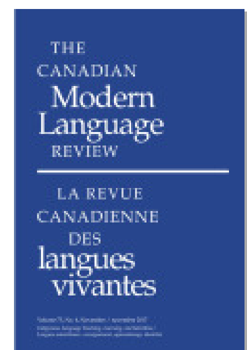
Transformational Bilingual Learning: Re-Engaging Marginalized Learners through Language, Culture, Community, and Identity



Shelley Tulloch, Adriana Kusugak, Cayla Chenier, Quluaq Pilakapsi, Gloria Uluqsi, Fiona Walton

The Canadian Modern Language Review / La revue canadienne des langues vivantes, Volume 73, Number 4, November / novembre 2017, pp. 438-462 (Article)

Published by University of Toronto Press

For additional information about this article
https://muse.jhu.edu/article/678835

Access provided by University of Winnipeg Library (18 Mar 2018 17:11 GMT)

Transformational Bilingual Learning: Re-Engaging Marginalized Learners through Language, Culture, Community, and Identity

Shelley Tulloch, Adriana Kusugak, Cayla Chenier, Quluaq Pilakapsi, Gloria Uluqsi, and Fiona Walton

Abstract: The Miqqut project was a participatory action research project through which Inuit language and literacy learning was embedded in a traditional skills program. Community-based researchers tracked learners' progress through entrance, exit, and post-program interviews and questionnaires, as well as through participant observation. Results show that participants became more willing to communicate and improved in Inuktitut language and literacy. The program built strong identities and relational networks. Participants became anchored in lifelong learning as they gained confidence in contexts within which they would continue to practise and develop what they had learned.

Keywords: adult learning, identity, Indigenous education, Inuit, language reclamation

Résumé : Le projet Miqqut est un projet de recherche-action participative grâce auquel l'apprentissage du langage et de la littératie inuit est intégré à un programme traditionnel d'acquisition de compétences. Les chercheurs issus de la communauté ont suivi les progrès des apprenants au moyen d'entrevues réalisées et de questionnaires administrés au moment de leur entrée dans le programme et de leur sortie du programme, ainsi que postérieurement au programme, et au fil de leur observation des participants. Les résultats révèlent que les participants sont devenus plys disposés à communiquer et ont amélioré leurs compétences linguistiques et leur littératie inuktitutes. Le programme a favorisé la consolidation des identités et l'établissement de solides réseaux relationnels. Les participants se sont ainsi engagés dans l'apprentissage tout au long de la vie en acquérant de l'assurance dans des situations dans lesquels ils seront appelés à continuer de mettre en pratique et de perfectionner les connaissances acquises.

Mots clés : apprentissage des adultes, formation autochtone, identité, Inuit, reconquête linguistique

© *The Canadian Modern Language Review/La Revue canadienne des langues vivantes,*
73, 4 (November / novembre), 438–462 doi:10.3138/cmlr.4052

The Miqqut project comprised community-based, participatory action research through which an Indigenous language and literacy program was developed, delivered, and evaluated. The work is situated in a framework of transformative bilingual education (Cummins, 2000), where culture, community, and healing are pathways to re-engaging marginalized learners. Miqqut taught sewing, literacy and language, and personal well-being in overlapping ways. The program invited participants into a sheltered and scaffolded context in which a range of language uses could be practised. The main teachers, Elders, represent a key group in Inuit society with whom learners want to engage and yet sometimes have difficulty accessing. By building the relationships and activities around which Inuktitut could be practised, Miqqut concurrently created a context for sustained learning and use beyond the program.

The language and culture program engaged Inuit women in relational, empowering processes that embraced multiple aspects of their multilayered identities and learning needs. The liberating processes of fostering relationship and goal-setting; embracing language learners where they are and providing mentoring, encouragement, and instruction led to rich outcomes. Through the pilot programs, participants broadened their communicative repertoires (Blommaert, 2013). They gained motivation, foundational skills, and confidence to keep learning. They became more willing to communicate, and to engage with each other, with the community, with learning programs, with work, and with Elders. Participants improved in Inuktitut language and literacy and also built strong identities and relational networks. Anchored in the Inuit values of *ilippallianginnarniq* (lifelong learning), *inuuqatigiitsiarniq* (community, relationship, caring, and respect), and *pilimmaksarniq/pijariuqsarniq* (learning through practice, observation, mentoring, and effort) (Cunningham, 2013), this transformative Indigenous language and culture program equipped women to re-engage with learning, work, community, and self in meaningful ways.

Background

The research was initiated in 2011 in Rankin Inlet (*Kangiqliniq)*, Nunavut, Canada. Like many Inuit communities, both Inuktitut – the Indigenous language – and English are heard in various community contexts at any given time. High levels of bilingualism mask inter- and intra-family differences in terms of how thoroughly Inuktitut is being learned.

Even if most Inuit in Rankin Inlet know conversational Inuktitut, opportunities to develop expanded repertoires are limited. Approximately 80% (1,850) of Rankin Inlet's 2,270 residents are Inuit (Nunavut

Bureau of Statistics, 2011a). Of these, 73% report Inuktitut as their only mother tongue, but only 40% report Inuktitut as the language they use most often at home (Nunavut Bureau of Statistics, 2011b). Homes are therefore no longer reliable contexts for lifelong Inuktitut learning. Many people are concerned about the loss of Inuktitut, and opportunities to develop advanced proficiency are limited.

Nunavut's education system has an official policy to "promote fluency in the Inuit Language" (Nunavut Education Act, Article 8.4). However, many do not develop their Inuktitut at school either. Effective implementation of bilingual education has not been achieved (Aylward, 2010), and students can graduate from high school without expanding their Inuktitut proficiencies. Like many other Indigenous contexts, the schooling system fails Inuit in other ways, too, and over 50% of Inuit students leave high school early (O'Gorman & Pandey, 2015).

Troubles in implementing bilingual education and low rates of graduation reflect multiple levels of alienation in Inuit communities. Up until the 1970s, schools for Inuit students overtly pursued assimilation to English language and culture (Patrick & Shearwood, 1999). Formal schooling continues to corrode Inuit language and identity despite efforts and policies toward empowering bilingual education (Arnaquq, 2008; Aylward, 2010; Berger, 2009). Some students leave school early as a reaction to oppressive experiences; others lack support, personal networks, and personal wellness (O'Gorman & Pandey, 2015; Tulloch, Patles, Kormendy, Winton, Nitsiza, Kitekudlak, Kaludjak, & Hamel, 2015; Walton, Wheatley, & Sandiford, 2012).

Decreasing knowledge and use of the Indigenous language coincides with barriers to communication between Elders and youth, as well as to shame and identity tensions (Tulloch, 2007; Wyman, McCarty, & Nicholas, 2014). Rapid societal change, social problems, and language barriers also limit opportunities for intergenerational learning (Annahatak, 1994; Laugrand & Oosten, 2009). In some cases, insufficient proficiency in Inuktitut can block Inuit from participating in college programs (e.g., the Nunavut Teacher Education Program) or accessing other professional education opportunities. As a result, some Inuit find themselves marginalized from school, as well as from other forms of learning. This program responded to a need for innovative language and culture programming that reaches out to disengaged learners.

Research method

Research team

The project was ethnographic, led by Ilitaqsiniq (Nunavut Literacy Council), a community-based, not-for-profit organization. Its staff members recognized the need for non-formal adult language, literacy, and cultural learning that would concurrently support re-engagement with learning and work. The researchers, fluent in Inuktitut and English, included two trained teachers (Adriana Kusugak and Gloria Uluqsi) and an Inuit Elder (Quluaq Pilakapsi). They performed triple duty, since they worked as staff members, developers, and instructors of the pilot program, and as researchers documenting the program's progress and outcomes. They were supported by other Ilitaqsiniq staff (Kim Crockatt, Cayla Chenier, and Anna Ziegler) and the organization's board of directors. An academic research guide (Shelley Tulloch) and an external project evaluation team (Sue Folinsbee and Mary Ellen Belinifore) provided further support.

The project was highly collaborative at all stages of development, delivery, and reporting. The participants and Elders, as well as community members and local businesses, took ownership. The local ownership and action research components were significant both to the project's original success and to its ongoing impact.

Research process

In the first phase, researchers interviewed past participants and instructors from local programs that had included a cultural and a literacy component. Programs included Reclaiming our Sinew, a sewing/fur preparation and literacy and essential skills program developed by Nunavut Arctic College and the Kivalliq Inuit Association; Somebody's Daughter, a land skills, sewing, and writing-as-healing program coordinated by the Kivalliq Inuit Association; and Traditional Arts Workshop (hosted by the Matchbox Gallery, Kangirqliniq Center for Arts and Learning). These programs were selected because they had engaged learners who had been marginalized in some way. Also, they were recognized in the community as successful in recruiting and retaining participants and achieving significant learning outcomes. The academic research guide conducted a literature review to identify promising practices in cultural and literacy programming in other relevant contexts.

In the second phase, the team designed, delivered, and documented two pilot programs, incorporating lessons learned from programs documented in the first stage. Success factors that were identified and integrated included explicitly targeting personal development, fostering

relationships, creating safe learning spaces, making programming relevant to daily life, facilitating hands-on learning, and pursuing close community collaboration. Most importantly, examination of prior programs reflected the need for context-specific, locally developed programming. As a result, the team co-created the program in responsive interaction with participants and Elder instructors, using past examples as inspiration, rather than as a pattern to follow.

Data collection

Participants' and instructors' experiences and outcomes were documented through semi-directed interviews, closed questionnaires, and participant observation. All participants and instructors in the pilots were invited to take part in the research. They also had the choice to join the learning program but not the research component of the project, or to continue in the research component even if they left the learning program.

Interviews and questionnaires took place at the beginning and end of the program, and six months following its completion. Including research into the three prior programs and the two pilot programs, we conducted 100 interviews with 66 participants (14 instructors and 52 participants, including Inuit women of various ages and life experiences). Participants chose whether their real names or pseudonyms would be used in reports. Names in quotation marks reflect the use of a pseudonym. Interviews took place in participants' language of choice. Inuktitut interviews were transcribed and translated by Nellie Kusugak. For brevity, only English versions of quotations are provided in this article.

Researchers also documented the learning process through dialogue, notes, files, and photographs. Their participant observation as instructors and co-learners took place over the entire 13 weeks of each pilot project (26 weeks total). They were present for the full learning program, 30 hours per week.

Our analysis is phenomenological, attempting to understand experiences and outcomes from participants' points of view. We take into account participants' comments about what worked or did not work well for them. We also consider instructors' and peers' observations of participants' engagement in and responses to particular activities. Outcomes are nuanced by contrasting participants' starting points (as expressed in entrance interviews and original observations), with their self-descriptions and observed behaviours at the end of and following the program.

Data were originally analyzed using a data-driven, grounded theory approach (Glaser & Strauss, 2009 [1969]), allowing themes to

emerge from the data (published in Kusugak, 2013; Tulloch, Pilakapsi, Uluqsi, Kusugak, Chenier, & Crockatt, 2013). In the context of a subsequent project integrating local and academic knowledges about promising practices and models in bilingual education, we further developed the analysis by drawing on emerging theories of bilingual learning (e.g., Blommaert, 2013; García & Li, 2014; Long, 2015; Parker Webster & John, 2013) to reinterpret success factors in this Indigenous language program.

Since its original offering, Miqqut has been adapted and offered at least six more times. Our ongoing understanding of the program's strengths is enriched by these offerings, although they were not systematically tracked and analyzed in the same way as the two pilots. As the community-based researchers continue to see participants, they informally confirm the ongoing impact of the program, although knowledge of participants' activities following the research is only formally included in this article when publicly available, for example through media coverage.

Results

In this section, we discuss the learning approaches adopted in the program, and the outcomes they supported. Key aspects of Miqqut were a focus on relationships, identity, well-being, and culture; relevant, student-driven task-based learning; and embracing, then expanding, students' full communicative repertories. These led to strong personal, relational, cultural, and linguistic outcomes.

Participants and instructors: Relational, student-focused learning

When the community-based researchers advertised for applicants to the first pilot program, they promoted it as an opportunity to build Inuktitut language and literacy while learning or improving traditional sewing skills and working with Inuit Elders. These three components attracted a full cohort of applicants wishing to expand what they are able to do in Inuktitut and to benefit from the organized access to Elders to learn from, while also providing for their families through sewing.

Potential participants filled out application forms (available in Inuktitut and English), supported by the instructor/community-based researcher. This first step, of scaffolded literacy practice, filling a concrete need and conducted in the participants' language of choice, characterizes the collaborative and context-rich approach to language and literacy learning adopted throughout the program.

The chosen participants had limited opportunities to participate in the kinds of learning that the program offered. They were Inuit

women between the ages of 18 and 30, with diverse life experiences and learning goals. Some had left school very early, while at least two were high school graduates. Some were beginners in Inuktitut, as one participant reflected: "The main reason why I wanted to take part is because I barely know Inuktitut even though I am pure Inuk and that's what I am hoping to learn, to talk more Inuktitut, to have conversations with Elders, my grandparents." Others had conversational proficiency but were working toward academic or professional proficiencies or wanted to come closer to the Elders' sophisticated language. For example, as Tara noted: "I plan on taking NTEP [Nunavut Teacher Education Program] so I want to improve my Inuktitut before I start . . . . I think [Miqqut] will help prepare me . . . ."

Elder instructors were carefully chosen based on their openheartedness and respect garnered from community members. All Elders were recognized as highly proficient Inuktitut speakers who predominantly spoke the language, although some also knew some English. To facilitate relationship-building, mentoring, and individualized learning, which Annahatak (1994) points out has been difficult for Inuit youth to receive from Elders since the implementation of formal schooling, each program was capped at 15 participants, with three or more Elder instructors and two younger, bilingual, university-trained literacy teachers. This low, three-to-one learner-to-instructor ratio, and the relationships and safety it engendered, emerged as an important success factor. Elders and learners were empowered to connect in ways that bridged the intergenerational gaps that have sometimes blocked interaction. As one Elder, "Leena," reflected: "It was fun to be part of it . . . because [the learners] spoke Inuktitut since I have absolutely no understanding of English." Another Elder instructor, "Allie," said:

> I really noticed the changes in the participants. I noticed the participants became good friends with each other and we even became their friends. We became comfortable with each other. We would talk to each other through both the good and bad times. I really like this. When we see each other on the road, I can tell that we have more of a closer relationship between us now.

Participants noticed that the program helped them develop relationships with each other and with Elders – in addition to giving them the confidence to reach out and build new relationships – which increased their relational contexts for ongoing learning following the program.

Task-based learning and embedded literacy

The Ilitaqsiniq team developed the program drawing on embedded literacy frameworks (Rogers, Hunter, & Aftab Uddin, 2007). Embedded literacy, like task-based learning (Long, 2015), builds on the premise that daily activities and livelihoods have language requirements and embedded, associated texts. Task-based or embedded literacy programming creates opportunities for spontaneous, creative, and meaningful interaction and text generation around a shared activity (Long, 2015). Because the activities are relevant, the participants are more likely to be learning language and literacy practices that they need and will use in daily life, thus contributing to the motivation to join and continue in the program, and to practise learning outside of it.

The program supported each learner in identifying and moving closer to personal goals. Within the focus on clothing design and creation, learners chose their materials and what they wanted to make and proceeded at their own pace. They created beautiful and functional garments that were showcased in a community fashion show, and some of the garments were donated to community members in need. The focus on sewing responded to important identity and relational functions, reflective of (flexible) gendered contributions to subsistence and cultural/regional identities encoded in different styles. Sewing is a valued activity that brings Inuit women together around a common task (Billson & Mancini, 2007; Kusugak, 2013). Material objects linked to Inuit traditions, such as parkas and amautis (women's coats, with large hoods to carry babies), also elicit particular types of narrative and speech forms and connect learners to Inuit across generations and space (Budach, Patrick, & Mackay, 2015).

As they learned, and completed garments, participants noted that they felt more whole and capable as women, prouder of themselves, and more connected to their husbands and children, who were grateful to have the handmade clothing. As Monica reflected,

> When other people notice the clothing that I make . . . I feel much prouder. It allows me to boost my confidence level and I push myself even harder to make something better the next time. . . . My husband now appreciates that I know how to sew. He said he's very happy that he is able to have proper hunting clothing now that I know how to sew.

That warm, well-made clothing probably saved Monica's husband's life when he was trapped out on the land in a blizzard with only that clothing, only months after she made it in the program.

Tara expressed the importance of sewing to her identity and relationships this way:

> My mom is proud of me that I can sew. She says, '[y]ou're going to be a better woman than me.' . . . I feel more whole as a person, as an Inuk woman just knowing how to sew for myself and others makes me feel really good. . . . [W]hen I'm looking for a pattern or sewing like I always go to my auntie and she'll tell me what to do and how to sew it and like how to make things look really nice. . .. A stronger bond has come.

For these women and others, the clothing design and creation was a powerful end in itself.

The design of the language and literacy program around sewing reflects a vision of language as primarily communicative and relational, and of literacy as contextual, situated practice (Street, 2001). Participating in a traditional activity and being with Elders are two of the strongest domains in which Inuktitut language use is still the norm (Tulloch, 2004). As a result, the program created contexts where participants would have opportunities for meaningful interaction around a motivating task, where it would feel more natural and motivating to use Inuktitut than in most heterogeneous and increasingly English-dominant community contexts. Sewing with Elders in a scaffolded environment created a pathway to integrating young women into contexts and relationships where they could continue to practise and learn Inuktitut even after the program ended.

Language learning through culture and arts

Inuit language and literacy learning was embedded in a traditional skills program. Traditional skills are part of *Inuit qaujimajatuqangit*: "knowledge that has proven to be useful in the past and is still useful today" (Laugrand & Oosten, 2009, p. 116). The focus was on creative, as well as traditional, fur preparation, clothing design, and sewing. Other research has shown that cultural and artistic programs are effective for task-based Indigenous language learning because of the rich language and literacies implicit in cultural and artistic activities (e.g., Flood, Heath, & Lapp 2014; Parkes & Ryan, 2015). Yup'ik scholars and educators Marie Meade (1990) and Nancy Sharp (Lipka, Sharp, Adams & Sharp, 2007) have written about the language, literacies, and numeracies inherent in traditional Inuit/Yup'ik sewing, including vocabulary, design symbolism, and stories that go with certain garments. Culture and art also affirm and give expression to personal and cultural identities.

Cummins (2014) argues that literacy achievement comes from increased access to and engagement with literacy; engagement is motivated by scaffolded practice around texts that connect to learners' lives, affirm their identities, and extend their language. In the first pilot, language learning and embedded literacies were implicit – practised, but not brought to conscious awareness. For example, participants learned sewing vocabulary as well as more sophisticated registers of Inuktitut through rich, ongoing exposure to Elders' speech; they worked with peers to come up with the vocabulary and structures they needed to ask questions of the Elders; they read instructions in Inuktitut written on flipcharts, went through these orally, and then wrote their own notes. Magazines and other publications and environmental print were available. The presence of local, bilingual, trained teachers who could spontaneously seize implicit language and literacy teaching moments in culturally relevant ways contributed significantly to students' learning (see also Lipka et al., 2007).

In this context, expanding the use of Inuit language and texts occurred but was less salient to participants and instructors. Elder instructor "Leena" noted how "they [the participants] were so involved in their sewing and cutting they didn't seem to have time for written material." However, in the same interview she explained how students created, used, and adjusted patterns, looked in magazines for ideas, and wrote down the Elders' instructions. As instructor "Allie" explained, "We wrote down instructions on the flipchart paper. I read the instructions of the caribou skin in Inuktitut to the participants and they realize that the instructions are important and of great use." These findings that literacy outcomes can be achieved even without deliberate instruction are consistent with other research into arts-based programming (e.g., Heath, 2004).

In the second pilot, instructors pointed out the implicit literacy practices, and provided explicit instruction and support to expand learning. In a typical day, participants would arrive and read silently for 15 minutes. The text could be anything from a novel to a magazine to a picture book, in any language. They would then do a short, directed literacy activity with the instructor linked to sewing or well-being. Activities ranged from practising sound-symbol correspondences in Inuit syllabic orthography, to vocabulary lists and glossaries, to the scaffolded writing out of instructions, to learning a song, to developing and maintaining portfolios with the learners' labelled patterns, plans, instructions, and designs, to drafting funding applications for small-scale sewing businesses.

The rest of the morning involved self-directed work on sewing projects and portfolios, consulting one-on-one with Elders or literacy

instructors; planning, drawing, adjusting, and placing patterns; measuring; following instructions; asking for clarification; as well as preparing materials, cutting, and stitching. Throughout the day, as participants worked independently, they would approach fellow learners, Elders, or the literacy instructors for guidance. Participants in the second pilot were more aware of their language and literacy development than those in the first, and they probably made greater progress, based on triangulated observations of the instructors, participants, and peers. Victoria explained her language and literacy learning this way:

> I noticed . . . that I could start . . . even understanding how Elders would try to explain how to sew this and that. Communicating in Inuktitut . . . I learned all the different Inuktitut words for different patterns or pieces of a pattern. I definitely learned how to read and write Inuktitut faster than I did before. Because that was one thing I was really trying to focus on because it's one thing I need to improve in my life . . . .

Victoria went on to apply, enrol in, and graduate from a fashion and design program in Winnipeg and is now an award-winning entrepreneur. She attributes her success to her experience in the Miqqut program (Greer, 2015). Although her sewing proficiency, initiated in the program, is the most obvious contributor, her success was also facilitated by Inuktitut language learning, which gave her increased access to Elder Inuit, who are the carriers of the traditional patterns and techniques, as well as by a transformational educational experience that embraced her in all aspects of her identity as young Inuk woman (cf. Cummins, 2000).

Healing

Personal well-being and healing were deliberately incorporated into the programs. Eileen Antone and colleagues (2002, p. 8) have noted that "Aboriginal people have experienced great trauma in their educational journey. . . . Therefore, factors such as healing, reclamation of identity, language, cultures and self-determination, play a major role in the complex issue of Aboriginal literacy and learning." The opportunities to learn to sew, speak Inuktitut, and engage with peers and Elders were in themselves healing processes for young Inuit women (cf. Archibald & Dewar, 2010; Tulloch, 2007). Tara expressed this, saying, "I'm more confident in myself, like knowing I know how to sew is really big for me . . . I feel more whole as a woman . . . and I feel happy."

Language and literacy were vehicles for healing. Participants followed the Igloo of Life curriculum developed by Elder Meeka Arnakaq (n.d.). They reflected on, found vocabulary for, and visually and orally expressed multiple facets of who they are, where they have come from, and which influences have had an impact upon their lives, and envisioned who they want to be and how they can get there. Victoria explained the impact: “Emotionally, I learned how to look at myself in a better way, which was mainly because of the Igloo of Life.” Participants also regularly wrote in journals during class and were invited to share from their journals in circle time. Elders told inspiring stories of resilience in the face of emotional and physical hardship, during nomadic days, settlement in communities, and through to today.

Through these literacy-as-healing activities, as well as ongoing interactions and encouragements, participants embraced well-being. “Neevee” described herself as “. . . more patient . . . more forgiving . . . not so judgemental . . . a better mother . . . a better person.” Elder instructor Aline Kabvitok and others observed that “when you look at their faces you can see how much happier they are and this pleases me a lot . . . . It has rubbed off to me and I am also much happier.” Women embraced positive identities as Inuit women, mothers, learners, and workers, laying a foundation for re-engagement with community, family, learning, and work. Well-being – expressed through confidence, happiness, wholeness, belonging, and care of self and of others – was part of the transformational learning.

Voice and willingness to communicate

Closely linked to healing was reclaiming personal voices despite difficult life experiences. As Antone (1997) and others have pointed out, many Indigenous people have felt silenced by formal education and by the hegemony of English. In addition, many young Indigenous people have felt silenced when they try to use what they know of their Indigenous language, teased because of the stigmas attached to the language, or criticized because their language does not meet someone’s standard of how the language should be spoken (e.g., Meek, 2007; Tulloch, 2007, 2014; Wyman et al., 2014). A prerequisite to freeing participants to engage with language learning was helping them to be willing to communicate (MacIntyre, Dörnyei, Clément, & Noels, 1998) and to express themselves. As in other deliberately decolonizing educational initiatives, a key component of transformational education was empowering learners to embrace their personal voice (Hornberger, 2006; Tompkins, McAuley, & Walton, 2009).

One of the critiques levelled at task-based language teaching is that it may not provide sufficient opportunities for interaction (Broady, 2006). The focus on a joint task without an obligation to talk created a safe learning space for individuals who self-identified as shy. Participants had the chance to sit, exposed to the rich language of the Elders and other uses of Inuktitut (written, spoken by peers, etc.), while they grew in confidence.

Participants worked at their own pace to take on a stronger personal voice. During circle sharing time, anyone could pass, but the instructors would also encourage someone who had passed previously to show what they had drawn, or to try saying a single word, and from there to say a single sentence. The most confident speakers were encouraged to practise speaking in public. For example, at the end of the program, participants put on a fashion show for the community, which the group scripted and two participants emceed. The research component also enhanced participants' voices, as they were invited to articulate learning goals, as well as what was or wasn't working for them. For some, it was the first time their opinion had been sought.

All participants commented that the program had helped them to express themselves. As Bridgette said, "I learned how to get along with others and also I am not so shy anymore." Grace also mentioned how she

> learned how to express [. . . Your feelings?] Yeah. With others too .. . . Talk to the other ladies that which I never ever express myself but I'm still learning.. . . They showed me how to communicate with other ladies. [I] just feel good that I express myself to other ladies how I feel.

Manitok noted how she is more comfortable "asking questions . . . to other people. . . . Like talking to people . . . it changed lots." For Tara, the change came in being able to speak publicly. As she reflected:

> Definitely because before I couldn't. If I was put in front of a crowd of people I would freeze and not be able to say anything and words wouldn't come out of my mouth. But after that I feel fine with speaking in front of people. I don't feel like I'm being judged or you know? So yeah, that really helped me.

The Elder instructors also noticed this willingness to engage communicatively as a key outcome. As Elder Marianne Tattuinee put it, "[i]n the beginning they were very quiet and couldn't even ask for assistance. Now that they know each other more they've changed because they don't seem afraid and are now asking for help if they need it."

Indeed, the breaking down of communicative walls affected the Elders too, who also have been silenced in their cultural practices and language and who sometimes feel shy around bilingual young people or non-Inuit. Elder Aline Kabvitok shared this observation:

> I have never been a sewing instructor before and have never tried it because I am shy about my sewing . . . but I really enjoyed myself and have learned that it is nothing to be shy about and realized I'm not shy of you [the researcher] which I'm really proud of . . . .

Miqqut was designed to support students to expand their use of Inuktitut. A starting point was opening lines of communication and willingness to speak to each other. The relationships that developed as a result of this program, and the increased willingness to communicate privately and publicly, to express oneself and to ask for help, are all indicators of learners' progress and foundations for further learning.

Multimodality and multiliteracies

One of the practices that laid a foundation for willingness and motivation to communicate was embracing multimodal literacies. Multimodal literacy and multiliteracies acknowledge that meaning is encoded and interpreted through many different modes, including aural/oral, written, kinaesthetic, and visual, among others. Inuit literacies include storytelling, dancing, clothing designs, visual arts, and cultural artifacts (Balanoff & Chambers, 2005; Patrick, Budach, & Muckpaloo, 2013). As Parker Webster and John (2013) and Patrick et al. (2013) demonstrate in different Yup'ik/Inuit contexts, working with one communicative modality can support learners in bridging into new or expanded forms of self-expression (see also Cummins, 2000; Hornberger, 2009).

Participants were invited to create meaning using a range and combination of modalities. These included receptive and productive language – hearing, speaking, reading, and writing – as well as drawing for self-expression, artistic creation, and drafting patterns and designs. For a given sewing project, a participant might start by journalling her goal, or looking for ideas in magazines, or asking an Elder for ideas. She might then do a draft drawing of pattern pieces, write labels on the pieces (maybe with the help of an instructor), and then listen to instructions on how to put the pieces together, ask for clarification, write notes for herself, and finally file all of the above in her learner's portfolio. The creative *amautiit* (traditional Inuit woman's coats, for baby-carrying), parkas, and *qamiit* (traditional boots) that the women designed and sewed reflected strong forms of personal

expression, sometimes reflecting the way in which these have been done for centuries, and at other times incorporating original designs and alterations.[1]

As another example of bridging from one modality to another, circle sharing was generally preceded by journalling, where learners could think and draw or write before sharing orally. The shyer participants benefited from the scaffolding of their oral practice.

Overall, the breadth of communicative practices in the program contributed to freedom in self-expression, where the focus was on communication, in any form, and where practice in one form of self-expression provided reinforcement for other forms. Each participant expanded her communicative practices in ways that reflected her goals and starting point. The ongoing presence of trained literacy instructors allowed learners to get feedback on their language and literacy while they productively used it as a tool for other learning. Ultimately, these practices led to increased Inuktitut use.

Translanguaging and embracing bilingual repertoires

Translanguaging is another strategy that provided ongoing, low-risk opportunities to step out in learning (García & Li, 2014). This approach, which instructors intuitively adopted before finding it described in the literature, invites students to use their full bilingual repertoires (Blommaert, 2013) to communicate and to learn. Students could use Inuktitut, or English, or a combination of both in conversation, journals, literacy activities, project interviews, and so on. This flexibility reflects a desire to welcome learners' communicativeness in any form and also reflects an underlying understanding of bilingualism, whereby developing proficiency in any area of language (Inuktitut or English, reading or speaking) transfers to support the development of proficiency in other areas (Cummins, 2000; Hornberger, 2009).

In some ways, this bilingual approach contrasted with prior beliefs about best practices in Indigenous language learning. School programs designed to revitalize languages, including those in Nunavut, have focused on immersion, or creating monolingual environments framed by location, time of day, or teacher (May, 2013; May, Hill, & Tiakiwai, 2004). Nunavut's bilingual schooling models, for example, delimit English and Inuktitut to specific spaces and learning times. Non-formal language programs, in culture camps for example, also frequently insist on learners and teachers using the Indigenous language only (e.g., First Peoples' Heritage, Language & Culture Council, 2011a, 2011b).

Such programs, which are part of broader language revitalization efforts, have had success in strengthening knowledge and use of the

Indigenous language and offering identity-affirming education. Common wisdom suggests using only the Indigenous language to resist the hegemony of English and to increase the amount of practice in the Indigenous language. However, insisting on the Indigenous language only also pushes up against shame barriers in learners who feel, and maybe have been told, that they ought to know how to say something, ought to be better at the language, and are silenced, preferring to say nothing than to risk humiliation (e.g., Tulloch, 2014), so a more open approach was favoured.

Another possible objection to multilingual environments in Indigenous language programming is that speakers may not learn how to interact in situations where they cannot fall back on the other language. The context of the program created functional needs for learners to expand their repertoires to include monolingual interactions. For example, asking Elders questions required emergent bilinguals to first seek out the vocabulary and the sentence structures with which to formulate their question. (Learners did have to ask their own questions to keep sewing, and they could not rely on more fluent speakers to approach the Elders for them.) Participants confirmed that the context, even without a policy mandating Inuktitut only, helped them to speak Inuktitut more frequently and with greater comfort. As one said, "I speak only a little Inuktitut. I speak English at home. Here, I'm around the language a lot more and I'm getting comfortable speaking it."

In some activities, negotiation of language use was formalized, and the group deliberately worked together to move between modalities and languages, using one or both to support the next step in the work. A favourite activity was when the group collaboratively interviewed Elders and then created texts about how they learned to sew. The group started by brainstorming in both languages about what they would like to ask, with the literacy instructor taking notes on a flipchart. They then collaborated to articulate their questions clearly and write them down in Inuktitut. Participants then read or asked the Elders the questions, in Inuktitut. The Elders responded in Inuktitut and the literacy instructor wrote keywords on the flipchart. The group discussed each answer to ensure everyone fully understood, using both languages and clarifying vocabulary as needed. The group summarized the answer and then collaboratively wrote, in Inuktitut, a short text about how each Elder had learned to sew. These profiles were then typed, printed, and shared at the final fashion show. This example shows how the students were welcome to use their full bilingual repertoires to engage in the cognitive learning process, while also being challenged to push themselves to do more in Inuktitut and ultimately produce Inuktitut-only texts.

The program thus experimented with an approach that created a context for rich exposure to and frequent opportunities for meaningful interaction in Inuktitut. Inuktitut was encouraged and became a *de facto* norm while participants were sewing and learning alongside Elder instructors. At the same time, each learner brought different proficiencies in English and Inuktitut into the learning space. Participants and instructors collaboratively created a context where everyone felt welcome and comfortable, where each participant could be responsible for setting and pursuing her own language-learning goals and for bringing her existing language competencies to the table as a contribution to group learning.

Instead of perpetuating a tension that sets English and Inuktitut in opposition to each other, forcing a choice, instructors invited learners to be aware of their bilingual practices, to identify gaps where they were not able to do what they wanted in one language or the other, and then to work in context-specific ways to fill those gaps. This approach reflects the dynamics of multilingualism, where different languages, genres, and registers have different functions and are needed in different places, times, and events (Blommaert, Collins, & Slembrouck, 2005). Leaving the students to sort through their language choices invited them into conscious or subconscious questioning of the increasing dominance of English in their community. Translanguaging built on the students' desire to expand their Inuktitut repertoire, while minimizing the risk and the shame, facilitating a motivating and safe context for meaningful interaction. It was an additional strategy to affirm identities within the language program.

Discussion

Transformative learning

Throughout the program, Inuktitut was encouraged, modelled, and taught in conjunction with a motivating, hands-on task (sewing) and in a context that nurtured relationships and personal development. Participants confirmed that the approach was effective for their language learning. Participants left the program having expanded their use of Inuktitut according to personal goals and starting points. For Tara, a noticeable outcome was in her receptive proficiency: "I really improved in understanding Inuktitut like the words and stuff. . . . [R]eading syllabics, I really improved in that." Nina noticed she was writing more accurately and more frequently: "I write more and here I didn't used to like to write (laughter). . . . I got better at writing, mostly writing. . . . I was expecting to learn how to write but I've learned a lot about writing." Others, quoted in previous sections, noticed that they

were speaking Inuktitut with greater comfort and frequency. Researchers' and instructors' observations confirmed this progress. As one instructor reflected, "You could really see the change. They were so eager to learn and they knew that they were improving which made them work harder and understand more, that's how they were." The language and literacy practices are those that participants need and will use in daily life, so they are more likely to practise and retain them.

By all accounts, participants and instructors experienced the program as a transformational bilingual learning experience. Through affirmation of their multilayered identities – as Inuit, women, mothers, wives, daughters, aunts, learners, workers, and seamstresses – Miqqut helped Inuit women to reimagine themselves as *ajunngi* (capable) and valued, with implications for their confidence and life direction. As Gwyn said, "Before the program, I didn't have confidence in myself. . . . [But now I know] that I can do it." Bridgette further noted, "I understand myself more and I now have more direction in my life." Similar comments were heard from almost every participant. As Elder "Rachel" commented,

> A few of them seem to gain more of a positive experience and it showed. I noticed the difference because when they first came, they had very little self-esteem and were not confident in themselves but we saw afterward that it helped them in a more positive way. [Researcher: Was it like that for all students?] It seemed like it, from what I noticed.

The learning and the willingness to engage did not end with the program. Over half of the participants went on to enrol in other programs, including college and trades programs in faraway cities, short-term training programs, and informal programs in the community. They attributed the motivation and confidence to do so to what they had gained in the program. As Tara said,

> [L]earning new stuff, I really, really liked that and I just want to keep on learning and learning and learning so that's one of the reasons why I decided to go back to school. . . . And it opened the door for me to get back into school. . . . [I'm taking] NTEP [Nunavut Teacher Education Program].

Participants also said that through learning to sew, expanding their communication skills, and healing, they were re-engaging with their children, parents, and the broader community. As Shelby noted, "I am finally communicating with [my mom] about sewing and learn more from her too." Manitok observed that "[Miqqut made] me more open to my family and friends. . . . My girls are talking more. . . . Everybody's

happier and more talkative, asking what I learned and . . . everybody's more talkative to each other not like before. [Miqqut] changed my life." Nina affirmed similar experiences:

> I've noticed lots of things change with my family. We are a lot closer now my girls love going school and talk about school. . . . Miqqut was the best! I've learned to write, to sew, be a better person, and it was always good.

Other participants made comparable comments, reflecting that Miqqut had rekindled intergenerational interaction and learning in ways that continued to nourish their well-being and provided ongoing contexts for using, expanding, and passing on what they learned. The program was much more than a language and literacy program. It anchored participants in contexts and activities in which they could continue to learn, and it kindled a confidence in them that promoted further engagement and learning.

Applying findings to other contexts

The model's success has been recognized in ways that have allowed it to be continued and implemented in different ways. It was awarded the Arctic Inspiration Prize in 2012, which helped bring it to other Nunavut communities. Agnico Eagle Mines asked Ilitaqsiniq to adapt the model for their workplace training, with strong results. In the summer of 2016, Ilitaqsiniq reinvented the program around traditional food practices, including an on-the-land harvesting component, training in budgeting, nutrition, food preparation, and running a community soup kitchen, with associated language and literacy learned at the same time. The evolution of the program confirms that its strength lies in its transformative approach, building on felt needs and affirming identities, rather than in any particular curriculum or content.

The flexibility of Ilitaqsiniq staff to recreate the program also reflects the deeply collaborative, community-based nature of the project, where each team member reflected on what led to the program's impacts and how the effectiveness could be repeated. The triple role of community-based researcher/staff member/program instructor uniquely equipped the community-based researchers to pass on what they learned, including training instructors in other communities.

Although Miqqut was developed in a context where the Indigenous language is relatively strong, the focus on process makes it flexible enough to be adapted to other levels of Indigenous language revitalization.

When Ilitaqsiniq first envisioned this project, it was motivated by the language and literacy learning that was happening in cultural programs, even if not deliberately targeted. Ilitaqsiniq staff believed that

with some deliberate coaching of instructors to draw out the language and literacies implicit in the activities, cultural programs could have even stronger impacts. The project results show that combining culture, well-being, and language learning within a single program is transformative. Combining these aspects also increases the funding options, making it possible to offer programs more frequently to a wider range of participants.

As we worked, the Elder-researcher's heartfelt cry was "What about the men?" She noticed, confirmed by statistics, that Indigenous men are even more affected by the alienation and marginalization that the project aimed to address. More locally developed programs that would reach out to and affirm Indigenous men's multilayered identities and learning needs are required (Tulloch et al., 2015). Nunatsiavut's *Aullak Sangillivalianginnatuk* (Going Off, Growing Strong) land-based harvester-mentoring program, which deliberately targets mental health and intends to intentionally incorporate language in the future, is a good example of how the success principles in Miqqut can be echoed in programs for Indigenous men.

Success principles in the program may also reveal potential for further embracing the Indigenous language in K–12 schooling, even in English language-of-instruction classrooms. The *Translanguaging Guide for Educators* (Celic & Seltzer, 2011) highlights research-based strategies that teachers can use, even if they do not speak the Indigenous language, to affirm identities and make space for students' full communicative repertoires. These range from allowing or encouraging students to use their full bilingual repertoire in group discussions where the purpose is to think through and understand something they are learning, to using texts in the Indigenous language (e.g., stories or films) to teach the genre and structure that these texts use.

Conclusion

Through the program, Inuit women from various starting points became more proficient as seamstresses and as Inuktitut speakers while participating in a transformative learning experience with broad and lasting impacts on how they relate to themselves, their families, their communities, and their culture(s). Jim Cummins (2000) argues that transformative learning occurs through affirmation of speakers' identities. Miqqut was designed to reach out to a gap that learners felt in their own practice and sense of self, as they shape their role as Inuit women in today's society. The learning activities and the principles that underpinned the learning affirmed flexible identities, embracing each woman at her place and pace and supporting her to identify and

achieve her goals. The program had important identity outcomes alongside the language and culture outcomes, too, as the women said they felt more confident, capable, and whole, as they connected with culture and community and gained confidence from the positive affirmations shared within the program.

Throughout this article we have made references to Indigenous multimodal literacies as a bridge to reading and writing, and to bilingual Indigenous cultural programming as a bridge to more formal education and employment opportunities. This thought-path partly reflects the priority of the project's initial funder, the Office of Literacy and Essential Skills, Human Resources and Skills Development Canada, and partly reflects participants' own priorities that becoming whole as Inuit women means bridging the multiple opportunities that are available to them. The discussion of bridging is not meant to take away from Indigenous cultural and language learning as an end in itself. Inuit language, clothing production, and intergenerational learning are invaluable and were participants' primary motivation. Using these as vehicles that lead to other learning helps participants find congruence in life goals that sometimes seem contradictory or mutually exclusive, a conflict that can contribute to disengagement (e.g., Annahatak, 1994; Cummins, 2000; Tulloch et al., 2015).

In Inuit communities, as in many Indigenous contexts around the world, there is a pressing need to re-engage with individuals who have been marginalized in one way or another. As an organized learning program, targeting Indigenous language and literacy combined with culture and well-being, the program helped participants to integrate various aspects of who they are and aspire to be. It created space for self-expression and meaning-making by using different modalities and languages. It nurtured relationships in ways that reinvigorated intergenerational learning, while also reinvigorating Inuktitut knowledge and use. Language, learning, and identity are fundamentally intertwined, and when combined with culture and community, they create a powerful context for transformational education.

Correspondence should be addressed to **Shelley Tulloch**, Department of Anthropology, University of Winnipeg, 515 Portage Ave., Winnipeg, MB, R3B 2E9; e-mail: s.tulloch@uwinnipeg.ca.

Acknowledgements

We gratefully acknowledge the wisdom and insights of the Elders, instructors, and learners who shared their experiences in this research, as well as Rankin Inlet residents, schools, and businesses that supported the program. We thank

the funder, the Office of Literacy and Essential Skills, Human Resources and Skills Development Canada. We also thank Donna Patrick and other contributors to the 2015 AAAL panel on Indigenous languages and identity for dialogue enhancing our reflections on this topic.

Note

1 Budach et al. (2015) also present evidence of the mixed appreciation both for traditional designs, made from original patterns handed down from ancestors, and original creations that adapt and innovate based on traditional designs.

References

Annahatak, B. (1994). Quality education for Inuit today? Cultural strengths, new things, and working out the unknowns: A story by an Inuk. *Peabody Journal of Education*, *69*(2), 12–18. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01619569409538761

Antone, E. (1997). *In search of voice: A collaborative investigation on learning experiences of the Onyota'a:ka* (Unpublished octoral dissertation.). University of Toronto. http://hdl.handle.net/1807/10907

Antone, E., Gamlin, P.J., Provost-Turchetti, L., & Sinclaire, M. (Eds.) (2002). *Symposium on literacy and aboriginal peoples "best practices": Native "literacy" and learning proceedings*. Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.

Archibald, L., & Dewar, J. (2010). Creative arts, culture, and healing: Building an evidence base. *Pimatziwin*, *8*(3), 1–25.

Arnakaq, M. (n.d.). *Igloo of life*. Nunavut Arctic College. Retrieved from http://fimesip.ca/sites/default/files/igloo%20of%20life%20booklet%20-%20english-V7_0.pdf

Arnaquq, N. (2008). *Uqaujjuusiat – Gifts of words of advice: Schooling, education and leadership in Baffin Island* (M.Ed. thesis). University of Prince Edward Island, Charlottetown.

Aylward, M.L. (2010). The role of Inuit languages in Nunavut schooling: Nunavut teachers talk about bilingual education. *Canadian Journal of Education*, *33*(2), 295–328.

Balanoff, H., & Chambers, C. (2005). Do my literacies count as literacy? An inquiry into Inuinnaqtun literacies in the Canadian North. *Literacies*, *6*, 18–20.

Berger, P. (2009). Eurocentric roadblocks to school change in Nunavut. *Études/Inuit/Studies*, *33*(1–2), 55–76. http://doi.org/10.7202/044960ar

Billson, J.M., & Mancini, K. (2007). *Inuit women: Their powerful spirit in a century of change*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Blommaert, J. (2013). Language and the study of diversity. *Tilburg Papers in Culture Studies*, *74*, 1–14.

Blommaert, J., Collins, J., & Slembrouck, S. (2005). Spaces of multilingualism. *Language & Communication*, *25*(3), 197–216. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.langcom.2005.05.002

Broady, E. (2006). Learning and interaction: Developing through talk. *Language Learning*, *34*(1), 62–66. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09571730685200251

Budach, G., Patrick, D., & Mackay, T. (2015). "Talk around objects": Designing trajectories of belonging in an urban Inuit community. *Social Semiotics*, *25*(4), 446–464. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10350330.2015.1059575

Celic, C., & Seltzer, K. (2011). *Translanguaging: A CUNY-NYSIEB guide for educators*. New York: CUNY-NYSIEB.

Cummins, J. (2000). *Language, power and pedagogy: Bilingual children in the crossfire*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Cummins, J. (2014). Beyond language: Academic communication and student success. *Linguistics and Education*, *26*, 145–154. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.linged.2014.01.006

Cunningham, R. (2013). *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit practices in entrepreneurship*. University of Prince Edward Island. Retrieved from https://www.islandscholar.ca/islandora/object/ir:10605

First Peoples' Heritage, Language & Culture Council. (2011a). *Language and culture immersion programs handbook*. Brentwood Bay, BC: First Peoples' Heritage, Language & Culture Council.

First Peoples' Heritage, Language & Culture Council. (2011b). *Culture camps for language learning: An immersion handbook.* Brentwood Bay, BC: First Peoples' Heritage, Language & Culture Council.

Flood, J., Heath, S.B., & Lapp, D. (2014). *Handbook of research on teaching literacy through the communicative and visual arts*. New York, London: Routledge.

García, O., & Li, W. (2014). *Translanguaging: Language, bilingualism and education*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan. http://dx.doi.org/10.1057/9781137385765

Glaser, B.G., & Strauss, A.L. (2009). *The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers. (Original work published 1969).

Greer, D. (2015, October 7). Rankin's rising star: Young fashion designer takes business award at trade show. *Northern News Services Online*. Retrieved from http://www.nnsl.com/frames/newspapers/2015-10/oct7_15fash.html

Heath, S.B. (2004). Learning language and strategic thinking through the Arts. *Reading Research Quarterly*, *39*(3), 338–342.

Hornberger, N.H. (2006). Voice and biliteracy in Indigenous language revitalization: Contentious educational practices in Quechua, Guarani, and Māori contexts. *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education*, *5*(4), 277–292. http://dx.doi.org/10.1207/s15327701jlie0504_2

Hornberger, N.H. (2009). Multilingual education policy and practice: Ten certainties (grounded in Indigenous experience). *Language Teaching*, *42*(2), 197–211. http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0261444808005491

Kusugak, A. (2013). *Pijunnautitaaqpaalliqsimaliqtut: Building confidence through cultural and literacy skill development* (M.Ed. research paper). University of Prince Edward Island, Charlottetown.

Laugrand, F., & Oosten, J. (2009). Transfer of *Inuit qaujimajatuqangit* in modern Inuit society. *Etudes/Inuit/Studies*, *33*(1–2), 115–131. http://dx.doi.org/10.7202/044963ar

Lipka, J., Sharp, N., Adams, B., & Sharp, F. (2007). Creating a third space for authentic biculturalism: Examples from math in a cultural context. *Journal of American Indian Education*, *46*(3), 94–115.

Long, M. (2015). *Second language acquisition and task-based language teaching*. Walden, MA: Wiley Blackwell.

MacIntyre, P.D., Dörnyei, Z., Clément, R., & Noels, K.A. (1998). Conceptualizing willingness to communicate in a L2: A situational model of L2 confidence and affiliation. *Modern Language Journal*, *82*(4), 545–562. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4781.1998.tb05543.x

May, S. (2013). Indigenous immersion education: International developments. *Journal of Immersion and Content-Based Language Education*, *1*(1), 34–69. http://dx.doi.org/10.1075/jicb.1.1.03may

May, S., Hill, R., & Tiakiwai, S. (2004). *Bilingual/immersion education: Indicators of good practice. Final report to the Ministry of Education*. Wellington, New Zealand: Ministry of Education.

Meade, M. (1990). Sewing to maintain the past, present and future. *Etudes/Inuit/Studies*, *14*(1–2), 229–239.

Meek, B.A. (2007). Respecting the language of Elders: Ideological shift and linguistic discontinuity in a Northern Athapascan community. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, *17*(1), 23–43. http://dx.doi.org/10.1525/jlin.2007.17.1.23

Nunavut Bureau of Statistics (2011a). Nunavut census population by region, community and Inuit and non-Inuit identity, 1996 to 2011. Retrieved from http://www.stats.gov.nu.ca/en/Census%202011.aspx

Nunavut Bureau of Statistics (2011b). Nunavut census language by community, 2011 (6 tables). Retrieved from http://www.stats.gov.nu.ca/en/Census%202011.aspx

O'Gorman, M., & Pandey, M. (2015). *Cultivating the Arctic's most valuable resource: An analysis of the barriers to high school completion among Arctic youth. Final research report*. Winnipeg: University of Winnipeg.

Parker Webster, J., & John, T.A. (2013). On becoming a "literate" person: Making meaning with multiliteracies and multimodal tools. In P. Marlow E. & S. Siekmann (Eds.), *Communities of practice: An Alaskan Native model for language teaching and learning* (pp. 73–100). Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Parkes, L. & Ryan, C. (Eds.). (2015). *Integrating the arts: Creative thinking about FL curricula and language program direction*. Boston: Cengage Learning.

Patrick, D., Budach, G., & Muckpaloo, I. (2013). Multiliteracies and family language policy in an urban Inuit community. *Language Policy*, *12*(1), 47–62. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s10993-012-9258-3

Patrick, D., & Shearwood, P. (1999). The roots of Inuktitut-language bilingual education. *Canadian Journal of Native Studies*, *19*(2), 249–262.

Rogers, A., Hunter, J., & Aftab Uddin, M. (2007). Adult learning and literacy learning for livelihoods: Some international perspectives. *Development in Practice*, *17*(1), 137–146. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09614520601092048

Street, B. (2001). Literacy events and literacy practices: Theory and practice in the New Literacy Studies. In M. Martin-Jones & K.E. Jones (Eds.), *Multilingual literacies: Reading and writing different worlds* (pp. 17–36). Amsterdam: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/swll.10.08str. http://dx.doi.org/10.1075/swll.10.08str

Tompkins, J., McAuley, A., & Walton, F. (2009). Protecting embers to light the *qulliit* of Inuit learning in Nunavut communities. *Études/Inuit/Studies*, *33*(1–2), 95–113. http://dx.doi.org/10.7202/044962ar

Tulloch, S. (2004). *Inuktitut and Inuit youth: Language attitudes as a basis for language planning* (Doctoral dissertation). Université Laval, Quebec.

Tulloch, S. (2007). Uqausirtinnik: Longing for our language. *Horizons Policy Research Initiative*, *10*(1), 73–76.

Tulloch, S. (2014). Igniting a youth language movement: Inuit youth as agents of circumpolar language planning. In L. Wyman, T.L. McCarty, & S.E. Nicholas (Eds.), *Indigenous youth and multilingualism: Language identity, ideology, and practice in dynamic cultural worlds* (pp. 149–167). New York: Routledge.

Tulloch, S., Patles, B., Kormendy, S., Winton, A., Nitsiza, M., Kitekudlak, H., Kaludjak, N., & Hamel, B. (2015). *What about the men? Northern men's research project final report.* Cambridge Bay: Ilitaqsiniq – Nunavut Literacy Council. Retrieved from http://www.nwtliteracy.ca/sites/default/files/files/NWT%20Literacy%20Council%20Research/nmrp_final_report_2015.pdf

Tulloch, S., Pilakapsi, Q., Uluqsi, G., Kusugak, A., Chenier, C., & Crockatt, K. (2013). *The Miqqut project: Joining literacy, culture and well-being through non-formal learning in Nunavut. Research report*. Cambridge Bay: Ilitaqsiniq – Nunavut Literacy Council.

Walton, F., Wheatley, K. (Producer), & Sandiford, M. (Director). (2012). *Alluriarniq/stepping forward: Youth perspectives on high school education in Nunavut.* Video. Charlottetown: University of Prince Edward Island.

Wyman, L.T., McCarty, T.L., & Nicholas, S.E. (2014). Beyond endangerment: Indigenous youth and multilingualism. In L.T. Wyman, T.L. McCarty, & S.E. Nicholas (Eds.), *Indigenous youth and multilingualism: Language identity, ideology, and practice in dynamic cultural worlds* (pp. 1–25). New York: Routledge.