Naja Lund and **Naaja Nathanielsen (2001)** have carried out quantitative questionnaires concerning 390 *Kalaallit* students completing continuing education in Greenland and Denmark. The survey shows that most students (73%) do not speak Greenlandic at a mother tongue level and 68% of them are not satisfied with their knowledge in Greenlandic language (2001:11-15). Danish-speaking *Kalaallit* have general problems because they do not speak Greenlandic and 55% of them have been discriminated because they do not speak Greenlandic. 61% of the Danish-speaking *Kalaallit* believe they will have problems in society in Greenland and 72% feel that it is only the politicians who say Greenlandic is useful (2001:19-20).

The conclusions in Lund and Nathanielsen's report are backed up by **Laila Chemnitz' (2001)** thesis, which is based on eleven qualitative interviews with Greenlandic students

in Denmark. One of the results is that the Greenlandic students who speak better Danish than Greenlandic find it problematic to not be able to speak Greenlandic at a mother tongue level.

Kistâra Vahl Motzfeldt (2002) has written a thesis about language use in Qaqortoq, South Greenland. A total of 143 questionnaires were answered by people in Qaqortoq randomly chosen from the National Register of Persons. A distinction was made between the young generations born in 1981 and in 1982, which totaled 61% of the responses, and the 'older generation' born in 1959, which totaled 39% of the responses. Additionally 16 qualitative interviews were carried out. Motzfeldt's main conclusion is that Greenlandic has a fairly well-established position in Qaqortoq society since the majority of the population in Qaqortoq speaks Greenlandic. Still there is a minority of Danish-speaking people in Qaqortoq and even though the majority speaks Greenlandic, it cannot avoid being in contact with the Danish language in its everyday life. Another interesting finding is that the tendencies are that more and more young Greenlanders become monolingual in Greenlandic (2002:26+66), which two qualitative interviews confirm (2002:84). Furthermore, it seems that there is a link between higher education and language, i.e. the higher education one has, the more bilingual friends one has (2002:89).

Motzfeldt discusses the terms 'second language' and 'foreign language' as to language acquisition and she claims that children of mixed marriages (Greenlandic-Danish) could have become bilinguals had it not been for a lack of motivation in learning Greenlandic. The pupils who received Greenlandic taught as a 'foreign language' therefore stayed monolinguals in Danish. Motzfeldt criticizes the random use of the terms *second language* and *foreign language* in the Greenland context. If the goal is to produce more bilingual children in the state schools, then Motzfeldt finds it crucial that the authorities in question engage more consciously with the use of these terms, both in connection to the subject Greenlandic and Danish (2002:24-27).

It has not been possible for me to get access to **Lisbeth Vahlgren's (2004)** thesis about language policies in the period 1979 to 2003 with its focus on the monolingual Greenlander. But in the abstract she argues that the language debate has to do with ethnic identity and power. She claims that there is a harsh debate between Greenlandic-

speaking and Danish-speaking Greenlanders, the latter feeling as much Greenlanders as the former. She argues that Greenlanders have begun developing their own identity, which is different from a Danish one, during the end of the 20th Century.

Ulrik Pram Gad (2005) has written a discourse analysis concerning the monolingual Danish-speaking Greenlander's position in the Greenlandic society. He concludes that this group of people has an uncertain place in society; they are excluded and can only be included in the future on condition that they learn Greenlandic. Some believe that they are Greenlanders with a mistake and that mistake can only be corrected if they learn Greenlandic. Yet another widespread idea among some people, Pram Gad claims, is that monolingual Danish-speaking Greenlander's are not accepted as Greenlanders and that Greenland does not accept being a bilingual society, because Danish language and culture is a threat to Greenlandic language and culture (2005:211-212).

2.5 Challenges and paradoxes

During the last fifty years there have been major societal changes and in 2009 there have been major socio-political restructurings. There was slimming down of the municipalities, which now counts four major municipalities, instead of 18 smaller municipalities. Furthermore, there was a historical Parliamentary election on June 2, 2009, and Self Rule was celebrated on June 21, 2009.

Official language policy and planning is a fairly new 'object of interest' in Greenland. It has developed since the question of self-determination was put on the top of the agenda at the turn of the century. The Language Secretariat *Oqaasileriffik* was the first official institution to work with language policy in June 2001. Since then, the internal Greenland Commission on Self-Governance has dealt with language issues in its report from 2003, as did the Greenlandic-Danish Commission's report in 2008. In the spring of 2009 the proposed linguistic integration legislation was sent to hearing in the Parliament, a proposal that will be analysed in chapter four.

The internal Greenlandic Commission on Self-Governance has emphasized that there is a limited amount of educational material and books in Greenlandic (Bet nkning 2003:chap 6.2). Both the Greenland government and the Greenlandic Commission

recognise that, at the moment, it is not possible to complete further education in Greenlandic solely because the production of Greenlandic educational material for all types of further education in Greenland, from nurse studies to police to administration studies etc. would be extremely expensive and require many personnel (Betænkning 2003:chap 6.2 and Uddannelsesplan 2005:5). Even at the University of Greenland (constituting four faculties and approximately 150 students), the students too complete their studies using a combination of Greenlandic, Danish and English educational material (Ilisimatusarfik). The Greenlandic Commission has emphasised that a lack of Danish language, and other foreign language skills will have an impact on the existing need for highly educated people (Betænkning 2003:chap 6.2).

For a long period of time there has been an enormous lack of well educated Greenlanders, and a concurrent need for several thousands of Danes to work in Greenland. The Greenland government acknowledges that it needs to educate more *Kalaallit* at all levels further education in order to stabilise the country economically and socially and in order to compete at a global level, which is why the former government launched an extraordinary education plan in 2005 (Afrapportering 2008:37). There is especially a need for higher educated Greenlanders, which is why the Greenland government intends to focus on this problem in the period of 2012-2020 (Afrapportering 2008:10).

But in these times of increased self-determination the ‘Greenlandisation ideology’ has thrived. When politicians make statements as to language use and attitudes they are sending very powerful signals to society of how they wish society to be in terms of language use. The former premier Hans Enoksen, for example, only spoke Greenlandic in public; he chose not to speak Danish or English, which is a very powerful statement. Therein a major paradox lies, because some politicians may be signalling that Greenlandic is the only important language in Greenland, but at the same time all job advertisements prefer bilingual applicants.

If the long-term political goal of the Greenland government is that of Greenland to be a monolingual country, then it needs to replace the thousands of Danish employees with Greenlandic-speaking employees and in order to do that, many more *Kalaallit* need a continuing education, but without other language skills than Greenlandic they cannot

complete a further education. As previous research indicates, many young Greenlanders do not have adequate language skills and are not able to fulfil the requirements of a further education.

The state school system in Greenland faces a great deal of challenges, which will be explained in chapter 5.3. Is the language education policy in ‘The Good School’ and in the integrated classes more successful than that of the 1980s? How do policies and legislations define terms such as mother tongue, second language, foreign languages and bilingualism? Besides studying the factors that affect the language policy and planning situation, the intention with this thesis is to analyse and discuss the current official education legislation.

3 Methodology, methods and theoretical framework

3.1 Methodology and methods

Methodology is the framework of the overall approach to answering the specified research questions, and embraces the theoretical framework and the analytical tools. The two methodological approaches intertwined in this thesis are indigenous methodology, combined with sociolinguistic theories, both of which are new approaches for me, as my undergraduate is in English and Spanish business languages.

During my review of various sociolinguistic theories it became apparent that it is a research field inspired by multiple scientific research fields such as political science, social science, psychology, sociology and linguistics. How to approach a theoretical framework applicable to the Greenlandic context is indeed a challenge. In many ways Greenland's political situation is special. Greenland is a former colony and today it still *belongs* to the Danish realm. *Kalaallit* are both a minority group and indigenous peoples within the Danish realm. Moreover, the question of power is interesting as one would presume there might be an imbalanced power relation between the two countries. But *Kalaallit* also constitute the majority ethnic group within their own geographical borders, and have a vast amount of self-determination within those borders with the establishment of Home Rule and now Self Rule. Hence, there is no clear-cut theory within sociolinguistics applicable to the Greenland context, which is why I have chosen to put together a range of theoretical approaches with keywords such as nationalism and power among others.

Since this Master's thesis is written within the field of indigenous studies, I am inspired by indigenous methodology. In order for the reader to understand my position as a researcher, it might be relevant to know a bit about my background, and to understand these questions:

“Whose research is it? Who owns it? Whose interests does it serve? Who will benefit from it? Who has designed its questions and framed its scope? Who will carry it out? Who will write it up? How will its results be disseminated?” (Smith 1999:10).

My position as a researcher is based on the fact that I am a *Kalaaleq* and a Danish person. I was born and raised in Greenland by a Greenlandic mother and a Danish father. In our home we spoke two languages, and both Greenlandic and Danish customs were used. When I entered the school system, my parents decided that I should attend the Danish stream because they were convinced that if I was to have a higher education I should learn to speak Danish fluently. In the 1980s the school system was organised into two separate streams: a Greenlandic and a Danish stream. This resulted in my Danish language improving and my Greenlandic worsening. When I began in *gymnasium*¹² all instruction was in Danish, as our teachers were all Danes. Our books were in Danish and our exams were written in Danish. Several of my fellow students who had attended a Greenlandic stream in state schools previous to *gymnasium* were struggling with Danish. They were used to speaking Greenlandic in class, having teachers who were *Kalaallit* and books written in Greenlandic. Suddenly, they had to switch to Danish in *gymnasium*. In *gymnasium* we all had various bilingual language skills, but irrespective of that, there was a respect and tolerance for lack of knowledge in one language or another.

Linda Tuhiwai Smith has emphasised that:

“The critical issue with insider research is the constant need for reflexivity. At a general level insider research have to have ways of thinking critically about their processes, their relationships and the quality and richness of their data and analysis”
(Ibid:137).

Being able to reflect and to be critical are therefore key words for me as an ‘insider’. Furthermore, it is crucial to ensure that this research will not stay solely in the academic sphere, but that the research findings will ‘return to’ Greenland and benefit those who are discussing, involved in and affected by language policy. It is my hope that this thesis will become a part of the language policy discussion, and hopefully contribute to broader perspectives in the debate and the continuing developments in these policies. Hence, funding for translation of this thesis into Greenlandic and Danish would be beneficial.

¹² European secondary school that prepares students for university

Concerning language planning and language emancipation, a concept which I will return to later, Anna-Riitta Lindgren and Leena Huss distinguish between macro, micro and middle levels. The micro level is concerned with language use by individuals and families. In the middle level there are associations and organised activists who might affect emancipation. Finally, the macro level is concerned with language planning and policy at the national level (Lindgren & Huss 2007:196). This thesis is concerned with language planning at macro level only, i.e. official government policies.

According to Bernard Spolsky, language policy consists of three components: language management, language practices and language beliefs (Spolsky 2008:27). In this thesis, focus is on language management only, which Spolsky defines as:

“the formulation and proclamation of an explicit plan or policy, usually but not necessarily written in a formal document, about language use.” (Spolsky 2004:11).

Furthermore, Spolsky claims that one of the most important domains for language policy is the school (Ibid.:46). Within language education policy there are two basic questions to be answered: which language is to be used as medium of instruction and how early should schools begin teaching it. In addition to that, education policy has to consider instruction languages other than the mother tongue (Ibid.:46-47). Spolsky highlights the fact that policy and implementation do not always go hand in hand:

“Some countries record their language policy in their constitutions or in law; others do not. Some implement their written policies; others clearly do not” (Ibid.:4).

As Spolsky has stated, the methodology used depends on the research questions. Normally there are two questions: what is the policy of a particular social group? Secondly, what is the effect of any particular policy? Additionally, from those two questions a third question: what is the most desirable policy for any particular group? (Spolsky 2008:28).

My research questions parallel Spolsky’s questions closely. My first question is: what is the current official language policy and planning situation in Greenland? My second question is: what is the official language education policy in the state school system?

These two questions will be explored in depth throughout this analysis. The third question Spolsky proposes will be discussed in chapter six.

Spolsky states that “[o]verall language policy is commonly set out in a constitutional clause” (Ibid.:29), and when investigating language education policy one should look at the curriculum (Ibid.:28-29). My methods will be to analyse official documents that explicitly express the official Greenlandic language policy, including the language education policy in the state schools. Among others, these documents will be analysed:

- **International law:** ILO Convention 169 concerning Indigenous and Tribal People in Independent Countries and the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.
- **National language policies:** Home Rule Act, Self Rule Act and proposed linguistic integration legislation of 2009 (these are all in the appendices).
- **Language education policy:** Education legislation, parent’s handbook and school curriculums (see list of appendices).

3.2 Theoretical framework

3.2.1 Language policy and planning

Using Dennis Ager’s goal theory and James W. Tollefson’s social theory I will try to identify some factors that are important in Greenlandic language planning. Ager’s goal theory is based on motivation, whereas Tollefson’s is based on ideology. Furthermore, I will look into the concept of language emancipation as a motivation for language planning in the Greenland context.

Language planning is usually divided into three fields: status, corpus and acquisition planning. Status planning concerns the prestige of the language. Corpus planning has to do with the ‘construction’ of the language, for instance standardisation or adding new terms etc. Acquisition planning or language education policy concerns acquisition, reacquisition or maintenance of first, second or foreign languages (Ager 2001:6). According to Ager there are three types of actors involved in language issues: individuals, communities and states. Dennis Ager states that:

“Language policy is official planning, carried out by those in political authority, and has clear similarities with any other form of public policy. As such, language policy represents the exercise of political power, and like any policy, may be successful or not in achieving its aims” (Ibid.:5-6).

What Ager focuses on in his approach in analysing language planning is the *ends*, or goals, of language planning within which he identifies two factors of specific importance: goal theory and the study of attitudes (Ibid.:7). Within goal theory Ager identifies seven types of motivation: identity, ideology, image creation, insecurity, inequality, integration with a group, and instrumental motives (Ibid.:9).

Identity is, according to Ager, closely related to ethnic nationalism, and is often symbolised by a language or a religion, and has caused many conflicts throughout the world. He emphasises that nationalism can also be positive in the sense that groups desiring to become nations have found strength in the feeling of togetherness. Ager puts emphasis on the fact that identity as a motive for language policy is relevant in cases where groups desire to become or remain nations (Ibid.:13). The important elements of nationalism are, Ager claims, factors such as space, territoriality, time, culture, family patterns, modes of dress, taboos, cuisine, educational norms, and artistic production. Furthermore, Ager says “[I]anguage is an essential component for smaller national groups, in that it enables the group to maintain daily communication, to express its wishes and desires, and reflects the nature of its world view” (Ibid. 2001:14). Ager points out that language and religion are often symbols of nationalism. The distinction between ‘them’ and ‘us’ is an important factor in the concept of nationalism, as the sense of togetherness and identity is most often manifested through a struggle towards an outside domination or threat (Ibid.:13-14).

Ideology and national identity do seem to play a significant role in the policies for education, Ager points out, since language policy in education is a consequence of a prior ideological aim (Ibid.:41-53). *Image creation* is a reflection of an identity, Ager argues, and image creation as a motive for language planning is thus an attempt to manipulate an image to create a positive external opinion of the group in question (Ibid.:74-75).

To describe the motive *insecurity*, Ager uses the Gypsies as an example. Many authorities have rejected them because they are different and because they are a danger to the settled identity of the state, thus they have become outsiders. Insecurity as a motive for language policy is therefore based on an external threat and an awareness of that threat's effect on the language's or the culture's own identity (Ibid.:83-85). *Inequality* is related to three areas of social exclusion: gender, powerlessness and ethnicity. Inequality as a motive for language planning and policy is used as a tool to correct that inequality, according to Ager (Ibid.:87). The European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages is, according to Ager, an excellent example of a concrete action plan to correct inequality through language policy (Ibid.:93).

Even though *integration* and *instrumental* motives are closely related, Ager points at some differences. 'Integration with a group' is apparent, for example, in cases where immigrants are required to speak languages other than their mother-tongue at school, whereas the 'instrumental motive' is when groups or individuals choose to acquire a second language because it will give them economic or career advantages (Ibid.:108-124).

James W. Tollefson (1991) seeks inspiration from social organisation and social theory in his construction of a theory that can explain the ideology of language policy. He puts together a range of different social aspects such as 'power', 'the state', 'ideology', 'hegemony', 'structure/class', 'dominance', 'exploitation' and 'minority' as factors influencing the ideologies behind language policies.

When using the term 'power' Tollefson refers to control and dominance exercised by an individual or a social organisation with the aid of their social relationships, and within institutional structures. Tollefson claims that controlling labour enables major power for centralized bureaucracies, and that control of labour market is one key mechanism of control that entails language policy. This is just one example of an area that the government or state can control via language policy. Another apparatus that withholds power is 'the state' itself, which is formed by a group of individuals who have an interest in retaining and gaining increased power. Tollefson stresses that one way for the state to maintain its power is through language policy. Tollefson emphasises that

“[t]he importance of language policy is fundamentally rooted in the rise of the modern state” (Ibid.:10).

The ‘ideology’ of a state is another important factor, and Tollefson emphasises that multilingual states usually approach a monolingualistic language policy as a solution to linguistic inequality. A widespread idea posits that if minorities learn the dominant language, they will not suffer from economic and social inequality (Ibid.:10). The state and its ideology are closely connected to power, as they depend upon the status quo power structure in a society to retain power. ‘Hegemony’ is another dominant aspect in the language planning process, Tollefson claims. Linguistic hegemony exists in the USA and in Great Britain, Tollefson argues, since minorities within states are denied political rights and because multilingualism is not officially recognised, even though it exists (Ibid.:12). Tollefson explains that being an ‘American’ is generally associated with speaking the standard American English, and if one does not, then that individual is not recognised as fully American (Ibid.:12).

Societies are built around a social ‘structure’ which is most often identified by social groupings such as class, ethnicity, gender and language (Ibid.:13). These groups may often struggle among themselves to gain or maintain power, and this struggle is part of a social system in transformation (Ibid.:13). Education is an important aspect of the social structure, since the groups will often fight over languages in the school curriculum (Ibid.:13).

The ‘dominance’ aspect refers to individuals or groups that are being dominated. Most often poor people are dominated, because they do not have economic advantages. In relation to this Tollefson explains that ‘exploitation’ is a tactic used by dominant groups to sustain their positions of privilege. A ‘minority’ is commonly distinguished by gender, ethnicity, religion, race and social class. They may be indigenous peoples, immigrants or established minorities. Usually a minority refers to a group’s size proportional minority, but Tollefson also uses ‘minority’ to refer to a group with less power, rights and privileges than the dominant group (Ibid.:14-15). Tollefson emphasises that ‘equal opportunity’ is merely an ideological idea (Ibid.:15).

To summarise Tollefson's theory, he sees language policy as language planning performed by governments, and as a mechanism by which dominant groups can control access to political power and economic resources (Ibid.:16).

A different theory is that of language emancipation discussed by Anna-Riitta Lindgren and Leena Huss. Language emancipation is about improving the status of a minority language in a state that formerly exercised assimilationist policies. Language emancipation is about promoting the use of a language within certain domains that previously were dominated by the language with a higher status (Lindgren & Huss 2007:193-197). Language emancipation occurs when the minorities become more aware of the status of their own languages and cultures. This phenomenon is called 'language revitalisation' (Ibid.:191). It is a sort of a 'democratisation process', as I interpret it, because the minorities are 'waking up' and fighting for their rights, in the sense that these minorities seek to enjoy the same respect attributed to the majority language and culture (Ibid.:191). Lindgren and Huss claim that language emancipation has occurred in the 19th century in the north of Europe concerning the Finnish, Norwegian and Faroese languages (Ibid.:188). During the last decades of the 20th century language emancipation has occurred for many minority languages, according to Lindgren and Huss, concerning Inuit languages and Saami (Ibid.:188). The Saami language (ten main dialects/languages) has gone through and is still in a phase of revitalisation after a long period suffering from assimilationist policies performed by state governments (Gaup Eira 2004:166-167). Consequently, many Saami people have 'lost' their language because they were not taught to read and write in Saami. Even though Saami children have the right to education in Saami in Norway, many Saami parents have experienced that the authorities have not provided education in Saami (Ibid.:219). The challenges for the Saami people concern the rights to use the Saami language and promote education in Saami (Ibid.:168-169).

3.2.2 Language and nationalism

Nation-state building, nationalism and language are relevant concepts in this case, since Greenland is gaining increased self-determination, and some day might become a state itself. I will bring forward theories by Benedict Anderson, Tove Skutnabb-Kangas,

Joshua A. Fishman and Bernard Spolsky to understand why states were built the way they were, and to understand the impact of language on nations and nation-building.

In his book *Imagined Communities*, Benedict Anderson describes and discusses the rise of nationalism. Anderson defines a nation as "an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign" (Anderson 2006:6). The nation is 'imagined' in the sense that the members of a particular nation will never meet or know all of their fellow nation members. Furthermore, the nation is 'imagined' as both 'limited' and 'sovereign' in the sense that it has finite boundaries and strives for territorial freedom (Ibid.:7). The rise of nationalism developed concurrently with the rise of the modern state:

“What, in a positive sense, made the new communities imaginable was a half-fortuitous, but explosive, interaction between a system of production and productive relations (capitalism), a technology of communications (print), and the fatality of human linguistic diversity” (Ibid.:42-43).

The modern state, according to Anderson, is built around capitalism, technology and language. Anderson argues that humans within one group tend to unite by means of having only *one language* that unifies them, or their nation/state. Anderson also argues that languages have had varying social statuses. Latin, for example, had a religious authority status, and French was regarded as a corruption of Latin (2006:41-42).

Tove Skutnabb-Kangas acknowledges Anderson's theory. She states that “[a] nation-state comprised one (romantic, Herderian) ‘nation’, and this imagined community (Anderson 1983) was, especially in the German nationalist tradition, ideally seen as united by one single language” (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000:425). Many policy-makers see monolingualism as the right solution, and view linguistic diversity as a disadvantage for the nation-state. Skutnabb-Kangas further asserts that bilingualism is seen as a *problem* instead of an advantage among policy-makers (Ibid.:238-248). Among others, political theorist Will Kymlicka believes that things are ‘complicated by linguistic diversity’ (Ricento 2006:279).

Skutnabb-Kangas calls the above ideology *monolingual reductionism*, and is an ideology that embraces monolingualism as normal, desirable, sufficient and inevitable. Skutnabb-Kangas points out four myths with regards to this ‘one state, one language-ideology’ (Op. cit.:238-248). Skutnabb-Kangas claims that monolingualism is in fact ‘abnormal’ in the sense that most states in the world and the majority of the world’s population are multilingual. Monolingualism cannot be desirable since “at a societal level, it is inefficient and uneconomic to prevent people from getting their education in a language they know thoroughly, from understanding important messages, from understanding the discourse necessary for democratic governance to take place, and to prevent them from using a language they know well” (Ibid.:241-242). Monolingualism is not sufficient, since what is expressed in other languages is important given that adequate translation do not always exists, and even if it does the translation might come out differently than intended. Monolingualism is not inevitable, since many people worldwide are forced to learn another language than their mother tongue, be it as refugees, newcomers or in work related matters (Ibid.:244-248).

The boundary between nationalism and language was also of interest for Joshua A. Fishman in the book *Language Problems of Developing Countries* from 1968. As the (co)-founding father of sociolinguistics (Hornberger 2006:41), Fishman has argued through his long career for an increased implementation of sociology and political science into sociolinguistics (Ibid.:42). Fishman recognises that developing nations face challenges distinct from other nations, since they have not completely developed the framework for a nation (Fishman et.al. 1968:4-6).

In the creation of the framework for a new nation, developing states strive to create a new common, nationwide, ethnic and cultural identity through national symbols, such as a flag, a national mission, etc. In this search for national symbols, language can easily become one of those symbols of ethnic-cultural identification which Fishman specifies as a component of nationalism (Ibid.:6).

According to Fishman, developing nations face language problems because they lack national integration, which is linked with questions of territory, and stable political and socio-cultural pasts. They are therefore, in Fishman’s terms, ‘little traditions’; i.e. new (developing) nations. On the other hand, he uses the term ‘great traditions’ to indicate

old developing nations with old polities and socio-cultural entities (Ibid.:491-492). Even though Fishman does not specifically refer to developing *indigenous* nations' problems, most indigenous nations presumably belong to the 'little traditions' category, while the colonizing countries belong to the 'great traditions'. Fishman recognizes that there are nations in between 'great' and 'little' traditions, that have fragments of both old and new developing nations' problems, such as India and Pakistan, that face completely distinctive and diversified challenges (Ibid.:496).

Fishman argues that the basic 'problem' with developing countries has to do with the transition from tradition to modernity, and from localized ethnicity to larger scale nationalism. Fishman indicates that globalisation, industrialism and technology, as part of 'modernity', have had an important impact in defining 'us' from 'them'. The language problems in most cases thus consist of questions concerning Western loanwords, language shift and bilingualism with the risk of turning into monolingualism (Ibid.:492).

Being an advocate of multi-nationalism, multiculturalism and multilingualism (Hornberger 2006:33), Fishman claims that the question of nationality would not have been so troublesome had it not been for the merging of several nations into one nation-state. Fishman defines nationalism in the following sentence:

“This process of transformation from fragmentary and tradition-bound ethnicity to unifying and ideologized nationality may well be called nationalism” (Fishman et.al. 1968: 41).

Fishman exemplifies nationalism using Western Europe as an example of several transmutations from ethnicity to nationality to larger nationality, and some to more inclusive nationality (Ibid.:41). Nationalism therefore has to do with ethnic groups pursuing socio-cultural unification. When nationalism is prominent the major language problems seem to be those of language maintenance, reinforcement and enrichment. The choice of a national language is not a question at all, since this is already a highly ideologised symbol, as Fishman expresses in this sentence:

“language and nationalism represent a more ideologized historical interaction (in terms of mass ideology) since nationalism so commonly elaborates upon language as one of its markers of symbolic unity and identity” (Ibid.:43).

Based on Fishman and Lambert, Spolsky has elaborated a figure that shows three different types of nation states and their language policies. The figure is interesting as it gives a comprehensive understanding of the interactions between ethnic groups, power and choice of policy. Type I consist of an ethno-linguistically homogenous group which has a monolingual policy. Type II is a dyadic/triadic country which has two or three ethno-linguistic groups, equal in numbers or power. Switzerland, Belgium, Fiji and Canada belong to type II. Type III is a mosaic/multiethnic society with various ethnic groups, like India and Papua New Guinea (2004:60).

Types of countries and language policies (Spolsky 2004:60)

Type	Attitude	Ideology	Usual activity
I	One language is associated with the national identity; others are marginalized	Monolingual	Corpus planning (normativism) foreign language acquisition, diffusion
II	Two or three languages associated with the national identity; others are marginalized	Bi- or trilingual	Status planning
III	No one language is seen as motivated by the national identity	Multilingual, with varying official status for several favoured languages	Corpus and acquisition planning

3.2.3 Power and languages

The concept of power is important in understanding the boundary between language policies and sociology (and political science). Linking Ager’s and Tollefson’s concepts of power with Skutnabb-Kangas’ ideas concerning power and language is therefore relevant in order to understand the complex relation between nations, power and languages. Skutnabb-Kangas discusses ‘democracy’ and its meanings, forms and contents. Her point is that democracy becomes important in defining whether or not it promotes homogenisation with regards to language diversity. Furthermore, she stresses

that the world has become more unequal with regards to income and private property. She claims that people from industrialised countries have more power than people from 'underdeveloped countries'. Accordingly, people with formal education have better possibilities to access material resources and structural power than people with little or no formal education at all (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000:379-402).

Skutnabb-Kangas (Ibid.:402-405) is inspired by Johan Galtung and his theories on power. According to Johan Galtung there are three different types of power, which are: 'innate power', 'resource power' and 'structural power'. Innate power is power that is inherited, for instance intelligence, muscles, DNA etc. Resource power is divided between material and non-material power. Material powers are capital, houses, cars etc., and non-material powers are for instance languages, cultures, traditions, experience, education, knowledge and time. The third form of power is structural power which is defined by an individual's or a state's position. According to Galtung and Skutnabb-Kangas only structural power and resource power are really decisive and important powers, and she notes that they are interrelated. For example, if you have money and education, you can more easily convert these powers into structural power by accessing an influential job in society. Skutnabb-Kangas emphasises that "at a group level, nations which have their own state obviously have more structural power than non-state nations or peoples" (Ibid.:427).

Dennis Ager's thoughts concerning powerless communities are interesting in relation to the concept of power. Ager proposes five different motives, goals and strategies that powerless communities demonstrate with regards to language planning. The first strategy is *maintaining and defending identity*, whereby identity is found solely in and through the language. The community has no political unity, no control of own territory and constantly tries to find a common social organisation such as kinship, neighbourhood or religion (Op. cit.:164-166).

The second motivation factor Ager puts forward is *correcting inequality* which is the case with ex-colonial societies, who have experienced domination, and where the minority/ex-colonial community language suffers from a lack of prestige compared to the majority language. Ager states that "the motive of correcting social inequality,

injustice or inequity is a strong force for powerless communities whose identity is important to them” (Ibid.:166).

The third motivation lies in the minority’s feeling of being *insecure*, since they have less control over their destiny and limited political control. This strategy is the fundamental motive of powerless communities, whose language status is seen as less valid by the majority group. But the motive in this strategy is not necessarily that of correcting inequality, the insecurity is based in the feeling that the language is inadequate, for example, in its writing system. *Instrumentality* is the fourth strategy, which implies that the community attempts to develop the language so that it can function in different domains, i.e. trying to ensure coherence between the language and the environment. *The integrative motive* is the last strategy, which approves the superiority of the majority language and finally implies a language shift. Ager points out that most communities do not necessarily have one single motive, but rather have mixed motives (Ibid.:163-174).

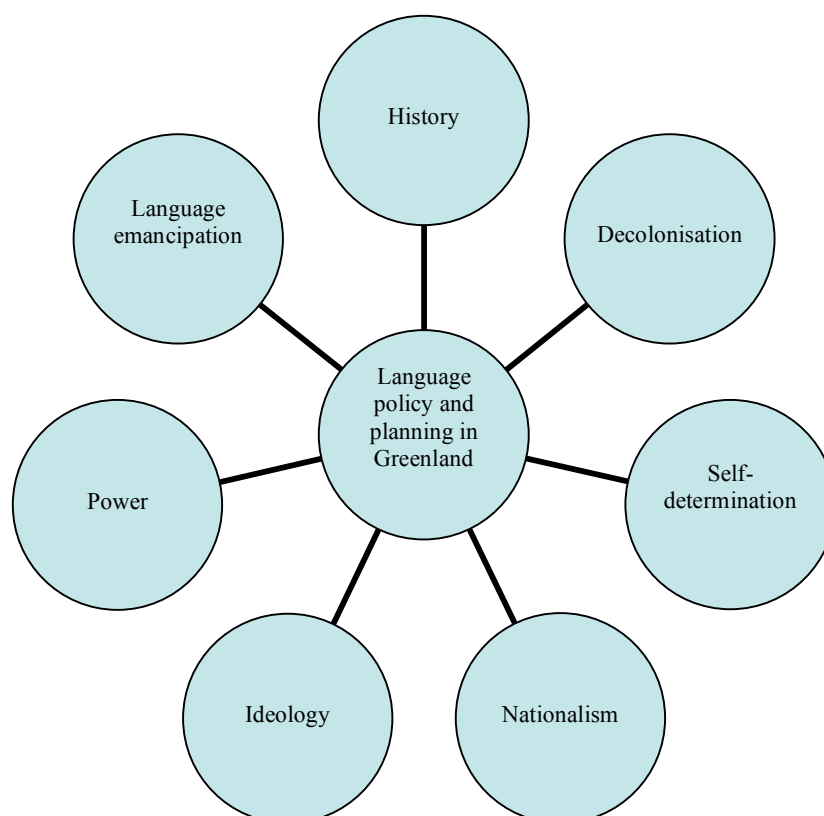
Whatever strategy a powerless community might employ, it seems that in most cases ‘maximizing control’ plays an important role. Skutnabb-Kangas claims that “[c]ontrol over the destiny of one’s own language and maximising its official use is also of paramount concern to groups seeking self-determination or more cultural rights, before or, indeed, after colonisation” (Op. cit.:202).

Having control and power is also about manipulation, which implies changing attitudes and especially changing attitudes to languages. When trying to understand power, one also has to understand the question of manipulation by those in power. Colin Baker proposes that attitudes to languages change over time and have a strong political dimension. Baker argues that it is power groups that manipulate language attitudes (Baker 1992:97). In understanding why attitudes change over time from a person-oriented and socio-political perspective one has to look at several dimensions such as ideology, institution, power, prestige, conflicts, class, figureheads and fashions (Ibid.:97-98).

Having summarised the above-mentioned theories and having looked closely into Greenland’s socio-political history, the factors in the figure below are factors that are

important in Greenlandic language policy and planning. These factors will be further expanded on in chapter five.

Figure 1. Factors affecting language policy and planning in Greenland



3.2.4 Language education policy

One of the most significant areas of influence within language policy and planning is the school system (Spolsky 2004:46). Language education policy deals with two major issues. The first concerns which language(s) to be used as a medium of instruction, and which dialect to be used (usually the regional or national language). Secondly, it concerns the age at which children are to be taught in the school language, and thirdly there is the question of teaching in other languages. Within the two last issues lies a whole range of different forms of political decisions, and various forms of monolingual, bilingual or even multilingual school systems (Ibid.:46-47).

James W. Tollefson believes that language policies in education must be understood in connection with broad social, political, and economic forces that shape not only education but social life in general, as well as migration and elite competition among other things (Tollefson 2002:x+327). In his book *Language Policies in Education: Critical Issues* (2002), Tollefson outlines several common traits with regards to language policies in education. School and community are related, i.e. the school cannot alone influence language development, according to Tollefson. The community is therefore decisive in determining a language policy progress, argues Tollefson, i.e. funding, patterns of employment, local and national politics, and political and linguistic ideologies all influence language goals. Language policies in education need to be understood as a complicated interdependent relationship between school, family and community (Ibid.:328). Financial resources are crucial in supporting educational programs, claims Tollefson, especially when it comes to programs concerned with language reclamation and revitalisation in language minority communities (Ibid.:329).

Socio-political conflicts are, Tollefson argues, an undeniable factor influencing language policies. Using India and Yugoslavia as examples, Tollefson explains that the former is seeking social and linguistic integration, whereas the latter striving for disintegration. Where linguistic diversity exists, socio-political conflicts are potentially traceable, not emphasising the degree of diversity but rather the tensions between the languages, and the possible unequal social and economic factors. Tollefson draws attention to some African examples where processes of decolonisation have lead to a critique of Western education and promoted indigenous language education instead. Using this example Tollefson emphasises that understanding indigenous language education must be seen in the light of the historical context. Tollefson's point in delineating the boundary between inequality and language is especially interesting as he draws attention to the fact that economic inequality can lead to power elites promoting mother tongue policies and official-language policies (Ibid.:329-330).

There is a vast amount of power in language politics, Tollefson argues, since these can mobilize public opinion, and affect issues of state formation, politics and administration, and allow some leaders to use language for destructive aims (Ibid.:330-331). Using Hong Kong as an example, Tollefson argues that language policies in governance indeed influence language policies in education. In the decolonisation

process, whereby Hong Kong was reunited with China, there was a shift from English to Chinese as the medium of instructional language. Accordingly, Tollefson argues that language not only is a symbol of identity, either indigenous, Western or others, but also plays a crucial role in the governance of colonial and postcolonial countries (Ibid.:332). Globalisation is another factor that explicitly or implicitly influences language policies. For example countries, such as Vietnam and Korea, which are promoting strategic economic development have begun to focus on English promotion policies (Ibid.:332-333). Lastly, Tollefson highlights the importance of local teachers' challenges, for example a lack of materials or of professional development opportunities (Ibid.:334).

When it comes to bilingual education, which is a fairly new research field that has thrived during the latter part of the twentieth century, Ofelia García argues, that bilingual education is contested, and has been heavily criticised because it does not harmonise with the 'one state-one language'-ideology (García 2009:9-11). Today bilingual education is becoming more and more popular for reasons concerning, not only, individual cognitive and social advantages, but also because we live in a multilingual world, according to García (Ibid.:11-13).

As brought up in chapter 2.3 in this thesis 'bilingualism' seems to be complex. It is therefore relevant to discuss the term 'mother tongue'. The term itself is contested and there are many different definitions, claims García (Ibid.:57-58). Tove Skutnabb-Kangas has discussed the challenges concerning how to approach a definition of a 'mother tongue' and she argues that four different categories such as 'origin', 'identification', 'competence' and 'function' can be applied when defining a 'mother tongue' (Skutnabb-Kangas 1981:22-26). The following model (as Ofelia Garcia listed them in Garcia 2009:58) shows the four different criteria Skutnabb-Kangas approached:

- Origin The language(s) one learned first
- Competence The language(s) one knows best
- Function The language(s) one uses most
- Identification:
 - Internal The language(s) one identifies with
 - External The language(s) others identify one with

These criteria allows for variation with regards to defining a mother tongue, in the sense that the ‘competence’ criteria is a linguistic approach, argues Skutnabb-Kangas, whereas the ‘function’ criteria is a sociolinguistic approach (Skutnabb-Kangas 1981:22-23). Most importantly Skutnabb-Kangas argues that a ‘mother tongue’ is not a static designation, especially not when the definition belongs within the ‘function’ criteria. This means that an individual’s ‘mother tongue’ (or the language(s) that the person uses most) might change according to changing circumstances in that person’s life (Ibid.:25-26).

Accordingly, it is very difficult to define a ‘mother tongue’; then how do researchers define ‘bilingualism’? Colin Baker proposes that “the ownership of two languages is not as simple as having two wheels or two eyes” (García 2009:7). Bilingualism is complicated and there are different types of bilingualism, which was also explained in chapter 2.3. Some bilinguals may have *receptive bilingual abilities*, i.e. they may understand, read, interpret or attend to signs in more than one language, but they cannot speak, write or produce signs in more than one language. Others have *productive bilingual abilities*, which means that they are able to speak, write and produce signs in more than one language, according to Ofelia García (Ibid.:61). Colin Baker explains the complexities of bilingualism as follows:

“A person may be able to speak two languages, but tends to speak only one language in practise. Alternatively, the individual may regularly speak two languages, but competence in one language may be limited. Another person will use one language for conversation and another for writing and reading” (Baker 2006:3).

Tove Skutnabb-Kangas defines bilingualism in this manner:

“A bilingual person is one who can function in two (or more) languages in either monolingual or bilingual societies in accordance with the socio-cultural demands from the particular society or individual on the person’s communicative and cognitive competencies, which are at the same level as a native speaker, and who has the opportunity to identify positively with both (or all)

language groups (and cultures) or parts thereof"¹³ (Skutnabb-Kangas 1981:93, my translation).

Bilingual education is not simply one language plus a second language equals two languages, according to Ofelia García (García 2009:7). When Ofelia García, and many other scholars, uses the term 'bilingual education' she is also referring to trilingual and multilingual education, which is education using more than one language, but the term 'bilingual education' is much more grounded in theory, research, practise and in reality (Ibid.:9+11). As Ofelia García points out:

"What makes bilingual education complex is that one has to think not only of pedagogy, approaches, and methodology, but also of how to allocate, arrange, and use the two languages in instruction" (Ibid.:290).

Accordingly, bilingual allocation refers to the time allotments spent in each language. A *sliding bilingual allocation* refers to a program where the time in each language changes with time. That means that the program may start using the children's first language 90% of the time and ends by using the children's second language 90% of the time (Ibid.:290). García points out that it is a myth that a 50:50 allocation is the best, as research shows that bilingualism can develop as long as the two languages are respected and both valued (Ibid.:291).

A bilingual arrangement refers to how languages are to be used in the curriculum. García presents three types of arrangements which are: 'strict separation', 'flexible convergence' and 'flexible multiplicity' (Ibid.:291). The three arrangements are explained below.

¹³ *"Tvåspråkig är den som har en möjlighet att fungera på två (eller flera) språk, antingen i enspråkliga eller tvåspråkliga samfund i enlighet med de sociokulturella krav på en individs kommunikativa och kognitiva kompetens som dessa samfund och individen själv ställer, på samma nivå som infödda talare, samt en möjlighet att identifiera sig positivt med båda (eller alla) språkgrupperna (och kulturerna) eller delar av dem"* (Skutnabb-Kangas 1981:93).

Strict separation can be determined by either: time, teacher, place or subject. A time-determined strategy refers to how the languages of instruction are divided: into half- or part-days, alternate days or alternate-weeks. The teacher-determined strategy refers to one teacher that speaks only X language and a second teacher who speaks only Y language. Place-determined strategy means that each language has each its own separate room. Subject-determined strategy refers to teaching in a subject taught by a teacher in language X and other subjects taught in language Y by another teacher (Ibid.:292-295).

Flexible convergence is characterised by two patterns, namely random code-switching and monoliterate bilingualism. This arrangement means that bilingual teachers use two languages when teaching the same content in a class and frequently shift back and forth between the two languages (Ibid.:295-297).

Within *flexible multiplicity* García mentions five different arrangements (Ibid.:298), which are: 1) *Responsible code-switching both ways*, 2) *Preview/view/review*, 3) *Translanguaging*, 4) *Co-languaging* and 5) *Cross-linguistic work and awareness*. There is no need to explain every arrangement here; it is just to show that there are various methods and strategies as to how languages are to be used in the curriculum.

Generally there are three models of bilingual teaching: convergent, immersion and multiple teaching. The convergent model focuses on developing an academic proficiency in the dominant language and shows almost no interest in the home language. Immersion teaching puts emphasis on teaching monolingually for bilingualism, and in multiple teaching two or more languages are used in combination. The two latter methods have clearly implicit language policies whereas the first one does not have a policy or a clear understanding of how the alternate languages should be used (Ibid.:308-309).

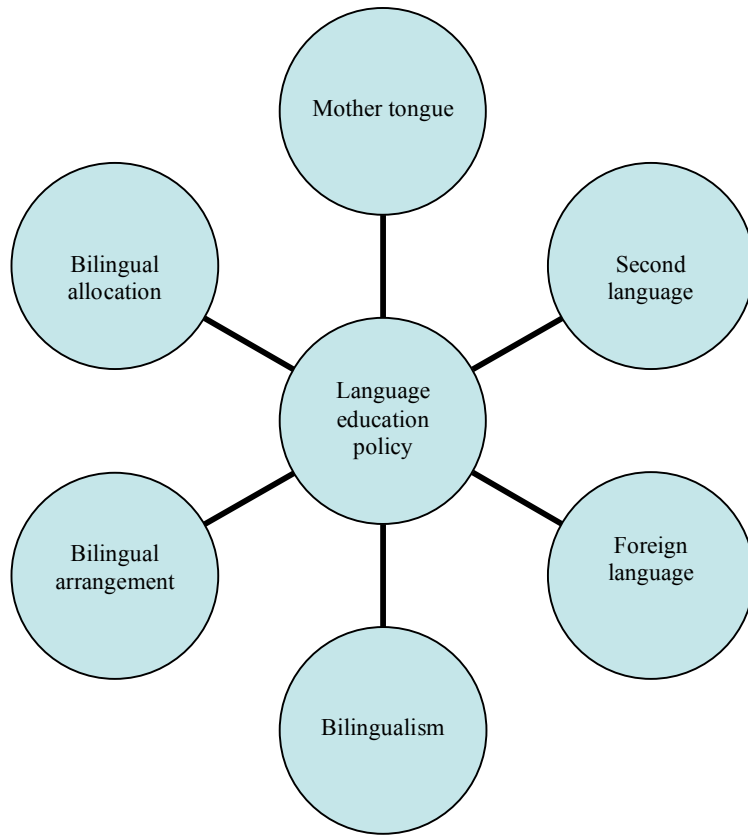
According to Tove Skutnabb-Kangas there are three types of bilingual education: the non-forms, and weak and strong forms. The 'non-forms' do not use two languages as media of teaching and learning, and do therefore not belong to the classic perception of bilingual education (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000:579). The strong models are characterized by aiming to promote multilingualism (or bilingualism). The 'weak forms' have other

aims, which do not include multilingualism and multiliteracy, but rather monolingualism or limited bilingualism. Because these ‘weak forms’ use two languages as media of instruction, they might be considered as belonging to the category of ‘bilingual education’ (Skutnabb-Kangas 1995:225-226).

Skutnabb-Kangas outlines some recommendations for a successful bilingual education system. The language which the child is least likely to develop should be supported and be used during at least the first eight years of schooling, according to Skutnabb-Kangas. Children with the same L1 (first language/mother tongue) should be grouped together initially, Skutnabb-Kangas claims, because mixed groups are not initially positive. L1 and L2 must be compulsory throughout the whole educational process, i.e. both first and second language has to be used as media of education in some periods during the children’s education. The aim for *all* children, especially those in mixed groups, should be that of achieving a high level of bilingualism, according to Skutnabb-Kangas. Skutnabb-Kangas recommends that a foreign language should be taught through the child’s mother tongue and all teachers must be bi- or multilingual. Lastly, Skutnabb-Kangas argues that the roles of both languages should be respected (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000:627-630).

Language education policy that embraces bilingual education often has to deal with some key concepts such as: mother tongue, second language, foreign language, bilingualism, bilingual arrangement and bilingual allocation. These are as outlined in the figure below and will be expanded on in chapter five and further discussed in chapter six.

Figure 2. Key concepts in language education policy and bilingual education



4 Analysis

This analysis is divided into three parts. In order to examine the influence of international law's influence on national language policy, part 4.1 outlines linguistic rights according to international law. In part 4.2, the language policy and planning situation in Greenland will be analysed starting with the Home Rule Act, then turning to the Self Rule Act and closing with the proposed language legislation of 2009. Part 4.3 focuses on education legislation, parents' handbook and school curriculum resulting from the latest educational reform in 2002. In the appendices most of the relevant official documents and comments concerning language planning in Greenland have been included.

4.1 International law

There are several international laws that are relevant for Greenland and Denmark. Of special interest for the rights of indigenous peoples specifically is the ILO Convention 169 concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries (1991) and the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007).

Article 28 of section four of the ILO Convention 169 concerning Indigenous and Tribal People in Independent Countries states, regarding education and means of communication, that:

“1. Children belonging to the peoples concerned shall, wherever practicable, be taught to read and write in their own indigenous language or in the language most commonly used by the group to which they belong. When this is not practicable, the competent authorities shall undertake consultations with these peoples with a view to the adoption of measures to achieve this objective”

“2. Adequate measures shall be taken to ensure that these peoples have the opportunity to attain fluency in the national language or in one of the official languages of the country”

“3. Measures shall be taken to preserve and promote the development and practice of the indigenous languages of the peoples concerned”

The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007) also mentions languages in following articles:

Article 13:

“1. Indigenous peoples have the right to revitalize, use, develop and transmit to future generations their histories, languages, oral traditions, philosophies, writing systems and literatures, and to designate and retain their own names for communities, places and persons.”

Article 14:

“1. Indigenous peoples have the right to establish and control their educational systems and institutions providing education in their own languages, in a manner appropriate to their cultural methods of teaching and learning.”

Furthermore, in the United Nations 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child, it is stated:

Article 30:

“In those states in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, a child belonging to such a minority or who is indigenous shall not be denied the right, in community with other members of his or her group, to enjoy his or her own culture, to profess and practise his or her own religion, or to use his or her own language”

The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (1992) is also worth briefly mentioning here. Denmark has ratified the Charter, but the only minority language that is protected by the Charter is the German language spoken in Southern Jutland. Accordingly, even though Greenlandic is a minority language within the Danish realm and within the frames of the Charter, it is not protected by it, because of the Home Rule Act is seen as granting Greenlandic language adequate protection (Initial Periodical Report 2003:4).

The Nordic Language Convention (1987) states that Nordic citizens have the right to use their own language when addressing an official authority. The languages initially recognized under the convention were Icelandic, Norwegian, Swedish, Danish and

Finnish. However, in 2003 the convention was amended, so that Greenlandic, Faroese and Saami are now included (Grønlandsk-Dansk Selvstyrekommision 2008:82).

The Declaration on a Nordic Language Policy (2006), which functions as a supplement to the Nordic Language Convention, states that there are six languages that are 'complete' and essential to Nordic society: Danish, Finnish, Faroese, Icelandic, Norwegian (Nynorsk and Bokmål) and Swedish. Greenlandic and the many varieties of Saami are also deemed essential to Nordic society, but cannot be used in all of the areas, for which reason they are not '*complete*' languages according to the declaration (Nordic Language Policy 2006:96). The policy does not explain in detail what is meant when stating that Saami and Greenlandic are not 'complete' languages. Essentially, the policy states that Nordic residents have the right to acquire a language essential to society, including both a Scandinavian language and a language of international importance. Furthermore, citizens of Nordic countries have the right to preserve and develop their own mother tongue (ibid. 2006:92). The declaration actually forms the basis for a long-term continuation of the focus on the Nordic languages. Therefore, the declaration identifies four issues to be further developed: 1) classroom instruction in a neighbouring language should be improved, 2) the parallel use of languages should be promoted, 3) multilingualism should be supported and 4) respecting another person's mother tongue should be encouraged (ibid. 2006:93-95). The declaration is not legally binding and has thus not been implemented in any of the Nordic countries (ibid. 2006:9).

4.2 Language policy and planning in Greenland

The first legal document in Greenland that mentions language is the Greenland Home Rule Act, section 9, from November 1978. The second is the Self Rule Act § 20 that came into force on June 21, 2009. The third legal document to be analysed in depth is the proposed linguistic integration legislation of 2009.

Apart from analysing the aforementioned legal documents, there are three other important documents that mention language, and these will be integrated into the analysis. They are: the Greenlandic Commission on Self-Governance's Report from

2003¹⁴, the Greenlandic-Danish Commission on Self-Governance's Report from 2008¹⁵ and lastly, the recommendations from a working group concerning language policy from 2001. The reports and recommendations are all part of the language planning and policy process and the Self Rule Act § 20 is based on the two commission's reports and their recommendations.

The Greenland Home Rule Act No. 577 of November 29, 1978, was the most important pillars of Greenlandic society for thirty years, because the Act was the legal foundation for Greenland, as if it was a constitution, but also because it gave *Kalaallit* their own Parliament and government. In The Greenland Home Rule Act in section 9 (appendix 1) it is stated:

- (1) *Greenlandic shall be the principal language. Danish must be thoroughly taught.*
- (2) *Either language may be used for official purposes.*

In this act it is stated that Greenlandic is the **principal language**. In this context 'principal language' is understood as being the most important and influential majority language spoken in Greenland. There is also an indication of a language education policy in the statement 'Danish must be thoroughly taught', i.e. Danish must be a compulsory subject in the school system. That either language can be used when in contact with the official authorities indicates that Greenland is still an autonomous region within the Danish realm and that Danes (or Danish-speaking people) have the right to be served in their mother tongue.

I have been unable to find any precise definition of *principal* used in language policy, whereas *national* and *official* are defined terms within language policy:

"A national language is the language of a political, cultural and social unit. It is generally developed and used as a symbol of national unity. Its functions are to identify the nation and unite the people of the nation" (Holmes 1992:105). Whereas an *official* language is: *"...a language which may be used for government business. Its function is primarily utilitarian rather than symbolic"* (ibid. 1992:105).

¹⁴ In Danish the report is called *Betænkning afgivet af Den Grønlandske Selvstyrekommission*

¹⁵ In Danish the report is called *Grønlandsk-Dansk selvstyrekommissions betænkning om selvstyre i Grønland*

Janet Holmes also states the fact that many countries do not distinguish between the two, especially countries that see themselves as monolingual nations (ibid. 1992:105). Where only a single dominant group exists the issue of what language to choose as the official language to represent the nation generally does not occur, claims Holmes (ibid. 1992:111). But concerning former colonies Holmes adds:

“In the struggle to establish a distinct national identity, and to secure independence from colonial rule, the development of a national language has often played an important part” (ibid. 1992:111).

In July 2000 the Minister of Culture, Education, Research and Churches in Greenland established a working group concerning language policy with the intention of elucidating the status of Greenlandic, Danish and English. Five out of eight people in the working group were/are employed at the Greenlandic Language Secretariat. In the report, published in 2001, the working group stated that it was important to determine the language statuses before elaborating a concrete language policy, in order for the policy to have a positive effect (Arbejdsgruppen 2001:6-8).

Concerning the language statuses and the paradoxes herein, the working group recognized that two languages have fundamental positions in Greenlandic society: Greenlandic, which is a vital and active language that is not in danger of extinction (ibid. 2001:32+42) and Danish, which has a special, but unclear status according to the working group (ibid. 2001:8). Even though Greenlandic is the principal language, it is not dominant within the areas of foreign trade, research, economy, technology and many other fields (ibid. 2001:8). The working group stated that even though Danish is used within the aforementioned domains, it is not a national language according to the Home Rule Act, and neither is it a foreign language among other foreign languages (ibid. 2001:10). The working group noted that in the media, in Greenland, Danish is referred to as ‘a power language’ given that Danes are often employed in high-level positions, and because one has to speak Danish in order to be qualified for such positions (ibid. 2001:51). But the working group itself was reluctant to confirm that Danish *is* a power language and excuses itself on the grounds that it does not have the political competence to decide what status the Danish language should have (ibid.

2001:8). Accordingly, the status of Greenlandic is clear; it is a principal language, in the sense that it is the mother tongue for most inhabitants of Greenland (ibid. 2001:8), whereas the status of Danish seems to have been harder for the working group to define.

The working group mentioned the assimilation period called the 'Danification' period beginning in the 1950s, which was replaced by a 'Greenlandisation' period in the mid 1970s (ibid. 2001:40-41). Thus, the use of Greenlandic is increasing, especially among young people (ibid. 2001:32) and the use of Danish is decreasing (ibid. 2001:42). The reasons for these changes are to be found in the changing demographic structures of Greenland. There were fewer Danish people in Greenland in 2001, than fifty years before that time, there are correspondingly fewer natural environments where Danish is spoken (ibid. 2001:57). The group thus remarked that special initiatives might have to be implemented to increase educational and career options for monolingual Greenlandic-speaking youth (ibid. 2001:32), without explaining further *how* these initiatives are to be taken.

Since Danish is dominant within research and science it has often been argued that the teaching of Danish should be expanded and that its teaching should be implemented earlier in schools. The working group disliked this idea; instead it supported an elevation of Greenlandic and a development of the language with regards to scientific and technological terms (ibid. 2001:43). The solution to this problem, or rather this challenge, is to raise the status of Greenlandic while at the same time raising the level of Danish and English, as necessary supplements to Greenlandic (ibid. 2001:43). Finally, the working group asserted that the general debate in society and in Parliament should concentrate on general language knowledge instead of being a debate about one language's superiority over another (ibid. 2001:43).

In 1999-2000 the Greenlandic government established a commission with the aim of examining how Greenland could gain increased self-determination. The internal Greenlandic Commission on Self-Governance delivered its recommendations in 2003. The commission was 'internal' in the sense that the members were all *Kalaallit*. The commission pointed out that there is a lack of exact and up-to-date information about the spreading of Greenlandic and Danish amongst the whole population. The commission therefore used two reports presented at a language conference in January

2001 as the basis for its statements and recommendations. The two reports are: firstly, a report about the language developments in Greenland from 1984-1994¹⁶ published by Greenland Statistics, and secondly, the report ‘Language use among Greenlandic students’ (*Sprogbrug hos grønlandske studerende*) by Lund and Nathanielsen, which is summarised in chapter 2.4 in this thesis (Betænkning 2003:Chap. 6.2).

The commission recognised that both Greenlandic and Danish are dominant within Greenlandic society. At the end of the 1970s a shift happened in the sense that Greenlandic was intensified in school curriculum (Greenlandic became a compulsory subject for all pupils) whereas Danish was less of a priority in schools, the commission states. Consequently, the commission argues that a great deal of *Kalaallit* born before that shift speaks primarily Danish and very little Greenlandic. The commission therefore recommends that there should be Greenlandic courses for those *Kalaallit* students currently living in Denmark who need it. In this way the well educated *Kalaallit* will presumably be more motivated to return to work in Greenland, and thus fill the need for well educated *Kalaallit*, the commission argues (Ibid.: Chap. 6.2.).

To be able to achieve a higher education a Greenlander needs to know Danish and other foreign languages, the commission argues, because it is too expensive, both economically and in terms of human resources, to produce Greenlandic educational material. Since half of the young generation only speak Greenlandic, the commission recommended the possibility of producing educational materials in Greenlandic be taken into consideration, in order to limit the number of people without any education at all (Ibid.:Chap 6.2.).

Finally, the commission appealed to the population of Greenland to show greater linguistic tolerance, however it did not clarify this appeal further. The commission considered it indisputable that Greenlandic should not only be the principal language, but also the *official* language (Ibid. Chap 6.2.).

The commission expressed that it did not find it necessary to mention education legislation in the Self Rule Act. In other words, the commission did not find it logical

¹⁶ The report presents the same numbers as accounted for in chapter 2.3 (see appendix 8). Greenland Statistics has extended the statistical period from 1994 to 1999.

to mention teaching of Greenlandic and Danish in schools in a Self Rule Act, contrary to the Home Rule Act that mentions that Danish is to be taught thoroughly (Ibid. Chap 6.2.). This is noteworthy since most of the commission's recommendations concern the paradoxes within the educational system.

This creates an interesting contradiction. In the Home Rule Act there was a hint of a language education policy, but in 2003 this internal commission recommended keeping education out of the Self Rule Act. Consequently, the first insinuation of keeping language education policy separated from the national language policy appeared.

The Greenlandic-Danish Commission on Self-Governance submitted its report in April 2008 outlining yet again the possibilities for increased self-determination. This lengthy report outlined the areas, which were to 'be handed over' to Greenland. The report would thus become the foundation for the new Self Rule Act of 2009 and replace the Greenland Home Rule Act. The members of this commission were both *Kalaallit* and Danes. The main focus areas were oil and mineral exploitation, and the economy. Chapter nine touched on language issues and covers only four pages of the total 609 pages of the report. The commission recognised everything the 2003 internal Greenlandic Commission wrote concerning language use. The Greenlandic-Danish Commission also supported the idea that any question concerning language instruction in Greenlandic and Danish be written in separate legislation, for example in legislation concerning state schooling (Grønlandsk-Dansk selvstyrekommision 2008:84). The report also refers to the Nordic Language Convention, emphasising that Nordic citizens have the right to speak their own language when addressing an official authority in a contracting state (Ibid. 2008:522). The commission recommended that the section concerning language be stated as the following:

§20 Greenlandic is the official language in Greenland

As of June 21, 2009, this is the official language policy in Greenland (appendix 2). In this section the Danish language is not mentioned. There is neither any indication of what language is to be used for official purposes. Any doubts about language use, majority/minority language, the question of bilingualism, etc. have been removed. Greenlandic has therefore obtained a more prominent and unique status. Reading this

section, one even gets the impression that Greenland is now a **monolingual** country. According to Janes Holmes' definition, an *official* language should be used for government business and its function is primarily utilitarian rather than symbolic. But what does it really mean in a Greenlandic context that Greenlandic is *the* official language? That question will be answered in chapter five.

4.2.2 Linguistic integration legislation of 2009

In October 2006 the government (formed by *Siumut* and *Atassut*) established a working group that was to put forward recommendations for a language policy or a 'linguistic integration legislation' as it was called (Sprogpolitik 2009). The president of the working group was Carl Chr. Olsen from the Greenland Language Secretariat *Oqaasileriffik*. Other members of the working group were lawyer Anna Louise Amkær from KIIIN¹⁷, Josef Therkildsen from SIK¹⁸, Jeanette Holdning representing GLDK¹⁹ and Stephen Heilmann (journalist and vice-chairman at *Oqaasileriffik*), Ellen J. Karlsen, Eva Møller Thomassen, Abia Abelsen and Pia Lynge (Sprogpolitik 2009).

The proposed linguistic integration legislation of 2009 (appendix 3), which actually functions as an expansion and a clarification of the abovementioned § 20 in the Self Rule Act, was supposed to be passed in Parliament in the spring of 2009, but was delayed because of the general election in June, 2009. On October 12, 2009, the Greenland Parliament decided to postpone the second and third reading of the proposal until the spring of 2010 (KNR October 13, 2009). It will indeed be interesting to see if the new parliament will adopt this legislation.

The proposed linguistic integration legislation is divided into four parts with 6 sections in all (appendix 3). § 1 and § 2 deal with the purpose of the legislation and defines it. § 3 and § 4 deal with language policy, § 5 deal with teaching and § 6 states when the legislation will be put into effect. Throughout this chapter everything written in italics is my translation.

¹⁷ KIIIN is the Ministry for Culture, Education, Research and Churches in Greenland

¹⁸ Greenland Workers Union. In Greenlandic it is called *Sulinermik Inuussutissarsiuullit Kattuffiat*, in short: SIK

¹⁹ An association of Danish-speaking Greenlanders, www.gldk.gl

In § 1 the purposes of the legislation are as outlined below, and are intended to secure the framework for a clear language policy, including linguistic integration by means of:

- a) *'securing Greenlandic as a complete and socially dominant language'*
- b) *'strengthening Greenlandic as a mother tongue language and as a second language'*
- c) *'preventing and eliminating the existing language barriers so that bilingualism and multilingualism can become a strength and wealth'*
- d) *'promoting continuity in linguistic acquisition in society in order to strengthen Greenland as a knowledge society'*

The first two sections thus establish Greenlandic as being a fully developed and a dominant language, and not least that it should remain a majority language. Greenlandic should also continue to be a mother tongue language for the majority of the population and a second language for the minority. The third sentence is interesting as it indicates that there have been linguistic barriers between the two language groups (Greenlandic and Danish), which this policy wants to prevent continuing. Therefore, bilingualism and multilingualism are embraced. The fourth sentence is also interesting as it recognises a direct link between language acquisition and being a knowledge society. A knowledge society may be defined in many different ways but one must assume that it is especially related to science, research and further education.

The working group that elaborated this proposal for a linguistic integration legislation stated in the comments that § 1 a) should be seen as a direct link to § 20 in that Greenlandic is the official language and that the terms used in § 1 a) have been inspired by the Nordic Language Convention (appendix 4:p.10). Additionally, in the comments it is stated that **Greenland is a bilingual society** in which both the Greenlandic and Danish languages are used (appendix 4:p.10). Even though Danish is not mentioned in the Self Rule Act §20 it is stated in the comments that Danish will continue to have a special role, as it is still to be used in official matters. Danish is also dominant within the areas of foreign trade, research, economy and technology, but in the comments to the proposed legislation, the working group claims that this is about to change as Greenlandic is developing in order to fulfil the demands of these areas (appendix 4:3).

In § 2 the target groups are pointed out:

- a) *'those who feel a need to learn Greenlandic'*
- b) *'those who feel a need to learn Danish or English'*
- c) *'those who feel a need to learn about Greenlandic culture, history and society'*

§ 2 part 2 defines linguistic integration as *'eliminating the existing language barriers and strengthening language acquisition for the three target groups in preparation for improving citizens' participation in society and for strengthening the Greenlandic common feeling and identity'*.

It is interesting that emphasis has been put on 'the Greenlandic common feeling and identity' as though only *one* kind of identity exists, despite the fact that Greenland is geographically enormous and therefore many types of diverse cultures and identities exist. In this context, it has been important to distinguish a Greenlandic identity as *a distinct national identity* compared to the Danish national identity, even though it is highly questionable if one can speak of '*one* national identity'. One must assume that 'integration' refers to all of the above-mentioned target groups in § 2 and that 'integration' in the traditional sense means 'participation in society'. But how is it possible to speak of 'integration' when the aim is to strengthen the Greenlandic common feeling and identity, and at the same time embrace bilingualism and multilingualism?

In § 3 the main body of the language legislation is presented and it states that Greenlandic is the official language to be used in all official matters. In part two it states that the Greenlandic language consists of three main dialects, which are spoken in *Avanersuaq* (the North), *Tunu* (the East) and *Kitaa* (the West). It is noteworthy that there is no further elaboration of the status of these dialects, for instance, which dialect is the dominant dialect. Part three states that the Danish language *can* be used in official matters, i.e. it is an option. Finally, part four states that English and other foreign languages can be used to that extent that it is possible and presumably in official matters. Greenlandic is *not* the only language to be used in official matters, as Danish can also be used when approaching official authorities.

Then the legislation takes a turning point in § 4. It states that companies with more than ten employees are obliged to form a language policy. A list of five concrete strategies is suggested:

- a) *'mapping of the company's linguistic competencies'*
- b) *'visibility of foreign language and cultural competencies'*
- c) *'visibility of the company's external linguistic image'*
- d) *'guidelines for internal and external communication'*
- e) *'competence goals for employees'*

In § 5 it is stated:

'Every permanent citizen in Greenland has the right to learn Greenlandic and Danish orally and written so that they can participate in society, use and develop their mother tongue and learn languages with an international span'.

§ 5 part two states:

'the individual and the employer have to evaluate each individual's situation, and conduct a personal evaluation of the need for a language course and introduction to Greenlandic culture, history and society'.

Prior to the release of the proposed linguistic integration legislation, a conference was held in Nuuk, Greenland, with participants representing official institutions and Home Rule government-owned companies. At the conference the participants expressed a wish to promote language tolerance. The participants also welcomed the elaboration of an overall (national) language legislation, corporate language policies at companies and finally a language policy for the educational system that promotes multilingualism²⁰ (Seminarrapport 2007:6). Furthermore, the participants emphasised that the general view of competencies in a *second language* and a *foreign language* should not be compared to competencies in a *mother tongue* (Ibid. 2007:7). In the conference paper, results from a report concerning language pedagogy showed that a great deal of teachers lack knowledge of bi- and multilinguistic pedagogy (Ibid. 2007:7). Unfortunately it has not been possible to obtain a copy of that report.

²⁰ 'a clear and logical language policy for the educational system that aims at raising the quality of multilinguistic teaching' it says in the report (my own translation).

To summarise the linguistic legislation proposal: Greenlandic is *the (only) official language* in Greenland that ideally shall be used in all official matters. There is an expressed wish to maintain Greenlandic as *a complete and socially dominant language* and to strengthen Greenlandic as *a mother tongue* and as *a second language*. But since Greenland is bilingual, Danish *can* also be used for official matters. *Bilingualism* and *multilingualism* are embraced; and are to become sources of strength and wealth. The legislation compels companies, both private and state-owned, with more than ten employees to form a language policy. There is no mention of the school system or education legislation.

4.3 Language education policy

State schools are managed administratively and pedagogically by the four existing municipalities in Greenland (Inerisaavik 2007:9). The central administration and authority responsible for the school system as a whole in Greenland is *KIIN*²¹, which is the Ministry for Culture, Education, Research and Churches under the Greenland Home Rule government. Another important body of educational planning, development and implementation is *Inerisaavik*, which is an institute for educational science and a sub-unit under KIIN.

In the school year 2006/2007 there were 10,688 pupils spread over 813 classes. There are 24 city schools, 62 village schools, 1 special school and a number of sheep farmers and ‘hunter households’ where the parents themselves teach the children (Inerisaavik 2007:10).

In total there are 909 leaders and teachers employed and approximately 81% of them speak Greenlandic (Inerisaavik 2007:10). There is no further indication of language use among teachers, i.e. it is not stated if they are bilingual etc. There are 327 employees nationally, who do not have formal training as teachers, i.e. 27% of the teacher staff is not trained as teachers (politisk-økonomisk beretning 2009:43).

²¹ In Greenlandic it is called *Kultureqarnermut, Ilinniartitaanermut, Ilisimatusarnermut, Ilageeqarnermullu Naalakkersuisoqarfik*, in short: KIIN.

4.3.1 The legislations

There have been several changes and amendments to legislations relating to the school system. Education legislation as of 1967 closely resembled Danish education legislation, as stated in chapter two (Inerisaavik 2007:23). I have also pointed out that from 1950 until 1994 there was a parallel set of education streams, a Danish stream and a Greenlandic stream, each taught in its respective language. When the Home Rule government was introduced, control of the state schools was ‘handed over’ to Greenland (Inerisaavik 2007:23). Accordingly, there have been legislative changes or amendments in 1979, 1990, 1997, and a major reform in 2002 concerning the state school system. A short summary of the most important changes will be highlighted here, and will give useful perspectives to the reform in 2002. I will refer to Franz Tremel’s writings, since he has been head of office for *KIIN* for almost two decades.

The Danish language had a high social status in the 1960s and 1970s, but this changed in 1979 with the introduction of Home Rule. Home Rule ushered in educational reforms with the aim that Danish should be less prioritised and Greenlandic should be more prioritised (Inerisaavik 2007:23 & Tremel 1998). From 1979 Greenlandic became a compulsory subject for all pupils and the ‘foreign language’ Danish was a compulsory subject from the fourth grade on (Inerisaavik 2007:23). The legislation stated that Greenlandic was to be the main instructional language but that Danish could also be used if the number of teachers, materials or the pupil’s own requirements necessitated it to be used (Landstingsforordning 1979, Kap. 1). The school system was still closely related to Danish traditions and expectations as to the level of teaching. At that same time there was a limited amount of materials in Greenlandic and a high proportion of Danish teachers (Tremel 1998).

During the 1980s more Greenlandic teachers were trained and more Greenlandic materials were produced. In 1990 the government decided to make the school system more Greenlandic, in the sense that the Greenlandic language as ‘principal language’ was to be implemented in the school system. As a result it was decided to discontinue the Danish streams entirely and to integrate the Danish-speaking pupils into the Greenlandic streams. As such the Greenlandic language was strengthened (Tremel

1998). But the Danish language was also strengthened, Tremel argues, since according to the 1990 legislation Danish was a compulsory subject starting in grade four, but many municipalities chose to introduce Danish as a subject already in grade two or three (Ibid.:1998). The implementation of the integrated streams did not occur until 1994 (Ibid.:1998). In a report, presented to the Parliament in 1997, it was put forward that more than ninety percent (90%) of the children were monolinguals in Greenlandic, and that more than eighty percent (80%) of them did not know Danish very well (Ibid.:1998). These conclusions were to be used in future education legislation, according to Tremel (Ibid.:1998).

In the 1997 amendment the content of the curriculums were not changed. Instead the management of the schools was to be run by the municipalities and school boards were introduced. Schools were to be a ‘local matter’, i.e. influenced by the local communities, according to Tremel (Ibid.:1998).

4.3.2 ‘The Good School’

In May 2002 yet another new piece of education legislation, called *Atuarfitsialak*²² and developed by *Inerisaavik*²³, was taken into force (Landstingsforordning 2002). *Atuarfitsialak* is based on the changes and amendments in legislations from 1990 and 1997 (EM 2001/35:1), and is a continuation of the ideas behind those legislations. *Atuarfitsialak* is referred to as ‘a major reform’ since it has changed the whole structure and content of the school system. The overall idea of the reform is to create an interdisciplinary school system that suits the Greenlandic context, to replace Danish educational system, which is designed to suit the Danish context. One of the main initiators responsible for shaping the 2002 legislation, employee at *Inerisaavik*, Kaali Olsen said:

“...the general opinion has been that the school system does not match the culture here. When you introduce a foreign system such as the Danish one, it is doomed to fail” (Fagbladet Folkeskolen 2003, my translation).

²² It is West Greenlandic and means *The Good School*

²³ the institute for educational science and a sub-unit under KIIIN.

Concerning the work needed to plan and implement the reform, the Leader for Development at *Inerisaavik*, Lone Hindby, said:

“We had to tear down everything and build it up again. It shall be a Greenlandic school that is competitive internationally and based on new research. That was the aim in Greenland, where there hasn’t been that much pedagogical research before” (Fagbladet Folkeskolen 2003, my translation).

As an example of schooling that suits the Greenlandic context, teaching in ‘practical lessons’, as it is called, can include fur handling/sewing, fishing, sailing, hunting, traditional Inuit sports, kayaking and dog sledge building (EM 2001/35:29).

At the same time there has been a need to raise the quality of the school and the level of language skills (EM 2001/35:6+11). There is no need to go into detail here of every section in the legislation, and only those of interest for the educational language system will be pointed out.

State schooling lasts for ten years in all and is under the administrative control of the municipalities (Landstingsforordning 2002:1-4). Schooling is divided into three parts, the first (first three years), middle (four years) and final (last three years) levels (appendix 5). In the first level Greenlandic and Danish are compulsory subjects. In the middle level English is obligatory and in the final level Greenlandic, Danish and English are all compulsory and a third foreign language is offered as well (ibid. 2002:3-4).

There are five overall objectives of the state school system and they are as listed in § 2 in the legislation²⁴:

1. *‘pupils should acquire necessary knowledge and skills’*
2. *‘to further develop the pupils’ abilities and promote his/her health, and social and emotional skills’*
3. *‘to help the pupil create a harmonic and independent life’*

²⁴ Landstingsforordning 2002:1

4. *'to endorse freedom of mind and tolerance'*
5. *'to strengthen co-responsibility and cooperation between pupils, and between pupils and teachers'*

Language is not mentioned in the overall five objectives of the state school system. Underneath those five objectives, there are additionally three 'sub-objectives' or frames. Language is mentioned in one of those sub-objectives of the state school²⁵ (appendix 5):

- *'to achieve necessary knowledge, working methods and vocational competencies'*
- *'to develop individual skills and prepare for education and labour opportunities'*
- *'to learn versatile forms of expressions and linguistic competencies'*

It is noteworthy that language is not one of the top-five listed priorities of the state school system. There is no mention at all of mono, bi- or multilingualism as a main objective or sub-objective of the state schools, even though *Atuarfitsialak* claims to be a linguistically and socially integrative school system. *Atuarfitsialak* has integrated streams and when forming classrooms the aim is to place an equal amount of pupils who do speak Greenlandic as their mother-tongue together with pupils who do not speak Greenlandic as their mother-tongue (Landstingsforordning 2002:§4, stk.3). For example, if forty children enrol in school and thirty are Greenlandic-speaking and ten have another mother tongue, then the students will be divided into two streams, each with fifteen pupils whose mother-tongue is Greenlandic and five children with another mother-tongue (EM 2001/35:25).

Greenlandic is considered to be the mother tongue of most pupils. Danish is considered to be the first *foreign language* and English is the second *foreign language*. The third *foreign language* is optional: either German or French (EM 2001/35:28-29).

Both Greenlandic and Danish are instructional languages, and as an element of a pupil's language acquisition, English may be used as well as an instructional language

²⁵ Landstingsforordning 2002:1

(Landstingsforordning 2002: § 8). In the comments to *Atuarfitsialak* it is stated that the reason why several instructional languages have been included is because the pupils need linguistic competencies for further education. Still, it is emphasised that the status of Greenlandic as a principal language has not been changed (EM 2001/35:27).

In the very same comments, it is stated that by ensuring that the instructional languages are Greenlandic and Danish, schools ensure that both language groups receive instruction in their respective mother tongues (EM 2001/35:27). At the same time it claims that using two instructional languages will give the pupils a better opportunity to learn a foreign language (EM 2001/35:27). Now it gets a little complicated, because it says in the comments that the teachers are obliged to use both languages to a greater or lesser extent to *all* pupils, regardless of their mother tongue, in order for them to learn these languages, but *'it is not the intention that the teaching is done fully bilingually, but that the language use in the streams is adjusted to each pupil and pupil group's linguistic conditions and needs'* (EM 2001/35:28, my translation).

On one side it is argued that pupils need to learn several languages, which is why two instructional languages are to be used. But it is also argued that language use in classes is adjusted to each pupil and pupil group's linguistic conditions and needs. Teaching is not fully bilingual, but still teachers are obliged to use both languages to a greater or lesser extent to *all* pupils, regardless of their mother tongue. I am curious to understand how this process works in reality.

Moreover, it is stated in the comments that teachers who do not speak Danish, for instance, are still able to use the Danish language in streams by using school books and materials in Danish, and vice versa for teachers who do not speak Greenlandic (EM 2001/35:28). Once again I am wondering how the quality of the language teaching turns out to be?

In §15 it states that extra lessons in Greenlandic and Danish will be offered to pupils who need them due to a long-term illness, an absence from school or if they are from abroad (Landstingsforordning 2002:§15). In §16 it further states that state schools can offer lessons to pupils who do not have Greenlandic or Danish as a mother tongue (ibid. 2002:§16). But in the comments to the legislation, it states that § 16 will hardly ever be

used, because the group in question is limited and it will be difficult to find qualified teachers (EM 2001/35:35).

4.3.2.1 Parent's handbook

When *Atuarfitsialak* was adopted a handbook was handed out to the public, and was particularly aimed at informing parents and helping them to understand the school reform.

In the parent's handbook (appendix 6) it states²⁶:

“The instructional languages in schools are Greenlandic and Danish. Furthermore, English can be an instructional language if it is part of the pupil's language learning. The intention is to give the pupil the possibility to acquire the languages by using them in practice – also outside of the actual language lessons. The status of Greenlandic as the principal language has not been changed, but with regards to the pupil's needs to learn other languages for further education it has been decided to incorporate several instructional languages in the state schools. The regulation ensures that for both language groups, their mother-tongues are taken into account, and at the same time the use of both languages will give the students a better opportunity to learn the foreign language. This means that instruction will be done in both languages to an appropriate extent. However, it is not the intention that the lessons are to be carried out fully bilingual but that the language use in classes is to be modified for each pupil and the pupil group's linguistic premises. That also applies to the choice of teaching materials. The pupils will receive language teaching in Greenlandic and Danish in groups tailored according to their needs. Supplemental lessons in Greenlandic will also be offered for pupils who have moved to Greenland. [...]”

The Home Rule Act is referred to implicitly by stating that Greenlandic is the principal language. This is used as a reinforcement of the next clause, which is introduced by *but*. Children need to learn *other* languages for intentions concerning further education, it states, therefore several languages will be used in instruction. The handbook does not mention that Greenland is a bilingual country and therefore needs two or three languages.

Concerning Danish language it says²⁷ :

“Danish is a foreign language for most pupils and it has to be taught with the aim of making the pupils bilingual (Greenlandic/Danish). This means that the pupils are to

²⁶ Inerisaavik 2004:41-42, my own translation

²⁷ Inerisaavik 2004:50, my own translation

have learned enough Danish, so that they are able to continue using the language for other educational purposes”

Danish is a *foreign language* for most pupils but since it is important for purposes concerning further education, Danish will be taught with the aim of pupils becoming bilingual. Is Danish only important for further education? Is Danish language not part of Greenlandic society, especially within areas such as foreign trade, research, economy, technology, as well as many other fields?

4.3.2.2 School curriculums

In this section the focus is on language. There is no mention of mathematics, chemistry, religion or any other school subjects. This analysis is specifically concerned with the *overall* learning goals and introductions to the subjects: Greenlandic, Danish, English and a third foreign language as part of the language policy in the school system. Furthermore, I have chosen to analyse the school curriculum for the final level. The curriculum of this level is the most relevant here because it describes the learning objectives for pupils graduating from the state school system. Chosen texts from the curriculums are to be found in appendix 7.

Greenlandic

The purpose with lessons in Greenlandic is that the pupils should acquire a certain amount of knowledge and skills in order for them to understand spoken and written Greenlandic – solidly and nuanced. Additionally, the pupils should be able to express themselves clearly and in a varied way, both orally and in writing (Inerisaavik 2004:A3). It is stated that for most of the pupils Greenlandic is their mother-tongue and the language thus plays a central role in the pupils’ concept and knowledge development (ibid. 2004:A4).

The learning objectives²⁸ have been divided into four parts which are: a) communication, b) obtaining information, c) culture and living conditions, and d) systematic language acquisition (ibid. 2004:A9). Beneath the learning goal *culture and living conditions* it is expected that the pupils know about the different Greenlandic dialects and selected Inuit languages (ibid. 2004:A13). Furthermore, as part of the

²⁸ In Danish: *Læringsmålene*

pupils' language acquisition learning, it is expected that the pupils can read texts written in the old Greenlandic spelling (ibid. 2004:A14).

Danish

In the introduction to the school curriculum for Danish, it is stated that for most pupils Danish is their first foreign language. The purpose of Danish as a subject is to make the pupils **functionally bilingual** during the ten years of public schooling (ibid. 2004:A4). There is no explicit clarification of the meaning of *functionally bilingual* even though the concept of bilingualism is complex (cf. chapter 2.3 and 3.2.4.1). The Language Secretariat *Oqaasileriffik* differentiates between different levels of bilingualism (cf. chapter 2.3).

It is relevant to look for other definitions of 'functionally bilingual', in order to understand the concept. Here is a Welsh example:

"In many areas of North and West Wales, for instance, the language of the home, school, religion, community, and even the workplace is Welsh for many people. English is acquired through the mass media and by contact with the non-Welsh speakers inside and outside the community, and through education. Nearly all Welsh speakers, except for the very young and sometimes the very old, are functionally bilingual, but many are dominant in Welsh. Thus a Welsh-speaking family living in a predominantly Welsh-speaking area may have little occasion to use English, and have a greater competence in Welsh" (Baker & Prys Jones 1998:29).

In this Welsh context, many Welsh speakers are bilingual in Welsh and English, because English is used in mass media, in contact with English-speaking people and in education. In the next two chapters I will discuss the concept in a Greenlandic context.

With regards to the Danish language in Greenlandic schools the pupils are expected to learn to listen, speak, read, and write Danish, and develop a vocabulary (Inerisaavik 2004:A5). After ten years of schooling, it is expected that the pupils can speak Danish effortlessly in everyday situations and are able to look for, choose and use relevant information in different books, newspapers and on the internet (ibid. 2004:A12). Furthermore, it is expected that the pupils can read Danish media and know the grammar of the language (ibid. 2004:13).

Second and third foreign languages

English is the second foreign language and is taught in the middle and final level classes as a compulsory subject, which means that English is taught from the fourth grade (Inerisaavik 2004:A3). Essentially, the goal with English is that when pupils finish school it is expected that they are able to use English effortlessly in everyday situations (ibid. 2004:A13). Pupils are offered a third foreign language as an optional subject in the final levels, i.e. in the last three years of schooling. The third foreign language is either German or French, or another language, if teachers and materials are provided (ibid. 2004:A4). After three years of teaching it is expected that the pupils can ask and answer questions in German/French, and are able to describe and give reasons for events and experiences (ibid. 2004:A11). There is a slight difference in the learning goals for the second and third foreign languages. For English it is expected that the children are able to discuss current issues, whereas that is not part of the German or French learning goals (ibid. 2004:A11).

In the school curriculum there is no explanation of the terms: *mother-tongue*, *second language* or *foreign language*. Monolingualism, bilingualism and multilingualism are not mentioned.

5 Results

5.1 Linguistic rights

There has been an international awakening concerning universal human rights norms, especially with regards to indigenous peoples' rights during the latter half of the twentieth century (Bankes 2004:101). As Nigel Bankes states:

“Historically, international law had little to say about the manner in which a state treated its own citizens, but the growing field of international human rights law now sets the minimum standards” (Bankes 2004:103).

Even though a declaration is not legally binding, whereas a convention is, all international agreements, whether they are declarations or conventions, demand commitments from national governments (Bankes 2004:101). Both the ILO Convention 169 concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries and the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples reassure that indigenous languages should be supported, and that indigenous peoples have the right to use their own languages. The ILO 169 affirms that any indigenous child shall be taught to read and write in his/her own indigenous language, whereas the aforementioned declaration states that *“[i]ndigenous peoples have the right to establish and control their educational systems and institutions providing education in their own languages”*. This recognition of indigenous languages must be seen in light of assimilationist policies directed towards linguistically assimilating many minorities and indigenous peoples into majority linguistic cultures.

Considering the fact that there are 6,912 known languages in the world (ethnologue.com) and only 194 independent states (state.gov), one must assume that the majority of the world's population uses several languages on a daily basis. The ILO 169 refers obliquely to this issue in stating that indigenous peoples shall have the opportunity to attain fluency in the national language or in one of the official languages of the country (Art. 28, 2), besides being taught in their own indigenous language (Art. 28, 1). Consequently, bilingualism and multilingualism are a reality for a majority of

the world's indigenous peoples, since many of these groups do not form independent states. Many indigenous educational institutions, such as the Greenlandic school system, are responsible for providing formal multilingual and educational skills.

International law is important for Greenland and Denmark, not least due to the universal respect that Denmark receives by instantly ratifying for example the ILO 169 and the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples that many other states hesitate to ratify. Denmark and Greenland successfully teamed up, along with Norway and Sápmi, to complete the preparatory work that led to the creation and the signing of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (Åhrén 2007). Within the partnership formed between Greenland and Denmark, Denmark acknowledges that Greenland one day might separate and become an independent state (Åhrén 2007 and Selvstyre 2008:13). Greenland has gained a great amount of self-determination in the last thirty years, first with the Home Rule arrangement and now with the Self Rule Act, which seeks to 'promote equality and respect in the partnership between Greenland and Denmark', as stated in the drafting of the Self Rule Act (Udkast til lov om Grønlands selvstyre 2009, appendix two). Greenland is able to 'take over' a great deal of areas (see 'bilag' in appendix two). The areas which Greenland has no power over are: the Danish Constitution, foreign affairs (treaties), fiscal policy, military defence, criminal law and principles concerning law of succession, family and property law (Selvstyre 2008:5).

According to the internal Greenlandic commission Greenlanders are still an indigenous peoples and have the rights to exercise the right to self-determination (Betænkning 2003:chap 1.4). But with the introduction of Self Rule, the Greenlandic-Danish commission agreed that Greenlanders can also be characterised as 'a peoples' according to international law with the right to exercise self-determination and full independence (Selvstyre 2008:6). That Greenlanders are now 'a peoples' is very important and was emphasised in the two speeches by Greenland premier Kuupik Kleist and the Danish Prime Minister Lars Løkke Rasmussen on the day of introduction of Self Rule on June 21, 2009 (Rasmussen 2009 and Kleist 2009). Lars Løkke Rasmussen said in his speech that: *"With the Self Rule Act Greenlandic is the official language in Greenland. Of course. That is how it should be"* (Rasmussen 2009, my translation).

Within the educational system, there has also been an ever increasing demand for self-determination. With the introduction of Home Rule in 1979, the running of the state school system was ‘handed over’ to Greenland. As of January 1, 2009, Greenland now manages the running of the three *gymnasiums* in Greenland and has launched a reform for the gymnasiums in order to ‘adjust’ these to a Greenlandic context (nanoq.gl). Had Greenland and Denmark not been able to agree on educational or linguistic rights, or for that matter that Greenlandic was to be the official language in Greenland, then Greenland could have pleaded its rights according to international law, either under the ILO Convention 169 or the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

5.2 Factors affecting language planning in Greenland

There are seven sets of motivational factors, Dennis Ager argues, that are important in language policy and planning, those being: identity, ideology, image creation, insecurity, inequality, integration with a group, and instrumental motives. James W. Tollefson argues that power, the state, ideology, hegemony, structure/class, dominance, exploitation and minority are factors that influence the ideologies behind language policy. Some of these categories overlap in the sense that categories such as insecurity, inequality, hegemony, dominance, exploitation and minority could belong to the concept of ‘power’, just as identity, image creation and integration are inseparable elements of ‘nationalism’. I have chosen to put emphasis on seven sets of factors that influence and affect language policy and planning in Greenland. These are: history, decolonisation, self-determination, nationalism, ideology, power, and language emancipation (cf. figure 1 in chapter 3.2.3).

From early on in the investigation of nationalism and language both Anderson and Fishman came to the conclusion that nation-building does influence language planning and vice versa. Ager also saw this link between nationalism and language; he simply named it *identity* in his own list of factors of motivation behind language policy and planning. Tollefson also concluded that “[t]he importance of language policy is fundamentally rooted in the rise of the modern state” (Tollefson 1991:10).

In the Greenlandic context, nationalism is important in the sense that the country is creating a new common and cultural identity distinct from Danish identity. The

Greenlandic flag was created in 1985, six years after the introduction of Home Rule government and is a strong national symbol. The following section of the proposed linguistic integration legislation of 2009 reveals connotations of nationalism:

*“eliminating the existing language barriers and strengthening language acquisition for the three target groups in preparation for improving the citizen’s participation in the society **and to strengthen the Greenlandic common feeling and identity**”* (§ 2 part 2).

Fishman argued that nationalism is about unifying and ideologising the nationality (Fishman et.al. 1968:41). The highlighted sentence above is clearly about the unifying the Greenlandic ‘nation’. Connotations of nationalism are evident in the proclamation that only *one language* (Greenlandic) is the official language, and that there is only *one Greenlandic common feeling and identity*. This statement does not consider the fact that the Greenlandic language consists of three ‘dialects’ (or languages cf. chapter 2.3), and that *Kalaaleq* (Greenlandic) identity is very different depending on which part of the country the person is from, the circumstances that person grew up under, etc.

As analysed in the former chapter, there has been a shift in the official language policy in Greenland. Greenlandic language has now changed its status. It is no longer a *principal* language but the *official* language. What does this change in terminology mean? In this context, official is used synonymously with national. Greenlandic is both an official and a national language. Apart from making it clear that Greenlandic is the official language in Greenland, which ideally should be used in all official matters, the implicit purpose of the proposed linguistic integration legislation of 2009 is that of securing the Greenlandic language a higher status within Greenlandic society. Greenlandic is therefore not only *a symbol of national unity* but also a language that is to be used for conducting government business. The function of § 20 in the Self Rule Act is dual, as it is both a utilitarian and a symbolic statement. The status of the Greenlandic language has been elevated and this change in the status of the Greenlandic language serves also to mark and to strengthen a national symbol as it is the language of the *Kalaallit* people themselves.

In Greenland it is possible to talk about an ideology called ‘Greenlandisation’, which started with the introduction of the Greenland Home Rule government in 1979.

Greenlandisation has been a ‘hot topic’ during the last ten years in the media and in public debates. There are many opinions concerning this ideology and many disagreements have been expressed regarding Greenlandisation. The former Premier Hans Enoksen (in the period 2001-2009) was an ardent advocate of Greenlandisation. He spoke only Greenlandic in public and was often criticized for being monolingual, even by Elisabeth Ravn Johansen, who is a member of his party *Siumut* and leader of the two non-governmental organisations *Nammineq* and *Nammineerta* which work towards Greenland gaining independence (Sermitsiaq no.14:2009). The newspaper *Sermitsiaq* has called Greenlandisation a ‘one-man-Greenlandisation-project’ referring to Hans Enoksen and his passionate work with Greenlandisation (Sermitsiaq no.40:2008:35).

According to Hans Enoksen, Greenlandisation has several meanings. First of all it is about increased self-determination, a process of extending from a Home Rule arrangement to eventual independence (Landstinget FM2006/89). But it is also about using the country’s own resources both when it comes to manpower and natural resources. It is about educating Greenlanders and thereby advancing the Greenlandic language, especially within the public sector. It is about eating Greenlandic food and buying Greenlandic products. The Greenlandisation process is about finding a way to run the country that does not necessarily entail copying foreign structures. It is about being conscious of Greenlandic culture, language and environment. It is a way of *thinking*, according to Hans Enoksen (Landstinget FM2006/89). That Greenlandisation and language are linked is apparent. The president of the Greenland Workers Union ‘SIK’²⁹, Jess G. Berthelsen, recently criticized two newly appointed ministers, who do not speak Greenlandic, with the argument that Greenland should be governed by Greenlandic-speaking people (Sermitsiaq no.24:2009:9).

In the sentence referred to above (*strengthen the Greenlandic common feeling and identity*) there are connotations of nationalism and ideology, but what about power? Categories such as insecurity, inequality, hegemony, dominance, exploitation and minority all belong to the concept of power, which is why power is an influential factor in the language planning process in Greenland. The question of power becomes

²⁹ in Greenlandic the union is called *Sulinermik Inuussutissarsiutillit Kattuffiat*, in short: SIK

relevant in examining why Greenlandic public policy has chosen to emphasise Greenlandic as the official language when *Kalaallit* are the majority ethnic group in Greenland.

According to Johan Galtung, power is a three-fold concept; there is innate power, resource power and structural power. The only powers that really count are the latter two, at least within the political realm (cf. chapter 3.2.3). In the Greenland-Denmark relationship, Denmark has power over Greenland, because Greenland basically ‘belongs to’ the Danish realm. Denmark hands over 3.4 billion Danish Kroner annually to Greenland. To put it simply, Greenland is dependent on the economic support from Denmark, and Denmark technically possesses or *owns* Greenland. But now that Greenland has achieved increased self-determination and Self Rule it has achieved more power over certain jurisdictions. The Self Rule Act was a negotiation process between Greenland and Denmark over power structures, i.e. who gets to control what. Self-determination is a transferring of power. Still, the Danish Constitution, foreign affairs (treaties), fiscal policy, military defence, criminal law and principles concerning law of succession, family and property law remains within Danish jurisdiction (Selvstyre 2008). Politically and economically there is an imbalanced power relation between the two countries, despite the fact that Greenland has its own territory, unlike many other indigenous peoples.

Legislation or a law in itself is a demonstration of power, as is language policy. Because Denmark has more resource/material power and structural power than Greenland, official language policy becomes a symbol of a non-material power demonstration of cultural values. Greenland may be less powerful when it comes to foreign affairs and military defence, but it has a great deal of non-material power, in the sense that Greenland has its own distinct language, culture, traditions, experience etc. The statement *Greenlandic is the official language* is thus a reinforcement of those non-material values with the specific aim and power to decide and to *secure Greenlandic as a complete and socially dominant language*.

There are a number of different strategies that powerless communities can utilise, argues Dennis Ager, when planning their language policy. One of those strategies is that of *correcting inequality* which Ager explains as being the case whereby an ex-

colonial language suffers from a lack of prestige and the community therefore attempts to correct that inequality (cf. chapter 3.2.3). This motive is prevailing in communities whose identity is threatened, according to Ager. There are multiple reasons why official policymakers in Greenland have chosen not to have two equal/official languages, or for that matter to secure Greenlandic *and* Danish as complete and socially dominant languages in Greenland. By officially stating that Greenlandic is *the one and only* official language in Greenland, the policymakers not only desire to strengthen a national symbol (the language), but also desire to elevate the status of Greenlandic. The status of Greenlandic is now higher than Danish, at least in terms of legislation, since Danish does not have official language status in Greenland. This special situation may also be called language emancipation.

To explain language emancipation in the Greenlandic context, emphasis must be placed on the special role of history in the language policy and planning situation. To put it simply, Greenland went from colonisation to modernisation, and from Home Rule culminating in Self Rule, in approximately fifty years. Greenlandisation *is* not only increasing self-determination but also a decolonisation process which is, as Hans Enoksen stated, about finding a way to run the country that does not necessarily copy foreign structures. During the modernisation process the *Kalaallit* were essentially just watching the Danes changing their lifestyles. The Danes working in Greenland copied the Danish school system, healthcare system and architecture, and transferred these foreign structures to Greenland. The decolonisation process is about breaking with the ‘colonisation mentality’ and correcting whatever inequalities that might still exist today, including those that might have existed or still exist within the statuses and roles of the languages.

History is a transparent part of language policy, because the official language policy seeks to *secure Greenlandic as a complete and socially dominant language* (§1a) and *strengthen Greenlandic as a mother tongue language and as a second language* (§1b). These statements reveal a historical perspective; the fact that Greenland is a former colony brings about an understanding of why the Greenland government made these statements and why it desires to protect the language of the *Kalaallit* people. Greenlandic society is indeed undergoing rapid and constant transformation, and it is this complex mix of an *indigenous peoples’* building of a new nation that makes history

an essential part of the language policy and planning process. History becomes important in itself, because it encapsulates colonisation, modernisation and increased self-determination into one complex concept which transforms into language emancipation in the language planning and policy process.

In chapter 2.3 I mentioned that according to the SLiCA research project Greenlandic is very important to the Greenlandic identity, and some would even claim that Danish language and culture are a threat to Greenlandic language and culture (chapter 2.4). During the decolonisation period and the Greenlandisation process attitudes to the two languages have changed, not least within the political power elite. The aforementioned Elisabeth Ravn Johansen has said that former Premier Hans Enoksen indeed has contributed to a more accepted view of the monolingual *Kalaaleq* speaking only Greenlandic. Still, she expresses that the time has come to have a leader who speaks more languages, since the young people demand it (Sermitsiaq no.14 2009). After the parliamentary election in June 2009, where *Siumut* lost power to *Inuit Ataqatigiit*, *Siumut* chose Aleqa Hammond, who speaks several languages, as the new leader of the party.

Furthermore, there was a political effort to put ‘the rich Greenlandic cultural heritage’ on UNESCO’s 2003 Intangible Cultural Heritage list, which aims at protecting the world’s endangered cultural heritage (www.unesco.org). Former Minister of Culture, Tommy Marø, has said that language is an important part of cultural heritage and that policymakers in Greenland wish to protect Greenlandic heritage from ‘globalisation’ which threatens to reduce and destroy indigenous peoples’ cultures (Sermitsiaq no.19 2009:31). Even though Greenlandic is no longer a threatened language, Greenlandic policymakers want to protect the Greenlandic culture and language from being ‘swallowed up’ into other global cultures. Perhaps it is the fear of a possible language shift to Danish that the language policy explicitly states that Greenlandic as a mother tongue and a second language should be strengthened.

Paradoxically the proposed linguistic integration legislation of 2009 in Greenland aims at eliminating language barriers and embracing multilingualism by supporting people who want to learn Greenlandic, Danish and English. Ironically, the onus is on the employers (and in the end the labour market) to organise and pay for the language

courses for employees. Policymakers have therefore exercised their power to put pressure on private companies to elaborate a ‘corporate language policy’, which has been heavily criticised by a number of companies, interest groups, etc. that believe it will be an administrative burden for the companies, and that it is the government that should pay the price for improving linguistic skills among the population (AG May 12, 2009). Per Langgård has also criticised the legislation proposition saying that Greenland is not prepared and still lacks dictionaries in order to meet the demands of having Greenlandic as the official language (Sermitsiaq June 19, 2009). Paradoxically, linguistic integration in education legislation is not mentioned at all in the proposed linguistic integration legislation of 2009, even though bilingualism is actually a stated goal in education legislation.

5.3 Challenges in language education policy

In the process of decolonisation, Greenland has shifted focus in language priorities in the state school system. During the last thirty years the state school system has become more Greenlandic, partly by eliminating the Danish streams and introducing the ‘integrated schools’ where children with different mother tongues are mixed. Schools have also become more Greenlandic by introducing lessons that teach how to sail, fish, kayak, ride a dog sledge, etc. The people who worked on the Good School reform acknowledge that Greenlandic and Danish are important languages, and that the children have to learn both during the ten years of public schooling.

In spite of that statement, language and linguistic competencies are not part of the top five priorities in the Good School reform program. Both Greenlandic and Danish are compulsory subjects during the ten years of schooling, and both are used as instructional languages (English can also be used). Greenlandic is considered to be the mother tongue of most pupils, whereas Danish is considered to be the first *foreign language* and English is the second *foreign language*. Neither bilingualism nor multilingualism are mentioned in the official education legislation (*Landstingsforordning*) concerning the state school system.

As an experienced teacher in Greenland Grete Ulrich has noticed some tendencies in the Greenlandic school system. She claims that, roughly speaking, there are at least four

different types of children in Greenlandic schools. The first group is children with *Kalaallit* parents who use Greenlandic as their 'home language' and who hardly have any knowledge in Danish. The second group is children with *Kalaallit* parents who belong to the well educated elite and who are bilingual. The third group is children with a *Kalaaleq* mother and a Danish father who speak Greenlandic at home and hardly know Danish, according to Grete Ulrich. The fourth group, Ulrich has observed, is children with a *Kalaaleq* father and a Danish mother who speak Danish at home (Ulrich 1988:122). Even though Grete Ulrich did these observations in the 1980s, it is likely that these tendencies are still visible, at least in some parts of Greenlandic society.

Today the linguistic goal of the state school system is to make pupils 'functionally bilingual' in Greenlandic and Danish for purposes regarding further/higher education, according to the parent's handbook and the school curriculums. Teachers are obliged to use both languages to a greater or lesser extent with *all* pupils, no matter their mother-tongue. On the other hand it is not the intention that instruction is fully bilingually in the two languages. In fact, the handbook states that the language used in the classes is adjusted to each pupil and pupil group's linguistic conditions and needs. But the official documents analysed do not account for how this arrangement actually works in practice. There is no mention of a bilingual allocation strategy or of which type of arrangement is used, i.e. strict separation, flexible convergence or flexible multiplicity. There is no mention of strategy at all, of the roles that the languages play, or the challenges that might exist with 'integrated' streams and the varieties of bilingualism herein. How much is Greenlandic used? How much is Danish used? The question remains: will children become bilinguals in reality?

Jørgen Gimbel and Anne Holmen have carried out a research project in Nuuk studying the first three years with the integrated streams (1994 to 1997). Even though this period was before 'The Good School' reform, it is worthwhile mentioning here, since it concerns the integrated streams. The majority of pupils had Greenlandic as their mother-tongue (83%). A small percentage (9,8%) of the children were bilingual, but when parents were interviewed this number was raised to 15,8% (Gimbel 1999:272). The research shows that teachers seem to have a restricted understanding and a narrow definition of bilingualism. Teachers ignore the Greenlandic potential in those children who are considered bilingual, i.e. bilingualism is restricted to children with Greenlandic

background who have good abilities in Danish (Gimbel 1999:273). By the third grade a hostile atmosphere has developed in some classes between the two language groups, and the bilinguals are caught in the middle (Gimbel 1999:274). Furthermore, during interviews with older students and teachers the researchers got the impression that the teaching of Danish had been downgraded in the last ten to fifteen years (Gimbel 1999:275). The researchers concluded that the teaching of Danish had had poor results for the past ten to fifteen years, and that many students and teachers were concerned with the educational value attributed to Danish (Gimbel 1999:275).

Some tendencies seem to be that the younger the generation is in Greenland, the more monolingual it becomes in either Greenlandic or Danish, mostly in Greenlandic (cf. chapter 2.4). Kistâra Vahl Motzfeldt (referred to in chapter 2.4) who is a teacher at the *gymnasium* in Nuuk, has said that linguistic skills in Greenlandic and Danish among students are far too poor (Rasmussen 2006). Despite these observations, it is important to remember that ‘The Good School’ education legislation was not passed until 2002, so it will therefore be another three years before linguistic skills can actually be measured and investigated among the pupils affected by this education legislation (who will be graduating in 2012).

In spite of this, it is still questionable whether or not ‘The Good School’ reform will be able to elevate the linguistic competencies of students. As accounted for in chapter 3.2.4 Tollefson argues that schools and communities are interdependent. Schools in Greenland face many obstacles and challenges due to societal changes that surely affect language acquisition including: ideology, demography, schools in decay, lack of teachers and school materials. These obstacles and challenges are summarised below:

Ideology: Greenlandic society is in a phase of ‘Greenlandisation’, which started with the introduction of the Home Rule in 1979. It is unknown whether this ideology has reached its peak, or if it will decrease/increase as new political parties come to power. How does this ideology influence state schools as a public institution? What motivation will children have when it comes to learning Danish?

Demography: the population is spread over a large geographical area. Language use and attitudes differs from place to place. Teaching therefore varies from school to school. How do teachers implement the notion of ‘bilingualism’ in classes?

Furthermore, the make-up of municipalities has undergone major changes (re-configured from eighteen into four) as of January 1, 2009. How does this affect communication between school administrations and their responsible municipality?

Schools in decay: it has been debated over and over again that many of the schools built in the 1960s need to be renovated. Many of them suffer from wear and mildew. How can the children be motivated to gain knowledge and learn languages when the surroundings are not inviting?

Lack of teachers: there is a huge lack of educated teachers. The exact number of insufficiently educated teachers in Greenland is 327, which is about one-third of all teachers employed nationally. Yet another problem is that newly educated teachers prefer to live in the bigger towns (KNR Feb. 14 2008). Furthermore, it is a problem that teachers regularly change jobs (Uddannelsesplan 2005:5). How does that influence the quality of education and language acquisition in the smaller village schools?

School material: many students complain about poor and uninspiring teaching material. Too much of it is simply a reproduction of written mother tongue curriculum in Danish (Gimbel 1999:275). Furthermore, how suitable is the school material with regards to the varieties of language skills and bilingualism that exist?

The Home Rule Act is referred to several times in education legislation, in the parent's handbook, and in the school curriculums. There is no doubt that national language policy and planning does influence language education policy. For the past thirty years national language policy has influenced the education legislation, i.e. the demands from society have formed the state school system. Therefore it is a paradox that everything that has to do with language education policy has been kept out of the proposed linguistic integration legislation of 2009. It is noteworthy that the state school system, being the largest national institution in Greenland, has no linguistic guidelines outlined in national law. Whereas until 1979 children had to learn Danish, as overtly specified in national law, now any indication of a language education policy has been removed from the Self Rule Act, including the proposed linguistic integration legislation. The two commissions that worked on increased self-determination and self-governance in Greenland both wrote a great deal about the paradoxes within the educational system and the reality of language skills, but found it logical to separate language education policy from the national language policy.

Neither bilingualism nor multilingualism is mentioned in the education legislation of 2002 (*Landstingsforordning*), these are simply not part of the five overall purposes of the official Greenland state school system. Though according to the parent's handbook and the school curriculums the aim of the state school system is to make pupils 'functionally bilingual', it remains uncertain what type of strategy is to be used to fulfil this purpose.

“Greenland should not isolate itself from the outside world with the Greenlandic language as the only thing that matters. Greenland cannot communicate with the surrounding world in Greenlandic. And without education, there is no space for Greenland in a globalised world”

Jørgen Fleischer, retired journalist and editor
Sermitsiaq July 10, 2009. My translation

6 Language planning today and tomorrow

6.1 A dynamic developing society

The questions of increased self-determination and independence from Denmark are highly debated themes in the political arena and in the media in Greenland. Greenland receives an annual economic subsidy of 3.4 billion Danish Kroner. Greenland is dependent on Denmark's economic support. At present all imported goods in Greenland come from Denmark. The Danish language is dominant within foreign trade, research, economy and technology. There is a political wish to develop Greenland's business sectors in order to create a viable economy and to avoid being dependent on the annual Danish block grant. Tourism, oil exploitation and mineral extraction as possible future business sectors are frequently discussed by Greenlandic politicians. No one knows for certain if Greenland will ever declare its independence from Denmark and become a state itself. That possibility depends on many things including political will, economic profit, human resources and the Greenlandic population's willingness to carry out such a demanding project. To this day independence is only a dream, and it is far from a ready-made plan. A vital step towards a self-sustaining economy will be raising the level of education among the Greenlandic population in order for the country to not rely entirely on 'imported' Danish labour.

The number of well educated people does not appear to be increasing as fast as the politicians would like it to be, and this is why the Greenland government has recently (in 2005) launched an extraordinary plan to focus on further and higher education.

There is a limited amount of educational material and books in Greenlandic; today it is not possible to complete most types of further and higher educations in Greenlandic solely, as accounted for in chapter 2.5. There are simply not enough economic or human resources to establish different types of educational programs in Greenlandic. Most of the young people who want further or higher educations have to go abroad to study. Most of them choose to go to Denmark for reasons concerning accessibility and tradition, as described in the first chapter. One reason why there is a lack of well educated people in Greenland seems to be a lack of knowledge in Danish, since this language is essential in nearly all types of further and higher education programs.

When the Greenland Home Rule government was established in 1979 it was decided that Greenlandic was to be the ‘principal’ language in Greenland and that Danish had to be thoroughly taught. On June 21, 2009, Greenland celebrated Self Rule and with this type of increased self-determination the Greenlandic language has gained status as the only *official* language in Greenland, which ideally should be used in all official matters. Danish does not have status as an ‘official language’ in Greenland. Danish is not a national language, but neither is it a foreign language among other foreign languages. Danish *can* be used in official matters and today it *is* used in all official matters.

The proposed linguistic integration legislation of 2009 aims to break down language barriers and make bilingualism and multilingualism a strength and a wealth, while at the same time strengthening the Greenlandic common feeling and identity. According to the Self Rule Act §20 of 2009, Greenland is politically monolingual, as Greenlandic now is the only official language, even though in reality Greenland *is* a bilingual country, with Greenlandic and Danish existing side by side. For example all job advertisements in the newspapers prefer bilingual (Greenlandic-Danish speaking) applicants. The Greenlandic labour market desperately seeks higher educated bilingual *Kalaallit*, who are the ‘winners’ in the sense that they are able to pick whichever job they want. Likewise, many official internet websites are in both languages and all the information produced by the government concerning taxes, elections, etc. is written in both languages. The two national newspapers are also written in both languages.

Policymakers have decided that state-owned and private companies with more than ten employees must form a ‘corporate language policy’. This requirement is controversial

because it is the companies that become responsible for providing and paying for their employees' language acquisition courses; many believe that the government ought to be responsible for paying this price by providing better education and language acquisition in the state school system. The fact that national language policies and language education policies are separated is a paradox, since formal education is the most important of all domains within language policy and because the state school system is the largest national institution in Greenland. This is a paradox because the Greenlandic government with its language policy (the Self Rule Act and the proposed linguistic integration legislation) cannot be held responsible if the children's linguistic skills acquired in the state schools do not live up to the societal norms and demands. Still, in the proposed linguistic integration legislation of 2009 it is stated that Greenlandic should be maintained as a *complete and socially dominant language* and that Greenlandic should be strengthened as a *mother tongue language* and as a *second language*. But how are these two goals supposed to be implemented in society if they are not directly linked to the language education legislation in the state schools? Greenlandic language policy appears ambiguous, as Greenland has only *one* official language, even though the country is bilingual and desires to embrace bilingualism and multilingualism. Greenlandic national language policy desires to strengthen Greenlandic as a 'mother tongue' and as a 'second language', but still language planners found it logical somehow to separate language policy between national language policy and education legislation.

A likely impact of this paradox on the language education policy in the future is that the political leaders and pedagogical employees developing the state school system will no longer have a reference point in a national policy concerning language acquisition. There are two relevant legal legislations: the Self Rule Act stating that Greenlandic is the official language, and the proposed linguistic integration legislation stating that bilingualism and multilingualism should become strengths *but* that Greenlandic should be strengthened as a *mother tongue language* and as a *second language*.

As long as Greenland is part of the Danish realm, the Danish language will be important due to long traditions of cooperation within areas such as trading, research and education. Especially within the educational system, multilingualism is an advantage. Even if Greenland was to declare its independence from Denmark, Greenland would

still need *Kalaallit* with competence in foreign languages for the purpose of communicating and cooperating with foreign business partners, especially Danish ones.

One of the critical issues in official Greenlandic language policy is the absence of a clear definition of the status and role of the Danish language in Greenlandic society. The status of Danish needs to be clarified more professionally at legislative, political and pedagogical levels.

6.2 Rethinking bilingualism

Greenland is widely recognised as a bilingual country. The working group on language policy (2001) and the Greenlandic Commission on Self-Governance (2003) both stated this. However, this recognition is closely linked to a similar controversial issue: the general understanding of the concept of bilingualism. As described in chapter 2.3 the linguistic landscape of Greenland is extremely diverse. About fifty-two percent of the population is more or less bilingual, i.e. they have diverse bilingual skills. In addition there are thirty-six percent who are monolingual in Greenlandic and the remaining 11,9% are monolingual in Danish. But even these latter two ‘monolingual language groups’ speak a little Greenlandic and Danish, respectively, as stated in the report (rapport nr. 8 1996:3, appendix 8). Are these numbers reliable enough to claim that the (whole) population in Greenland is bilingual, even though they probably have different receptive and productive bilingual skills? What does it imply when policymakers and language planners state that Greenland is a bilingual country? Is it a sort of bilingualism that, according to some people, is forced upon Greenlanders and Greenland because of its history? In the proposed linguistic integration legislation of 2009 it is stated that bilingualism and multilingualism should become a strength and wealth, but how can they become so if not through education legislation and language acquisition in the schools? It is also expressed that linguistic acquisition should be promoted in order to strengthen Greenland as a knowledge society. But to what extent is societal and individual bilingualism and multilingualism desired? Only within purposes regarding further education? Or also within other domains such as foreign trade, technology and research? Is multilingualism only desirable until (or if) the Greenlandic language becomes dominant within these domains? The idea of Greenland as a bilingual country

and the concept of bilingualism ought to be addressed more carefully in official language planning.

A related controversial issue is the general understanding of bilingualism in the state school system and within the education legislation. The arguments behind ‘The Good School’ reform were to make the school more Greenlandic and more suitable for the Greenlandic context. Teaching in practical lessons now includes fur handling/sewing, fishing, sailing, hunting, traditional Inuit sport, kayak and dog sledge building, as written in chapter 4.3.2. Language is not mentioned in the five main objectives of the education legislation. Language is mentioned in a subordinate ‘sub-objective’ section in which it states that children should “learn versatile forms of expressions and linguistic competencies”. In the comments to the school reform, as accounted for in chapter 4.3.2, it is explained that Greenlandic is seen as the *mother tongue* for most pupils. Danish is considered to be the first *foreign language* and English is the second *foreign language*. The third *foreign language* is optional: either German or French.

The varieties of bilingualism that Grete Ulrich has observed (cf. chapter 5.3) are not discussed in the education legislation. In fact, in the legislation and in the comments to ‘The Good School’ reform there is no mentioning of this issue at all. In the comments to ‘The Good School’ reform it is explained that when forming a classroom the aim is to place an equal amount of pupils having Greenlandic as their mother tongue together with pupils who do not have Greenlandic as their mother tongue, as written in chapter 4.3.2. In the same chapter it is explained that if forty children start in school and thirty are Greenlandic-speaking and ten have another mother tongue, then two classes are to be divided with fifteen pupils with Greenlandic as mother tongue and five children with another mother tongue in each class. The question is: has the legislation simply not considered the fact that there are bilingual children in Greenland?

Nowhere in the education legislation or in the comments hereto are the dialects of Greenland mentioned: Thule-dialect, East and West Greenlandic. Svend Kolte argued that these dialects border on being distinct languages, since people from the different regions cannot communicate with each other (cf. chapter 2.3). When education legislation refers to ‘Greenlandic’ does this term apply to all three dialects or does it only apply to West Greenlandic? When the proposed linguistic integration legislation of

2009 states that Greenlandic should be strengthened as a mother tongue language and as a second language, does that apply to all three dialects of Greenland? Or does it only apply to West Greenlandic since that is the main dialect spoken by the majority of the population? Questions concerning the use of the term ‘Greenlandic’, including the terms ‘dialect’ and ‘language’, ought to be approached more carefully in not only education legislation, but also in national language policies and reports concerning languages.

The goal with ‘The Good School’ reform is that children are to become *functionally bilingual* in Greenlandic and Danish. The varieties of bilingualism that exist are numerable as explored in chapter two and three. There are various models of bilingual teaching and types of bilingual education: the non-forms, weak and strong forms as accounted for in chapter 3.2.4 in this thesis. ‘The Good School’ considers Greenlandic to be the *mother tongue* of most pupils and Danish is considered to be the *first foreign language*. There is no mention of *second language* anywhere in the legislation, despite the fact that the proposed linguistic integration legislation uses this term. Furthermore, there is no clear definition anywhere concerning the concept of ‘functionally bilingual’. Nowhere is it properly explained how the aim of making pupils ‘functionally bilingual’ is to be implemented in the classroom. The question is: is ‘The Good School’ really that good when it comes to achieving language acquisition aims? Has there perhaps been more focus on making the school ‘Greenlandic’ instead of focusing on language acquisition aims and implementation? It will indeed be crucial to monitor the first group of pupil’s language skills graduating from ‘The Good School’ in 2012.

Considering the fact that there are three ‘dialects’ of Greenlandic and knowing that the population has very diverse language skills, it would be beneficial and desirable in current and future elaboration of language education policy if the terms *mother tongue*, *second language*, *foreign language*, *bilingualism* and *multilingualism* were explored in depth in a Greenlandic context, and used in a more adequate and conscious manner by policymakers and pedagogical leaders.

6.3 Future research

Official language policy and planning as an object of research in Greenland is fairly new, since the actual planning of official government language policies began merely a decade ago. Languages continue to be intensely debated in Greenland and will continue to be so, especially now that the second and third reading of the proposed linguistic integration legislation in the parliament has been postponed until the spring of 2010. Hopefully the research findings in this master's thesis will contribute to a broader debate about the socio-political impacts on language policy and the specific aims of language education legislation in 'The Good School' reform of 2002. These debates should include everyone interested in these themes, such as parents, teachers, etc., but also those who are actually taking part in forming and further developing these policies, such as policymakers, pedagogical employees and political leaders.

As Thomas Andersen from Greenland Statistics, referred to in chapter 2.3, has pointed out, there is a need to monitor language use and skills steadily and consistently in Greenland, since today it is unknown how the languages (Greenlandic and Danish) are spreading and how their qualities are developing. Not knowing how language use and language skills in Greenlandic and Danish are developing in Greenlandic society creates an imbalanced foundation upon which to build official language policies in the future, in both education and business.

It seems that there are shifting attitudes to languages in Greenland, which could encourage a different type of study based on the population's attitudes to languages and linguistic preferences in Greenland. Do people feel the need to learn other languages than their first language? Can people cope with learning two, three or more languages? What are people's motivations to learn Danish and other foreign languages?

Turning to the Greenlandic school system, it would be important to carry out further research concerning the concept of bilingualism, for example by studying teachers' knowledge of the concept of bilingualism and specifically 'functional bilingualism' in order to understand the use of Greenlandic and Danish in classes. Furthermore, it will be extremely important to examine the language skills of the first group of pupils who

will graduate from ‘The Good School’ reform in 2012, in order to evaluate the success of the implementation of this reform and its aims regarding languages.

Within an international perspective it would be relevant to study and compare language use, language policies, education legislations including school curriculums among other indigenous peoples struggling for self-determination in order to examine the impact of linguistic rights according to international law. Comparing Greenland to its neighbour Nunavut (in Canada), or other Arctic indigenous peoples’ challenges concerning bilingualism and multilingualism would produce significant research. Despite the fact that Greenlandic and Saami societies face completely distinct problems and challenges (cf. chapter 3.2.1), not least as to territory and self-determination, comparing these two indigenous peoples’ situations within a language planning frame would accumulate important research. These comparisons and research findings could provide inspiring information on how to proceed in planning official language policies in indigenous societies.

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Appendix 1

Act No. 577 of 29 November 1978
THE GREENLAND HOME RULE ACT

Chapter 1

HOME RULE AUTHORITIES

Section 1

(1) Greenland is a distinct community within the Kingdom of Denmark. Within the framework of the unity of the Realm, the Greenland home rule authorities shall conduct Greenland affairs in accordance with the provisions laid down in this Act.

(2) The Greenland home rule authorities shall consist of an assembly elected in Greenland, to be called the Landsting, and an administration headed by a Landsstyre (Executive).

Section 2

(1) Members of the Landsting shall be elected for a four-year term in general, direct and secret elections.

(2) Detailed rules on elections, including such matters as the franchise, eligibility for election, and the number of members of the Landsting, shall be laid down by Act of the Landsting.

(3) The Landsting shall make its own standing orders.

Section 3

The Landsting shall elect the Chairman and the other members of the Landsstyre. The Chairman of the Landsstyre shall assign responsibilities between its members.

Chapter 2

POWERS OF THE HOME RULE AUTHORITIES

Section 4

(1) The home rule authorities may determine that jurisdiction in any field listed in the Schedule to this Act, or in part of such field, shall be transferred to the home rule authorities.

(2) The home rule authorities shall exercise legislative and executive power in fields transferred under subsection (1), and shall assume responsibility for expenditure associated with them.

(3) The same shall apply where the central authorities of the Realm, after negotiation with the home rule authorities, determine that jurisdiction in such fields or parts of such fields shall be transferred to the home rule authorities.

(4) Bills regarding such fields of jurisdiction as are passed by the Landsting and signed by the Chairman of the Landsstyre shall be called Acts of the Landsting.

Section 5

(1) Where jurisdiction over a field or part of a field listed in the Schedule to this Act has not been transferred to the home rule authorities under section 4, the central authorities of the Realm may after negotiation with the home rule authorities by statute determine that the home rule authorities shall assume regulatory jurisdiction for and administer it. Subsidies to be paid in such fields shall be fixed by statute.

(2) Draft Regulations regarding such fields of jurisdiction as are passed by the Landsting and signed by the Chairman of the Landsstyre shall be called Landsting Regulations.

Section 6

(1) Landsting Bills and draft Landsting Regulations which have been passed cannot be carried into force until they have been signed by the Chairman of the Landsstyre and promulgated in accordance with provisions laid down by Act of the Landsting.

(2) Within a period of 8 days the Landsstyre may resolve that a Bill or draft Regulation is not to be signed until passed by the following session of the Landsting. Should that session fail to pass it unamended it shall lapse.

Section 7

(1) The central authorities of the Realm may after negotiation with and having secured the consent of the home rule authorities by statute determine that jurisdiction in fields not listed in the schedule to this Act shall be transferred to the home rule authorities, sections 4(2) and (4) or section 5 applying correspondingly.

(2) In determining in which fields jurisdiction should be transferred to the home rule authorities under subsection (1), regard shall be had to the unity of the Realm and to the desirability of the home rule authorities' receiving an extensive role in matters which particularly affect Greenland interests.

Section 8

(1) The resident population of Greenland has fundamental rights in respect of Greenland's natural resources.

(2) To safeguard the rights of the resident population in respect of non-living resources and to protect the interests of the unity of the Realm, it shall be enacted by statute that preliminary study, prospecting and the exploitation of these resources are to be regulated by agreement between the Government and the Landsstyre.

(3) Before any agreement under subsection (2) is entered into, any member of the Landsstyre may demand that the matter be laid before the Landsting, which may determine that the Landsstyre may not consent to an agreement of the proposed content.

Section 9

- (1) Greenlandic shall be the principal language. Danish must be thoroughly taught.
- (2) Either language may be used for official purposes.

Section 10

- (1) The home rule authorities shall be subject to such obligations arising out of treaties and other international rules as at any time are binding on the Realm.
- (2) The powers delegated to international authorities under section 20 of the Constitutional Act shall at all times prevail over the powers of the home rule authorities .
- (3) The Government may order the home rule authorities to take such measures as may be necessary to ensure the observance of subsections (1) and (2).

Chapter 3

RELATIONS WITH THE CENTRAL AUTHORITIES

Section 11

- (1) The central authorities of the Realm shall have jurisdiction in questions affecting the foreign relations of the Realm.
- (2) Measures under consideration by the home rule authorities which would be of substantial importance for the foreign relations of the Realm, including participation by the Realm in international cooperation, shall be discussed with the central authorities before any decision is taken.

Section 12

- (1) Bills which include provisions which exclusively concern Greenland shall be referred to the home rule authorities for their comments before they are introduced in the Folketing.
- (2) Draft administrative orders which include provisions which exclusively concern Greenland shall be referred to the home rule authorities for their comments before they are issued.
- (3) Statutes and administrative orders which are of particular importance to Greenland shall be referred to the home rule authorities for their comments before being put into force in Greenland.

Section 13

Treaties which require the assent of the Folketing and which particularly affect Greenland interests shall be referred to the home rule authorities for their comments before they are concluded.

Section 14

(1) Unless the central authorities in individual cases otherwise determine, the home rule authorities' comments shall be submitted within six months after the date on which the proposals were referred to them under sections 12 and 13.

(2) If proposals cannot be referred to the home rule authorities due to compelling circumstances, the statute, administrative provision or treaty shall be referred to the home rule authorities for their comments as soon as possible.

Section 15 .

(1) Within the framework of section 11 the Government shall after consultation with the Landsstyre lay down guidelines for the handling of matters of particular interest to Greenland in the European Community Institutions .

(2) The home rule authorities shall be kept informed of proposed legislation before the Council of the European Communities which particularly affects Greenland interests.

Section 16

(1) The home rule authorities may demand that in countries in which Greenland has special commercial interest Danish diplomatic missions employ officers specifically to attend to such interests. The central authorities may determine that expenditure to this end be borne by the home rule authorities.

(2) The central authorities may after negotiation with the home rule authorities empower the home rule authorities to advance special Greenland interests by taking part in international negotiations of special importance for Greenland's commercial life.

(3) Where matters of particular interest to Greenland are at issue, the central authorities may on a request by the home rule authorities authorize them to negotiate directly, with the cooperation of the Foreign Service provided such negotiation is not considered incompatible with the unity of the Realm.

Section 17

(1) The central authorities' chief representative in Greenland shall be the Rigsombudsmand (Commissioner).

(2) The home rule authorities may invite the Rigsombudsmand to take part in debates in the Landsting or the Landsstyre.

(3) The home rule authorities shall inform the Rigsombudsmand as soon as possible of new Acts of the Landsting and Landsting Regulations, and of other legislation of general application made by the home rule authorities.

Section 18

(1) Should any doubt arise between the central authorities and the home rule authorities concerning their respective jurisdictions, the question shall be laid before a board consisting of two

members nominated by the Government, two members nominated by the home rule authorities and three judges of the Supreme Court nominated by its President, one of whom shall be nominated as Chairman.

(2) If the four members nominated by the Government and the home rule authorities reach agreement the question shall be considered settled. If these four fail to reach agreement the question shall be decided by the three Supreme Court judges.

(3) The Government may suspend an enactment or decision of the home rule authorities which has been placed before the board until such time as the board's decision is taken.

Chapter 4

ENTRY INTO FORCE AND TRANSITIONAL PROVISIONS

Section 19

(1) Statutory provisions and regulations applicable to Greenland shall remain in force subject to such change: as arise out of this Act, until amended or repealed by the appropriate authority.

Section 20

(1) The date on which this Act is to enter into force shall be fixed by statute.

(2) The Rigsombudsmand shall take up the duties formerly exercised by the Governor of Greenland, with such changes as arise out of this Act.

Schedule

Organization of home rule in Greenland

Organization of local government

Direct and indirect taxes

The Established Church and dissentient religious communities

Fishing in the territory, hunting, agriculture and reindeer breeding

Conservation

Country planning

Legislation governing trade and competition, including legislation on restaurant and hotel business, regulations governing alcoholic beverages, and regulations governing closing hours of shops

Social welfare

Labour market affairs

Education and. cultural affairs, including vocational education

Other matters relating to trade, including State-conducted fishing and production, support and development of economic activities

Health services

Rent legislation, rent support, and housing administration

Supply of goods

Internal transport of passengers and goods

Protection of the environment

Appendix 2

Udkast til

Lov om Grønlands Selvstyre

I erkendelse af, at det grønlandske folk er et folk i henhold til folkeretten med ret til selvbestemmelse, bygger loven på et ønske om at fremme ligestilling og gensidig respekt i partnerskabet mellem Danmark og Grønland. Loven bygger i overensstemmelse hermed på en overenskomst mellem Naalakkersuisut og den danske regering som ligestillede parter.

Kapitel 1

Selvstyrets myndigheder samt domstolene

§ 1. Grønlands Selvstyre har den lovgivende og udøvende magt inden for overtagne sagsområder. Domstole, der bliver oprettet af selvstyret, har den dømmende magt i Grønland inden for samtlige sagsområder. I overensstemmelse hermed er den lovgivende magt hos Inatsisartut, den udøvende magt hos Naalakkersuisut og den dømmende magt hos domstolene.

Kapitel 2

Selvstyrets overtagelse af sagsområder

§ 2. Grønlands Selvstyre kan bestemme, at de sagsområder, der fremgår af lovens bilag, skal overgå til selvstyret.

Stk. 2. I det omfang flere sagsområder er anført under samme litra eller nummer i lovens bilag, skal de pågældende sagsområder overgå til Grønlands Selvstyre på samme tidspunkt, jf. dog stk. 3.

Stk. 3. Grønlands Selvstyre kan bestemme, at en del af de sagsområder, der er anført på liste I, litra b og liste II, nr. 15, 25 og 27 i lovens bilag skal overgå til selvstyret.

§ 3. Sagsområder, der fremgår af bilagets liste I, overgår til Grønlands Selvstyre på tidspunkter, der fastsættes af selvstyret.

Stk. 2. Sagsområder, der fremgår af bilagets liste II, overgår til Grønlands Selvstyre på tidspunkter, der fastsættes af selvstyret efter forhandling med rigsmyndighederne.

§ 4. Naalakkersuisut og regeringen kan aftale, at sagsområder, der alene vedrører grønlandske anliggender, og som ikke er nævnt i bilaget, kan overtages af Grønlands Selvstyre.

Kapitel 3

Økonomiske relationer mellem Grønlands Selvstyre og staten

§ 5. Staten yder Grønlands Selvstyre et årligt tilskud på 3.439,6 mio. kr., jf. dog § 8, stk. 1. Beløbet er angivet i 2009-pris- og lønniveau.

Stk. 2. Tilskuddet reguleres årligt i overensstemmelse med stigningen i det generelle pris- og lønindeks på finansloven det pågældende år.

Stk. 3. Tilskuddet udbetales forskudsvis med 1/12 hver måned.

Stk. 4. Finansministeren kan efter aftale med Naalakkersuisut fastsætte regler om ændrede udbetalingsterminer.

§ 6. Sagsområder, der overtages af Grønlands Selvstyre efter §§ 2-4, finansieres fra tidspunktet for overtagelsen af selvstyret.

Stk. 2. Grønlands Selvstyre overtager de reale aktiver, der er direkte forbundet med et sagsområde, der overtages.

§ 7. Indtægter fra råstofaktiviteter i Grønland tilfalder Grønlands Selvstyre.

Stk. 2. De i stk. 1 angivne indtægter omfatter følgende indtægter:

- 1) Indtægter i henhold til konkrete tilladelser til forundersøgelse, efterforskning eller udnyttelse af mineralske råstoffer, dog bortset fra beløb, som betales til dækning af udgifter i Råstofdirektoratets regi.
- 2) Indtægter ved enhver beskatning i Danmark og Grønland af rettighedshavere for så vidt angår den del af virksomheden, som vedrører mineralske råstoffer i Grønland.
- 3) Indtægter fra grønlandske og danske offentlige myndigheders ejerandele i selskaber m.v., der driver virksomhed på råstofområdet i Grønland.
- 4) Indtægter fra udbytteskat m.v. i Danmark og Grønland vedrørende aktionærer i selskaber, som er rettighedshavere, eller i selskaber, som fuldt ud ejer sådanne selskaber direkte eller indirekte og skattefrit kan modtage udbytte derfra.

§ 8. Tilfalder der Grønlands Selvstyre indtægter fra råstofaktiviteter i Grønland, jf. § 7, reduceres statens tilskud til selvstyret med et beløb, der svarer til halvdelen af de indtægter, som i det pågældende år ligger over 75 mio. kr.

Stk. 2. Med virkning fra 1. januar året efter lovens ikrafttræden reguleres det i stk. 1 nævnte beløb på 75 mio. kr. årligt i overensstemmelse med stigningen i det generelle pris- og lønindeks på finansloven det pågældende år.

Stk. 3. Opgørelse efter stk. 1 sker i det efterfølgende år med henblik på afregning året efter.

§ 9. Ved Grønlands Selvstyres overtagelse af råstofområdet sikrer regeringen, at der mod betaling ydes rådgivning og anden opgavevaretagelse til brug for selvstyrets varetagelse af råstofområdet.

Stk. 2. Naalakkersuisut og regeringen indgår med virkning fra Grønlands Selvstyres overtagelse af råstofområdet aftale om de i stk. 1 nævnte ydelser.

Stk. 3. Naalakkersuisut kan beslutte at forny den i stk. 2 nævnte aftale i form af flerårige aftaler.

Stk. 4. Ved indgåelse af aftaler efter stk. 2 og stk. 3 stiller regeringen forskning af særlig relevans for råstofeftersforskningen i Grønland vederlagsfrit til rådighed for Naalakkersuisut.

§ 10. Reduceres statens tilskud til Grønlands Selvstyre til nul kroner, jf. § 8, indledes der forhandlinger mellem Naalakkersuisut og regeringen om de fremtidige økonomiske relationer mellem Grønlands Selvstyre og staten, herunder om fordeling af indtægter fra råstofaktiviteter i Grønland, om genoptagelse af statens tilskud til Grønlands Selvstyre samt om en fortsættelse af en aftale om de i § 9 nævnte ydelser.

Kapitel 4

Udenrigsanliggender

§ 11. Naalakkersuisut kan handle i mellemfolkelige anliggender som fastsat i dette kapitel og i aftaler med regeringen.

Stk. 2. Regeringen og Naalakkersuisut samarbejder i mellemfolkelige anliggender som fastsat i dette kapitel med henblik på at sikre såvel Grønlands interesser som Kongeriget Danmarks samlede interesser.

Stk. 3. De beføjelser, som gives Naalakkersuisut i dette kapitel, begrænser ikke de danske myndigheders forfatningsmæssige ansvar og beføjelser i mellemfolkelige anliggender, idet udenrigs- og sikkerhedspolitik er rigsanliggender.

§ 12. Naalakkersuisut kan med fremmede stater og internationale organisationer forhandle og indgå folkeretlige aftaler på rigets vegne, herunder forvaltningsaftaler, som alene vedrører Grønland og fuldt ud angår overtagne sagsområder.

Stk. 2. Folkeretlige aftaler, der alene vedrører Grønland og Færøerne og fuldt ud angår overtagne sagsområder, kan efter beslutning af såvel Naalakkersuisut som Færøernes landsstyre forhandles og indgås på rigets vegne af Naalakkersuisut og Færøernes landsstyre i forening.

Stk. 3. Folkeretlige aftaler, der er indgået efter stk. 1 eller stk. 2, kan opsiges efter de samme bestemmelser.

Stk. 4. Folkeretlige aftaler, som berører forsvars- og sikkerhedspolitikken, samt folkeretlige aftaler, som skal gælde for Danmark, eller som forhandles inden for en international organisation, hvoraf Kongeriget Danmark er medlem, forhandles og indgås efter reglerne i § 13.

Stk. 5. Naalakkersuisut underretter regeringen om påtænkte forhandlinger, inden disse påbegyndes, og om forløbet af forhandlingerne, inden folkeretlige aftaler indgås eller opsiges. De nærmere rammer for samarbejdet i henhold til denne bestemmelse fastlægges efter forhandling mellem Naalakkersuisut og regeringen.

Stk. 6. Folkeretlige aftaler efter stk. 1 indgås på rigets vegne af Naalakkersuisut under betegnelsen:

- a) Kongeriget Danmark for så vidt angår Grønland, hvor aftalen fremtræder som indgået mellem stater.
- b) Naalakkersuisut, hvor aftalen fremtræder som indgået mellem regeringer eller mellem forvaltningsmyndigheder. I så tilfælde henvises i aftalens præambel til nærværende lov som nærmere fastlagt efter stk. 8.

Stk. 7. Folkeretlige aftaler efter stk. 2 indgås på rigets vegne af Naalakkersuisut og Færøernes landsstyre i forening under betegnelsen Kongeriget Danmark for så vidt angår Færøerne og Grønland.

Stk. 8. Nærmere regler for brugen af betegnelser nævnt i stk. 6 og 7 såvel som andre lignende betegnelser kan fastlægges i medfør af stk. 5.

§ 13. Regeringen underretter Naalakkersuisut forud for indledning af forhandlinger om folkeretlige aftaler, som har særlig betydning for Grønland. Efter begæring af Naalakkersuisut kan der indgås aftale med vedkommende minister, der fastlægger nærmere samarbejdsregler inden for rammerne af denne bestemmelse, herunder en nærmere fastlæggelse af kriterier for, hvornår aftaler skal anses for at have særlig betydning for Grønland.

Stk. 2. I sager, der alene vedrører Grønland, kan regeringen bemyndige Naalakkersuisut til at føre forhandlingerne under medvirken af udenrigstjenesten.

Stk. 3. Aftaler, hvor Danmark og Grønland i fællesskab har været inddraget i forhandlingerne, undertegnes af regeringen, i videst muligt omfang sammen med Naalakkersuisut.

Stk. 4. Folkeretlige aftaler, som har særlig betydning for Grønland, skal inden indgåelse eller opsigelse forelægges Naalakkersuisut til udtalelse. Finder regeringen det nødvendigt at indgå aftalen uden Naalakkersuisuts tilslutning, sker dette i videst muligt omfang uden virkning for Grønland.

§ 14. Hvor internationale organisationer åbner adgang for, at andre enheder end stater og sammenslutninger af stater kan opnå medlemskab i eget navn, kan regeringen efter

anmodning fra Naalakkersuisut beslutte at indgive eller støtte en ansøgning herom fra Grønland, hvor dette er foreneligt med Grønlands forfatningsmæssige status.

§ 15. Efter ønske fra Naalakkersuisut, ansættes der ved Kongeriget Danmarks udenrigsrepræsentationer repræsentanter for Naalakkersuisut til varetagelse af grønlandske interesser inden for sagsområder, som fuldt ud er overtaget af selvstyret. Regeringen kan bestemme, at udgifterne herved skal afholdes af Naalakkersuisut.

§ 16. Grønlands Selvstyre er undergivet de forpligtelser, der følger af folkeretlige aftaler og andre internationale regler, som til enhver tid er bindende for riget.

Stk. 2. Foranstaltninger, som selvstyret påtænker at træffe, og hvis iværksættelse er af væsentlig betydning for rigets forhold til udlandet, herunder rigets deltagelse i internationalt samarbejde, forhandles med regeringen inden vedtagelsen.

Kapitel 5

Samarbejde mellem Grønlands Selvstyre og rigsmyndighederne vedrørende love og administrative forskrifter

§ 17. Regeringens forslag til love, der omfatter eller vil kunne sættes i kraft for Grønland, skal inden fremsættelsen for Folketinget fremsendes til Grønlands Selvstyre til udtalelse.

Stk. 2. Regeringen afventer selvstyrets udtalelse inden fremsættelsen for Folketinget af regeringsforslag til love, der indeholder bestemmelser, som udelukkende gælder for Grønland eller har særlig betydning for Grønland.

Stk. 3. Der kan fastsættes en frist for afgivelse af udtalelser omfattet af stk. 2.

§ 18. Udkast til administrative forskrifter, der omfatter eller vil kunne sættes i kraft for Grønland, skal inden udstedelsen fremsendes til Grønlands Selvstyre til udtalelse.

Stk. 2. Udstedelse af administrative forskrifter, der indeholder bestemmelser, som udelukkende gælder for Grønland eller har særlig betydning for Grønland, afventer selvstyrets udtalelse.

Stk. 3. Der kan fastsættes en frist for afgivelse af udtalelser omfattet af stk. 2.

Kapitel 6

Tvistløsning

§ 19. Opstår der mellem Grønlands Selvstyre og rigsmyndighederne tvivlsspørgsmål om selvstyrets kompetence i forhold til rigsmyndighederne, kan regeringen eller Naalakkersuisut beslutte at forelægge spørgsmålet for et nævn, der består af 2 medlemmer, der udpeges af den danske regering, 2 medlemmer, der udpeges af

Naalakkersuisut, samt 3 af Højesterets præsident udpegede højesteretsdommere, af hvilke den ene udpeges som formand.

Stk. 2. Er de 4 medlemmer, der er udpeget af regeringen og Naalakkersuisut, enige, er sagen endelig afgjort. I modsat fald afgøres sagen af de 3 højesteretsdommere.

Stk. 3. Nævnet kan beslutte at suspendere den vedtagelse eller beslutning, som er forelagt nævnet, indtil nævnets afgørelse foreligger.

Kapitel 7

Sprog

§ 20. Det grønlandske sprog er det officielle sprog i Grønland.

Kapitel 8

Grønlands adgang til selvstændighed

§ 21. Beslutning om Grønlands selvstændighed træffes af det grønlandske folk.

Stk. 2. Træffes beslutning efter stk. 1, indledes der forhandlinger mellem regeringen og Naalakkersuisut med henblik på gennemførelse af selvstændighed for Grønland.

Stk. 3. En aftale mellem Naalakkersuisut og regeringen om gennemførelse af selvstændighed for Grønland skal indgås med samtykke fra Inatsisartut og skal godkendes ved en folkeafstemning i Grønland. Aftalen skal endvidere indgås med samtykke fra Folketinget.

Stk. 4. Selvstændighed for Grønland indebærer, at Grønland overtager højhedsretten over Grønland.

Kapitel 9

Ikrafttrædelse og overgangsbestemmelser

§ 22. Loven træder i kraft den 21. juni 2009.

§ 23. Lov nr. 577 af 29. november 1978 om Grønlands hjemmestyre ophæves, jf. dog stk. 2

Stk. 2. § 8 i lov om Grønlands hjemmestyre forbliver i kraft, indtil råstofområdet overtages af Grønlands Selvstyre.

Stk. 3. Grønlands Selvstyre har fortsat den lovgivende og udøvende magt inden for sagsområder, der er overtaget efter § 4 i lov om Grønlands hjemmestyre.

Stk. 4. Grønlands Selvstyre har den lovgivende og udøvende magt inden for sagsområder, der er overtaget efter § 5 i lov om Grønlands hjemmestyre.

§ 24. Lov nr. 577 af 24. juni 2005 om Grønlands landsstyres indgåelse af folkeretlige aftaler ophæves.

Stk. 2. Forskrifter udstedt i medfør af loven forbliver i kraft med de ændringer, der følger af denne lov, indtil de ændres eller ophæves af rette myndighed.

§ 25. § 22 i lov om mineralske råstoffer i Grønland, jf. lovbekendtgørelse nr. 368 af 18. juni 1998, ophæves.

§ 26. Lov om selskab til varetagelse af kulbrinteaktiviteter i Grønland m.v., jf. lovbekendtgørelse nr. 87 af 9. februar 1999, ophæves.

§ 27. Lov nr. 502 af 6. juni 2007 om tilskud til Grønlands hjemmestyre for 2008 og 2009 ophæves.

§ 28. Bestemmelser, der gælder for Grønland, forbliver i kraft med de ændringer, der følger af denne lov, indtil de ændres eller ophæves af rette myndighed.

§ 29. Sager, som på tidspunktet for et sagsområdes overgang til Grønlands Selvstyre er under behandling af en dansk myndighed, færdigbehandles af vedkommende grønlandske myndighed, jf. dog stk. 2.

Stk. 2. Vedkommende danske myndighed kan i særlige tilfælde og efter aftale med vedkommende grønlandske myndighed bestemme, at visse nærmere bestemte sager skal færdigbehandles af de danske myndigheder.

Bilag til udkast om Grønlands Selvstyre

Liste I

- a) Arbejdsskadesikring
- b) Resterende områder under sundhedsområdet
- c) Færdselsområdet
- d) Formueretten
- e) Dykkerområdet

Liste II

- 1) Kriminalforsorgen
- 2) Pas
- 3) Politiet og anklagemyndigheden samt de hertil knyttede dele af kriminalretsplejen
- 4) Retsplejen, herunder oprettelse af domstole
- 5) Kriminalretten
- 6) Udlændingeområdet og grænsekontrollen
- 7) Personretten
- 8) Familieretten
- 9) Arveretten
- 10) Advokatvirksomhed
- 11) Våbenområdet
- 12) Radiobaserede maritime nød- og sikkerhedstjenester
- 13) Radiokommunikationsområdet
- 14) Selskabs-, regnskabs- og revisorområdet
- 15) Fødevarer- og veterinærområdet
- 16) Luftfart
- 17) Immaterialret
- 18) Ophavsret
- 19) Skibsvrag, vraggods og dybdeforringelser
- 20) Sikkerhed til søs
- 21) Skibsregistrering og søretlige forhold
- 22) Kortlægning
- 23) Farvandsafmærkning, fyrbelysning og lodsområdet
- 24) Havmiljø
- 25) Finansiell regulering og tilsyn
- 26) Råstofområdet
- 27) Arbejdsmiljø
- 28) Meteorologi

Appendix 3

Forslag til: Landstingslov nr. xx af xx. xx 2009 om sprogpolitik

Kapitel 1

Formål og definition

§ 1. Formålet med loven er at sikre klare rammer for landets sprogpolitik, herunder om sproglig integration ved at

- a) sikre grønlandsk som et komplet og samfundsbærende sprog,
- b) styrke grønlandsk og udvikling heraf som modersmål og andetsprog,
- c) imødegå og fjerne de eksisterende sprogbarrierer, så tosprogethed og flersprogethed kan blive en styrke og en rigdom, og
- d) at fremme kontinuitet i sproglig tilegnelse i samfundet for at styrke Grønland som et videnssamfund.

§ 2. Sproglig integration er rettet mod 3 grupper:

- a) De, der har behov for at lære grønlandsk.
- b) De, der har behov for at lære dansk eller engelsk.
- c) De, der har behov for indføring i grønlandsk kultur, historie og samfundsforhold.

Stk. 2. Ved sproglig integration forstås at fjerne sprogbarrierer og styrke sprogtilgængelsen for disse 3 grupper med henblik på at forbedre borgernes deltagelse i samfundet og styrke den grønlandske fællesskabsfølelse og identitet.

Stk. 3. Landsstyret kan fastsætte nærmere regler om sproglig integration.

Kapitel 2

Sprogpolitik

§ 3. Det grønlandske sprog er det officielle sprog i Grønland og anvendes i offentlige forhold.

Stk. 2. Det grønlandske sprog består af tre hoveddialekter. Det er de dialekter, der tales i Avanersuaq, Tunu og Kitaa.

Stk. 3. Det danske sprog kan anvendes i offentlige forhold.

Stk. 4. Engelsk og andre fremmedsprog anvendes i det omfang, der er behov herfor.

§ 4. Private virksomheder med mindst 10 ansatte samt offentlige virksomheder og myndigheder skal udarbejde en sprogpolitik.

Stk. 2. En sprogpolitik kan indeholde:

- a) En kortlægning af myndighedens eller virksomhedens sproglige kompetencer.
- b) En synliggørelse af fremmedsproglige og kulturelle kompetencer.
- c) En synliggørelse af myndighedens eller virksomhedens eksterne sproglige image.
- d) Retningslinjer for intern og ekstern kommunikation.
- e) Kompetencemål for ansatte.

Kapitel 3 *Undervisning*

§ 5. Alle, der bor permanent i Grønland, har ret til at tilegne sig grønlandsk og dansk, i tale og skrift, således at de kan deltage i samfundslivet, anvende og udvikle deres modersmål og tilegne sig sprog med international rækkevidde.

Stk. 2. Det enkelte individ og arbejdsgiver skal tage udgangspunkt i en individuel, personlig vurdering af behovet for sprogundervisning samt indføring i grønlandsk kultur, historie og samfundsforhold.

Kapitel 4 *Ikrafttrædelse*

§ 6. Landstingsloven træder i kraft den 21. juni 2009.

Grønlands Hjemmestyre, dato

Hans Enoksen

/

Tommy Marø

Appendix 4

Bemærkninger til lovforslaget

Almindelige bemærkninger

1. Baggrunden for forslaget:

Overvejelserne bag nærværende forslag om sprogpolitik tager udgangspunkt i, at det grønlandske sprog er det officielle sprog i Grønland, jf. selvstyrelovens § 20, og at sprog udover at være et væsentligt aspekt af et folks kulturelle identitet er et kommunikationsmiddel mennesker imellem. Desuden anerkendes, at Grønlands befolkning ud over brugere af det officielle sprog omfatter en befolkning med flere sprog. Med dette som udgangspunkt har det længe været et politisk ønske at fremme anvendelsen af grønlandsk og samtidig sikre, at de borgere, der har behov for at lære grønlandsk, dansk og engelsk samt grønlandsk kultur, historie og samfundsforhold får mulighed for dette.

Den grønlandske selvstyrekommission omtaler i sin betænkning fra 2003 det markante skift i sprogpolitikken i Grønland, som har fundet sted i sidste halvdel af 1900-tallet, jf. betænkningens side 131-134. Det danske sprog havde i første halvdel af den omtalte periode en meget høj prioritet på bekostning af undervisning i det grønlandske sprog. På det tidspunkt var det den almindelige opfattelse, at det grønlandske sprog kunne forsvinde. Sidst i 1970'erne blev undervisningen i det grønlandske sprog kraftigt intensiveret, mens undervisningen i det danske sprog blev nedprioriteret. Den skiftende sproglige prioritering gennem tiden har betydet, at befolkningen har en differentieret sproglig sammensætning.

Den grønlandske selvstyrekommission indstiller i sin betænkning, at det grønlandske sprog bliver landets officielle sprog. Endvidere fremhæver kommissionen, at manglende kundskaber i dansk eller andre fremmedsprog vil, medmindre der gribes ind, medvirke til at forlænge det eksisterende uddannelsesmæssige efterslæb. Kommissionen foreslår derfor, at der iværksættes tiltag, herunder undervisning i grønlandsk for uddannelsessøgende grønlændere i Danmark for at gøre det attraktivt for disse at søge beskæftigelse i samt fastholdes på det grønlandske arbejdsmarked.

Grønlands Landsstyre og den danske regering nedsatte den grønlandsk-danske selvstyrekommission på baggrund af et ønske om at sikre størst mulig grad af ligestilling mellem Grønland og Danmark og øge det grønlandske folks selvbestemmelse i størst muligt omfang inden for rammerne af rigsfællesskabet.

Den grønlandsk-danske selvstyrekommission bygger i sin betænkning fra 2008 (side 81-84) videre på grundstenene i betænkningen fra 2003 vedrørende sprog. Resultatet er selvstyrelovens § 20, hvor det fastsættes, at det grønlandske sprog er det officielle sprog. Set i forhold til hjemmestyreloven fra 1979 foreligger der en væsentlig, principiel og faktisk ændring i skiftet fra det grønlandske sprog som hovedsprog, jf. hjemmestyrelovens § 9, stk. 1, til det grønlandske sprog som officielt sprog.

Det fundamentale skift mellem det grønlandske sprog som hovedsprog til officielt sprog skal ses i sammenhæng med den eksisterende immigration og tilgang af arbejdskraft

samt udsigterne til en forhøjet tilgang af udefrakommende arbejdskraft på nogle områder.

Hensigten med sproglig integration er blandt andet at fjerne sprogbarrierer og skabe tolerance blandt dem, der taler sprogene, med henblik på at skabe et sprogligt fællesskab og samtidig fremhæve det grønlandske sprogs rolle som det officielle sprog. Det grønlandske sprog er en central del af det grønlandske folks kulturelle identitet. Sproget har således en kulturbærende funktion, der skal bevares, styrkes og samtidig udvikles. Sproget er samtidigt det mest udviklede kommunikationsredskab. I forbindelse med udarbejdelsen af nærværende forslag, har det ligget Landsstyret på sinde at være yderst opmærksom på det grønlandske sprogs dualistiske identitet, både som kulturbærende og som kommunikationsredskab.

1.1 Hvad er grønlandsk?

Det sprog, der er det officielle sprog i Grønland, kaldes kalaallit oqaasii eller kalaallisut. Sproget grønlandsk tales af cirka 50.000 mennesker.

En del af den gruppe er tosproget med dansk som andet sprog. Grønlandsk består af tre hoveddialekter, nemlig de dialekter, der tales i Avanersuaq, Tunu og Kitaa. Der er adskillelige dialektvariationer indenfor disse hoveddialekter. Herudover er der et fællesskriftsprog på grønlandsk. Det skrevne grønlandske sprog er standardsproget.

Etableringen af Ilinniarfissuaq i Nuuk og i Ilulissat medførte, at der gradvis blev opbygget et grønlandsk standardsprog med indflydelse fra den centrale vestgrønlandske dialekt, først i form af retskrivning og senere også i form af talesproget. Dette standardsprog blev efterhånden institutionaliseret i form af ordbøger og grammatikker.

Det sprog, som er fælles for alle grønlandere, er det grønlandske standardsprog. Sproget i den form det nu har, tilhører ikke nogen enkelt dialekt. Det er det sprog, som alle uagtet egen dialekt anvender i skrift. Derimod er det talte sprog ureguleret. Enhver kan anvende sin egen dialekt i tale.

Oqaatsinik Pikkorissarfik udbyder kurser i grønlandsk som andet sprog fra nybegynderniveau og opefter, som Oqaatsinik Pikkorissarfik selv organiserer eller i samarbejde med firmaer, private og offentlige institutioner. Derudover tilbyder kommunerne voksenundervisning i henhold til landstingsforordning nr. 10 af 21. maj 2002 om kultur- og fritidsvirksomhed.

1.2 Dansk i Grønland

Der er blevet undervist i det danske sprog i Grønland siden 1925 i forbindelse med ændringen af skoleloven. Det formodes, at omkring 10 procent af den grønlandske befolkning i dag hovedsageligt er dansksproget.

Det grønlandske uddannelsesområde består i dag af folkeskolen, gymnasier, erhvervsuddannelser og videregående uddannelser. I de fleste uddannelsesinstitutioner er undervisningssproget og undervisningsmaterialerne overvejende dansk. Det samme gælder for undervisere og forskere i gymnasier, erhvervsuddannelser og videregående uddannelser.

Dertil udbyder Oqaatsinik Pikkorissarfik kurser i dansk som andet sprog fra nybegynderniveau og opefter, som Oqaatsinik Pikkorissarfik selv organiserer eller i samarbejde med firmaer, private og offentlige institutioner. Kommunerne tilbyder også danskundervisning fra nybegynderniveau og opefter.

Det fremgår af hjemmestyrelovens § 9, at der skal undervises grundigt i det danske sprog, og at begge sprog kan anvendes i offentlige forhold; det vil sige, at dansk har en særlig status. Selv om hjemmestyreloven ophæves ved selvstyreloven og denne bestemmelse vedrørende det danske sprog ikke videreføres, vil dansk fortsat have en særlig status i Grønland i og med, at dansk stadig skal kunne anvendes i offentlige anliggender, jf. landstingslov om sagsbehandling i offentlige anliggender. Ligesom nærværende lovforslag giver adgang til undervisning i dansk grundet fortsat behov for danskundskaber i uddannelsesøjemed.

Der eksisterer en række sagsområder, hvor dansk primært bruges som kommunikationsmiddel. Det gælder eksempelvis områder, der er blevet introduceret i Grønland af udefrakommende, såsom udenrigshandel, forskning, økonomi og teknik. Dette billede er ved at ændre sig, idet uddannede fagfolk i forskellige domæneområder gradvis udvikler grønlandsk sprog for deres områder. Der arbejdes dog også på terminologiudvikling udført af Oqaasileriffik løbende i det senere år.

1.3 Engelsk i Grønland

Faget engelsk blev introduceret første gang i Grønland i folkeskoleloven af 1967 som et obligatorisk fag eller som et valgfag fra 6.-7. klasse. I henhold til § 8, stk. 2 i landstingsforordning nr. 8 af 21. maj 2002 om folkeskolen kan engelsk være et undervisningssprog på mellemtrinnet og ældstetrinnet. Andre uddannelsesinstitutioner såsom de gymnasiale uddannelser, Piareersarfiit, TNI, NI 1-2, Ilinniarfissuaq med videre udbyder engelsk på fællesfagsniveau, tilvalgsfag og på et højt niveau. Dertil udbyder Oqaatsinik Pikkorissarfik kurser i engelsk som fremmedsprog fra nybegynderniveau og opefter, som Oqaatsinik Pikkorissarfik selv organiserer eller i samarbejde med firmaer, private og offentlige institutioner. Derudover tilbyder kommunerne voksenundervisning i henhold til landstingsforordning nr. 10 af 21. maj 2002 om kultur- og fritidsvirksomhed. Deri indgår sprogundervisning i engelsk for begyndere og engelsk for fortsættere.

Der findes en række tekniske fagområder, hvor sproget engelsk fungerer som kommunikationssprog for eksempel ved mineudvinding, uddannelsesmæssigt og arbejdsmæssigt. Nogle uddannelser har forskellige krav om engelskkundskaber til optagelse og gennemførelse. Dertil findes en række arbejdsområder, hvor engelsk er arbejds sproget.

1.4 Grønlandsk kultur, historie og samfundsforhold

Grønlandsk kultur, historie og samfundsforhold eksisterer ikke i dag som et selvstændigt fag, men forefindes som en integreret del af sprogundervisning eksempelvis på Oqaatsinik Pikkorissarfik. Grønlandsk kultur, historie og samfundsforhold er en obligatorisk del af sprogundervisning, idet sprog og kultur supplerer hinanden.

1.5 Landstingsbehandling af forslag til sproglig integration:

I foråret 2006 fremsatte Siumuts landstingsgruppe et beslutningsforslag (FM2006/46) om, at Landsstyret forpligtes til at fremsætte et forslag til en sproglig integrationslov, som i udgangspunktet giver enhver i Grønland med behov herfor ret til undervisning i sprogene grønlandsk, dansk og engelsk, samt i grønlandsk kultur, historie og samfundsforhold.

Der var enighed i Landstinget om beslutningsforslaget og at der skulle nedsættes en arbejdsgruppe om sproglig integration. Forslaget blev indstillet til behandling i Landstingets Kultur- og Uddannelsesudvalg, hvorefter et enigt udvalg indstillede forslaget til vedtagelse.

Arbejdsgruppen om sproglig integration afleverede sine rekommandationer til Landsstyret i marts 2007. Rapporten indeholdt 3 hovedpunkter, som stræber efter en generel sprogpolitik i Grønland, en sproglig kontinuitet indenfor uddannelsessystemet samt en sprogpolitik indenfor arbejdspladserne. Disse rekommandationer samt Landstingets behandling af Siumuts forslag om sproglig integration har været inkluderet i forbindelse med Landsstyrets udarbejdelse af nærværende lovforslag om sprogpolitik.

2. Gældende regler:

Lovforslaget om sprogpolitik er nyskabende, idet der endnu ikke er lovgivet om det grønlandske sprog eller om sprogpolitik. Der er dog en række internationale retskilder og hjemlig lovgivning med videre, der berører det grønlandske sprog, sprogets anvendelse og dynamik som et samfundsbærende sprog.

2.1 Internationale retskilder

En række internationale retskilder, som Grønland har tiltrådt, indeholder rettigheder og bestemmelser om sprog. Nedenfor er de væsentligste nævnt i relation til lovforslagets anvendelsesområde. Fælles for konventionerne og de øvrige internationale retskilder er anerkendelsen af retten til at tilegne sig samfundsbærende sprog med henblik på at deltage i samfundslivet samt retten til at tilegne sit oprindelige sprog eller det sprog, der mest almindeligt anvendes af den gruppe, som vedkommende tilhører med henblik på personlig og kulturel udvikling.

Den nordiske sprogkonvention af 17. juni 1981 giver de nordiske statsborgere ret til at anvende deres eget sprog i et andet land. Overenskomst af 18. juni 2003 om ændring af den nordiske sprogkonvention udvider sprogene med grønlandsk, færøsk og samisk.

I 2006 vedtog Nordisk Ministerråd en deklARATION om nordisk sprogpolitik, som et supplement til den nordiske sprogkonvention. Deklarationen fastslår, at alle personer, som bor permanent i et af de nordiske lande, har ret til at tilegne sig et *samfundsbærende* sprog i tale og skrift, således at de kan deltage i samfundslivet. Ved samfundsbærende sprog skal forstås et sprog, der i et givet sprogsamfund anvendes til officielle formål, for eksempel undervisning og lovgivning.

Den europæiske pagt om regionale sprog eller mindretalsprog (1992) udspringer af Europarådet og har til formål at beskytte og fremme de historiske og regionale sprog samt minoritetssprogene i Europa. Sprogene kan således deles op i sprog, der har tilknytning til et bestemt område og sprog der tales af mindretal i det pågældende land. I 2001 ratificerede Danmark pagten for sproget tysk i Sønderjylland. En mundtlig note

fastslår imidlertid, at selv om pagten ikke blev ratificeret med hensyn til færøsk og grønlandsk, så er begge sprog officielle sprog i deres respektive områder.

Den Europæiske Menneskerettighedskonvention (1950) blev inkorporeret i dansk ret i 1992 og trådte i kraft ved Anordning om ikrafttræden for Grønland af lov om Den Europæiske Menneskerettighedskonvention den 1. oktober 2001. Ifølge konventionens artikel 14 må staten ikke forskelsbehandle sine borgere på grund af deres sprog. Forbuddet mod forskelsbehandling gælder kun de områder, der er omfattet af konventionen og dens tillægsprotokoller.

Forskelsbehandling efter artikel 1 i UNESCO Konvention mod forskelsbehandling inden for undervisning (1960) omfatter enhver adskillelse, udelukkelse, begrænsning eller begunstiging, som er baseret på blandt andet sprog, og som således har til formål eller bevirker en annullering eller modvirkning af ensartet behandling ved undervisning. Endvidere anerkendes "nationale minoritetsmedlemmers ret til at udøve deres egen undervisningsvirksomhed, inkluderet vedligeholdelse af egne skoler og afhængigt af hver stats undervisningspolitik, benyttelse af eller undervisning i deres eget sprog," under nogle nærmere fastsatte betingelser i artikel 5.

FN's konvention om økonomiske, sociale og kulturelle rettigheder, tiltrådt af Grønland den 14. januar 1976 (Nalunaarutit A, p. 1, 1966) fastslår i artikel 1: Alle folk har selvbestemmelsesret. Som følge heraf kan de efter samme artikel frit varetage blandt andet deres egen kulturelle udvikling. Stater forpligtes til at anerkende individets ret til at deltage i kulturlivet efter artikel 15.

ILO Konvention nr. 169 vedrørende oprindelige folk og stammefolk i selvstændige stater (Nalunaarutit A, p. 395, 1989) er udtryk for international anerkendelse af oprindelige folks ønske om indflydelse på områder, der særligt berører dem. I konventionens præambel anerkendes blandt andet disse folks ønske om at fastholde og udvikle deres identitet, sprog og religion inden for rammerne af de stater, i hvilke de bor. Børn af oprindelige folk og stammefolk skal, hvor det er praktisk muligt, lære at læse og skrive på deres eget oprindelige sprog eller det sprog, der mest almindeligt anvendes af den gruppe, som de tilhører. Endvidere skal disse folk sikres mulighed for at opnå flydende sproglige færdigheder på det nationale sprog eller et af landets officielle sprog, jf. artikel 28.

UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity (2001) fastslår blandt andet, at "Cultural rights are an integral part of human rights, which are universal, indivisible and interdependent", jf. Article 5. Ifølge samme artikel forudsætter kreativ mangfoldighed implementering af kulturelle rettigheder som defineret i Artikel 27 i FN's Verdenserklæring om menneskerettigheder (1948) og i artiklerne 13 og 15 i Den internationale konvention om økonomiske, sociale og kulturelle rettigheder (1966). På den baggrund konkluderer Article 5 blandt andet, at "All persons have therefore the right to express themselves and to create and disseminate their work in the language of their choice and particularly in their mother tongue."

2.2 Lovgivning om sprog

Der forefindes allerede grønlandsk lovgivning inden for sprog.

Grønlands Sprognævn er reguleret ved:

- Landstingslov nr. 12 af 26. oktober 1989 om Grønlands Sprognævn.
- Landstingslov nr. 19 af 30. oktober 1998 om ændring af landstingslov om Grønlands Sprognævn.
- Hjemmestyrets bekendtgørelse nr. 23 af 15. maj 1990 om Grønlands Sprognævn.
- Kultur- og undervisningsdirektoratets cirkulære nr. 7/85 om Grønlands Sprognævns virksomhed.

Oqaatsinik Pikkorissarfik er reguleret ved:

- Landstingslov nr. 14 af 6. november 1997 om Oqaatsinik Pikkorissarfik.

2.3 Særlovgivning og andre nationale retskilder

Herudover er der en række andre landstingslove og -forordninger, der indeholder bestemmelser om sprog. Alle har de karakter af særlovgivning indenfor eksempelvis undervisningsområdet, varedeklARATIONER, forbrugerområdet og offentlig administration. Nedenfor er der ikke forsøgt en udtømmende gennemgang af disse regler, men alene en eksemplificering.

VaredeklARATIONER

I Landstingslov nr. 10 af 13. november 1986 om forbrugerråd, markedsføring, mærkning, priser og forbrugerklageudvalg indeholder blandt andet et krav om, at vejledning om en vare skal angives på et sprog, som forstås af den, vejledningen er rettet til, jfr. § 11, stk. 2.

Sagsbehandling

En borger kan med rette kræve at blive betjent på grønlandsk eller på dansk i den offentlige myndighed, og denne tilkendegivelse er bindende for myndigheden i henhold til landstingslov nr. 8 af 13. juni 1994 om sagsbehandling i den offentlige forvaltning med ændring fra landstingslov nr. 21 af 30. oktober 1998 om ændring af landstingslov om sagsbehandling i den offentlige forvaltning.

Sproget i Landstinget

I Landstingets forretningsorden §§ 53 og 54 er retningslinjerne for, hvordan og hvorledes Landstingets forhandlinger skal kunne følges. Landstingets forhandlinger foregår på grønlandsk, men skal kunne følges på dansk. Såfremt et landstingsmedlem kun behersker dansk, skal forhandlingen tillige kunne følges på grønlandsk. Derudover skal Landstingets forhandlinger offentliggøres i en grønlandsk og dansk udgave, udarbejdet under tilsyn af Landstingets formandskab.

2.4 Forslagets konsekvenser for eksisterende lovgivning

Nærværende forslag til landstingslov søger ikke at samle de nugældende regler vedrørende sprog, men derimod at skabe en overliggende bro mellem reglerne. Samtidigt finder Landsstyret det mest hensigtsmæssigt, at reglerne vedrørende eksempelvis folkeskolen forefindes i én forordning, også for så vidt angår sprog, i stedet for at alle bestemmelser vedrørende sprog samles i en retsforskrift, idet emnet sprog berører talrige andre områder.

I forlængelse heraf erstatter nærværende lovforslag ingen af de ovennævnte gældende regler.

3. Forslagets indhold:

Nærværende forslag til landstingslov om sprogpolitik er opdelt i 4 kapitler:
Kapitel 1 indeholder formålet med landstingsloven og definition af sproglig integration,
Kapitel 2 indeholder bestemmelser om sprogpolitik.
Kapitel 3 indeholder bestemmelser om undervisning
Kapitel 4 indeholder ikrafttrædelsesbestemmelser for landstingsloven.

I sin helhed er nærværende lovforslag om sprogpolitik en innovativ udvikling, og i det følgende vil der redegøres kort for forslaget væsentligste punkter. For en mere uddybende forklaring om de enkelte emner henvises til bemærkningerne til de enkelte bestemmelser.

Væsentligt i forslaget er, at det ikke er udtryk for en endelig fastlæggelse af sprogpolitikken, men derimod en rettesnor til videre udvikling inden for nærværende forslag og relaterede områder. Formålet med lovforslaget peger derfor både på styrkelse og udvikling af grønlandsk som samfundsbærende sprog, modersmål og andet sprog samt ønsket om, at tosprogethed og flersprogethed bliver en styrke i samfundet.

Med lovforslaget stilles der krav til, at private virksomheder med mindst 10 ansatte samt offentlige virksomheder og myndigheder skal udarbejde en sprogpolitik. Lovforslaget udstikker rammerne for en sprogpolitik, men det er Landsstyrets klare hensigt ikke at forpligte virksomheder og offentlige myndigheder i forhold til sprogpolitikens indhold og omfang.

Lovforslaget indeholder endvidere bestemmelse om retten til at tilegne sig grønlandsk og dansk med henblik på, at alle, der bor permanent i Grønland, kan deltage i samfundslivet.

4. Administrative og økonomiske konsekvenser for det offentlige:

Kravet om en sprogpolitik, jf. lovforslagets § 4, er at betragte som en facet af det arbejdsmiljø- og personalearbejde, der allerede skal udføres hos myndighederne og i virksomhederne. Kravet om en sprogpolitik skal opfyldes af samtlige offentlige myndigheder og virksomheder inden for eksisterende økonomiske rammer.

Det vurderes, at myndighedernes og virksomhedernes udarbejdelse af den første sprogpolitik vil tage længst tid. Det samlede tidsforbrug kan ikke kvantificeres blandt andet grundet følgende variabler:

- Myndighedens eller virksomhedens eksisterende kendskab til sprogkompetencer og kompetencemål.
- Myndighedens eller virksomhedens egne ønsker vedrørende sprogpolitikens omfang og indhold.
- Myndighedens eller virksomhedens størrelse og personalekreds, herunder i hvilket forum udarbejdelse af sprogpolitik skal ske, eksempelvis samarbejdsudvalg, sikkerhedsudvalg, ledelse, ekstern konsulent eller lignende.

Det vurderes samtidigt, at opdatering af en eksisterende sprogpolitik vil være mindre tids- og ressourcekrævende, og det bemærkes i denne forbindelse, at lovforslaget ikke stiller krav til opdatering inden for udstukne tidsintervaller. Dette overlades til myndigheder og virksomheder.

Oqaasileriffik er en selvstændig enhed under Departementet for Kultur, Uddannelse, Forskning og Kirke, som har til opgave at arbejde inden for rammerne af de eksisterende love om det grønlandske sprog. Oqaasileriffik varetager sekretariatsfunktionen for Oqaasiliortut / Grønlands Sprognævn, Nunat Aqqinik Aalajangiisartut / Grønlands Stednavnenævn og Inuit Aqqinik Aalajangiisartut / Personnavneudvalget.

Oqaasileriffiks arbejdsopgaver er blandt andet forskning i og dokumentation af grønlandsk og andre Inuit sprog, medlemskab af Nordisk Sprogråd og af ICC's Sprogkommission, følge dynamikken i den grønlandske talesprogsnorm samt stå for undersøgelse af brugen af grønlandsk som fremmedsprog.

Oqaasileriffiks indsatsområder er blandt andet udvikling af sprogteknologiske værktøjer, leksikografi, terminologiudvikling i forskellige arbejdsområder og ordbøger.

Oqaasileriffik får bevilget kr. 2.836 millioner fra finansloven 2009 til dækning af lønudgifter og drift. Det vil sige, der er ikke afsat særskilte midler til udviklingsopgaver.

I og med at det grønlandske sprog bliver det officielle sprog, når selvstyreloven træder i kraft den 21. juni 2009, kræver Oqaasileriffiks bevilling en revurdering også i forhold til dets arbejdsopgaver. Dette vil resultere i administrative og økonomiske konsekvenser.

5. Administrative og økonomiske konsekvenser for erhvervslivet:

Der henvises til bemærkningerne vedrørende administrative og økonomiske konsekvenser for det offentlige. I forhold til erhvervslivet er det væsentligt at bemærke, at kredsen af virksomheder, der er omfattet af lovforslagets § 4, er klart defineret i henhold til virksomhedens størrelse med henblik på at modvirke uforholdsmæssige administrative byrder. Kravet om en sprogpolitik udstrækkes derfor udelukkende til private virksomheder med mindst 10 ansatte.

Nogle offentlige eller private virksomheder har deres egne sprogpolitikker i deres virksomhed. Som eksempel kan Nukissiorfiit nævnes. Nukissiorfiit har ansat en sprogunderviser i virksomheden, som underviser de ansatte, der har behov for sprogundervisning i grønlandsk og dansk. Det er nyskabende, og de økonomiske konsekvenser, der følger deraf, er lønudgifter og eventuelle udgifter til materiale til sprogundervisning.

6. Miljø- og naturmæssige konsekvenser:

Lovforslaget har ingen miljø- og naturmæssige konsekvenser.

7. Administrative konsekvenser for borgerne:

Hensigten bag nærværende lovforslag er at sikre klare rammer for sprogpolitik og henstille til en stillingtagen til anvendelse af forskellige sprog, jf. kravet om en sprogpolitik i lovforslagets § 4. En synliggørelse af denne karakter er til gavn for samtlige borgere i mange af samfundslivets facetter.

8. Forholdet til Rigsfællesskabet og Selvstyre:

Landsstyret anser lovforslag om sprogpolitik som et vigtigt led i realisering af selvstyret indenfor Rigsfællesskabets rammer. Lovforslaget giver enhver mulighed for at få ret til undervisning i grønlandsk, dansk og engelsk samt i grønlandsk kultur, historie og

samfundsforhold med henblik på at fjerne sprogbarrierer og skabe et sprogligt fællesskab.

9. Høring af myndigheder og organisationer:

Nærværende lovforslag har været i høring i perioden den xx. januar 2009 til den xx. februar 2009 ved følgende høringsparter:

Landsstyreformandens departement	Departementet for Finanser og Udenrigsanliggender
Departementet for Erhverv og Arbejdsmarked	Departementet for Fiskeri, Fangst og Landbrug
Departementet for Familie og Sundhed	Departementet for Infrastruktur og Miljø
	Ilimmarfik
Samtlige styrelser under Grønlands Hjemmestyre	Rigsombudsmanden i Grønland
Råstofdirektoratet	Udenrigsdirektoratet
Inerisaavik	Ilinniarfissuaq
Midtgrønlands Gymnasium	Nordgrønlands Gymnasium
Sydgrønlands Gymnasium	HTX
Grønlands Repræsentation	INULI
Center for Sundhedsuddannelser	Samtlige Piareersarfiit
NI – Nuuk	NI – Qaqortoq
Socialpædagogisk Seminarium (SPS)	KIK
Avalak	KNAPK
HHX	Akademikernes Sammenslutning i Grønland
Atorfillit Kattuffiat	KANUKOKA
KANUNUPE	ILIK
Grønlands Arbejdsgiverforening	SIK
NUSUKA	Jern- og metalskolen
IMAK	SILA
TII – Tasiilaq	Bispekontoret
Samtlige provstikontorer	Grønlands Nationalmuseum og Arkiv
Landsbiblioteket	Oqaasileriffik / Sprogsekretariatet
Oqaatsinik Pikkorissarfik/ Sprogcentret	Kulturrådet
Politimesteren i Grønland	Kalaallit Nunaanni Timersoqatigiit Kattuffiat (GIF)
Air Greenland	Royal Arctic Line
TELE Greenland	KNR
GLDK	ICC / ICYC
Kalaallit Atuakkiortut (KA)	Sprognævnet
Ilisimatusarfik	ATI- Maniitsoq
Selvstyrekontoret	Atuagagdliutit/Grønlandsposten
Sermitsiaq	Kalaallisut oqaatsivut
Royal Greenland	Nukissiorfiit
NunaMinerals	
KNI A/S	Grønlands Turist og Erhvervsråd
A/S Boligselskabet INI	NunaOil A/S

Greenland Ressources	Sermit A/S
GrønlandsBanken	Great Greenland
Arctic Umiaq Line A/S	

Følgende høringsparter havde væsentlige bemærkninger til lovforslaget som angivet i det følgende i en tematisk gennemgang:

Bemærkninger til de enkelte bestemmelser

Til § 1

I forbindelse med fastsættelse af definitionen af sproglig integration har det ligget Landsstyret på sinde, at grønlandsk er det officielle sprog. På den baggrund indeholder bestemmelsen fire målsætninger, der kan skabe rammerne for sprogpolitik.

Til litra a:

I forbindelse med styrkelsen af det grønlandske sprog finder Landsstyret det væsentligt, at grønlandsk anerkendes som et selvstændigt sprog, komplet og samfundsbærende, og at den terminologiske udvikling sker i samspil med grønlandske myndigheder ud fra hensynet til sprogbrugere og den overordnede sproglige udvikling af det grønlandske sprog.

Anvendelsen af ”komplet og samfundsbærende sprog” er inspireret af Deklaration om nordisk sprogpolitik. Heri står: ”At et sprog er *komplet*, betyder i denne sammenhæng, at det kan anvendes i alle områder af samfundet. At et sprog er *samfundsbærende*, betyder, at det i et givet sprogsamfund anvendes til officielle formål – eksempelvis undervisning og lovgivning.”.

Ønsket om at sikre grønlandsk som et komplet og samfundsbærende sprog har fået næring af § 20 i Lov om Grønlands Selvstyre, som fastslår, at det grønlandske sprog er det officielle sprog i Grønland.

Til litra b:

Grønland er et tosproget samfund bestående af grønlandsk- og dansksprogede. I den forbindelse har det grønlandske selvstyre en forpligtigelse til at styrke det grønlandske sprog og udviklingen heraf som modersmål og andetsprog.

Ved andetsprog forstås det sprog, som ikke er ens modersmål, men som anvendes i dagligdagen og i samfundet.

Til litra c:

Gennem sprogundervisning kan sprogbarrierer i samfundet forebygges, således at to- og flersprogede borgeres sprogkunderskaber kan blive en styrke og en rigdom.

Til litra d:

Med henblik på at skabe et samfund som er selvstående, skal sproglig tilegnelse fremmes kontinuerligt.

Til § 2

Stk. 1

Landstingsbeslutningen i 2006 var rettet mod tre grupper, som delvist kan være sammenfaldende: de der har behov for at lære grønlandsk, de der har behov for at lære dansk eller engelsk, og de der har behov for indføring i grønlandsk kultur, historie og samfundsforhold.

De der har brug for at lære grønlandsk, omfatter alle, der ikke har kendskab til eller elementære kundskaber i grønlandsk.

De, der har behov for at lære dansk eller engelsk, omfatter især uddannelsessøgende og personer, hvis profession kræver særlige dansk- eller engelskkundskaber.

De, der har behov for indføring i grønlandsk kultur, historie og samfundsforhold er navnlig tilflyttere.

Stk. 2

Landsstyret har ved formulering af bestemmelsen hæftet sig ved, at en gruppe enkeltsprogede borgere er hæmmet i deres deltagelse i samfundslivet. Endvidere er der et stort behov for at forbedre uddannelsessøgendes fremmedsproglige kompetencer for at muliggøre optagelse på og gennemførelse af videreuddannelser ved universiteter, hvor undervisningen foregår på et fremmedsprog.

Stk. 3

Bestemmelsen er en bemyndigelsesbestemmelse, der giver Landsstyret mulighed for at sætte nærmere regler om sproglig integration.

Til § 3

Bestemmelsen udstikker grænserne for selvstyrets regulering af sprogbrug i offentlige forhold og i samfundet som helhed. Bestemmelsen begrænser således ikke retten til at bruge sit eget sprog i private sammenhænge. Hvilket sprog der tales med andre er et privat anliggende. Derimod er det Landsstyrets hensigt at sikre, at befolkningen opnår tilstrækkelige sproglige kompetencer, så alle borgere kan deltage i samfundet.

Stk. 1

Bestemmelsen fastslår, at det grønlandske sprog er det officielle sprog i Grønland. Bestemmelsen er identisk med § 20 i forslag til lov om Grønlands Selvstyre.

Stk. 2

Bestemmelsen fastslår, at det grønlandske sprog består af tre hoveddialekter, og det er de dialekter, der tales i Avanersuaq, Tunu og Kitaa.

Stk. 3

Bestemmelsen fastslår, at det danske sprog kan anvendes i offentlige forhold. Bestemmelsen er en videreførelse af Hjemmestyrelovens § 9, hvorefter grønlandsk og dansk kan anvendes i offentlige forhold. Sagsbehandlingslovens § 7a fastslår, at en part i en sag frit kan vælge at blive betjent på grønlandsk eller dansk.

Stk. 4

Reglen er ikke til hinder for, at man i henhold til Den nordiske sprogkonvention betjener nordiske borgere på deres eget sprog.

Til § 4

Stk. 1

Private virksomheder med mindst 10 ansatte og offentlige myndigheder, offentlige virksomheder skal udarbejde en sprogpolitik. Bestemmelsen pålægger både offentlige myndigheder og virksomheder samt det private erhvervsliv at udarbejde sprogpolitikker. Private virksomheder med under 10 ansatte undtages fra udarbejdelse af en sprogpolitik for at undgå, at små private virksomheder pålægges en uforholdsmæssig stor administrativ byrde i forhold til virksomhedens størrelse.

En sprogpolitik er et sæt retningslinjer, der sætter fokus på myndighedens og virksomhedens sproglige kompetencer og kompetencemål. En sprogpolitik kan tillige indeholde praktiske retningslinjer for myndighedens eller virksomhedens forretningsgange, for eksempel i relation til eksternt kommunikation og oversættelsesarbejde.

Lovforslaget fastsætter en forpligtelse til at udarbejde en sprogpolitik, men lader det bære op til myndigheden eller virksomheden at tilpasse sprogpolitikken til myndighedens og virksomhedens behov.

Stk. 2

Det bemærkes, at eksemplificeringerne i litra a-e er til inspiration ved udarbejdelse af en sprogpolitik og har ikke karakter af indholdsmæssige krav til en sprogpolitik.

Til litra a:

En kortlægning af myndighedens eller virksomhedens sproglige kompetencer kan give et statusbillede af de sproglige kompetencer, som myndigheden eller virksomheden råder over. Denne kortlægning kan indeholde oplysninger om de ansattes modersmål, andetsprog eller fremmedsprog, herunder kendskab til teknisk sprog og fagspecifik terminologi. Desuden kan den sproglige kortlægning indeholde oplysninger om de ansattes uddannelsesmæssige kompetencer indenfor grønlandsk, dansk og fremmedsprog.

Til litra b:

Anvendelse af fremmedsproglige og -kulturelle kompetencer i myndighedens forvaltning og virksomhedens drift kan betyde en synliggørelse af den enkeltes sproglige og kulturelle kompetencer i det daglige. Det kan for eksempel være dialektkendskab, kendskab til fremmedsprog og fremmede kulturer.

Til litra c:

En synliggørelse af myndighedens eller virksomhedens eksterne sproglige image kan ske gennem myndigheders og virksomheders eksterne kommunikation. Det kan komme

til udtryk i forbindelse med for eksempel servicering, branding og markedsføring på andre sprog, herunder grønlandsk.

Til litra d:

Retningslinjer for intern og ekstern kommunikation kan indeholde oplysninger om, hvilke sprog der kan anvendes i bestemte sammenhænge, herunder anvendelse af oversættelser eller teknisk sprogbrug målrettet ansatte, kunder, forbrugere eller borgere samt udarbejdelse af retningslinjer for håndtering af sproglige konflikter.

Til litra e:

Kompetencemål kan angive behovet for bestemte sprog, adgang til sprogundervisning for ansatte, undervisning i sproglig formidling og forhandling samt stillingtagen til den enkeltes sproglige udvikling af sproglige kompetencer.

Til § 5

Stk. 1

Permanent bopæl forstås i overensstemmelse med gældende folkeregisterlovgivning, hvilket aktuelt vil sige fast bopæl i Grønland i mindst 6 måneder. Dette svarer til bopælskravet i Landstingslov nr. 9 af 31. oktober 1996 om valg til Grønlands Landsting og Deklaration om nordisk sprogpolitik. Sprog med international rækkevidde kan eksempelvis være engelsk, kinesisk eller spansk.

Stk. 2

Undervisningen skal tage udgangspunkt i en individuel, personlig vurdering af det enkelte individs behov. Forslaget skal fremme den enkeltes mulighed for efter eget ønske at tilegne sig grønlandsk, dansk, engelsk eller grønlandsk kultur, historie og samfundsforhold. Arbejdsgiveren kan bekoste ansattes sprogkurser samt kurser i Grønlands kultur, historie og samfundsforhold, men er ikke forpligtet hertil.

Til § 6

Stk. 1

Loven træder i kraft samtidigt med selvstyreloven på Grønlands nationaldag den 21. juni 2009, hvor det grønlandske sprog bliver det officielle sprog.

Appendix 5

Landstingsforordning nr. 8 af 21. maj 2002 om folkeskolen.

I medfør af § 5 i Lov nr. 579 af 29. november 1978 om folkeskolen i Grønland fastsættes:

Kapitel 1. *Definition*

§ 1. Folkeskolen er den kommunale skole, der efter undervisningspligtens indtræden, jf. § 26, stk. 1 og 2, tilbyder børn og unge vederlagsfri undervisning i et 10-årigt skoleforløb, jf. § 3.

Kapitel 2. *Folkeskolens formål og grundlag*

§ 2. Folkeskolens opgave er i samarbejde med hjemmet:

- 1) at medvirke til, at eleven tilegner sig alle nødvendige kundskaber og færdigheder,
- 2) at medvirke til at udvikle elevens anlæg og evner og fremme elevens sundhedsmæssige, sociale og emotionelle udvikling,
- 3) at medvirke til, at eleven kan skabe sig et harmonisk og selvstændigt liv,
- 4) at fremme åndsfrihed og tolerance hos eleven og
- 5) at styrke medansvar og samarbejde mellem eleverne og mellem lærerne og eleven.

Stk. 2. Folkeskolen skal tilbyde et sundt og trygt læringsmiljø, der fremmer elevens evne til selvstændig tænkning og kritisk stillingtagen, evne til at give udtryk for egne meninger, holdninger og følelser samt målrettethed, omstillingsevne, engagement og kreativitet.

Stk. 3. Folkeskolens undervisning skal give eleven mulighed for at tilegne sig nyttige kundskaber, arbejdsformer og faglige kompetencer, at udvikle individuelle evner og forberede sig til uddannelse og erhverv samt at tilegne sig alsidige udtryksformer og sproglige kompetencer.

Stk. 4. Folkeskolen skal skabe sådanne rammer for dagligdagen og arbejdet i skolen, at eleven udvikler sit selvværd og sin selvtillid samt sine evner til samarbejde, sin ansvarsfølelse og sin respekt for andre mennesker.

Stk. 5. Folkeskolens hele virksomhed skal skabe grundlag for, at eleven udvikler sin viden om og forståelse af egen samfundsmæssige identitet, kultur og værdier, tilegner sig viden om og udvikler forståelse for andre kulturer, indføres i en demokratisk tankegang og bliver bevidst om egne demokratiske rettigheder og pligter samt udvikler forståelse for eget ansvar over for samfundets udvikling og dets samspil med naturen.

Kapitel 3.

Folkeskolens struktur og omfang

Inddeling og varighed

§ 3. Folkeskolen er 10-årig og opdelt i 3 trin omfattende et 3-årigt yngstetrin, et 4-årigt mellemtrin samt et 3-årigt ældstetrin, jf. dog § 26, stk. 1.

§ 4. Eleverne organiseres på de enkelte trin i årgangsdelte eller ikke-årgangsdelte klasser og undervises i fagdelte og tværfaglige forløb på skiftende hold sammensat af elever fra en eller flere klasser på det pågældende trin efter den enkelte elevs behov og interesse i forhold til læringsmålene, jf. § 13, stk. 2, § 17 og § 18, stk. 1 og 2.

Stk. 2. Eleverne vil kunne organiseres i klasser og hold på tværs af trinnene, når elevernes aldersfordeling taler herfor.

Stk. 3. Ved dannelsen af klasser skal der tilstræbes en forholdsmæssig ligelig fordeling af elever, der har grønlandsk som modersmål og elever, som ikke har grønlandsk som modersmål.

§ 5. Elevtallet i en klasse må ikke ved skoleårets begyndelse overstige 26 elever.

Undervisningstid

§ 6. Elevernes undervisningstid fastsættes som en årsnorm på grundlag af undervisningstimer á 60 minutter.

Stk. 2. På yngstetrinet omfatter elevernes undervisningstid mindst 700 timer årligt på alle tre årgange, jf. dog § 49, stk. 6. På mellemtrinet omfatter elevernes undervisningstid mindst 890 timer på 4. årgang, mindst 920 timer på 5. årgang og mindst 970 timer årligt på 6. og 7. årgang, jf. dog § 49, stk. 6. På ældstetrinet omfatter elevernes undervisningstid i de obligatoriske fag mindst 880 timer på 8. årgang, mindst 910 timer på 9. årgang og mindst 920 timer på 10. årgang.

Stk. 3. Bestemmelserne i stk. 2 kan fraviges, når antallet af elever på et hold taler herfor.

Stk. 4. Der skal sikres en jævn fordeling af elevernes undervisningstid på undervisningsårets uger og undervisningsugens dage, jf. § 7, stk. 1-3.

Skoleårets længde

§ 7. Skoleåret begynder 1. august og omfatter fra 200 til 240 skoledage fordelt på ugens 5 første hverdage eller på alle ugens 6 hverdage.

Stk. 2. I forbindelse med særligt tilrettelagte kursusforløb, tværfaglige, emneorienterede og projektorganiserede undervisningsforløb og lignende kan skoler med en 5-dages undervisningsuge inddrage ugens 6. hverdag som undervisningsdag. Skolen skal i så fald forud for skoleårets begyndelse lave en plan herfor.

Stk. 3. Undervisningen gennemføres på mindst 36 og højst 40 uger.

Stk. 4. Landsstyret udfærdiger en ferieplan som grundlag for udfærdigelse af lokale ferieplaner.

Kapitel 4.

Undervisningens indhold, organisering og tilrettelæggelse

Undervisningssprog

§ 8. Undervisningssprogene er grønlandsk og dansk.

Stk. 2. Som et led i elevernes sprogindlæring kan engelsk tillige være undervisningssprog.

Undervisningens indhold og organisering

§ 9. Undervisningen omfatter på alle trin fagdelt eller ikke fagdelt undervisning, jf. §§ 10-12 samt bilag 1, inden for fagområderne

- 1) sprog omfattende fagene grønlandsk, dansk og engelsk samt 3. fremmedsprog,
- 2) kultur og samfund omfattende fagene samfundsfag samt religion og filosofi,
- 3) matematik og natur omfattende fagene matematik og naturfag,
- 4) personlig udvikling omfattende undervisning i sundhed, social og emotionel læring, uddannelses- og erhvervsorientering samt andre psykologiske og sociale emner og
- 5) lokale valg omfattende undervisning inden for det praktisk-musiske område samt deltagelse i kulturelle, sociale og erhvervsrettede aktiviteter.

Stk. 2. I undervisningen i alle fag og fagområder inddrages den praktisk-musiske dimension som en støtte for og et led i læringen.

Stk. 3. I undervisningen i alle fag og fagområder indgår IT som en del af og et redskab i undervisningen.

Stk. 4. En del af undervisningstiden på alle trin anvendes til tværfaglige, emneorienterede og projektor organiserede forløb.

Stk. 5. Dele af undervisningen kan organiseres og tilrettelægges som ekskursioner uden overnatning og som lejrskoler og skolerejser med overnatning.

Stk. 6. Som alternativ til den almindelige undervisning kan skolen desuden give mulighed for skolerejser med overnatning.

Stk. 7. I tidsrummet fra kl. 8 til kl. 16 på ugens fem første hverdage kan eleverne ud over den obligatoriske undervisning efter stk. 1 tilbydes deltagelse i pædagogisk tilrettelagte frivillige aktiviteter.

Undervisningen på yngstetrinet

§ 10. På yngstetrinet omfatter undervisningen

- 1) i fagområdet sprog: fagene grønlandsk og dansk,
- 2) i fagområdet kultur og samfund: fagene samfundsfag samt religion og filosofi,
- 3) i fagområdet matematik og natur: fagene matematik og naturfag,
- 4) fagområdet personlig udvikling og
- 5) fagområdet lokale valg.

Stk. 2. Fagområdet sprog omfatter tillige sprogudviklende kreative aktiviteter med andre sprog.

Undervisningen på mellemtrinet

§ 11. På mellemtrinet omfatter undervisningen

- 1) i fagområdet sprog: fagene grønlandsk, dansk og engelsk,
- 2) i fagområdet kultur og samfund: fagene samfundsfag samt religion og filosofi,
- 3) i fagområdet matematik og natur: fagene matematik og naturfag,
- 4) fagområdet personlig udvikling og
- 5) fagområdet lokale valg.

Undervisningen på ældstetrinet

§ 12. På ældstetrinet omfatter undervisningen

- 1) i fagområdet sprog: fagene grønlandsk, dansk og engelsk samt 3. fremmedsprog som tilvalg,
- 2) i fagområdet kultur og samfund: fagene samfundsfag samt religion og filosofi,
- 3) i fagområdet matematik og natur: fagene matematik og naturfag,
- 4) fagområdet personlig udvikling og
- 5) fagområdet lokale valg.

Stk. 2. I undervisningen i naturfag, jf. stk. 1, nr. 3, indgår særskilt undervisning i disciplinerne fysik/kemi, biologi og naturgeografi.

Formålet for de enkelte trin, fagenes formål, læreplaner og vejledninger

§ 13. Landsstyret fastsætter overordnede formål for undervisningen på de enkelte trin og formålet med undervisningen i de i § 9, stk. 1, nr. 1 - 3, nævnte fag og for de i § 9, stk. 1, nr. 4 og 5, nævnte fagområder.

Stk. 2. Landsstyret udsender læreplaner for de i § 9, stk. 1, nr. 1-3, nævnte fag og for det i § 9, stk. 1, nr. 4, nævnte fagområde og vejledende læreplaner for det i § 9, stk. 1, nr. 5 nævnte fagområde. Læreplanerne indeholder, foruden de overordnede formål for undervisningen på de enkelte trin og fagenes og fagområdernes formål, jf. stk. 1, nærmere angivelser af læringsmål på de enkelte trin, undervisningsvejledninger og vejledninger i evaluering.

Specialundervisning og anden specialpædagogisk bistand

§ 14. Til elever, hvis funktionsvanskeligheder er af en sådan art eller omfang, at deres behov for særlig støtte ikke kan dækkes inden for den almindelige undervisning, gives der specialundervisning og anden specialpædagogisk bistand.

Stk. 2. Elever fra skoler, hvor bistand efter stk. 1 ikke kan gennemføres i tilstrækkeligt omfang, skal tilbydes ophold på de i § 20 nævnte elevhjem, kollegier og særligt indrettede kostskoler.

Stk. 3. Specialundervisning og anden specialpædagogisk bistand iværksættes efter regler fastsat af landsstyret, der i den forbindelse kan fravige §§ 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, stk. 2 og 18, stk. 1-6.

Supplerende undervisning og modersmålsundervisning

§ 15. Supplerende undervisning gives til elever, der midlertidigt har vanskeligt ved at følge den almindelige undervisning i et eller flere fag, fordi de

- 1) har været uden undervisning gennem længere tid eller har modtaget utilstrækkelig undervisning på grund af sygdom,
- 2) er tilflyttet fra en skole, hvor undervisningen med hensyn til indhold, metoder eller omfang adskiller sig væsentligt fra undervisningen på den nye skole eller
- 3) er flyttet til landet og ikke har forkundskaber i grønlandsk.

Stk. 2. Landsstyret kan fastsætte regler for undervisningen efter stk. 1.

§ 16. Elever, der hverken har grønlandsk eller dansk som modersmål, kan tilbydes undervisning i deres modersmål.

Undervisningens tilrettelæggelse

§ 17. Undervisningens tilrettelæggelse, herunder valg af undervisnings- og arbejdsformer, metoder, undervisningsmaterialer og stofudvælgelse, skal i alle fag leve op til folkeskolens formål, formålene for de enkelte trin, formålene for de enkelte fag og fagområder og læreplanernes angivelser af læringsmål. Undervisningen skal varieres, så den svarer til den enkelte elevs behov og forudsætninger.

Stk. 2. Det påhviler skolelederen at sikre, at undervisningen planlægges og tilrettelægges således, at den rummer udfordringer for alle elever.

Stk. 3. I hvert fag samarbejder lærer og elev løbende om fastlæggelse af de mål, der søges opfyldt. Elevens arbejde tilrettelægges under hensyntagen til disse mål. Fastlæggelse af arbejdsformer, metoder og stofvalg skal foregå i samarbejde mellem lærerne og eleverne.

Stk. 4. Eleven udarbejder i samråd med sine lærere en handleplan, som indgår i den løbende evaluering, jf. § 18, stk. 1 og 2, og danner udgangspunkt for elevens videre undervisnings- og uddannelsesforløb. Landsstyret fastsætter regler herfor.

Evaluering og dokumentation

§ 18. Som et led i undervisningen skal der løbende foretages evaluering af den enkelte elevs udbytte heraf. Evalueringen skal tage udgangspunkt i elevens egen vurdering og danne grundlag for undervisningens videre planlægning og vejledning af den enkelte elev og dennes forældre om elevens videre skole- og uddannelsesforløb og erhvervsvalg. Landsstyret kan fastsætte regler om den løbende evaluering.

Stk. 2. Elever og forældre, jf. § 29, skal regelmæssigt underrettes om skolens syn på elevens udbytte af skolegangen. I forbindelse hermed drøftes den handleplan, som eleven i samråd med sine lærere har udarbejdet i henhold til § 17, stk. 4. Landsstyret kan fastsætte regler om underretningen til elever og forældre om skolens syn på elevens udbytte af skolegangen.

Stk. 3. Som grundlag for planlægningen af den enkelte elevs videre skoleforløb foretages efter yngstetrinet og efter mellemtrinet en samlet vurdering af elevens udbytte af undervisningen. I vurderingen indgår resultaterne af den løbende evaluering samt en evaluering af elevens faglige standpunkt på det pågældende tidspunkt. Landsstyret fastsætter regler herfor.

Stk. 4. For at dokumentere elevens udbytte af skolegangen afsluttes ældstetrinet med en samlet vurdering af elevens udbytte af undervisningen. I vurderingen indgår resultaterne

af den løbende evaluering gennem ældstetrinet samt en evaluering af elevens standpunkt i alle elevens fag.

Stk. 5. Ved afslutningen af ældstetrinet udfærdiger skolen et afgangsbetvis.

Afgangsbetviset giver oplysninger om, i hvilken undervisning eleven har deltaget, og resultaterne af den samlede vurdering af elevens udbytte af undervisningen, jf. stk. 4, samt andre relevante oplysninger, som eleven ønsker inddraget i den samlede vurdering.

Stk. 6. For elever, der afslutter skoleforløbet efter undervisningspligtens ophør og for elever, der fritages for undervisningspligten efter 8. klassetrin i henhold til § 26, stk. 3, udfærdiges ligeledes afgangsbetvis med oplysninger om, i hvilken undervisning eleven har deltaget og resultaterne af den løbende evaluering gennem ældstetrinet samt andre relevante oplysninger, som eleven ønsker inddraget i den samlede vurdering.

Stk. 7. Landsstyret fastsætter regler om de i stk. 5 og 6 nævnte afgangsbetvisers indhold og form.

Klasselæreren

§ 19. Hver klasse tilknyttes en klasselærer, som har ansvaret for og forestår målsætningen for og planlægningen af elevens skolegang i samarbejde med elevens hjem og dennes øvrige lærere.

Stk. 2. Klasselæreren har ansvaret for, at fælleskabet i klassen giver alle elever et trygt udgangspunkt for deres skolegang.

Elevhjem, kollegier og særligt indrettede kostskoler

§ 20. For at sikre, at alle elever tilbydes undervisning i henhold til denne forordning, oprettes i fornødent omfang elevhjem og kollegier i tilknytning til eksisterende skoler.

Stk. 2. Optagelse sker på grundlag af ansøgning fra forældrene, jf. § 29, og efter samråd med eleven og skolen.

Stk. 3. Ophold på elevhjem og kollegier er vederlagsfrit.

Stk. 4. På særligt indrettede kostskoler kan optages handicappede elever, for hvem det må anses at være en væsentlig fordel at opholde sig uden for hjemmet med henblik på videre skolegang/optræning. Optagelse og fordeling sker efter landsstyrets nærmere bestemmelser herom.

Stk. 5. Ophold på særligt indrettede kostskoler er vederlagsfrit for forældrene.

Landsstyret fastsætter bestemmelser om betaling fra hjemkommunen for elevens ophold.

Undervisningsmaterialer

§ 21. De nødvendige undervisningsmaterialer stilles vederlagsfrit til rådighed for eleverne.

Skolebiblioteker

§ 22. Ved enhver skole indrettes et skolebibliotek.

Stk. 2. Skolebiblioteket har til formål at fremme folkeskolens formål ved at stille undervisningsmaterialer til rådighed for skolens elever og lærere. Desuden skal skolebiblioteket tage hensyn til elevernes fritidsinteresser samt lærernes behov for løbende at holde sig orienteret inden for de pædagogiske og psykologiske områder.

Stk. 3. Landsstyret fastsætter regler for det biblioteksfaglige arbejde, jf. landstingsforordning om biblioteksvæsenet.

Kapitel 5.

Forsøgsarbejde

§ 23. Med henblik på forsøgsarbejde kan landsstyret godkende sådanne afvigelser fra reglerne i forordningens kapitel 3 og 4 om henholdsvis folkeskolens struktur og omfang og undervisningens indhold, organisering og tilrettelæggelse, som vil være forenelig med fastholdelse af folkeskolens formål og grundlag, jf. § 2.

Kapitel 6.

Undervisningspligt og forældrenes rettigheder og pligter

Undervisningspligt

§ 24. Ethvert barn, der bor i Grønland, eller som skal opholde sig i landet i mindst 6 måneder, er undervisningspligtig efter reglerne i §§ 25-26.

Undervisningspligtens indhold

§ 25. Undervisningspligten indebærer ret og pligt til at deltage i folkeskolens undervisning eller i anden undervisning, der står mål med, hvad der almindeligvis kræves i folkeskolen.

Stk. 2. Landsstyret fastsætter regler for foranstaltninger til sikring af undervisningens gennemførelse samt om skolens tilsyn med eleverne i skoletiden.

Stk. 3. Børn, der modtager hjemmeundervisning eller anden undervisning, der står mål med, hvad der almindeligvis kræves i folkeskolen, skal ikke deltage i folkeskolens undervisning.

Undervisningspligtens indtræden og ophør

§ 26. Undervisningspligten indtræder fra skoleårets begyndelse i det kalenderår, hvor barnet fylder 6 år, og ophører efter at barnet har modtaget regelmæssig undervisning i 9 år.

Stk. 2. Kommunalbestyrelsen kan efter forældrenes anmodning eller med deres samtykke godkende, at påbegyndelsen af et barns skolegang udsættes til et år efter undervisningspligtens indtræden, når det er begrundet i barnets udvikling.

Stk. 3. Kommunalbestyrelsen kan efter forældrenes anmodning fritage en elev for undervisning efter 8 års undervisning, når særlige grunde taler for det. Fritagelse fra undervisning efter 8 års undervisning forudsætter, at der iværksættes et erhvervs- og uddannelsesforløb for den pågældende elev.

Indskrivning og optagelse

§ 27. Optagelse i folkeskolen finder sted ved skoleårets begyndelse i det år, barnet fylder 6 år, jf. dog § 26, stk. 2.

Stk. 2. Kommunalbestyrelsen kan bestemme, at indskrivning skal foregå inden for en vis frist. Dog skal indskrivning have fundet sted senest den 1. juni.

Stk. 3. Landsstyret kan fastsætte regler om indskrivning og udskrivning af elever.

Forældreansvar

§ 28. Forældrene, jf. § 29, har ansvaret for, at barnet opfylder undervisningspligten, og må ikke lægge hindringer i vejen herfor.

Stk. 2. Skolegang uden for folkeskolen skal anmeldes til kommunalbestyrelsen i den kommune, hvor eleven bor.

Stk. 3. Er en elev udeblevet fra undervisningen, skal forældrene, jf. § 29, personligt eller skriftligt give skolen oplysning om grunden hertil. Skyldes udeblivelsen sygdom af mere end 2 ugers varighed, kan skolen forlange lægeattest herfor.

Forældrenes rettigheder og pligter

§ 29. Forældrenes rettigheder og pligter i medfør af denne forordning tilkommer den eller de personer, som har forældremyndigheden over eleven.

Stk. 2. Bortset fra spørgsmålene om skolegangens begyndelse og varighed kan skolen anse den, der faktisk sørger for barnet, for bemyndiget til at handle på forældremyndighedsindehaverens vegne.

Kapitel 7.

Lærerne

§ 30. For at kunne varetage undervisning i folkeskolen skal den pågældende have gennemført uddannelsen til lærer i folkeskolen eller anden relevant uddannelse, der er godkendt af landsstyret.

Stk. 2. Personer med særlige kvalifikationer kan varetage undervisning i enkelte fag.

Stk. 3. Personer med relevante kvalifikationer kan varetage undervisning i timer, der ikke kan besættes med det i stk. 1 og 2 nævnte personale.

Stk. 4. Socialpædagoger eller personer med anden relevant uddannelse kan varetage pædagogiske opgaver i tilknytning til elevhjem, kollegier og særligt indrettede kostskoler, jf. § 20, specialpædagogiske foranstaltninger, jf. § 14, og pædagogisk tilrettelagte frivillige aktiviteter, jf. § 9, stk. 7.

Kapitel 8. *Skolevæsenets styrelse*

§ 31. Det påhviler landsstyret at sørge for:

- 1) Pædagogisk-psykologisk rådgivning.
- 2) Særligt indrettede kostskoler i henhold til § 20, stk. 4.
- 3) Faglig konsulenttjeneste.
- 4) Udvikling af undervisningsmaterialer.
- 5) Kursus samt efter- og videreuddannelsesvirksomhed for lærere og ledere i folkeskolen.
- 6) Pædagogisk forskning og udviklingsarbejde samt evaluering af folkeskolens virksomhed.

Stk. 2. Til varetagelse af de i stk. 1, nr. 3 - 6, nævnte opgaver etableres et pædagogisk forsknings-, evaluerings- og uddannelsesinstitut.

Stk. 3. Landsstyret kan efter aftale med kommunalbestyrelsen i en eller flere kommuner lade disse overtage løsningen af de i stk. 1, nr. 1 og 2 nævnte opgaver.

§ 32. Landsstyret fører tilsyn med kommunernes forvaltning af landstingsforordning om folkeskolen.

Stk. 2. Landsstyret kan afkræve kommunalbestyrelsen oplysninger, der må anses for nødvendige for at varetage sine opgaver efter denne forordning.

§ 33. Det påhviler kommunalbestyrelsen, jf. § 38 stk. 1, at sørge for:

- 1) Undervisning i henhold til §§ 9 - 12 og §§ 14 - 16.
- 2) Undervisning af elever, der gennem længere tid på grund af smittefare eller af hensyn til deres sundhed eller velfærd ikke kan undervises i skolen. Sådant undervisning skal tilbydes eleverne i deres hjem eller på den institution eller det sygehus i kommunen, hvor de opholder sig.
- 3) Oprettelse af elevhjem og kollegier, jf. § 20, stk. 1.

Stk. 2. Landsstyret kan fastsætte regler om den i stk. 1, nr. 2, nævnte undervisning.

§ 34. Kommunalbestyrelsen kan løse de i forordningen pålagte opgaver i fællesskab med kommunalbestyrelserne i andre kommuner.

§ 35. Kommunalbestyrelsen kan efter aftale med kommunalbestyrelsen i en anden kommune henvise elever til undervisning i den anden kommunes skoler.

Stk. 2. Henvielse til en anden kommunes skoler kan kun omfatte elever på ældstetrinet og elever, der skal undervises i specialklasser eller specialskoler, samt elever fra kommunens yderdistrikter, der har nærmere til nabokommunens skole.

§ 36. I områder uden for den kommunale inddeling varetager landsstyret de opgaver, som efter forordningen er henlagt til kommunalbestyrelsen.

Stk. 2. Landsstyret kan efter aftale med kommunalbestyrelsen i en eller flere kommuner lade disse overtage løsningen af de opgaver, som efter stk. 1 påhviler landsstyret.

§ 37. Den enkelte skole har inden for de af kommunalbestyrelsen fastsatte mål og rammer ansvaret for undervisningens kvalitet i henhold til folkeskolens formål og grundlag, jf. § 2.

Kapitel 9. *Den lokale styrelse*

Kommunalbestyrelsen

§ 38. Kommunalbestyrelsen har det overordnede ansvar for kommunens skolevæsen og påser, at alle undervisningspligtige børn i kommunen indskrives i folkeskolen eller får en undervisning, der står mål med, hvad der almindeligvis kræves i folkeskolen.

Kommunalbestyrelsen fastlægger mål og rammer for skolernes virksomhed.

Kommunalbestyrelsen fører tilsyn med skolernes virksomhed.

Stk. 2. Kommunalbestyrelsen træffer beslutning om følgende:

- 1) Bevillinger til skolevæsenet og økonomiske rammer for de enkelte skoler.
- 2) Ansættelse og afskedigelse af skoleledere og lærere. Beslutningerne om ansættelse af skoleledere og lærere træffes efter udtalelse fra vedkommende skolebestyrelse, jf. § 42, stk. 8.
- 3) Skolestrukturen, herunder antallet af skoler og hver enkelt skoles omfang med hensyn til trin, klasser, specialundervisning og anden specialpædagogisk bistand efter § 14 og udbud af pædagogisk tilrettelagte frivillige aktiviteter efter § 9, stk. 7. Beslutningen træffes efter indhentet udtalelse fra skolebestyrelserne.
- 4) Rammer for: klassedannelsen, elevernes timetal og specialundervisningen mv.
- 5) Generelle retningslinier for skolernes virksomhed i samarbejde med lokalsamfundets folkeoplysnings- og foreningsliv, det frivillige børne- og ungdomsarbejde samt andre kredse af interesserede borgere om varetagelse og koordinering af kulturelle aktiviteter.
- 6) Andre spørgsmål, der ikke er henlagt til de enkelte skoler, herunder henvisning til undervisning på andre skoler, retningslinier om indskrivning og optagelse, skolebespisning og skolebiblioteksordningen i kommunen.

Stk. 3. Kommunalbestyrelsen godkender skolernes tillæg til læreplaner for de i § 9, stk. 1, nr. 1 - 4, nævnte fag og fagområder og skolernes læreplaner for de i § 9, stk. 1, nr. 5, nævnte lokale valg efter forslag fra de enkelte skolebestyrelser, jf. § 42, stk. 9.

Stk. 4. Kommunalbestyrelsen kan helt eller delvis delegerer sine beføjelser efter denne forordning til skolebestyrelserne bortset fra tilsynsforpligtelsen og de beføjelser, der følger af bevillings- og arbejdsgiverkompetencen.

§ 39. Kommunalbestyrelsen fastsætter efter indhentet udtalelse fra skolebestyrelserne en vedtægt for styrelsen af kommunens skolevæsen. Vedtægten skal indeholde bestemmelser om bl.a.:

- 1) Antallet af forældrerepræsentanter i skolebestyrelsen.
- 2) Udpegning af et eventuelt tilforordnet medlem til skolebestyrelsen, jf. § 40, stk. 4.
- 3) Fremgangsmåden ved valg af lærer- og elevrepræsentanter til skolebestyrelsen.
- 4) Om kommunalbestyrelsen i henhold til § 40, stk. 10 har besluttet, at valg af forældrerepræsentanter skal ske ved forskudte valg.
- 5) Sammensætningen af eventuelle fælles rådgivende organer for kommunens skolevæsen.

Stk. 2. Vedtægten skal endvidere indeholde en beskrivelse af eventuelle beføjelser, der er delegeret til skolebestyrelsen i medfør af § 38, stk. 4.

Stk. 3. I et bilag til vedtægten optages de beslutninger, som kommunalbestyrelsen har

truffet vedrørende skolestrukturen mv., jf. § 38, stk. 2, nr. 3-6.
Stk. 4. Landsstyret udarbejder en vejledende normalvedtægt.

Skolebestyrelsen

§ 40. Ved hver skole oprettes en skolebestyrelse, der består af:

1) 5 repræsentanter for forældrene valgt af personer, der har forældremyndigheden over eller plejetilladelse til børn, der er indskrevet i skolen. Forældrerepræsentanterne vælges blandt personer, som selv har valget og er valgbare til skolebestyrelsen og blandt personer, som en eller flere af disse opstiller til valg. Landsstyret fastsætter regler om valg af forældrerepræsentanter til skolebestyrelsen.

2) 2 repræsentanter for lærerne valgt af og blandt lærerne på skolen.

3) 2 repræsentanter for eleverne valgt af og blandt skolens elever, jf. dog stk. 3.

Stk. 2. Kommunalbestyrelsen kan under hensyntagen til skolens elevtal, antal trin, klassetal og lignende forhold beslutte, hvorvidt der kun skal være 3

forældrerepræsentanter. Såfremt skolebestyrelsen kun har 3 forældrerepræsentanter, skal der tilsvarende kun være 1 lærerrepræsentant og 1 elevrepræsentant.

Stk. 3. Ved skoler, der kun har til og med 7. årgang, er der ingen elevrepræsentation i skolebestyrelsen. Kommunalbestyrelsen kan efter indstilling fra skolebestyrelsen dog godkende elevrepræsentation i disse tilfælde.

Stk. 4. Kommunalbestyrelsen kan efter anmodning herom fra skolebestyrelsen bestemme, at en af kommunalbestyrelsen udpeget person deltager uden stemmeret i skolebestyrelsens møder.

Stk. 5. Alle skolebestyrelsens medlemmer har stemmeret, jf. dog stk. 12.

Stk. 6. Formanden for skolebestyrelsen udpeges blandt forældrerepræsentanterne.

Stk. 7. Skolens leder er skolebestyrelsens sekretær og deltager uden stemmeret i skolebestyrelsens møder. Souschefen for skolens leder deltager også uden stemmeret i skolebestyrelsens møder.

Stk. 8. Forældrerepræsentanternes valgperiode er 4 år. De øvrige medlemmers valgperiode er 1 år. Personer, der har ansættelse som undervisere ved skolen, kan ikke vælges som forældrerepræsentanter i skolebestyrelsen.

Stk. 9. En forældrerepræsentant kan forlange at blive fritaget for medlemskab af skolebestyrelsen, hvis barnet udskrives af skolen. Om fritagelse for valg og for medlemskab i øvrigt gælder de samme bestemmelser, som er fastsat i landstingslov om valg til kommunalbestyrelser, bygdebestyrelser og menighedsrepræsentationer.

Stk. 10. Kommunalbestyrelsen kan beslutte, at valg af forældrerepræsentanter afholdes hvert andet år som forskudte valg.

Stk. 11. I de tilfælde, hvor 2 eller flere skoler sammenlægges, kan kommunalbestyrelsen beslutte, at alle skolebestyrelsesmedlemmer fungerer sammen indtil udløbet af de enkelte medlemmers valgperiode.

Stk. 12. Elevrepræsentanterne må ikke deltage i behandlingen af eller afstemning i sager vedrørende enkeltpersoners forhold.

§ 41. Kommunalbestyrelsen yder forældre- og elevrepræsentanterne et fast funktionsvederlag. Funktionsvederlagets størrelse fastsættes under hensyntagen til skolens elevtal, antal af trin og lignende forhold. Elevrepræsentanternes vederlag udgør en trediedel af forældrerepræsentanternes vederlag.

§ 42. Skolebestyrelsen udøver sin virksomhed inden for de mål og rammer, som kommunalbestyrelsen fastsætter, jf. § 38, og fører i øvrigt tilsyn med skolens virksomhed.

Stk. 2. Skolebestyrelsen fastsætter mål for skolens undervisning og øvrige virksomhed.

Stk. 3. Skolebestyrelsen godkender skolens plan for undervisningen for hvert skoleår, herunder planer for

- 1) elevernes timetal,
- 2) fagenes timetal,
- 3) undervisningens organisering i fagdelte kursusforløb og tværfaglige forløb,
- 4) udbudet i de lokale valg,
- 5) specialundervisningen på skolen,
- 6) udbudet af pædagogisk tilrettelagte frivillige aktiviteter,
- 7) elevernes placering i klasser,
- 8) skole-hjem samarbejdet, jf. stk. 4,
- 9) underretning af hjemmene om elevernes udbytte af undervisningen,
- 10) arbejdets fordeling mellem lærerne,
- 11) fællesarrangementer for eleverne i undervisningen og
- 12) kursus samt efter- og videreuddannelse for skolens personale.

Stk. 4. Skolebestyrelsen fastsætter retningslinier for skolens øvrige virksomhed, herunder for skolens og hjemmets samråd om det enkelte barns skole- og uddannelsesforløb og det øvrige samarbejde mellem skole og hjem.

Stk. 5. Skolebestyrelsen godkender inden for de økonomiske rammer, der er fastlagt for skolen, skolens budget.

Stk. 6. Skolebestyrelsen godkender undervisningsmaterialer og fastsætter ordensregler.

Stk. 7. Skolebestyrelsen godkender inden for de af kommunalbestyrelsen fastsatte retningslinier, om skolens virksomhed skal omfatte varetagelse og koordinering af kulturelle aktiviteter, jf. § 38, stk. 2, nr. 5.

Stk. 8. Skolebestyrelsen skal afgive udtalelse til kommunalbestyrelsen om ansættelse af lærere og ledere, jf. § 38, stk. 2, nr. 2.

Stk. 9. Skolebestyrelsen udarbejder forslag til kommunalbestyrelsen om skolens tillæg til læreplaner for de i § 9, stk. 1, nr. 1 - 4, nævnte fag og fagområder og om læreplaner for de i § 9, stk. 1, nr. 5, nævnte lokale valg, jf. § 38, stk. 3.

Stk. 10. Skolebestyrelsen afgiver indstilling til kommunalbestyrelsen om forsøgs- og udviklingsarbejde i det omfang, det overskrider de mål og rammer, som kommunalbestyrelsen har fastsat.

Stk. 11. Skolebestyrelsen kan afgive udtalelse og stille forslag til kommunalbestyrelsen om alle spørgsmål, der vedrører den pågældende skole. Skolebestyrelsen skal afgive udtalelse om alle spørgsmål, som kommunalbestyrelsen forelægger den.

Stk. 12. Skolebestyrelsen aflægger ved slutningen af hvert skoleår årsberetning til kommunalbestyrelsen om skolens virksomhed i det forløbne skoleår. I årsberetningen indgår desuden skolebestyrelsens overordnede plan for det kommende skoleårs aktiviteter.

Skolens leder

§ 43. Ved hver skole ansættes en leder, der har den administrative og pædagogiske ledelse af skolen og er ansvarlig for skolens virksomhed over for skolebestyrelsen og kommunalbestyrelsen. For at kunne varetage funktionen som skolens leder skal den pågældende have gennemført uddannelsen til lærer i folkeskolen eller anden relevant

uddannelse, der er godkendt af landsstyret.

Stk. 2. Skolelederen leder og fordeler arbejdet mellem skolens ansatte og træffer alle konkrete afgørelser vedrørende skolens elever, jf. dog § 26, stk. 2 og 3.

Stk. 3. Skolens leder udøver sin virksomhed i samarbejde med de ansatte.

Stk. 4. Skolens leder udarbejder forslag til skolebestyrelsen vedrørende skolens plan for undervisningen for hvert skoleår og retningslinier for skolens øvrige virksomhed, jf. § 42, stk. 3 og 4, samt forslag til skolens budget, jf. § 42, stk. 5, inden for de af kommunalbestyrelsen fastsatte økonomiske rammer, jf. § 38, stk. 2, nr. 1.

Rådgivende organer

§ 44. Ved hver skole nedsættes et pædagogisk råd. Rådet består af skolens leder og alle medarbejdere, der varetager undervisningsopgaver og andre pædagogiske opgaver.

Stk. 2. Rådet skal rådgive skolens leder samt være forum for pædagogisk debat og udvikling på den enkelte skole.

Stk. 3. Skolebestyrelsen kan pålægge lederen at indhente udtalelser fra det pædagogiske råd. Rådet kan af egen drift udtale sig til skolebestyrelsen. Disse udtalelser skal fremsættes gennem skolens leder.

Stk. 4. Det pædagogiske råd hører elevrådet i alle relevante spørgsmål.

Stk. 5. Rådet fastsætter selv sin forretningsorden.

§ 45. Ved hver skole nedsættes et elevråd. Ved mindre skoler kan skolebestyrelsen beslutte, at elevrådets opgaver varetages af hele elevforsamlingen.

Stk. 2. Rådet består af repræsentanter for samtlige elever.

Stk. 3. Rådet skal være forum for drøftelser af elevernes interesser.

Stk. 4. Skolebestyrelsen kan pålægge lederen at indhente udtalelser fra elevrådet. Rådet kan af egen drift udtale sig til skolebestyrelsen. Disse udtalelser skal fremsættes gennem skolens leder.

Kapitel 10.

Klageregler

§ 46. Klage over beslutninger i henhold til denne forordning, der er truffet af den enkelte skole, kan inden 4 uger fra beslutningens meddelelse indbringes for kommunalbestyrelsen.

Stk. 2. Beslutninger der er truffet af kommunalbestyrelsen vedrørende opgaver, der efter aftale med landsstyret er overdraget til kommunalbestyrelserne, jf. § 31, stk. 3 og § 36, stk. 2, kan inden 4 uger fra afgørelsens meddelelse indbringes for landsstyret.

Stk. 3. Landsstyret kan fastsætte regler om, at visse beslutninger kan indbringes for landsstyret.

Kapitel 11.

Finansiering

§ 47. Alle udgifter til folkeskolens anlæg, undervisning og drift i øvrigt påhviler kommunerne, for så vidt der ikke er udtrykkelig lovhjemmel for, at udgifterne helt eller delvis påhviler Hjemmestyret eller andre.

Stk. 2. Kommunerne dækker alle udgifter, hvis afholdelse er en forudsætning for gennemførelsen af ekskursioner, lejrskoler og skolerejser efter § 9, stk. 5, jf. dog stk. 3.

Stk. 3. Kommunalbestyrelsen kan kræve, at den enkelte elevs forældre sørger for elevens forplejning under ekskursioner. Kommunalbestyrelsen kan kræve betaling af forældrene til dækning af udgifterne til elevens forplejning under lejrskoler og skolerejser efter § 9, stk. 5 og 6. Betalingen fastsættes under hensyn til et anslået normalt sparet hjemmeforbrug.

Stk. 4. Klassens elever og forældre kan, eventuelt i samarbejde med skolen, ved fælles indsamling eller på anden måde i fællesskab tilvejebringe midler til dækning af udgifter, der ikke dækkes af kommunen efter stk. 2-3.

Stk. 5. Den enkelte elevs ret til deltagelse i arrangementer efter § 9, stk. 5 og 6, kan ikke ud over de i stk. 3 nævnte udgifter betinges af erlæggelse af et beløb eller anden ydelse.

Stk. 6. Landsstyret kan fastsætte bestemmelser, der regulerer kommunernes driftsudgifter pr. elev, herunder lærertimeforbrug pr. elev.

Kapitel 12.

Ikrafttrædelses-, overgangs- og ophævelsesbestemmelser

§ 48. Landstingsforordningen træder i kraft den 1. august 2003, jf. dog stk. 2-4.

Stk. 2. § 13, stk. 1 og 2, § 14, stk. 3, § 15, stk. 2, § 17, stk. 4, sidste pkt., § 18, stk. 1, sidste pkt., § 18, stk. 2, sidste pkt., § 18, stk. 3, sidste pkt., § 18, stk. 4, sidste pkt., § 18, stk. 7, § 20, stk. 5, sidste pkt., § 22, stk. 3, § 25, stk. 2, § 27, stk. 3, § 31, stk. 1, nr. 6, § 31, stk. 2, § 33, stk. 2, § 39, stk. 4, § 40, stk. 1, nr. 1, sidste pkt., § 46, stk. 3, § 47, stk. 6 og §§ 48-49 træder i kraft den 1. august 2002.

Stk. 3. § 14, stk. 1 og 2 træder i kraft ved Landsstyrets udstedelse af bekendtgørelse herom, når de pædagogiske, organisatoriske og økonomiske forudsætninger for det samlede specialundervisningsområdes henlæggelse til kommunerne er til stede. § 14, stk. 1 og 2 kan dog tidligst ikraftsættes 1. januar 2004.

Stk. 4. Landsstyret kan efter aftale herom med kommunalbestyrelserne for samtlige kommuner fastsætte tidspunktet og vilkårene for ikrafttrædelsen af anlægsforpligtelsens overdragelse til kommunerne. Anlægsforpligtelsen efter § 47, stk. 1, vil indtil overdragelsen fortsat være Hjemmestyrets. Landsstyret kan indgå aftale med kommunalbestyrelserne for samtlige kommuner om overgangsordninger, der har til hensigt at sikre størst mulig kommunal indflydelse.

Stk. 5. Med henblik på at bibringe erfaringer om anvendelse af undervisning, der tager udgangspunkt i bestemmelserne i denne forordning, kan landsstyret for perioden 1. august 2002 til 31. juli 2003 godkende afvigelser fra reglerne i landstingsforordning nr. 1 af 6. juni 1997 om folkeskolen.

§ 49. Landstingsforordning nr. 1 af 6. juni 1997 om folkeskolen ophæves den 1. august 2003, jf. dog stk. 2-5.

Stk. 2. § 4 i landstingsforordning nr. 1 af 6. juni 1997 om folkeskolen ophæves den 1. juli 2002.

Stk. 3. § 12, stk. 1-3 og § 36, stk. 1, nr. 1 i landstingsforordning nr. 1 af 6. juni 1997 om folkeskolen forbliver i kraft indtil Landsstyret i medfør af § 48, stk. 3 ikraftsætter § 14,

stk. 1 og 2. Udgifterne til almindelig specialundervisning og anden specialpædagogisk bistand påhviler indtil ikraftsættelsen af § 14, stk. 1 og 2 kommunerne. Udgifterne til vidtgående specialundervisning og anden vidtgående specialpædagogisk bistand påhviler indtil ikraftsættelsen af § 14, stk. 1 og 2 Hjemmestyret.

Stk. 4. § 10, stk. 5 og § 11 i landstingsforordning nr. 1 af 6. juni 1997 om folkeskolen forbliver i kraft.

Stk. 5. For elever, der begynder på 7.- eller højere klassetrin i skoleåret 2003/2004, forbliver §§ 1-3, 5-9, 13-19, 22, 25, 28, stk. 1, 32, 37 og 39-41 i landstingsforordning nr. 1 af 6. juni 1997 om folkeskolen i kraft, indtil de har færdiggjort deres skoleforløb.

Landsstyret kan fastsætte overgangsregler.

Stk. 6. I perioden 1. august 2003 til 31. juli 2008 omfatter elevernes undervisningstid på yngstetrinnet mindst 670 timer årligt på alle tre årgange, og på mellemtrinnet omfatter elevernes undervisningstid mindst 860 timer på 4. årgang, mindst 890 timer på 5. årgang og mindst 940 timer årligt på 6.- og 7. årgang.

Stk. 7. Regler, der er fastsat eller opretholdt i medfør af landstingsforordning nr. 1 af 6. juni 1997 om folkeskolen, forbliver i kraft, indtil de ophæves eller afløses af regler fastsat i medfør af nærværende landstingsforordning eller anden lovgivning.

Hjemmestyrets bekendtgørelse nr. 14 af 29. maj 1995 om folkeskolens fritidsvirksomhed ophæves den 1. juli 2002.

Grønlands Hjemmestyre den 21. maj 2002.

Jonathan Motzfeldt/Karl Kristian Olsen

Appendix 6

(I dette bilag er kun medtaget de tekster som omhandler sprog)

Håndbog til forældre

Sprog

Undervisningssprogene i skolen er grønlandsk og dansk. Endvidere kan undervisningssproget være engelsk, hvis det er et led i elevernes sprogindlæring. Hensigten med det er at give eleven mulighed for at tilegne sig sprogene ved at anvende dem i praksis – også uden for den egentlige sprogundervisning. Det grønlandske sprogs status som hovedsprog er ikke ændret, men af hensyn til elevernes behov for sprogkunderskaber i det videre uddannelsesforløb, har man besluttet allerede i folkeskolen at inddrage flere sprog som undervisningssprog. Bestemmelsen sikrer, at der for begge sproggrupper tages udgangspunkt i elevens modersmål, og samtidig vil anvendelsen af begge sprog give eleverne bedre mulighed for at tilegne sig fremmedsproget. Det betyder, at undervisningen i et passende omfang sker på begge sprog. Det er dog ikke hensigten, at undervisningen skal gennemføres fuldt tosproget, men at sprogbrugen i undervisningen tilpasses den enkelte elevs og elevgruppes sproglige forudsætninger og behov. Det gælder også for valg af **undervisningsmaterialer** i det omfang, det er muligt. Eleverne vil modtage sprogundervisning i grønlandsk og dansk på hold efter deres behov. Til elever, der er tilflyttet Grønland, vil der desuden blive tilbudt supplerende undervisning i grønlandsk. Eleverne bliver undervist i engelsk som 2. fremmedsprog fra 4. klasse, og fra 8. klasse skal der tilbydes undervisning i et 3. fremmedsprog.

Dette kan være tysk eller fransk, men også andre sprog kan tilbydes, hvis de nødvendige lærerkræfter findes.

Grønlandsk

Der undervises i faget i hele skoleforløbet.

Faget grønlandsk er modersmål for langt de fleste elever, og derfor spiller det en central rolle i elevens begrebs- og vidensudvikling. Der er dog elever, som har et andet modersmål. Af hensyn til dem

bliver der tilrettelagt en særlig undervisning, som svarer til undervisning i et fremmedsprog.

Læringsmål:

Eleverne skal lære:

- om kommunikation
- at indhente information
- om kultur og levevilkår
- om systematisk sprogarbejde og sprogtilegnelse

Udvalgte fagformål:

Eleverne skal:

- tilegne sig viden og færdigheder, så de kan forstå talt og skrevet grønlandsk sikkert og nuanceret
- udvikle bevidsthed om form og funktion i det grønlandske sprog
- opleve sproget som et vigtigt redskab i formidling af viden og erfaring
- blive fortrolige med et sprogligt og kulturelt fællesskabs betydning.

Dansk

For de fleste af eleverne er dansk et fremmedsprog, og der skal undervises med det hovedmål, at eleverne bliver tosprogede (grønlandsk/dansk). Det vil sige, at de skal have lært så meget dansk, at de er i stand til at bruge sproget i andre skolefag, og at de senere i deres videreuddannelse bliver i stand til at bruge dansk som redskabssprog.

Eleverne skal lære:

- om kommunikation
- at indhente information
- om kultur og levevilkår
- om systematisk sprogarbejde og sprogtilegnelse

Udvalgte læringsmål:

Eleverne skal

- tilegne sig viden og færdigheder, så de kan forstå talt og skrevet dansk samt udtrykke sig mundtligt og skriftligt på sproget
- blive fortrolige med sproget som et redskab til at lære andre sprog
- opnå forståelse af samspillet mellem grønlandsk og dansk sprog og kultur

Læreplaner for yngste- og mellemtrinnet

findes i fuldt omfang på

www.p-center.gl

lande

Læreplaner for yngste- og mellemtrinnet

findes i fuldt omfang på

www.p-center.gl

Engelsk

Engelskundervisningen starter fra mellemtrinnet. Faget betragtes som det andet fremmedsprog, det vil sige, at engelsk er det andet fremmedsprog, man skal lære ved siden af dansk, som er det første fremmedsprog. Når man afslutter faget efter ældstetrinnet, forventes det, at man er i stand til at tale og skrive på engelsk.

Eleverne skal lære:

- om kommunikation
- at indhente information
- om kultur og levevilkår
- om systematisk sprogarbejde og sprogtilegnelse

Udvalgte fagformål

Eleverne:

- tilegner sig viden og færdigheder, så de kan forstå talt og skrevet engelsk og kan udtrykke sig mundtligt og skriftligt på sproget.
- oplever det værdifulde og nyttige i at tilegne sig viden og indsigt gennem flere sprog
- får interesse for at orientere sig om kultur og levevilkår i engelsktalende

Appendix 7

Læreplaner for ældstetrinnet fra www.inerisaavik.gl

(I dette bilag er kun medtaget udvalgte tekster som omhandler sprog)

Læreplan for Grønlandsk

Formålet for undervisningen i grønlandsk

(Jf. § 9 i Hjemmestyrets bekendtgørelse om trinmål samt fagformål og læringsmål for folkeskolens fag og fagområder.)

Formålet med undervisningen er, at eleverne tilegner sig viden og færdigheder, så de kan forstå talt og skrevet grønlandsk sikkert og nuanceret samt udtrykke sig klart og varieret på sproget både mundtligt og skriftligt. Undervisningen skal sikre, at eleverne tilegner sig et sikkert sprogligt og begrebsmæssigt fundament som grundlag for deres øvrige faglige og almene læring. Undervisningen skal endvidere medvirke til, at eleverne ud fra egne iagttagelser udvikler deres opmærksomhed omkring sproglige og ikke-sproglige kommunikationsformer. Eleverne skal tilegne sig viden om og udvikle bevidsthed om såvel form som funktion i det grønlandske sprog.

Stk. 2. Undervisningen skal medvirke til at styrke elevernes personlige identitet og selvværd. Undervisningen skal fremme elevernes lyst og evne til at opleve, vurdere, reflektere og tage stilling samt til at give udtryk for følelser, erfaringer, viden og holdninger. Eleverne skal udvikle bevidsthed om egen sproglig udvikling, og undervisningen skal gøre dem i stand til at tage et medansvar for egen læring.

Stk. 3. Undervisningen skal medvirke til, at eleverne oplever sprog som et vigtigt redskab i formidling af viden og erfaring, i samarbejde og i al menneskelig interaktion i øvrigt. Undervisningen skal tilskynde eleverne til at bruge sproget som et middel til erkendelse af egen og andre menneskers situation.

Stk. 4. Eleverne skal gennem oplevelse med viden om sprog og litteratur blive fortrolige med et sprogligt og kulturelt fællesskabs betydning. Gennem undervisningen skal eleverne udvikle forståelse af grønlandsk kultur og dennes samspil med andre kulturer. Undervisningen skal støtte eleverne i deres udvikling til aktive og engagerede samfundsborgere i et demokratisk samfund.

Bemærkninger til formålet

Fagformålet er inddelt i 4 lige vigtige kategorier. Stk. 1 omhandler tilegnelse af basal viden og færdigheder i forhold til faget grønlandsk, stk. 2 handler om styrkelse af personlig identitet og selvværd og om bevidsthed omkring egen sproglige udvikling, stk. 3 handler om sprog som redskab for menneskelig interaktion og stk. 4 handler om det sproglige og kulturelle fællesskabs betydning.

Fagets placering

Der undervises i faget grønlandsk på alle trin og årgange. For langt de fleste elever vil grønlandsk være modersmålet og der igennem spille en central rolle for elevernes begrebs- og vidensudvikling. Af hensyn til elever med et andet modersmål er der udarbejdet et tillæg om undervisning i grønlandsk som fremmedsprog (se Appendiks C2.)

Sprog afspejler kulturen og medvirker til identitetsdannelsen, hvilket er en forudsætning for

forståelse for andre kulturer.

Sprog bruges af det enkelte menneske som et redskab for kommunikation og udvikles til stadighed gennem brug. Børn starter i skolen med et sprog, som fortsat udvikles gennem samvær, og her spiller bl.a. undervisningen en stor rolle. Sprog har mange udtryksformer, hvorfor der skal gives rum for en alsidig sprogbrug i alle skolens fag og fagområder.

I forbindelse med sprogundervisningen er litteratur og læsning samt skrivning oplagte redskaber til oplevelse, udvikling af ordforråd, sprogbrug og viden. Gennem mundtlig og skriftlig dialog gives eleverne endvidere mulighed for at danne egne meninger og holdninger og udtrykke disse. Skrivning er elevernes adgang til at danne sine meninger og holdninger og til at vise, hvad de har lært, og til skriftligt at kommunikere med andre medmennesker.

Læreplan for Dansk

Formålet for undervisningen i dansk

(Jf. § 9 i Hjemmestyrets bekendtgørelse om trinformål samt fagformål og læringsmål for folkeskolens fag og fagområder.) Formålet med undervisningen er, at eleverne tilegner sig viden og færdigheder, så de kan forstå talt og skrevet dansk samt udtrykke sig mundtligt og skriftligt på sproget i alle relevante sammenhænge i og uden for skolen. Undervisningen skal sikre eleverne et grundlag for og sproglige redskaber til videre læring af andre sprog samt til læring i skolens øvrige fag og i deres videre uddannelse. Eleverne skal tilegne sig viden om og udvikle deres opmærksomhed på såvel form som funktion i det danske sprog.

Stk. 2. Gennem undervisningen skal eleverne opleve, at det er værdifuldt og nyttigt for deres

faglige og personlige udvikling at kunne tilegne sig viden og indsigt gennem flere sprog. Undervisningen skal give eleverne lyst til at indsamle viden og informationer og fremme deres lyst og evne til at vurdere og tage stilling samt til at udtrykke sig om egne oplevelser, viden, holdninger og følelser. Eleverne skal ud fra egne erfaringer udvikle bevidsthed om deres muligheder i sprogtiltagelsen, og undervisningen skal gøre dem i stand til at tage et medansvar for egen læring.

Stk. 3. Undervisningen skal medvirke til, at eleverne oplever sprog som et vigtigt redskab i

formidling af viden og erfaring, i samarbejde og i al menneskelig interaktion i øvrigt. Undervisningen skal tilskynde eleverne til at bruge sproget som et middel til erkendelse af egen og andre menneskers situation.

Stk. 4. Undervisningen skal medvirke til, at eleverne oplever, at erfaringer og viden fra flere

kulturer og sprogsamfund er værdifulde og nyttige for social og kulturel udvikling, og til at eleverne opnår forståelse af samspillet mellem grønlandsk og dansk sprog og kultur. Undervisningen skal give eleverne interesse for at orientere sig om kultur og

levevilkår i Danmark og i den øvrige verden for dermed at øge deres indsigt i og forståelse af internationale forhold samt deres forståelse af egen kultur.

Bemærkninger til formålet

Formålet er bygget op således, at stk. 1 beskriver den faglige viden og de færdigheder den enkelte elev skal opnå.

Stk. 2 beskriver elevens personlige udvikling og egen anvendelse af de sproglige færdigheder, det intrapersonelle.

Stk. 3 handler om elevens forståelse og brug af færdighederne sammen med andre, det interpersonelle,

Stk. 4 beskriver elevens rolle og anvendelse af sine færdigheder både i det lokale og internationale samfund.

Fagets placering

Der undervises i dansk på alle trin og årgange. For størstedelen af eleverne vil dansk være første fremmedsprog, og hensigten med undervisningen er, at eleverne i løbet af deres uddannelse opnår en funktionel tosprogethed. Undervisningen skal udvikle elevernes forståelse af sproget og gøre dem fortrolige med at udtrykke deres egne iagttagelser, holdninger og vurderinger. Samtidig skal elevernes færdighed i at tilegne sig fremmedsprog styrkes - arbejde med indlæring af ord, strukturering af udsagn og alsidig, målrettet brug af både det talte og skrevne sprog i forbindelse med arbejdet i skolen og i forskellige sociale sammenhæng. Dansk skal systematisk inddrages som undervisningssprog og skal fungere som redskab og middel til informationssøgning i andre fag og fagområder. Det vil således være naturligt også at inddrage relevante dansksprogede tekster og medier i undervisningen i andre fag. Eleverne skal vænne sig til at arbejde med og bruge dansk også uden for den egentlige undervisning, så de udnytter de muligheder, omgivelserne giver for at bruge sproget som meddelelsesmiddel og redskab i hverdagen. Generelt skal undervisningen i alle fag - og ikke kun i dansk - udvikle elevernes bevidsthed om at tilegne sig sprog og udtryksformer af forskellig slags, fremmedsprog, faglige termer, visuelle udtryk osv. Dette gøres bedst ved at arbejde på tværs af fagene og udnytte de muligheder de forskellige fagtraditioner, medier og materialer giver for en alsidig og varieret undervisning.

Læreplan for Engelsk

Formålet for undervisningen i engelsk

(Jf. § 13 i Hjemmestyrets bekendtgørelse om trinformål samt fagformål og læringsmål for

folkeskolens fag og fagområder.) Formålet med undervisningen er, at eleverne tilegner sig viden og færdigheder, så de kan forstå talt og skrevet engelsk og udtrykke sig mundtligt og skriftligt på sproget. Undervisningen skal give eleverne mulighed for at anvende sproget til oplevelse, til indsamling og udveksling af viden og informationer i skolens andre fag samt til brug for videre læring. Eleverne skal tilegne sig viden om og udvikle deres opmærksomhed på såvel form som funktion i det engelske sprog.

Stk. 2. Gennem undervisningen skal eleverne opleve, at det er værdifuldt og nyttigt for deres

faglige og personlige udvikling at tilegne sig viden og indsigt gennem flere sprog.

Eleverne skal ud fra egne erfaringer udvikle bevidsthed om deres muligheder i sprogtilegnelsen, og

undervisningen skal gøre dem i stand til at tage et medansvar for egen læring.

Stk. 3. Undervisningen skal medvirke til, at eleverne oplever sprog som et vigtigt redskab i

formidling af viden og erfaring, i samarbejde og i al menneskelig interaktion i øvrigt.

Undervisningen skal tilskynde eleverne til at bruge sproget som et middel til erkendelse af egen og andre menneskers situation.

Stk. 4. Undervisningen skal give eleverne interesse for at orientere sig om kultur og levevilkår i engelsktalende lande og i den øvrige verden for dermed at øge deres indsigt i og

forståelse for internationale forhold samt deres forståelse af egen kultur og dennes samspil med andre kulturer.

Bemærkninger til formålet

Formålet er bygget op således, at stk. 1 beskriver den faglige viden og de færdigheder den

enkelte elev skal opnå.

Stk. 2 beskriver elevens personlige udvikling og egen anvendelse af de sproglige færdigheder, det intrapersonelle.

Stk. 3 handler om elevens forståelse og brug af færdighederne sammen med andre, det interpersonelle,

Stk. 4 beskriver elevens rolle og anvendelse af sine færdigheder både i det lokale og internationale samfund.

Fagets placering

Der undervises i engelsk på alle årgange på mellem- og ældstetrinnet.

Undervisningen skal udvikle elevernes færdigheder i at opfatte og bearbejde talt og skrevet

engelsk og i at formidle egne iagttagelser, viden og oplevelser gennem både talt og skrevet

sprog. Samtidig skal elevernes færdighed i at tilegne sig fremmedsprog styrkes - arbejde med

indlæring af ord, strukturering af udsagn og alsidig, målrettet brug af både det talte og skrevne

sprog i forbindelse med arbejdet i skolen og i forskellige sociale sammenhænge.

Engelsk skal i et vist omfang fortrinsvist på ældstetrinnet inddrages som undervisningssprog

og skal fungere som redskab og middel til informationssøgning i andre fag og

fagområder. Det vil således være naturligt også at inddrage relevante engelsksprogede tekster og medier i

undervisningen i andre sprog og fag. Eleverne skal vænne sig til at arbejde med og bruge engelsk også uden for den egentlige undervisning, så de udnytter de muligheder, omgivelserne giver for at bruge sproget som meddelelsesmiddel og kilde til oplevelse og viden om omverden. Generelt skal undervisningen i alle fag - og ikke kun i

sprogfagene - udvikle elevernes bevidsthed om at tilegne sig sprog og udtryksformer af forskellig slags, fremmedsprog, faglige termer, visuelle udtryk osv. Dette gøres bedst ved at arbejde på tværs af fagene og udnytte de muligheder de forskellige fagtraditioner, medier og materialer giver for en alsidig og varieret undervisning.

Læreplan for 3. fremmedsprog

Formålet for undervisningen i 3. fremmedsprog

(Jf. § 16 i Hjemmestyrets bekendtgørelse om trinmål samt fagformål og læringsmål for folkeskolens fag og fagområder.)

Formålet med undervisningen er, at eleverne tilegner sig viden og færdigheder, så de kan forstå

både det talte og det skrevne sprog og udtrykke sig mundtligt og skriftligt på sproget.

Undervisningen

skal give eleverne mulighed for at anvende sproget til oplevelse samt til indsamling og udveksling af viden og informationer både i og uden for skolen. Eleverne skal tilegne sig viden

om og udvikle deres opmærksomhed på såvel form som funktion i sproget.

Stk. 2. Gennem undervisningen skal eleverne have udbygget deres erfaringer med at arbejde

med flere sprog samt udvikle deres bevidsthed om mulighederne for livslang sprogindlæring.

Stk. 3. Undervisningen skal medvirke til, at eleverne oplever sprog som et vigtigt redskab i

formidling af viden og erfaring, i samarbejde og i al menneskelig interaktion i øvrigt.

Undervisningen

skal tilskynde eleverne til at bruge sproget som et middel til erkendelse af egen og andre menneskers situation.

Stk. 4. Undervisningen skal give eleverne interesse for at orientere sig om kultur og levevilkår

i lande, hvor sproget tales, og i den øvrige verden for dermed at øge deres indsigt i og forståelse

for internationale forhold samt deres forståelse af egen kultur og dennes samspil med andre

kulturer.

Bemærkninger til formålet

Formålet er bygget op således, at stk. 1 beskriver den faglige viden og de færdigheder, den enkelte elev skal opnå.

Stk. 2 beskriver elevens personlige udvikling og egen anvendelse af de sproglige færdigheder,

det intrapersonelle.

Stk. 3 handler om elevens forståelse og brug af færdighederne sammen med andre, det interpersonelle.

Stk. 4 beskriver elevens rolle og anvendelse af sine færdigheder både i det lokale og internationale samfund.

Fagets placering

Undervisning i 3. fremmedsprog skal tilbydes på alle årgange på ældstetrinnet. Faget er valgfrit for eleverne. 3. fremmedsprog kan være tysk eller fransk, men kan også omfatte andre sprog, i den udstrækning de nødvendige lærerkræfter og materialer kan tilvejebringes.

Undervisningen skal udvikle elevernes færdigheder i at opfatte og bearbejde talt og skrevet

sprog og i at udtrykke sig gennem både talt og skrevet sprog. Samtidig skal elevernes færdighed i at tilegne sig fremmedsprog videreføres - arbejde med indlæring af ord, strukturering af udsagn og alsidig, målrettet brug af både det talte og skrevne sprog i forbindelse med arbejdet i skolen og i forskellige sociale sammenhænge. Sproget

anvendes i relevante sammenhæng til informationssøgning i andre fag og fagområder. Eleverne skal vænne sig til at udnytte de muligheder, som omgivelserne giver, for at bruge sproget, også uden for den egentlige undervisning, som meddelelsesmiddel og kilde til oplevelse og viden om omverden. Generelt skal undervisningen i alle fag - og ikke kun i sprogfagene - udvikle elevernes bevidsthed om at tilegne sig sprog og udtryksformer af forskellig slags, fremmedsprog, faglige termer, visuelle udtryk osv. Dette gøres bedst ved at arbejde på tværs af fagene og udnytte de muligheder, de forskellige fagtraditioner, medier og materialer giver for en alsidig og varieret undervisning.

Appendix 8

From report no. 8 concerning language development in Greenland from 1984-1994 Published by Greenland Statistics, January 1996

Table 3.1.1 the population's evaluation of language

Language	Year 1984	Year 1989	Year 1994
Greenlandic as main language/speaks only a bit Danish	51.7	48.4	36
Greenlandic as main language/speaks Danish very well	20.7	22.7	35.3
Bilingual	10.6	9.9	13
Danish as main language/speaks Greenlandic very well	1.9	2.2	3.7
Danish as main language/speaks only a bit Greenlandic	15.1	16.8	11.9
In all	100	100	100
N	1.288	1.211	1.035