

# **Adult Gaelic Learning in Scotland: Opportunities, Motivations and Challenges**

**A Research Report for Bòrd na Gàidhlig**

**May 2010**

**Dr Wilson McLeod  
Dr Irene Pollock  
Dr Alasdair MacCaluim**

**Celtic and Scottish Studies  
School of Literatures, Languages and Cultures  
University of Edinburgh**

## Table of contents

Executive summary	v
1 Introduction	1
2 Background and overview	2
2.1 The importance of adult Gaelic learners	2
2.1.1 The problem of intergenerational transmission	2
2.1.2 Adding to the numbers of Gaelic speakers	3
2.1.3 Learners and Gaelic-related employment	4
2.1.4 Learners and Gaelic teaching	6
2.1.5 Learners and the demand for Gaelic services	7
2.2 Review of existing research and data concerning GfA provision	7
2.3 Key policy commitments concerning GfA provision	10
3 Current GfA provision in Scotland	12
3.1 The provider database and the data collection process	12
3.2 Range of providers	14
3.3 Types of classes	15
3.4 Funding structures	17
4 Motivations and experiences of Gaelic learners	20
4.1 Summary and analysis of learners' survey results	20
4.2 Summary and analysis of interviews with learners	33
5 Discussion of key issues	48
5.1 Increasing the demand for GfA	48
5.1.1 Increased use of Gaelic in public life	49
5.1.2 Active marketing of Gaelic	50
5.1.3 School initiatives impacting on GfA	51
5.1.3.1 Gaelic awareness	51
5.1.3.2 GLE: Gaelic Language in the Primary School	52
5.1.3.3 GLE: Gaelic as a secondary school subject	52
5.2 Improving the structure and delivery of GfA provision	54
5.2.1 Dedicated Gaelic learning centres	54
5.2.2 Progression, qualification and certification	56
5.2.3 Tutor training and support	57
5.2.4 Information and promotion	60
5.2.5 Learner engagement	60
6 Recommendations and summary	62
Bibliography	65
Appendix A: Database of Gaelic classes for adults	70
Appendix B: Map of current GfA provision	71
Appendix C: Providers' interview schedule	73
Appendix D: Learners' survey	75
Appendix E: Learners' interview schedule	87

## List of abbreviations

BnG	Bòrd na Gàidhlig
CLDRG	Community Learning and Development Review Group for Gaelic
CLI	Comann an Luchd-Ionnsachaidh (now Clì Gàidhlig)
CnaG	Comunn na Gàidhlig
CNSA	Comhairle nan Sgoiltean Àraich
FE	Further Education
GfA	Gaelic for Adults
GLE	Gaelic Learners' Education
GLPS	Gaelic Language in the Primary School
GME	Gaelic-medium Education
GROS	General Register Office Scotland
HE	Higher Education
HMIe	Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Education
SFC	Scottish Funding Council
SMO	Sabhal Mòr Ostaig
SQA	Scottish Qualifications Authority

## List of figures

- 1 Type of class attended by respondents
- 2 Age distribution of respondents
- 3 Length of time respondents learning Gaelic
- 4 Respondents' main method of learning Gaelic
- 5 Respondents' goals and aims
- 6 Respondents' main reason for learning Gaelic
- 7 Obstacles encountered by respondents in learning Gaelic
- 8 Use of Gaelic by respondents
- 9 Use of Gaelic media by respondents
- 10 Use of Gaelic reading material by respondents
- 11 Respondents' participation in Gaelic cultural activities
- 12 Age distribution of interviewees and survey respondents
- 13 Current courses attended (Interviewees)
- 14 Reported fluency
- 15 Interviewees' reasons for learning Gaelic
- 16 Comparison of use of Gaelic media between respondents and interviewees
- 17 Gaelic organisations mentioned by interviewees
- 18 Participation by interviewees in Gaelic cultural activities
- 19 Interviewees' perceived connection to the 'Gaelic community'
- 20 Role of qualification in interviewees' motivation
- 21 Recent developments interviewees perceived as positive
- 22 Interviewees' long-term goals for using Gaelic
- 23 Responses to the question 'Would you consider becoming a Gaelic tutor?'

## List of tables

- 1 Breakdown of survey respondents
- 2 Gaelic learners and Gaelic-speaking relatives
- 3 'Do you intend to record yourself as being a Gaelic speaker in the 2011 Census?'

## **Acknowledgements**

Many people have helped us to complete this study. We are grateful to Bòrd na Gàidhlig's Research Committee for its useful support during the research, to the providers who provided us with details of their courses, and to the learners who completed the survey and participated in follow-up interviews.

## **Executive summary**

### **Background and overview**

Provision for adult Gaelic learners has the potential to play a significantly greater role in Gaelic development efforts. Historically, adult learning has received rather less attention than other forms of education and its potential has not been fully realised. This report evaluates the nature of current provision and identifies a number of proposals for development and improvement.

This report seeks to respond to BnG's research specification by providing (1) an audit of adult Gaelic learning opportunities and (2) clarity on requirements to establish an effective national system of Gaelic adult education for Scotland.

### **Current GfA provision in Scotland**

Appendix A provides an up-to-date list of Gaelic classes for adults. The database shows in excess of 160 offerings from approximately 50 providers. Current GfA provision is heavily concentrated in the Highland Council area, the Western Isles, Edinburgh and Greater Glasgow. Provision in other parts of Scotland is either patchy or even nonexistent.

Gathering accurate and up-to-date data for this database proved very challenging, for a number of different reasons. Publicly available information, particularly on the Internet, was often incomplete or out of date. There was often a lack of knowledge and 'institutional memory' within provider organisations, especially local authorities, and it was often difficult to find the appropriate contact person with the organisation. Finally, and most disappointingly, a number of courses that had been announced or advertised eventually did not run (though in many cases the subsequent cancellation was itself not well advertised).

### **Motivations and experiences of Gaelic learners**

A survey questionnaire was created to investigate *who* is learning Gaelic, *what* they are learning, *where* they are learning, *how* they are learning, and, most importantly, *why* they are learning. 329 responses were received, of which 216 were usable. 30% of respondents were enrolled on Ùlpan courses, another 30% on the Sabhal Mòr Ostaig distance learning courses, 24% on community education courses, and the remainder at Stow College (2%), at the University of Edinburgh Office of Lifelong Learning (9%), or on other courses (5%).

In addition, 60 learners in total were interviewed, 18 on the telephone and 42 via e-mail.

### **Increasing the demand for GfA**

Learning Gaelic can be encouraged both by direct measures and as an indirect outcome of other language promotion measures. Particularly important are the increased use of Gaelic in public life, the active marketing of Gaelic, and school initiatives that have an impact on GfA.

### **Improving the structure and delivery of GfA provision**

There are several serious structural deficiencies in the current GfA infrastructure. A more coordinated and streamlined delivery structure is needed, a valid and authoritative

framework of language testing and certification and an overhauled and professionalised tutor training system.

Current GfA provision in Scotland tends to be patchy, uncoordinated, poorly promoted, inadequately funded and often lacking in professional rigour. Provision compares unfavourably with Wales and Ireland.

It is noteworthy that learning materials did not emerge as a significant concern to learners. This reflects not only the improved range of published books for learners but also the successful use of electronic materials, including web-based resources.

The lack of a recognised mechanism for testing learners' Gaelic language competence is a long-standing problem. At the moment it is effectively impossible to judge the relative successfulness of different kinds of classes and teaching methodologies. The most applicable and widely recognised system in this regard is the Council of Europe's *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment* (CEFR); this mechanism could be applied to the Gaelic context, as it has in Wales and Ireland.

### **Recommendations and summary**

The study notes a number of shortcomings in relation to current GfA provision. Action on many fronts is required, along with a significant injection of new funding. A number of recommendations are set out.

- Adult learners of Gaelic should be recognised by BnG as playing a key role in Gaelic development in Scotland, and this recognition should be firmly embedded in Bòrd strategy and policy.
- There should be a representative of the GfA sector on the Bòrd's National Gaelic Education Steering Group.
- The term Gaelic for Adults (GfA) should be used for the Gaelic adult learners' sector both for convenience and to reflect the inadequacies and ambiguities of the term 'learner'.
- Targets should be set by BnG for numbers of Gaelic learners reaching fluency.
- BnG should continue to work to raise the profile of Gaelic and attract the attention of the wider Scottish public. These efforts should include active marketing of the language through national publicity campaigns.
- A overarching national co-ordinating structure is necessary for the GfA infrastructure, ideally via a network of Gaelic for Adults Centres, analogous to those established in Wales.
- There is a clear and urgent need to provide a wider range of Gaelic immersion courses by which students can learn Gaelic intensively.
- A comprehensive 'one-stop-shop' for details of all Gaelic learning opportunities should be established, to provide information concerning different means of learning, funding and qualifications, and strategies for language learning.

- A national tutor-training and certification scheme is necessary to ensure both quantity and quality of tutors.
- Agreed levels of proficiency and related testing and qualifications in Gaelic are necessary to enable interchangeability of courses and recognition of skills.
- There should be an expectation, or indeed a requirement, that publicly funded formal courses should be integrated into the structures of these qualifications.
- Small cohort funding is necessary for GfA provision organised by both local authorities and FE/HE institutions.
- The Student Awards Agency for Scotland should be encouraged to make funding available for those who already have a degree but wish to undertake a full-time Gaelic course.
- Gaelic awareness courses should be proactively pursued through the language plan development process for both local authorities and national educational agencies.
- Gaelic Learners' Education should be expanded to as many schools as possible as a way of ensuring greater uptake of GfA provision. BnG should establish a formal target for increasing the numbers of pupils studying GLE at secondary school.
- A scheme should be put in place to provide special language training to recent graduates or serving teachers who do not speak Gaelic but wish to become GME or GLE teachers.
- Opportunities for learners to use Gaelic in a social context should be proactively developed.

## 1 Introduction

Provision for adult Gaelic learners has the potential to play a significantly greater role in Gaelic development efforts. Historically, adult learning has received rather less attention than other forms of education and its potential has not been fully realised. This report evaluates the nature of current provision and identifies a number of proposals for development and improvement.

This report seeks to respond to BnG's research specification by providing (1) an audit of adult Gaelic learning opportunities and (2) clarity on requirements to establish an effective national system of Gaelic adult education for Scotland. The following research questions are addressed:

- What structured learning opportunities exist for the acquisition of Gaelic?
- What models of acquisition are employed and why?
- Where and to what level of fluency and/or literacy are these opportunities and models?
- What is the awareness and uptake of these opportunities and models?
- What structured or unstructured progression routes exist?
- What current funding mechanisms are in place?
- What is the role and effectiveness of providers at all levels?
- How effective and beneficial are the identified learning opportunities and models reported to be?
- What are the rates of loss of students within courses and between stages in progression routes, and why?
- What are the accreditation requirements for students and tutors?
- Where are the significant gaps in provision and barriers to progression, with reference to geographical cover, levels of commencement and attainment, acquisition models employed, language skills acquired, time and financial commitment from students, motivation and commitment of providers, and relationships between these and other factors?
- What are the motivators for adults learning Gaelic?

This report uses the overarching term 'Gaelic for Adults' (GfA) to reflect the increasingly diverse nature of provision and requirements relating to adult learners of Gaelic. Where once provision was focused almost entirely on learners who had no previous experience with the language, today's 'learners' are a much more diverse group, including students who have already encountered Gaelic in school in one manner or another, parents of children enrolled in Gaelic-medium education (GME), and employees of public bodies and other organisations seeking to develop their Gaelic skills for application in a work context. The term and concept 'Gaelic for Adults' is consciously borrowed from Wales, where 'Welsh for Adults' has now been established for a number of years.

## 2 Background and overview

### 2.1 The importance of adult Gaelic learners

To fully assess the efficacy of the current Gaelic learning infrastructure and to discuss future requirements, it is necessary at the outset to consider the underlying purpose of the GfA infrastructure. In order to do this, the potential role which adult learners could play in Reversing Language Shift (RLS) will be investigated, with particular reference to the targets set out in the *National Plan for Gaelic 2007-12* (BnG 2007a) and the proposals set out in BnG's action plan *Ginealach Ur na Gàidhlig*, submitted to the Scottish Government in December 2009 (BnG 2010).

Adult learners can contribute to RLS efforts in a variety of ways through:

- increasing the level of intergenerational transmission of Gaelic within the family
- adding to numbers of fluent Gaelic speakers
- adding to numbers of Gaelic speakers recorded on the census
- filling Gaelic-related job vacancies, including teaching vacancies
- adding to the diversity and skills base within the Gaelic community
- adding to the demand and uptake for Gaelic services
- adding to the number of supporters of and advocates for the language

These points are discussed sequentially.

#### 2.1.1 The problem of intergenerational transmission

The intergenerational transmission of a language in the family is generally recognised as the key indicator of its sustainability (Fishman 1991). In the case of Gaelic in Scotland, the level of intergenerational transmission has fallen to critically low levels. Studies of census results and more detailed analyses of local areas have shown that levels of intergenerational transmission are low and decreasing.

The 2001 census showed that only one Gaelic speaker in five lived in a family in which all members could speak Gaelic. Nationally, taking together all types of family where all the adults could speak Gaelic, only 49.1% of their children were likely to do so too (MacKinnon 2006: 2). A vivid illustration of the decline of Gaelic in the family is the fact that according to the 2009 *Pupils in Scotland* report, only 626 schoolchildren in Scotland had Gaelic as a main home language (Scottish Government 2009: Table 1.14).

In the 2001 Census, the 1,437 families with two Gaelic-speaking parents in the Outer Hebrides comprised only 45% of all households with Gaelic-speaking adults in the area and they were transmitting Gaelic to only 76.5% of their children. The 1,209 families in the area where one of a couple was a Gaelic speaker were transmitting Gaelic to only 36.9% of their children and the 307 lone parent families with a Gaelic-speaking parent were transmitting the language to only 50.5% of their children (MacKinnon 2006b: 2).

Outwith the Highlands, intergenerational transmission is far weaker. In this area, the 767 families with two Gaelic-speaking parents only comprised 11.5% of families containing a Gaelic speaker and had only transmitted the language to 54.3% of their children. For the 4336 families where one of a couple was a Gaelic speaker, only 10.8% of their children were also Gaelic speakers and of the 1001 lone parent families with a Gaelic-speaking parent, only 24.9% of children were Gaelic speakers.

Research has further shown a trend towards decline in the level of usage of the language in the family even in families where intergenerational transmission has taken place (NicAoidh 2006; Western Isles Language Planning Project 2005). This means that not only are there fewer young people who speak Gaelic as a first language but also that young Gaelic speakers are likely to have less confidence and ability in the language than previous generations did. These factors create something of a vicious circle of declining Gaelic use in the family.

In his influential books *Reversing Language Shift* (1991) and *Can Endangered Languages be Saved?* (2001), Joshua Fishman has argued that adult learners have a very important role to play in reversing language shift in the case of languages such as Gaelic where intergenerational transmission is failing. Where native speakers of childbearing age who are fully confident in using the language are becoming increasingly rare, it is necessary that new speakers of the threatened language be created if speaker numbers are to be maintained and intergenerational transmission re-established.

According to Fishman, it is crucial to prioritise young adults in RLS efforts. Teaching children through the medium of Xish<sup>1</sup> as a second language, such as through GME in Scotland, is very unlikely to lead to any significant degree of intergenerational transmission of Xish unless it is accompanied by a range of other interventions directed toward achieving RLS (1991: chapter 13). Fishman has argued that 'school must be preceded (or at least accompanied) by adult language learning of the threatened language as a second language, by instruction in parenting via Xish, and then by substantial child acquisition of it as a first language even before the pupils-to-be show up at school' (2001: 15).

Many Gaelic learners are already passing on Gaelic to their children either through intergenerational transmission or intergenerational donation (i.e. through choosing GME for their children) and it is clear that learners have a key part to play in ensuring that the *National Plan's* target of 'restoration of the Gaelic language to a state of natural growth' is reached by 2030 (BnG 2007a: 15). In order to capture this potential, however, GfA provision will need to be placed on a firmer footing.

### **2.1.2 Adding to the numbers of Gaelic speakers**

In addition to contributing to intergenerational transmission, adult Gaelic learners also have the potential to help maintain and increase the overall number of Gaelic speakers. Speaker numbers represent an important indicator of the state of the language, and the former Minister with responsibility for Gaelic, Michael Russell, has recently emphasised that increasing the number of Gaelic speakers should be the key focus of Gaelic development efforts.

The number of Gaelic speakers aged 3 and over declined from 65,978 to 58,652 between 1991 and 2001 (GROS 2005: Table 1). This means that there was an average loss of around 700 Gaelic speakers each year between 1991 and 2001 (MacKinnon 2003). It is further expected that there is likely to be a further decline in the 2011 census, a fact which is conceded in the *National Plan* (BnG 2007a:14).

As noted above, intergenerational transmission of Gaelic within the family is at a low level. While GME has begun to increase the number of school-age children able to speak Gaelic, the age profile of Gaelic speakers nonetheless shows that Gaelic is strongest amongst older age-groups and weaker amongst younger people. The numbers of children in GME are still far from being able to compensate numerically for the attendant loss rate of Gaelic

---

<sup>1</sup> The term *Xish* is used by Fishman to denote any endangered language.

speakers, in part because the rate of growth of GME has slowed down drastically in recent years (MacKinnon 2003). Similarly, provision for learners at secondary school — another important potential source of new speakers — remains at a low level and there has been only a modest increase in enrolments in recent years (see section 5.1.3.3 below).

In this context, adult learners have a key part to play in helping to increase overall speaker numbers and to meet the *National Plan* target of 65,000 Gaelic speakers being recorded in the census by 2021, 75,000 by 2031 and 100,000 by 2041.

Adult learners already contribute to the numbers of Gaelic speakers recorded on the census. As the census does not ask how the language was acquired, it is impossible to separate adult learners from other kinds of learners or from native Gaelic speakers. However, there are some indicators suggesting that adult learners make a significant contribution.

In 2001, 26,722 people over the age of 3 were recorded as being able to understand but not to read, write or speak Gaelic (GROS 2005: Table 2A). While many of these people are certain to be adult learners of Gaelic, it is impossible to determine exactly how many, as the ‘understand only’ category also covers passive bilinguals who were raised in Gaelic-speaking households or communities. Further research on this ‘understander’ group would be useful, as any light which could be shone on the relative percentages of learners and native passive bilinguals in the ‘understand only’ category would enable provision to be targeted accordingly (cf. BnG 2007a: 21).

Learners are also strongly represented in the census categories of those who are able to read and/or write but not speak Gaelic: 4,744 individuals over the age of 3 were able to read but not speak or write Gaelic in the 2001 census (GROS 2005: Table 2A). It is likely that the overwhelming majority of these people are adult learners. This assumption is reinforced by the fact that the number of people able to read but not write or speak Gaelic almost doubled between 1991 and 2001 (GROS 2005: 9).

Fluent learners also contribute to the number of those recorded in the census as being able to speak Gaelic. While relatively few learners reach fluency, as discussed below, research has shown that many non-fluent Gaelic learners record themselves as being Gaelic speakers on the census (MacCaluim 2007:184).

A further indicator in this respect is the fact that 11% of Gaelic speakers recorded in the 2001 census were born outwith Scotland. In some areas this figure was considerably higher, with around one-quarter of Gaelic speakers in the city of Edinburgh being born outwith Scotland. Gaelic learners are more likely to be born outwith Scotland than Gaelic speakers in general (MacCaluim 2007).

As shown in Table 2 below, a significant proportion of the learners surveyed in connection with this report plan to record themselves as Gaelic speakers on the 2011 census, or will do so if they make sufficient progress in their learning by the time of the census. This pattern suggests strongly that census numbers can be significantly boosted if more learners are attracted to the GfA system and enabled to become confident users of Gaelic.

### **2.1.3 Learners and Gaelic-related employment**

Filling Gaelic-related posts has been a persistent difficulty in Gaelic development (Galloway 1995a; Campbell et al. 2008). The recent report *Measuring the Gaelic Labour Market: Current and Future Potential* (Campbell et al. 2008) analysed the Gaelic labour market and

identified a number of weaknesses. A national survey of employers found that 74% of respondents experienced difficulty in recruiting for Gaelic-essential posts, with the key problems being a lack of applicants and a lack of suitable Gaelic language skills (Campbell et al. 2008: 59).

The report further suggests that these recruitment difficulties are likely to be exacerbated as the number of Gaelic-related posts increases, as a result of statutory Gaelic language plans, the expansion of Gaelic broadcasting and growth of Gaelic education. The study warns that the Gaelic labour market presently 'lacks sufficient depth and scope in terms of people with suitable language skills' and that 'it is likely that if this situation is not improved upon it will curtail any forward progress in expanding the number of Gaelic essential employment posts that are dependent on people with sufficient levels of competencies in the Gaelic language' (Campbell et al. 2008: 81).

The current labour supply for Gaelic-related employment is very limited. The number of young people entering the labour market with a sufficient competency in Gaelic from school and HE/FE is also very low. Only around 200 pupils per annum gain a Level 6 qualification (Higher equivalent) and only around 80 graduate with a degree qualification including Gaelic as a subject (Campbell et al. 2008: 90).<sup>2</sup> It is also important to remember that not all of those with Gaelic language skills will wish to work in Gaelic-related employment.

In addition to the supply of new labour, the existing pool of labour for Gaelic employment is restricted by the fact that Gaelic-essential jobs normally require people who are able to speak, read and write Gaelic. According to the 2001 census, only 31,218 of those able to speak Gaelic – 53.3% of the total — were also able to read and write the language. Of this group, only 14,979 were economically active (GROS 2005: Table 2A).

Campbell et al. conclude that 'there is a need to create a step-change in the numbers of young people entering the labour market with the requisite Gaelic language skills to meet the emerging demand for Gaelic essential jobs' (2008: 98).

Adult Gaelic learners can make an important contribution in bringing about this step change. While GME and intergenerational transmission of the language in the home have a crucial role to play in increasing numbers of speakers and supplying Gaelic labour skills, these are both slow processes and any growth will take many years to manifest itself in the labour market. Adult learners, by contrast, can learn Gaelic within a short period. Fluent adult learners are also almost universally able to read and write as well as to speak Gaelic (MacCaluim 2007; McLeod 2005: Table 6). Investment in effective adult learning could therefore show fast results in the Gaelic labour market and at a relatively low cost.

In addition to adding to the general Gaelic labour supply, adult learners are also crucial to ensuring that posts requiring specialist skills can be filled. Where particularly specialist skills are required, or when certain skills are in particularly heavy demand, it is unlikely that these can be provided from the existing Gaelic-speaking community. Learning of Gaelic by adults with these required skills therefore has the potential to ensure that specialist Gaelic employment can be filled.

Moreover, although the overall numbers of fluent adult Gaelic learners are currently small, they punch above their weight in terms of Gaelic-related employment. Adult learners are

---

<sup>2</sup>Of these low numbers, many will of course be Gaelic learners as opposed to native speakers or former GME pupils.

very well represented in Gaelic-related employment, particularly obviously in academia and Gaelic development, but also increasingly in sectors such as broadcasting and education. They are already, therefore, making an important contribution to RLS. One particularly relevant example for this study is Pollock's 2008 study of GfA classes, which found that around one-third of tutors identified had learnt Gaelic (Pollock 2008: [24]).

#### **2.1.4 Learners and Gaelic teaching**

The most significant Gaelic-related recruitment problem is undoubtedly the longstanding shortage of Gaelic teachers for GME and GLE. Adult Gaelic learners have a particularly important part to play in overcoming the shortage of teachers and in bringing about growth in Gaelic education.

After a period of rapid and sustained growth throughout the 1990s, GME stalled in the 2000s due to the acute shortage of Gaelic teachers (Gaelic Medium Teachers' Action Group 2005). Since 2000, the number of schools offering GM provision has remained more or less static and pupil numbers have risen only slightly. Between 2000 and 2009, numbers in Gaelic-medium primary education only rose from 1,862 to 2,256.

Growth in GME secondary has been even more disappointing, with 326 pupils in 2000 as compared with 397 in 2008 (University of Strathclyde 2001-9). HMIE have concluded that 'the commitment, availability and retention of staff qualified in a subject and fluent in Gaelic remains a persistent obstacle to progress in extending the secondary school Gaelic curriculum' (HMIE 2005: 1). This lack of progress is serious as secondary GME is crucial in ensuring that pupils reach full fluency and literacy in the language and have the skills required for Gaelic-related employment.

The *National Plan for Gaelic* has established ambitious targets for growth in Gaelic education. The plan aims for an increase in the number of GM pupils at all levels in the immediate future. The plan also aims for the enrolment of 4,000 pupils in first-year Gaelic-medium primary education by 2021, of 10,000 by 2031 and 15,000 by 2041 (BnG 2007a).

At present, there are around 170 teachers teaching in GME at primary level. To reach the target of 4,000 pupils entering primary GME each year would require roughly this same number of teachers to teach each year group. This would require around a seven-fold increase in the number of Gaelic teachers over the next eleven years in the primary sector. This is before numbers of teachers required for nursery and secondary GME and for secondary GLE are even taken into consideration.

In considering the magnitude of this task, it should further be remembered that the average age of Gaelic teachers is rather high, meaning that a large degree of natural attrition can be expected over the next decade. This trend will itself present a significant challenge (Gaelic Medium Teachers' Action Group 2005: 24).

Due to the factors discussed above with regard to Gaelic-related employment in general, it can be seen these targets in the *National Plan* are highly unlikely to be met unless Gaelic learners are prioritised. Teacher recruitment efforts to date have centred on attracting existing Gaelic speakers, particularly those who have attended GME, and attempting to bring in the small number of Gaelic-speaking teachers who do not currently work in the Gaelic education sector.

To create sufficient numbers of Gaelic-speaking teachers within a short enough time scale, however, adult learning of Gaelic by existing and prospective teachers without a previous

knowledge of the language will be necessary on a large scale. This factor is recognised in the *National Plan for Gaelic*, which has as a key task the 'introduction and support for fast-track immersion and literacy learning opportunities for prospective teachers' in order to lead to 'significant uptake of language courses that address immersion language and literacy needs' (BnG 2007a: 67).

### **2.1.5 Learners and the demand for Gaelic services**

Gaelic learners also punch above their weight in terms of the uptake of Gaelic-related services. While numbers of fluent learners are relatively small at present, this group nonetheless constitutes a significant proportion of users of existing Gaelic services such as websites, Gaelic columns and Gaelic books and documents.

Fluent Gaelic learners are typically literate in the language, thereby adding to demand for written services. As people who have consciously chosen to learn the language, adult learners also have an enthusiasm for the language which often extends to a desire to use it wherever possible (MacCaluim 2007).

It is also undeniable that fluent Gaelic learners constitute a significant proportion of language activists and campaigners. In this respect, it must also be remembered that even the non-fluent can make an important contribution to language development efforts.

## **2.2 Review of existing research and data concerning GfA provision**

Four major studies of adult learners of Gaelic have been undertaken in the last twenty years. These are *Feumalachdan Luchd-Ionnsachaidh – Rannsachadh Nàiseanta / Provision for Gaelic Learners – National Survey*, produced by Comunn na Gàidhlig and CLI in 1992; *Estimate of the Number and Distribution of Adult Learners of Gaelic* by John Galloway for Comunn na Gàidhlig in 1995; Alasdair MacCaluim's 2002 PhD thesis on adult learners, updated and published in book form in 2007 as *Reversing Language Shift: The Role and Social Identity of Scottish Gaelic Learners*, and finally *Provision of Gaelic Classes for Adult Learners* by Irene Pollock for Deiseal Ltd in 2008.

There have also been a small number of more specialised studies concerning particular aspects of Gaelic learning such as broadcasting and immersion courses. Some broader educational studies have also touched upon provision for adult learners. These studies will also be referred to in this section where relevant.

The first major study of provision for Gaelic learners, *Feumalachdan Luchd-Ionnsachaidh* (CnaG / CLI 1992), was based on a national survey of Gaelic learners and tutors and comprehensively described the infrastructure for learners as of 1991, making recommendations for the future. The survey was completed by 760 learners and 128 tutors.

*Feumalachdan* identified several problems with the Gaelic learning infrastructure. In the first place, there was an over-reliance on evening classes, with few other means of learning being available. There were no immersion courses, few work-based courses and only limited distance-learning facilities, for example. Classes tended to be 'one size fits all', with people at mixed levels of ability often being taught in composite classes and with the methods of teaching and areas of language taught failing to meet the specific needs or interests of all learners. Tutors tended to be volunteer native speakers with little or no formal training in language teaching, and the quality of teaching was often inadequate as a result. Other identified deficiencies included outdated or poor quality teaching materials and a lack of Gaelic broadcast output that was suitable for learners. A key conclusion was that

'Provision for adult Gaelic learners is fragmented, lacks co-ordination and needs a more structured approach' (CnaG / CLI 1992: 65).

A similar conclusion was reached by the HM Inspectorate of Schools' report *Provision for Gaelic Education in Scotland*, published two years later, which sought to describe and evaluate Gaelic education provision at all levels, including the adult learners' sector: 'There is a clear need for collaboration among Gaelic organisations, education authorities and institutions of further and higher education to ensure more effective and co-ordinated provision for adult learners [...] creation of a basic infrastructure is vital' (Scottish Office Education Department 1994: 27).

The consequences of these weaknesses identified in the Gaelic learning infrastructure can be seen through the results of a further two studies on Gaelic learners. A longitudinal study of a representative survey of learners by Gordon Wells suggested that traditional Gaelic learning methods such as evening classes were proving ineffective in bringing learners to fluency. Around half of his sample felt that they had made no progress in the language over a three-year period, with another fifth believing that they had regressed and the remainder considering that they had made only limited progress (1997: 25).

Wells concluded that: 'for adult learners wishing to break free of their English monolingualism the picture is bleak if the chosen route is via traditional methods of learning, for example night classes, or even short weekend or week-long courses. The longitudinal findings of this research [...] underline the lack of promise such routes offer [...] Clearly the status quo is untenable if a significant growth in the number of successful adult learners is to be achieved' (Wells 1997: 25).

MacCaluim's study of Gaelic learners, which investigated adult learners in the context of RLS, had a number of aims. Most relevant for the present study was a questionnaire survey of adult learners in 1998/9 and a description of the GfA infrastructure as it stood in the mid 2000s. The survey also investigated the social background of learners, their use of Gaelic and their motivation for learning, examining the social identity of learners and the position of the adult learner within RLS.

The study concluded that the Gaelic learning infrastructure was fragmented, characterised by significant gaps in provision and lacking in any overall strategic co-ordination. Particularly serious gaps in provision included the absence of any tutor training structure and a shortage of intensive courses and flexible learning opportunities. The result of these fundamental flaws in the Gaelic learning infrastructure was that very few Gaelic learners, both as an absolute number and as a percentage of all Gaelic learners, reached fluency in the language. It was further argued that GfA was something of a 'Cinderella sector' with provision for adult learners being treated as peripheral in Gaelic development policy-making and strategy, neither of which reflected the importance to RLS of attracting and bringing increasing numbers of learners to fluency.

In comparing the Gaelic learning infrastructure of the mid 2000s with that of the early 1990s (as described in *Feumalachdan Luchd-Ionnsachaidh*), MacCaluim argued that while some advances had been made, very little real progress had been made over the period in addressing the structural weaknesses identified. Major progress had been made with the establishment of Gaelic immersion courses and other full-time courses in various locations and the introduction of Sabhal Mòr Ostaig's innovative flexible learning courses *An Cùrsa Inntrigidh* and *An Cùrsa Adhartais*. However, these courses were small in number and were not capable of delivering large numbers of fluent Gaelic learners, particularly given the lack of national

strategic co-ordination and persistent funding problems constraining the expansion of full-time Gaelic FE courses.

MacCaluim's Gaelic learners' survey suggested that learners often bring characteristics to Gaelic which can contribute to RLS efforts. These included enthusiasm for the language, knowledge of Gaelic issues, pro-Gaelic views and the provision of a market for Gaelic-related goods and services. However, it was argued that this potential to act as a force for RLS was not being fulfilled, with the survey showing that respondents had made slow and limited progress in learning and exhibited a high level of dissatisfaction with current learning facilities.

Also of concern was the high average age of learners. Most respondents were middle-aged and older, with very few learners falling into the strategically important under-30 age group, a pattern that has negative implications for intergenerational transmission and the uptake of Gaelic-medium education.

Pollock's 2008 study aimed to give an overview of the opportunities available in mid-2008 for adults in Scotland to learn Gaelic. Telephone interviews and Internet research were used to compile a database of classes throughout Scotland, including the full range of providers (local authorities, colleges, universities, independent organisations and individuals).

This study noted a lack of co-ordination in GfA provision, a difficulty in obtaining up-to-date information about learning opportunities and gaps in provision, concluding that 'the main characteristics of available Gaelic classes in mid-2008, therefore, are that they are: lacking any link to a national framework, concentrated in urban areas, cater mainly to beginners and vary widely in timetable, cost, content and quality' (Pollock 2008:1). These conclusions echo those of *Feumalachdan Luchd-ionnsachaidh* and MacCaluim's studies. The results of Pollock's study will be discussed in more detail in section 3 of this report.

John Galloway's 1995 study had a slightly different aim from other studies cited: it aimed to determine the number of Gaelic learners in Scotland. Based on an analysis of sales of Gaelic learning resources, a questionnaire which was sent to 120 newly enrolled members of CLI and discussions with providers, he estimated a conservative figure of around 8,000 learners in Scotland at the time. His estimate of the ability of Gaelic learners nationally was that around 12% were beginners and 56% lower intermediate, with only 23% being upper intermediate and 9% advanced (1995b: 5).

Galloway's report also shed some light on the nature of the GfA infrastructure and its efficacy. Formal Gaelic classes identified in Scotland were mostly for beginners, fewer for intermediate and very few indeed for advanced. Respondents to the questionnaire showed a tendency for learners to have been learning for a long time, with almost half having been learning for 5 years or more and almost one-quarter having been learning for 10 years or more. (Galloway 1995b: 8). It is notable that the other major studies cited here reported similar findings in this regard, but that the newest data, as set out in Figure 3, is rather more favourable.

Two studies have also been carried out into Gaelic immersion courses. A 1994 study by Morag MacNeil & M. N. Beaton investigated the feasibility of establishing Gaelic immersion courses, exploring the models and methods for immersion and intensive language teaching and learning. A number of immersion courses were established in the years immediately following this report. A later study by Boyd Robertson (2001a) reviewed existing immersion provision and put forward recommendations for future development. Unfortunately, these

recommendations were not fully implemented and in recent years the number of FE colleges offering immersion courses has steadily declined. As discussed below, this has been a significant blow to GfA provision, as the structure of these courses facilitated learners in reaching fluency in a manner that was not possible in less intensive courses.

### 2.3 Key policy commitments concerning GfA provision

Although a number of different bodies have made recommendations in relation to GfA provision over the years (including SFC 2007, 2008), the most important policy commitments are those set out in the *National Plan for Gaelic 2007-2012* (BnG 2007a) and, most recently, in *Ginealach Ur na Gàidhlig* (BnG 2010), the Bòrd's Action Plan to increase the number of Gaelic speakers, submitted to the Minister for Gaelic in December 2009 and published in April 2010.

The *National Plan* specifically aims to achieve 'an increase in adult Gaelic learners progressing to fluency' (12). This is designated as a goal for 'the immediate future' (14)<sup>3</sup> In contrast to the detailed figures which are given in relation to projected enrolments in primary GME, however, no specific numerical targets are given in relation to adult learners. One problem here is that it is difficult to quantify the number of adult learners who reach fluency in the absence of a structured progression and testing system (an issue discussed in section 5b i b of this report). Presumably, however, the *National Plan's* targets of increased speaker numbers for 2021, 2031 and 2041 assume a significant contribution from the GfA sector.

The *National Plan* characterises 'acquisition in adult learning' as a 'priority area' and recognises the importance of adult learners in RLS terms: 'Not only will adult learning increase the number of people who are fluent and literate in Gaelic, but where adults are themselves starting families it increases the likelihood that more children will begin acquiring the language in the home and progress through Gaelic-medium education' (BnG 2007a: 21). The *National Plan* also emphasises the importance of those who claimed in the 2001 census to understand but not speak Gaelic fluently, including both 'learners who have not, because of limited opportunities, achieved fluency', 'people who grew up with the language but who may not have received formal instruction and therefore do not feel fully fluent in the language', and those 'who grew up with the language but who have limited literacy skills or who, because they were educated in English, can speak the language, but do not have confidence in their ability to use Gaelic in everyday activities' (BnG 2007a: 21). These different categories of 'understanders' could all be brought to confident fluency more easily than learners starting from scratch, although different methods would be needed for the different groups.

The commitments in the *National Plan* in relation to the GfA sector are not particularly concrete or vigorous, however. In addition to commissioning the present survey, the Bòrd promises to 'encourage the relevant bodies to participate in an effective national system of Gaelic adult education' and to 'seek to encourage the relevant bodies to consider the possibility of developing' 'regional Gaelic learning and cultural establishments', and notes that it 'expects all relevant bodies in this sector such as local authorities, Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Education, the Scottish Ministers, Learning and Teaching Scotland, Scottish Qualifications Authority, Scottish Funding Council and universities to have regard to the priorities listed in the National Gaelic Education Strategy when discharging their functions' (including the statutory Gaelic language plans, where applicable) (BnG 2007a: 21). The

---

<sup>3</sup>The wording on p. 14 is slightly more precise: 'an increase in the number of adult learners progressing to fluency'.

most concrete commitment in this area is to 'put in place a grant scheme to provide support for those seeking to improve their Gaelic language skills', but the extent of support contemplated is not specified (BnG 2007a: 21).

*Ginealach Ur na Gàidhlig* sets out five Priority Action Areas, one of which is Adult Learning, with specific actions, outcomes and Key Performance Indicators being set out in each area (BnG 2010: 11).

The first of the specific actions planned in relation to Adult Learning is to put 'additional investment in Ùlpan model of teaching Gaelic to ensure courses are fully developed, more accessible and certificated'. The designated outcomes here are that Ùlpan Phase 2 courses [discussed in detail in section 3.3 below] should be completed and ready for delivery within three months (i.e. in summer 2010), with Phase 3 following by March 2011; that 80% of students should complete their courses; and that the Ùlpan courses should be accredited by SQA as each Phase is developed. In terms of key performance indicators, 2,000 adults should be learning Gaelic using Ùlpan by 31 December 2012, with 1,600 of them actually completing their courses, and SQA certification should be available to students wishing this (by 31 December 2010, apparently in relation to Phases 1 and 2).

The second specific action is to 'designate two establishments as Gaelic Learning Centres offering excellence in Gaelic acquisition opportunities and an Information Line for prospective learners'. The exact remit of these Centres is not made clear, however. The intended outcomes here are to 'offer a focus for development and delivery on-site, in the workplace and by using modern technology' and to have 'dedicated staff able to offer high levels of accurate information in relation to learning Gaelic'. The key performance indicator here is to achieve, by 31 March 2011, an 'Increasing number of adults learning Gaelic through distance learning or day release from work to be measured annually from a 2010 baseline'. The relative scale of this proposed increase is not specified.

The third specific action is to 'develop [a] new learning website jointly with BBC Alba and engage with BBC Gàidhlig, MG Alba and BBC Scotland to offer more Gaelic learning programming for adults'. The intended outcome here is for 'Bòrd na Gàidhlig, BBC Alba and, if possible, BBC Scotland to collaborate in providing Gaelic learning through programming and on-line resources'. The designated key performance indicators here are to achieve 'increased audiences for BBC Alba and Radio nan Gàidheal' by 31 December 2010 and an 'Increased market for Gaelic publications and learning materials' by 31 March 2011. Again, the magnitude of these proposed increases is not specified.

Finally, BnG will 'assess and, where possible and desirable, implement the findings' of the current research report. The outcomes here are 'a range of interventions based on the outcomes of research the Bòrd has commissioned . . . on the needs of adult learners and to implement all the recommendations and address all the findings the Bòrd finds appropriate and possible, within its resource'. These actions are to be carried out on an ongoing basis in 2010-11.

### **3 Current GfA provision in Scotland**

Our research has revealed a complex and variegated picture in relation to current GfA provision in Scotland.<sup>4</sup> While many different kinds of Gaelic learning opportunities are available in many different parts of the country, there are clearly a number of challenges in terms of the suitability, availability and promotion of courses and in terms of funding. The following section endeavours to combine a systematic overview of current provision with an analysis of these gaps and shortcomings.

#### **3.1 The provider database and the data collection process**

Appendix A provides in database form an up-to-date list of Gaelic classes for adults, usually representing the next course(s) that providers were running. For many providers, these were classes commencing in Autumn 2009, but the list also includes some classes beginning in early-mid 2010. However, other providers offer only week-long courses in the Easter or summer holidays. The database necessarily represents an indicative overview of learning opportunities, therefore, rather than a definitive list.

In summer 2009, a preliminary database was drawn up that indicated providers of Gaelic classes, their contact details, and any courses currently advertised. Information on providers was gathered mainly through websites (including the 'Learn Gaelic' database at <http://iletec.co.uk/learngaelic> and the Learn Direct Scotland list at [www.learnirectscotland.com](http://www.learnirectscotland.com)), and also from previous research, such as the databases included in Pollock's 2008 report for Deiseal Ltd on GfA provision and Galloway's 1995 report, as well as a variety of personal contacts. Providers were not contacted until mid-September 2009, as the majority of classes do not run in the summer months, and to allow time for providers to gather enrolment details.

Each provider was first sent an e-mail giving details of the research, to a named contact within the organisation, where possible. A copy of the interview schedule (attached as Appendix C) was included for those providers wishing to reply via e-mail; providers were also offered the opportunity to take part in a telephone interview. The response rate to these initial e-mails was not high – around 30%. Where telephone numbers were available, providers were then contacted by telephone; however, only some contacts were able to complete the database. In mid-October 2009, all providers whose details were outstanding were sent a reminder e-mail. This elicited a further 12 replies. A final attempt to gather information was made in January-April 2010. Some providers had still not provided details on their classes at the time of submission of this report, and one important provider, Taic (formerly CNSA) stated that it preferred not to provide us with details of its current courses.

Gathering accurate and up-to-date data for this database proved very challenging, for a number of different reasons. Publicly available information, particularly on the Internet, was often incomplete or out of date. There was often a lack of knowledge and 'institutional memory' within provider organisations, especially local authorities, and it was often difficult to find the appropriate contact person with the organisation. Finally, and most disappointingly, a number of courses that had been announced or advertised eventually did not run (though in many cases the subsequent cancellation was itself not well advertised).

---

<sup>4</sup>Limited GfA provision is also available in England, Germany, Canada, the United States and Australia but this provision falls outwith the scope of this report. Such learners have ever-better opportunities to reach fluency in Gaelic given the improvement of learning resources, including those available on-line. Learners outwith Scotland can also contribute to the Gaelic community through their on-line presence and as consumers of Gaelic goods and services.

The recent database collated in summer 2008 for Deiseal Ltd makes a useful comparator for this research. This database was compiled for similar purposes, and involved similar problems in terms of a lack of coordination amongst providers, little historical information available (for example, previous enrolment figures), out of date or incorrect websites, and similar lack of knowledge on the part of the providers regarding the class content, enrolment, tutor details, and so forth. Although the database for the Deiseal report was clearly useful in preparing the current investigation, it is striking that around one-quarter of the contact names and/or details were no longer correct one year later. In addition, around 10% of the classes listed in the database were no longer running. The only significant increase appeared in the number of Úlpan classes offered. A similar range for number of learners was estimated, although again this information is very imprecise. The lack of correlation between the two databases, created less than 18 months apart by the same researcher, indicates a significant challenge for the average learner looking for an opportunity to learn Gaelic. Indeed, more fundamentally, this instability shows the disparate and fragile nature of the current GfA infrastructure.

Given this fragmentation and lack of coordination, the information needed for our database had to be sought out from a wide variety of different sources reflecting diverse types of providers. As might be expected, gathering data about local voluntary groups took considerable work. Perhaps more surprisingly, finding out the correct contact person for local authority provision often proved difficult, given the differing structures and roles of Community Learning/Development in different councils and the fact that not all authorities are involved in the Community Learning and Development Review Group for Gaelic (CLDRG).

It was particularly noticeable that reliable, up-to-date and readily accessible information about learning opportunities was often difficult to find on-line even though the Internet has now become the principal information source for a large and growing section of society. This was particularly true in relation to local authority Gaelic provision, which was often out of date or lacking altogether. Outdated or incomplete class details might well mislead or discourage students seeking learning opportunities.

A particular class might be advertised, for example, as running 'on Tuesday nights from 7-9pm' without giving the term dates. Similarly, the year in which an advertised class was to take place was not always stated, with the result that it was often unclear whether classes featured were current or past.

Details of GfA classes, courses and resources of all types are available through Clì Gàidhlig's learn-gaelic.info portal, which was established with support from the CLDRG. This on-line resource enables learners to search for learning opportunities by area, level and type of course and in theory could act as a one-stop-shop for GfA information.

While this portal is very useful and has a great deal of potential, it currently has a number of weaknesses. Most importantly, although it features a great number of learning opportunities, it is by no means comprehensive. Inclusion of material in the database depends on providers uploading details or submitting details to Clì Gàidhlig. Likewise, it is not always up to date, as renewal of information is also dependent on individual providers. As one example, on 8 February 2010, in relation to the University of Dundee, the database gave details of classes starting in January 2007 instead of the class being offered in 2009-10 (as shown in the database in Appendix A). In other cases, entries are not dated at all, leaving it unclear to which time period they refer. Even when the information concerning

particular classes is up to date, in many cases it is incomplete, omitting important details such as the cost of the course.

The Learndirect Scotland website ([www.learndirectscotland.com](http://www.learndirectscotland.com)) also provides a searchable database of learning opportunities, including GfA provision. Like the [learn.gaelic.info](http://learn.gaelic.info) database, this site is searchable by area, course type and level and is a very useful resource for learners, particularly with regard to FE, and to a lesser extent, HE provision. Again, however, the data is by no means comprehensive or reliable. As of 8 February 2010, the database indicated that evening classes for both beginners and post-beginners were running between July 2009 and July 2010 at each of Argyll College's 11 learning centres, when in fact the only current provision is a single conversation class offered from January 2010 onwards and made available from the Islay centre by video link.

A related issue involves that significant number of courses that were planned and advertised but did not actually run. In some cases this was because it proved impossible to find a suitable tutor, but more typically the problem was insufficient student enrolment. Many providers have a fixed minimum enrolment and will cancel classes on relatively short notice if not enough students have signed up. This practice is particularly common with FE colleges and local authorities, for whom Gaelic is but one of many subjects they offer. Cancellation of classes obviously disappoints and frustrates students who had been expecting to do the course, but also has an adverse impact on students who only learn of the course after the decision to cancel has been made. Moreover, in many cases, the cancellation is not reported back to central databases such as Learndirect Scotland. For example, as of 8 February 2010, this database still indicates that Borders College is running a Beginners' Gaelic class between 25 January and 29 March 2010, when in fact the class never started due to insufficient enrolment.

As discussed below, the Scottish Funding Council have recently allocated special funding 'to support the viability of Gaelic courses with otherwise unviable cohorts' (Scottish Funding Council 2008: 4), but this system applies only to FE/HE providers and not to local authorities. Moreover, it seems unlikely that a provider would be willing to go through the complex administrative procedures involved in seeking special SFC funding if all that is at stake is the viability of a single short course which may be only one of many scores offered by the institution, as opposed to a year-long immersion course that requires the employment of one or more full-time members of staff.

### **3.2 Range of providers**

The database shows in excess of 160 offerings from approximately 50 providers. The distribution of courses is displayed in map form in Appendix B. Current GfA provision is heavily concentrated in the Highland Council area, the Western Isles, Edinburgh and Greater Glasgow. Provision in other parts of Scotland is either patchy or even nonexistent (as in Aberdeenshire, East Lothian, Midlothian, Orkney, Shetland and South Ayrshire). In Argyll & Bute and Perth & Kinross, two areas with a relatively strong Gaelic heritage, the level of provision is surprisingly low and appears to have diminished in recent years. Indeed, considering the GfA sector as a whole across Scotland, there does not seem to have been meaningful growth in recent years in the number of courses offered, although the recent rolling-out of Ùlpan courses has been a positive development.

There are two providers that run a number of different courses in various parts of Scotland, Clì Gàidhlig/Deiseal (Ùlpan courses) and Taic/CNSA (Total Immersion Plus courses), and a wide variety of providers offering different kinds of courses in particular localities, ranging from local authorities to FE colleges to private Gaelic organisations of one kind or another.

One of the most important developments in relation to GfA provision in recent years is a very negative one: the striking decline in immersion courses at FE colleges. In the late 1990s, some fourteen FE colleges in different parts of Scotland were offering immersion courses. This has now dwindled to a mere three: Lews Castle College, Sabhal Mòr Ostaig and Stow College. The disappearance of these courses has removed one of the most intensive and effective kinds of GfA provision, one that had real capacity for bringing students to fluency.

Another adverse trend is the gradual withdrawal of local authorities from direct provision of community education classes in favour of a 'partnership' model by which the authority funds and works with a range of other groups, typically in the voluntary sector. Even if the provision offered by partners is of high quality, this model tends to diminish the regularity, consistency and predictability of provision, and to exacerbate problems of inadequate publicity and promotion (an issue discussed in more detail below).

The database does not include HE courses or Gaelic language instruction offered by individual employers as part of their training programme, as these are not available to the wider group of potential Gaelic learners. HE courses (including second-, third- and fourth-year courses at SMO and Lews Castle College as well as courses at the universities of Aberdeen, Edinburgh and Glasgow) are normally available only to students enrolled on a multi-year degree programme. Trends and issues arising in the HE context, which are in many respects distinct from the remainder of the GfA sector, have recently been analysed by SFC (2007).

Workplace provision is steadily growing in importance, principally but not exclusively through the implementation of statutory Gaelic language plans. This development mirrors the trajectory in Wales since the adoption of the Welsh Language Act 1993. Each of the public bodies that has developed a Gaelic language plan to date has made commitments of one kind or another in relation to Gaelic language learning opportunities for their staff, which may include learning opportunities during work hours on the work site. A significant issue relating to employer provision is the need to connect language training to the performance of job duties and the provision of services to the public. Such training may therefore need a specific or specialist focus that differs from the generic instruction that is characteristic of GfA provision as a whole.

### **3.3 Types of classes**

As might be expected, a number of different kinds of classes are currently available, from beginners to advanced levels, from grammar-based courses to courses that purportedly eschew grammar teaching to conversation classes. As such, it is difficult to generalise about the course structures that are in place or the teaching approaches and teaching materials that are used. However, several overarching trends can be identified.

First, it is apparent that provision is heavily concentrated at beginners' and post-beginners' level, with the number and range of courses becoming progressively thinner at more advanced levels. A number of classes are designated as 'mixed' or as catering for 'all' students, typically because there are not enough students enrolled to justify running separate classes at differentiated levels. While this pattern is, in a sense, inevitable, as it is axiomatic that not all students who start to learn Gaelic will go on to intermediate and advanced classes, there is a significantly structural concern here in relation to the lack of progression structures that are both clearly defined and actually available to the willing student.

The teaching approaches used in Gaelic learners' classes vary considerably, in part because of structural differences in syllabi, methodology and philosophy, but also because of variation in individual tutors' styles and approaches. The 'same' course offered by a particular provider may be quite different from one year to the next. The instability and general lack of professionalisation in the GfA sector tends to exacerbate such inconsistency.

'Traditional' evening classes tend to focus on functional communication, with the syllabus structured according to key topics. Often this approach will be combined with the progressive introduction of key grammatical structures. For example, the syllabus for the Gaelic 1, Course 1 at the University of Edinburgh's Office of Lifelong Learning covers greetings, introducing oneself, placenames, expressing possession, requesting food and drink, the family and the time, together with presentation of pronouns, adjectives, expressing 'to be' in the present, past and future tenses, verbal nouns, interrogatives and possessive pronouns.

The Ùlpan methodology, which was developed by Deiseal Ltd based on successful courses in Wales (and ultimately Israel), is quite distinctive in many respects. Ùlpan has been rolled out in several different parts of Scotland since 2006 and has been taken up with enthusiasm in many parts of the country, notably in the Western Isles, through the Western Isles Community Planning Partnerships.<sup>5</sup> More than 1,000 students have enrolled on Ùlpan courses, and paid the company's registration fee, since 2007. Centred on language drills augmented with role-play and games, Ùlpan is based on the spoken language but is structured so as to develop an understanding of grammar and reading and writing skills.

One criticism of Ùlpan is its relatively high cost, which appears to have discouraged some students and providers from choosing this model. Students (or organisations funding them) are required to pay a one-off enrolment fee of £50 and then £4 per unit. The complete course, which aims to take students to fluency, involves 216 units and takes some 324 hours in total.

Total Immersion Plus (TIP), associated with Taic (CNSA) and its Gàidhlig san Dachaidh courses, is a particularly innovative and distinctive teaching method that aims to bring students to fluency in only 200 hours, or about one-tenth of the time typically thought necessary for language acquisition. The provider describes the method as follows:

Acquisition in TIP terms, means that students are surrounded by the Gaelic they are learning and by way of tutor directed information. The language is picked up and absorbed by the student as they progress through a TIP course; initially in the use of single words, phrases and then moving onto sentences; ultimately leading to conversation.

Once a student has embarked on language acquisition two fundamental components of TIP kick in. These being intensive repetition and non verbal communication and as progress is made, fluency begins to occur.

---

<sup>5</sup>It is of course possible to understand the growth of GfA opportunities in the Western Isles as a negative trend. A generation or two ago there would have been no need for such provision given the very high levels of Gaelic ability in the local population.

TIP methodology excludes all reading, writing, grammar and translation within its first phase.<sup>6</sup>

Several different approaches are taken in relation to teaching materials. The most common arrangement is to use a combination of tutor-generated materials (typically handouts of different kinds) in combination with a published teaching book, most often *Speaking Our Language* or *Teach Yourself Gaelic*. Ùlpan courses and Sabhal Mòr Ostaig's Cùrsa Inntrigidh and Cùrsa Adhartais involve extensive and systematic materials which have been expressly developed for these particular courses.

Distance learning remains relatively underdeveloped in relation to GfA provision. Sabhal Mòr Ostaig has developed two successful courses, An Cùrsa Inntrigidh (Access to Gaelic Course) and the follow-on Cùrsa Adhartais, but these cater for relatively few students, and the costs are fairly high (£675 and £966 respectively). In addition to self-study materials and an the use of an Online Learning Environment, these courses involve weekly telephone tutorials (approximately 45 minutes in duration) and three weekend residential schools. Students are required to complete a series of written and oral assessments as they progress through the course. By the end of An Cùrsa Inntrigidh, according to the provider, students 'can expect to participate with confidence in Gaelic conversation', while An Cùrsa Adhartais takes students further towards fluency.<sup>7</sup>

Telford College in Edinburgh also offers Gaelic classes via distance learning, but current enrolment figures are unavailable. Outwith Scotland, the Canadian-based Atlantic Gaelic Academy has also emerged as another successful distance learning GfA provider.

Although teaching methodology is clearly important, and some methods are more effective than others, it is arguable that there has been a tendency in recent years to emphasise questions of methodology over issues of structure and delivery. Although it is certain that improvements are possible in relation to tuition, methods and materials, the key challenges facing the GfA sector lie elsewhere.

### **3.4 Funding arrangements**

It is not particularly meaningful to speak of a 'GfA budget' analagous to the budget for Gaelic broadcasting. GfA provision in Scotland is supported from a number of different sources, of which relatively few involve funding explicitly and exclusively dedicated to adult Gaelic learners. These various sources include different strands of funding from BnG, CnaG and other Gaelic organisations; central and local government, principally via the Scottish Government's system of Specific Grants for Gaelic Education; other public bodies, such as Highlands and Islands Enterprise, SFC, ILA Scotland, the Gaelic Books Council, MG ALBA and the BBC; and, of course, fee income from students.

The most important stream of dedicated GfA funding is the funding provided to Cli Gàidhlig, principally by BnG (a total of £85,000 in 2008/9), but also by CnaG, HIE, Aberdeen City Council, Highland Council and Perth & Kinross Council. Another organisation receiving core funding from BnG, Taic (CNSA), also plays an increasing role in the GfA sector through its 'Gàidhlig san Dachaidh' courses.

Another key funding source is the Specific Grant for Gaelic Education. Although this funding is typically understood as serving school education, several local authorities use a

---

<sup>6</sup>[http://www.ti-plus.com/tip\\_what\\_is\\_it.htm](http://www.ti-plus.com/tip_what_is_it.htm)

<sup>7</sup>See [www.smo.uhi.ac.uk/en/cursaichean/inntrigidh/index.php](http://www.smo.uhi.ac.uk/en/cursaichean/inntrigidh/index.php)

portion of their Specific Grant funding towards the costs of community learning and other kinds of GfA provision (e.g. classes for parents of children in GME). The total Specific Grants budget varies from year to year, with the figure for both 2008-9 and 2009-10 set at £4.4m, and annual allocations depend on individual bids from local authorities; as such, the amount spent on GfA provision within broader bids and allocations fluctuates. As the Specific Grant pays a maximum of 75% of such costs, any local authority using this funding must pay at least 25% from its own resources. In the case of local authorities such as Glasgow that do not charge fees for their community education classes (including Gaelic classes), the share coming from council resources may be considerable. Some other authorities charge fees to most students on their community education classes but allow parents of children in GME to attend for free.

In other cases, local authority support for GfA classes and community learning activities is more indirect. Argyll & Bute Council, for example, provides small grants to a number of local Gaelic partnerships (e.g. Cowal, Kintyre, Lorn, Mull & Iona, Tiree) across the local authority area. Some of these local partnerships in turn offer GfA provision of different kinds.

The various FE and HE institutions that offer Gaelic are all supported through core funding from SFC. BnG also provides small scale funding to Lews Castle College (£45,400 in 2008/9) and SMO (£4,750 in 2008/9). SMO also receives a significant additional annual grant directly from the Scottish Government (£1.25 million in 2009/10).

Other than the small number of free courses, fee income from students also provides an important stream of revenue, even if these fees are rarely high and in some cases are nominal. The database indicates the fees charged for each individual course.

Gaelic organisations, including BnG, CnaG and Urras Brosnachaidh na Gàidhlig, also provide funding of different kinds on a more ad hoc basis. BnG's Taic Freumhan Coimhearsnachd scheme funds community initiatives of different kinds, many of which included GfA provision such as classes for parents of children in GME. The BnG-administered Gaelic Language Plan Implementation Fund may also include support for GfA provision, whether this involve Gaelic lessons for staff or community education provision.

Funding for the production of books and media resources represents a distinct and important stream of financial support for GfA. The Gaelic Books Council plays a key role by subsidising a range of publications that are suitable for adult learners, including not only course books and reference materials but also the range of learner-orientated short novels published by Sandstone Press. Stòrlann Nàiseanta na Gàidhlig has produced important resources for GLE in schools which may also be useful for adult learners, including *Gràmar na Gàidhlig* and the recent *Ceumannan* coursebook. MG Alba (the Gaelic Media Service) and the BBC fund the production of various resources for adult learners, notably those on the BBC Alba website ([www.bbc.co.uk/alba/foghlam/learngaelic](http://www.bbc.co.uk/alba/foghlam/learngaelic)). The Scottish Government has recently awarded MG ALBA an additional £50,000 to develop a new website providing extra resources and support for Gaelic learners.<sup>8</sup>

Although it is difficult to quantify these diverse inputs, it is certain that the scale of funding for GfA is very small when compared to the cost of school education in Gaelic (GME and GLE) or to the Welsh for Adults structure (some £2.25 million per year for the six Welsh Language Centres alone).

---

<sup>8</sup>See [www.scotland.gov.uk/News/Releases/2009/12/07095612](http://www.scotland.gov.uk/News/Releases/2009/12/07095612).

Another aspect of the issue of funding is the student perspective: the relative cost of courses and the availability of bursaries. As noted above, some local authority courses are free, reflecting a policy decision on the part of the council.<sup>9</sup> Other providers charge fees equivalent to approximately £5 per teaching hour. In the case of full-time courses, such as Sabhal Mòr Ostaig's Cùrsa Comais and Stow College's Cùrsa Bogaidh, bursaries are available from the Student Awards Agency for Scotland on the usual terms applicable to FE/HE courses. One difficulty here is that students seeking to enrol on intensive Gaelic courses such as these may well have an HE qualification already, such that they are not eligible for SAAS funding. Individual Learning Accounts offered by ILA Scotland are also an important source of support for those on benefits or with an annual income of £22,000 or less, although the amount involved is not large (a maximum of £500 per year).

In January 2010, Clì Gàidhlig started a pilot scheme of grant support for new Gaelic learners, 'Cuideachadh Luchd-Ionnsaichidh Ùr' (Cliù),<sup>10</sup> the New Users of Gaelic Grant. This scheme furthers BnG's commitment in the National Plan to 'put in place a grant scheme to provide support for those seeking to improve their Gaelic language skills' (BnG 2007a: 21) and the initiative is part-funded by the Bòrd. Under Cliù funding Clì Gàidhlig may offer support towards direct expenses relating to childcare, travel, accommodation, or costs relating to mobility difficulties or disability. Support is also available to unsuccessful applicants for ILA assistance and new tutors are eligible for one-off set-up grants. The maximum level of support from Cliù is not stated in the public documentation.

---

<sup>9</sup>It is significant here that despite announcing significant cuts in overall expenditure, Glasgow City council has reiterated that it has no plans to introduce charges for its community education courses, even though a significant proportion of Gaelic students recently surveyed felt a charge of at least £60 would be appropriate for a block of 10 classes (Glasgow City Council 2009b).

<sup>10</sup>This is the spelling used in Clì Gàidhlig's documentation. 'Cuideachadh Luchd-Ionnsachaidh Ùr' might have been expected.

## 4 Motivations and experiences of Gaelic learners

### 4.1 Summary and analysis of learners' survey results

As the second major component of this research into provision of opportunities for adults to learn Gaelic, a survey questionnaire was created to investigate *who* is learning Gaelic, *what* they are learning, *where* they are learning, *how* they are learning, and, most importantly, *why* they are learning. The survey questions track those used in MacCaluim's survey (2002, 2007) and thus allow for cross-comparison.

The following organisations and providers were asked to distribute a link to an on-line questionnaire to learners currently enrolled on courses: Cli Gàidhlig (in relation to Ùlpan courses), Sabhal Mòr Ostaig (An Cùrsa Inntrigidh and An Cùrsa Adhartais), Stow College (Higher Gàidhlig and Introduction to Higher Gaelic), University of Edinburgh Office of Lifelong Learning (Gaelic 1.1, 2.1, and 3.1), and the Community Learning and Development Group (community education courses provided by local authorities in various parts of Scotland).<sup>11</sup> Learners were given the option of completing the survey on-line, through the Bristol Online Surveys tool, or receiving a postal questionnaire, but all respondents chose the on-line option. The survey form, consisting of 28 questions, is provided in Appendix D.

The aim of the survey was to receive 200 responses. 329 respondents in total replied, although 45 of these did not complete the survey. Of the 284 completed surveys, 67 were considered unusable, as the respondents were taking courses outwith Scotland (principally from the Atlantic Gaelic Academy in Canada or from the Moscow Gaelic Society), or were not currently enrolled on a course. Therefore, 216 surveys were analysed. The final question of the survey asked learners if they would be willing to participate in an interview, with the aim of conducting 40 interviews. 178 learners agreed to take part; after filtering, 105 learners were approved for interview and 60 learners eventually interviewed. Details of the interview process and results are provided in the next section of this report.

**Table 1**  
**Breakdown of survey respondents**

Total respondents:	329
Total completed surveys:	284 (86% of total respondents)
Total analysed surveys:	216 (76% of completed surveys)
Total willing interviewees:	178 (63% of completed surveys)
Total interviewees invited to respond:	105 (49% of analysed surveys)
Total completed interviews:	60 (57% of those invited; 28% of analysed surveys)

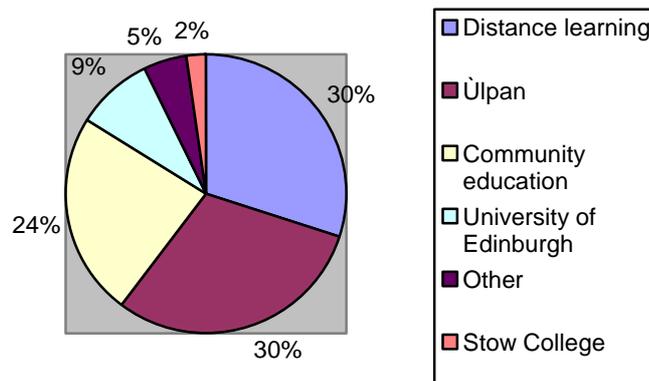
The 216 usable responses represent a wide range of adult Gaelic learners. Around one-third (30%) of the respondents were enrolled on Ùlpan courses, another third (30%) on the Sabhal Mòr Ostaig distance learning courses, one-quarter (24%) on community education courses, and the remaining learners were enrolled at Stow College (2%), the University of Edinburgh Office of Lifelong Learning (9%), or on other courses (5%).<sup>12</sup> Twelve learners

<sup>11</sup>Some of the local authority providers, including Comhairle nan Eilean Siar and Highland Council, declared themselves unwilling to participate in the survey distribution because of misgivings concerning the reliance on an on-line survey. The responses therefore do not include surveys completed by learners in these providers' classes.

<sup>12</sup>Several unsolicited survey responses were received, suggesting that individual learners enrolled on one of the courses on which we focused may have forwarded the survey details to other learners enrolled on

(5%) were involved in multiple courses; 6 in two different community education courses, 3 in Ùlpan courses and distance learning courses, 2 in distance learning courses and community education courses, and 1 in an Ùlpan course and a community education course. These have been included in the chart below.

**Figure 1**  
**Type of class attended by respondents**

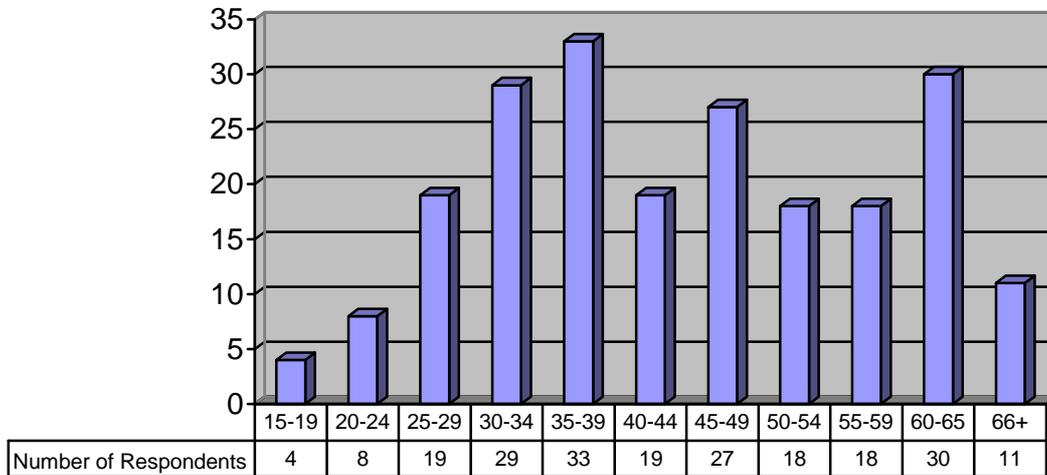


The majority of respondents were, of course, living in Scotland, but 18 (8%) of the respondents undertaking distance learning courses were based abroad, in England, Ireland, the United States, Canada, Australia, Germany, Russia, Spain, and Switzerland. A wide range of ages was also indicated, as illustrated in the chart below. However, only 15% of respondents were under 30; 50% were aged between 30 and 49, and 35% were 50 or over. The concentration in the middle age group is marked but not as striking as in the small-scale survey of students on Glasgow City Council’s Gaelic courses conducted in 2009, in which 49% of respondents were clustered in the 35-44 age group (Glasgow City Council 2009a, 2009b).

---

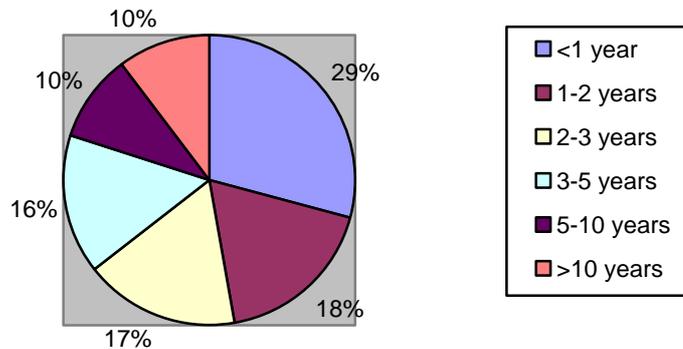
other kinds of courses. As there is no reason to believe that the data received from these other learners would contaminate our results, we have included these submissions in our analysis here.

**Figure 2**  
Age distribution of respondents



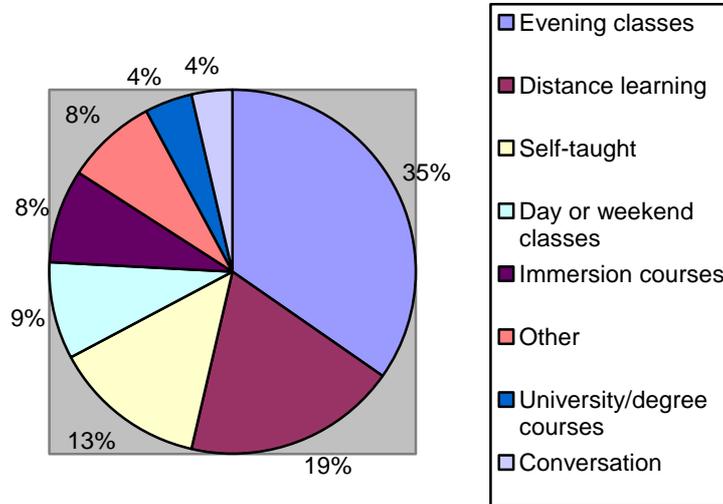
Around one-third (29%) of the respondents had been learning Gaelic for less than a year, but 10% had been learning for more than 10 years and a further 10% for between 5 and 10 years. Even so, these proportions of long-term learners are considerably lower than those reported by Galloway (1995b).

**Figure 3**  
Length of time respondents learning Gaelic



Respondents were also asked to indicate their main method of learning Gaelic, as shown in the chart below.

**Figure 4**  
**Respondents' main method of learning Gaelic**



69 learners (32%) were taking their first class, with a further 28 (13%) taking their second class. As would be expected, therefore, around one-third (37%) of respondents characterised their skills in listening, speaking, reading, and writing Gaelic as 'none/complete beginner' or 'beginner'. Less than 10% of learners felt that they were 'advanced' or 'fully fluent' in listening and reading, and only around 5% in speaking and writing. Most (75%) of the learners had no formal qualification in Gaelic, with only 18% already possessing a qualification. Of the 162 learners without a qualification, only 54 (33%) desired one, and the majority of these were not yet sure what qualification they were aiming for (indeed, many qualifications were mentioned which do not currently exist for Gaelic).

In terms of Gaelic family heritage, which might be expected to be a significant source of learner motivation, only 20% of learners had a parent who spoke Gaelic; of these, only 11 learners (5%) indicated that both parents spoke Gaelic. Gaelic-speaking siblings were rare (3.7%), while grandparents were much more numerous – one-third (33%) of respondents had at least one Gaelic-speaking grandparent. Around one-third (30%) of respondents listed 'other relatives' (aunts and uncles, cousins, great-aunts and great-uncles) as being Gaelic-speaking. 47 (22%) of respondents had both Gaelic-speaking grandparents and other Gaelic-speaking relatives (but not parents or siblings), while 17 (8%) had other Gaelic-speaking relatives, but not Gaelic-speaking grandparents. There did not appear to be a significant correlation between the learner's age and the number of Gaelic-speaking relatives that he/she had. 124 respondents (57%) did not indicate any Gaelic-speaking relatives. This last finding is potentially a useful one, as it suggests that the 'market' for GfA includes a large share of the general population and is not confined to the relatively limited sub-group having Gaelic-speaking relatives.

**Table 2**  
**Gaelic learners and Gaelic-speaking relatives**

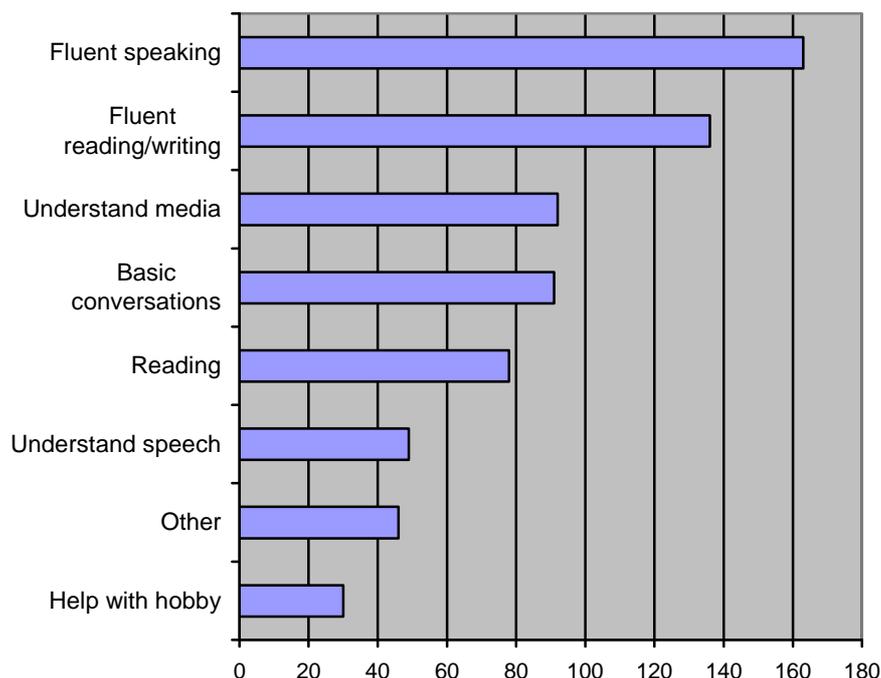
Gaelic-speaking relatives	Number and proportion of respondents
Siblings, both parents, both sides of grandparents, and other(s)	3 (1.4%)
Both parents, both sides of grandparents, and other(s)	7 (3.2%)
One parent, both sides of grandparents, and other(s)	5 (2.3%)
One parent, one side of grandparents, and other(s)	16 (7.4%)
One parent and his/her parent(s)	4 (1.9%)
Parent and other(s) only	2 (0.9%)
Grandparent(s) and other(s) only	9 (4.2%)
Sibling(s) or parent(s) only	3 (1.4%)
Grandparents on one side only	18 (8.3%)
Other(s) only	14 (6.5%)
Other combinations <sup>13</sup>	11 (5%)

Few learners indicated any use of Gaelic in their own homes: 15 (7%) had a Gaelic-speaking partner or spouse, while 28 (13%) had children in Gaelic-medium education. Thirty other respondents indicated that some Gaelic was spoken at home, such as to young children and grandchildren, other relatives living at home (such as parents or siblings), partners who were learning, and even talking to oneself or the dog.

Respondents were asked to identify their various personal aims and goals in learning Gaelic. Three-quarters (163 - 75%) of learners aimed to become fluent in spoken Gaelic, while two-thirds (136 - 63%) aimed to become fluent in reading and writing Gaelic. More modest aims were also selected, such as participating in conversation (91 – 42%), understanding media (92 – 42%), and reading (79 – 37%). Cultural reasons (such as place names, literature, and music) were frequently mentioned, as was being able to assist children with homework. Between 10% and 15% of learners expected to attain only ‘basic’ competence in the four language skills.

<sup>13</sup>These ‘other combinations’ were very diverse, comprising one maternal and one paternal grandparent; one maternal and two paternal grandparents; one paternal and two maternal grandparents; sibling, mother, maternal grandparent, and other; sibling, father, paternal grandparent, and other; sibling, mother, maternal grandparent, paternal grandparent, other; sibling, maternal grandparent, paternal grandparent, other; mother, maternal grandparent, paternal grandparent; father, maternal grandparent, paternal grandparent; and mother, father, maternal grandparent, other.

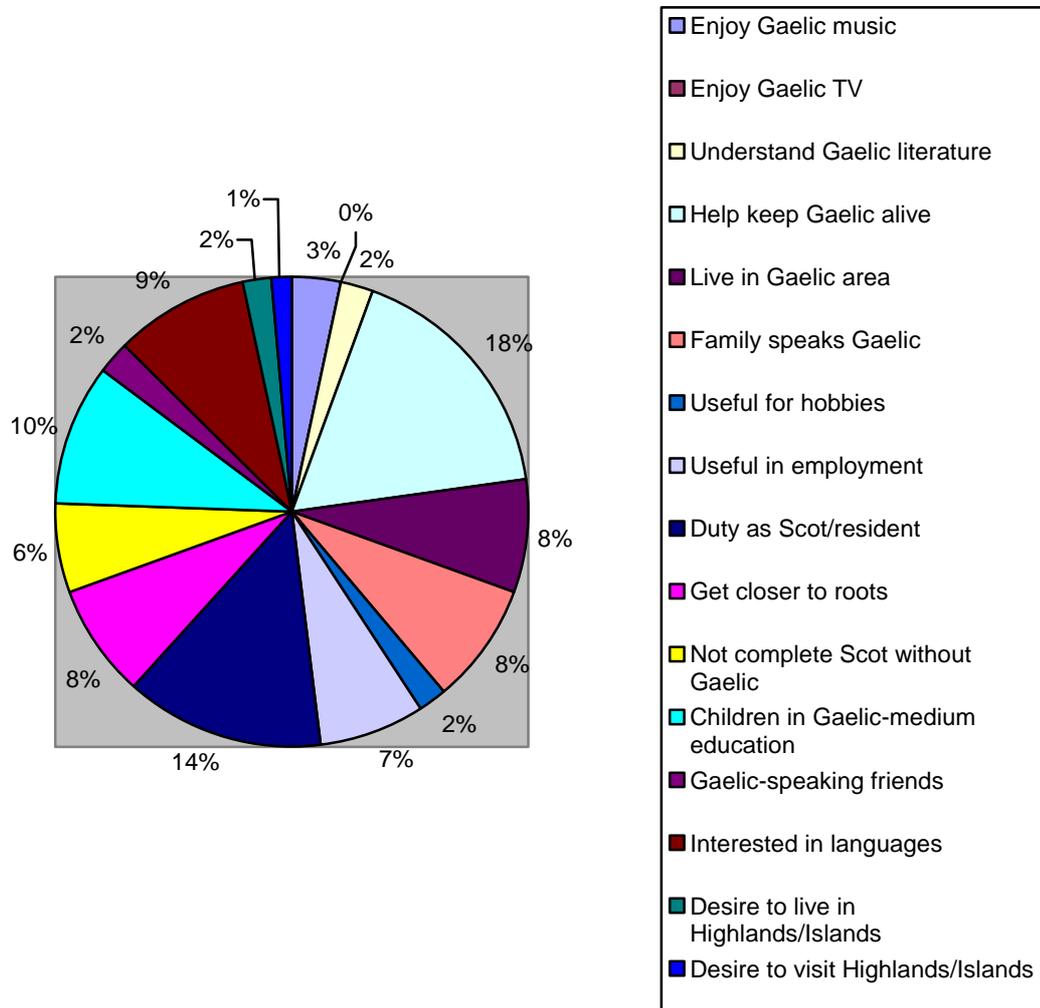
**Figure 5**  
**Respondents' goals and aims**



The survey included a list of reasons why learners started to learn Gaelic, and also gave respondents the option of writing in reasons. Respondents were asked to indicate all the applicable reasons, and then select the main reason. Most respondents indicated multiple reasons for learning Gaelic. The most significant main reason was 'I would be helping to keep Gaelic alive' at 17%; this was followed by 'As a Scot/someone living in Scotland, I feel I should speak Gaelic' (13%), 'My children are in Gaelic-medium education' (10%), 'I am interested in languages' (9%) and 'Gaelic would help me get closer to my roots' (9%).<sup>14</sup> Significantly, *no* learners selected understanding Gaelic television as the main reason, and very few selected being able to enjoy music, literature, or hobbies; likewise, few indicated a social or tourism aspect as the main reason. These results are broadly in line with MacCaluim's counterpart findings (2007: 157), except that the proportion choosing 'My children are in Gaelic-medium education', which was given as the main reason by only 2.9% of respondents in MacCaluim's survey.

<sup>14</sup>The pattern is rather different when all of the multiple reasons that learners chose are tabulated (i.e. not just the main reason that they selected). Overall, the five most commonly selected reasons were 'I would be helping to keep Gaelic alive' (included by 77.3% of learners), 'As a Scot/someone living in Scotland, I feel I should speak Gaelic' (55.5%), 'I am interested in languages' (47.2%), 'I would be able to understand Gaelic literature' (39.8%) and 'I would be able to enjoy Gaelic music better' (39.8%). In contrast, 'My children are in Gaelic-medium education' was the least commonly chosen reason (17 out of 17 possibilities), selected by only 12.5% of respondents, but as noted above this was very often these respondents' main reason.

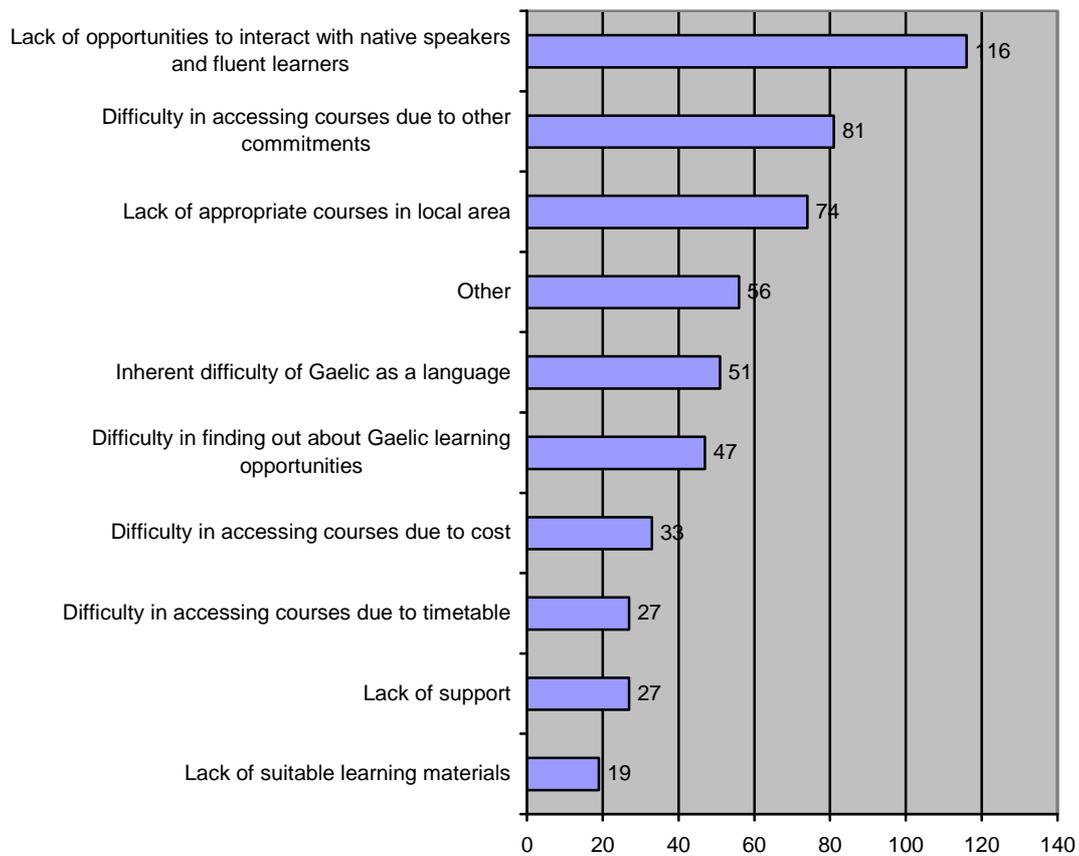
**Figure 6**  
**Respondents' main reason for learning Gaelic**



Learners were very forthcoming in identifying the obstacles they perceived in relation to learning and reaching fluency in Gaelic. More than half (54%) of the respondents indicated that the 'lack of opportunities to interact with native speakers and fluent learners' was an obstacle. Significant numbers also expressed 'difficulty in accessing courses due to other commitments' (81 – 38%) and 'lack of appropriate courses in local area' (75 – 35%). 51 learners (24%) felt the 'inherent difficulty of Gaelic as a language' was a challenge, while 47 (22%) experienced 'difficulty in finding out about Gaelic learning opportunities'. However, learners appeared to be relatively satisfied with the timetable of courses (27 – 13% finding this a challenge), the cost (34 – 16%), available support (27 – 13%), and learning materials (18 – 8%). Fifty-six respondents added other comments relating to the obstacles they had encountered. Many of these comments gave further details on survey answers; however, various additional comments were also made. Seven respondents (3%)

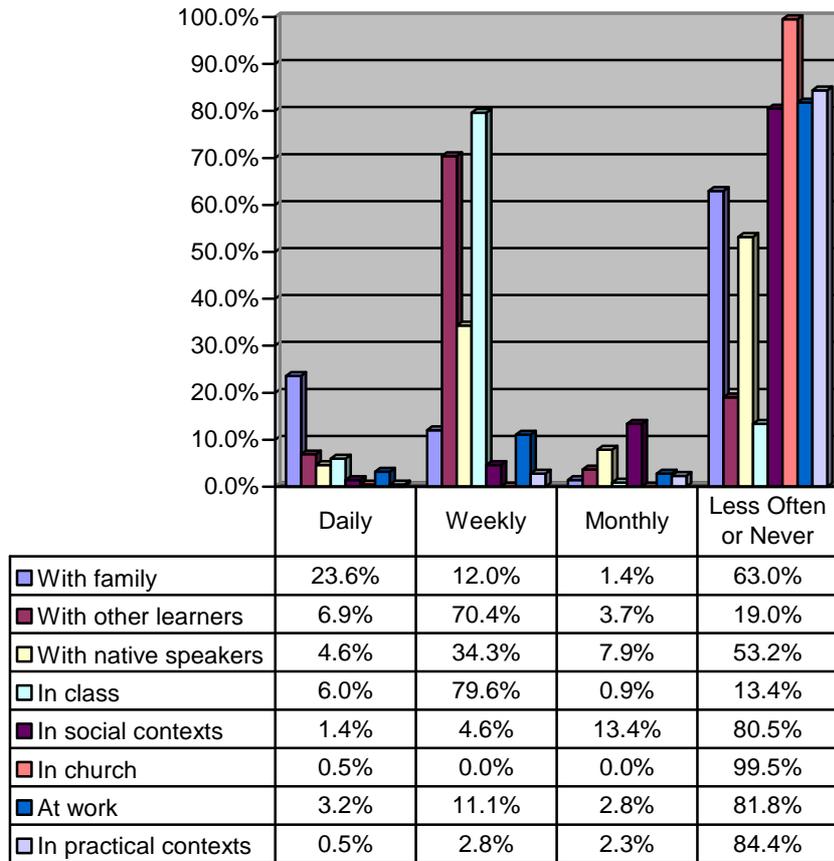
indicated they had experienced no problems. Six others said they had a fear of failure and so were not making progress. Seven comments were made that Gaelic was not visible enough (e.g. on shop signs) and that Gaelic speakers 'don't tend to speak much Gaelic' or 'are reluctant to speak the language'. A total of 17 comments (8%) were made concerning the ad hoc availability of courses (3), the lack of continuity and progression between courses (6), lack of children's or family courses (5), and perceived poor teaching quality (3). Many of these topics were re-visited later in the survey.

**Figure 7**  
**Obstacles encountered by respondents in learning Gaelic**



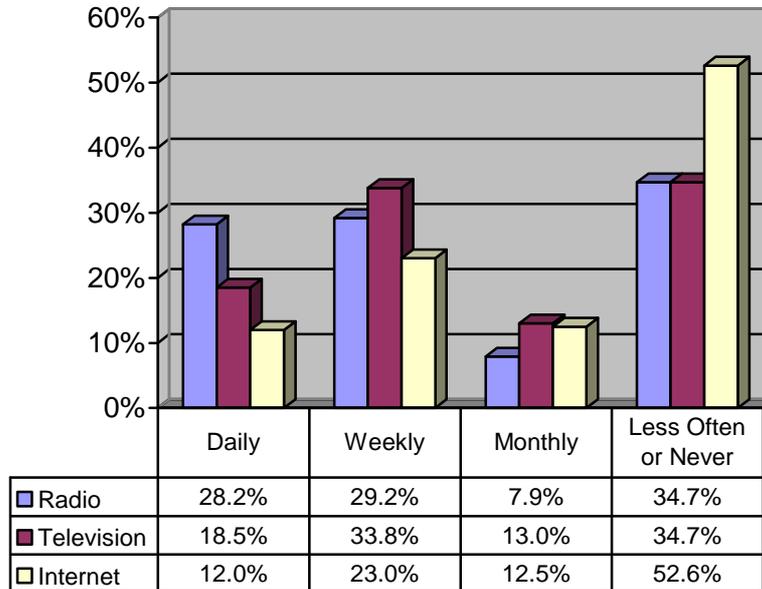
A large section of the survey was devoted to the learners' actual use of Gaelic. Almost one-quarter (24%) of respondents indicated that they spoke Gaelic daily with family (keeping in mind that at most 15% lived with Gaelic-speaking relatives), although half (52%) never did so. Most learners (71%) spoke Gaelic with other learners on a weekly basis, most likely in a class or conversation group (80%). Nearly 10% never spoke to other learners, although only 7% said they never spoke in a class or other structured learning setting. As indicated by the response to the challenges in learning Gaelic, one-quarter (25%) of learners said they never spoke to native speakers, with a further quarter (28%) stating they did so less than once per month. One-third (34%) of respondents spoke with native speakers weekly; again, this was likely to be in a class setting. Over 80% of respondents never or very infrequently spoke Gaelic in a social setting and 95% never spoke it in a practical context. Gaelic was spoken in church by only 17 learners (8%), most less frequently than monthly, and at work by one-quarter (27%) of learners (only 14% more often than monthly).

**Figure 8**  
**Use of Gaelic by respondents**



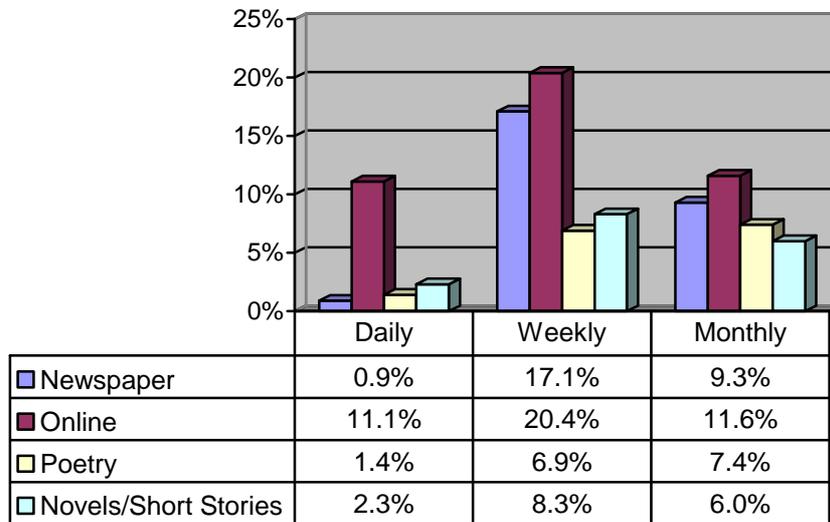
Learners were more likely to listen to Gaelic than to speak it, as the activities listed did not require an interlocutor. One-quarter of respondents (28%) listened to Gaelic radio programmes daily, and another quarter (29%) weekly, although 20% never did. 19% watched Gaelic television programmes daily and 34% weekly, but 21% never did. Online Gaelic content was accessed daily by 12% and weekly by 25%; again, 25% never used online content. Other ways of listening to Gaelic, such as audio books and learning materials (like *Speaking Our Language*) were used less frequently, with over two-thirds (70%) of learners never listening to audio books and only one-third (38%) of learners regularly listening to Gaelic learning materials.

**Figure 9**  
**Use of Gaelic media by respondents**



Reading and writing in Gaelic occurred relatively rarely amongst learners, although this may be due in large part to the ability levels of the beginners. Around half (39.4% - 61.1%) of learners never read any material in Gaelic, whether this was newspaper columns, online content, poetry, the Bible, or letters and documents. Online content was by far the most popular reading material, with 11% of respondents reading this daily, and 20% weekly. BBC Alba was the only website that had more than 5 specific mentions. Newspapers, novels and short stories, and poetry had similar response profiles, with 1-3% reading these daily, 17% reading the newspaper weekly, and 7-8% reading novels, short stories, and poetry weekly. In terms of newspapers, multiple respondents mentioned *Cothrom*, *The Scotsman*, the *Stornoway Gazette*, and the *West Highland Free Press*. No particular poets stood out as more popular; seven respondents mentioned 'children's books' and eleven respondents mentioned the *Ùr-Sgeul* series or particular books within it. Writing was even less common among respondents, with 5% writing online daily and 28% writing online weekly; 10% did 'other writing' daily and 27% weekly, which did not include letters or job-related documents (2.5% and 4.5% for daily and weekly combined).

**Figure 10**  
**Use of Gaelic reading material by respondents**



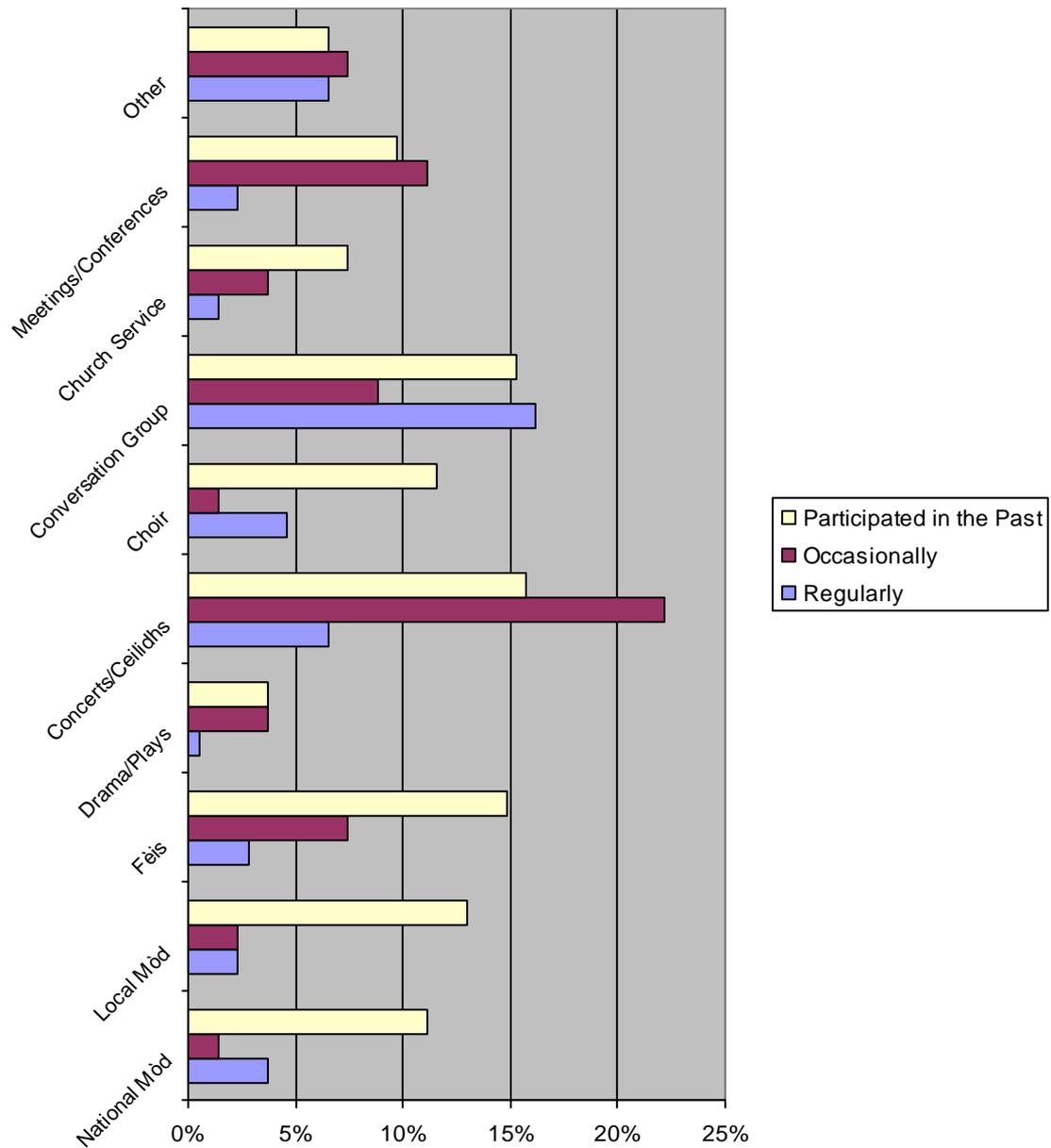
Learners' membership in various Gaelic organisations was, for the most part, lower than might be expected from other research such as MacCaluim (2007). The most popular organisations were Clì Gàidhlig, with 48 current and past members, online groups (particularly mygaelic.com and Fòram na Gàidhlig) with 36 current members, Gaelic choirs with 16 current and past members, A' Chiste Leabhraichean with 15 current and past members, and Comann nam Pàrant with 12 current and past members. Other organisations, such as An Comunn Gàidhealach, Taic, Comunn na Gàidhlig, the Gaelic Society of Inverness, and drama and university societies, had between 3 and 10 current and past members. 25 respondents also wrote in other organisations, ranging from council organisations such as Clann Gàidhlig<sup>15</sup> (4) and the North Ayrshire Gaelic Forum (3) to Sabhal Mòr Ostaig (4) and various local groups (5). Interestingly, however, for each of the organisations mentioned above, between 10 and 30 people characterised themselves as 'possible future members'. Complete beginners and beginners rarely responded to this question, indicating that they perhaps were not aware of these organisations.

Participation in cultural activities followed a similar profile to participation in Gaelic organisations, with no more than half the participants indicating any participation whatsoever. Other than conversation groups, with 16% regularly participating, no activity had more than 7% regular participants. The National Mòd and local mòds had similar non-participation rates of 84% and 82% respectively, with only around 5% participating regularly or occasionally in each and 11% and 13% having participated in the past. Fèisean were more popular, with 10% participating regularly or occasionally and 15% in the past; attending concerts and cèilidhs was also popular, with 29% participating regularly or occasionally and 16% in the past. Gaelic drama groups and choirs had low attendance, with 92% and 82% never participating, while Gaelic church services were only attended by 5% regularly or occasionally. Gaelic meetings and conferences had 13% regular or occasional attendance and 10% past attendance. Other activities, mentioned by 14%, including Gaelic Days, song classes, events associated with work, and connections to

<sup>15</sup>According to its website ([www.clanngaidhlig.org](http://www.clanngaidhlig.org)), Clann Gàidhlig [*sic*] was established in March 2004 to promote and develop the Gaelic language and culture in the areas covered by the local authorities of East Renfrewshire, Inverclyde and Renfrewshire

Gaelic-medium school education. Between 40% and 80% of all these activities were Gaelic-medium.

**Figure 11**  
**Respondents' participation in Gaelic cultural activities**



As a partial reflection of the relative lack of participation in Gaelic organisations and cultural activities, most respondents did not 'follow Gaelic-related news and issues'. 27 respondents (13%) were subscribed to an e-mail list or forum, 59 (27%) regularly read newspaper articles concerning Gaelic, and 56 (26%) regularly checked Gaelic-related websites (there was significant overlap in these responses). A further 64 respondents (30%) occasionally accessed these sources, while 63 (29%) never did.

The final question of the survey asked if the respondent intended to record him/herself as a Gaelic speaker in the next census. 52 respondents (24%) gave an unequivocal 'yes', while a further 100 (46%) indicated they would do so if they were more fluent at the time. 26

(12%) replied 'no', while 38 (18%) were not sure; some of these negative responses came from respondents not living in Scotland, however. Learners at a range of fluency levels indicated that they would record themselves as Gaelic-speaking, with a clear trend showing that more fluent speakers were more likely to record themselves as Gaelic-speaking. This pattern is somewhat different from that reported in MacCaluim's study (2007: 186-7): overall, learners in the current study were rather less likely to record themselves as Gaelic speakers.

**Table 3**  
**'Do you intend to record yourself as being a Gaelic speaker in the 2011 Census?'**

	None/Complete Beginner	Beginner	Post Beginner	Lower Intermediate	Upper Intermediate	Advanced	Fully Fluent	Totals
Yes	2	7	12	9	14	5	3	52 (24.1%)
Yes, but only if I am more fluent by that time	15	31	30	16	7	1	0	100 (46.3%)
No	7	4	7	4	3	1	0	26 (12.0%)
Not sure/don't know	5	8	9	13	3	0	0	38 (17.6%)
<b>Totals</b>	29	50	58	42	27	7	3	216

Respondents were also given the opportunity to write in additional comments at the end of the survey (as well as in those spaces associated with particular questions). 106 respondents (49%) provided further comments, some of them quite extensive. The main categories of these responses are provided below. Eighteen respondents (8%) made comments about the challenge of finding local, accessible classes at the appropriate level. One mentioned that 'for many adults community education is the first contact they have with Gaelic, therefore it would be good if more support were given to this service'. Respondents were also disappointed by the lack of consistency and continuity, particularly the lack of intermediate and advanced courses. One learner suggested creating 'a class at regional level for those advanced learners with serious intent'. Several respondents desired more opportunities for conversation. Likewise, 7 respondents (3%) mentioned the difficulty in accessing up-to-date information on classes. Nine respondents (4%) felt that the language should be promoted more as one of the native languages of Scotland, especially in schools, and one respondent argued that learners should have a higher profile with BnG: '[learners'] central importance to reversing language shift needs to be publicised heavily and those adults attempting to become speakers, cherished and celebrated'.

Eight respondents (4%) indicated that they found the language difficult; however, many more indicated that they enjoyed it. In terms of specific courses, Ùlpan received 11 positive comments (including comments on its progression, structure, and effectiveness) and one comment that the course should include attention to Lewis Gaelic, and Sabhal Mòr Ostaig

courses received 4 positive comments, and 2 comments that the courses were not well-organised or well-moderated. Overall, respondents seemed pleased with their current courses, but were desirous of further opportunities to learn and speak Gaelic.

## **4.2 Summary and analysis of interviews with learners**

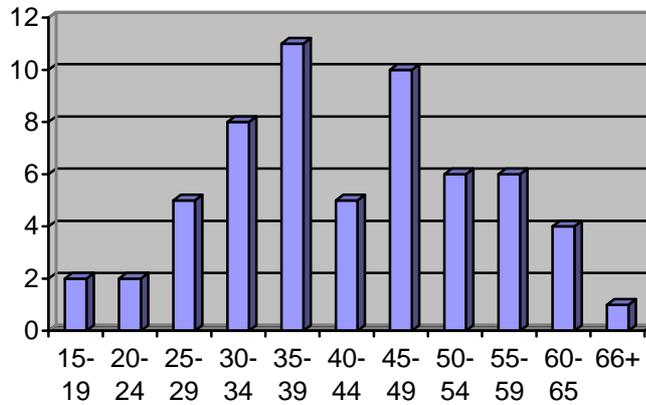
The final question of the survey asked learners if they would be willing to participate in an interview exploring some of the survey issues. The target described in the research bid was to conduct 40 interviews with selected learners. 172 learners provided their contact details for an interview; after filtering for those respondents who were resident in Scotland and enrolled in one of the target courses or similarly involved in learning Gaelic, 123 learners were approved for interview. These selected learners were contacted with a more detailed invitation for interview, and were given the choice of a telephone or e-mail interview. 71 positive responses were received, and personalised interview schedules were created for these learners based on their survey answers. The master interview schedule, consisting of 18 main questions, is provided in Appendix E.

Sixty learners in total were interviewed, 18 via telephone interviews and 42 via e-mail interviews. The interviews were conducted between 17 November and 20 December. Most of the telephone interviews were 20 to 25 minutes in duration, and an average of three sentences was written in response to each question in the e-mail interviews. The majority of learners interviewed were enthusiastic about contributing to the research, and made insightful and useful comments regarding their experience learning Gaelic and their motivations to do so.

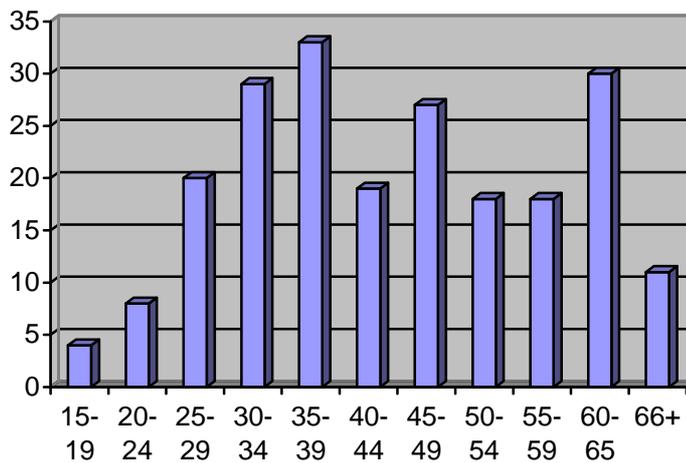
The 60 learners who completed interviews were representative of the 216 survey respondents as a whole, although representing only 28% of these. The age distribution was similar, although proportionately fewer older people (age 60 and above) were interviewed – 19% of the survey respondents were over 60, while only 8% of the interviewees were.

**Figure 12**  
**Age distribution of interviewees and survey respondents**

**Age Distribution of Interviewees**

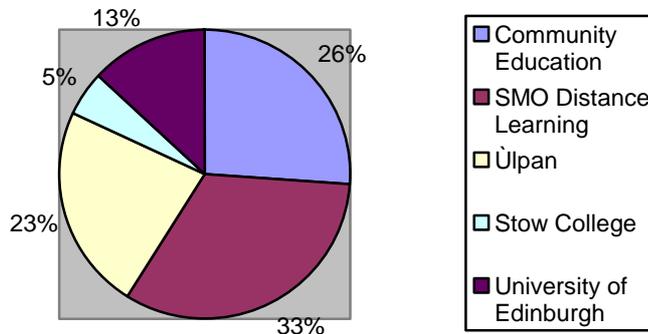


**Age Distribution of Survey Respondents**



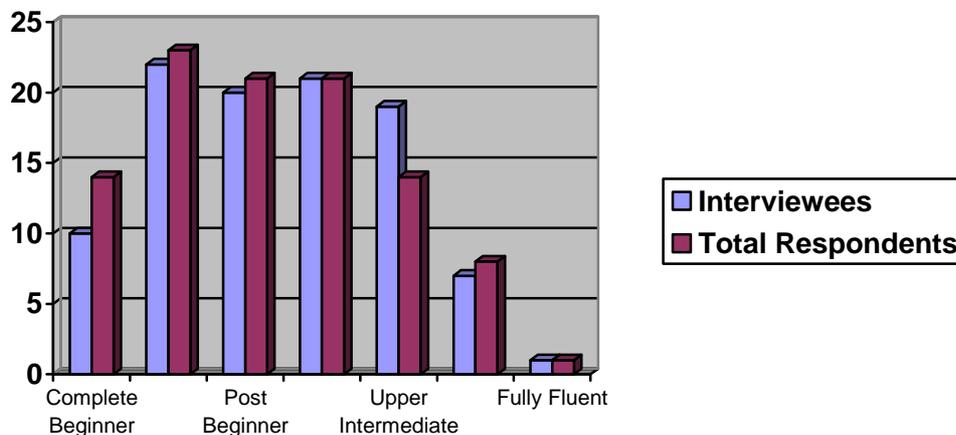
In terms of the courses that the 60 interviewees were taking, the proportions were very similar to the respondents as a whole: around one-quarter (16) in community education courses, one-third (20) in Sabhal Mòr Ostaig distance learning courses, around one quarter (14) in Ùlpan courses, and the remaining learners at Stow College (3) and University of Edinburgh Lifelong Learning courses (8). Five learners were taking multiple courses. The main discrepancy between the two groups is that Ùlpan learners were relatively under-represented in the interviews.

**Figure 13**  
**Current courses attended (interviewees)**



A good range of abilities and levels of courses was also apparent in the pool of interviewees. Similar numbers (22 and 25) were enrolled in beginners' and intermediate courses, with smaller numbers in post-beginners' (6), advanced (5), and conversation classes (4). Stated abilities followed similar proportions to the survey respondents, as shown below. As can be seen, the learners are quite evenly distributed across the lower middle range of fluency.

**Figure 14**  
**Reported fluency**



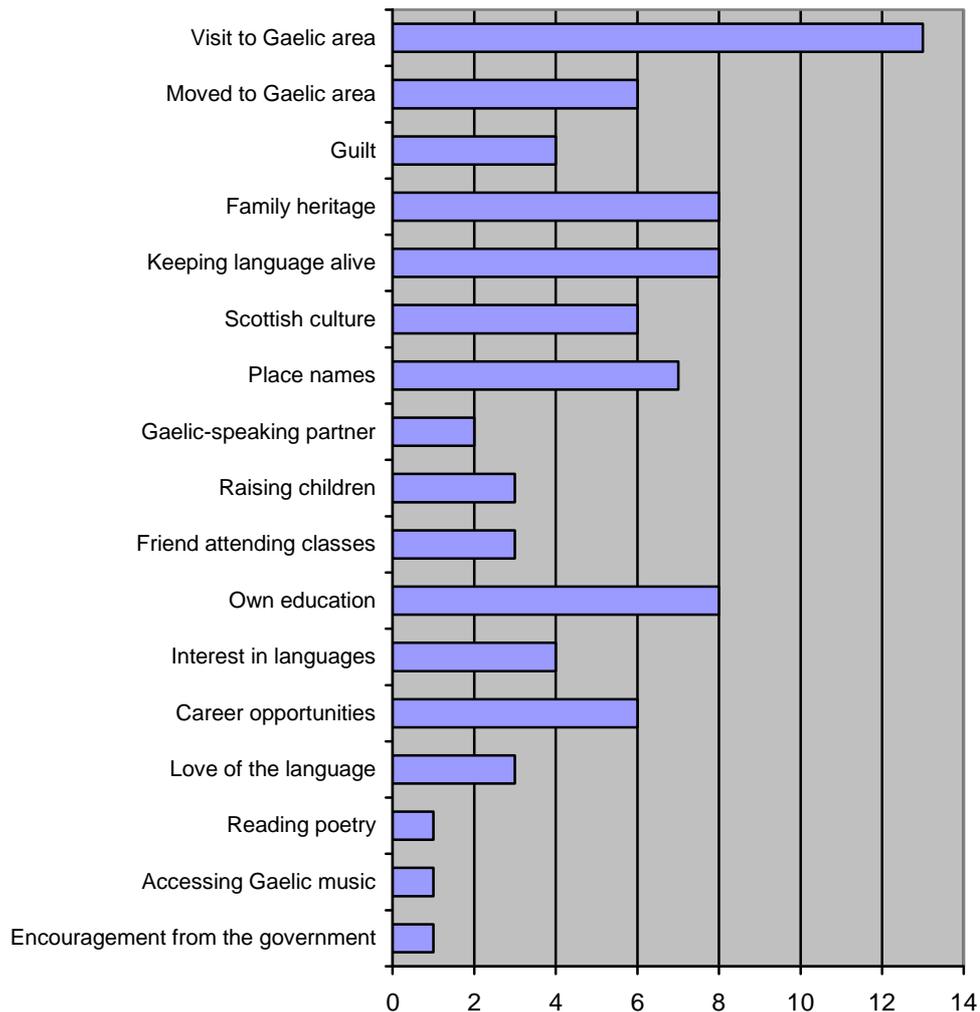
Due to these profiles, the interviewees may be viewed as a representative subset of the survey respondents as a whole.

The main aim of the interviews was to expand upon the answers given in the survey and elicit further details, rather than to introduce additional topics. For this reason, there is little entirely new information in the interview responses, although many interesting amplifications were given. The first section dealt with the interviewee's personal history with Gaelic, in an effort to determine what effect early exposure to Gaelic had on motivation to learn the language. Over half (53%) of interviewees stated that they had had no exposure to Gaelic at all as children. Around a quarter (27%) had parents and/or grandparents who

spoke the language; 7% had Gaelic heritage but had not been exposed to the language. Seven interviewees mentioned that they had heard Gaelic on the television (these respondents are all in their 30s or younger), while 2 said that Gaelic was present locally (both are in their 60s). Most (58%) of the interviewees had not participated in any nominally Gaelic cultural activities, such as singing, piping, fiddle, or dancing, prior to learning the language. Concerts and other musical events were mentioned by 9 interviewees (15%), while singing, dancing, and hillwalking were mentioned by 3 interviewees each. Five interviewees (8%) indicated that they had been exposed to some aspects of Gaelic culture at school, for example Gaelic song.

Interviewees listed a wide range of reasons for starting to learn Gaelic as an adult, and many interviewees had multiple reasons. Thirteen interviewees (22%) identified a visit to the Highlands or Islands as the impetus for learning Gaelic, and 6 interviewees (10%) moved into a Gaelic-speaking area and wanted to learn the local language. Four interviewees (7%) specifically said that they felt guilty not knowing their country's own language, particularly after travelling abroad. Heritage, both individual and national, was also an important motivator for interviewees: 8 (13%) mentioned their own family history in relation to Gaelic, 8 (13%) emphasised the role of Gaelic in Scotland's history and the desire to keep the language alive, and 6 (10%) referenced culture specifically. Seven interviewees (12%) had an interest in place names, mainly developed through hillwalking. For some interviewees, personal relationships were the most important factor: a Gaelic-speaking partner (2 – 3%), wishing to raise children in Gaelic (3 – 5%), or a friend with similar interests (3 – 5%). Eight interviewees (13%) started to learn Gaelic for their own education, while 4 (7%) mentioned an interest in languages in general; six interviewees (10%) began learning Gaelic for career opportunities. Other reasons mentioned included a love of the language (3 – 5%), desire to read poetry in the original (1 – 2%), accessing Gaelic music (1 – 2%), and encouragement from the government (1 – 2%).

**Figure 15**  
**Interviewees' reasons for learning Gaelic**

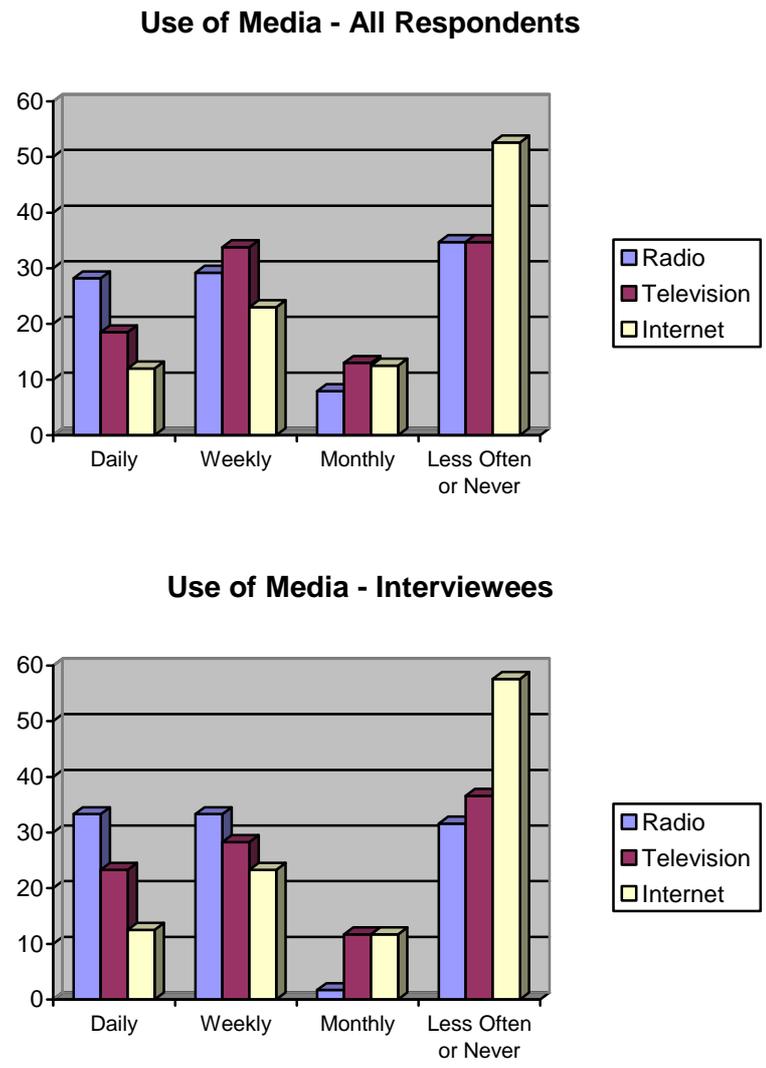


The second section of the interview asked questions to help define the context in which each interviewee is learning Gaelic. Those interviewees who had Gaelic-speaking family members were asked how these interlocutors contributed to their learning experience, and all interviewees were asked which interactions in Gaelic they found most helpful. Gaelic-speaking family members were not, for the most part, considered to be an important source of learning support. For seven interviewees, their child was their main conversation partner, while for 4 interviewees their partner, who was also a Gaelic learner, was most helpful. For interviewees with Gaelic-speaking family members, help with pronunciation and idiom was mentioned most often (by 4 interviewees), with only three interviewees having regular conversation in Gaelic with their family members. Three interviewees mentioned that their Gaelic-speaking family members seemed reluctant to speak to them in Gaelic. For the interviewees as a whole, conversation was found to be the most helpful interaction (mentioned by 27 interviewees - 45%). This was followed by class (11 - 18%) and listening to CDs, TV, and radio (10 - 17%). Six interviewees (10%) found reading and writing to be the most helpful. Role play, games, teaching, the Internet, working in pairs, repetition, flash cards, drama and choir were each mentioned one or two times by learners.

Interviewees were asked to elaborate on their use of radio and television programmes and the Internet. Interviewees tended to use the media as a means of listening to fluent Gaelic

speakers and picking up on words and phrasing; the Internet was often used explicitly as a learning resource, for example through 'Litir do Luchd-Ionnsachaidh' and 'Beag air Bheag' (see [www.bbc.co.uk/alba/foghlam/learn\\_gaelic](http://www.bbc.co.uk/alba/foghlam/learn_gaelic)). Children's programmes were popular, due to their visual support and simple language. Many listened to Radio nan Gaidheal in the background at home, in the car, or at work as a way of maximising exposure to spoken Gaelic.

**Figure 16**  
**Comparison of use of Gaelic media between respondents and interviewees**



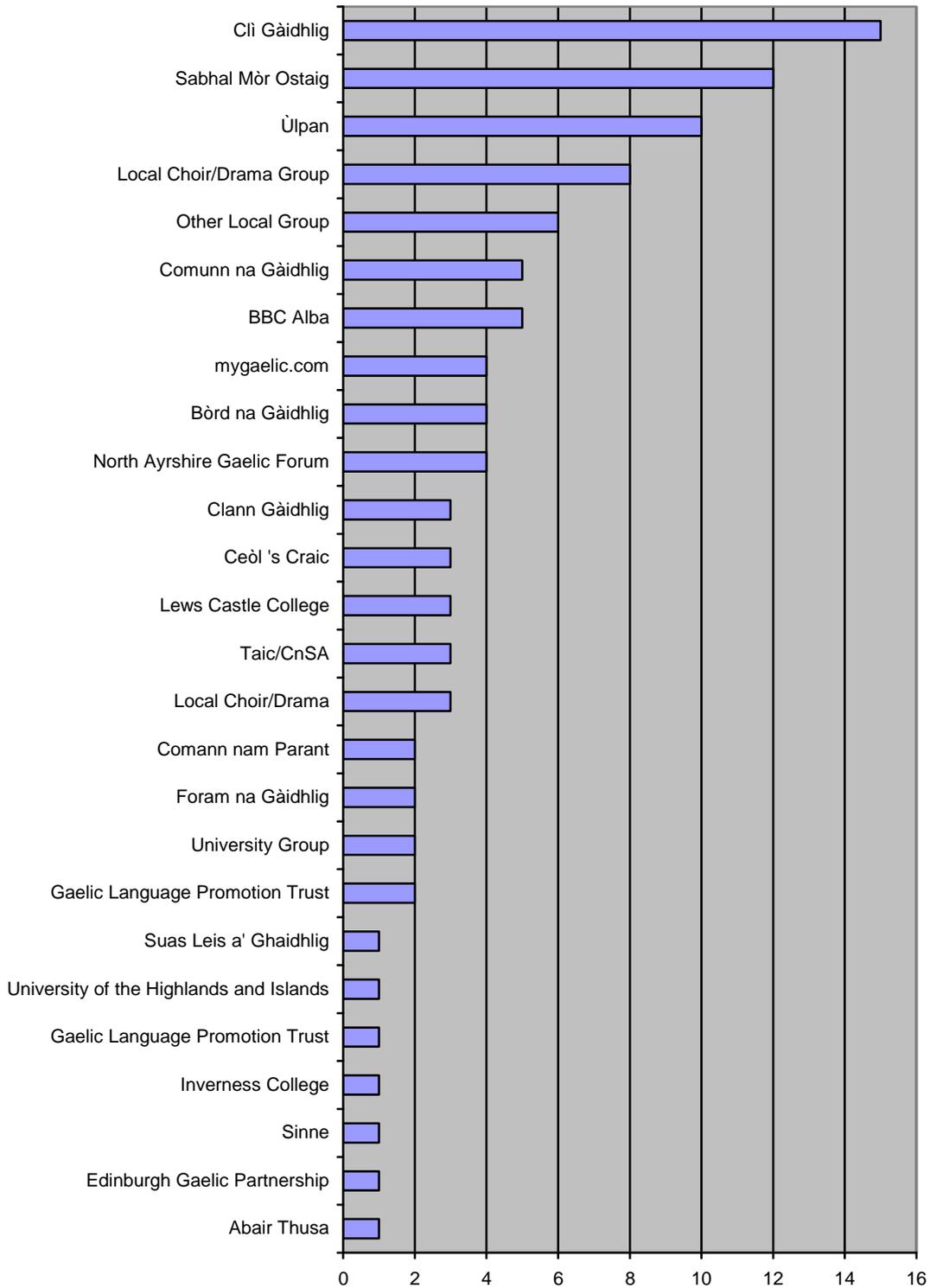
As can be seen from these charts, only two-thirds of respondents (65%) and interviewees (66%) accessed Gaelic radio and television on a regular or occasional basis, while less than half (47% and 42%) used the Internet as a learning resource. At least 12 interviewees (20%) were unable to access BBC Alba, which is not yet available on Freeview. Others were disappointed that more Gaelic programmes were not available to view online on BBC iPlayer. Many interviewees felt that they were not yet fluent enough to appreciate Gaelic media; for example, that they could only catch a word or two, or that they could not follow the programmes. Opinion was mixed regarding subtitling. Interviewees who were more fluent mentioned that they did not necessarily use the programmes to support their learning, but as a 'medium of entertainment in the same way as English versions'.

The interviewees were asked to list any other languages they spoke or were learning, their motivations for learning these languages, and to compare the experience of learning these languages with their Gaelic experience. Only 3 interviewees spoke only English and Gaelic. Two interviewees were not native speakers of English. Two others had learned some Welsh at school as children, but no other Celtic languages were mentioned. Around half of the interviewees (45%) had learnt languages, usually French or German, at school only and had not carried on. Thirteen interviewees (22%) spoke one other language (10 of these being European languages), and 15 interviewees (25%) spoke two or more other languages in addition to English and learning Gaelic. For those interviewees who had decided to learn languages after leaving school, the main motivators were living in another country or travelling there frequently (6), work reasons (3), being married to a partner speaking another language (3), or heritage reasons (2). Motivations for learning Gaelic, on the other hand, tended to be more integrative.

In terms of interviewees' experiences learning other languages as compared to learning Gaelic, there were a wide range of responses. Some of the major themes that emerged were as follows. For Gaelic, there are few opportunities for immersion in the language, no compulsion to speak it as all speakers are (at least) bilingual, and no regular exposure to the language; these are in contrast to the opportunity to acquire foreign languages by travelling, working, or living abroad. Several interviewees felt that their conversational skills were particularly weak. Interviewees believe there is more support, more resources, and more classes available for other languages, and that it is a shame that Gaelic is not available in more schools. Some interviewees, however, commented that they enjoyed their Gaelic classes more than they had enjoyed learning other languages, due to innovative techniques such as the Ùlpan method and the fun, relaxed nature of some tutors. Five interviewees felt that learning Gaelic was easier than learning other languages, but 12 interviewees found it to be more difficult.

Another aspect of the context of Gaelic learning is the various support organisations for Gaelic learners. Interviewees were asked to list any organisations that they felt were supportive, and these are shown below. It should be noted that not all the comments were positive; for example, one interviewee was disappointed by a Clì day course, two interviewees found that Taic/CNSA lacked structure and coverage, and three interviewees who had joined mygaelic.com did not find it useful or engaging. Interviewees were slightly more likely to be involved in cultural activities than the survey respondents as a whole. It should be noted, however, that 7 interviewees (12%) were not aware of, and therefore not involved in or supported by, any Gaelic organisations. Again, beginners were not involved in as many organisations, in part due to this lack of awareness, and in part due to their concerns about fluency and acceptance. Classes were the most common form of 'support' given to learners by these organisations, followed by providing details of news and upcoming events.

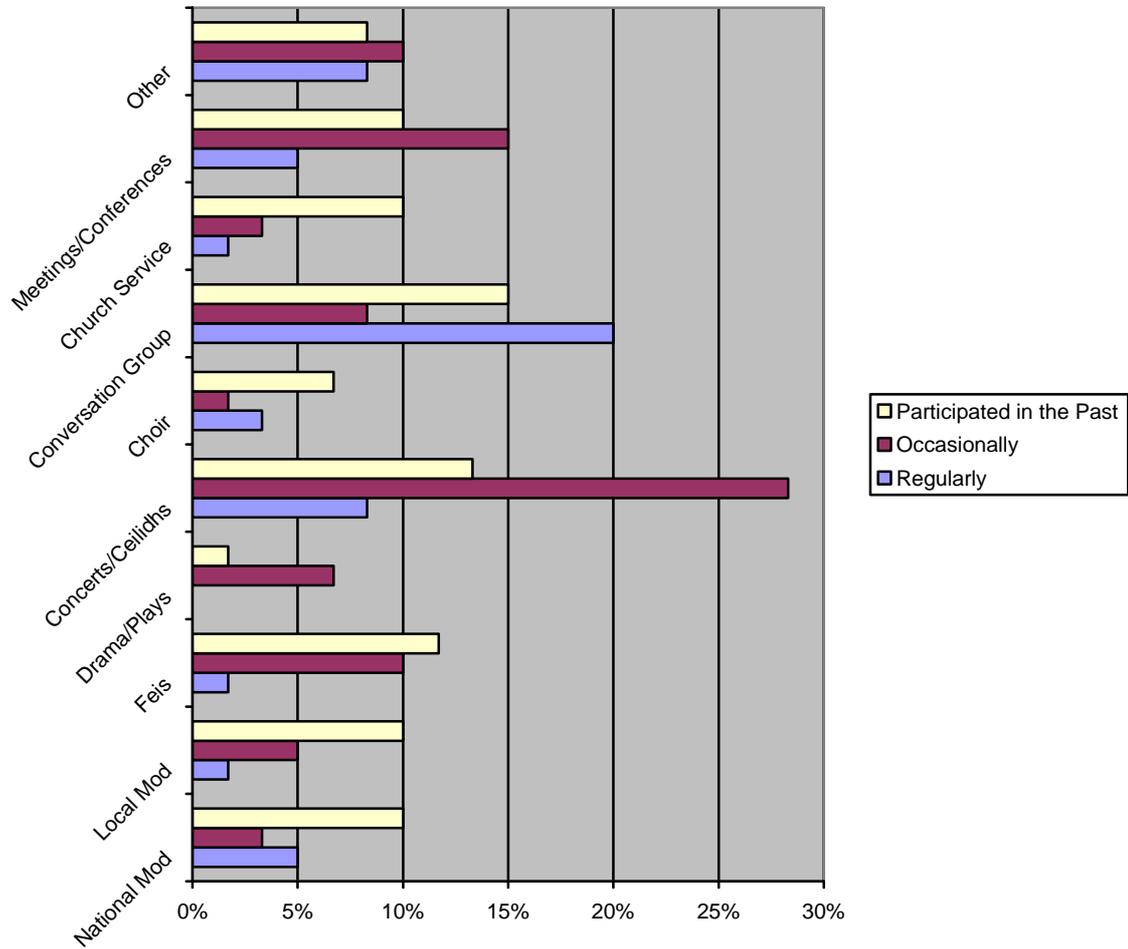
**Figure 17**  
**Gaelic organisations mentioned by interviewees**



As might be expected from the relatively low number of organisations listed, and keeping in mind that some interviewees listed several organisations, the levels of involvement in 'cultural' activities were quite low. For the 53% of interviewees who do currently attend such activities, the usual reason is that it is satisfying to begin to understand the songs or conversation. The most typical involvement in cultural activities was occasional attendance of concerts and cèilidhs or of a conversation group. Remarkably, only 4 (7%) of

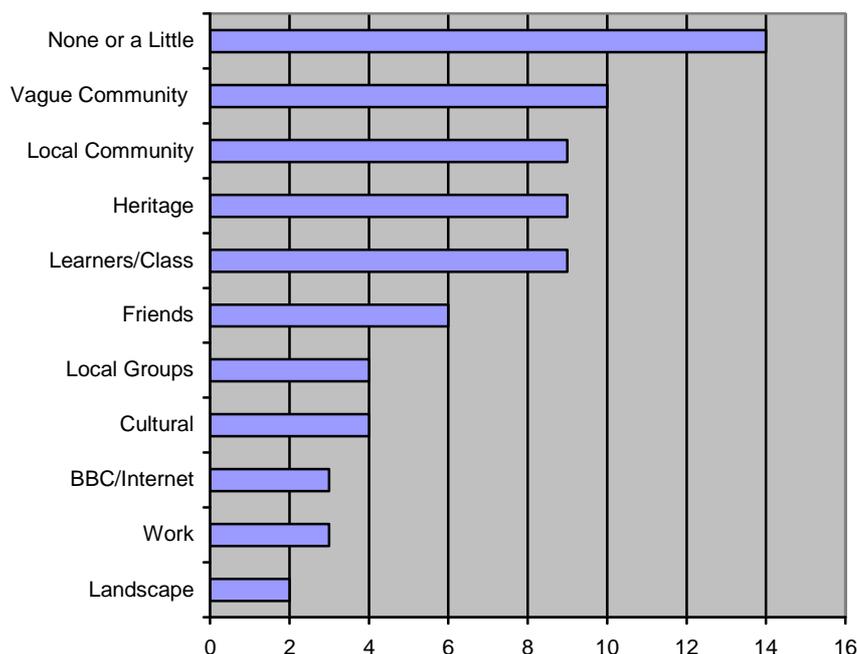
interviewees felt that attending cultural activities contributed to understanding Gaelic culture and Gaelic speakers.

**Figure 18**  
**Participation by interviewees in Gaelic cultural activities**



As can be perceived from interviewees' involvement in cultural activities, as well as complaints above about the limited opportunities to interact with fluent learners and native speakers, most interviewees do not feel particularly connected to the 'Gaelic community', however they chose to define this. Local community (15%) and local groups (7%) played a central role, and some learners (15%) said that they felt connected to their family and to their ancestral heritage, or to Scotland's heritage.

**Figure 19**  
**Interviewees' perceived connection to the 'Gaelic community'**



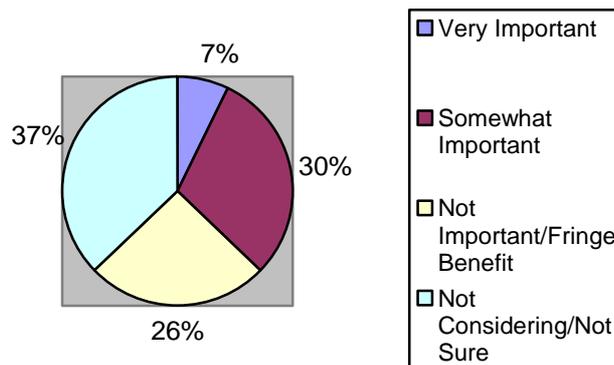
The next section of the interview asked learners to describe their progress in learning Gaelic, and any challenges they had experienced. Only 20% of interviewees (12) felt that they had made 'good' or 'great' progress, while only 10% (6) felt that they had been encouraged in their learning process. The remaining interviewees listed a variety of reasons behind their perceived lack of progress, many of which are themes reflected elsewhere in the survey and interviews. Lack of time was the most common reason, cited by 10 interviewees (17%). Other common reasons, given by 4 to 7 interviewees, were: Gaelic as a difficult language (particularly grammar, pronunciation, and vocabulary), classes or telephone tutorials at inconvenient times, an overall shortage of classes, lack of progression between classes, discouraging tutors and/or native speakers, changes in tutors mid-class, and inconsistent methodology. Interviewees also mentioned a lack of conversation opportunities, the feeling of reaching a plateau, a too fast pace, and high costs.

Following on from the question on progress, interviewees were asked if there had been any significant gaps in their learning path. Twenty interviewees (33%) indicated that there had been gaps, mainly due to a lack of classes on offer at the appropriate level, while only 5 (8%) interviewees who had taken more than one class had not experienced gaps. A total of 46 interviewees (77%) had plans to continue learning Gaelic, but 13 (22%) had concerns about if this would be possible; doubts were raised in relation to finding a course at the next level, tutors leaving, and funding. Only 7 interviewees (12%) did not plan to take another course. In 3 of these cases, the respondent felt he or she was at a suitably advanced level to carry on independently; the other 4 interviewees wanted to take a break to consolidate their learning.

Interviewees were then asked about any Gaelic qualifications they had or were undertaking, and how this process affected their motivation. Only 5 interviewees (8%) stated that getting a qualification was a good motivator and/or very important to their motivation. 21 (35%) felt that a qualification was somewhat important to their motivation, and seven (12%) found it to be a 'fringe benefit' of the class they were taking (in that they

would have taken that class regardless of whether it offered a qualification). Ten interviewees (15%) stated that their qualification was not at all important, and one found the requirements of the qualification to be off-putting. A further 17 interviewees (28%) were not considering getting a qualification, while 9 (15%) were not sure.

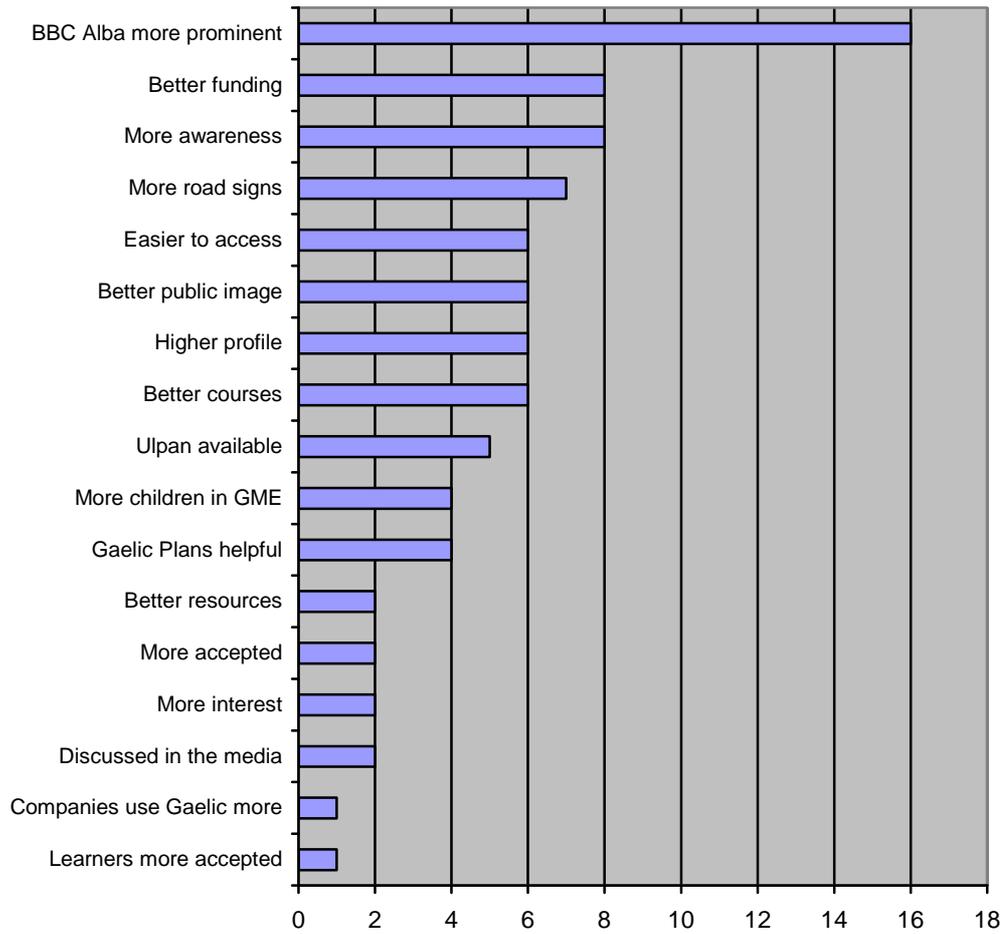
**Figure 20**  
**Role of qualification in interviewees' motivation**



Interviewees were invited to give their impressions of the class they were currently taking, and to compare it to any other Gaelic classes they had taken previously. There were a very wide range of comments made here. Overall, 34 interviewees (57%) felt that their current class was good or very good, while 8 interviewees (13%) indicated that they were dissatisfied with their current class. Most courses received a mixture of good and bad reviews: Úlpan received only positive reviews (over 40 comments, with three specifically stating they preferred the Úlpan method to previous courses) while Total Immersion Plus received only two reviews, both negative. Most interviewees found their courses enjoyable, specifically citing skilled and helpful tutors, eager learners, structure, and repetition as contributing to their enjoyment.

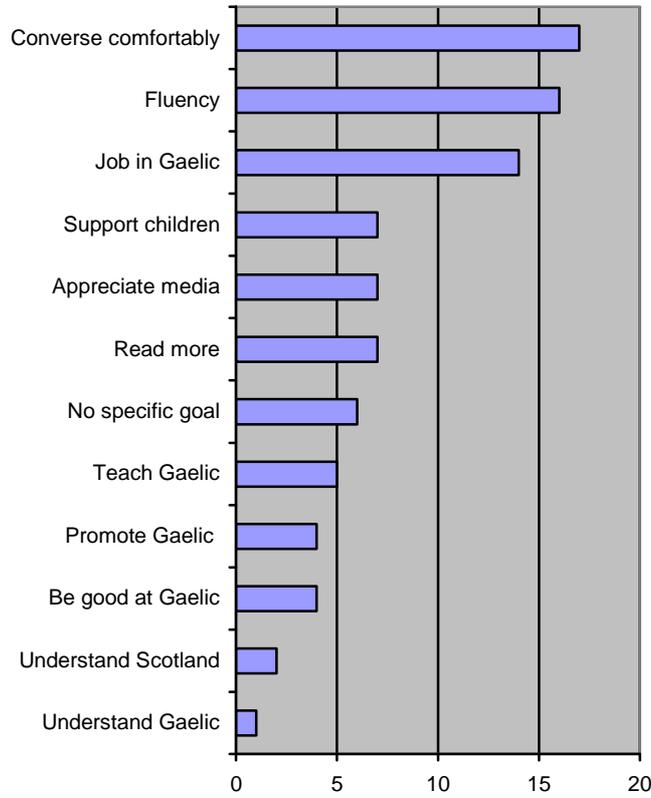
The final section of the interview dealt with support that the interviewees received, and what other kinds of support or developments they would like to see. Interviewees were asked whether they had noticed a difference in the public image of Gaelic since they began learning, and whether recent developments had improved their learning experience. The majority of comments were positive, as shown on the chart below. Among the negative comments were that Gaelic plans had not had an effect 'on the ground' yet (4 comments), that BBC Alba was not available on Freeview (12 comments), and that the Gaelic learning infrastructure needs more organisation and publicity (2 comments). Most significant among the negative comments were the 9 interviewees who had noticed a rise in the number of critical comments and complaints about Gaelic, particularly in the media.

**Figure 21**  
**Recent developments interviewees perceived as positive**



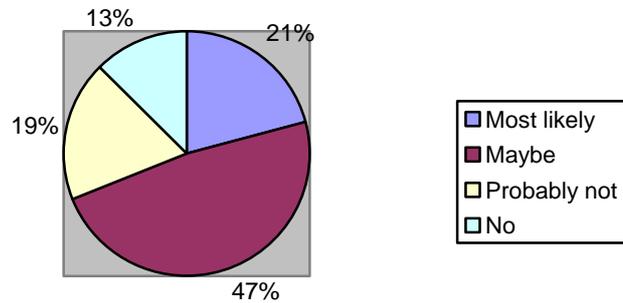
Interviewees were asked about their long-term goals for speaking Gaelic, and whether they would consider becoming tutors themselves. There were a range of answers to this question, with a relatively low number aiming for full fluency. Many interviewees had multiple goals. Responses are detailed below.

**Figure 22**  
**Interviewees' long-term goals for using Gaelic**



Most interviewees had never before considered the option of becoming a tutor, although most were aware that some learners had done so. However, there was a substantial degree of interest: 21% of interviewees indicated that they most likely would consider this possibility, and a further 47% that they might. Many qualified their answers with concerns about fluency and confidence, or stated that tutoring would be many years in the future. These numbers are still encouraging, however, and indicate a possible solution to the tutor problem, given adequate training and support.

**Figure 23**  
**Interviewees' responses to the question 'Would you consider becoming a Gaelic tutor?'**



In the final section of the interview, interviewees were also asked what would help them achieve their goals in learning Gaelic, and what would be helpful in overcoming any obstacles or challenges. These two questions will be considered here separately, although they do overlap to a certain extent, and do repeat comments made earlier; interviewees were very forthcoming about their opinions in response to these questions. In terms of achieving goals, 18 interviewees (30%) wanted more opportunities and people to speak to; 13 (22%) specifically wanted more time, and eleven (18%) wanted more classes. Other suggestions were for more immersion opportunities (4), more learner programmes available on television and on-line (4), more exposure to Gaelic (3), an interactive website for learners (3), more grammar (3) and repetition (2), more vocabulary (2), more confidence (2), a Gaelic mentor (2), and more funding (2).

These themes came up again in the answers to the question on challenges, and responses have been loosely grouped into the following categories: time, courses, resources, opportunities for use, and information and support. Once again, 'more time' was a frequent request (8 (13%)), with some interviewees feeling that the pace of the course was too fast; most of these, however, just felt that they had too many other commitments to devote enough time to their coursework. There were many comments about the specific courses that were available. Seven interviewees (12%) wanted classes that were more local, while 3 (5%) wanted better access to courses and 2 (3%) wanted more advanced distance learning courses. Four interviewees (7%) felt that courses should be cheaper and 6 interviewees (10%) wanted to see better funding and more funding options. Five interviewees (8%) were concerned about the lack of progression between courses, and 1 commented that year-round opportunities to learn Gaelic should be made available. In terms of course content, 3 interviewees (5%) stated that they would like more choice of courses and 2 (3%) wanted up-to-date courses; comments were also made that qualifications were not consistent, that courses were not quality regulated, and that courses were too large.

Most interviewees were satisfied with the resources that were available for learning Gaelic, but there were suggestions in terms of the use of technology. Two interviewees wanted more programmes on the television and radio that were aimed at beginners, 1 wanted the option to hide subtitles, 1 wanted a DVD of programmes that could be viewed over and over, 2 mentioned a website specifically for beginners, and 1 felt that on-line courses could be developed further to take advantage of the medium. As was apparent in other areas of the survey and interviews, interviewees were eager for more opportunities to converse with fluent learners and native speakers (11 — 18%). There were many suggestions for how

this could be achieved, from a badge system (1) and increasing the overall number of speakers (3); to complete immersion (4); to creating a local network of speakers (5), planned coffee and chat with speakers (3), Gaelic mentors (2), and an on-line chat room or forum (3). Interviewees also desired more structured conversation classes (3). Finally, interviewees wanted more information and support, both nationwide (5) and locally (2). Five interviewees felt that classes could be better advertised, and confirmed in advance, and 6 interviewees specifically mentioned the value of a booklet or website listing classes.

## 5 Discussion of key issues

A number of important challenges must be addressed if the GfA infrastructure is to be made more effective and larger numbers of learners brought into the system. This section of the report discusses a range of these issues, considering first the questions associated with attracting learners and then turning to questions relating to the structure of actual GfA provision.

The upgrading of GfA provision needs to be understood in an appropriate strategic context. A key conclusion in the recent *Measuring the Gaelic Labour Market: Current and Future Potential* report (Campbell et al. 2008) was that 'there needs to be a greater emphasis brought to bear on the achievement of specific language outputs and outcomes in relation to expenditures on Gaelic language development activities' (Campbell et al. 2008: 98). This conclusion is eminently applicable to the GfA sector. It is submitted that the key outcome of GfA provision should be to bring the maximum number of adults to fluency in Gaelic. Two groups in particular are of notable strategic importance within this, namely adults of child-bearing age (*before* they become parents) and people with skills that are required in the Gaelic labour market (e.g. qualified teachers).

While this may sound like an overly obvious purpose for the GfA sector, research has shown that the Gaelic infrastructure has historically been unsuccessful in bringing significant numbers of learners to fluency, even though large numbers of people attempt to learn the language (MacCaluim 2007). It should be noted that, while there is a commitment to an increase in numbers of adult learners in the *National Plan for Gaelic*, no target is set, even though target figures are indeed fixed in a range of other areas such as GME pupils and census numbers. It is recommended that BnG set a target for numbers of adult learners reaching fluency.

At the same time, Gaelic learning opportunities also have indirect benefits for RLS. Gaelic classes create an opportunity for learners to engage with the language and to exchange information about Gaelic-related matters including events, services, news and campaigns. Even where classes are not necessarily effective in their ultimate aim of bringing learners to fluency, they can nonetheless be successful in creating supporters and lobbyists for the language, and some semi-fluent speakers may opt to record themselves as Gaelic speakers on the census.

### 5.1 Increasing the demand for GfA

While it is important to ensure that the GfA infrastructure brings existing Gaelic learners to fluency through improved courses and structures, it is also crucial that new learners be attracted, particularly in the strategically important under-25 age group. Attracting Gaelic learners should, therefore, be a key element of national GfA strategy.

Two key challenges can be identified in attracting more Gaelic learners. First, potential learners currently find it difficult to find out about Gaelic learning opportunities. This issue is discussed in section 5.2 of this report. Second, many potential learners do not feel Gaelic to be relevant to their lives and see no real reason for them to learn the language. These two challenges are very different in nature and any possible solutions will also be very different.

Existing studies have shown that there is an encouraging level of public support for Gaelic in Scotland but that this support is not always matched by accurate knowledge about the language or about how to find out more about it (e.g. MacKinnon 1981, BBC 2003). A 1996

survey conducted by System 3 Scotland for the *Gàidhlig '96* publicity campaign found that 86% of a representative sample of people agreed that the Gaelic language and way of life should be maintained. It also found, however, that 62% of the same groups felt that it was either difficult for people in Scotland to access information regarding Gaelic or that they had never been aware of the existence of such information (*Gàidhlig '96* 1997).

More directly related to Gaelic learning was a 1996 study by BBC Scotland which found that 5% of a representative sample of Scots were very interested in learning Gaelic and a further 18% were quite interested (CnaG 1999:12). An opinion poll conducted for the BBC in 2003 found that 16% of a representative sample of the Scottish public, when asked whether they would consider learning Gaelic in the future, answered 'yes', with a further 16% answering 'maybe'. It also discovered, however, that only 31% of the sample agreed 'if I wanted to learn Gaelic it would be easy to find the course'. While these figures can in no way be taken as indicative of the number of people who actually will learn Gaelic, it suggests that there is considerable potential interest in learning Gaelic were there adequate facilities for learning and adequate publicity of learning opportunities.

Even with improved structures and information, it is clear that many people would still be unlikely to learn Gaelic. Qualitative research carried out for BnG in connection with the mygaelic.com project, for example, found that many people felt that Gaelic was irrelevant to them personally, typically not seeing Gaelic as having pan-Scottish significance or perceiving any career advantages in the language (Progressive/Creative Cell 2007). Significantly, such views were not confined to those who were unsympathetic towards the language but were also expressed by many who wished to see its survival.

While those who are simply uninterested in Gaelic or hold anti-Gaelic views are unlikely to ever learn the language, others might endeavour to learn if the language could be made more relevant to their lives. To attempt to engage this group with Gaelic through improved information about Gaelic learning opportunities would not suffice; it would be necessary to raise the profile of Gaelic and to change perceptions of the language.

Attracting Gaelic learners is therefore a complex area, as learning Gaelic can be encouraged both by direct measures to encourage learning and as an indirect outcome of other language promotion measures. The following means of attracting learners will be considered here: the increased use of Gaelic in public life, the active marketing of Gaelic, and school initiatives that have an impact on GfA.

### **5.1.1 Increased use of Gaelic in public life**

Gaelic has until recently had a very low profile throughout most of Scotland, being rarely seen or heard by most Scots living outwith Gaelic-speaking communities. In recent years this situation has begun to change somewhat, most notably as a result of the Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005. Through the *National Plan* and the statutory language plan development process, BnG has put emphasis on the importance of measures to increase the visibility of the language in order to raise the status of the language amongst speakers and non-speakers alike (BnG 2007a: 33; 2007b).

Notable advances in public visibility of Gaelic in recent years have involved increased use of bilingual road-signs (particularly in the Highland and Argyll & Bute council areas); adoption of bilingual logos by some national public bodies such as the Scottish Parliament and Scottish Government; the forthcoming expansion of the visibility of Gaelic in the railway network and the use of Gaelic in signage welcoming people into Scotland both in airports and on roads.

The establishment of BBC Alba has also helped to raise the profile of the language and the channel has set out to provide a range of programmes that are attractive to non-Gaelic speakers throughout Scotland. Cross-promotion of the channel has also been useful in drawing attention of non-Gaelic speakers to both BBC Alba and the language itself. This impact will increase considerably if the channel is made available on the Freeview platform.

Measures increasing the visibility of Gaelic such as signage can play an important indirect role in encouraging learning by drawing public attention to the language. As Grin & Vaillancourt have noted in their study of bilingual road signs in Wales, 'the symbolic and psychological impact of bilingual signs [...] must not be underestimated' (1999: 27). The visible use of Gaelic outwith the Highlands and by national public bodies can also play an important role in showing the relevance of the language throughout Scotland (cf. Figure 21 above). It therefore also plays an important role in encouraging learning by those who are sympathetic towards the language but do not perceive the language to be relevant to their lives. For these reasons, it is important that BnG continues to actively encourage public visibility of the language.

### **5.1.2 Active marketing of Gaelic**

The second way in which the learning of the language can be promoted is by active marketing of the language through publicity campaigns. As seen above, research has shown that there is a great deal of public support for Gaelic but that this is not always matched by accurate knowledge about the language or about how to find out more about it.

The key function of a publicity campaign would be to combine the high level of passive public support with a greater level of knowledge about the language in order to increase the number of people actively involved in Gaelic. The importance and role of such organised publicity was noted by the Ministerial Advisory Group for Gaelic in 2002, who stated that 'a comprehensive awareness-raising campaign is needed to bring about attitudinal change, and culture shift to give the wider Scottish population ownership of Gaelic' (2002: 31).

There have been several small scale publicity campaigns for Gaelic in the last two decades. The *Gàidhlig '96/'97* project aimed to raise the profile of Gaelic nationally in a positive manner. A decade later, the year-long *Air Splaoid* project aimed to encourage the learning of Gaelic as part of the Highland 2007 initiative. Most recently, there has been the publicity campaign surrounding the mygaelic.com website which has encouraged the public to 'discover the Gaelic in you'.

While these initiatives have all contributed to awareness raising, larger-scale publicity for Gaelic will be necessary if attitudinal change and culture shift is to be brought about and if the wider Scottish public are to gain a feeling of ownership for the language. More specifically, a higher-profile publicity campaign will also be necessary to meaningfully increase understanding of the benefits of learning Gaelic, increase the awareness of learning opportunities and to increase the number of learners. This ties in with BnG's commitment in the National Plan for Gaelic to 'implement a publicity campaign for promoting a positive image for Gaelic in Scotland' (BnG 2007a:29). One possible model here is the Breton initiative 'Deskomp Brezhoneg' (Let's Learn Breton), which involved, among other things, some 900 bus shelter posters throughout Brittany, with the aim of doubling the number of active learners of Breton (Ofis ar Brezhoneg/Office de la Langue Bretonne 2005).

A central aim of such publicity should be to attract younger learners. Gaelic should be presented at all times as a modern language relevant to people throughout Scotland, the diversity of the modern Gaelic-speaking community should be reflected and old-fashioned stereotypes should be avoided. It is also important that the advantages of Gaelic skills in the workplace be emphasised, as the availability of Gaelic-related employment does not yet appear to be a major motivation for learning (see Figures 6 and 15 above).

### **5.1.3 School initiatives impacting on GfA**

A number of initiatives at primary and secondary school level, including Gaelic awareness classes and different forms of Gaelic Learner Education (GLE), can have an important knock-on effect in terms of encouraging the learning of Gaelic by adults.

#### **5.1.3.1 Gaelic awareness**

Making the decision to learn a language in adulthood obviously requires some level of information regarding that language and a broadly favourable view of the language. Traditionally the school system in Scotland has not imparted information to the great majority of its pupils regarding Gaelic, its history and present situation. If pupils are not accurately informed about Gaelic during their time at school, they are unlikely to be aware of the role of the language in Scottish history and society or to see through popular fallacies and stereotypes surrounding the language and, in turn, are unlikely to learn Gaelic in adulthood (McLeod 2001a: 6-7, 26; McLeod 2004: 44; Robasdan 2006: 107).

For these reasons, various recommendations have been made by Gaelic agencies and educationalists over the years to ensure that all children learn something about Gaelic language and culture in school either through Gaelic awareness courses or more general linguistic diversity awareness courses (CnaG 1998: 4, Lo Bianco 2001: 65; Robertson 1999: 255, Robasdan 2006: 88, 105, 107).

One key task identified in the Entitlement and Language Awareness section of BnG's National Gaelic Education Strategy is to 'promote language diversity and raise awareness of the Gaelic language through the study of Gaelic history, culture and heritage in Scottish schools', with the outcome of producing curriculum guidance for schools on language diversity and Gaelic associated studies (BnG 2007a: 57).

This key task of the National Gaelic Education Strategy should be fully implemented throughout Scotland and the issue of Gaelic awareness should be robustly pursued through the language plan development process for both local authorities and national educational agencies and through the National Gaelic Education Steering Group.

In terms of the content of such training, it is important that Gaelic awareness teaching avoid stereotypes and present Gaelic as a language relevant throughout Scotland and relevant to the modern world. This is particularly the case if Gaelic awareness is put forward as part of a broader linguistic diversity programme.

Implementing measures such as this would do much to increase knowledge about Gaelic among the wider Scottish population and would encourage the learning of the language by adults. Although not the most obvious element, such measures should be seen as a priority of any strategy to increase numbers of Gaelic learners and, through increasing awareness and tolerance for Gaelic, for RLS in general.

### **5.1.3.2 GLE: Gaelic Language in the Primary School**

The Gaelic Language in the Primary School (GLPS) scheme also has a part to play in promoting GfA by promoting uptake of GLE at secondary level and by increasing awareness of the language more generally. As Richard Johnstone stated in his 2003 review of GLPS:

Although it cannot deliver the levels of proficiency which arise from Gaelic-medium primary education, it nonetheless has an important role to play in helping a relatively hidden language of Scotland to assume a higher public profile. It may encourage pupils to stay with the language beyond primary school and it may help to bring the language back into families and local communities (Johnstone 2003: 5).

A more recent report by HM Inspectorate of Education has echoed this view, noting that 'in comparison to Gaelic-medium, GLPS and Gaelic learners' courses are potentially applicable to a far wider audience of pupils across the whole of Scotland who are interested to learn about the language and culture. Increasing the numbers involved can only be good for the development of Gaelic more generally and may also, in time, lead to more fluent speakers emerging as pupils pursue their interest to advanced levels' (HM Inspectorate of Education 2005: 36).

In 2006/7 around 4,800 pupils were being taught GLPS across various local authorities (BnG 2007a: 53). This provision is mainly in the Highland education authorities but even within these areas, Gaelic was offered at only a minority of primary schools in the Argyll & Bute and Highland Council areas. Outwith the Highlands, GLPS provision tends to be confined to schools or school clusters providing GME.

HMIe have recommended that schools and education authorities should 'extend provision for Gaelic learners in primary (GLPS) and secondary schools' (HMIe 2005: 39). The National Gaelic Education Strategy has similarly recognised the importance of GLPS, stating that there is a 'need to develop GLE provision further and to work towards the introduction of GLPS provision in all Scottish primary establishments'. The strategy also states that BnG will work with others 'to extend provision for Gaelic learners in primary schools and associated secondary schools' with the outcome of 'a roll-out of GLPS training [...] resulting in increase in the number of pupils accessing GLPS and Gaelic across Scotland' (BnG 2007a: 53, 58).

It is important for the GfA sector that GLPS should be expanded and BnG should further this objective through Gaelic language plans for local authorities and national education bodies and through the National Gaelic Education Steering Group.

### **5.1.3.3 GLE: Gaelic as a secondary school subject**

The teaching of Gaelic as a secondary school subject for learners also has a key role to play in promoting GfA and in promoting general Gaelic awareness.

The current study and earlier studies of Gaelic learners have consistently found that the age profile of learners is biased towards the middle-aged and the elderly, with very few in the strategically important 16-25 age group (CnaG / CLI 1992: 72, MacNeil & MacDonald 1997: 9, MacCaluim 2007: 115). More widespread availability of Standard Grade and Higher Grade Gaelic classes would lead to a greater number of school pupils going on to study Gaelic at FE/HE level and undertaking Gaelic-related employment.

Lack of time, family commitments and cost have been identified as key difficulties for adults learning Gaelic (MacCaluim 2007: 34). The option of studying Gaelic at secondary school would allow more students to begin learning Gaelic before the onset of such adult responsibilities and would, for some, act as a springboard to further study of the language.

Although the number of secondary pupils taking Gaelic learners' classes has increased somewhat in recent years, there has actually been a decline in those studying for a Higher or Advanced Higher qualification. In total, 2,813 pupils in Scotland were studying Gaelic as a secondary subject for learners in the 2008-9 session. This represents an increase of 32% from 2001-2, when the comparable number of pupils was 2,131 (University of Strathclyde 2002, 2009), but still represents well under 1% of secondary pupils in Scotland. The great majority of these learners are at the earlier stages of secondary school: in 2008-9, 93.9% were in S1-4 and 65.4% in S1-2. In 2009 only 118 learners sat the Higher and only 15 the Advanced Higher (University of Strathclyde 2009; SQA 2009). In contrast, 154 pupils sat the Learners' Higher in 2006 and 28 sat the learners' Advanced Higher in 2004 (SQA 2008).

At present Gaelic learners' courses are available in a very limited number of secondary schools, only 39 in 2008-9, or scarcely 10% of the national total. Only 8 of Scotland's 32 local education authorities offer Gaelic as a subject in any of their secondary schools. Of the schools teaching Gaelic learners' courses in 2008-9, all but six were in the Highland local authority areas of Comhairle nan Eilean Siar, Highland Council and Argyll & Bute (University of Strathclyde 2009). Yet coverage is by no means universal even in the Highlands: while GLE was offered in all secondary schools in the Western Isles, this is not the case in the Highland Council area (17 of 29 schools) or Argyll & Bute (5 of 10). In the Lowlands, secondary schools offering Gaelic learners' classes are very sparse indeed. In 2008-9, for example, Gaelic was not offered as a subject for learners at any secondary school in the cities of Edinburgh, Glasgow or Dundee (University of Strathclyde 2009).

Even where Gaelic is available as a subject, the numbers of secondary pupils choosing this option have tended to be lower than might otherwise be the case due to the fact that pupils are often forced to choose between Gaelic and modern foreign languages such as French or are not given the opportunity to study Gaelic until second or third year (Robertson 1999: 248, Robertson 2001b: 13, Johnstone 2003: 10). Similarly, GLPS is not available in all the primary schools which feed into secondaries with GLE provision and is thereby less favourably placed than the languages featured in the counterpart Modern Languages in the Primary School programme.

To increase the number of adult learners of Gaelic, and in particular the numbers reaching fluency, it is important that the GLE sector in secondary school be expanded and obstacles to its uptake removed. It is particularly important that the almost complete lack of opportunities to study Gaelic in the Lowlands and the absence of Gaelic provision in many areas of the Highlands be addressed.

While the National Plan for Gaelic recognises the 'valuable contribution of Gaelic-learner education' and states that BnG will seek to increase the availability and quality of GLE (BnG 2007a: 20), it is striking that there is no target in the National Plan for increasing the numbers of pupils studying GLE at secondary school. It is recommended that BnG establish such a target and take appropriate measures, through the language plan development process and the National Gaelic Education Steering Group, to ensure that it can be attained.

School education also intersects with the GfA agenda in relation to teacher training. It has become increasingly obvious that the only way to overcome the current teacher shortage and achieve the expansion of GME proposed in the National Plan for Gaelic 2007-2012 is to bring into the system significant numbers of teachers/student teachers who have learned Gaelic to fluency. Targeting existing Gaelic speakers cannot and will not be sufficient to produce the numbers of teachers needed. Dedicated Gaelic courses for new teaching graduates or seconded teachers — including, crucially, graduates or teachers who would be starting to learn Gaelic as total beginners — should be established as a matter of urgency.

## **5.2 Improving the structure and delivery of GfA provision**

It is obvious that there are several serious structural deficiencies in the current GfA infrastructure. To improve the system, it is necessary to put in place a more coordinated and streamlined delivery structure, a valid and authoritative framework of language testing and certification and an overhauled and professionalised tutor training system.

As shown in the database, and as discussed in section 3 above, current GfA provision in Scotland tends to be fragmented, patchy, uncoordinated, poorly promoted, inadequately funded and often lacking in professional rigour. This system compares unfavourably with counterpart provision for Welsh in Wales and Irish in Ireland, both of which offer useful models for development in Scotland.

Despite these shortcomings, it is noteworthy that learning materials did not emerge as a significant concern to learners (see Figure 7 above). This is an important positive development for the GfA sector and reflects not only the improved range of published books for learners (especially coursebooks and dictionaries) but the successful use of electronic materials, including web-based resources.

### **5.2.1 Dedicated Gaelic learning centres**

The *National Plan* states that BnG ‘recognises the importance of regional Gaelic learning and cultural establishments’ and states ‘that it will seek to encourage the relevant bodies to consider the possibility of developing this provision’ (BnG 2007a: 21). While the wording here is tentative and qualified, and the reference to ‘culture’ is arguably an unhelpful distraction from the standpoint of the GfA agenda, this is an important aspiration that promises to bring a step change to GfA provision in Scotland if properly implemented.

This tentative statement has now been amplified by the Bòrd’s commitment in *Ginealach Ùr na Gàidhlig* to ‘designate two establishments as Gaelic Learning Centres offering excellence in Gaelic acquisition opportunities’ (BnG 2010: 11).

The obvious model here is that recently developed in Wales. In 2006, the Welsh Assembly Government established a network of six Welsh for Adults Centres across Wales, in the North Wales, Mid Wales, South West, Glamorgan, Cardiff/Vale of Glamorgan and Gwent regions. Each centre is affiliated with a particular HE or FE institution. These centres are responsible for providing national and regional frameworks for planning courses, improving continuity between lower-level courses and the courses that lead to fluency, developing specialist Welsh in the workplace and Welsh for parents courses, professionalising the training and career structure for tutors, improving the quality of learning and achieving

consistent national standards, and improving the marketing of Welsh for adults.<sup>16</sup> Annual funding for the six centres is approximately £2.25 million, a sum greatly in excess of counterpart GfA budgets in Scotland.<sup>17</sup>

Working in partnership with different local partners, including FE colleges and local authorities, each centre coordinates a comprehensive range of courses in the particular region, at different levels and with different degrees of intensity. Information concerning courses is generally available through a detailed and user-friendly search engine on the home page of the centre website (e.g. [www.learnwymraeg.org](http://www.learnwymraeg.org), the site for the North Wales Centre). The government's own website also includes detailed information about Welsh learning opportunities, with a page captioned simply 'How can I learn Welsh?', which provides a number of links and feeds into the individual learning centre sites.<sup>18</sup>

Although Welsh for Adults provision prior to the establishment of the Welsh for Adults Centres was already more formalised than is the case in relation to Gaelic, the proposal to adopt this new coordination mechanism arose out of the national plan for Welsh published in 2002, *Iaith Pawb* (Welsh Assembly Government 2002), and a subsequent consultation. The concerns expressed in Wales were similar to those now seen in relation to Gaelic in Scotland: a need to professionalise the system to meet the challenges of development. It was felt necessary to 'expand provision to provide opportunities for significantly more people to become fluent in the Welsh language so that they can use these skills in the workplace and in the community', but that 'in some cases, institutions have little expertise to make improvements to this programme, which is regarded as being non-vocational in nature and out of the mainstream of provision' (Education and Learning Wales 2004: paragraphs 9-10; cf. Estyn 2004).

A counterpart system of Gaelic for Adults centres in Scotland might involve establishing, in the first instance, centres in Edinburgh and Glasgow (as the principal population centres and the main centres of existing GfA activity), Inverness (as the main population centre in the Highlands and base for several Gaelic organisations) and Stornoway (as the population and organisational centre of the Western Isles). Eventually a wider network of centres would be needed (perhaps between five and ten more), so as to facilitate access to Gaelic from all parts of Scotland.

Although a number of different structural models are possible, it would be essential for these centres to directly employ teaching staff and to ensure that a baseline range of courses, with varying degrees of intensiveness and with a clear and guaranteed progression, were available each and every year, with several different start times being possible. For example, a range of beginners, Intermediate and advanced courses, varying in length between two and twenty or more hours per week, could be scheduled to start in September, January and April (and guaranteed to run without an arbitrary minimum number of students). These courses could be offered in partnership with other providers, and might well use other providers' or bodies' premises, but the essential principle would be the guarantee that courses would run, and would run reasonably frequently and with the certain availability of follow-on provision.

Conversely, there is a potential risk that the Bòrd's proposal in *Ginealach Ùr na Gàidhlig* to 'designate two establishments as Gaelic Learning Centres' might amount to little more than

---

<sup>16</sup>See <http://cymru.gov.uk/topics/educationandskills/wfasub/welshforadults/tutors/welshforadultscentres/?skip=1&lang=en>

<sup>17</sup>[www.adjudicationpanelwales.org.uk/news/topic/welsh/2008/080804welshforadults/?cr=3&lang=en&ts=4](http://www.adjudicationpanelwales.org.uk/news/topic/welsh/2008/080804welshforadults/?cr=3&lang=en&ts=4)

<sup>18</sup>[wales.gov.uk/topics/educationandskills/wfasub/welshforadults/learners/howtolearn/?lang=en](http://wales.gov.uk/topics/educationandskills/wfasub/welshforadults/learners/howtolearn/?lang=en)

labelling, i.e that an existing organisation could be bestowed with the new title of 'Gaelic Learning Centre', but without any significant injection of new funds or the obligation to develop and offer courses on the systematic basis outlined above.

Combined with increased funding, improved progression of courses, and upgraded tutor training, such a network of centres could make a real difference to GfA provision in Scotland.

## **5.2.2 Progression, qualification and certification**

The lack of a recognised mechanism in GfA has long been perceived as a deficiency in the system. As shown in the database compiled for this report, courses are variously labelled as beginners, post-beginners, intermediate, advanced and so on, but in the absence of an agreed mechanism to determine students' linguistic competence these adjectives can have little meaning. In order to professionalise the system, a comprehensive system of testing and certification is required.

One key consequence of the lack of testing and assessment in this area is that it is effectively impossible to judge the relative successfulness of different kinds of classes and teaching methodologies. In principle, the most effective Gaelic course is the one in which students acquire Gaelic fastest, with the lowest dropout rate. But if there is no robust method for judging how much progress a student has made, any assessment of relative effectiveness becomes at best subjective, at worst arbitrary or meaningless.

The most applicable and widely recognised system in this area is the Council of Europe's *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment* (CEFR). The CEFR 'describes in a comprehensive way what language learners have to learn to do in order to use a language for communication and what knowledge and skills they have to develop so as to be able to act effectively'. Specifically, it 'defines levels of proficiency which allow learners' progress to be measured at each stage of learning', using a descriptors scale which has become familiar across Europe and beyond (Council of Europe 2001: 1).

The CEFR sets three Common Reference Levels: A, Basic User, B, Independent User, and C, Proficient User. These are further bifurcated into A1, A2, B1, B2, C1 and C2. Thus, for example, the competences associated with the lowest level, A1, are as follows:

Can understand and use familiar everyday expressions and very basic phrases aimed at the satisfaction of needs of a concrete type. Can introduce him/herself and others and can ask and answer questions about personal details such as where he/she lives, people he/she knows and things he/she has. Can interact in a simple way provided the other person talks slowly and clearly and is prepared to help.

In turn, a learner at level B1:

Can understand the main points of clear standard input on familiar matters regularly encountered in work, school, leisure, etc. Can deal with most situations likely to arise whilst travelling in an area where the language is spoken. Can produce simple connected text on topics which are familiar or of personal interest. Can describe experiences and events, dreams, hopes and ambitions and briefly give reasons and explanations for opinions and plans.

Finally, a learner at the highest level, C2:

Can understand with ease virtually everything heard or read. Can summarise information from different spoken and written sources, reconstructing arguments and accounts in a coherent presentation. Can express him/herself spontaneously, very fluently and precisely, differentiating finer shades of meaning even in more complex situations.

(Council of Europe 2001: 24)

A structured syllabus and examination system based on the CEFR has now been developed for learners of Irish: Teastas Eorpach na Gaeilge (The European Certificate in Irish). All levels up to C1 have now been completed and C2 is currently in development. This work has been taken forward at Ionad na dTeangacha (Language Centre) at NUI Maynooth and a comprehensive website ([www.teg.ie](http://www.teg.ie)) has been developed, from which syllabi and sample exams can be downloaded. Eight examination centres across Ireland have now been established, and exams for levels A1 and A2 can even be sat at four international centres.

The Welsh Joint Education Council has also developed a counterpart system of qualifications for Welsh, known as Defnyddio'r Gymraeg (Using Welsh). Each of these connects to a CEFR level: Entry level corresponds to A1, Foundation to A2, Intermediate to B1, Advanced to B2/C1, and Proficiency to C2. Again, these are connected to a comprehensive system of examinations and certificates.<sup>19</sup>

Teastas Eorpach na Gaeilge provides a compelling model for GfA in Scotland. While it would be unrealistic to think that the materials developed in this context could simply be translated from Irish to Scottish Gaelic, there is certainly sufficient linguistic connection between the two to consider this a very valuable head start.

SQA 's draft Gaelic Language Plan includes a commitment to 'develop [a] targeted range of qualifications provision, Units and Group Awards to support adult language learning' (SQA 2009: 16). While this statement is somewhat unspecific, it clearly provides a framework for progress on this front.

### **5.2.3 Tutor training and support**

Tutor training is a central pillar of the GfA infrastructure, as the availability and quality of tutors have a direct impact on the numbers of people learning Gaelic and on the proportion of learners reaching fluency. Without good tuition, it is unlikely that a learner will proceed to fluency.

A shortage of Gaelic tutors and a lack of tutor training and support has long been identified as a key weakness in the GfA infrastructure. In the early 1990s, *Feumalachdan Luchd-ionnsachaidh* noted a serious shortage of tutors, commented on the absence of training provision for tutors and found that around half of the tutors surveyed had no previous training or experience in teaching (CnaG/CLI 1992). These concerns were reiterated by MacCaluim's studies both ten and fifteen years later (MacCaluim 2002, 2007: 67) and by Pollock's 2008 research. MacCaluim's Gaelic Learners' Survey revealed a concern amongst learners about the variable quality of Gaelic tuition resulting from the widespread

---

<sup>19</sup>See [www.wjec.co.uk/index.php?subject=116](http://www.wjec.co.uk/index.php?subject=116)

use of fluent speakers with little or no teaching experience.

The average age of tutors was also flagged up as a matter of concern (MacCaluim 2007; Pollock 2008). Pollock found that most tutors surveyed were over 50, with many being above retirement age. These older tutors did not appear to be being replaced by the younger generation; very few tutors were under 30. Only a minority of tutors had undertaken any Gaelic-specific training.

*Feumalachdan Luchd-ionnsachaidh* made a number of recommendations in relation to training, including day, weekend or week-long induction courses for Gaelic tutors, regular in-service training, the production of a tutors' handbook, the creation of a national support network, resource centre and newsletter for tutors (CnaG/CLI 1992). It was further recommended that fluent speakers not trained in teaching should increasingly play a part in Gaelic classes or informal Gaelic groups through acting as language assistants rather than as conventional tutors (CnaG/CLI 1992: 8). MacCaluim's later study recommended a national structure for tutor training and certification for tutors (2007).

Almost twenty years since the *Feumalachdan Luchd-ionnsachaidh* report, then, progress with tutor training has been very disappointing. Gaelic tutor training remains underdeveloped and only a minority of tutors have undergone dedicated training. While two particular types of training are now available, as described below, these are insufficient to meet the needs of a modern Gaelic learning infrastructure with the capacity to bring large numbers of learners to fluency.

Training is currently available through the Community Learning and Development Review Group for Gaelic (CLDRG) and through the Ùlpan programme developed by Deiseal Ltd. CLDRG and its member authorities have run a variety of one-off, one-day or short residential training seminars for evening class tutors over the past decade. Since the early 2000s these courses have become increasingly frequent and professional, including an tutor training weekends at Sabhal Mòr Ostaig and occasional training days in different local authorities, particularly in Glasgow City and Highland. These courses have been aimed mainly at existing evening class tutors teaching in local authority classes.

Although these initiatives are certainly helpful, these courses are necessarily limited in scope, being short in duration and intended for local authority evening class tutors. The courses have also tended to focus on the general skills required for teaching adults rather than specific language or Gaelic training skills. There is still no organised support or systematic training structure for Gaelic tutors in general.

The recent development of Ùlpan tutor training has been more significant. Because Ùlpan is based on a written manual featuring progressive units, it has the advantage of reducing the level of training required by tutors as they can rely mainly on the course materials provided, having to learn only the generic teaching skills rather than having also to master the teaching of grammar and to identify or produce resources themselves. This structure has opened Gaelic training up to a wider audience than might otherwise have been the case. Ùlpan training has increased the number of tutors available, with some 73 tutors having been trained to date. Ùlpan training also has the advantage of increasing the consistency of course delivery by tutors. One shortcoming at the moment is that undertaking Ùlpan tutor training is relatively expensive for participants at present (£850 for 64 hours of instruction); this factor should be taken into account when considering funding for the GfA sector.

In addition to the Úlpan training, conventional tutor training will also continue to be required. Longer, more frequent and more detailed courses than those offered by CLDRG, including ab initio courses, will also be necessary to increase the number of and expand the skills of tutors, enabling them to deal with different types of classes and courses. Such a national tutor training scheme should be certificated to ensure uniform quality.

Quality tutor training is a prerequisite for creating an effective and modern GfA infrastructure. As the GfA infrastructure becomes more outcomes-based, more focused on creating fluent speakers and moves away from the traditional evening class model, it will be necessary to train tutors in sufficient numbers with the skills required for immersion courses, flexible learning courses and other intensive learning opportunities. This will also be necessary to enable an increase in the level of certificated classes.

A certificate scheme for Gaelic tutors could be based on the development of Scottish Qualifications Authority (SQA) modules in teaching Gaelic to adults. Such modules would form a flexible basis for a range of different tutor-courses such as open / distance learning, certificated summer schools or intensive weekend courses leading to a certificate over a period of months.

A more ambitious longer-term aim would be the establishment of a formal qualification along the lines of a Postgraduate Certificate of Education course in teaching Gaelic to adults. A new national qualification for Welsh for Adults tutors has recently been developed by Cardiff University on behalf of the Welsh Assembly Government, with tutor training being offered by the various Welsh for Adults centres. As with school teachers, in-service support and training for GfA tutors is also important. One mechanism here might be an e-zine for Gaelic tutors, comparable to Y Tiwtor in Wales (<http://ytiwtor.org/>).<sup>20</sup>

As the GfA sector expands and becomes more professional, there is the potential that a sector of professional GfA tutors will emerge who will teach Gaelic to adults for a living, whether working full-time in one course or through varying day, evening, weekend and other classes throughout the year, ideally on a salaried rather than course by course or hourly basis. Such a change would be very beneficial for the GfA sector. Very few tutors indeed make a living or a significant proportion of their income from teaching Gaelic to adults at present. As it is important that tutoring is financially viable for tutors, consideration of the funding of the GfA infrastructure should take into account the levels of pay for tutors.

It is likely that not all existing or potential tutors would be interested in committing to full tutor training. Those not wishing to undertake such training might perhaps be redeployed as leaders of conversation groups and given appropriate support and training in facilitating conversation groups.

While the shortage of Gaelic teachers is generally seen as one of the main factors constraining growth in the numbers of Gaelic speakers, the shortage of GfA tutors is no less important given the importance of adult learners for the revitalisation of Gaelic. The fact that most tutors do not have adequate training is also unacceptable and is akin to having Gaelic-medium classes at schools taught by instructors with no teaching qualifications. Tutor training is one of the key areas requiring reform if a modern, fit for purpose GfA infrastructure is to be created.

---

<sup>20</sup>Note also the e-zine for Welsh learners: [www.learnons4c.com/magazine.php](http://www.learnons4c.com/magazine.php)

#### **5.2.4 Information and promotion**

It seems undeniable that current GfA provision is not adequately publicised and promoted. The significant challenges involved in compiling the database for this report show clearly how difficult it is to get reliable and up-to-date information concerning Gaelic learning opportunities.

In some instances, inadequate publicity and promotion results from poor planning and management on the part of providers. It is remarkable that local authorities, for example, do not give full details of their classes on their websites, given the IT resources available to such large organisations. In other cases, the difficulty involves a lack of co-ordination between bodies providing information at a national level and the myriad organisations who feed information in to them. Without a mechanism to ensure that information is promptly and regularly updated, out of date details can sit undisturbed on a website more or less indefinitely.

Inadequate information and promotion has significant adverse consequences for GfA provision. Many would-be students will inevitably fail to find out about the opportunities available to them, or may discover them too late in the day, or may become too frustrated or discouraged by the tangles of the information-gathering process.

A streamlined and more authoritative information system is needed. This could take the form of an upgraded information portal with sufficient staff capacity to allow for the active seeking out of current details concerning provision and the continual updating of the database. The most effective approach would be to combine this improved data-gathering system with a more coordinated system of Gaelic for Adults centres.

#### **5.2.5 Learner engagement**

Little attention has been given in discussion of the GfA sector as to what might be termed learner engagement, namely encouraging learners to be aware of Gaelic affairs in general and to participate in Gaelic affairs.

Awareness is used here to describe awareness of areas such as Gaelic-related news and current affairs, of events, services and learning opportunities, and of the history and present situation of Gaelic. Participation is used here to mean taking advantage of opportunities to contribute in Gaelic affairs over and above learning and using Gaelic.

As noted in the introduction, Gaelic learners have great potential to contribute greatly to RLS by becoming fluent in the language. However, all learners can contribute something to RLS, including those who have not reached fluency, those who will fail to learn Gaelic to full fluency and those who do not aim for fluency in the first place.

While support for RLS and a desire to contribute to RLS amongst learners are undoubtedly positive factors, how much they can be translated into practice depends on the level of awareness which learners have of Gaelic issues and in turn on how much they participate in Gaelic affairs. Worryingly, the present study has shown that there is a relatively low level of following Gaelic affairs among respondents (see figures 11, 18 and 19).

It is often difficult for learners to find about Gaelic affairs in general. Gaelic has traditionally had a relatively low media profile, with most Gaelic stories only achieving coverage in Highland local papers or in the Highland editions of national newspapers. Where Gaelic

issues are covered in national newspapers, there is also a tendency for stories to be not only biased but factually incorrect.

Two beneficial changes for Gaelic have also had the unintended consequence of making it more difficult for non-fluent learners to follow Gaelic affairs. In recent years, Gaelic has increasingly become the language of discussion of Gaelic issues with many of the key discussions surrounding the language taking place on Radio nan Gàidheal, in newspaper Gaelic columns and on-line Gaelic lists and forums.

The rise of the Internet has made it easier to disseminate Gaelic-related information but the fragmented nature of the Internet means that information is accessible to those who know where to look for it, particularly given the lack of a single high-quality website covering Gaelic-related news. E-mail has also been a boon for Gaelic information distribution but again depends on the fragmented e-mail lists held by individual Gaelic organisations. Non-fluent learners may well not be on these mailing lists in any case.

To help keep Gaelic learners, fluent speakers and others with an interest in Gaelic informed of Gaelic related news, a regular bilingual Gaelic e-zine could also be established based on the model of Foras na Gaeilge's weekly *Gaelport* e-zine ([www.gaelport.com](http://www.gaelport.com)). This e-zine draws together news, views and details of events relating to Irish in a short and attractive weekly e-mail (linked to a website) which features headlines and links to more in-depth articles. A Gaelic counterpart could feature all the key news from the Gaelic development sector in one place for one email subscription list. This e-zine could also feature news about Gaelic learning opportunities.

## 6 Recommendations and summary

The present study has revealed a number of shortcomings in relation to current GfA provision. Improvement and successful expansion will require action on many fronts, several of which would require a significant injection of funding. A number of recommendations are given below.

- Adult learners of Gaelic should be recognised by BnG as playing a key role in Gaelic development in Scotland, and this recognition should be firmly embedded in Bòrd strategy and policy. At present Gaelic learners arguably tend to be seen as something of an ‘optional extra’ and not to be given priority in Gaelic development policy and strategy.
- There should be a representative of the GfA sector on the Bòrd's National Gaelic Education Steering Group to ensure that the interests of this sector are taken into account in education policy and planning more generally.
- The term Gaelic for Adults (GfA) should be used for the Gaelic adult learners’ sector both for convenience and to reflect the inadequacies and ambiguities of the term ‘learner’.
- Targets should be set by BnG for numbers of Gaelic learners reaching fluency. As noted above, the *National Plan* does aim to increase numbers, but it does not set a figure.
- BnG should continue to emphasise the importance of the public visibility of Gaelic so as to raise the profile of the language and attract the attention of the wider Scottish public. These efforts should include active marketing of the language through national publicity campaigns. Such publicity should emphasise younger people and the importance of Gaelic to work and careers.
- A overarching national co-ordinating structure is necessary for the GfA infrastructure. The clearest mechanism here is a network of Gaelic for Adults Centres in different parts of Scotland, analogous to that established in Wales.
- There is a clear and urgent need to provide a wider range of Gaelic immersion courses (including ‘live’ classes as well as distance learning), by which students can learn Gaelic intensively (20+ hours of contact time per week) and make rapid progress. The near-disappearance of such courses from the FE sector has been a significantly adverse development for the GfA sector and urgent remedial action is needed.
- A comprehensive ‘one-stop-shop’ for details of all Gaelic learning opportunities should be established. Such a service would require the active seeking out of learning opportunities and the continual updating of a database centrally, and would thus require adequate staff resources.
- This ‘one-stop-shop’ should also provide information concerning different means of learning (e.g. types of classes and courses available, methodologies, which means of learning suit different learning requirements and learning styles), details concerning funding and qualifications, strategies for language learning (including general language learning tips, minority language specific tips and Gaelic-specific

tips), how to find 'real life' opportunities to use Gaelic outside the classroom, how to use radio and TV broadcasts as informal learning resources, and how to become more engaged in the Gaelic community

- A national tutor-training and certification scheme is necessary to ensure both quantity and quality of tutors.
- Agreed levels of proficiency and related testing and qualifications in Gaelic are necessary to enable interchangeability of courses and recognition of skills. Good practice in Ireland (notably Teastas Eorpach na Gaeilge, [www.teg.ie](http://www.teg.ie)) could be adapted to the Scottish situation.
- There should be an expectation, or indeed a requirement, that publicly funded formal courses should be integrated into the structures of these qualifications. Courses should either be certificated or serve as taster courses, aiming to play a Gaelic awareness function and to feed into certified courses. The only exception to this would be informal conversation groups.
- Proposals in the SFC's draft Gaelic plan to introduce small cohort funding for intensive Gaelic courses are very welcome, as is their commitment to review the funding mechanism for Gaelic provision, taking into account the typically small numbers. This approach should be taken forward as a matter of urgency as it is important that a funding mechanism is established to enable the growth of Gaelic immersion courses.
- Small cohort funding is also necessary for GfA provision organised by local authorities, and dedicated funding should be made available for this as a matter of priority. At the moment, considerable numbers of planned local authority courses do not actually run due to numbers that are considered inadequate according to conventional criteria.
- The Student Awards Agency for Scotland should be encouraged to make funding available for those who already have a degree but wish to undertake a full-time Gaelic course.
- Gaelic awareness courses should be proactively pursued through the language plan development process for both local authorities and national educational agencies and through the work of the National Gaelic Education Steering Group.
- GLE, including both GLPS and secondary provision, should be expanded to as many schools as possible as a way of ensuring greater uptake of GfA provision, including but not limited to FE/HE classes. BnG should establish a formal target Plan for increasing the numbers of pupils studying GLE at secondary school and take appropriate measures to ensure that it can be attained.
- A scheme should be put in place to provide special language training to recent graduates or serving teachers who do not speak Gaelic but wish to become GME or GLE teachers.
- Opportunities for learners to use Gaelic in a social context should be proactively developed. Local Gaelic social organisations such as Bothan in Edinburgh, Ceòl is

Craic in Glasgow and the recently opened An t-Oisean in Evanton are potential partners in this context.

## Bibliography

BBC 2003. *Attitudes To The Gaelic Language*. Opinion survey by Market Research UK for the BBC.

Bòrd na Gàidhlig 2007a. *Plana Nàiseanta na Gàidhlig 2007–2012 / The National Plan for Gaelic 2007-2012*. Inverness: Bòrd na Gàidhlig.

Bòrd na Gàidhlig 2007b. *Stiùireadh air Deasachadh Phlanaichean Gàidhlig / Guidance on the Development of Gaelic Language Plans*. Inverness: Bòrd na Gàidhlig.

Bòrd na Gàidhlig 2010. *Ginealach Ùr na Gàidhlig: An Action Plan to increase the numbers of Gaelic speakers / Plana Gnìomha gus àireamh luchd-labhairt na Gàidhlig a mheudachadh*. Inverness: Bòrd na Gàidhlig.

Campbell, Iain, et al. 2008. *Measuring the Gaelic Labour Market: Current and Future Potential*. Report for Highlands and Islands Enterprise, Skills Development Scotland and Bòrd na Gàidhlig. Inverness: Hecla Consulting.

Comunn na Gàidhlig and Comann an Luchd-Ionnsachaidh 1992. *Feumalachdan Luchd-Ionnsachaidh – Rannsachadh Nàiseanta / Provision for Gaelic Learners: A National Survey*. Inverness: Comunn na Gàidhlig.

Comunn na Gàidhlig 1998. *Còmhhdail 98 Annual Congress: Bho linn gu linn - Gaelic's New Millennium*. Inverness: Comunn na Gàidhlig.

Comunn na Gàidhlig 1999. *Gàidhlig PLC: Plana Leasachaidh Gàidhlig / A Development Plan for Gaelic*. Inverness: Comunn na Gàidhlig.

Council of Europe 2001. *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment*. Available on-line at [www.coe.int/T/DG4/Linguistic/Source/Framework\\_EN.pdf](http://www.coe.int/T/DG4/Linguistic/Source/Framework_EN.pdf)

Deiseal Ltd 2010. 'Ùlpan: Course Provider Basis and Costs'. Dalgety Bay: Deiseal Ltd.

Dunbar, Robert 2006. 'Gaelic in Scotland: The Legal and Institutional Framework', in McLeod 2006a, 1-23.

Education and Learning Wales 2004. *Welsh for Adults: Consultation Document on the Restructuring of Welsh for Adults 2004*. Caerphilly: Education and Learning Wales. Available on-line at [www.adjudicationpanelwales.org.uk/dcells/publications/publications/circularsindex/04/welshforadultsreview/ncc0412bl-e.pdf?lang=en&status=closed](http://www.adjudicationpanelwales.org.uk/dcells/publications/publications/circularsindex/04/welshforadultsreview/ncc0412bl-e.pdf?lang=en&status=closed)

Estyn: Her Majesty's Inspectorate for Education and Training in Wales 2004. *The Quality of Provision in Welsh for Adults*. Cardiff: Estyn. Available on-line at [www.estyn.gov.uk/publications/Welsh\\_for\\_Adults\\_report.pdf](http://www.estyn.gov.uk/publications/Welsh_for_Adults_report.pdf)

Fishman, Joshua A. 1991. *Reversing Language Shift - Theoretical and Empirical Foundation Assistance to Threatened Languages*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Fishman, Joshua A. (ed.) 2001. *Can Threatened Languages be Saved?*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Gaelic Medium Teachers' Action Group 2005. *The Report of the Gaelic Medium Teachers' Action Group*. Edinburgh: The Scottish Executive.

Gàidhlig '96 1997. *Gàidhlig '96 Project Manager's Report from 4 March to 15 December 1996*.

Galloway, John 1995a. *The Role of Employment in Gaelic Language Maintenance and Development*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh.

Galloway, John 1995b. *Estimation of the Number and Distribution of Adult Learners of Gaelic: Final Report*. Inverness: Comunn na Gàidhlig.

General Register Office Scotland 2005. *Scotland's Census 2001: Gaelic Report*. Edinburgh: General Register Office Scotland.

Glasgow City Council (2009a). *Gaelic Learners Survey: Main Findings*. Glasgow: Glasgow City Council.

Glasgow City Council (2009b). *Gaelic Learners Survey Feedback Newsletter*. Glasgow: Glasgow City Council.

Grin, François, and Vaillancourt, François 1999. *The Cost-Effectiveness Evaluation of Minority Languages Policies: Case studies on Wales, Ireland and the Basque Country*. Flensburg, Germany: European Centre for Minority Issues.

HM Inspectorate of Education 2005. *Leasachadh Coileanaidh ann an Gàidhlig / Improving Achievement in Gaelic*. Edinburgh: HM Inspectorate of Education. Available on-line at: [www.hmie.gov.uk/documents/publication/iage.html](http://www.hmie.gov.uk/documents/publication/iage.html)).

Johnstone, Richard 1994. *The Impact of Current Developments to Support the Gaelic Language: Review of Research*, Stirling: Scottish CILT.

Johnstone, Richard, with Doughty, Hannay and McKinstry, Robert 2003. *Gaelic Learners in the Primary School (GLPS) in Argyll & Bute, East Ayrshire, North Lanarkshire, Perth & Kinross and Stirling*, Stirling: Scottish CILT.

Lo Bianco, Joseph 2001. *Language and Literacy Policy in Scotland*, Stirling Scottish CILT.

MacCaluim, Alasdair 2002. 'Periphery of the Periphery? Adult Learners of Scottish Gaelic and Reversal of Language Shift'. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh.

MacCaluim, Alasdair 2007. *Reversing Language Shift: The Social Identity and Role of Adult Learners of Scottish Gaelic*. Belfast: Cló Ollscoil na Banríona.

McEwan-Fujita, Emily 2010. Ideology, affect, and socialization in language shift and revitalization: The experiences of adults learning Gaelic in the Western Isles of Scotland. *Language in Society*, 39, 27-64.

MacKinnon, Kenneth 1981. *Scottish Opinion on Gaelic*. Hatfield: Hatfield Polytechnic.

MacKinnon, Kenneth 1991. *Gaelic - A Past and Future Prospect*. Edinburgh: The Saltire Society.

MacKinnon, Kenneth 2003. *Bòrd Gàidhlig na h-Alba: New Thinking for a Fresh Start?*, seminar paper delivered to Edinburgh Department of Celtic and Scottish Studies, 5 March 2003. Available on-line at [www.arts.ed.ac.uk/celtic/poileasaidh/newthinking/index.html](http://www.arts.ed.ac.uk/celtic/poileasaidh/newthinking/index.html)

MacKinnon, Kenneth 2006. *Migration, Family And Education In Gaelic Policy Perspective: a presentation to the Language-planning and Policy Seminar, University of Edinburgh, 8th March 2006*. Available on-line at: [www.sgrud.org.uk](http://www.sgrud.org.uk)

McLeod, Wilson 2001a. 'Gaelic in the New Scotland: Politics, Rhetoric, and Public Discourse'. *ECMI Journal of Ethnopolitic and Minority Issues* (July 2001). Available on-line at: [www.ecmi.de/jemie/download/JEMIE02MacLeod28-11-01.pdf](http://www.ecmi.de/jemie/download/JEMIE02MacLeod28-11-01.pdf)

McLeod, Wilson 2002. 'Gaelic in Scotland: A 'Renaissance' Without Planning', in *Hizkuntza Biziberritzeko Saoiak / Experiencias de Inversión del Cambio Lingüístico / Récupération de la Perte Linguistique / Reversing Language Shift*, 279-95. Vitoria-Gasteiz: Eusko Jauriaritzaren Argitalpen, Zerbitzu Nagusia/Servicio Central de Publicaciones del Gobierno Vasco.

McLeod, Wilson 2004. 'Lessons from Gaelic-Medium Higher Education in Scotland', in: *Ollscolaíocht Ghaeilge: Dúshláin agus Léargais - Páipéir Chomhdhála / University Education in Irish: Challenges and Perspectives - Conference Papers*, ed. by Caoilfhionn Nic Pháidín and Donlú uí Bhraonáin, 43-51. Dublin: FIONTAR, Dublin City University.

McLeod, Wilson 2005. *Gàidhlig ann an Dùn Èideann: Cleachdadh agus Beachdan / Gaelic in Edinburgh: Usage and Attitudes*. Edinburgh: Celtic and Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh. Available on-line at [www.arts.ed.ac.uk/celtic/poileasaidh/aithisggaidhligdeUR.htm](http://www.arts.ed.ac.uk/celtic/poileasaidh/aithisggaidhligdeUR.htm).

McLeod, Wilson, ed. 2006a. *Revitalising Gaelic in Scotland: Policy, Planning and Public Discourse*. Edinburgh: Dunedin Academic Press,.

McLeod, Wilson 2006b. 'Leasachadh solarachadh sheirbhisean poblach tro mheadhan na Gàidhlig:duilgheadasan idè-eòlach agus pragtaigeach', in McLeod 2006a, 25-47.

McLeod, Wilson 2006c. 'Securing the Status of Gaelic? Implementing the Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005'. *Scottish Affairs* , 57, 19-38.

MacNeil, Morag & Beaton N 1994. *Immersion Teaching and Language Learning: Meeting the Needs of the Gaelic Economy*. Isle of Skye: Sabhal Mòr Ostaig, Lèirsinn.

MacNeil, Morag M. & MacDonald, Brian K. 1997. *Gaelic Television Programmes as a Resource for Language Learning*, Isle of Skye: Lèirsinn & Comataidh Craolaidh Gàidhlig.

Ministerial Advisory Group on Gaelic 2002. *Cothrom Ùr don Ghàidhlig: Aithisg le Buidheann Comhairleachaidh an Riaghaltais air Gàidhlig / A Fresh Start: Report by Ministerial Advisory Group on Gaelic*. Inverness: Ministerial Advisory Group on Gaelic.

NicAoidh, Magaidh 2006. 'Pròiseact Plana Cànan nan Eilean Siar', in McLeod 2006a, 72-86.

Ó Maolalaigh, Rob 2000. 'Leigheas na Cànan a Bruidhinn gun Teagamh / 'The Remedy for the Language is in its Speaking Without a Doubt'. *Cothrom*, serialised in issues 27-30.

Ofis ar Brezhoneg/Office de la Langue Bretonne 2005. 'Deskomp brezhoneg! / Le breton,

je m'y mets!' *DaLenn*, 10, 1. Available on-line at [www.ofis-bzh.org/upload/ouvrage/fichier/203fichier.pdf](http://www.ofis-bzh.org/upload/ouvrage/fichier/203fichier.pdf)

Pollock, Irene 2008. *Provision of Gaelic Classes for Adult Learners*. Dalgety Bay: Deiseal Ltd.

Progressive/Creative Cell 2007. Bòrd na Gàidhlig research: Key findings, 15 August 2007.

Robastan, Boyd 2006. 'Foghlam Gàidhlig: bho linn gu linn', in McLeod 2006a, 87-117. [see also Robertson, Boyd]

Robertson, Boyd 2001a. *Gaelic Immersion Courses - Report on Gaelic Immersion Course Provision in Scotland*. Glasgow: Scottish Qualifications Authority.

Robertson, Boyd 2001b. *The Gaelic language in education in the United Kingdom*. Leeuwarden: Mercator Education. Available on-line at: [www.mercator-education.org](http://www.mercator-education.org) (Regional Dossiers).

Robertson, Boyd 2008. 'Gaelic Education', in *Scottish Education — Third Edition: Beyond Devolution*, ed. by T. G. K Bryce and W. M. Humes, 235-46. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Scottish Funding Council 2007. *Gaelic education provision in Scotland*. Edinburgh: Scottish Funding Council. Available on-line at: [www.sfc.ac.uk/nmsruntime/saveasdialog.aspx?IID=1264&SID=4445](http://www.sfc.ac.uk/nmsruntime/saveasdialog.aspx?IID=1264&SID=4445)

Scottish Funding Council 2008. *Support for Gaelic education in FE and HE in Scotland*. Edinburgh: Scottish Funding Council. Available on-line at [www.sfc.ac.uk/web/FILES/CircularsSFC2508/sfc2508\[1\].pdf](http://www.sfc.ac.uk/web/FILES/CircularsSFC2508/sfc2508[1].pdf)

Scottish Government 2009. *Pupils in Scotland, 2009*. Available on-line at: [www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2009/11/05112711/0](http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2009/11/05112711/0)

Scottish Office Education Department 1994. *Provision for Gaelic Education in Scotland: A Report by HM Inspectors of Schools*. Edinburgh: Scottish Office Education Department.

Scottish Qualifications Authority 2008. *SQA Annual Statistical Digest 2008*. Glasgow: Scottish Qualifications Authority. Available on-line at [www.sqa.org.uk/sqa/files\\_ccc/StatsTable\\_NH08\\_web.xls](http://www.sqa.org.uk/sqa/files_ccc/StatsTable_NH08_web.xls) and [www.sqa.org.uk/sqa/files\\_ccc/StatsTable\\_AH08\\_web.xls](http://www.sqa.org.uk/sqa/files_ccc/StatsTable_AH08_web.xls)

Scottish Qualifications Authority 2008. *Post-Appeals National Qualification Results 2009*. Glasgow: Scottish Qualifications Authority. Available on-line at [www.sqa.org.uk/sqa/files\\_ccc/Post-AppealsNationalQualificationResults2009.xls](http://www.sqa.org.uk/sqa/files_ccc/Post-AppealsNationalQualificationResults2009.xls)

University of Strathclyde 2001-9. *Àireamhan Sgoilearan ann am Foghlam Gàidhlig / Pupils Numbers in Gaelic Education*. Glasgow: University of Strathclyde, Faculty of Education.

Welsh Assembly Government 2002. *Iaith Pawb: A National Action Plan for a Bilingual Wales*. Cardiff: Welsh Assembly Government.

Western Isles Language Planning Project 2005. *Research and Outcome of Phase 1 of the Project – Final Report*. Stornoway: Western Isles Language Project.

Wells, Gordon 1997. 'The Validity of Language Learners' Self-reports of Proficiency: A Study of Scottish Gaelic'. *Language Issues*, 9:1, 23-4.

## **Appendix A**

Database of Gaelic classes for adults

## **Appendix B**

Map of current GfA provision

A snapshot' map is given below but the fully interactive version of the map, including details of each class, is available at: [www.tinyurls.co.uk/G4987](http://www.tinyurls.co.uk/G4987)



## **Appendix C**

### Providers' interview schedule

1. What learning opportunities does [*provider*] currently offer for adults wishing to learn Gaelic? Please list classes below.

2. Details of class(es):

What level is the class? (e.g. Beginner, Post Beginner, Intermediate, Advanced)

Where does it meet?

When does it meet, and how long is each session? (e.g. Mondays, 7-9 pm)

How long is the class? (e.g. 10 weeks)

3. How are the classes funded?

How much do learners pay for the courses, either per session or per block of classes?

4. How many learners are currently enrolled?

Is this a typical level of enrolment, or is it higher or lower than previous years?

Do learners usually follow on to the next level of the course (if one is available), and/or do learners repeat levels?

What is the drop-out rate for the classes?

Are there minimum and maximum numbers for enrolment?

5. How many tutors are currently employed?

What is their language background?

What is their teaching experience?

Approximately what age are the tutors?

6. What course or teaching method is used in the classes? Please be as specific as possible.

What format do classes take? (e.g. conversation, grammar, translation)

Is literacy in Gaelic part of the course?

What resources or course materials are recommended to learners? Please be as specific as possible.

\*If any materials are produced "in house", please provide us with a copy, if possible.\*

7. How are courses publicised?

8. What are the aims of the classes?

What do you see as the learners' expectations of the outcomes of the course?

Is any previous experience or accreditation required of learners?

Do learners obtain any certification or qualification at the end of the course?

9. How effective is the course in attaining its goals?

Are learners able to progress to fluency?

10. How do you think that the course(s) you offer could be improved?

How do you think Gaelic learning opportunities in general could be improved?

## **Appendix D**

### Learners' survey

## Welcome to the 2009 Survey of Adult Learners of Gaelic

The role of adult learners in the Gaelic world is an important one. Adult learners contribute to revitalisation efforts through their commitment to the language, whether by attending courses, purchasing Gaelic materials, sending their children through Gaelic-medium education, or many other ways.

This survey was commissioned by Bòrd na Gàidhlig, and is being carried out by the department of Celtic & Scottish Studies at the University of Edinburgh. The survey aims to find out *who* is learning Gaelic, *what* they are learning, *where* they are learning, *how* they are learning, and, most importantly, *why* they are learning. The results of this survey will be used to inform future language planning.

The survey has five pages of questions for you to answer. Most require you to select one or more answers; a few require a write-in response in which additional detail would be appreciated. At the end of the survey, there is an opportunity for you to become involved further in the study through an interview. Your answers will be confidential to the research team and will only be reported anonymously and/or in aggregate form. We have asked for your name, address, and course details to ensure that we have covered a wide range of respondents and to allow us to contact you should you wish to be involved in the interview stage.

Thank you for taking the time to respond to this survey. The closing date for completion is 1st November 2009. If you have any questions about the survey or the study please contact Irene Pollock ([irenevarious@googlemail.com](mailto:irenevarious@googlemail.com) or 0131 477 2156) or Wilson McLeod ([w.mcleod@ed.ac.uk](mailto:w.mcleod@ed.ac.uk) or 0131 650 3623).

*The survey takes 15-20 minutes to complete and can be saved part way through. There are three types of question: circles or 'radio buttons' to click, squares to tick, and boxes to type text into. Please note that once you have clicked on the 'continue' button at the bottom of each page you cannot return to review or amend that page.*

### Your Details

This section asks for details about yourself and the class(es) you are currently attending.

#### Personal and Course Details

1. Name:

2. Your Age Range:

- 15-19
- 20-24
- 25-29
- 30-34
- 35-39
- 40-44
- 45-49
- 50-54

- 55-59
- 60-65
- 66+

**3. Town of Residence:**

Place(s) of Upbringing (until age 18):

**4. Name of Course Currently Attending:**

**5. Location of Course Currently Attending:**

### Learning History

This page asks for information on your experiences learning Gaelic.

**Previous Learning Experiences**

**6. For approximately how many years have you been learning Gaelic?**

- Less than 1
- Between 1 and 2
- Between 2 and 3
- Between 3 and 5
- Between 5 and 10
- More than 10

**7. How many Gaelic classes have you taken prior to your current course?**

**8. Please provide details of previous courses.**

	Name of Course	Level of Course (Beginner, Post Beginner, Intermediate, Advanced)	Location of Course	Year
a. Course 1				
b. Course 2				

c. Course 3				
d. Course 4				
e. Course 5				
f. Other Courses				

**9. What has been your main method of learning Gaelic?**

- Self-taught (from books, tapes, internet, etc.)
- Conversation with native speakers and/or other learners
- Evening classes
- Day or weekend classes
- Immersion courses
- Distance learning
- University/degree courses
- Other (*please specify*):

What other methods have you used? (*Optional*)

**10. Do you have any formal qualifications in Gaelic?**

- Yes
- No
- Qualification in progress

Would you like a qualification (or an additional qualification) in Gaelic? Which qualification? (*Optional*)

**11. If you have formal qualifications in Gaelic, what are they?**

	Title of qualification	Qualification granted by	Year qualification granted
a. Qualification 1:			
b. Qualification 2:			

c. Qualification 3:

12. What do you consider to be your level of fluency in the following four aspects of Gaelic use?

	Level of fluency						
	None/Complete Beginner	Beginner	Post Beginner	Lower Intermediate	Upper Intermediate	Advanced	Fully Fluent
a. Listening:	<input type="checkbox"/>						
b. Speaking:	<input type="checkbox"/>						
c. Reading:	<input type="checkbox"/>						
d. Writing:	<input type="checkbox"/>						

### Motivations for Learning Gaelic

This section asks questions about your aims in learning Gaelic.

#### Beginning to Learn Gaelic

13. Do you have any Gaelic heritage in your extended family?

	How many of the following are/were Gaelic speakers?			
	0	1	2	>2
a. Siblings:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. Mother:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. Father:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d. Maternal Grandparents:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e. Paternal Grandparents:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f. Other Relatives (Aunts and Uncles, Cousins, etc.):	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

14. Is there any use of Gaelic at home in your own immediate family?

(select all that apply)

- Gaelic-speaking partner/spouse
- Gaelic-speaking children/children in Gaelic-medium education
- No children yet, but intend to raise them in Gaelic
- Other (please specify):

**15. What are your personal aims and goals in learning Gaelic?**

*(select all that apply)*

- "I would like to learn enough Gaelic to understand simple sentences and conversations."
- "I would like to learn enough Gaelic to understand music, radio and television programmes."
- "I would like to learn enough Gaelic to have basic conversations with other speakers."
- "I would like to learn enough Gaelic to help me with a hobby or interest."
- "I would like to learn enough Gaelic to be able to read newspapers, literature, poetry, and/or the Bible."
- "I would like to become fluent in speaking Gaelic."
- "I would like to become fluent in reading and writing Gaelic."
- Other *(please specify)*:

**16. What level of fluency do you expect to reach in each of the following areas?**

	Please indicate.			
	Basic	Intermediate	Advanced	Fully Fluent
a. "I expect to become fluent enough to understand spoken Gaelic."	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. "I expect to become fluent enough to converse with other speakers in Gaelic."	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. "I expect to become fluent enough to read Gaelic."	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d. "I expect to become fluent enough to write in Gaelic."	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**17. What are the reasons that you started to learn Gaelic?**

*(select all that apply)*

- "I would be able to enjoy Gaelic music better."
- "I would be able to enjoy Gaelic TV."
- "I would be able to understand Gaelic literature."
- "I would be helping to keep Gaelic alive."
- "I live in a Gaelic-speaking area."
- "Adult members of my family can/could speak Gaelic."
- "Gaelic would be useful for my hobbies or interests (e.g. place-names, tracing ancestry)."
- "Gaelic would be useful in present/future employment."

- "As a Scot/someone living in Scotland, I feel I should speak Gaelic."
- "Gaelic would help me get closer to my roots."
- "I did not feel like a complete Scot without a knowledge of Gaelic."
- "My children are in Gaelic-medium education."
- "I have Gaelic-speaking friends."
- "I am interested in languages."
- "I want to live in the Highlands or Islands."
- "I like to visit the Highlands and Islands."
- Other (*please specify*):

Please select the *main* reason you started to learn Gaelic.

- "I would be able to enjoy Gaelic music better."
- "I would be able to enjoy Gaelic TV."
- "I would be able to understand Gaelic literature."
- "I would be helping to keep Gaelic alive."
- "I live in a Gaelic-speaking area."
- "Adult members of my family can/could speak Gaelic."
- "Gaelic would be useful for my hobbies or interests (e.g. place-names, tracing ancestry)."
- "Gaelic would be useful in present/future employment."
- "As a Scot/someone living in Scotland, I feel I should speak Gaelic."
- "Gaelic would help me get closer to my roots."
- "I did not feel like a complete Scot without a knowledge of Gaelic."
- "My children are in Gaelic-medium education."
- "I have Gaelic-speaking friends."
- "I am interested in languages."
- "I want to live in the Highlands or Islands."
- "I like to visit the Highlands and Islands."

**18. Which of the following have you found to be obstacles in learning or reaching fluency in Gaelic?**

*(select all that apply)*

- Difficulty in finding out about Gaelic learning opportunities
- Difficulty in accessing courses due to other commitments
- Difficulty in accessing courses due to timetable
- Difficulty in accessing courses due to cost
- Lack of appropriate courses in local area
- Lack of suitable learning materials
- Lack of support
- Lack of opportunities to interact with native speakers and fluent learners
- Inherent difficulty of Gaelic as a language
- Other *(please specify)*:

**Use of Gaelic**

This section asks questions about how often and in what contexts you use Gaelic.

Use of Gaelic

**19. How often do you speak Gaelic?**

	Please indicate frequency below.				
	Daily	Weekly	Monthly	Less Often	Never
<b>a.</b> With family:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>b.</b> With other learners:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>c.</b> With native speakers:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>d.</b> In class or other structured learning setting:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>e.</b> In social contexts (e.g. pubs, ceilidhs):	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>f.</b> In church:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>g.</b> At work:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>h.</b> In other practical contexts (e.g. shopping, at the doctor's):	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

20. How often do you listen (passively) to Gaelic?

	Please indicate frequency below.					Which programme(s) or material(s)?
	Daily	Weekly	Monthly	Less Often	Never	
a. Gaelic radio programmes:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
b. Gaelic television programmes:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
c. Gaelic content online (e.g. BBC Alba website):	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
d. Gaelic audio books (e.g. Ùr-Sgeul series):	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
e. Gaelic learning materials (e.g. Speaking Our Language series):	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	

21. How often do you read Gaelic?

	Please indicate frequency below.					Which material(s)?
	Daily	Weekly	Monthly	Less Often	Never	
a. Gaelic newspaper column:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
b. Gaelic content online (including e-mails, blogs, websites, etc.):	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
c. Gaelic poetry:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
d. Gaelic novels or short stories:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
e. Gaelic Bible:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
f. Gaelic letters, reports, documents, etc.:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	

22. How often do you write in Gaelic?

	Please indicate frequency below.				
	Daily	Weekly	Monthly	Less Often	Never
a. Online:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. Letters:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. Job-related documents:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d. Other:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

23. Which of the following Gaelic organisations are you involved in?

	Please indicate your involvement.			Details of organisation
	Current member	Past member	Possible future member	
a. Clì Gàidhlig:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
b. An Comunn Gàidhealach:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
c. A' Chiste Leabhraichean (Gaelic Books Council book club):	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
d. Comann nam Pàrant:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
e. Taic (formerly Comhairle nan Sgoiltean Àraich):	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
f. Comunn na Gàidhlig:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
g. Gaelic Society of Inverness:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
h. Gaelic choir:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
i. Gaelic drama group:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
j. Local Gaelic learners' group or conversation circle:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
k. University Gaelic society:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
l. On-line Gaelic group (e.g. mygaelic.com, Fàs or other e-mail list):	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
m. Other:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	

24. What cultural activities linked to Gaelic, or through the medium of Gaelic, do you take part in?

	Please indicate frequency below.				Is the activity Gaelic-medium?		Details of activity
	Regularly	Occasionally	Participated in the past	Never	Yes	No	
a. National Mòd:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
b. Local Mòd:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
c. Fèis:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
d. Gaelic drama/plays:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
e. Gaelic concerts/cèilidhs:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
f. Gaelic choir:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	

<b>g.</b> Gaelic conversation group:	<input type="checkbox"/>							
<b>h.</b> Gaelic church service:	<input type="checkbox"/>							
<b>i.</b> Gaelic meetings/conferences:	<input type="checkbox"/>							
<b>j.</b> Other activity:	<input type="checkbox"/>							

**25.** Do you follow Gaelic-related news and issues?  
(select all that apply)

- Yes, I am subscribed to an e-mail list or forum
- Yes, I regularly read newspaper articles concerning Gaelic
- Yes, I regularly check Gaelic-related websites
- Occasionally
- No
- Other (*please specify*):

**26.** Do you intend to record yourself as being a Gaelic speaker in the 2011 Census?

- Yes
- Yes, but only if I am more fluent by that time
- No
- Not sure/don't know

## Further Involvement

This page gives you the opportunity to become involved further in the study.

### Further Involvement

You have reached the end of the survey. The second stage of this study will involve short interviews with learners to explore more of the above issues in depth. If you would like to be contacted for an interview, please enter your details below. Your information will be kept confidential and will not be passed on. There is also a space provided if you would like to add any further comments about your experience learning Gaelic as an adult.

#### 27. Contact details for interview

	Contact details
a. Name:	<input type="text"/>
b. Postal Address:	<input type="text"/>
c. E-mail Address:	<input type="text"/>
d. Contact Telephone:	<input type="text"/>

#### 28. Any further comments on learning Gaelic? *(Optional)*

## Thank You

Thank you for completing the **2009 Survey of Adult Learners of Gaelic**. We appreciate your time. The information that you have provided will be very helpful in understanding the motivations of adult learners. A copy of the executive summary will be available in Spring 2010 by request to Wilson McLeod (w.mcleod@ed.ac.uk).

## **Appendix E**

### Learners' interview schedule

## Learner Interview Template (post-survey – adjusted for each learner)

### *Personal history of Gaelic*

1. [if Gaelic heritage indicated] How much of an influence were Gaelic-speaking family members [specify] in your decision to learn Gaelic?  
[if no Gaelic heritage indicated] Were you exposed to Gaelic at all during your childhood? In what context? Did this early exposure to Gaelic influence your decision to learn Gaelic?
2. Were you involved in any aspects of Gaelic culture – e.g. singing, piping, fiddle, dancing – before starting to learn Gaelic? Was any Gaelic used in these activities?
3. When and why did you first decide to learn Gaelic as an adult?

### *Context of learning Gaelic*

4. How do other members of your family who speak Gaelic contribute to your learning experience? [if relevant] What interactions in Gaelic do you find most helpful?
5. How do you use radio and television programmes and the internet to support your learning? [if indicated – or "Would you consider using..."]
6. Do you speak any other languages besides English and Gaelic? How does your experience learning Gaelic compare to your experience(s) learning that/those language(s)? In what ways were your motivations for learning other languages different to your motivations for learning Gaelic?
7. Which Gaelic organisations do you feel most support you as an adult learner of Gaelic? [list groups indicated] What aspects of these organisations do you find most helpful – e.g. newsletters, learning resources, information about Gaelic, organised classes, social events and networking, supporting the Gaelic cause?
8. How do cultural activities contribute to your learning process? [list activities indicated]
9. In what ways do you feel connected to the Gaelic community?

### *Classes and courses*

10. Do you feel that you have been able to make progress in learning Gaelic over the past [fill in] years? Have you been discouraged at any point? If so, why, and what helped you get past it? Did you encounter new kinds of challenges at different stages in the learning process?
11. Have there been any gaps in your learning path? [for 2 years or more learning] What were the reasons for these gaps? Do you anticipate carrying on to another Gaelic class after your current class finishes?
12. How important was/is getting a qualification to your motivation? [if learner has a qualification or one in progress – or Are you considering getting a formal qualification in Gaelic?]

13. What are your impressions of your current class? How does it compare to previous Gaelic classes you have taken? [if applicable]

*Support and progress*

14. Do you feel that you are achieving your aims and goals in terms of Gaelic? What could help you achieve these?

15. How has your experience of learning Gaelic aligned with your expectations? Have your motivations changed since you began learning?

16. What would be helpful in terms of overcoming the obstacles in learning Gaelic? [provide their list] Did these challenges put you off learning Gaelic?

17. What are your long-term goals for using Gaelic? Would you consider becoming a Gaelic tutor?

18. Have you noticed any differences in the public image of Gaelic since you began learning? [if more than 2 years] Do you think that recent developments in support of Gaelic have made your learning experience better?

---

**Opportunities for Adults to Learn Gaelic**


---

<u>Provider</u>	<u>Course</u>	<u>Level</u>	<u>Duration</u>	<u>Class</u>	<u>Type / Content</u>	<u>Funding / Fees</u>	<u>Accreditation</u>	<u>Enrollment: Min / Max</u>	<u>Rates of Loss</u>	<u>Tutor Details</u>		
Angus Council, Forfar	Gaelic Evening Class	Mixed	School term times only	2	conversation, writing, translation	L3 per session	Council doesn't charge for room	none	approx 6	min 2	irregular attendance	1, plus some helpers
Assynt Leisure Centre, Lochinver	Gaelic Conversation for Complete Beginners	Beginners	N/A	2	conversation	L21 for 6 classes	partially by Highland Council Community Education	none	16	max 9	N/A	2
Aviemore and Area Learning Project	AALP Ulpan	Beginner	8 weeks	2	Ulpan	L32 per block of classes	LEADER through Sinne (Badenoch and Strathspey Gaelic Group), ILAs, learners' fees	no	5	min 5 max 12	minimal	1
Aviemore and Area Learning Project	AALP Conversational Gaelic	Post Beginner	12 weeks	2	Conversational Gaelic, with great emphasis on native speaker pronunciation. Grammar is explained in layman's terms and immediately put to use in Gaelic conversation. Gaelic culture & history is woven into the lessons, with particular emphasis being given to local Gaelic culture, especially local place-names and traditions.	L70 per block of classes	ILAs and learners' fees	no	13	min 5 max 12	class is over-subscribed	1
Badenoch Learning and Resource Centre	Gaelic for Beginners	Beginners	8 weeks	2	basics such as food, manners, colours, weather, numbers	L85		none	5 to 8	min 5	no progression available due to lack of tutor	1

---

Bishopbriggs Gaelic Group	Bishopbriggs Gaelic Advanced	Advanced	weekly	2	conversation	L25 annual membership	East Dunbartonshire Council	no	20 total	none	approx 20%	2
Bishopbriggs Gaelic Group	Bishopbriggs Gaelic Mixed	All	6 weeks, 5 blocks per year	2	conversation class - first hour dedicated to beginners and second hour with small groups at different levels	L25 annual membership and L10 per block	Bòrd na Gàidhlig	no	20 total	none	approx 20%	2
Cearcall Còmhairidh Chill Rìmhinn	Gaelic Conversation, St Andrews	Mixed	28 weeks / year	1.5	conversation	free		none	approx 6	none	N/A	0
Cearcall Còmhairidh Dhùn Phàrlain	Gaelic Conversation, Dunfermline	Mixed	weekly, not in summer	1.5	conversation	free		none	approx 12	none	N/A	3
Cearcall Còmhairidh Fìobha	Gaelic Taster Sessions, Falkland / Freuchie	Beginners	4 sessions	1.5	conversation, poetry, music	free		none	no maximum	no minimum	N/A	
Ceòlas, South Uist	Ceòlas Beginners	Beginners	1 week	4 per day	conversation, grammar, and vocabulary building	L160, L90 islander	Bòrd na Gàidhlig, fees	none	12	not so far	none	3
Ceòlas, South Uist	Ceòlas Intermediate	Inter-mediate	1 week	4 per day	conversation, grammar, and vocabulary building	L160, L90 islander	Bòrd na Gàidhlig, fees	none	12	not so far	none	3
Ceòlas, South Uist	Ceòlas Advanced for fluent speakers	Advanced	1 week	4 per day	conversation, grammar, and vocabulary building	L160, L90 islander	Bòrd na Gàidhlig, fees	none	12	not so far	none	3
Ceòlas, South Uist	Ceòlas Gaelic for All	Mixed	1 week	4 per day	conversation, grammar, and vocabulary building	L160, L90 islander	Bòrd na Gàidhlig, fees	none	100	not so far	none	3

Cille Conval Gaelic Partnership (Renfrewshire, East Renfrewshire, and Inverclyde Councils)	Barrhead Beginners	Beginners	32 weeks in 3 sessions: Sept-Dec, Jan-Mar, Apr-June	2	largely conversational, some grammar (SOL 1, TY 1 and 2)	free	Gaelic Specific Grant 75% LA Support 25% (usually in-kind, eg lets)	no (tries to purchase G dictionary for beginners starting second session as encouragement)	160 approx total	min 5, max 12 but will provide 2nd class	throughout year about 40%	9
Cille Conval Gaelic Partnership (Renfrewshire, East Renfrewshire, and Inverclyde Councils)	Barrhead Post Beginners	Post Beginners	32 weeks in 3 sessions: Sept-Dec, Jan-Mar, Apr-June	2	translation, some grammar, largely conversational	free	Gaelic Specific Grant 75% LA Support 25% (usually in-kind, eg lets)	no	160 approx total	min 5, max 12 but will provide 2nd class	throughout year about 40%	9
Cille Conval Gaelic Partnership (Renfrewshire, East Renfrewshire, and Inverclyde Councils)	Barrhead Advanced	Advanced	32 weeks in 3 sessions: Sept-Dec, Jan-Mar, Apr-June	2	translation, some grammar, largely conversational	free	Gaelic Specific Grant 75% LA Support 25% (usually in-kind, eg lets)	no	160 approx total	min 5, max 12 but will provide 2nd class	throughout year about 40%	9

Cille Conval Gaelic Partnership (Renfrewshire, East Renfrewshire, and Inverclyde Councils)	Paisley Beginners	Beginners	32 weeks in 3 sessions: Sept-Dec, Jan-Mar, Apr-June	2	largely conversational, some grammar (SOL 1, TY 1 and 2)	free	Gaelic Specific Grant 75% LA Support 25% (usually in-kind, eg lets)	no (tries to purchase G dictionary for beginners starting second session as encouragement)	160 approx total	min 5, max 12 but will provide 2nd class	throughout year about 40%	9
Cille Conval Gaelic Partnership (Renfrewshire, East Renfrewshire, and Inverclyde Councils)	Paisley Intermediate	Intermediate	32 weeks in 3 sessions: Sept-Dec, Jan-Mar, Apr-June	2	largely conversational, some grammar	free	Gaelic Specific Grant 75% LA Support 25% (usually in-kind, eg lets)	no	160 approx total	min 5, max 12 but will provide 2nd class	throughout year about 40%	9
Cille Conval Gaelic Partnership (Renfrewshire, East Renfrewshire, and Inverclyde Councils)	Paisley Advanced	Advanced	32 weeks in 3 sessions: Sept-Dec, Jan-Mar, Apr-June	2	translation, some grammar, largely conversational	free	Gaelic Specific Grant 75% LA Support 25% (usually in-kind, eg lets)	no	160 approx total	min 5, max 12 but will provide 2nd class	throughout year about 40%	9

Cille Conval Gaelic Partnership (Renfrewshire, East Renfrewshire, and Inverclyde Councils)	Greenock Beginners	Beginners	32 weeks in 3 sessions: Sept-Dec, Jan-Mar, Apr-June	2	largely conversational, some grammar (SOL 1, TY 1 and 2)	free	Gaelic Specific Grant 75% LA Support 25% (usually in-kind, eg lets)	no (tries to purchase G dictionary for beginners starting second session as encouragement)	160 approx total	min 5, max 12 but will provide 2nd class	throughout year about 40%	9
Cille Conval Gaelic Partnership (Renfrewshire, East Renfrewshire, and Inverclyde Councils)	Greenock Post Beginners / Lower Intermediate	Post Beginners	32 weeks in 3 sessions: Sept-Dec, Jan-Mar, Apr-June	2	largely conversational, some grammar	free	Gaelic Specific Grant 75% LA Support 25% (usually in-kind, eg lets)	no	160 approx total	min 5, max 12 but will provide 2nd class	throughout year about 40%	9
Cille Conval Gaelic Partnership (Renfrewshire, East Renfrewshire, and Inverclyde Councils)	Greenock Upper Intermediate / Advanced	Inter-mediate	32 weeks in 3 sessions: Sept-Dec, Jan-Mar, Apr-June	2	translation, some grammar, largely conversational	free	Gaelic Specific Grant 75% LA Support 25% (usually in-kind, eg lets)	no	160 approx total	min 5, max 12 but will provide 2nd class	throughout year about 40%	9
Clackmannanshire Council, Tillicoultry	Multi-level Drop-in Class	Mixed	School term times only	2	mostly grammar and translation	free	Gaelic Specific Grant	no but could be accommodated through SQA	14	min 8	no regular attendance required	1 f/t 1 p/t
Clarinda Chant (also with Assynt Leisure)	Follow On Gaelic	Inter-mediate	weekly	1 to 3	informal	free	voluntary tutor	no	4	none	1 dropped out	1

Cli Gàidhlig	Ùlpan 31-42, Edinburgh	Post Beginner	12 weeks	2	Ùlpan	L96		no	min 7 max 14	
Cli Gàidhlig	Ùlpan 49-60, Edinburgh	Post Beginner	12 weeks	2	Ùlpan	L96		in-house certificate	min 7 max 14	tend to stick with it and progress
Cli Gàidhlig	Ùlpan 73-83, Edinburgh	Inter- mediate	12 weeks	2	Ùlpan	L150 inc. registration		in-house certificate	min 7 max 14	tend to stick with it and progress
Cli Gàidhlig	Ùlpan 73-97, Coatbridge	Inter- mediate	6 days	6 per day	Ùlpan	L200 inc. registration	North Lanarkshire residents get discount from council and venue free of charge	in-house certificate	min 7 max 14	tend to stick with it and progress
Cli Gàidhlig	Ùlpan 1-24, Coatbridge	Beginner	6 days	6 per day	Ùlpan	L200 inc. registration	North Lanarkshire residents get discount from council and venue free of charge	in-house certificate	min 7 max 14	tend to stick with it and progress
Cli Gàidhlig	Ùlpan 97-120, Cumbernauld	Inter- mediate	6 days	6 per day	Ùlpan	L200 inc. registration	Venue paid for by East Renfrewshire Council	in-house certificate	min 7 max 14	tend to stick with it and progress
Cli Gàidhlig	Culloden Gaelic Conversation Circle	Advanced	weekly	2	conversation	L1.50 per session		no	min 7 max 14	tend to stick with it and progress
Cli Gàidhlig	Ùlpan 1-24, Broadford / Sleat	Beginner	2x weekly	3 per week	Ùlpan	L200 inc. registration		in-house certificate	min 7 max 14	tend to stick with it and progress
Cli Gàidhlig	Ùlpan 25+, Glasgow	Post Beginner	2x weekly	4 per week	Ùlpan	L140 inc. registration		in-house certificate	min 7 max 14	tend to stick with it and progress
Cli Gàidhlig	Ùlpan 49+, Glasgow	Post Beginner	2x weekly	3 per week	Ùlpan	L140 inc. registration		in-house certificate	min 7 max 14	tend to stick with it and progress
Cli Gàidhlig	Ùlpan 13-24, Edinburgh	Beginner	2x weekly	3 per week	Ùlpan	L140 inc. registration		in-house certificate	min 7 max 14	tend to stick with it and progress

Clì Gàidhlig	Ulpan Residential Course, Co-chomann na Pàirc, Lewis	Various	1 week	15 hours total	Ulpan	L250 (L175 non-residential)		in-house certificate		min 7 max 14		
Club Gàidhlig Obar Dheathain	Club Gàidhlig Evening Class Beginners	Beginner	10 weeks	2	building up basic phrases for use in conversation - greetings, weather, colours, numbers, etc.	L60, concession s L40 and L20	class fees subsidised with Gaelic Club funds if necessary	none	22 total	min 5 max 15	up to one third	2
Club Gàidhlig Obar Dheathain	Club Gàidhlig Evening Class Intermediate / Advanced	Intermediate / Advanced	10 weeks	2	concentrates on conversation but also a bit of grammar - e.g. irregular verbs, prepositions	L60, concession s L40 and L20	class fees subsidised with Gaelic Club funds if necessary	none	22 total	min 5 max 15	up to one third	2
Club Gàidhlig Obar Dheathain	Club Gàidhlig occasional weekend courses	All			mix	L25 per day, discounts available for additional family members		none	no maximum	no minimum	N/A	
Comhairle nan Eilean Siar	Support for Parents: Homework / Preschool Gaelic, Stornoway	Beginners / Intermediate	6 sessions	3	Learning support for parents	free / CNES Community Education		none	20 total	no minimum		5 total
Comhairle nan Eilean Siar	Support for Parents: Homework / Preschool Gaelic, Breasclete	Beginners / Intermediate	3 sessions	1.5	Learning support for parents	free / CNES Community Education		none	20 total	no minimum		5 total
Comhairle nan Eilean Siar	Support for Parents: Homework / Preschool Gaelic, Uig	Beginners / Intermediate	4 sessions	1.5	Learning support for parents	free / CNES Community Education		none	20 total	no minimum		5 total

Comhairle nan Eilean Siar	Support for Parents: Homework / Preschool Gaelic, Leverburgh	Beginners / Intermediate	5 sessions	2	Learning support for parents	free / CNES Community Education	none	20 total	no minimum	5 total	
Comhairle nan Eilean Siar	Support for Parents: Homework / Preschool Gaelic, Castlebay	Beginners / Intermediate	3 sessions	1.5	Learning support for parents	free / CNES Community Education	none	20 total	no minimum	5 total	
Comhairle nan Eilean Siar	Gaelic Writing for Fluent Speakers, Stornoway	Advanced	4 sessions	1.5	Writing skills	free / CNES Community Education	none	8	no minimum	5 total	
Comhairle nan Eilean Siar	Beginners / Intermediate Conversation, Stornoway	Beginners / Intermediate	12 weeks	2	Conversation	£30 / CNES Community Education	none	8	max 7 approx 25%	5 total	
Comhairle nan Eilean Siar	Baking in Gaelic, Daliburgh	Intermediate / Advanced	8 sessions	6 weeks	2	Activity-based	£30 / CNES Community Education	none	5	no minimum	1
Comhairle nan Eilean Siar	Boxercise in Gaelic, Eochdar	Intermediate / Advanced	8 sessions	6 weeks	2	Activity-based	£30 / CNES Community Education	none	10	no minimum	1

Culture and Sport Glasgow / Glasgow City Council	Nursery Parents Class	from beginner to fluent	School term times only	2	dependent on level, tutor, and wishes of class	free to Glasgow residents and parents of children in GME	Scottish Government 75%, Culture and Sport Glasgow 25%	certificates awarded to new learners for first time this year to encourage moving up	8	none	too early to say	12
Culture and Sport Glasgow / Glasgow City Council	Parents Class	from beginner to fluent	School term times only	2	dependent on level, tutor, and wishes of class	free to Glasgow residents and parents of children in GME	Scottish Government 75%, Culture and Sport Glasgow 25%	certificates awarded to new learners for first time this year to encourage moving up	12	none	too early to say	12
Culture and Sport Glasgow / Glasgow City Council	SGG Evening Classes	from beginner to fluent	School term times only	2.5	dependent on level, tutor, and wishes of class	free to Glasgow residents and parents of children in GME	Scottish Government 75%, Culture and Sport Glasgow 25%	certificates awarded to new learners for first time this year to encourage moving up	87	none	too early to say	12

Culture and Sport Glasgow / Glasgow City Council	Nursery Parents Class	from beginner to fluent	School term times only	2	dependent on level, tutor, and wishes of class	free to Glasgow residents and parents of children in GME	Scottish Government 75%, Culture and Sport Glasgow 25%	certificates awarded to new learners for first time this year to encourage moving up	15	none	too early to say	12
Culture and Sport Glasgow / Glasgow City Council	SGG P1 and P2 classes	from beginner to fluent	School term times only	2.5	dependent on level, tutor, and wishes of class	free to Glasgow residents and parents of children in GME	Scottish Government 75%, Culture and Sport Glasgow 25%	certificates awarded to new learners for first time this year to encourage moving up	43	none	too early to say	12
Culture and Sport Glasgow / Glasgow City Council	SGG Family Learning Group	from beginner to fluent	School term times only	2	dependent on level, tutor, and wishes of class	free to Glasgow residents and parents of children in GME	Scottish Government 75%, Culture and Sport Glasgow 25%	certificates awarded to new learners for first time this year to encourage moving up	56	none	too early to say	12

Culture and Sport Glasgow / Glasgow City Council	Cearcaill Còmhraidh	from beginner to fluent	summer time	2	Conversation	free to Glasgow residents and parents of children in GME	Scottish Government 75%, Culture and Sport Glasgow 25%	certificates awarded to new learners for first time this year to encourage moving up	none	too early to say	12
Culture and Sport Glasgow / Glasgow City Council	Family Learning Week	from beginner to fluent	1st week of August		mix	L50 per adult, L5 per child	Scottish Government 75%, Culture and Sport Glasgow 25%	certificates awarded to new learners for first time this year to encourage moving up	none	too early to say	12
Dumfries & Galloway Council, Dumfries	Gaelic	Intermediate	School term times only	2	Developing language skills	free (support from BnG)		none	30 total		1
Dumfries & Galloway Council, Dumfries	Gaelic	Beginners	School term times only	2	introduction to the language	free (support from BnG)		none	30 total		1
Dumfries & Galloway Council, Dumfries	Gaelic	Intermediate	School term times only	2	Developing language skills	free (support from BnG)		none	30 total		1
Dumfries & Galloway Council, Dumfries	Gaelic	Intermediate	School term times only	2	Developing language skills	free (support from BnG)		none	30 total		1

East Ayrshire Council, Auchinleck	Introduction to Gaelic Conversation	Beginners	10 weeks	2	Basic knowledge of language and culture, moving to formal levels (SCQF)	free (partly funded through Specific Grant)	pending (piloted 2010-11)	60 total	very low'	6 total
East Ayrshire Council, Crosshouse	Introduction to Gaelic Conversation	Beginners	10 weeks	2	Basic knowledge of language and culture, moving to formal levels (SCQF)	free (partly funded through Specific Grant)	pending (piloted 2010-11)	60 total	very low'	6 total
East Ayrshire Council, Cumnock	Introduction to Gaelic Conversation	Beginners	10 weeks	2	Basic knowledge of language and culture, moving to formal levels (SCQF)	free (partly funded through Specific Grant)	pending (piloted 2010-11)	60 total	very low'	6 total
East Ayrshire Council, Galston	Introduction to Gaelic Conversation	Beginners	10 weeks	2	Basic knowledge of language and culture, moving to formal levels (SCQF)	free (partly funded through Specific Grant)	pending (piloted 2010-11)	60 total	very low'	6 total
East Ayrshire Council, Irvine Valley	Introduction to Gaelic Conversation	Beginners	10 weeks	2	Basic knowledge of language and culture, moving to formal levels (SCQF)	free (partly funded through Specific Grant)	pending (piloted 2010-11)	60 total	very low'	6 total
East Ayrshire Council, Kilmarnock	Introduction to Gaelic Conversation	Beginners	10 weeks	2	Basic knowledge of language and culture, moving to formal levels (SCQF)	free (partly funded through Specific Grant)	pending (piloted 2010-11)	60 total	very low'	6 total
East Ayrshire Council, Kilmarnock	Introduction to Gaelic Conversation	Beginners	10 weeks	2	Basic knowledge of language and culture, moving to formal levels (SCQF)	free (partly funded through Specific Grant)	pending (piloted 2010-11)	60 total	very low'	6 total

Edinburgh Gaelic Partnership	Gaelic Lunch Club	Mixed	Monthly	1	conversation	L10 for meal	supported by BnaG	none	irregular attendance	none	N/A	N/A
Edinburgh Gaelic Partnership	Conversation Circle	Mixed	Weekly	2	conversation with assistance for beginners	L1 donation		none	around 10		N/A	N/A
Fife Council, Queen Anne Community Use		Beginners	10 weeks	1.5	basic conversation	£44 (ILA eligible) / Fife Community Education		none	N/A	N/A	N/A	1
Forest Café, Edinburgh	Gaelic in the Forest	Beginners	Weekly	1	songs, proverbs, culture, conversation	free		none	around 6		N/A	2
Forth Valley College	Gaelic Improvers	Intermediate	School term times only	2	language awareness and skills, conversation, texts, grammar			non-certificated - progression to Access or Higher	5	min 4		1
Gaelic Books Council, Glasgow	Glasgow Gaelic Book Group	Mixed Post Beginner to Fluent	first Wednesday of every month	1.5	informal conversation about book	free	N/A	none	8 to 10	min 3 max 10	2-3 only attend sporadically	1
Gaelic in the Borders	Úlpan Level 1, Maxton	Beginners	12 weeks	2	Úlpan	£50 per 12 weeks / Borders Council (Spec Grant)		none	six		0%	3 total
Gaelic in the Borders	Úlpan Level 2, Earlston	Post-Beginners	12 weeks	2	Úlpan	£50 per 12 weeks / Borders Council (Spec Grant)		none	nine		11.10%	3 total

Gaelic in the Borders	Conversation, Kelso	Inter-mediate / Advanced	10 weeks	2	conversation	free / part-supported by Borders Council	none					
Gall-Ghàidhealaibh, Newton Stewart	Self-help' group	Beginners / Inter-mediateN / A	Once per week	2	Developing language skills	free / room provided by Dumfries & Galloway Council	none	9		N/A		0
Gall-Ghàidhealaibh, Stranraer	Self-help' group	Beginners / Inter-mediate N/A	Once per week	2	Developing language skills	free / room provided by Dumfries & Galloway Council	none	05-Jun		N/A		0
Gigha Gallery	Gigha Weekend Classes - Fun Gaelic	Mixed	weekend (once in autumn, once in spring)	6 per day	repeat phrases for conversation	L40 per weekend, L100 family	supported by BnaG	none	10 to 16	min 7/8	no	1
Gigha Gallery	Gigha Weekend Classes - Intermediate	Inter-mediate	weekend (once in autumn, once in spring)	6 per day	repeat phrases for conversation	L40 per weekend, L100 family	supported by BnaG	none	10 to 16	min 7/8	no	1
Highland Council	Gaelic Beginners, Drumnadrochit	Beginners	5 weeks	2	mix	L10/5		none	N/A	N/A		
Highland Council	Gaelic Intermediate, Drumnadrochit	Inter-mediate	5 weeks	2	mix	L10/5		none	N/A	N/A		
Highland Council	Gaelic Advanced, Drumnadrochit	Advanced	5 weeks	2	mix	L10/5		none	N/A	N/A		

Highland Council	Gaelic Beginners, Nairn	Beginners	5-7weeks	2	mix	L25/14; GME parents free		none	N/A	N/A		
Highland Council	Gaelic Post-Beginners, Nairn	Post-Beginners	7 weeks	1	mix	L25/14; GME parents free		none	N/A	N/A		
Highland Council	Gaelic Intermediate, Nairn	Inter-mediate	7 weeks	1.5	mix	L25/14; GME parents free		none	N/A	N/A		
Highland Council	Ùlpan, Portree	Beginners-Inter-mediate	various	various	Ùlpan	L50 registration, L90 for 12 units		none	N/A	N/A		
Ionad Chalum Chille Ìle / Argyll College	Conversational Gaelic	Mixed	10 hours	2	conversation (by video link)	L72		none	minimum 9			1
Ionad Chalum Chille Ìle	ICC Ùlpan	Varies	12 weeks	1.5	conversation	L50 registration, L90 for 12 units	suitable for ILA funding	no	25-30?	min 6 max 14	very low	1 f / t 1 p / t
James Wallace, Glasgow	Glasgow Gaelic Speakers Meet-up Group	Mixed	1 per month	2.5	conversation	free	funded privately for first 6 months - seeking Student Initiative Grant from Glasgow University		approx 40			some members are tutors
Lairg Learning Centre	Gaelic Intermediate	Inter-mediate	10 weeks	2	mix			none				1
Lewis Castle College, Stornoway	Ùlpan 1-24 (day and evening)	Beginner	12 weeks	3	Ùlpan	SFC / CNES / BnG		none	approx 75 total		variable	19 total
Lewis Castle College, Stornoway	Ùlpan 25-48 (day and evening)	Beginner	12 weeks	3	Ùlpan	SFC / CNES / BnG		none	approx 75 total		variable	19 total
Lewis Castle College, Stornoway	Ùlpan 73-96 (day and evening)	Inter-mediate	12 weeks	3	Ùlpan	SFC / CNES / BnG		none	approx 75 total		variable	19 total
Lewis Castle College, Stornoway	Ùlpan 96-120 (day only)	Inter-mediate	12 weeks	3	Ùlpan	SFC / CNES / BnG		none	approx 75 total		variable	19 total

Iomairt Ghàidhlig Loch Abair	Beginners Gaelic, Invergarry	Beginner	10 weeks	2	conversation, grammar, reading, writing	L70		none		min 7		1
Iomairt Ghàidhlig Loch Abair	Beginners Gaelic, Kilchoan	Beginners	8 weeks	2	mix	L70	ILA approved	none				1
Iomairt Ghàidhlig Loch Abair	Beginners / Intermediate Gaelic, Mallaig	Post Beginner	10 weeks	1.5	conversation, grammar, reading, writing	L70	ILA approved	none		min 7		1
Iomairt Ghàidhlig Loch Abair	Beginners Gaelic, Roy Bridge	Beginners	8 weeks	2	mix	L5 per session, L2.50 for GME parents		none				1
Iomairt Ghàidhlig Loch Abair	Beginners Gaelic, Strontian	Beginners	8 weeks	2	mix	L70	ILA approved	none				1
Iomairt Ghàidhlig Loch Abair	Advanced Gaelic Conversation, Fort William	Advanced	10 weeks	2	conversation	L70		none				1
Iomairt Ghàidhlig Loch Abair	Reading and Writing for Fluent Speakers, Fort William	Advanced	10 weeks	2	reading, writing, translation	L70		none	0 so far			1
Iomairt Ghàidhlig Loch Abair	Ùlpan, Fort William	Beginner	18 classes	2	Ùlpan course	L81, L41 for GME parents	ILA approved	none		min 7		1
Moray Gaelic Group, Elgin	Gaelic Beginners	Beginner	25-30 classes	1.5	conversation, grammar, reading, writing	L1 per week	self-funding	none	5	N/A	variable	3
Moray Gaelic Group, Elgin	Gaelic Intermediate	Inter-mediate	25-30 classes	1.5	conversation, grammar, reading, writing	L1 per week	self-funding	none	five/six	N/A	minimal	3
Moray Gaelic Group, Elgin	Gaelic Conversation	Inter-mediate / Advanced	25-30 classes	1.5	conversation	L1 per week	self-funding	none	5	N/A	minimal	3
North Ayrshire Council	Beginners Gaelic, Irvine	Beginners	10 weeks	2	grammar, reading, conversation and listening, past papers	free	Gaelic Specific Grant	in-house certificates	over 100 learners total	min 6, no max	2%	13

North Ayrshire Council	Intermediate Gaelic, Irvine	Inter-mediate	10 weeks	2	grammar, reading, conversation and listening, past papers	free	Gaelic Specific Grant	in-house certificates	over 100 learners total	min 6, no max	2%	13
North Ayrshire Council	Beginners Gaelic, Dreghorn	Beginners	10 weeks	2	grammar, reading, conversation and listening, past papers	free	Gaelic Specific Grant	in-house certificates	over 100 learners total	min 6, no max	2%	13
North Ayrshire Council	Advanced Gaelic, Saltcoats	Advanced	10 weeks	2	grammar, reading, conversation and listening, past papers	free	Gaelic Specific Grant	in-house certificates	over 100 learners total	min 6, no max	2%	13
North Ayrshire Council	Intermediate and Conversation, Saltcoats	Inter-mediate	10 weeks	4.5	grammar, reading, conversation and listening, past papers	free	Gaelic Specific Grant	in-house certificates	over 100 learners total	min 6, no max	2%	13
North Ayrshire Council	Beginners Gaelic, Stevenston	Beginners	10 weeks	2	grammar, reading, conversation and listening, past papers	free	Gaelic Specific Grant	in-house certificates	over 100 learners total	min 6, no max	2%	13
North Ayrshire Council	Intermediate Gaelic, Saltcoats	Inter-mediate	10 weeks	2	grammar, reading, conversation and listening, past papers	free	Gaelic Specific Grant	in-house certificates	over 100 learners total	min 6, no max	2%	13
North Ayrshire Council	Gaelic IT Class, Saltcoats	Mixed	10 weeks	2	grammar, reading, conversation and listening, past papers	free	Gaelic Specific Grant	in-house certificates	over 100 learners total	min 6, no max	2%	13
North Ayrshire Council	Higher / Advanced Certificate, Saltcoats	Advanced	10 weeks	2	grammar, reading, conversation and listening, past papers	free	Gaelic Specific Grant	Higher Gaelic, Advanced Higher Gaelic	over 100 learners total	min 6, no max	2%	13
North Ayrshire Council	Beginners Gaelic, West Kilbride	Beginners	10 weeks	2	grammar, reading, conversation and listening, past papers	free	Gaelic Specific Grant	in-house certificates	over 100 learners total	min 6, no max	2%	13
North Ayrshire Council	Intermediate Gaelic, West Kilbride	Inter-mediate	10 weeks	2	grammar, reading, conversation and listening, past papers	free	Gaelic Specific Grant	in-house certificates	over 100 learners total	min 6, no max	2%	13

North Ayrshire Council	Beginners Gaelic, Largs	Beginners	10 weeks	2	grammar, reading, conversation and listening, past papers	free	Gaelic Specific Grant	in-house certificates	over 100 learners total	min 6, no max	2%	13
North Ayrshire Council	Intermediate Gaelic, Millport	Inter-mediate	10 weeks	2	grammar, reading, conversation and listening, past papers	free	Gaelic Specific Grant	in-house certificates	over 100 learners total	min 6, no max	2%	13
North Ayrshire Council	Intermediate Gaelic, Dalry	Inter-mediate	10 weeks	2	grammar, reading, conversation and listening, past papers	free	Gaelic Specific Grant	in-house certificates	over 100 learners total	min 6, no max	2%	13
North Ayrshire Council	Intermediate Gaelic, Beith	Inter-mediate	10 weeks	2	grammar, reading, conversation and listening, past papers	free	Gaelic Specific Grant	in-house certificates	over 100 learners total	min 6, no max	2%	13
North Ayrshire Council	Beginners Gaelic, Kilbirnie	Beginners	10 weeks	2	grammar, reading, conversation and listening, past papers	free	Gaelic Specific Grant	in-house certificates	over 100 learners total	min 6, no max	2%	13
North Lanarkshire Council	North Lanarkshire Conversation, Coatbridge	Mixed	10-13 weeks	2	conversation	L20 for 10 weeks	NLC Gaelic Initiative through Gaelic Specific Grant	group certificates at Gaelic learners' awards	92 total	min 8, max 15	10-25%	5
North Lanarkshire Council	North Lanarkshire Beginner, Airdrie	Beginners	10-13 weeks	2	grammar, conversation	L20 for 10 weeks	NLC Gaelic Initiative through Gaelic Specific Grant	group certificates at Gaelic learners' awards	92 total	min 8, max 15	10-25%	5
North Lanarkshire Council	North Lanarkshire Beginner, Cumbernauld	Beginners	10-13 weeks	2	grammar, conversation	L20 for 10 weeks	NLC Gaelic Initiative through Gaelic Specific Grant	group certificates at Gaelic learners' awards	92 total	min 8, max 15	10-25%	5

North Lanarkshire Council	North Lanarkshire Beginner, Coatbridge	Beginners	10-13 weeks	2	grammar, conversation	L20 for 10 weeks	NLC Gaelic Initiative through Gaelic Specific Grant	group certificates at Gaelic learners' awards	92 total	min 8, max 15	10-25%	5
North Lanarkshire Council	North Lanarkshire Intermediate, Motherwell	Intermediate	10-13 weeks	2	grammar, conversation	L20 for 10 weeks	NLC Gaelic Initiative through Gaelic Specific Grant	group certificates at Gaelic learners' awards	92 total	min 8, max 15	10-25%	5
North Lanarkshire Council	North Lanarkshire Intermediate, Airdrie	Intermediate	10-13 weeks	2	grammar, conversation	L20 for 10 weeks	NLC Gaelic Initiative through Gaelic Specific Grant	group certificates at Gaelic learners' awards	92 total	min 8, max 15	10-25%	5
North Lanarkshire Council	North Lanarkshire Intermediate, Cumbernauld	Intermediate	10-13 weeks	2	grammar, conversation	L20 for 10 weeks	NLC Gaelic Initiative through Gaelic Specific Grant	group certificates at Gaelic learners' awards	92 total	min 8, max 15	10-25%	5
North Lanarkshire Council	North Lanarkshire Intermediate, Cumbernauld	Intermediate	10-13 weeks	2	grammar, conversation	L20 for 10 weeks	NLC Gaelic Initiative through Gaelic Specific Grant	individual certificate at end of course	92 total	min 8, max 15	10-25%	5
North Lanarkshire Council	North Lanarkshire Advanced, Motherwell	Advanced	10-13 weeks	2	grammar, conversation	L20 for 10 weeks	NLC Gaelic Initiative through Gaelic Specific Grant		92 total	min 8, max 15	10-25%	5
Sabhal Mòr Ostaig	An Cùrsa Inntigidh	Beginner	distance learning	15-20	all aspects	L675 (L225 per earrann)	ILA approved	SQA	approx 160		c. 13%	7 P/T

Sabhal Mòr Ostaig	An Cùrsa Adhartais	Inter-mediate / Advanced	distance learning	15-20	all aspects	L1288 (L161 per module)	ILA approved	SQA	approx 75		c. 10%	5 P/T
Sabhal Mòr Ostaig	Gaelic Levels 1-8	Beginner to Advanced	1 week	6 per day	focus on speaking and conversation	L140		none	approx 350 total		N/A	10 to 12
Sabhal Mòr Ostaig	Fun with Gaelic	Beginner	1 week	6 per day	informal introductory course for complete beginners	L140		none	10		N/A	1
Scottish Borders Council	Introduction to Gaelic, Peebles	Beginners	5 week blocks	2	mix	£17.50 / Borders Council		none	6	5	17%	1
Sonas Gaelic Group, Paisley	Sonas Gaelic Group, Paisley	Beginner / Inter-mediate	until August 2010	2	conversation with a little grammar - reading and aural; caters for those with disabilities	L5 for year plus refreshments and special events	Renfrewshire Council and Bòrd na Gàidhlig	none	18	min 8 max 20	very low - some poor health	1 Gaelic tutor, 1 art tutor, 1 voice coach, 1 musical director, 3 musicians for recording sessions
South Lanarkshire Council	East Kilbride Intermediate / Advanced	Inter-mediate	School term times only	2	conversation and translation	free	Community Learning Service core funding	none	24 total	min 2 max 20	only very early on	1
South Lanarkshire Council	East Kilbride Beginner	Beginners	School term times only	2	learning everyday phrases and grammar	free	Community Learning Service core funding	none	24 total	min 2 max 20	only very early on	1
Stòras Uibhist	Stòras Uibhist Gaelic Week	Inter-mediate	1 week	3 per day	interactive tuition, mainly conversation - cultural activities in afternoons	L350 for week inc. accommodation	none	none	TBC	none	N/A	1 formal

Stow College	Gaelic Language (Learners)	Beginners	1 year, 24 hours / week, available part-time (16 hours)	16	intensive study of written and oral language	SFC		progression to Higher Gaelic (Learners)	15	27%	1	
Stow College	Higher Gàidhlig	Advanced	1 year, 6 hours / week	6	advanced skills in written and spoken Gaelic, knowledge of literature and culture - delivered through medium of Gaelic	L1008 (SFC-funded; ILA eligible)		progression to Higher (Fileantach)	8	0%	1	
Taic (CNSA), various locations	Gàidhlig san Dachaigh	Various	Various	Various	Total Immersion Plus	variable		none	N/A	N/A	N/A	
Telford College	Gaelic 2 (NC)	Post Beginner	12 weeks	2	conversation, role-play, reading, writing	£84 (waiver possible) / SFC		national certificate	min 6		1	
Telford College	Gaelic (NC Pre-Higher)	Intermediate	open learning	2	grammar and vocabulary	£84 (waiver possible) / SFC		national certificate	min 6		1	
Telford College	Gaelic (NQ Higher)	Intermediate	academic year	2	speaking, listening, reading, writing	£84 (waiver possible) / SFC		national qualification	min 12		1	
Telford College	Gaelic - Basic Communication 1	Beginners	open learning	2	mainly oral, simple conversations and reading	£84 (waiver possible) / SFC		introductory course	min 6		1	
Telford College	Gaelic 1 (NC)	Beginners	12 weeks	2	mainly oral, simple conversations and reading	£84 (waiver possible) / SFC		national certificate	min 6		1	
University of Aberdeen, Language Centre	Gaelic Beginners 1	Beginners	10-12 weeks	2	conversation, grammar, translation, reading, listening	L120, or L110 for staff / students / alumni	student fees	none	7-12 students (deadline 28/9)	min 7	1-2 students per term	1

University of Dundee, Languages for All	Gaelic - Stage 1	Beginners	10 weeks	2	grammar, conversation	L115		Certificate of attendance and attainment can be provided	approx 10	min 10	1
University of Edinburgh Office of Lifelong Learning / Languages for All	Gaelic 1	Beginner	11 weeks, 3 terms per year	2	understanding, speaking, basic grammar	L125 for 1 term (L83 concession)	learner fees	Not at present - used to be able to gain credits in the past	16	min 8 max 16	1
University of Edinburgh Office of Lifelong Learning / Languages for All	Gaelic 2	Post Beginner	11 weeks, 3 terms per year	2	understanding, speaking, basic grammar	L125 for 1 term (L83 concession)	learner fees	Not at present - used to be able to gain credits in the past	13	min 8 max 16	1
University of Edinburgh Office of Lifelong Learning / Languages for All	Gaelic 3	Intermediate	11 weeks, 3 terms per year	2	conversation, more complex grammar	L125 for 1 term (L83 concession)	learner fees	Not at present - used to be able to gain credits in the past	16	min 8 max 16	1
University of Glasgow, Department of Adult and Continuing Education	Gaelic Stage 1	Beginners	20 meetings	2	complete beginners - greetings, likes, names, conversation, tenses and word order	L160		SCOTCA T credits	24	max 25	1

University of Glasgow, Department of Adult and Continuing Education	Gaelic Stage 2	Post Beginner	20 meetings	2	progression toward fluency, culture and history, place and personal names	L160		SCOTCA T credits	17	max 25		1
University of St Andrews, Open Association	Gaelic Beginners	Beginners	10 weeks	1.5	follows common European framework	L90	ILA approved	none	11	min 6 max 18	tend to follow on but very variable	1
University of Strathclyde, Centre for Lifelong Learning	Introduction to Gaelic 1	Beginners	8 weeks	2	conversation for the most part, basic grammar and translation	N/A	SFC	none	15 this semester	none	nil	1
West Dunbartonshire Council	West Dunbartonshire Beginners, Alexandria	Beginner	10 or 20 weeks	2	conversation, grammar, translation	free	West Dunbartonshire Council, assistance from BnaG	assessed for access 3, int 1 and int 2 - participation certificates	23 in beginners	council prefers min 10	never above 25%	1
West Dunbartonshire Council	West Dunbartonshire Beginners, Dumbarton	Beginner	10 or 20 weeks	2	conversation, grammar, translation	free	West Dunbartonshire Council, assistance from BnaG	assessed for access 3, int 1 and int 2 - participation certificates	23 in beginners	council prefers min 10	never above 25%	1

West Dunbartonshire Council	West Dunbartonshire Intermediate, Dumbarton	Inter-mediate	10 or 20 weeks	2	conversation, grammar, translation	free	West Dunbartonshire Council, assistance from BnaG	assessed for access 3, int 1 and int 2 - participation certificates	6	council prefers min 10	never above 25%	1
West Dunbartonshire Council	West Dunbartonshire Higher / Advanced, Dumbarton	Advanced	10 or 20 weeks	2	conversation, grammar, translation	free	West Dunbartonshire Council, assistance from BnaG - classes done voluntarily by tutor	assessed for access 3, int 1 and int 2 - participation certificates	10	council prefers min 10	never above 25%	1
West Lothian Council	West Lothian Evening Class, Livingston	Beginners	10 weeks	2	speaking, listening, reading, writing, grammar	L90 for 10 weeks	Student fees, ILA	no, not yet	9	min 6 max 16	up to 50%	1
West Lothian Council	West Lothian Saturday Morning Learners' Group, Bathgate	Mixed	School term times only	2	grammar points sometimes discussed, emphasis on conversation	50p per visit	funding from WLC for native speakers who come along to help, BnG assistance	none	nothing regular, core of around 8	N/A	N/A	2 to 4