

What's the Problem in education policies Represented to be?

*- A policy analysis of the education policies in
Greenland.*

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Supervisor: Lill Rastad Bjørst

Aviaja Geisler Kristensen Study No: 20153992

Phone no: +299266988

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Abstract

The educational sector in Greenland has developed rapidly since the 1970's. The educational sector still faces a lot of challenges such as access to education, teacher retention issues and language barriers. Today, the majority of the Greenlandic population holds a primary education as their highest achieved education despite education policies that seeks to improve educational attainment in Greenland. This arises a suspicion that the perceived problem in the education policies are not the 'actual' problem present in the education system. This thesis investigates why the policies have had a limited effect on the educational system in Greenland by investigating the perceived problems in the policies. Qualitative method was used to collect data that in this study consist of 3 education policies, 2 political speeches and 1 interview. The analytical strategy of What's the Problem Represented to be is the chosen analytical tool for this policy analysis. This analytical strategy identifies and deconstructs the problems presented in the policies and investigates the underlying logics as well as what the presented problems do not account for. Theoretical frameworks of Human capital and Cultural capital are in the analysis the mobilised capital forms in the policies. This thesis finds that the perceived problems in the education policies are based on a preconceived notion rooted in human capital. The represented problems identified are that the quality of life and economic sustainability is inadequate, and that the education system is neither inclusive nor coherent. Areas that are not raised as a problem in the policies are the relation between social background, cultural capital and educational attainment. The policies suggest educating more people but do not propose a solution to issues of inclusion, coherency or chance inequality.

1 Introducing Education – framing the problem

This chapter will provide a broad overview of approaches to education and an overview of education in the Arctic and Greenland. This chapter will thus provide an extensive conceptual framework that prerequisite the understanding and relevance for the research question presented in the following chapter – chapter 2.

Education has through history gradually developed to become an institution. Families and the workplace used to be how and where the children would learn. The small family practices and workplaces used to be where their children would learn their craft and knowledge would be passed on. Now, education has indeed become formalized and therefore also institutionalized (Thomsen 2014:311). The industrialization called for a specialized work force; this development has resulted in the rise of the demanded qualifications that led society to establish educational institutions to generate qualification suited for professions (ibid).

Jens-Peter Thomsen, the author of the chapter *education in the Danish Society*, presents among other things, the purpose(s) for education that conveys the foundation of the general understandings of education which are theoretically and empirically founded by various scholars. Understanding the different conceptual purposes that education provides will assist in reflecting over what approach or theoretical strand is applicable in given research about education (Thomsen 2014:315-316). One purpose presented is that education was to cultivate the national state and national unity by teaching citizens specific stories about Denmark, “*Danish history and culture*” (Thomsen 2014:311). Inspiration from Enlightenment philosophy had been the stream for developing the education system because the philosophy endorses education and information to equip the citizen with sensibility and ability to make their own decisions and to think for themselves (ibid). This way of thinking about education is what brought about the notion of (roughly translated) “*societal human production*” (Thomsen 2014:312). Education passes on and develops societal values as well as creates and builds qualifications and competences, making education a vital societal institution that is worth supporting, which leads to the next mentioned purpose of education (ibid). Another purpose that Thomsen presents is that education

functions as a means to train, qualify and build competences within people, also called human capital¹. Following this concept, it means that qualification and competences are acquired through education and helps allocate individuals to relevant jobs. This perspective regarding the purpose of education stresses that enhancing human qualification is an investment that is said to benefit both the individual as well as the society (Thomsen 2014:314). The various educational strands give different qualifications leading to different placements in the vertical as well as horizontal workforce that initially places the individuals in differing social positions (Thomsen 2014:314). In relation to this, a third purpose Thomsen conveys regards social positioning in the society. That is the concept of one's education and the length of education predicts or rather determines which social group individuals become a part of. Furthermore, in this stream of thought educational attainment and choices are conditioned by one's socioeconomic status. This initially causes social reproduction of the pre-existing social order making it – according to this concept – difficult to attain education if your parents do not have an education (Thomsen 2014:315). This notion refers to cultural capital². There are several studies such as PISA evaluations that supports this claim. PISA score evaluations have in their reports and data demonstrated a link between social background and academic abilities showing that those from a lower social group do not do as well in school as those from a higher social group (Keeley 2007:63).

Framing the concepts of purposes for education gives an insight to the different strands of theoretical disciplines that are present in the study of education showcasing different angles and understandings. However, these concepts are usually based on western societies with Eurocentric educational structures that arguably to some extent does not always fit or apply in an Arctic nor Greenlandic context.

Numerous studies have shown that qualifications can be attained by other means than education. Suna Christensen demonstrated this in her PhD dissertation. Christensen argues that the Eurocentric educational model creates cultural conflicts as indigenous people in Greenland traditionally learn valuable skills outside the classroom. To exemplify, Christensen's study finds that children and young people learn how to hunt outside of school and how this practise holds a high social meaning, constituting meaningful qualifications obtained outside the school (Christensen 2014:246-247).

¹ This notion will be presented and further elaborated in the theory chapter, Chapter 0.

² This notion will be presented and further elaborated in the theory chapter, Chapter 0.

1.1 Education in an Arctic and Greenlandic context

This section will provide an Arctic and Greenlandic context that will shape the foundational understanding of education. The following sections will introduce a brief historical background for education followed by a presentation of education in numbers in Greenland. Furthermore, will the section convey the challenges of education in the Arctic and Greenland.

1.1.1 The historical development of education in Greenland

In 1721 Greenland became an official colony of Denmark by the way of the Missionary Hans Egede (Ackrén et al. 2018:122). Consequently, it was Christianity that brought about literacy and the structures for early schooling. The Greenlandic catechists were trained in Danish as well as German allowing them to be both preachers and teachers (ibid). However, it was only after the second world war education became somewhat mainstream in Greenland. The Greenlandic educational system – as well as the welfare model – is based on the Danish structures. The Greenland educational system compared to the Danish educational system can therefore said to be quite ‘young’. During the 1950’s and 60’s the education policies in Greenland were the object of a *Danization* process to make schools adhere to Danish standards and essentially an assimilation process to make Greenlanders more Danish (Ackrén et al. 2018:122; Hirshberg & Petrov et al. 2014:352). This had some cultural and societal repercussions. The 1970’s, the decade where the home rule system was established, was a decade of *Greenlandization*, that resulted in the establishment of the university of Greenland, Ilisimatusarfik, where the aim was to establish educational institutions that reflected Greenland culture and identity (ibid). Ilisimatusarfik later became and still is today a university based on Danish structures that mostly focuses on social science and humanities (ibid).

Today Greenland is considered to have a fully developed educational system comprising of primary school level, secondary school level and post-secondary education herein including vocational education as well as a police school. Primary schools are in all major cities and bigger settlements however some settlements only have schooling up to grade 8. Secondary schools are found in 4 cities and the university is located in the capital, Nuuk (Ackrén et al. 2018:123-124).

The next section will paint a picture of the Greenland education by presenting various statistics and graphs.

1.1.2 Greenland education in numbers

The graph below is concocted based on numbers and information from *statistikbanken-Grønland*, Greenland statistics.

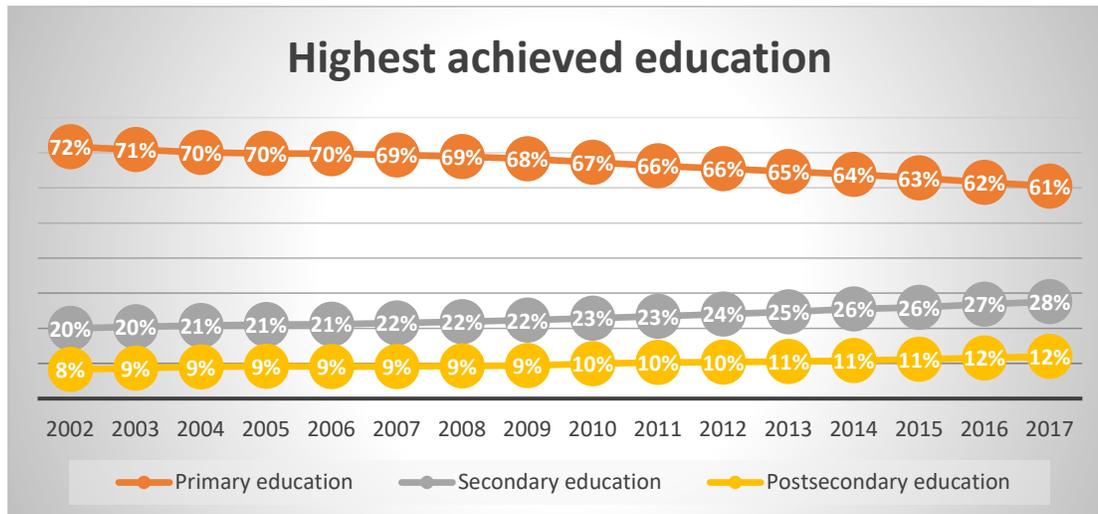


Figure 1

This is a graph showing the highest achieved educational level of the population in Greenland from 2002-2017. Primary education as seen makes up for the majority of achieved education amongst Greenlanders where the postsecondary education makes up the minority of achieved education. Primary education has since 2002 been declining where both secondary and postsecondary education has experienced an increase. This increase indicates a promising development of educational attainment in Greenland. Patterns of gender distributions in education shows that women and men take on the traditional gender-roles is education where women tend to choose fields within “*healthcare, education and training, humanities*” (Hirshberg & Petrov et al. 2014:387) and men tends to choose fields within “*engineering and applied sciences*” (Hirshberg & Petrov et al. 2014:387). Furthermore, more women tend to get an education than men and women generally attain higher levels of education than men (Hirshberg & Petrov et al. 2014:385; Ackrén et al. 2018:126). I was unfortunately unable to devise a graph showing the distribution of educational fields between men and women in more detail.

Another graph that I have chosen to present is that of the completion rate and the dropout rate from 2003-2013.

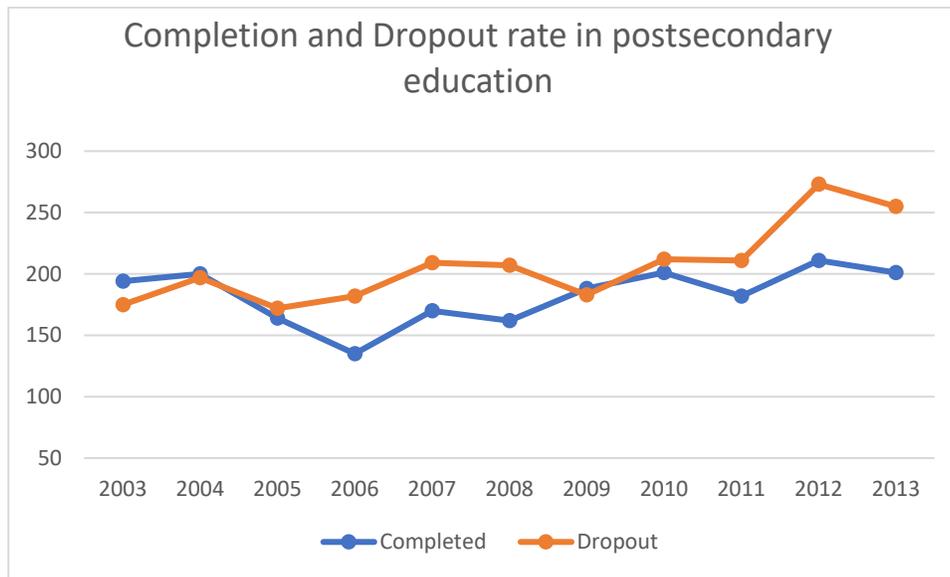


Figure 2

This graph demonstrates that more students in postsecondary education tend to stop their postsecondary studies as opposed to completing it. This trend – the ratio between the dropout rate and completion rate – is highly problematic and is viewed as one of the more prominent issues in education. Although education policies in Greenland have targeted this problem the policies have not had the desired effects (Ackrén et al.2018:121; EU programming document 2006:40).

1.1.3 The challenges in education and the missing data

One of the biggest challenges in education in the Arctic is the access to education. Cities and settlements being scattered over a large area where the access to transportation between those is expensive and difficult. This makes it hard for some to pursue education. Some school children must move from the settlements into to the city to finish their primary education in Greenland. The same goes for secondary education and post-secondary education, forcing children and young adults to move away from their homes to pursue education (Hirshberg & Petrov et al. 2014:351,354). A lot of young Greenlanders also choose to move to Denmark to pursue post-secondary education because Denmark has a much bigger selection of these. From this follow several challenges such as home sickness, issues with housing and personal problems stemming from problematic childhoods. A study I conducted last year about why the completion rate was low compared to the high dropout rate in Greenland demonstrates this point (Kristensen 2019). Another challenge quite common in the arctic is retaining and attracting teachers to

more remote areas, thus accentuating the challenge of access to education due to the lack of teachers (Hirshberg & Petrov et al. 2014:356). Another area that affects education in Greenland is language. From secondary education and up, the primary teaching language is Danish, which in a country with Greenlandic as a mother tongue poses as a great challenge as students must have proficient Danish skills in order to attend classes and therefore attain education (Hirshberg & Petrov et al. 2014:359-360). These challenges which are still relevant, presumably contribute to the low completion rate especially in post-secondary education as shown in the previous section. However, it has proven to be quite difficult to research as education in the arctic is not a field that is well researched yet in terms of answering the questions of why. There are therefore some gaps in knowledge regarding education, the effects of the challenges and the outcomes, and how these can effectively be solved (Hirshberg & Petrov et al 2014:351,370,379).

This is evident in the Greenlandic education policies and their effects which according to Ackrén are extremely limited (Ackrén et al. 2018:121). Although the number of achieved secondary and postsecondary educations are slightly increasing there are still a lot of challenges as presented above to achieving education that the policies have not been able to address or solve. This has led me to suspect that the perceived problems which the policies are trying to solve are not the root causes within the educational sector in Greenland.

2 Research question

The devised research question for this thesis is:

How is the problem in education policies from 2014 and 2015 in Greenland represented? And which kind of capital forms are mobilised in the education policies?

This thesis explores how the problems in education policies in Greenland are represented by analysing education policies from 2014 and 2015 with the analytical tool of framing analysis with the analytical approach of *What is the Problem Represented to be*. Furthermore, will this study explore how human capital and cultural capital theories are mobilized in these policies. The theoretical output of the capital forms will provide a foundational understanding for the representation of the perceived problems.

This thesis investigates why the proposed solutions in the policies do not seem to have had the desired effects on the educational attainment in Greenland by examining the existing education policies. The thought is to provide fresh foundations and understandings of how new policies can be developed to better suited the Greenlandic people and society. But in order to do that, the current policies and their perceived problems must be investigated. The thesis relies on the conceptual and theoretical framework for the analysis and to answer the research question. This thesis therefore has a deductive approach to research (de Vaus 2001:5-6)

Students are often told that forming research question with a *why* is strongest, so my research question might seem descriptive. However, due to the lack of empirical evidence, academic readings, and research in this field it is necessary to generate knowledge of what and how before the questions of why can be answered. Which is why this study is important as it provides new knowledge and better understanding of this field. I hope that the findings of this thesis will lead to new developments of education policy as well as further studies of education in Greenland.

3 Philosophy of science

Philosophy of science is known as “*science about science*” or “*meta science*” (Birkler 2014:10). Philosophy of science is important as this facilitates an overall philosophical frame for this paper and the kind of knowledge this thesis is seeking to generate. A philosophical standpoint will thus provide a framework of how reality and knowledge is recognised and therefore prerequisite choices of method and theory (Gilje & Grimen 1993:9). This encompassing structure will allow for a coherent paper with choices of method and theory that are compatible. This paper will adopt the philosophical standpoint of social constructivism as this is seen to presuppose the best structure that will best answer the research question.

3.1 Social constructivism

Social constructivism claims the reality that we investigate and therefore seek to recognize is never the “*real reality*” or an objective reality, because the reality is interpreted (Rasborg 2013:403). These interpretations of reality are perspectives people “cloud” over the reality making our recognition of reality not a reflection of this, but what influence the construction of it (Rasborg 2013:403). Realities or social constructions are created through historical and social processes which means that they are not

fixed or unchangeable but fluid and developing always (Rasborg 2013:403). The perception of reality is constructed through interaction, either by direct interaction or institutionalised interaction. Direct interaction is for example the learning that is done through the education system or in the home (Pedersen 2012:188) and institutionalised regards the meeting of different perceptions which entails norms and discourses (Pedersen 2012:188). However, it is important to note that interaction is nuanced and takes many forms. When conducting research with a social constructivist discipline the said reality is not discovered through research but rather is created or constructed (Pedersen 2012:188). It is important to consider as a researcher because the social phenomenon investigated are to be viewed as constructions of the perceived reality and the knowledge generated will inevitably also be a product of interpretation.

Reality not being viewed as an objective truth does not make the perception of it irrelevant. People act based on what they perceive and “know” to be true, and when this reality becomes reproduced it also becomes a shared reality that people come to live by (Pedersen 2012:190). Phenomenon such as chance-inequality in education can also said to be socially constructed as this can be argued to be a reproduction of social positions creating the premises of inequality. This notion will be further elaborated and discussed in Chapter 6.2. It is this element that is so interesting in this philosophical thought because it gives the opportunity to identify what interpretations, understanding and interest different agents have or have constructed (ibid). Furthermore, there is not *one* true reality because this depends on the perspective from which a phenomenon or problem is viewed, thus making constructed knowledge, perception and interpretation contextual (ibid). Generating knowledge through research is therefore also contextual. This is something a researcher must consider when conducting research. A social constructivist focal point in analyses have been to increase awareness of how individuals such as researchers or groups influence and participate in the creation of what is considered to be true. When these constructed truths become shared truths in the society it becomes a prominent discourse within that society (Pedersen 2012:189). So how discourses or perceptions of the truths – in phenomenon or problems – has come about and been institutionalised or what lays behind them as a part of the culture and politics, is a key part in this philosophical stream (ibid).

This thesis seeks to elucidate how problems in education are represented in the education policies, this paper thus views the problems as interpreted and socially constructed with an emphasis on context, why this philosophical standpoint is fitting. Social constructivism will therefore also strengthen this paper, as

this will aid in streamlining the choices of methods, strategies and theories which will be discussed throughout, so they correspond with social constructivism. Thus, making social constructivism the overarching frame that will allow for the best circumstances for answering the research question.

4 Qualitative Method

This chapter will present and discuss the chosen methods for data collection along with a discussion of the quality of the paper to prerequisite the best condition to answer the research question presented in chapter 2.

Qualitative method is often put opposite quantitative method because it is generally interested in the questions of how somethings are articulated, experienced, developed and appear as, as opposed to how quantifiable something is (Brinkmann & Tanggaard 2015:13). Qualitative research usually aims to “*describe, understand, interpret, or deconstruct*” the social world and phenomenon in it (Riis 2005:149, Brinkmann & Tanggaard 2015:13). This thesis seeks to get behind the representation of problems in education by analysing the education policies and how the capital forms are mobilised in these, making the objective words, perceptions and interpretations rather than quantifications, thus also keeping in line with social constructivism (Bryman 2012:380). Collecting and processing data as well as analysing the data in a qualitative strategy is therefore argued to be the right fit.

Qualitative research does not operate with statistical tests or causal relations but with understanding and interpretations of the social world and processes, why generalisability has different premises in qualitative studies. The aim in qualitative studies is not to seek statistical generalisability but instead analytical generalisability or transferability (Brinkmann & Tanggaard 2015:14). Transferability involves accounting for if the findings or conclusions apply in similar contexts. This entails discussing which and if the seemingly general patterns or conclusions found in this thesis may apply to other contexts as well (Tanggaard & Brinkmann 2015:14, Riis 2005:161). A discussion of transferability for this paper will be included after the findings of this paper are presented in chapter 8.

4.1 Documents as data material

The flexibility of document analysis has made this mode of data collection one of the most used methods within the social sciences (Lynggaard 2015:153). The applicability probably stems from the broad definition of documents. Documents are by Lynggaard defined as “*language fixed in text and time*”

(Lynggaard 2015:154). The use of the term 'text' has a wide range as "photograph, physical objects and technologies" have been included in the definition of text and therefore also used in document analysis (ibid). More commonly text or documents refer to written documents such as memos, news articles, policy papers, legislative writings, transcribed interviews, academic writings, among many other forms (ibid). When Lynggaard refers to documents as fixed, it does not mean that they cannot be develop over time or be susceptible for change, but that the documents are produces in a certain time and context thus providing various forms of information (Lynggaard 2015:155).

This thesis investigates how the perceived problem are articulated by how they are being solved in the education policies and how capital forms are mobilised in these articulations. This study will distinguish between primary and secondary documents. Primary documents chosen for this thesis are the education policies and the secondary documents chosen will be speeches made by the Premier of Greenland Kim Kielsen and Minister for Education, Culture, Church and Foreign Affairs Ane Lone Bagger. The policies are the primary documents because the policies will be the main object of study in the analysis, whereas the speeches in this study will be viewed as secondary documents because these are to help paint the picture of what constructions of reality can be bound to the policies thus strengthening the analysis. It is important to take the context for these policies into account and to whom these policies are produced for and by (Lynggaard 2015:155). When analysing documents, it is furthermore important to recognise that the purpose of documents here policies and the speeches are not necessarily devised to be subjected to analytical studies thus an element of interpretation of the content is needed. This study's chosen source of data is thus documents. The documents will be analysed within the analytical area of framing analysis, more specifically the analytical strategy of *What's the Problem Represented to be*.

4.1.1 Introducing the documents

This section will briefly introduce the documents to give context to them, starting with the primary documents that consists of the education strategies from the Government of Greenland and the education policy from the Government of Greenland that is devised with the European Union. The secondary documents being the speeches of Kim Kielsen – the Premier of Greenland and the Minister for Education, Culture, Church and Foreign Affairs Ane Lone Bagger.

Firstly, the documents consists of the Education Strategy of the Government of Greenland: *Education the Key to Our Future* 2015 and the Education plan II of the Government of Greenland: *Education Plan*

II 2015 both available on the Government of Greenland's website and are devised by the Ministry of Education, Culture and Church (Naalakkersuisut website). It is important to note that there is an education strategy from 2012 and 2014 and that Education Plan II is released every year starting from 2014 to the most recent from 2019 that still are based on the education strategy from 2015 – except the education plan from 2014. Upon a thorough read through, the education strategy from 2015 is the choice for the policy analysis because it is the current one and because the content does not differ in a meaningful matter from the one from 2014. The choice of only one – education strategy 2015, of the available education strategies is considered enough as this still allows for a broad depiction of the proposed solutions to the represented problems in education in Greenland. The education strategy is the overarching policy frame where the education plan II regards the specific action points based on the education strategy.

“Education Plan II is an action plan that includes the initiatives that will be implemented over the coming years. The initiatives support the Government's visions and objectives presented in the Education Strategy 2015” (education plan II 2015:4).

The education plan II 2015 is chosen knowing that it is not the most current one but because it gives the opportunity to follow possible effects and because the education plans through the years do not have any significant changes as the objectives are still the same to the education strategy 2015. Furthermore, the education plan II 2015 although not being a policy can provide some insight in a detailed manner regarding the different focus points of the education strategy 2015.

The education strategies are the foundation of a partnership with the EU. A partnership agreement was signed in 2006 with the EU that ensured the Greenland Government about 200 million DKK to aid and develop the education sector in Greenland in a period from 2007-2013 which was the first phase. This agreement has since been renegotiated for the period of 2014-2020 as phase 2 where the above-mentioned education strategies and Education plans related back to this (Education strategy 2015:4-5). This policy agreement will also be included as a primary document. The Document *“Programming Documents: For the Sustainable Development of Greenland 2014-2020”* is a policy devised to develop a diverse economy in Greenland, to improve qualifications for the labour market and to develop the area of information technologies in Greenland (Programming document:6)

The secondary documents consist of the Premier of Greenland Kim Kielsen's new year's speech and the Minister for Education, Culture, Church and Foreign Affairs Ane Lone Bagger graduation speech at Ilisimatusarfik February 2020.

The context of the documents is important because these documents are not necessarily developed to be deconstructed in an analysis (Lynggaard 2015:155). This goes especially for the speeches. The topics that appear as well as what is said are contextual, for example the graduation speech from the Minister for Education is expected to be positive towards education as well as inspiration for the graduating student to whom this speech is targeted. The context provided in the presentation of these will thus be considered when using these.

4.2 Unstructured Elite Interview

I had the opportunity to get an interview or rather a conversation with Lone Nukaaraq Møller, who is currently head of administration for Children and School in Kommuneqarfik Sermersooq (municipality of Sermersooq) and was previously deputy minister of education in Naalakkersuisut (Government of Greenland). Because of her experience and expertise, it qualifies as an elite interview, as she arguably can be referred to as a subject matter expert based on her credentials (Kvale & Brinkmann 2014:201). Due to the spontaneous nature of this interview there were only very few questions prepared which classifies this interview as an unstructured interview, thus making this an unstructured elite interview (Tinggaard & Brinkmann 2015:34). The devised questions consist of:

1. What major challenges or issues do you see or experience in education and educational attainment in Greenland?
2. Can these challenges and issues be tackled differently?

Nonetheless, the downfall of an unstructured interview is the possibility of not capturing the information that was intended, resulting in a varying quality of the generated material. These questions although only few, sparked a conversation that touched upon different themes such as chance inequality, new ways of thinking and possible solutions although vague, that are deemed useful and valid for this study as it presents some views not previously touched upon in the other material.

An ethical guideline in an interview setting will strengthen the quality of the generated material and knowledge which is why the interview started with an introduction of the subject of the thesis to establish

transparency followed by informed consent of her participation (Kvale & Brinkmann 2014:122). Which she accepted but disclaimed that all of her opinions are to be viewed as personal and are in no way affiliated with her current position and professional views. In relation to this I informed her of anonymity but given her weight in character, which would be difficult to keep anonymous, she gave permission to address her by her name and furthermore consented to record the conversation. Ethical guidelines are important in upholding the integrity of the paper as it is an occasion to reflect on possible consequences and outcomes for the participation of an interview as well as conducting an interview with a subject matter expert with that magnitude. Reflections on ethicality is thus an important process of conducting interviews (ibid).

The interview was conducted in Danish and is transcribed in Danish. The following usage of the transcribed interview will therefore be translated to English. The translation will be conducted carefully to not distort or derange the meaning of intent spoken by Lone Nukaaraq Møller.

As mentioned, I started the interview by presenting the topic of my thesis for transparency. By presenting the topic to Lone Nukaaraq Møller I, according to the social constructivist philosophical standpoint, guided her to present knowledge that she ultimately deemed relevant for my study. Interviews are social interactions why co-construction of knowledge must be acknowledged. With an unstructured interview, guiding someone to relevant knowledge can be problematic, which is why follow up question or elaborating question were asked to counteract this. That is not to say that what Møller articulates is to be viewed as some kind of truth but to acknowledge the researcher's role in the co-construction of empirical material and that the generated knowledge is contextual (Tanggaard & Brinkmann 2015:30). This interview will act as secondary material on the same premise as the secondary documents. This interview will provide insights from a subject matter expert on education in Greenland and furthermore may provide material that will help support or oppose the problem representation in the education policies.

5 Analysis strategy

This chapter will account for the analysis strategy this paper will follow to structure the analysis. The chosen analytical arch is framing analysis where the more targeted analytical strategy is What's the Problem Represented to be (WPR).

5.1 Frame analysis and WPR analytical tool

Frame analysis a qualitative method approach explores how social and political problems are framed. This approach seeks to investigate “*how social phenomenon and the society attributes meaning and how political problems are problematised*” (Agustín 2012:80). Frame analysis is an analytical tool that is frequently used when analysing documents (ibid). Discourses and frames are often confused as both refer to how social phenomenon are articulated and how this articulation limits thoughts and action in this conceptual framework (Agustín 2012:85). Frame can be described as how we perceive the real world, like how certain norms and values has become the foundation of what we understand to be good and bad, where discourse make up for the extensive communicative systems that support and upholds the framings (ibid). Ultimately the differences are that they operate on different levels. Discourses can according to Agustín be explained as the wider context in which frames exists. This means that discourses surround frames and that the given discourse and therefore the given context limits the articulations of a frame. The relation between the two concepts is mutually dependent, why they often get confused. Frames are a part of a broader discourse and to be understood as conditionally dependent on discourses, whereas discourses creates the logic of which the frame are generated from. Frame analysis thus operate on a more tangible level whereas discourses operate on a complex and abstract level (Agustín 2012:85).

Frame analysis is a qualitative methods approach that organises perceptions and framings of reality within a specific context. In continuation of frame analysis there are different approaches of frame analysis regarding political documents, but the main idea in frame analysis of political documents is that the political documents will implicit or explicitly represent a problem they seek to solve in a particular way (Agustín 2012:-88-89). It is based on this notion, that Carol Bacchi has developed an analytical strategy for analysing political documents in frame analysis called “*What the Problem Represented to be? (WPR)*” (Agustín 2012:89).

5.1.1 What's the Problem Represented to be (WPR)?

The analytical approach of WPR emphasises the word problematization. The WPR approach confronts the leading viewpoint that policies are devised by the government to describe and solve the problems in society. Instead it argues that governments are not describing existing problems in society but produces the problems as particular problems (Bacchi & Goodwin 2016:16). The point of departure for this strategy is to be critical of and question the problematization of the “problem”.

“The WPR approach starts from a simple idea: that what we propose to do about something indicates what we think needs to change and hence what we think the “problem” is.” (Bacchi & Goodwin 2016:16).

A problem representation is thus the understanding of what the perceived ‘problems’ are that are created in the making of the proposed solutions to the problems. The WPR strategy argues that policies are a problematisation of social phenomenon or social matters, and that these problematisations contains a problem representation (Bacchi & Goodwin 2016:16; Agustín 2012:89). The term problem representation does not constitute an impression of a problem but is constructed to be a specific kind of problem with certain effects and consequences, and the construction of the problem representation is based on a underlying logic, and a perception and understanding of reality (Bacchi & Goodwin 2016:17; Agustín 2012:89). The understanding of the problem i.e. the problem representation will thus also limit possible solutions for the problems as these are subjected to the same construction.

The WPR approach does not view reality, which in this context includes the problems and policies, as the irrefutable truth and a direct reflection of reality. It however views reality as constructed. Policies as well as problem representations are constructed through interaction and therefore also lived lives making it concur with the social constructivist standpoint for this paper (Bacchi & Goodwin 2016:6).

The education policies in Greenland (as mention before) do not seem to have the desired effects which have led me to believe that there is a discrepancy between the perceived problem the policies seek to solve and challenges that continues to follow education and educational attainment in Greenland, why WPR strategy is so fitting since this analytical strategy allows for investigating the underlying perception

and logic of the problem representation as well as explore alternative problems and therefore also solutions (Agustín 2012:90).

The objective for this analytical approach is to uncover the problem representations by “*identifying, reconstructing and interrogating problematization*” (Bacchi & Goodwin 2016:19). Bacchi and Goodwin operates backwards in a sense by deconstructing the problem representations by analysing the policies with 7 questions they have designed. These 7 questions are developed to be heuristic and the use of these therefore depend on the researcher and in this study 6 of them will be used in analysing the education policies. Some of the questions depend on the one answered prior to the coming ones and some overlap. It is however up to the individual researcher to pick and choose how to utilise these questions in their study of policies, hence the heuristic point of departure (Bacchi & Goodwin 2016:19). The questions are: (Bacchi & Goodwin 2016:20)

1. “*What’s the problem represented to be in a specific policy or policies?*”

The first question seeks to find a starting point for the analysis by identifying problem representations in the policies. This requires looking at the proposal for solving the problem in a policy, thus working backwards. The question is not to be confused with seeking to express the intentions of a policy nor does it seek to convey the discrepancies between the promised solutions and the failure of executing the policies but to identify and account for the presented problem. So, the point of departure is to inquire how the problematisation(s) are presented implicitly in the proposed solutions hence working backwards (Bacchi & Goodwin 2016:20). A policy can include more than one problem representation (Bacchi & Goodwin 2016:20-21).

2. “*What deep-seated presuppositions or assumptions underlie this representation of the ‘problem’ (problem representation)?*”

The second questions have a few aims. The first aim in question 2 is to uncover the meanings, assumptions, discourses that lay grounds for making the problem representations possible. In other words, identifying the said meaning, assumptions and discourses that makes the problem representation within the policies make sense is the first aim. The second aim is to examine the construction of the problem representations. How these are constructed require looking at what concepts and opposites (citizen/migrant, public/private) the constructions rely on. The third and last aim in the second question

is to identify and reflect on emerging patterns in the problematisations that indicates the underlying rationality of the government or the politics (Bacchi & Goodwin 2016:21).

3. *“How has this representation of the ‘problem’ come about?”*

As the question so clearly states it regards analysing how the problem representation(s) has come about. This is achieved by mapping the actions in a policy that produce the problem representations that were previously identified. The aim of this question is to challenge the seemingly straight forward suggestion of lineage of a policy where the purpose is to illuminate the other numerous possibilities of developments (Bacchi & Goodwin 2016: 22).

4. *“What is left unproblematic in this problem representation? What are the silences? Can the ‘problem’ be conceptualised differently?”*

Question 4 sets to challenge the problem representations by emphasising what is not problematised or what problematisations are not account for i.e. the silences. This question draws upon the answers to question 2 and 3 in the analysis. Question 4 calls for critical thinking as well as an imaginative researcher to come up with alternative problematisations and to see which circumstances these are subjected to (Bacchi & Goodwin 2016:22).

5. *“What effects (discursive, subjectification, lived) are produced by this representation of this problem?”*

This question relates to identifying the effects of the problem representation, more specifically the effects refers to the political repercussions or implications rather than outcomes and this question is built on question 4. The question poses three kinds of effects: discursive, subjectification and lives. Discursive effects refer to how a discourse(s) frames problem representation(s) limiting perceptions and opinions within the set frame. Subjectification, being individuals who are ‘subjected’ to a government, refers to how subjects are involved in a problem representation and how they are constructed to be a special kind of subject within the context of the problem representation. This effect relates back to question 2 where discourses were identified to see how the subjects or subjectification are produced. Lastly lived effects refers to how the two former effects are translates into the lived human life. The three effects are not independent from each other but interrelated. Question 5 enables this part of the analysis to consider the

intricacies of the various implications that are produced in the problem representations, relating the problem representation to the daily life (Bacchi & Goodwin 2016:23).

6. *“How and where has this representation of the ‘problem’ been produced, disseminated and defended? How has it been and/or how can it be disrupted and replaced?”*

Question 6 aims to challenge the accepted notion of truths behind the problem representations and how these can be contested. Question 6 uses question 2 and 3 as materials in answering the question (Bacchi & Goodwin 2016:23-24)

7. *“Apply this list of questions to your own problem representations.*

Question 7 suggest applying the 6 former questions to one's own problem representations that are produced during the analysis (Bacchi & Goodwin 2016:24). As mention before these questions are heuristic meaning that it is up to the researcher to choose what questions to answer. Due to the limited resources such as time and structures set for this thesis, I will not include the last question hence this analytical tool being heuristic.

This thesis will apply question 1 to 6 in this analysis. The policies will be the primary object of study where the speeches and the interview being secondary material will be utilized as additional material that will support or oppose the narratives presented in the policies as mentioned in chapter 4, thus providing with a well-rounded analysis. This analysis will be accompanied with the theoretical framework of human capital and cultural capital which will be accounted for and discussed in chapter 0.

5.2 Identifying the problem representation

There can be more than one problem representation in a policy which is why it can be important to make delimitations based on the natural restrictions of a study and to uphold a sensible structure for the analysis.

I have found it necessary not to include all the identified problem representations in the policies because this would have been a far bigger workload than what this thesis allows for. The delimitations are also a tool that will allow structure in the analysis by ensuring a comprehensible and coherent analysis that will provide the best condition to answer the research question. The WPR analytical strategy definitely calls

for an inquisitive researcher to assess and identify the problem representations that are the objectives for the analysis, why it is important to have clear lines for the interpretation of these.

I have identified and chosen the problem representations that concur most with the theoretical and conceptual framework laid for this study as well as problem representation that seem to be dominant the policies. These will be presented in the analysis. However, the problem representations I decided not to include regards education outside of Greenland, Language, the quality of teachers in primary education and student counselling for educational choice. Although these 'problems' are present/relevant in the Greenland educational system, they present other aspects of education that I already have touched upon in my previous research, why they are not included here (Kristensen 2019).

The reason for choosing the identified problems based on a conceptual and theoretical framework is to ensure integrity which also lead me to identify dominant problem representation which were not initially deduced. Another reason has been to make sure that I am aware of my own bias. This will be further discussed in the following chapter.

5.3 Ensuring quality: validity and reliability

In a qualitative paper validity and reliability holds different criteria for quality than in quantitative papers. This is based on the notion that reality cannot be uphold to the 'real' reality when the foundation of the paper – the analysis – is interpretation (Riis 2005:153). So, to ensure reliability in a qualitative paper the execution is sought to be clear and transparent which is why this thesis accounts and argues for every choice made to prerequisite the best foundation in answering the research question. To ensure validity the interpretations must be well-founded, supported, and informed. This is achieved by creating a conceptual framework of the respective field of study that will provide the reader with all essential knowledge. To enable valid interpretations a conceptual framework of education has been devised early in this thesis to bring forth information that will aid in contextualising problem representation as well as providing foundational understanding of the topic. The validity of the interpretations is further strengthened by the chosen theoretical framework of this paper that will be presented in the next chapter. Furthermore, regarding validity it is important that the analysis is coherent and makes sense. To ensure a coherent analysis an analytical strategy has been chosen with a clear course of action that also eases the structure of the analysis. The clear course of action which the WPR approach provides is assessed to

give a clear and coherent analysis along with the conceptual and theoretical framework that will enable the best circumstances to answer the research question (Riis 2005:153).

Another aspect for ensuring quality in a qualitative paper is the notion of bias. Bias regarding perceptions and comprehensions on reality is something that the philosophical standpoint of social constructivism does not disregard but acknowledges. This comes from the approach that everything is constructed in social interactions which means that knowledge and reality is constructed. As mentioned before, this does not mean that the notion of our understanding of reality is invalid but that it cannot be understood without context. This thesis does not seek to find the definitive truths of what is right and wrong regarding education policies but to elucidate how problems in education policies are represented to be and how human capital and cultural capital are mobilized in these problem representations, to dissect the problem representation and create new ones that may be better suited for the Greenlandic society. It is thus acknowledged that the policies and speeches are social constructions as well as the underlying logics of education and the challenges thereof. The chosen quotes for the analysis have therefore also been picked carefully to ensure they stay true to the context as well as upholding the scientific integrity of this thesis. The analysis therefore necessitates a high level of interpretation thus making me as a researcher a co-constructer of knowledge. Furthermore, I acknowledge that I as a researcher may be or am equally subjected to ways of understanding education and the underlying logics which is why emphasising context is so vital in this analysis, given that I was raised and attained primary and secondary education in Greenland (Riis 2005:154).

6 Theory

This chapter will present the theoretical framework of human capital and economic development, and Pierre Bourdieu's cultural capital followed by a discussion of their relevance for this study and how these will be utilised in the analysis.

6.1 Human Capital and Economic Development

The prospects of economic growth used to derive from physical assets, such as "*a better plough, a more efficient spinning wheel, stronger tractors*" and so on (Keeley 2007:23). However, the prospect of economic growth presently derives largely from information that is made possible because of all the new technological advances, and also the location of that knowledge, whether that is a factory in China or elsewhere the location of a factory has to have proficient access to suitable infrastructure (ibid). Information is not a new asset but it is the access to and the amount of information that has changed and the extent we are now able to process huge amounts of information accredited to the technological developments in computing and other communication technologies such as the internet the world has experienced (Keeley 2007:24). Information-based activities have according to OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development) become increasingly more important for both national economies and individual businesses (ibid). Information and knowledge should not only be accredited to computing power and connections however, since "*... it takes people – people with the skills and knowledge to make it work and transform it into economic growth.*" (Keeley 2007:26).

Despite sporadic recessions and economic downflows the economy in developed countries has only ever been growing in the long term. The OECD therefore poses the question "*Why do economies grow?*" (Keeley 2007:26). But in order to understand the growth of economies you first need to understand "*why economic activity happens in the first place*" which brings us to human capital (OECD 2017:26).

The value and significance of people; their knowledge, competences and abilities have since the 1960's had a growing consensus of being one of the key aspects to the question of why economies grow. People's knowledge, competences and abilities is also known as *Human Capital* (Keeley 2007:29).

“Human capital is defined by the OECD as the knowledge, skills, competencies and attributes embodied in individuals that facilitate the creation of personal, social and economic well-being.”

(Keeley 2007:29)

Investing in the production of knowledge, skills, health and competencies by spending money on education, healthcare and training creates capital. It is however, according to the father of Human Capital Gary Becker, neither financial nor physical but human capital that is created because knowledge, skills, competencies and health cannot be separated from the human (Becker 1994:16).

OECD portrays: People and the labour-force have according to economist been known as one of the factors for national wealth and the economic output for nations. But a newer idea is the notion that people invest in themselves to ensure financial returns and wellbeing, which is generally achieved with education. The obtained skills and knowledge you get through education is what creates a labour-market that is adept to perform more complex jobs and jobs with higher salaries (Keeley 2007:30). The level of educational attainment and the general health of humans is thus what determines the quality of human capital (Keeley 2007:29).

“Since human capital is embodied knowledge and skills, and economic development depends on advances in technological and scientific knowledge, development presumably depends on the accumulation of human capital” (Becker et al. 1990:13).

As the quote by Becker conveys the economic growth is presumed to depend on the quality of human capital and the accumulation of it in a society, thus placing education and health in the centre of human capital and therefore to an extent also the centre of economic development. Human capital does, however, only make up for one aspect of determining economic growth and prosperity, other aspects include but are not limited to investment in infrastructure (Keeley 2007:30). But because this thesis seeks to elucidate the perceived problems in education (policy) as a means for economic growth in Greenland, other accounts for aspects of economic growth are therefore not included. The point of departure for this thesis is to understand what the problem(s) in education are represented to be and what types of capital forms are mobilized therein. Indigenous peoples of the arctic have acquired skills and knowledge through time to help them survive in the harsh environment. Human capital is usually connected to education where skills and knowledge is acquired from education, however studies have shown that human capital

in the arctic in addition to formal education is also related to knowledge and skills informally obtained such as through hunting, fishing and other cultural practises (Hirshberg & Petrov et al. 2014:366). This is supported in a Greenlandic context as demonstrated in the introductory chapter where Christensen finds that qualifications can be achieved outside of school (Christensen 2014:246-247).

As briefly mentioned in the academic literature, people ensure wellbeing and financial returns through investing in themselves to get an education. Becker assumes that these choices of investments people make, are based on rational decisions rooted in cost benefits calculations (Becker 1994:17).

Becker's book on human capital has showed alongside many other studies that education in fact greatly raises a person prospect for earnings. In an American context which is mostly the context for Becker's studies, earnings for educated people is shown to be above average and even more in developing/underdeveloped countries (Becker 1994:17). Investing in education and training is according to Becker the most crucial investment when dealing with the notion of human capital (ibid). Becker argues that there is a link between continual growth of per capita income and increasing education and training within the labour-market in countries (Becker 1994:24).

The assumptions in the concept of human capital are based on various studies by Becker himself and countless of others. The analyses of human capital assume that education and training supplying people with knowledge, skills and competencies increases earnings and productivity (Becker 1994:19). Education, furthermore, has positive effects on occupation and the level thereof, employment as well as earnings (Becker 1994:25). Becker notes that the concept of human capital actually does not imply that cultural and non-economic incentives are less important than economic incentives but acknowledges that economic incentives are easier to measure. In relation to this, studies linking education and culture, health and more have found that education promotes "*health, reduces smoking, raises the propensity to vote, improves birth control knowledge, and stimulates the appreciation of classical music, literature, and even tennis*", hence the quality of human capital involving both education and general health. (Becker 1994:21).

Families are also known to effect human capital in their children, that is education among several things. Studies have shown that parents with fewer children invest more in their children's education than parents with more children. Human capital assumes, based on human capital analyses, that parents

with higher income tend to have fewer children and spend more money on their children (Becker 1994:23).

The term human capital can thus be said to be related to economic development. It is not only individuals who need to invest in education and training to ensure quality of human capital, but also states and nations as human capital is said to benefit both individuals as well as the whole society (Thomsen 2014:315).

The theoretical framework of human capital has been criticized for viewing education ideally as just and integrated. This because human capital does not seem to account for chance inequality and unequal opportunities (ibid; Bourdieu 1986:17). Human capital according to the critics does not, to a larger extent account for the socioeconomic background's relation to educational choices and attainment (OECD 63; Bourdieu 1986:17)

Pierre Bourdieu is another social scientist who has criticised the human capital theory by stating it assumes that educational attainment or the lack thereof is based on cognitive abilities which leads him to argue that human capital is lacking because it disregards the role of social position in educational attainment (Bourdieu 1986:17). Although Bourdieu applauds the human capital theory for making the link between educational and economic investment and the benefitting profits prospects of these investments, his point is that it doesn't regard for social positions' differentiating resources and ability to invest in education and the reproduction of this system (ibid). Bourdieu criticises the theory of human capital for not accounting for chance inequality and the reproduction of this, however Becker demonstrates that some studies have shown that families can influence educational attainment but this is very limited and does not seem to be the objective for this theory.

Furthermore, he argues that one type of capital which only refers to material and economic, and thereby only what promotes self-interest, is not enough in explaining the structures of the social world. Because of the seemingly economically restrictions related to the theory, according to Bourdieu, he finds it necessary to include a cultural - non-materialistic capital form, as he argues that this is and can be present in the economic capital and human capital forms and that the relationship between these are a bit more complex because the different capital forms are transferable (Bourdieu 1986:15-16).

As I too recognize that human capital lacks nuances such as chance equality and the relation educational attainment and the reproduction of this, this paper has deemed it necessary to include cultural capital as presented by Bourdieu in order to be able to understand how these capital forms are mobilized in the problems representations in education policies and how these have come about and thereby the complexities of education.

Bourdieu's forms of capital will be presented in the next chapter as well as how the forms of capital according to Bourdieu are convertible. reproduction

6.2 Pierre Bourdieu's Cultural Capital

Pierre Bourdieu the French sociologist, among other things, presents one fundamental capital form; *Cultural Capital*. Cultural Capital was developed by Bourdieu when he researched and theorised why educational achievement differ based on social class positions and how these are systematically reproduced in these social positions. He devises the link between social positions and scholarly achievements by cultural capital and the distribution of these in the respective social positions. He argues that cultural capital and the transference of cultural capital in families is the dominant educational investment and therefore the amount of cultural capital also determines educational attainment for the different social position (Bourdieu 1986:17)

Cultural capital usually refers to educational attainment and educational qualifications. Bourdieu argues that cultural capital exists in three forms: the *embodied state*, the *objectified state* and the *institutionalised state* (Bourdieu 1986:17).

The *embodied state* confers to the embodiment of knowledge. In other words it regards the knowledge and experiences that resides within individuals obtained from school, self-obtained knowledge (seeking information out of interest in books, on the internet and so on), and skills obtained from work (Bourdieu 1986:18). It is, however, not only formal knowledge that resides in us that constitutes the embodied state; it is also culture, cultural practises and ways of social interactions. The use of the word knowledge is broad in this context as it contains a lot. Bourdieu states that embodied cultural capital can be both conscious and unconscious. Conscious means the ways people invest in themselves to improve themselves, whether that investment is money, time or both and is in some form about getting knowledge. Unconscious refers to those that are passed on such as taste in food, books and activities, manners,

cultural practises and so on (ibid). Cultural capital can thus be obtained consciously and unconsciously through education – formal or informal – and upbringing. These can however be restricted to society and social position because taste and cultural customs according to Bourdieu depend on these. Obtaining and the transference of cultural capital can be said to be concealed which is why it depends on different merits compared to economic capital³ when this is measured or weighed, because in its embodied state cultural capital is limited to the physical body and the processes of hereditary transference of cultural capital are disguised, giving cultural capital a more symbolic status (Bourdieu 1986:18). Cultural capital thus emphasises on “*matters of culture, with the great art collections or great cultural foundations, or in social welfare, with the economy of generosity and the gift*” (Bourdieu 1986:18). What these exactly entail differs from place to place. In Greenland it would refer to Greenlandic cultural customs and art. The distribution of cultural capital is differently allocated between social positions because the obtained cultural capital relates to the profits of the said capital. The distribution and reproduction of cultural capital will be further discussed further below (Bourdieu 1986:18-19).

The *objectified state* in cultural capital refers to material objects and media such as art, books and music and musical instruments and so on. The objectified state and its attributes can only be explained with the relationship to the embodied state within the term cultural capital. Bourdieu argues that cultural goods being material objects can as easily as economic capital be transferred for example either selling a painting that would be directly transferrable into money or pass the painting on to family members. An interesting dimension in the objectified state is that consuming and understanding art or music is conditioned by knowledge of these thus the relationship with the embodied form, which makes both forms subjected to the same requirements of transmission (Bourdieu 1986:19-20). Material objects are thus not the only thing that is transferrable but also the knowledge.

“Thus cultural goods can be appropriated both materially—which presupposes economic capital—and symbolically—which presupposes cultural capital.” (Bourdieu 1986:20)

³ Economic capital regards the monetary possessions which includes money in its form and other forms that can be directly and immediately translated into money – investment, house(s), car(s) and so on (Bourdieu 1986:16).

In other words, economic capital makes it possible to obtain cultural goods however one must have sufficient knowledge about the cultural goods, i.e. embodied state, to consume them ensuing the objectified state to be both materialistic and symbolic. However, these are only effective if agents can appropriate and utilise these. But that means that it makes it hard for people with limited monetary funds to obtain the cultural goods or for people who do not possess the preconditioned obtained or transmitted embodied state of cultural capital like knowledge to consumes the goods. Lacking in either aspect or both means that one lacks cultural capital. In a Greenlandic context the objectified state presumably consists of things such as a boat/dinghy, hunting gear, tools and traditional clothing where the embodies state would consist of knowledge on how to sail, hunt and prepare food as well as how to make the traditional clothing and when to wear them. This somewhat traditional portrayal of Greenlandic culture is what is found in the academic literature (Hirshberg & Petrov et al. 2014). However, speaking from personal experience I know that culture in Greenland has evolved to become modern in this globalised world.

Academic qualification is in the *Institutionalized state* of cultural capital a way of objectifying cultural capital. This sort of objectification of cultural capital is according to Bourdieu a way to neutralize the biological limitations of the embodied state. Bourdieu in relation to this finds it necessary to distinguish between formal and informal education arguing that academic qualification holds more capital than self-taught qualifications. This differentiation is rooted in the notion that formal education earns certificates, where holding a certificate of degree translates to holding more cultural capital (Bourdieu 1986:20). The institutionalised state is to be understood as a way of measuring cultural capital in the holders of certificates as this according to Bourdieu is what separate autodidacts from those with academic qualifications (ibid). Certificates and official papers of education and training acts as a legitimate way of showing one's qualifications and competencies thereby institutionalising cultural capital. Meaning that that this capital in terms, is attained through education. The differentiation therefore also include that not only can academic qualification holders be differentiated from those without, but that those who do hold certificates can be differentiated based on numbers of them as well as the level in which they are achieved i.e. number of educations and educational level (Bourdieu 1986:21). Even though the institutionalised state of cultural capital refers to the attainment of official documentation of education, the embodied state cannot be disregarded as all knowledge, skills, experiences and qualifications still belong or still are limited to the human body.

Cultural capital is allocated differently in different social positions. Higher social positions have more cultural capital than those from lower social positions. The accumulations or the extend of the three states of cultural capital determines whether or not someone holds the said capital. And based on the notion that cultural capital herein, mostly referring to the embodied and objectified state, are transferrable, means that these determinants influence who has the resources or the prerequisites for attaining education – the institutionalised state. According to Bourdieu it is everything from monetary resources, cultural goods, taste, knowledge, values and to some extent an understanding of the good life etc. that is reproduced in families and thereby relates to social positions. This in turn translates to not everyone having the same resources and therefore the same opportunities to get an education. The three states of cultural capital can therefore not be separated or viewed separately but are interdependent, as they are an accumulated reflection of cultural capital. Based on Bourdieu's cultural capital, the educational level in Greenland is reproduced in these social layers, explaining why it is difficult for the Greenlandic population to attain an educational degree above primary education as this is what the majority of the population have (Chapter 1.1.2).

The transference or the reproduction of cultural capital is what is interesting in this study. Surely what defines cultural capital differ from societies, but it is the aspect of reproduction of cultural capital i.e. that is highly interesting for this thesis.

6.3 Utilizing the theories

Based on the accounts given for human capital and cultural capital it is safe to say that the theoretical frameworks of these theories have quite different offsets but arguably complement each other. The two capital forms each bring a different theoretical foundation for comprehending education and educational attainment. The human capital theory aims to explain why individuals choose to invest in education as well as why state and nations choose to invest in education. Individuals invest in education for developing competencies and capabilities that will allow for monetary returns and wellbeing, while nations and states ensure economic development by essentially investing in education ensuring a healthy and capable labour market. Human capital thus arguably aids in explaining the incentives for choosing to invest in and getting an education. Cultural capital focusing on a different aspect of educational attainment offer an explanation as to why not all people are inclined or have the opportunity to go after or achieve an education. Cultural capital argues that the amount of cultural capital determines the likelihood of

obtaining education and since cultural capital is reproduced in families and to an extent social positions, it is usually those from a higher social position with more cultural capital that are more likely to attain a higher level of education.

Human capital and cultural capital are theories which is why it is important to consider that they provide explanations for why people get or do not get an education, and aid in explaining the constructed truths. This is not to say that these theories represent the truth but that in a social constructivistic viewpoint they represent a framework of explanations for the constructed reality.

The theories chosen for this paper are not competing theories but complement each other by being able to explain or account for different ways of approaching education and provide different theoretical frameworks that the policies may be susceptible for and/or be subjected to. The two capital forms will in the analysis be used to see how these are mobilised or not mobilised in the problem representations thus offer a theoretical framework for understanding the constructed discourses and underlying logics of the problem representation as well as those not mentioned. The theoretical standpoint of this paper is considered to provide strong theoretical explanations that will indeed strengthen the analysis as well as conclusion, which is why they are deemed as the best theoretical offset to answering this paper's research question.

7 Analysis of What's the problem Represented to be

This chapter will analyse the education policies along with the other documents and interview with the analytical strategy of What's the problem represented to be, to answer this thesis' research question.

7.1 What's the problem in Greenland educational policies represented to be?

As conveyed in 5.1.1, question 1 seeks to identify the problem representations in the policies.

This thesis seeks to answer the first question, starting by presenting the main aspects presented in the programming documents regarding the objectives for the education policy for Greenland.

“The overall objective of the programme for the sustainable development of Greenland for 2014-2020 is to contribute to a higher standard of living and quality of life along with sustainable diversification of the economy through improved education, skills and knowledge. The Government therefore seeks to develop an inclusive and coherent education system from pre-school to higher education.” (Programming document 2014:6)

In this quote the identified ‘problem’ based on Bacchi and Goodwin’s deconstructive method seems to be numerous. An apparent problem representation identified based on the quote is that quality of life and living standards of the Greenlandic people needs to be better and that the Greenland economy is not sustainable due to its lack of diversification. These ‘problems’ are sought to be solved by educating people and develop their qualifications. This notion as an indication is also found in the Education Strategy 2015 *“People are the greatest resource of our country, which is why it is important for both our society and the individual that everyone in our country is offered educational opportunities.”* (Education Strategy 2015:4). This quote also emphasises that the identified problem representation in the policies show the use of the word “our”. The use of “our” country and “our” society indicates a sense of unity between citizens and the policy makers where all are responsible for “our” country and “our” society.

A graph was introduced in Chapter 1.1.2 showing the highest achieved education for the Greenlandic population. In 2017 – most recent numbers, the Greenlandic population highest achieved

education is primary school at 61% followed by secondary education at 28 % and postsecondary at 12 %.

If we dive into the problem representation that further elaborates the notion that education is vital for the society as well as the individual beings with an emphasis on “our”, the education strategy emphasises three areas; primary school, people outside of the education system and the completion rate in postsecondary education. The ‘problem’ represented regarding primary school is that it does not prepare the pupils properly for further education which they (the policy) suspects to be the reason why many end up outside the educational system in Greenland. The raised solution in the policy regarding primary school is that the parents must take responsibility for their children’s education and if they are not able to, they must ask for support. Furthermore, *“The elementary school is the foundation for all further education. When children leave elementary school they must have achieved the competencies necessary for their further education.”* (Education strategy 2015:11). This indicates that the perceived ‘problem’ is that primary education is by this point not adequately structured to give the best premises for attaining knowledge and qualifications to pursue further education. Regarding the residual group – young people with no further education, the Greenland government initiated a process to identify young people outside of the education system in order to better target upscaling and up qualifications to ensure that they attain some sort of further education (Education Plan II 2015:26).

So according to the policies the ‘problem’ is that the 61% that make up for those whose highest achieved education is primary school prevents “sustainable economic development for Greenland” as well as bettering the living standards and quality of life, why it is emphasised in the education policy. The completion rate also presented in chapter 1.1.2 demonstrated that more people drop out than complete postsecondary education. To solve this ‘problem’ the education strategy 2015 proposes more focus on counselling and drop-out prevention as well as *“...ensuring that the students finish within the standard time limits and thus enter the labour market faster”* (Education strategy 2015:24). The identified ‘problem’ regarding the completion rate is that the young people do not receive adequate counselling for educational choices and that they do not go through education within the governmental set timeframe which results in a low completion rate and thus a labour market without enough qualified workforce.

Another main aspect presented in the EU programming document 2014 regarding the objectives for the education policy in Greenland is:

“...The Government therefore seeks to develop an inclusive and coherent education system from pre-school to higher education.” (Programming document 2014:6)

When the quote is deconstructed the identified ‘problem’ appear to be that the Greenland educational system is not inclusive and coherent enough through primary to postsecondary education and that this needs to be developed so more people get an education. The solution to this ‘problem’ is arguably closely tied to the ‘problem’ identified above because they all to some extent revolve around educational attainment. This representation of the problem in the policies arguably is that the educational system needs improvement according to the policies to ensure sustainable economic development and quality of life, where above mentioned ‘problem’ identified is that the government as well as people (referring back to “our”), need to have the skills and qualification to ensure sustainable economic development and quality of life

7.2 What deep-seated presuppositions or assumptions underlie this representation of the ‘problem’ (problem representation)?

This question entails seeking to uncover the underlying logics of the problem representations identified in question 1 and to examine what concepts the constructions of the problem representations rely upon.

7.2.1 Human capital an economic development

The first and most prominent underlying logic for the problem representations above is that education is vital for a sustainable economic development in and quality of life in Greenland.

“The Government will work to ensure that even more students complete their education and thus are able to better support themselves and their family. One of the roads towards our common goal of becoming an independent nation is more people getting a qualifying education.” (Education strategy 2015:4).

The underlying logic as demonstrated in the quote is that education provides individuals with knowledge and skill that will enable them to support themselves and their families as well as the Greenlandic society. This logic presumes a connection between educational attainment and economic development as well as quality of life. This underlying logic points to a human capital approach. The human capital approach conveys that individual choose to invest in education to obtain knowledge and skills that will ensure financial returns as well as well-being. The problem representation indicates an assumption that educated people get a higher pay based on skills developed which leads to higher quality of life. The problem representation identified in the policies for education in Greenland arguably states a quite clear underlying logic that education is the way for improving the national economy as well as the living standards and quality of life in Greenland. This notion is according to human capital also the root of a labour-market which is why nation states also invest in education. The notion in human capital that education facilitates better quality of life is also an underlying logic that seems to be present in the education policies. Although this section above already includes this notion, I find it necessary to emphasise this assumption. There is an underlying logic that is quality of living is improved by securing personal economy through education. However, academic literature conveys that quality of life is not only found through jobs and education but especially also access to nature and social relation herein family relation (Steenholdt 2019:57-58). This is to emphasise that in a Greenlandic context academic literature showcases that both qualifications (Chapter 1) and quality of life can be attained and achieved outside of formal education (Steenholdt 2019:57-58).

According to this approach investing in education means that developing skills and knowledge allows people to take complex job with higher pay. The human capital theory conveys that nation states are interested in creating good quality human capital by investing in education which also ensures a strong labour market to further ensure economic development and a society with good quality of life. This deep-seated presupposition is arguably one of the main presuppositions present in education policy in Greenland. This is demonstrated in the quote.

“In general there is a need for an educated Greenlandic workforce in every economic sector. The focus on human capital is predominant and both the public and the private sector are devoting much attention to developing and maintaining its human resource capital.” (Programming Document 2014:3)

This quote emphasises the presuppositions that an educated population will develop a labour market that is competent and competitive that will ensure the development of Greenland, which presumably is why the Greenland government along with aid from the European Union choose to invest in education. In this assumption however, there is also an underlying logic present which is that people with no education do not contribute positively to the development of the country and well-being for the Greenlandic society. which bring us to the next assumption.

7.2.2 The Greenland educational system not good enough

Another deep-seated assumption in the problem representation is that the Greenland educational system is not inclusive or coherent enough which presumably results in the arguably low education status in Greenland. *“We must create an education system where everybody can progress regardless of their background.”* (Education Strategy 2015:14). In a continuation of this, the notion supports the assumption that inequality in society in Greenland is present, and that this is not considered hence the problem representation identified stating that the educational system is not inclusive. Oddly enough the education policies do not present any solutions to this issue of inequality. With a human capital approach in mind the underlying logic here can also be argued to be that educated people therefore with skills and qualifications can help develop the educational sector in Greenland.

7.3 How has this representation of the ‘problem’ come about?

This question seeks to answer the question of how the identified problem representations has come to be. I believe that the identified problem representations presented in the first section of this analysis have the same origin which is why this section will discuss how these have come about as a one.

The policies have a similar introduction where an emphasis on the Greenland economy is made and described why education is an important factor for the economic development in Greenland (Programming document 2014; Education Strategy 2015).

The economy in Greenland is dominated by the public sector where the fishing industry makes up for the largest export and where the private sector can be characterised as a developing sector. The Greenland economy hereto the public sector is argued to be highly reliant on the annual block grant it receives from Denmark as well as grants from the EU to develop Greenland (Programming document 2014:2).

“The long term economic policy is to have a self-sustained economy and to phase out the annual block grant from Denmark. This presupposes fiscal sustainability, diversification of the economy and real economic growth. There is broad political consensus that education and training is fundamental in achieving these long term sustainable economic developmental goals.” (Programming document 2014).

Education as demonstrated in the quote is vital to achieve the economic sustainability that Greenland is seeking and working towards. This notion seems to be the dominant notion of which the problem representations derives from. As of now according to the quote, the economy in Greenland cannot sustain itself why there is a need to develop education. Education is explained to be the way to become self-sustaining with a diverse economy that does not rely on the block grant received from Denmark annually. As presented in Chapter 4.1, the programming document is a partnership agreement with the EU to develop the education sector. The partnership agreement has so far had two instalments where the first phase from 2007-2013 focused on *“vocational training, the acquisition of real qualifications for jobs requiring skilled persons and real competence courses for unskilled persons.”* (Programming Document 2014:3). The documents are a part of the renegotiation of the partnership agreement thus the second phase. The second phase from 2014-2020 focuses on every level of the educational system, from primary to postsecondary education (ibid).

“The Government is pursuing policy aimed at contributing to a higher standard of living and quality of life and at ensuring continuous and sustainable economic progress in the increasingly globalised world economy, through provision of a critical mass of qualified, flexible and competitive workforce.” (Programming Document 204:37).

The education policies have, as the quote demonstrates been devised with a desire to improve the living standards as well as quality of life in Greenland and furthermore, to ensure a qualified and competitive workforce that will lead to a sustainable economic development in Greenland. The education policies have a wish to get people through the education system to create a qualified and skilled labour force, however one of the challenges to this is according to the policies the lack of inclusivity in the education system (Programming document 2014:19; Education strategy 2015:4).

These notions touched upon above demonstrates a lineage of the problem representation in the policies. The aims of how the education policies have been devised also seems to be the tone of the problem representation. This seems to create an alignment of message, making the aim for the policy and problem representation quite consistent. Which indicates that the problem representation has been produced in the underlying logic for the policy.

7.4 What is left unproblematic in this problem representation? What are the silences? Can the 'problem' be conceptualised differently?

This question draws upon question 2 and 3 in this analysis to further analyse what is not problematised and what the silences are in the policies as well as what could be conceptualized differently.

7.4.1 Chance inequality

A notion that is left unproblematic in the problem representations is that everyone – regardless of social – position should have the opportunity to pursue secondary and postsecondary education in the light of a not all inclusive educational system is not as easy as the policies make it to be according to Pierre Bourdieu's Cultural Capital approach. As established the problem representations predominantly holds the notion that education equals prosperity for individual as well as the country, breeding a logic that says people just have to get an education and all will be good. But according to the approach of cultural capital, education breeds education in the sense that it is reproduced in families as well as the respective social positions. But the reality is that in Greenland most families do not have an education which following the concept of cultural capital means that most people and families are not preconditioned to pursue or get an education.

“The Government believes that it is important for the future of our children that the parents take the responsibility to support their children's learning. It is the responsibility of the parents that their children are ready to learn when they attend school and that they have the necessary support for school activities at home. To support this the Government finds that parents who are experiencing difficulties in fulfilling their responsibilities as parents receive support, guidance and/or counselling, at an early stage.” (Education strategy 2015:12).

In the first section of the quote the policies hold the parents responsible for their child's or children's education, and in the last section of the quote the policy offers parents help if they need it. The quote presents a shift in pronoun from the (also) aforementioned "our", "us" and "we" to a divide of "government", "parents", "children" and "people". This somewhat subtle shift presents a silence in the education policy where a shift of responsibility, for the lack of a better word, appears throughout. Furthermore, if you read the education plan II 2015 the support is more directed towards building better teacher-parents relation and to get parent to be involved in developing primary schools. This is according to Lone Nukaaraq Møller not fair.

"for many years a lot of politicians have for years yelled: EDUCATION, EDUCATION, EDUCATION- you just have to get an education. But what is forgotten is that there is a lot behind that "JUST"- in that is a lot of advice, support, knowledge and experience coming from parents. I therefore see it as disrespectful that the authorities advocate for people to just get an education and that this is the only way forward because it is forgotten what this actually entails." (Lone Nukaaraq Møller).

There is a lack of acknowledging that background matters for educational attainment. Cultural capital explains according to Bourdieu just this phenomenon. The embodied state of cultural capital holds a significant weight in this argument. The embodied state includes all knowledge and experiences a human can obtain and attain; this includes knowledge of how to prepare children for the educational sector and what possibilities the educational system provides. Hence the experience made from these that will enable guidance for their children's educational journey. And of course, a lot of the knowledge and experience that parents need to do this stems from the institutional state of cultural capital where educational attainment is measured. If the parents have an education and therefore the institutionalised and embodied state of cultural capital, it gives them a lot of tools for guiding and making sure their children's educational needs are met, which is what the policies seem to assume (Education Plan II 2015:20-21). But in the light that the majority of the Greenland population does not hold an education and if so it is "only" primary school, Lone Nukaaraq Møller criticises the Greenland educational system for not accounting for chance inequality. *"It is not ill-intent that parents do not advice and guide their children. It is not because they wish their children unemployment – but they just don't know how."* The parents in a cultural capital approach with less cultural capital just do not have the means to properly be responsible for their children's education. Lone Nukaaraq Møller states that a hunter's family who do

not have an education have difficulties in guiding their children to further education as they are just not aware of the endless possibilities and as Møller states “*you can't know what you don't know*”. The policy although stating that parents need to be more involved, does not take into account that families with no education do not have the same prerequisites for succeeding in this as families who does have an education. Nevertheless, this notion consequently is being reproduced because the solutions do not target this ‘problem’. The notion of chance inequality is what has arguably proven to be problematic because this is being reproduced in families as well as social layers hence, the transmissibility for cultural capital. An option also suggested by Lone Nukaaraq Møller is to remove all responsibility from the parent to the educational system to give the best prerequisites for support that will enable more people to det an education, thus breaking the reproduction of cultural capital.

The concepts behind the problem representations predominantly reside in that of the human capital approach, where a cultural capital approach might be better suited for the Greenland educational system to break away from the reproduction of the current educational level that according to the problem representations hinder prosperity of both people and the country. Inequality and lack of cultural capital in Greenland education can thus be presented as the silences of the education policies.

7.4.2 Culture and the good life

Another silence that is left unproblematic in the problem representation about education facilitating better quality of life and economic development for the individuals as well as the society, is the idea that education is presented as the only option for these and that the cultural values of Greenlanders is not a part of the problem representations thus a silence. Qualification has in academic literature been proven to be attainable outside of the educational system in Greenland through activities such as hunting or fishing (Chapter 1). In terms of this notion there may be a need to expand the horizons on what qualifies as learning and that education can be achieved outside of the classroom. Indigenous ways of teaching (a more practical approach of skills for everyday life) and indigenous knowledge has increasingly been implemented in formal education around the Arctic, especially in Canada and Alaska (Hirshberg & Petrov et al. 2014:361). But in Greenland that is not the case, thus indicating that the problem representations in the policies do not consider culture as a factor in educational attainment. This also relates back to cultural capital in the embodied state, emphasising on culture based on society and history rather than education. I cannot state that integrating indigenous knowledge in the educational system in

Greenland will benefit the Greenlandic people for certain, but based on the findings in the Arctic Human Development Report this indicates to be a very viable option (ibid).

Quality of life or the good life is presented in the problem representations to be closely tied to educational attainment. However academic literature suggests that in a Greenlandic context access to nature and close social relations is what is emphasised as quality of life, relaying that quality of life is not only made possible by education and monetary factors (Steenholdt 2019:57-58). This of course is not to negate that there is a dire need to better life circumstances and living standards for many people and communities in Greenland or to say that education and economic stability has nothing to do with living standards and well-being, but to emphasise a complex structure of societal issues that influence almost every part of the Greenland society. In a study I conducted last year I found that poor quality of life is something that influence educational attainment negatively (Kristensen 2019). When analysing factors behind the dropout rate in postsecondary education in Greenland I found that one of the main reasons for why people end their education is social problems. The Greenland society is arguably plagued with numerous social problems such as alcoholism, abuse both sexual and physical, and neglect (Hendriksen et. Al. 2019:15-16; Lindstrøm 2019). I find that the problem representations reduce the severity of the social problems by making education a pillar for the solution when it arguably seems like just the opposite, that social problems hinder educational attainment. This notion that is left unproblematic is shared by Lone Nukaaraq Møller who undoubtedly possess great amount of knowledge within this area. She states that kids and young adults with social problems and kids and young adults from a background with a tendency to live with one or more of the aforementioned social problems usually do not have the surplus of mental resources to take on education and all the possible hardship this brings. Following the cultural capital approach social problems are transmissible in families and social layers which arguably makes this 'problem' the core for educational attainment and the lack thereof.

The concept of education and the function of this in Greenland may need to be reconsidered as the envisioned purpose for this may not entirely fit or hold true in a Greenlandic context, thus needing to innovatively develop an educational sector that reflects the Greenlandic both the good and bad societal structures.

7.5 What effects (discursive, subjectification, lived) are produced by this representation of this problem?

This part of the analysis seeks to bring to light what effects the problem representation have produced.

7.5.1 Discursive effects

The discursive effects relate back to the previously answered question about the underlying logics for the problem representation. The aim for this question is to analyse what the effects are of the deep-seated assumptions for the problem representation and how these limits the understandings and perception of alternative viewpoints.

The problem representation identified in the policies that the living standards in Greenland are too low and that the national economy of Greenland is unsustainable, is discussed to be rooted in the concept of human capital. Education is framed by the policies and thus the government to be the solution to these problems, which emphasises the need and understanding of education in the society. The weight and importance put on education to provide the means for the development of Greenland by the authorities is an assumption rooted in the human capital approach which arguably constructs the discourse that Greenlandic people need to get an education to ensure themselves a good life and provide the country with skilled labour to 'save' the Greenland economy. In this discourse is also the notion of "if we (the Government of Greenland) invest in education for you, you need to invest back in us". A quote from the education strategy demonstrates this: "*An investment in education is an investment in our human resources*" (Education Strategy 2015:6). Another discourse or counter discourse that presents itself within this found in chapter 7.2.1, is that people with no education do not contribute to the development of a sustainable economy or in improving quality of life and wellbeing in Greenland. This arguably puts a lot of pressure on the Greenlandic people especially children and young adults who are just trying to figure out what they want to do and what they want to become. This is evident in the way authorities advocates for education according to Lone Nukaaraq Møller. Lone Nukaaraq Møller states that authorities basically yell education after young people. The immense weight put on education in the policies makes it difficult for the authorities to see other alternatives and for the society to see other alternatives for well-being, living standards as well as qualifications obtained outside the educational system.

Another discourse found in the problem representations underlying logic is that the Greenland educational system is good enough to enable the youth and adults with an education that will provide for the needed qualification to diversify the national economy of Greenland. Furthermore, in my interview with Lone Nukaaraq Møller when we talked about the challenges of educational attainment, she pointed out some differences in discourses between Denmark and Greenland.

“Children in Denmark are taught that they are the best at what they do which is a good thing and I wish it was something that we learned here in Greenland. When you are from Greenland you are not taught that you are the best but you are taught that Secondary education sucks and that education on all levels just is not on the same level as the Danish educational system” (Lone Nukaaraq Møller)

This quote indicates a known understanding that education achieved in Denmark is better because the level is higher and that the educational level in Greenland is perceived to be lower. This is a discourse I have been subjected to through my education which Lone Nukaaraq Møller brings forth. This discourse can affect the mind-set of young people who pursue education in and outside of Greenland, by limiting the perception within this discourse of where a ‘better’ education can be achieved. These opinions and perceptions of the discourse can therefore also have an effect on the perception of value of educational certificates and diplomas based on where they are achieved.

7.5.2 Subjectification effects

This part of question 5 aims to uncover how subjects are constructed to be a particular kind of subject in the context of the underlying logics of the identified problem representations.

The problem representation identified in the policies do not refer to one specific societal group. The policies refer to subjects as people, young people, youth and in some cases children. This indicates that who the policies are aimed for holds a broad range of the societal group.

Greenlandic people in and outside of the educational system holds a vital role in the problem representations as these are presented to be crucial for the development of their country i.e. Greenland, more specifically the diversification of the economic. As noted earlier in this analysis there is a shift in the use of pronouns from “us” our and “we” to where “Government” is divided from “people”, “young people” and “children/Parents”. The subjects are in some places of the policies constructed to be united

with the government where they become a united force to enhance the society as well as individual lives. This is connoted in the quotes that are previously presented throughout the analysis. In other parts of the policies subjects are separated from the Government as the people of Greenland, where the government depend on the people to change and enhance the Greenland society and as well as individual lives.

The subjectification effect is that people and in some cases also the government are constructed to be subjects who are responsible for not only their own financial situation and well-being but the economic situation in Greenland and other's well-being, as this to some degree depends on the economic situation.

“We must all roll up our sleeves and ensure that we all contribute to building the foundation that shall carry this country into a bright and secure future. It is our responsibility, through education, to ensure that the foundation is strong and stable.” (Education Strategy 2015:1)

The subjects herein the Greenlandic population can therefore be argued to expect to view education as something positive for themselves and the nation state, or as necessary for success. In other words, subjects are constructed to be the ones who must lead themselves and Greenland to achieve economic prosperity and better life quality.

“Young people – for the elderly in the society to have a safe environment and safe living conditions, then show your courage,

As the descendants of great hunters, do not hold back, do not give up, show your strength, You can do it.

Get an education, the country needs you. Our country has to move forward. And be able to withstand international competition.

Our country, the world's largest island – Greenland – it is your country – yours not other's – your country” (Kim Kielsen Nytårstale)

The premier of Greenland urges young people to be strong and get an education to secure the wellbeing of the elderly. Thus, creating pressure for young people to get an education and thereby becoming responsible for the elderly generation's wellbeing. The quote supports the subjectification argument made above. People i.e. the subjects are constructed to hold the responsibility for the welfare of

Greenlandic people as well as the economic development because the country needs and therefore arguably depends on the subjects to serve the country's "needs".

Furthermore, they are expected to follow the same notions for 'the good life' as presented in the assumptions behind the problem representation. This argument for subjectification effects is found in the way that education in the problem representation seems to hold the answers for the societal challenges in Greenland and how this constructs a subjectification that educated Greenlanders are more valuable for the society than Greenlanders without an education.

7.5.3 Lived Effects

This section will convey the lived effects of the identified problem representation and the underlying logics of these. Lived effects thus also refers to how the discursive effects and the subjectification effects translates to the daily lived lives for the Greenlandic people. Unfortunately, due to the worldwide situations of the pandemic it hasn't been possible to conduct interviews to survey the lived effects of the problem representations, discursive effect and the subjectification effects of people and students. The lived effects will therefore be analysed based on what is presented above as the discursive and subjectification effect in an interpretive manner.

As discussed above, a pressure is put on the Greenlandic people to get an education both explicitly by the Premier of Greenland and implicitly in the policies. The Premier Kim Kielsen addresses young people directly in his speech to take care of "our" elderly population and essentially assigns the young people to Greenland by stating that Greenland is "yours" and "your" country. Indicating that the discursive effect translates to a sense of pressure and societal responsibility in the lived effects. This pressure can debatably take away the journey for discovering one's path for the young adults as they are urged to get an education.

Failing to include the social problems as a factor for why people do not get an education can put a lot of pressure on vulnerable people which presumably weakens their desire and therefore prospects of educational attainment. Based on the many regrettable social problems in Greenland, many children and young adults do not according to Lone Nukaaraq Møller have the mental resources to meet the outside pressures let alone being capable of handling the challenges in education.

“We cannot fill the educational system with broken children. We have to be careful not to put it in their heads that they are nothing without an education. They may want to pursue education later in life and when that time comes, they have to dare to take an education.” (Lone Nukaaraq Møller).

The discourse identified about people with education being more valuable for the Greenland government than people with no education can also harm self-perception and value of self among individual with no education.

“In order to create a better future with better welfare and prosperity, we as individual people and as a country must do our bit to raise the level of education so that we have the necessary competitiveness on the global market.” (Education Strategy 2015:1)

Competition and competitiveness is not a bad thing, but in a Greenlandic context as previously mentioned by Lone Nukaaraq Møller, being that most do not have a higher education, can lead to a lived effect where many opt out of education because they do not feel good enough, or they don't feel that education is for them because it is made to hold such value and responsibility that this can feel like too much.

Based on the analysis above, the lived effects are thus a sense of pressure to get an education that will ensure better quality of life, sustainable economy for Greenland and nationwide wellbeing.

7.6 How and where has this representation of the ‘problem’ been produced, disseminated and defended? How has it been and/or how can it be disrupted and replaced?”

The last question in the analysis will investigate where the problem representations have been produced and how these have disseminated and defended mainly in the media. Question 2 and 3 will provide the materials for this part of the analysis.

This analysis has identified that the problem representations are produced in the policies. One of the main ‘problems’ identified is that the living conditions and quality of life in Greenland are low and that the economy in Greenland is unsustainable. In the policies this ‘problem’ is sought to be solve by educating people and creating skills and qualification because this based on a human capital approach will lead to wellbeing and individual as well as national economic prosperity. This problem representation is disseminated in the media. On several occasions is education linked (mostly) to the economic growth of Greenland. In an article in Sermitsiaq a professor from the university of Tromsø is interviewed about

Greenland independence. In the article he states that human capital is a vital part of Greenland independence – herein the economic sustainability of Greenland, and states that human capital in Greenland is still lacking because Greenland still faces a lot of challenges in education (Kruse 2018). This problem representation can also be said to be defended politically in the graduation speech by the Minister for Education, Culture, Church and Foreign Affairs Ane Lone Bagger. The Minister held a speech at the university graduation February 2020.

“Attaining education gives positive effects to life. An education certificate gives the opportunity to create a secure future for one self and one’s family. In a larger perspective it is essential for the development of the society that more finish their education... the society has financed your education, it is therefore interested in that many people as possible complete their education” (Ane Lone Bagger 2020).

This quote shows how the Minister emphasises the importance of education is to themselves and the society, thus aiding in defending the problem representation rooted in the human capital approach.

Another article highlights that one of the main barriers for the economic development in Greenland is according to the chairman of the Economic Council in Greenland in 2018 the lack of qualifications. He states that the education system has to improve, and that education will generate growth and prosperity (Lihn 2018). Thus, defending the other main ‘problem’ that the quality of the education system in Greenland is lacking and, that it lacks inclusivity and coherence. An article in Sermitsiaq written in 2018 stated that there is a worry because the graduates from secondary education presents low grade averages that are not sufficient for applying to postsecondary education in Denmark (Sermitsiaq Redaktionen 2018 A). This article implies that the quality of education in Greenland is not sufficient. The Spokesperson of Children advocated in 2018 for a survey of what factors causes the low completion rates throughout the education system. She suspects that the factors could be lack of abilities, qualifications, and/or social problems (Sermitsiaq Redaktionen 2018 B).

The problem representations identified in this analysis are thus produced in the policies, disseminated and defended in the Greenland media. A thorough mapping of the factors for educational attainment including social background, resources and cognitive abilities could be a way to disrupt and replaces both the problem representations presented above, as a clearer connection between the factors will be

known and therefore create a better understanding of education and the implication for educational attainment.

8 Conclusion

This thesis set out to answer the research question *How is the problem in education policies from 2014 and 2015 in Greenland represented? And which kind of capital forms are mobilised in the education policies?* The chosen education policies were analysed with the analytical strategy of What's the Problem Represented to be (WPR) with the conceptual framework of education in the Arctic and Greenland, and the theoretical framework of Human Capital and Cultural Capital.

This analysis found the identified problem representation to consist of two main 'problems'. The first problem represented being that quality of life and living standards in Greenlandic needs improvement and that the economy is not sustainable due to its lack of diversification, which in the policy is being solved with education. The second problem representation identified in the analysis is that the Greenland education system lacks inclusions and coherence, and as such need to further improve to educate more people. Human capital is mobilised in the underlying logics of the problem representations. The dominating assumption behind the problem representations this thesis has found, is that investing in education ensures financial returns as well as well-being and better quality of life both individually and nationally. The silences in the problem representations are in this thesis found to be Chance inequality and lack of cultural capital in Greenland. Cultural capital is found to be the mobilised capital as this study finds that social backgrounds and the amount of cultural capital are left unproblematic, which presents an alternative way of approaching education that should be researched further particularly by practitioners.

The effects of the problem representations are manifested in discourse, subjectification effects that are translated to lived effects. The discursive effects are the notion that investing in education will enable a sustainable development for Greenland and financial returns individually, and that wellbeing and quality of life will improve. The people of Greenland become, following this analysis, subjects who are responsible for the development of the Greenland economy as well as the improvement for quality of life for themselves and their families. The discursive and subjectification effects translates in this analysis

to a lived effect of pressure of the Greenlandic people to get an education to ensure the development of Greenland.

The solution of educating more people to fix the ‘problem’ that is represented in the policies actually poses another problem in itself. With the current issues of inequalities in chance and cultural capital that do not have a proposed solution in the policies, it is difficult to increase the amount of people who achieve a higher level of education. Future education policies should address these issues as well. This calls for a thorough investigation of the extend of inequality and a thorough mapping of challenges for attaining higher levels of education to better target these issues.

8.1 Transferability

This thesis based on a social constructivistic philosophical standpoint acknowledges that the findings are interpreted and contextual. The findings of this paper covers education policies in Greenland, and has a descriptive focus which is important because of the lack of empirical evidence and research as stated in chapter 1.1.3. The theoretical approach of cultural capital is something that is not actively addressed in Greenland’s education policies. Cultural capital is highly dependent on context and therefore arguably takes different forms in developing countries compared to western developed countries. As many developing countries find inspiration from the developed countries when creating policies and reforms, it is therefore plausible countries similar to Greenland need to have a higher focus on cultural capital in their education policies.

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10 Appendix

Appendix 1: Highest achieved education

http://bank.stat.gl/pxweb/da/Greenland/Greenland_UD_UD40_UD4020/UDXISCPROH.px/table/tableViewLayout1/?rxid=UDXISCPROD07-05-2019%2014:16:47

Appendix 2: Completion rate

http://bank.stat.gl/pxweb/da/Greenland/Greenland_UD