Migration, Gaelic-medium Education and Language Use

Report by

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Ionad Nàiseanta na h-Imrich
Sabhal Mòr Ostaig

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for Ionad Nàiseanta na h-Imrich
Sabhal Mòr Ostaig

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Report Contents

Acknowledgements

Executive Summary

Acknowledgements

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1.   Introduction

The Highlands and Islands of Scotland have a long tradition of out-migration. During contemporary times there has also been significant in-migration. These migration processes have resulted in significant impacts on the region as a whole. One potential impact, however, has received limited investigation: the consequences for the survival of the Gaelic language. In order to investigate this theme in more detail, Highlands and Islands Enterprise commissioned a project on the impacts of in-migration on the Gaelic language. This research was designed:

> ***To investigate the impact of contemporary migration processes on the use and survival of the Gaelic language, in the particular context of primary school language medium choice (English or Gaelic) by parents.***

The research had four main elements. First, the academic literature was reviewed to identify recent findings relating to migration to rural areas (Section 2). Second, a questionnaire-based survey was conducted in three study areas (Castlebay, Laxdale, and Ullapool), focusing on the parents of children attending Gaelic and English medium primary school units (Section 1). These data were used to investigate the factors influencing the choice of school medium, in particular, in-migration (Section 3). Third, this quantitative data was supplemented with short qualitative interviews with parents and Gaelic language experts (Appendix C). Fourth, the questionnaire data were used in statistical analysis to build models to predict primary education language medium choices, according to parental characteristics and opinions (Section 4). The main conclusions from the study are presented in Section 5.

2.   Literature Review and Secondary Data Analysis

The literature reviewed included 1981-2001 census data, reports and other literature on migration in Scotland and in Highland areas, and analysis of reports on Gaelic development strategies and Gaelic medium education, and their success.

The main points that emerge are that:

- The number, and spatial coverage, of Gaelic speakers in Scotland have declined significantly.

- Factors contributing to this decline include the higher status placed on English speaking, the Anglicisation of key institutions, the growth of English trading relationships, the relegation of Gaelic in education to the status of a second language, the dominance of English language media and popular culture, and the continued emigration of young people to areas outside the Gaidhealtachd.

- In-migration to rural Scotland has been a significant feature of contemporary internal migration patterns.

- Recognised motivations for in-migration include: a residential preference to live in the countryside; relocation for employment reasons; and a desire to combine a preferred rural lifestyle with a move into self-employment.

- There are popular stereotypical images of migrants; however, in many cases, these have been dispelled by recent research.

- Prior research has investigated the socio-economic impacts of in-migration on rural communities. Often this research has presented a negative view of in-migration. However, recent works have highlighted the potential opportunities arising from in-migration.

- Few studies have investigated the linguistic consequences of in-migration.

3. Factors affecting the choice of primary school language medium

The influence of four household factors was explored: linguistic characteristics, migration history and processes, general household characteristics, and attitudes to the Gaelic language and contemporary migration processes.

Linguistic characteristics

The results showed that:

- 56 percent of parents speak no Gaelic, 16 percent described themselves as native or fluent speakers, and 28 percent purported to understand the language (but seldom speak it) or to be learners;

- 31 percent of children were from families where both parents speak Gaelic;

- Of parents possessing some Gaelic language skills, its use was low and largely confined to the immediate family;

- One in four households participate in Gaelic-medium education; the highest participation was noted for Ullapool and the lowest for Laxdale;

- Children's use of Gaelic was generally low, and largely restricted to use within the family or among friends;

- Children with parents who understand (but rarely speak) or are learning Gaelic are more likely to be taught through the medium of Gaelic;

- Children with Gaelic-speaking parents or grandparents are not more likely to attend Gaelic-medium units.

Migration history and processes

The results showed that:

- 62 percent of parents had been brought up in the Highlands and Islands;

- 49 percent of households were classified as migrants (that is, they moved into the study areas since 1981) with Ullapool associated with the highest level of in-migration;

- Migrants moved directly from within the Highlands and Islands (29 percent), elsewhere in Scotland (43 percent), England (19 percent), and elsewhere (9 percent). In-migration from England was greatest in Ullapool (26 percent);

- It is the children of migrant families, not long-term residents, who are most likely to be taught through the medium of Gaelic;

- The children of parents brought up in England (or moved directly from England to the study areas) were most associated with Gaelic-medium schooling;

- Households who had moved from elsewhere in Scotland were least likely to participate in Gaelic-medium schooling;

- Migrants motivated to move to the study areas for reasons other than quality of life factors were most likely to participate in Gaelic-medium education.

Household Characteristics

The results showed that:

- Enrolment in Gaelic-medium units is most commonly associated with highly educated parents;

- The parents' occupation, however, is not a determinant of school medium choice.

Attitudes to the Gaelic language and contemporary migration processes

The results showed that:

- Gaelic and English medium parents held similar opinions about migration to and from their area of residence;
- Gaelic and English medium parents held similar opinions about the effects of migration on Gaelic culture;
- Both sets of parents displayed positive opinions regarding the Gaelic language; however, English-medium parents were more reluctant to present a definite view;
- Differing opinions between the parental groups were noted regarding the benefits and rights to provision of Gaelic medium education.

4. Modelling the choice of primary school language medium

These results show that:

- Families of otherwise identical characteristics are most likely to send their child to Gaelic medium education in Ullapool; they are least likely to do so in Castlebay. That is, the more Gaelic the area, the less likely are children to attend Gaelic medium;
- There is a positive link between Gaelic speaking mothers and grandparents, and Gaelic medium attendance; Gaelic learner mothers are more likely than non-learners to send their child to Gaelic medium;
- First generation, non-speakers in the speech communities appear not to be supportive of Gaelic as the primary language medium for their child;
- Parents living in private rented accommodation are more likely to send their children to Gaelic medium education;
- Recent incomers from outwith Scotland are most likely to send their children to Gaelic-medium units;
- Education to Higher and university level has a positive effect on the likelihood of a parent sending their child to Gaelic medium education;

- Positive attitudes to the area and to the benefits of Gaelic medium primary education increase the likelihood of attendance at Gaelic medium units;

- Non Gaelic-speakers with established links to the area seem hostile to Gaelic and may see it as of interest only to incomers;

- In Ullapool, an area where Gaelic is no longer the main, or perhaps even an important minority language, Gaelic learners, first generation non-speakers, and well-educated in-migrants are important in supporting Gaelic medium education;

- In Laxdale, there is support from the Gaelic speech community, but there is also strong antipathy from first generation non-Gaelic speakers to Gaelic medium;

- In Castlebay, there is a positive attitude to Gaelic medium among Gaelic speakers; but there is also some evidence of antipathy in this area;

- The model was able to allocate 91 percent of children accurately between Gaelic and English medium. The level of accuracy varied between 88 percent (Laxdale) and 93 percent (Ullapool).

5.   Conclusions

Five factors were found to influence the choice of school medium. Households were more likely to choose to educate their children through the medium of Gaelic if:

- the child's parents spoke Gaelic (especially if the mother was a learner);

- the child's maternal grandmother was a Gaelic speaker;

- the child's parents were highly educated, and self-employed;

- the child's parents possessed a positive opinion of both the Gaelic language and Gaelic-medium education; and

- the household had migrated into the study areas.

1.   Introduction

1. 1   Introduction

This research project is the first carried out by associates[1] of Ionad Nàiseanta na h-Imrich[2] (INI). Its inception arose from a recognition that, while migration and the Gaelic language in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland had established research histories, little research had been conducted into the impacts of contemporary rural in-migration processes on the Gaelic language and its significance for Gaelic-medium education in particular. Indeed, migration in the context of cultural change in the Highlands and Islands is an under-researched area generally.

Historically, out-migration patterns and processes have characterised the Highlands and Islands, however during recent decades this is being accompanied, and in some locations replaced, by in-migration flows. Such flows have the potential to bring about many consequences for these communities, for example, in terms of the survival of the Gaelic language. During the same period, progress has been made in the establishment of Gaelic-medium education throughout the region. The research project, therefore, sought to consider the theme of in-migration in the specific context of its relationship to the socio-economic characteristics and language medium choices of parents who send their children to primary schools in the Highlands and Islands.

1.2   Research aim and objectives

The research aim was:

To examine the impact of contemporary migration processes on the use and survival of the Gaelic language, in the particular context of primary school language medium choice (English or Gaelic) by parents.

This aim was met through the following objectives:

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[2] INI is a research initiative set up by Sabhal Mòr Ostaig and it involves the collaboration of both the University of Aberdeen and Sabhal Mòr. The Centre is based at Sabhal Mòr Ostaig, and was opened officially by Brian Wilson, M.P., on 27th June 2003

- to identify the socio-economic characteristics of parents who chose to send their children to either a Gaelic or English medium unit in Highland and Island primary schools, where this language choice is offered;
- to determine the migration history of parents who choose to send their children to Gaelic or English medium primary education;
- to determine parents' reasons for the choice between Gaelic and English medium education.

1.3   Research Methods

The fieldwork for this research was carried out during September-December 2002, and the material was analysed during February-June 2003.   Both quantitative and qualitative research methods were employed in order to understand families' migration history, and parents' views of why they chose to send their children to either Gaelic or English-medium primary school units.   The following specific research methods were employed, in four stages:

Stage 1: Literature Review and Analysis of Secondary Date

In the first stage the team synthesised available written evidence of population trends, and Gaelic medium primary unit provision and uptake. These were then placed in the general context of Gaelic language and migration research in Scotland.   Additional material was gathered from agencies responsible for the promotion of the Gaelic language in Scotland.

Stage 2: Analysis of Primary Data: Survey of Primary School Parents in Three Highland and Island Primary School Areas

In order to collect information on the migration history and language choice of parents of children attending either Gaelic or English medium primary education, a questionnaire (mainly quantitative) was developed, and sent to three Highland and Island primary schools where primary education is available in either language. These schools were: Laxdale Primary School, Stornoway, Isle of Lewis; the primary classes of Castlebay Community School, Barra; and Ullapool Primary School.

The three primary schools identified as study areas were chosen on the basis of the number of Gaelic-medium teachers employed, on their location as service centres for the surrounding rural areas, on reported recent trends of in-migration and historical patterns of out-migration, and on their geographical location in the Highlands and Islands where Gaelic has, until recently, been spoken in the area.

Consent was gained from the primary school head teachers, and the questionnaires were then distributed by the school to teachers, who gave them to their pupils to take home to their parents. These questionnaires were then returned via the teacher and school. A project research assistant was available, while the questionnaire was being distributed locally, to answer parents' questions about the research. A response rate of 47% was achieved (resulting in 230 completed questionnaires) ranging from 42% in Barra, to 43% in Laxdale, to 53% in Ullapool. An example of the questionnaire is included in Appendix B.

The questionnaire elicited the following broad categories of information:
- the migration history of the family
- the level of Gaelic spoken by each member of each household
- use of Gaelic and English in different domains
- attitudes to the Gaelic and Gaelic-medium education, and perceived influences on the survival of the language.

The questionnaire responses were processed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS), to investigate the relationship of one variable to another in understanding characteristics, trends and relationships between migration history and Gaelic language use. The analysis of the questionnaire responses is given in the following section, Section 2.

Stage 3: Short, Qualitative Interviews with a Selection of Questionnaire Respondents

A short interview schedule was designed to provide further insights into the parents' decisions to send their children to Gaelic or English-medium classes, their attitudes to maintenance of the language and their own use of Gaelic. Up to six respondents were interviewed in each study area. Each of these parents had indicated on their

questionnaire that they were willing to discuss their views further. These short interviews were transcribed and analysed, for use as illustrative material for the questionnaire results, and as additional comments.

Interviews were also held with individuals from Comunn na Gàidhlig and with two individuals involved in Gaelic development in education, in Western Isles Council and Highland Council. These interviews explored policies for the maintenance and development of the Gaelic language, and the role of Gaelic-medium schools in this process.

Stage 4: Logit analysis

In addition to the descriptive statistics and the analysis of cross-tabulations, it is possible to build explanatory models of the parental decision to send children to English or Gaelic medium education. In this case, the dependent variable (medium of education) is binary, that is, it can have only two possible values. The possible explanatory variables are:

- a mix of binary variables (such as Gaelic learner or not);
- categorical variables (such as tenure of housing) which may be expressed as a series of dummy binary variables (yes or no for each type of tenure); and
- discrete variables (such as level of Gaelic proficiency and strength of views on specified issues).

In such an analysis, if standard multiple regression were used, the fitted model would have predicted values greater than 1 or less than 0, which are invalid. To deal with this problem, the regression problem is reconfigured as a <u>logit</u> model so that, rather than predicting a binary variable, a continuous variable that stays within the bounds of 0 and 1 is predicted.

If the dependent variable is y (= 0 or 1), then the logit model estimates:

$$ln(\pi/(1-\pi)) = \alpha + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \ldots\ldots + \beta_n X_n$$

where π is the probability that y = 1; *ln* is the natural logarithm; α and the βs are constants; and the *X*s are the explanatory variables.

The coefficients (βs) have the following interpretation:

- a positive value increases the probability that y = 1 and
- the greater the magnitude of the value, the greater the impact.

From the estimated model, individual cases may then be allocated to the categories - in this case English medium (y = 0) and Gaelic medium (y = 1). The standard method is to allocate cases where $\pi > 0.5$ as y = 1 (Gaelic medium) and those where $\pi =< 0.5$ as y = 0 (English medium). Actual and predicted numbers in each medium may then be compared.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

There are complex interactions between language development and decay, large-scale social, economic and political forces and their demographic correlates, such as international, national and regional migration. The longer-term consequences of in-migration and, specifically, the linguistic impacts of in-migration are, however, far from established. This section provides an overview of the existing literature on the relationships between migration, Gaelic medium education and language use. First, we review the literature pertaining to migration trends in the Highlands and Islands. Second, we report on the characteristics of and motives for in-migration specifically. . Third, we review the literature as it analyses the relationships between the Gaelic language and in-migration.

2.2 Overview of the literature relating to the Highlands and Islands

Throughout history, various social, economic and political issues have informed and shaped the lives of the rural population of Scotland. The trend of rural decline, identifiable from the eighteenth century, continues to the present, compounded and perpetuated by 'an interactive downward spiral of employment, services and population, often accompanied by community debilitation and demoralisation' (Jones, 1987: 37; MacNee, 1996; Williams et al, 1996).

However, despite this overall decline in the rural population, and although initially seriously outnumbered by those leaving, rural in-migration gained momentum from the late 1960s. By 1981, Census data showed that many rural areas had seen a net migration gain (Jedrej and Nuttall, 1995). This was later confirmed as a continuing trend by the 1991 Census Special Migration Statistics (Boyle, 1995), and by 2001 Census data.

It was found that a new group of migrants had joined the traditional groups of incomers. They were 'urban refugees' (Forsythe, 1980), who, although they had no family or other links to an area, chose to relocate in rural communities. Despite being

predominantly middle-class (Boyle, 1997; Hoggart, 1997 and Phillips, 1998), many do not intend to pursue their professions or careers. Reasons for the decision to move have been based on a desire to experience a better quality of life (Jones et al, 1986), to leave behind the stresses and pressures of urban living (Forsythe, 1980), to adopt a self-sufficient 'good life' (Kohn, 2002) or to raise children in a safer environment (Findlay et al, 1999). Evidence shows that incomers are diverse, both in terms of their motivations and demographic characteristics.

It could be argued and, indeed, expected that, just as out-migration threatened the long-term viability of communities, so in-migration offers a lifeline to these rural areas. Accordingly, some research reports positively about incomers and the benefits that they have brought, such as in helping to sustain small local schools and in boosting the economy of the area (Findlay et al, 1999 and Stockdale et al, 2000). In contrast, other studies have concentrated almost exclusively on negative impacts, such as, conflicts between local residents and migrants (Kohn, 2002, Jedrej and Nuttall, 1995 and MacKenzie, 1998).

The issues surrounding the motivations and destinations of those who leave rural communities have also been researched extensively (Jamieson, 2000; Jones, 1999; Stockdale 2002a and 2002b), although the migration of incomers to these areas is perhaps more significant, given the sometimes fragile nature of these communities. Other work has focussed on the quantity and patterns of migratory flows (Boyle, 1995 and Phillips, 1998), neglecting the meaning of flows to communities or individuals. This research project seeks to take a balanced stance on the issue of in-migration and in doing so challenges some of the negative stereotypes.

2.3 Characteristics and Motives of In-Migrants

It has been argued (Stockdale, et al, 2000) that there has been too great a concentration on the characteristics of migrants, and that the actual impacts of their movement have been neglected. Nevertheless, it is necessary to briefly summarise the literature relating to migrants' characteristics and motivations.

2.3.1   Race, Age and Class

The popular stereotype of those who move to rural communities is that they are 'elderly, unsociable and class conscious, with the potential to be a burden on local demographic sustainability and social services' (Short and Stockdale, 1999:178). Others refer to incomers as 'white settlers' with colonialist intentions to remodel the receiving community to fit their own requirements (Jedrej and Nuttall, 1996). They have also been labelled as 'English', regardless of their origin, in line with traditional Anglo-Scottish rivalries. Such perceptions, however, have been challenged (Beyers and Nelson, 2000; Bryden and Bollman, 2000; Bolton and Chalkley, 1990; Hoggart, 1997; Jones et al, 1986 and Shucksmith et al, 1996).

In terms of the age of incomers, the perception that they are typically elderly has also been contradicted by several studies (Forsythe, 1980; Jones et.al, 1986; Short and Stockdale, 1999). 1991 Census data demonstrated that incomers tend to be younger than the receiving population and therefore help to stabilise the demographic structure of receiving communities (Boyle, 1995).

There exists a widespread perception of incomers as uniformly middle class (Hoggart, 1997; Smith and Phillips, 2001 and Shucksmith et al, 1994). This has been confirmed by recent research in Scotland and England (Findlay et al, 1999; 2000). The majority of in-migrants to rural Scotland work in the service sector or run small businesses, with many possessing professional qualifications. Only 7% of employed in-migrants in Findlay et al's Scottish study were involved in primary occupations. This dominance of the middle-classes is increasingly viewed positively in terms of the associated opportunities for economic development, employment creation, and the continued viability of local schools (Boyle, 1995; Findlay et al, 1999 and Stockdale et al, 2000).

2.3.2   Motivations of In-Migrants

A number of empirical studies have considered migrant motivations for relocating to rural Scotland (Forsythe, 1980; Burnett, 1998; Kohn, 2002; Jedrej and Nuttall, 1995 and Stockdale et al, 2000). It is common for these to distinguish between 'pro-rural' and 'anti-urban' motivations. These highlight perceptions of rural areas as peaceful,

quiet, friendly and safe, and urban areas as noisy environments associated with danger and stress. The perceived better quality of life offered by rural areas is a frequent motivating factor for rural in-migration.

2.4 Gaelic and In-Migration

This section reviews the literature relating to the decline of the Gaelic language, recent attempts to revitalise its use with particular reference to Gaelic medium education, and the interaction between language and in-migration.

2.4.1   Changes in the Use of Gaelic

By the 15th century, the Highlands and Islands had emerged as a distinct geographical and linguistic region. However, since 1881, the number of Gaelic speakers has declined from quarter of a million to 59,000. Gaelic has retreated both numerically and geographically. This decline was perpetuated by centuries of political isolation, nineteenth century famine, poverty, agricultural reorganisation and consequent out-migration, until eventually Gaelic came to be seen as 'the language of a residual, crofter working class' (MacKinnon, 1991: 83).

Specific geographical pockets of the country continue, however, to possess a sizeable number of Gaelic speakers, for example, the Western Isles (where two-thirds of the population are Gaelic speakers) and the Isle of Skye. Equally significant is that the 2001 Census indicates that half of the Gaelic-speakers in Scotland are found outside the Gaidhealtachd.

Contributing to the continued decline of the Gaelic language is the low levels of inter-generational transmission. Data from the 1991 Census highlights that the transmission of Gaelic to children in families where only one parent spoke Gaelic was low (14.3 per cent). Given that this is the household configuration for 55 percent of Gaelic speaking families, this trend has serious implications for the future of the language (McLeod, 2001). For example, in 1991 only one in two children under the age of 15 years spoke Gaelic.

The domains of Gaelic use have also changed (MacKinnon; 1997). In the 1950s the playground language for children at all primary schools was Gaelic, while in the 1970s the playground language for 25 percent of primary schools was solely English. Among the adult population, Gaelic was predominantly used when speaking to older people or during worship. The share using the Gaelic language in other situations varied, but was notably lower when dealing with officialdom. Nettle and Romaine (2000) explain that a shift in language usage is a gradual process demonstrated by a three-generational pattern of language shift. They conclude that many minority languages will survive only as a second language in the future, 'because modern life makes it impossible and indeed undesirable to be entirely independent of outside influences' (p.191).

2.4.2   Revitalising the Gaelic language

It is no coincidence that the area in which the Gaelic language has survived includes some of the most economically- fragile communities in Scotland. Their remoteness and lack of economic development may well be the primary reasons behind the language's survival.

It is often suggested that strengthening the economy of the Gaidhealtachd is a pre-requisite to the revitalisation of the Gaelic language. But such development, unless incorporating a language dimension, may in fact accelerate the language shift. McLeod (2000) warns that if economic development is not to have a negative effect on the survival of native languages it must include an explicit language-planning dimension. This warning has been borne out by the Irish experience (Hindley, 1990; Williams, 1988).

To ensure language maintenance Nettle and Romaine (2000) explain that action first needs to begin at the most local level, by small groups themselves. Second, it is necessary to concentrate on the use of the language at home (intergenerational transmission) before focusing on school, work, government etc.   'Without transmission, there can be no long-term maintenance' (p.177) and where language is no longer being passed on at home, 'efforts to promote it outside that domain – in school for instance – usually end up being symbolic and ceremonial' (p.178).

The two main areas where state-sponsored initiatives have been implemented to promote the use of Gaelic in Scotland have been broadcasting and education. Gaelic-medium education was introduced in the Western Isles in 1986. Gaelic-medium schools/ units can only be established where there is parental demand, and children may only be recruited with parental consent. Since 1986 Gaelic-medium units have been established in 24 primary schools in the Western Isles, catering for over 500 pupils by 1996. The introduction of these units has not been confined to the Gaidhealtachd areas (McKee, 1997). By 1996, there were 16 throughout the Highland region, five in Strathclyde, two in Grampian, two in Tayside, and one in Edinburgh. Gaelic medium pre-school groups have also flourished with 75 established in Scotland by 1997: 29 are found in the Western Isles, 27 in the Highlands, eight in Strathclyde and four in Aberdeen.

Fishman (1991) warns, however, that a school-based strategy cannot bring about effective language revitalisation. MacNeil and Stradling (2000) support this view, arguing that Gaelic-medium education alone is unlikely to produce active, confident adult Gaelic-speakers.

Nevertheless, the movement to extend the use of Gaelic has gained momentum since the 1970s, when bilingual education became available. Since 1986, Gaelic medium education (GME) has been available for some at primary level. This immersion method of language teaching is now used in Scotland in sixty primary schools and in GME units within schools, to approaching 2,000 children (McLeod, 2001). That Gaelic is taught from an early age is important as language skills are more easily acquired at primary age and this therefore improves the likelihood of bilingualism (Williams, 2000). The provision at secondary schools of all subject education through the medium of Gaelic is, however, poor.

2.4.3   Language and Migration

The literature points to two broad strands of work relating to the effects of migration on language. One strand looks at international migration and focuses on the extent to which mother tongue-speaking is an aid or a hindrance to assimilation (Kershen, 2000; Li, 2001). The second thinner strand looks more specifically at minority

languages (de Kadt, 2000; MacDonnacha, 2000; O'Riagain, 1978).   According to O' Riagain (1978), regionally specific languages that are centred in geographically peripheral areas that had seen lower levels of economic development than others, were often those where usage was declining. To some degree, it could be argued in the case of Gaelic that it was the peripherality of Gaelic-speaking areas, and lower levels of economic development there that meant the language continued to be spoken there. Conversely, out-migration, demographic fragility, and in-migration of non-Gaelic speakers to some degree have ensued, and these factors, alongside many others, have weakened the strength of the language in the community and home.

Both strands of literature point to the complexity of understanding language change in relation to migration. Language change cannot be accounted for simply by measuring in or out migration, or even by measuring economic change. More qualitative research is required to understand the range of factors that influence both migration flows and language choice and change.

2.5   Summary

Two principal trends emerge from the literature relating to migration and the Gaelic language. In relation to migration the literature confirms that the historical trend of out-migration is being replaced, or at least accompanied, by an in-migration flow. This group is diverse in their characteristics and motivations, however, quality of life motivations feature prominently. Many studies have investigated the consequences of in-migration on rural communities and a number of positive and negative impacts have been identified. The literature on the Gaelic language documents its decline, contributed to by a number of factors over the centuries. The number of Gaelic speakers today is at an all time low, and in particular the low levels of intergenerational transmission is of major concern. There is on-going debate as to whether or not economic development is a pre-requisite to the revitalisation of minority languages; however, there is general agreement that any economic development must include a language dimension. The introduction of Gaelic-medium education has attempted to address the decline in the number of Gaelic speakers, however, as several authors warn such a strategy may not necessarily bring about an effective Gaelic revival. Finally, this review of the literature has highlighted the

dearth of research into the impacts of in-migration on language. As such, this research project seeks to fill at least part of the void in this area.

3. Factors affecting the choice of primary school language medium

3.1 Introduction

This section presents the most salient results from a questionnaire survey distributed to the families of children attending Gaelic- and English-medium primary schools in Castlebay, Laxdale and Ullapool. The analysis focuses on the determinants influencing the choice of school medium. The relative importance of four household factors is explored: linguistic characteristics, migration history and processes, general household characteristics, and attitudes to the Gaelic language and contemporary migration processes. The chi-square test is used to determine how strongly variables (for example, school medium and linguistic ability) are related to each other. Testing for significance allows one to either claim that there is a significant association between the two variables (i.e. statistically significant) or interpret any association as a chance relationship (i.e. not statistically significant). First background information relating to the household samples is presented. Supplementary tables of the results are presented in Appendix A.

3.2 Sample Characteristics

3.2.1 Sample representativeness

Two hundred and thirty household questionnaires were completed, representing a response rate of 47percent. The majority (75 percent) related to households whose children attended English-medium primary school units (Table 3.1). Gaelic-medium numbers in our sample are representative of Highland Council's[3] enrolment records for the year 2002/03, and records of the Western Isles Council for the same period[4]: 51 pupils were registered in the Gaelic-medium unit of Ullapool Primary School, 8 pupils attended the Gaelic-medium unit of Castlebay Community School and 15 pupils attended the Gaelic-medium unit of Laxdale Primary School, Stornoway.

3.2.2 Gaelic- and English-medium samples

Statistically significant differences (at 99% confidence level) in the proportions attending Gaelic- and English-medium units were noted between the study areas

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[3] Highland Council (2002) Gaelic as a secondary language in Highland Council Primary Schools.

(Table 3.1). A greater share of the Ullapool sample attended Gaelic-medium, approximately one third of the sample, while the lowest share was noted for Laxdale, accounting for 14 percent.

Table 3.1: Gaelic and English medium numbers compared

School	Attending Gaelic Unit	Attending English Unit	Total
Castlebay	8 (24%)	25 (76%)	33
Laxdale	15 (14%)	89 (86%)	104
Ullapool	35 (38%)	58 (62%)	93
Total	58 (25%)	172 (75%)	230

3.2.3 *Migration history of respondents*

Two-thirds of our respondents were natives of the Scottish Highlands and Islands (Table A1) with 42 percent having been brought up on the islands of Lewis, Harris and Benbecula. Thirteen percent were brought up in England, and the remainder were from elsewhere in Scotland. Some 42 percent had always resided in the study areas, while one-third had moved into one of the study areas since 1991. Approximately half moved from elsewhere in Scotland, 29 percent from elsewhere in the Highlands and Islands, and 27 percent from outside Scotland (namely, England) (Table A2). The main motivations for migration were to set up a new home, employment, and quality of life considerations (Table A3).

3.2.4 *Demographic and Socio-economic characteristics*

97 percent of the heads of respondent households were under the age of fifty (Table A4). Most were in active employment: 40, 25 and 15 percent full-time, part-time and self-employed respectively (Table A5). Less than four percent were unemployed. Typical occupations included those in supervisory, clerical and managerial positions, skilled manual and semi-skilled and un-skilled jobs. Overall, 39 percent possessed a college or university qualification, many of whom were employed in positions not consistent with their level of qualifications (Table A6). The modal housing tenure for respondent households was owner-occupation (59 percent) with 21 percent residing in public rented properties. The remainder occupied private rented, tied or croft homes (Table A7).

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[4] Numbers for Castlebay and Stornoway were accurate at 30/1/03

3.2.5. Gaelic speakers

In just under half of the households (45 percent), neither parent was a Gaelic speaker; while in 31 percent both parents spoke the language. A total of 185 adult Gaelic speakers were identified in the sample (Table A8). The level of Gaelic was however highly variable: 36 percent were native or fluent speakers, 37 percent understood the language but rarely spoke it, and 27 percent identified themselves as learners.

3.3 Determinants in the decision to send children to Gaelic- or English-medium primary school units

Factors perceived to influence the choice of education medium are examined below. These include the linguistic ability of parents and grandparents, the popularity of Gaelic in the local community, the migration history of households, household characteristics, and parental attitudes and opinions. The importance of each is tested in relation to a number of hypotheses.

3.3.1. *Linguistic abilities*

Hypothesis 1: Children with Gaelic speaking parents are most likely to attend Gaelic-medium units

Irrespective of the medium attended by their children, 56 percent of the 419 parents/ guardians in our sample did not speak Gaelic (Table A8). Native or fluent Gaelic speaking parents were most frequently noted in the Castlebay (40 percent) and Laxdale (19 percent) samples, with a further one in three parents (in both areas) purporting to understand or to be learning the language. By comparison, 75 percent of parents in the Ullapool sample possessed no Gaelic language skills. There are, therefore, statistically significant differences (at 99% confidence level) between the levels of Gaelic spoken by parents in the three study areas.

Aggregating the dataset for the sample as a whole (Table 3.2), 28 percent of native or fluent Gaelic-speaking parents, 21 percent of non-Gaelic speaking parents and 34 percent where parents described themselves as understanding or learning Gaelic send their children to be taught through the medium of Gaelic. The level of Gaelic spoken by parents of children attending Gaelic- and English-medium units is found to be

statistically significant at the 99% confidence level. Accordingly, children with parents who understand (but rarely speak) or are learning the Gaelic language are more likely to be taught through the medium of Gaelic.

Table 3.2 Level of Gaelic spoken by parents of children attending Gaelic- and English-medium units

Gaelic Proficiency	Gaelic-medium	English-medium	Total
Native/ fluent speaker	19 (28%)	48 (72%)	67
Understands Gaelic/ learner	40 (34%)	78 (66%)	118
No Gaelic	48 (21%)	186 (79%)	234
Total	107 (26%)	312 (74%)	419

Of the 234 non-Gaelic speaking parents in our sample, 43 percent expressed an interest in learning the language. Notably, this interest was greatest among parents of Gaelic-medium children (58 vis-à-vis 39 percent of English-medium parents), which suggests that the choice of Gaelic-medium may be influenced by the parents' interest in the language rather than their existing linguistic abilities.

Hypothesis 2: Children with Gaelic speaking parents and grandparents are most likely to attend Gaelic-medium units

The Gaelic linguistic skills associated with the child's family are now explored in more detail with particular reference to whether or not one or both parents and grandparents speak Gaelic. It should be noted that Table 3.3 makes no reference to the individual's proficiency in the language.

Table 3.3 highlights that, of children attending a Gaelic-medium unit, one in two originated from families where neither parent spoke Gaelic, while 58 percent of children attending an English-medium unit came from families where at least one parent spoke Gaelic. Among households in which both parents spoke Gaelic, the majority (80 percent) sent their children to be taught through the medium of English. It would appear, therefore, that the choice of Gaelic-medium is not strongly influenced by whether or not both parents speak Gaelic.

With reference to the child's grandparents, Gaelic speakers are more frequently observed on the mothers' side of the family. However, once again Gaelic speaking grandparents are not associated with attendance at Gaelic-medium units. Instead, a greater share of English-medium pupils had Gaelic-speaking grandparents. Little evidence is therefore obtained to support hypothesis 2.

Table 3.3 Attendance at Gaelic- and English-medium units by whether or not the child's parents, maternal and paternal grandparents speak/spoke Gaelic.

Gaelic Speaker	Attend Gaelic Unit	Attend English Unit	Total
Father only	10 (9%)	26 (9%)	36 (9%)
Mother only	14 (13%)	42 (15%)	56 (15%)
Both	25 (24%)	97 (34%)	122 (31%)
Neither	57 (54%)	117 (42%)	174 (45%)
Total	106	282	388
Maternal YES Grandfather	41 (39%)	146 (47%)	187 (45%)
Total	106	313	419
Maternal YES Grandmother	41 (39%)	157 (50%)	198 (47%)
Total	106	313	419
Paternal YES Grandfather	41 (38%)	140 (45%)	181 (43%)
Total	109	313	422
Paternal YES Grandmother	36 (34%)	131 (42%)	167 (40%)
Total	106	309	415

3.3.2   Gaelic speaking community

Hypothesis 3: Gaelic-medium education is most popular in areas with a strong tradition of Gaelic language and culture

One could expect that the popularity of Gaelic-medium education would be related to the role of the Gaelic language in the local community. All three study areas lie within the Gaidhealtachd, yet as our survey has demonstrated only 185 (44 percent) of adult respondents possess some level of Gaelic with relatively few (16 percent) classed as fluent or native speakers. One in two respondents claimed that Gaelic was spoken locally, however, with reference to the domains of use by Gaelic-speaking respondents (Table 3.4) the results point to its low usage. The language is most commonly used when speaking with older family members, that is, the child's grandparents, and is rarely used within the home or local community.

Table 3.4 Domains of Gaelic Use by Parents: proportions claiming to speak frequently in Gaelic

Domains of Gaelic Use	Proportion of Gaelic speakers who frequently use Gaelic
Speaking with parents (child's grandparents)	26%
Speaking with local residents	19%
At place of work	19%
Speaking with children	18%
At social events	16%
In local shops	15%
Speaking with grandparents (child's great grandparents)	11%
Speaking with spouse/ partner	8%
At place of worship	8%
In official communications	3%
Total Gaelic speaking parents answering this question	185

This pattern of use is generally repeated in each study area, however, use of the language in various domains is greatest in Castlebay, for example, 48 and 43 percent speak the language in local shops and with local residents respectively, 39 percent use the language at local social events, and 28 percent in conversations with their children. It should be noted, however, that Castlebay had the smallest Gaelic-medium unit, in terms of enrolments, in our study[1]. By comparison, the highest number attending Gaelic-medium was observed for Ullapool, yet it is this area that is associated with the fewest Gaelic speaking parents and the lowest use of the language by parents. The domain of greatest use was when speaking with children, but only then by 12 percent of the Gaelic speakers in the Ullapool sample. The popularity of Gaelic-medium education is, therefore, not associated with communities possessing a strong Gaelic culture. Instead, the data points to the conclusion that where the Gaelic language is strong locally few respondents participate in Gaelic-medium education.

3.3.2. *Migration history and processes*

Hypothesis 4: Natives of the Gaidhealtachd are most likely to send their children to Gaelic-medium units

Natives of the Scottish Highlands and Islands (including the Gaidhealtachd) headed two-thirds of respondent households. One may have expected Gaelic-medium education to be most popular among this group. However this was not the case (Table 3.5). Instead, it was the children of parents brought up in England that were most associated with Gaelic-medium schooling (48 percent). Some caution should be exercised when interpreting these figures because the numbers originating from England are relatively small. Parents from other parts of Scotland were least likely to send their children to Gaelic-medium (13 percent). Differences in the choice of medium by parental area of upbringing are statistically significant at the 99% level.

Table 3.5   Area of Up-bringing for parents of children attending Gaelic- and English medium units

Area of Upbringing	Gaelic-Medium	English-Medium	Total
Scottish Highlands and Islands	35 (26%)	98 (74%)	133
Elsewhere in Scotland	7 (13%)	46 (87%)	53
England	13 (48%)	14 (52%)	27
Total	55	158	213

Hypothesis 5: The children of migrant families are less likely to attend Gaelic-medium schools

It is often reported in the academic literature that migrants adversely affect the cultural traditions of the destination community (Jedrej and Nuttall, 1996; Murdoch and Day, 1998). Within this context one might expect that in-migration may have had a negative impact on Gaelic-medium education. Using 1981 as the cut-off point for in-migration to the study areas, 49 percent of the households included in our survey are classified as migrants. Approximately one-third of migrant households had a child who attended Gaelic-medium, compared to 17 percent of long-term resident households. It is, therefore, the children of migrant families, not long-term residents, who are most likely to be taught through the medium of Gaelic.

Expanding this analysis to include the former place of residence for migrant families, it was found that one-in-two migrant households which had moved directly from

England sent their children to Gaelic-medium, compared to 30 percent who moved from elsewhere in the Highlands and Islands, and 17 percent from elsewhere in Scotland. The pattern is, therefore, similar to that obtained in relation to the head of household's birthplace.

Focusing now on whether the choice of school medium was influenced by the motivations underlying a move to the study areas, similar motivations were observed irrespective of the area of origin. However, one motivating factor (quality of life considerations) was less important among migrants whose children attended Gaelic-medium. Quality of life is commonly referred to in the migration literature as a motivation for moves to rural areas. Of migrant families with children attending Gaelic-medium units, the motivations for migration, irrespective of the family's place of origin, included to set up home (37 percent) and employment (29 percent). These motivations were also important among migrant families whose children attended English-medium units, however they were accompanied by quality of life considerations (21 percent). Only 8 percent of migrant families with children in Gaelic-medium units were motivated to move to the study areas for quality of life considerations. It would appear, therefore, that non-quality of life-motivated migrants are most likely to participate in Gaelic-medium education.

3.3.3. Household Characteristics

Hypothesis 6: The parents of children attending Gaelic-medium units are more highly qualified, employed in professional/ managerial occupations, and reside in owner-occupied properties.

Overall, 39 percent of respondents to the household survey possessed a tertiary level qualification. A further 12 percent had a vocational qualification. The educational qualifications possessed by parents of Gaelic- and English-medium school pupils was found to be statistically significant at the 95% confidence level. Some 30 percent of parents with tertiary or vocational qualifications sent their children to Gaelic-medium, falling to 24 percent of those who attained standard or higher grades only, and only 16 percent who left school with no formal qualifications. Enrolment in Gaelic-medium units is, therefore, more commonly associated with highly educated parents.

The majority of parents in our sample were actively employed: approximately 4 percent were unemployed while 17 percent described themselves as a full-time parent.

Focusing specifically on the school medium choice of full-time employees and the self-employed (which comprised more than half of the sample), a greater share of the latter sends their children to be taught through the medium of Gaelic (34 vis-à-vis 25 percent).

In terms of the parents' occupation (Table A9), few (6 percent) are assigned to social grade[5] A and B, that is, *higher/ intermediate managerial, administrative or professional* occupations. Instead, most are in just three social grade categories: C^l (*supervisory clerical, managerial, administrative, professional*) 25 percent, C^2 (*skilled manual workers*) 31 percent, and D (*semi-skilled and unskilled*) 24 percent. Thus, many parents in the sample appear to be in occupations not consistent with their higher level of qualifications. Aggregating the social grade categories into non-manual (A, B, C^1) and manual (C^2, D and E) for heads of households only, it is found that 28 percent of households headed by an individual in a non-manual occupation send their children to Gaelic-medium compared to 25 percent of households with a manual worker as head. The parents' occupation is not, therefore, a determinant of school medium choice.

The tenure of the household was also tested to determine if this influenced the choice of school medium. 59 percent of households resided in owner-occupied accommodation, 21 percent in public- and 9 percent in private-rented properties, with a further 9 percent residing on a croft. Less than two percent lived in tied properties. Families in owner-occupied homes were most likely to have children in Gaelic-medium units (28 percent), compared to 19 percent of those residing in private or public rented properties, falling to 17 percent of those living on a croft or in tied accommodation. This tendency however is not statistically significant.

3.3.4. *Parental attitudes and opinions*
The household questionnaire asked respondents to indicate their level of agreement with a series of attitudinal statements on a five-point scale (ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree). These statements related to migration to and from the

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[5] General Register Office, Scotland. Social Grade Socio-economic classification based on occupation.

study areas, migration and the Gaelic culture, the Gaelic language and Gaelic-medium education.

Hypothesis 7: The parents of children attending Gaelic- and English-medium units have differing opinions of migration to and from their area of residence.

No evidence was obtained to support this hypothesis. Instead, the views of Gaelic- and English-medium parents were similar (Table 3.6), in that the scale of any differences was not statistically significant.

Table 3.6   Level of agreement with statements relating to migration to and from the study areas by Gaelic- and English-medium parents

Statement	Gaelic-medium parents	English-medium parents
The area has a long history of people leaving	54%	68%
Out-migration is inevitable from this area	57%	53%
Migrants to the area have replaced locals	39%	43%
Migrants to this area have raised local house prices	62%	42%
Migrants to this area have created jobs	33%	26%
Migrants to the area are mainly from the Highlands and Islands	9%	8%

Hypothesis 8: The parents of children attending Gaelic and English-medium units have differing opinions of the effects of migration on the Gaelic culture

Once again the views of Gaelic- and English-medium parents were similar. The modal response by both sets of parents was one of agreement (Table 3.7).

Table 3.7   Level of agreement with statements relating to migration and the Gaelic culture by Gaelic- and English-medium parents

Statement	Gaelic-medium parents	English-medium parents
Migrants to this area regularly support local Gaelic activities	54%	44%
Migrants to this area are keen to learn Gaelic	49%	48%
Migrants to this area are keen to send their children to Gaelic medium units	58%	40%

Hypothesis 9: The parents of children attending Gaelic and English-medium units have differing opinions of the Gaelic Language

Four statements gave rise to statistically significant differences (at 95% confidence level) in opinion between the two sets of parents (Table 3.8). A small proportion of both samples agreed that *English should be the dominant language in this area*, however English-medium parents were more likely to divulge no opinion. The modal response from both samples for the statements *Gaelic should have official status*, *maintaining the Gaelic language is important*, and *Gaelic is an important part of Scottish identify*, was one of agreement. However, again the statistically significant differences were largely accounted for by a greater reluctance by English-medium parents to divulge a definite opinion. It would appear that English-medium parents were more reluctant to present a view on the Gaelic language.

Table 3.8   Level of agreement with statements relating to the Gaelic language by Gaelic- and English-medium parents

Statement	Gaelic-medium parents	English-medium parents
English should be the dominant language in this area	21%	28%
Gaelic should have official status	77%	46%
Maintaining the Gaelic language is important	93%	72%
Gaelic is an important part of Scottish identity	88%	77%

Hypothesis 10: The parents of children attending Gaelic- and English-medium units have differing opinions of Gaelic-medium education

Attitudes between both parental groups were found to differ (statistically significant at the 99% confidence level). This was as expected: one could anticipate that the parents of Gaelic-medium pupils would be more positive of Gaelic-medium education than English-medium parents. The proportion in each parental sample agreeing with each statement is presented in Table 3.9.

Table 3.9   Level of agreement with statements relating to Gaelic-medium education by Gaelic- and English-medium parents

Statement	Gaelic-medium parents	English-medium parents
All schools in this area should offer Gaelic-medium	84%	48%
Gaelic-medium schools are divisive	37%	33%
Children from non-Gaelic backgrounds should attend Gaelic-medium to enlarge the number of speakers	33%	14%
Gaelic-medium has a positive effect on children's English language skills by the time they reach secondary school	73%	25%

3.4   Children's Gaelic language skills and domains of use

Up until now this section has reported on the determinants influencing the choice of school medium. We now turn our attention to the level of Gaelic spoken by children (Table 3.10) in our household sample and their domains of use (Table 3.11). One-in-two children from the sample households were purported to possess some Gaelic language skills.

Table 3.10   Level of Spoken Gaelic by Children attending Gaelic- and English-Medium Units

Level of spoken Gaelic	Gaelic-Medium	English-Medium	Total
Native speaker	7 (6%)	6 (2%)	13
Fluent speaker	36 (32%)	7 (2%)	43
Understands but rarely speaks Gaelic	14 (12%)	32 (8%)	48
Learner	49 (43%)	95 (25%)	144
No Gaelic	8 (7%)	240 (63%)	248
Total	114	380	494

As expected the children attending Gaelic-medium units display greater aptitude in the language, with the modal category that of a learner. However, what is of greater interest is that approximately one-third of English-medium pupils in the sample possess some Gaelic language skills. One in four purport to be learning the language.

The picture to emerge from Table 3.11 is that children's use of the Gaelic language was low, and was largely restricted to use within their immediate family or among friends. For example, the most popular domains of use by Gaelic-medium pupils were in conversations with grandparents, mother, siblings, and friends. Similarly among Gaelic-speaking pupils taught through the medium of English, the language was used most frequently when conversing with grandparents and parents. The involvement of grandparents suggests that they represent an important source of language skills for Gaelic-speaking English-medium pupils.

Table 3.11   When do children use the Gaelic-Language?

Domains of Use	Gaelic-Medium	English-Medium	Total
Playground	17 (16%)	4 (3%)	21
Speaking to mother	43 (41%)	27 (19%)	70
Speaking to father	18 (17%)	31 (22%)	49
Speaking to siblings	36 (34%)	12 (9%)	48
Speaking to grandparents	45 (42%)	44 (31%)	89
Wider family	20 (19%)	17 (12%)	37
Speaking with friends	33 (31%)	10 (7%)	43
In shops	8 (8%)	6 (4%)	14
In wider community	17 (16%)	20 (14%)	37
Total purporting to speak/ understand Gaelic to some degree	106	140	246

3.5   Summary

This section has explored a number of potential determinants in the choice of primary school medium. Notably, the popularity of Gaelic-medium education, as measured by sample size, varied between the study locations: it was greatest in the mainland community of Ullapool, which ironically was associated with the fewest number of Gaelic-speaking parents and the highest number of migrant families (of which, one in four moved from England). Table 3.12 lists the hypotheses for which statistically significant differences were observed between Gaelic- and English-medium parents. As such, it summarises the factors found to influence the choice of educational medium.

Overall, approximately half of the parents in the sample possessed no Gaelic language skills, and of those that did, use of the language was low and largely confined to within the immediate family. Similar domains of Gaelic use were observed for primary school pupils.

Table 3.12   Hypotheses for which statistically significant differences between Gaelic- and English-medium parents were observed

Hypothesis	Determinants of Gaelic-medium choice
1: Children with Gaelic speaking parents are most likely to attend Gaelic-medium units	Parents who understand (but rarely speak Gaelic) and learners
4: Natives of the Gaidhealtachd are most likely to send their children to Gaelic-medium units	English-born parents
5: The children of migrant families are least likely to attend Gaelic-medium schools	Migrant family
	English origin
	Non-quality of life motivations
6: The parents of children attending Gaelic-medium units are more highly qualified, employed in professional/ managerial occupations, and reside in owner-occupied properties.	Parents with tertiary/ vocational qualifications
	Self-employed heads of household
9:The parents of children attending Gaelic and English-medium units have differing opinions of the Gaelic Language	Positive opinion of Gaelic language
10: The parents of children attending Gaelic- and English-medium units have differing opinions of Gaelic-medium education	Positive opinion of Gaelic-medium education

4. Modelling the choice of primary school language medium

4.1 Introduction

While section 4 presents descriptive statistics and an analysis of cross-tabulations this section incorporates logit modelling. Explanatory models of the parental decision to send children to English or Gaelic medium education were estimated. The results are summarised in Table 4.1. These models seek to explain, from family and other characteristics, whether a child would be more likely to attend Gaelic or English medium education.

First, a model was estimated for the full dataset covering the three areas. Next, an effort was made to estimate this best overall model for each of the study areas separately. The best overall model proved also to be the best model for Ullapool, but to be poor for Laxdale and to be unestimatable for Castlebay.[6] For these latter two areas, alternative models were estimated.

The explanatory variables (that is, variables thought to explain the decision to attend Gaelic- or English-medium primary schools) may be classified under several headings:

- area;
- Gaelic;
- house tenure;
- migration;
- education; and
- opinions.

The models are discussed below under these headings.

4.1.1 Area

Dummy variables for two of the areas can be included in the overall model. The coefficients show whether families in these areas are more or less likely to send their children to Gaelic medium education, when compared to those *with otherwise*

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[6] The matrix of variances and covariances was near to singular.

identical characteristics in the third area. The first two variables in the overall model show that, when compared with the reference area of Castlebay, an otherwise identical family is significantly more likely to send its children to Gaelic medium in Laxdale, and even more likely to do so in Ullapool. It would appear that the more Gaelic the area, the less likely are children to attend Gaelic medium.

4.1.2 Gaelic

Four Gaelic variables feature in the models. These are:

- LEVEL GAELIC (2) - the level of Gaelic of mother (either: native speaker, fluent speaker, understands but seldom speaks, learner or no Gaelic);

- LRNGAEL (2) - whether the mother is learning Gaelic.

- G-MOTHER GAEL (2) - whether the child's maternal grandmother was a Gaelic speaker; and

- G-FATHER GAEL (1) - whether the child's paternal grandfather was a Gaelic speaker.

The level of Gaelic of the mother does not appear in the overall model but does appear in the preferred models for Laxdale and Castlebay. It has a significantly positive effect on the probability of a child attending Gaelic medium education.

If the child's maternal grandmother was a Gaelic speaker, the child is **more** likely to attend Gaelic medium both overall and in Ullapool; but **less** likely in Laxdale and Castlebay. If the paternal grandfather was a Gaelic speaker, the likelihood of attendance at Gaelic medium is reduced in Castlebay.

If the mother is learning Gaelic, this has a strongly positive effect overall and in Ullapool.

Taken together these variables suggest a positive link between Gaelic speaking and Gaelic medium attendance but point to a link with Gaelic learners that is as strong as with native speakers. There may also be evidence of a generational change in attitudes to Gaelic, whereby first generation non-speakers in current Gaelic-speaking areas have no interest in introducing their children to the language.

The non appearance of the 'father' variables is, in some cases, because they were correlated with the 'mother' variables but the latter had a stronger separate effect, so the former did not appear as significant when both were included in the models. This points to the importance of mothers in the maintenance and regeneration of the language.

4.1.3   House tenure

The only housing tenure that shows up significantly is privately rented (PRIVATE). It has a strong positive effect overall and in Ullapool. Overall, less that 6% of households are in this tenure and most are in Ullapool. These households may be recent in-migrants and the result may be linked to the migration variables.

4.1.4   Migration

Three migration variables feature in the models. The father never having moved (NON MOVER (1)) features only in one of the Laxdale models and has a negative effect. This may echo the negative effect of the grandparent variables and add weight to the proposition that first generation non-Gaelic speakers are antipathetic to the language.

The mother having moved to the area in the 1980s (MOVED 90 (2)) and the mother having moved from the UK (but from outwith Scotland) (UK (2)) both feature as positive influences in the overall model and in Ullapool. Thus, recent incomers from outwith Scotland seem to have a more positive attitude than do families with stronger local links and who have lived in the area longer. While this may have a positive effect on the language, it does little to maintain Gaelic speech communities. In contrast, the attitudes of first generation non-speakers *in the speech communities* appear not to be as supportive.

4.1.5   Education

Overall, education to Higher (EDUC H (2)) and university level (EDUC UNI (2)) both have positive affects. These variables do not show up in the models for the individual areas, perhaps, at least in the case of Ullapool, because they are correlated with migration variables.

4.1.6   Opinions

Respondents were asked for their opinions (ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree) on 24 statements. Four statements appear in the final models:

1.   This area has a long history of people leaving (STATEMENT 1).

4.   Migrants to this area have replaced locals (STATEMENT 4).

6.   Migrants to this area are keen to learn Gaelic (STATEMENT 6).

24.   Gaelic-medium education has a positive effect on children's abilities in English (STATEMENT 24).

Statements 1 and 24 appear in the overall and Ullapool models and statement 24 additionally appears in the preferred Castlebay model. Negative responses to statement 1 and positive responses to statement 24 are positively associated with Gaelic medium.[7] Thus positive attitudes to the area and to the benefits of Gaelic medium increase the likelihood of children attending Gaelic medium.

Statements 4 and 6 appear only in the preferred Laxdale model. For both, agreement with the statement decreases the likelihood of sending children to Gaelic medium. This might be seen as hostility to in-migrants. Taken with the analysis above, this may suggest that non Gaelic-speakers with established links to the area are hostile to Gaelic and see it as of interest only to incomers.

4.2   An overview of the models

When compared with the overall model, the Ullapool model is very similar, except for the lack of significance of the education variables. The overall model has no significant variables for Laxdale and cannot be estimated for Castlebay. It points to the importance of Gaelic learners, first generation non-speakers and well-educated in-migrants in supporting Gaelic medium education *in an area where Gaelic is no longer the main, or even an important minority, language.*

The preferred model for Laxdale suggests support from the Gaelic speech community but also points starkly to the antipathy of first generation non Gaelic-speakers to Gaelic medium and to a view that Gaelic may be an indulgence of in-migrants. The

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[7] The variable was coded from 1 (strongly agree) to 5 (strongly disagree).

two alternative models for Castlebay suggest similar conclusions. The preferred model emphasises a positive attitude to Gaelic medium among Gaelic speakers; the second confirms this but also points to the above antipathy. Such antipathy is in contrast to the positive view among this group in the study area where Gaelic is no longer significant.

Thus, there seems to be significant support for Gaelic medium among fluent speakers and recent incomers, which seems to contrast with apparent antipathy among first generation non-speakers in Gaelic areas.

4.3   Predictive power of the models

The lower part of Table 4.1 comprises three rows. The first shows the numbers of households with children in each of the media. The model is used to allocate children to Gaelic or English medium according to whether the extracted probability (see Methods section above) is greater than 0.5 or less than/equal to 0.5. The second two rows show the percent of households correctly and incorrectly allocated.

Overall the models perform well in the allocations. The percentage of correct total allocations is 91% overall and ranges from 88% to 93% in the preferred models for each area. In **all** models, the percent of households correctly allocated is greater for English medium than for Gaelic medium. In all cases, a model can be estimated that allocates at least 93% of English medium children accurately. The Gaelic medium allocations are poorer and range from 54% in the preferred Laxdale model to 92% in the (single) Ullapool model.

Table 4.1: Results of the logit analysis of medium of education

VARIABLE(*)	ALL			ULLAPOOL			LAXDALE						CASTLEBAY					
							Preferred model			Model 2			Preferred model			Model 2		
	Coeff.	z-Stat.	Sig(%)	Coeff.	z-Stat.	Sig(%)	Coeff.	z-Stat.	Sig(%)	Coeff.	z-Stat.	Sig(%)	Coeff.	z-Stat.	Sig(%)	Coeff.	z-Stat.	Sig(%)
CONSTANT	-9.59	-4.10	0.0	-8.55	-2.36	1.8	-9.6	-3.5	0.0	-5.80	-1.95	5.2	3.01	1.19	23.4	-2.50	-1.79	7.3
ULLAPOOL	4.86	3.35	0.1															
LAXDALE	2.82	2.02	4.4															
LEVEL GAELIC (2)							2.0	2.9	0.4				2.73	1.89	5.9	1.41	2.07	3.8
LRNGAEL (2)	2.34	2.64	0.8	5.05	2.60	0.9				0.73	0.48	63.3						
G- MOTHER GAEL (2)	1.75	2.17	3.0	6.13	2.66	0.8	-3.9	-2.0	5.0	-0.47	-0.34	73.4				-3.00	-1.68	9.3
G-FATHER GAEL (1)																-2.76	-1.69	9.2
PRIVATE	2.55	2.43	1.5	4.01	2.13	3.3				3.70	1.39	16.4						
NON MOVER (1)							-2.9	-2.7	0.6									
MOVED 90 (2)	1.66	2.16	3.1	4.46	2.39	1.7				1.12	0.74	45.7						
UK (2)	3.60	3.39	0.1	6.18	2.53	1.1				3.48	1.61	10.7						
EDUC H (2)	2.45	2.11	3.5	3.37	1.56	11.8				-29.89	0.00	100						
EDUC UNI (2)	1.89	2.46	1.4	-0.11	-0.08	94.0				3.67	1.81	7.1						
STATEMENT 1	1.20	3.52	0.0	1.86	2.43	1.5				0.81	1.60	10.9						
STATEMENT 4							1.2	2.7	0.6									
STATEMENT 6							1.4	2.6	0.8									
STATEMENT 24	-1.37	-3.45	0.1	-1.90	-2.10	3.6				-0.80	-1.40	16.3	-5.14	-1.95	5.1			
McFadden R-squared		0.54			0.75			0.48			0.42			0.58			0.35	
Allocations (**)	English	Gaelic	Total	English	Gaelic	Total	English	Gaelic	Total	English	Gaelic	Total	English	Gaelic	Total	English	Gaelic	Total
Total	113	32	145	43	24	67	83	13	96	57	7	64	24	8	32	22	5	27
% Correct	96	72	91	93	92	93	93	54	88	98	57	94	96	75	91	86	80	85
% Incorrect	4	28	9	7	8	7	7	46	12	2	43	6	4	25	9	14	20	15

Notes: In all cases the dependent variable is medium of education: Gaelic = 1; English = 0; (*) For full descriptions, please see the text; (**) The totals are different between models for the same area as not all variables are available for all households.

5. Conclusion

5.1   Introduction

This section summarises the key findings to emerge from the research. These are discussed with reference to the project's two research aims.

5.2   Research aims

5.2.1   To examine the impact of contemporary in-migration processes on the use and survival of the Gaelic language.

Significant in-migration characterised the study areas of Castlebay, Laxdale and Ullapool: one in two households relocated within these areas since 1981, while approximately one-third did so since 1991. Half moved from elsewhere in Scotland, with 29 percent moving from within the Highlands and Islands, and 24 percent from outside Scotland. This latter group included a sizeable England-study area flow. The motivations for moving centred on to set up a new home, employment, and quality of life factors.

In-migration was found to be a key factor in the survival of the Gaelic language. Participation in Gaelic-medium units was found to be highest among migrant households and, in particular, for migrant households originating from England. In-migrants from elsewhere in Scotland (that is, outwith the Highlands and Islands) were least likely to send their children to be educated through the medium of Gaelic. In addition, Gaelic-medium education was found to be associated with migrants who moved for non-quality of life considerations. The logit analyses confirmed the role of in-migration and, in particular, highlighted the role of migration by the mother from outside Scotland. In-migration, therefore, has a positive effect on attendance at Gaelic-medium but it does little to maintain Gaelic speech communities. The logit analyses also demonstrated that first generation non-Gaelic speakers in the Gaelic communities are less supportive of Gaelic-medium education.

Other factors were also noted as influential in the choice of school medium. Children were more likely to be educated through the medium of Gaelic if their parents spoke

Gaelic (especially if the mother was a learner). A similar link was identified if the maternal grandmother was a Gaelic speaker. Highly educated parents, and especially those who were self-employed, were more likely to send their children to Gaelic medium. Parental opinions were also found to be influential. Gaelic- medium parents were most likely to have a positive opinion of both the Gaelic language and Gaelic-medium education.

Notwithstanding the level of support for Gaelic-medium education, one of the most notable findings of this research is that use of the language is low within the local community. Gaelic-speaking parents and children largely confined their use of the language to within the family.

5.2.2. *To assess the role of Gaelic-medium primary schools in encouraging the adoption of Gaelic by incomers*

Clear evidence has been presented to confirm that incoming families participate in Gaelic-medium primary education. Whether or not Gaelic-medium schools encourage the adoption of Gaelic by incomers is a wider issue, nevertheless our results suggest that such schools do make an important contribution. For example, at least half of non-Gaelic speaking parents whose children attend Gaelic-medium expressed an interest in learning the language. Whether this is a cause or a consequence of attendance at Gaelic-medium is uncertain. However, for such parental interest to lead to the adoption of Gaelic, additional language initiatives are required.

Equally relevant to this debate is the fact that Gaelic is not commonly spoken within the local community. This will do little to preserve the language or encourage others to adopt it. In particular, there appears to be reluctance on the part of first generation non-Gaelic speakers to participate in Gaelic-medium education.

Finally, using household information relating to the respondents in each area it was possible to devise models to explain the parental decision to send children to English or Gaelic medium education. The overall model was 91 percent accurate, and these for the individual study areas ranged from 88 to 93 percent. The degree of accuracy

for the models was, however, higher for the decision to attend English-medium than Gaelic-medium. The latter proved to be more difficult to predict.

5.3 Opportunities for further research

This research has highlighted a number of avenues for further inquiry:

a) It would be interesting to discover if similar or different factors are influential in the choice of school medium for families residing in an urban setting. For example, Is it parents who have migrated from the Gaidhealtachd area who are more or less likely to participate in Gaelic-medium schooling for their children?

b) The role of the mothers' and grandparents' Gaelic linguistic abilities is an obvious area for more in depth research.

c) The limited use of the Gaelic language is an area of concern if the language is to survive within the Gaidhealtachd. A greater understanding of the reasons for this limited use, and likely initiatives to encourage its greater use are required.

d) A greater understanding of the reasons why Gaelic-speaking parents do not participate in Gaelic-medium education is also required. For example, in our sample one third of the children attending English-medium were from families where both parents spoke Gaelic.

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APPENDIX A

SUPPLEMENTARY TABLES

Table A1: Region of Parent/ Guardian Upbringing

	Laxdale	Castlebay	Ullapool	Total
Highlands & Islands	127 (74%)	32 (59%)	83 (54%)	242 (64%)
Elsewhere in Scotland	37	15	37	89 (23%)
England	8 (5%)	7(13%)	35 (23%)	50 (13%)
Total	172	54	155	381

Chi-Square = 26.985   df = 4   Statistically significant at 99% level.

Table A2: Previous location of residence for families moving into the study areas

	Laxdale	Castlebay	Ullapool	Total
Highlands & Islands	23 (32%)	8 (24%)	33 (29%)	64 (29%)
Elsewhere in Scotland	38 (52%)	16 (47%)	41 (37%)	95 (43%)
England	7 (10%)	5 (15%)	29 (26%)	41 (19%)
Other	5 (7%)	5 (15%)	9 (8%)	19 (9%)
Total	73	34	112	219

Those moving from outwith Scotland are grouped together to facilitate statistical analysis.
Chi=Square = 8.135 df = 4   Not statistically significant.

TableA3: Reason for moving from previous area of residence

	Laxdale	Castlebay	Ullapool	Total
Set up new home	17 (28%)	10 (38%)	18 (21%)	45 (26%)
Employment	4 (7%)	3 (12%)	32 (37%)	39 (22%)
Education	6 (10%)	1 (4%)	1 (1%)	8 (5%)
Housing	3 (5%)	-	-	3 (2%)
Quality of life	9 (15%)	4 (15%)	14 (16%)	27 (16%)
To be near family	10 (17%)	4 (15%)	10 (12%)	24 (14%)
To be in Gaelic-speaking area	-	1 (4%)	1 (1%)	2 (1%)
Other	11 (18%)	3 (12%)	10 (12%)	24 (14%)
Total	60	26	86	172

Table A4: Age of Parents/ Guardians (Head of Household)

Age	Total
16-24	4 (2%)
25-34	86 (37%)
35-49	132 (57%)
50 and over	8 (4%)
Total	230

Table A5: Current Employment Status of Parents

	Laxdale	Castlebay	Ullapool	Total
Employed f-t	76 (41%)	21 (38%)	68 (40%)	165 (40%)
Employed p-t	54 (29%)	14 (25%)	36 (21%)	104 (25%)
Self-employed	13 (7%)	8 (14%)	40 (23%)	61 (15%)
Unemployed	8 (4%)	4 (7%)	3 (2%)	15 (4%)
Parent f-t	23 (12%)	6 (11%)	23 (13%)	52 (12%)
Other	13 (7%)	3 (5%)	2 (1%)	18 (4%)
Total	187	56	172	415

Table A6: Highest educational attainment of parents

	Laxdale	Castlebay	Ullapool	Total
In f-t education	8 (5%)	1 (2%)	-	9 (2%)
Completed school	16 (9%)	7 (12%)	26 (16%)	49 (13%)
Standard grades (Equiv)	30 (18%)	13 (23%)	26 (16%)	69 (18%)
Highers (Equiv)	20 (12%)	11 (19%)	30 (19%)	61 (16%)
College/ University	71 (42%)	17 (30%)	64 (40%)	152 (39%)
Vocational	24 (14%)	8 (14%)	16 (10%)	48 (12%)
Total	169	57	162	388

Table A7: Housing Tenure

Tenure	Total
Owner-Occupied	133 (59%)
Tied	4 (2%)
Croft: tenanted/ owned	20 (9%)
Public rented	47 (21%)
Private rented	20 (9%)
Total	224

TableA8: Level of Gaelic spoken by Parents/ Guardians

	Laxdale	**Castlebay**	**Ullapool**	**Total**
Native/Fluent	36 (19%)	24 (40%)	7 (4%)	67 (16%)
Understands but seldom speaks/ Learner	60 (32%)	22 (37%)	36 (21%)	118 (28%)
No Gaelic	91 (49%)	14 (23%)	129 (75%)	234 (56%)
Total	187	60	172	419

Table A9: Parents' Occupation

	Laxdale	**Castlebay**	**Ullapool**	**Total**
A	1 (<1%)	-	2 (1%)	3 (1%)
B	11 (7%)	-	5 (3%)	16 (5%)
C^1	49 (33%)	5 (13%)	29 (20%)	83 (25%)
C^2	40 (27%)	13 (33%)	50 (34%)	103 (31%)
D	30 (20%)	16 (40%)	36 (25%)	82 (24%)
E	19 (13%)	6 (15%)	23 (16%)	48 (14%)
Total	150	40	145	335

APPENDIX B

Imrich agus a' Ghàidhlig
<u>**Migration and the Gaelic Language**</u>

All information will be treated in confidence
Please place a tick in the appropriate box

1. Please provide the following background information:

	Parent/ Guardian		Spouse/ Partner	
Gender	Male	☐	Male	☐
	Female	☐	Female	☐
Age	16-24	☐	16-24	☐
	25-34	☐	25-34	☐
	35-49	☐	35-49	☐
	50-59	☐	50-59	☐
	60-64	☐	60-64	☐
	65 and over	☐	65 and over	☐
Please indicate the level of spoken Scottish Gaelic	Native Speaker	☐	Native Speaker	☐
	Fluent Speaker	☐	Fluent Speaker	☐
	Understands but seldom speaks Gaelic	☐	Understands but seldom speaks Gaelic	☐
	No Gaelic	☐	No Gaelic	☐
Please indicate which adult is completing this questionnaire		☐		☐

2.   Please provide the following information relating to your area of upbringing.

	Parent/Guardian	Spouse/ Partner
Area of upbringing (i.e. the first/ main area you lived in as a child). *Select region from appendix A*	Country _____ Region _____	Country _____ Region _____

Was the area:	Rural		Rural	
	Urban		Urban	
Was Scottish Gaelic spoken in the area?	Yes		Yes	
	No		No	
Were your parents Scottish Gaelic speaking? tick where yes	Father Mother		Father Mother	
Were your grandparents Scottish Gaelic speaking? tick where yes	Maternal Grandfather Maternal Grandmother Paternal Grandfather Paternal Grandmother		Maternal Grandfather Maternal Grandmother Paternal Grandfather Paternal Grandmother	

3. Please provide the following information relating to your migration history.

	Parent/ Guardian	**Spouse/ Partner**
When did you move to this area?		
Where did you live previously? *Select a region from appendix A*	_____ English ☐	_____ English ☐
Why did you move? *Rank in order of importance 1, 2, 3.*	Always lived here ☐ Set up new home ☐ Employment ☐ Education ☐ Retirement ☐ Housing ☐ Quality of Life ☐ Health ☐ To be near family ☐ Other, please specify _____	Always lived here ☐ Set up new home ☐ Employment ☐ Education ☐ Retirement ☐ Housing ☐ Quality of Life ☐ Health ☐ To be near family ☐ Other, please specify _____
Why did you choose this location over others? *Rank in order of importance 1, 2, 3.*	Always lived here ☐ No choice ☐ Family ties ☐ Employment opportunities ☐ Housing availability ☐ Better services (e.g. transport) ☐ Community identity ☐ Other (please specify)	Always lived here ☐ No choice ☐ Family ties ☐ Employment opportunities ☐ Housing availability ☐ Better services (e.g. transport) ☐ Community identity ☐ Other (please specify)

	_____			_____		
Prior to moving did you have any previous link(s) with this locality? tick all that apply	None			None		
	Previous generation of family had lived in the area			Previous generation of family had lived in the area		
	Previously lived in area			Previously lived in area		
	Previously worked in area			Previously worked in area		
	Relatives in the area			Relatives in the area		
	Visited area on holiday			Visited area on holiday		
	Previously owned a holiday home in the area			Previously owned a holiday home in the area		
	Friends moved here			Friends moved here		
	Local friends living here			Local friends living here		
	Other (please specify)			Other (please specify) _____ .		
4. Future plans to move						
Do you plan to move while your child(ren) is/are still at school?	Yes			Yes		
	No			No		
If <u>YES</u>, where do you plan to move to?	Within local area			Within local area		
	Within Highlands and Islands			Within Highlands and Islands		
	Inverness City			Inverness City		
	Elsewhere in Scotland			Elsewhere in Scotland		
	Outside Scotland			Outside Scotland		
If <u>Yes</u>, what is your <u>main</u> reason for moving? **(tick one only)**	Personal			Personal		
	Employment			Employment		
	Education			Education		
	Housing			Housing		
	Quality of life			Quality of life		
	Retirement			Retirement		

	To access more Gaelic		To access more Gaelic	
	Feeling of exclusion from a Gaelic community		Feeling of exclusion from a Gaelic community	
	Other		Other	

5. Please provide the following employment and housing information.

	Parent/ Guardian		Spouse/ Partner	
What is your current employment status?	Employed full-time		Employed full-time	
	Employed part-time		Employed part-time	
	Self-employed		Self-employed	
	Unemployed		Unemployed	
	Retired		Retired	
	Full-time parent/guardian		Full-time parent/guardian	
	Other		Other	
What is your occupation?				
Please tick the highest educational qualification attained (tick one only)	In full-time education		In full-time education	
	Completed school		Completed school	
	Standard grades (or equivalent)		Standard grades (or equivalent)	
	Highers (or equivalent)		Highers (or equivalent)	
	College/University		College/University	
	Vocational qualification		Vocational qualification	
Is your home	Owner-occupied		Owner-occupied	
	Tied		Tied	
	Croft-tenanted/owned		Croft-tenanted/owned	
Please tick the highest educational qualification attained.	In full-time education		In full-time education	
	Completed School		Completed School	
	Standard grades (or equivalent)		Standard grades (or equivalent)	
	Highers (or equivalent)		Highers (or equivalent)	
	College/University		College/University	
	Vocational qualification		Vocational qualification	
Is your home	Owner-occupied			
	Publicly rented			

Private rented ☐

6a) Please complete the following for <u>each child</u> living at this address.

	Child 1		Child 2		Child 3		Child 4	
Gender	Male	☐	Male	☐	Male	☐	Male	☐
	Female	☐	Female	☐	Female	☐	Female	☐
Age (years)	Under 5	☐	Under 5	☐	Under 5	☐	Under 5	☐
	5-11	☐	5-11	☐	5-11	☐	5-11	☐
	12-18	☐	12-18	☐	12-18	☐	12-18	☐
Please indicate the level of Scottish Gaelic spoken.	Native speaker	☐	Native speaker	☐	Native speaker	☐	Native speaker	☐
	Fluent speaker	☐	Fluent speaker	☐	Fluent speaker	☐	Fluent speaker	☐
	Understands but rarely/seldom speaks Gaelic	☐	Understands but rarely/seldom speaks Gaelic	☐	Understands but rarely/seldom speaks Gaelic	☐	Understands but rarely/seldom speaks Gaelic	☐
	Learner	☐	Learner	☐	Learner	☐	Learner	☐
	No Gaelic	☐	No Gaelic	☐	No Gaelic	☐	No Gaelic	☐

For each child, please complete the following information for each stage of your child(ren)'s education, up to the present school level:

If under school age, what is the intended language medium	Child 1	Child 2	Child 3	Child 4
	English-medium	_____	_____	_____
	Gaelic-medium			

If at nursery, does the child attend	English-medium nursery	English-medium nursery	English-medium nursery	English-medium nursery
	Gaelic-medium nursery	Gaelic-medium nursery	Gaelic-medium nursery	Gaelic-medium nursery
	Both	Both	Both	Both
If at primary, did the child attend	English-medium nursery	English-medium nursery	English-medium nursery	English-medium nursery
	Gaelic-medium nursery	Gaelic-medium nursery	Gaelic-medium nursery	Gaelic-medium nursery
	Both	Both	Both	Both
	Did not attend	Did not attend	Did not attend	Did not attend

	nursery	nursery	nursery	nursery
	English-medium	English-medium	English-medium	English-medium
	Gaelic-medium	Gaelic-medium	Gaelic-medium	Gaelic-medium
***If** at primary,* **does the child attend**				

	Child 1	**Child 2**	**Child 3**	**Child 4**
If at secondary, **did the child attend**	English-medium nursery Gaelic-medium nursery Both Did not attend nursery	English-medium nursery Gaelic-medium nursery Both Did not attend nursery	English-medium nursery Gaelic-medium nursery Both Did not attend nursery	English-medium nursery Gaelic-medium nursery Both Did not attend nursery
If at secondary, **did the child attend**	English-medium primary Gaelic-medium primary	English-medium primary Gaelic-medium primary	English-medium primary Gaelic-medium primary	English-medium primary Gaelic-medium primary
If at secondary, **does the child study Gaelic as a language?**	Yes No	Yes No	Yes No	Yes No
If at secondary, **is there provision for your child to study subjects other than Gaelic, through the medium of Gaelic?**	Yes No	Yes No	Yes No	Yes No
If at secondary, **does your child study other subjects through the medium of Gaelic?**	Yes No	Yes No	Yes No	Yes No

Please explain why you chose to send your child(ren) to an English or Gaelic-medium school.

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

_____

_____

7. Use of the Gaelic Language

a) For each child, is <u>Gaelic regularly spoken</u> in the following situations?
(Tick as many as apply)

Child 1		Child 2		Child 3		Child 4	
No Gaelic		No Gaelic		No Gaelic		No Gaelic	
Playground		Playground		Playground		Playground	
Speaking to mother		Speaking to mother		Speaking to mother		Speaking to mother	
Speaking to father		Speaking to father		Speaking to father		Speaking to father	
Speaking to siblings		Speaking to siblings		Speaking to siblings		Speaking to siblings	
Speaking to grandparents		Speaking to grandparents		Speaking to grandparents		Speaking to grandparents	
Speaking to wider family		Speaking to wider family		Speaking to wider family		Speaking to wider family	
Speaking with friends		Speaking with friends		Speaking with friends		Speaking with friends	
In the shops		In the shops		In the shops		In the shops	
In the wider community		In the wider community		In the wider community		In the wider community	

b) For you and your spouse/ partner, is <u>Gaelic regularly used</u> in the following situations?
(Please mark boxes titled V.Freq=very frequently; Occas.=occasionally; or Rarely - *tick as many as apply***)**

Parent/Guardian		Spouse/ Partner	
No Gaelic ?		No Gaelic ?	
With spouse/ partner		With spouse/ partner	
With children		With children	
With parents		With parents	
With grandparents		With grandparents	

At your place of work	
In official communications	
At social events	
When speaking to local residents	
In local shops	
At place of worship	

At your place of work	
In official communications	
At social events	
When speaking to local residents	
In local shops	
At place of worship	

Parent/Guardian

Spouse/Partner

If a non-Gaelic speaker

Would you like to   Yes
learn Gaelic?

                              No

Please explain your reasons:
_____
_____
_____

If a non-Gaelic speaker

          Would you like to learn
Gaelic?

Yes ?

No ?

Please explain your reasons:
_____
_____
_____

c) **Based on your experience of this area, please rate your level of agreement with <u>each</u> of the following statements on a scale of 1 to 5 (circle as appropriate).**
<u>For the purposes of this study migrants are presumed to be individuals/families who have moved into your local school catchment area from elsewhere.</u>

1= strongly agree   2= Agree   3=No opinion   4= Disagree   5= Strongly disagree

Strongly Agree

Strongly Disagree

This area has a long history of people leaving	1	2	3	4	5
Out-migrants rarely return to this area	1	2	3	4	5
Out-migration is inevitable	1	2	3	4	5
Migrants to this area have replaced locals	1	2	3	4	5
Migrants to this area regularly support local Gaelic activities	1	2	3	4	5
Migrants to this area are keen to learn Gaelic	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
Local people speak Gaelic	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**

The Gaelic language is strong in this area	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
Migrants to this area send their children to Gaelic-medium units	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
All schools in this area should offer Gaelic-medium	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
Gaelic is only spoken by older residents	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
English should be the dominant language in this area	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
Gaelic should have official status	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
Use of the Gaelic language has declined locally	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
Gaelic-medium units are divisive	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
Gaelic medium education should be available to out-migrants from Gaelic areas	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
Children from non-Gaelic backgrounds should attend Gaelic medium schools to enlarge the number of speakers	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
Migrants to this area have created jobs	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
Migrants to this area have raised local house prices	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
Migrants to this area are mainly from the Highlands and Islands	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
Migrants to this area are generally from outwith Scotland	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
Maintaining the Gaelic language is important	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
Gaelic is an important part of Scottish identity	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
Gaelic-medium education has a positive effect on children's English language skills by the time they reach secondary school	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**

8.   Do you think that Gaelic-medium provision in this area has contributed to the continuity or increase in the use of the language in the community? Please comment.

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

9. Please make any general comments regarding the issues raised in this questionnaire.

_____
_____

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____.

9. **Would you be willing to participate in a short confidential interview about language and migration?**
    If yes, please add your name and a contact telephone number below.

Name:
Tel.No.

MORAN TAING AIRSON A' CHEISTEACHAIN SEO A LÌONADH A-STAIGH
THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR COMPLETING THIS QUESTIONNAIRE

Appendix A: Regions

Please select from the following list of regiuons when answering Questions 2 and 3.

Scottish Regions:

Borders

Central

Dumfries and Galloway

Fife

Grampian

Highlands

Islands – state the island

Lothian

Strathclyde

Tayside

English Regions:

Northern England

Midlands

Southern England

For other countries, simple state the country.

APPENDIX C

EXTRACTS FROM INTERVIEWS

A: Parents' and children's migration background

1: There's a mix. There are more children who were not from Laxdale parents, local parents. There's a big housing scheme, so you know people would have come in from all the areas[within and beyond the island] from outwith the Laxdale area through the council scheme.

Most of the pupils in the school are from Lewis, yes. It all depends on employment again – when Arnish[oil fabrication yard] started, parents who came back to seek employment at Arnish were Lewis parents who were on the mainland and came back to work in Stornoway.

A2: 10 years. I've been in the Island 10 years in September. And I had heard about this job here in the Western Isles about a year before we actually moved and we got a phone call to ask me if I was still interested. I came up and had a look around and decided to come.

We lived in a flat in a tenement in Glasgow, eh, top floor, but the only way the kids could get out to enjoy themselves is if we physically went out and took them there and stayed with them. We couldn't really leave them alone. At the crossroads of two busy roads, we couldn't possibly let them out of the house without being supervised. Here, our children go not and play and if they go out for an hour or two hours there are no worries.

A3: Well, on the Island yeah. I was born in this house. There seems to be a lot of incomers coming from the mainland for peace and quiet, to get away from it all. That seems to be quite a lot. But yeah, there are quite a lot who are building who are from this area, the next generation coming up. Some of them are building; some of them are going away. More of them are going away I know, than are building..

B: School enrolments and language medium choice

B1: I mean they talk about falling roles and decreasing populations, and yet this is what we find for the school session, that the role has increased by quite a number. The Gaelic numbers have gone up this year yes, yes. We have 35 children in Gaelic medium of the 225 – 35 of them are in Gaelic medium. But our numbers in Gaelic medium have been as high as 42. They have been over the forty. But, quite a few families in Gaelic medium moved to the mainland for employment, varying reasons. One family went to the Dumfries area and one family went to Ireland, one family went to Inverness.

B2: The three children we have, the placement requests [children who live outside the school catchment area] have no Gaelic background. Well, certainly one parent, yes, one set of parents is English, and the other two aren't really Gaelic background either. Yes, quite a few of the people who, who do move in are very keen to have their children speak or learn some Gaelic, and we cant offer them fluency in Gaelic unless they are in Gaelic medium education. But they are, they are very keen to have their children learn Gaelic.

B3: I suppose each parent will have their own views and their own ideas for sending their children to Gaelic medium. Someone should preserve the language. Some see it as an advantage that children who are bilingual learn a third language very quickly. And the trend is that certainly our first pupils, that went into the secondary school, have been doing well in exams and getting prizes. So, perhaps news filter through and they see that it has an advantage. Some think well it's a small group and a child may get more attention by going into the group but on the other hand we offer single stream classes in English medium whereas in Gaelic medium we have composite classes. So I think every parent will have their own idea or opinion and make the decision, for various reasons or for different reasons.

B4: No, we have no segregation here. I think that the staff work really well together. The English medium staff and the Gaelic medium staff work well together, they plan together we buy resources together obviously there are far more resources available in English than in Gaelic which is a bone of contention but that's not what we are talking about at the moment.

Yes, there is certainly good will; and parents who haven't sent their children to Gaelic medium education - and it is true, there are fluent Gaelic speakers, there are one or two. Perhaps they thought that was the best thing at the time for the child. But we try if we have fluent Gaelic speakers in mainstream English classes. We try to give them as much support, try and develop them at their own level of fluency within an English medium and its not easy. It all depends on the class teacher whether the clas teacher is fluent or not but we don't, we don't, much as we would like to have all fluent

speakers in the Gaelic medium eh you can't, parents have the choice and for some reason or other they, one or two decided not to send them to Gaelic medium.

B5: Yes I started off the Gaelic unit myself in the school here in 1990. Eh, I started it off with 5 children – 4 were fluent and 1 learner. One had no Gaelic whatsoever. I was a bit apprehensive at that particular time. I could understand how it could work with people who spoke Gaelic but despite having worked with Gaelic in the mainstream for 20 odd years I still was apprehensive as to how it was going to work you know doing everything through the medium of Gaelic with a complete learner child who had nothing whatsoever.
I was very concerned about this little girl. She was very quiet, she wasn't saying much, she wasn't contributing a lot but I could see by her paperwork that she was understanding. Yet I was a bit concerned. Now I understand that it was because all the children who were with her were fluent speakers, I was a fluent Gaelic speaker. She was the only one who was the odd one out, she was obviously afraid to do or say anything because she wasn't going to be as good as the rest at speaking. When she did actually start speaking she was so fluent I just couldn't get over how fluent she was. And this was the proof for me you know that this did work and that it was the only way to do it.

B6: Q: That child's parents, were they new to the area? From outside the Island or?
A: No, that child's parents were both from the island. Her Mum wanted her into the Gaelic class because she herself had been brought up in the area and both her parents had been Gaelic speakers. She herself did Gaelic in the [high school] but spoke very, very little of it so she felt that now she was grown up herself she felt that she had missed out on such a great opportunity she never made use of it. She chose herself just to speak English rather than Gaelic, but she now wanted, you know, the child to have, you know, what she didn't make use of herself.

B7: I would say that from that first year there's been a deterioration in the number of children coming in speaking Gaelic . In fact this year itself, I've got 8 new children coming into the primary one and there is only one child out of the eight who has any knowledge of Gaelic at all. There are one or two who have one Gaelic speaking parent and have a wee bit of a Gaelic background but there are a lot of children in this class who have no Gaelic background at all. English speaking parents, who have moved into the Island.
Q: How many would you say have moved onto the Island with absolutely no Gaelic background whatsoever from Scotland, England or anywhere else, in the whole of the Gaelic stream?
A: In the whole of the Gaelic stream I am teaching primary one to three and of the primary one to threes (counting) there's 8 or 9 whose parents have no Gaelic, out of 18, 8 out of 18.
Who are the other ones? Are their parents, have they moved back , are they local?
Their parents – some of them have one parent who is local with a little bit of Gaelic, or they have been brought up in the area. The parents themselves have a knowledge of it, they understand it, they don't speak it. There are very few parents who speak it fluently themselves. And it very, in the cases where they do its one parent who can speak what they call themselves 'pigeon Gaelic' they can help the children to some extent but with writing and things like that it is very difficult for a lot of the parents because a lot of them went through the system and they didn't do Gaelic writing although they have a bit of knowledge in speaking. And even in reading, those who can speak the pigeon Gaelic, they are struggling with the reading, a lot of the children have overtaken themselves even by primary 3 some even by primary 2 stage.
Both parents fluent in Gaelic? I'd say one child in the whole class – with both parents with Gaelic, who speak Gaelic. The mother is very fluent, but I would say the father understands and speaks quite a bit. Because the mother speaks it fluently he's probably got a bit more because I think that they speak more Gaelic in the house. Now his father and mother both spoke Gaelic fluently. They were from the rural areas and they spoke Gaelic fluently, but obviously like a lot of the people in this area at that time the children opted to speak a lot of English and the parents, they spoke Gaelic and the children understood what they were saying but they left off talking in Gaelic to them.

B8: Class size is smaller and there's a couple from Liverpool who had their children - all three – go through Gaelic medium. And she was saying, she was saying 'I didn't send them to Gaelic medium because I wanted them to learn Gaelic, I sent them to Gaelic medium because I knew the class size was smaller and there would be a lot more advantages and the would do well.' That was her reason, and it didn't, I had never thought of it, but another friend who is a teacher said that they couldn't fail when they have got a ratio of six to one (local female, very little Gaelic).

B9: Basically, the other ones are local ones, some of them speak Gaelic in the house like X's son,, he speaks Gaelic; Y's three children have gone through Gaelic medium and and her son, the fourth one, he has gone through and they are from Stornoway. So they have got connections with the Gaelic. Z's mother is from Eriskay so they are Gaelic again. There's A, B's mother, is from Lewis, so she's got Gaelic ..There is one other person..oh, C, C's father is, they have got Gaelic, he speaks Gaelic. So yeah, on the whole it's generally, there is Gaelic in the background. The one from Australia and the one from Liverpool, they are the exceptions rather than the rule (ibid).

B10: My first child went to the Gaelic-medium. She was one of the first class of the Gaelic medium at Ullapool primary. She was born in 1988 and she went to school when she was 5. Eventually I decided that we would go for it, just to see how it went. And my sole intention, sending her to Gaelic medium, was that she would be receptive to other languages. If it had been a French medium or a German medium or any other medium, I would have done that, because I do feel that when they are little you know they are very receptive to learning and even if they fall apart in their teens. [Up till primary school, regarding Gaelic, she spoke only what she had had in the cròileagan. [She picked it up] very quickly.
All the parents had to do an enormous amount, I mean they had no text books. They would have to all come home for parents to cut and paste all the Gaelic words into them. We had nothing, absolutely nothing. We had one teacher. They might have the language but they didn't have the resources.
I would say 90% of the children who went into the Gaelic medium... There was quite a lot of English parents, and there was certainly very few I would say in her particular class. There were two parents who were Gaelic speakers. We basically use English at home.
Q: Even Gaelic-speaking friends at school?
A: They still use English. In the islands, they use Gaelic all the time, so English seems strange. It's different here. They never speak Gaelic through choice.
My daughter is now in secondary and has done very well and has suffered no effects from GME.
When she started there were quite a lot of frightening times and it was often a worry whether we would have a teacher.

B11: Q: Is there mixing between the Gaelic and English speaking pupils [in Ullapool]?
A: Only at playtime.
Q: Are there any joint classes?
A: No, that was one thing that caused conflict. We didn't want segregation. Everything was new for the Gaelic unit, and some people didn't like that. They would moan that "if the Gaelic unit didn't have … the money could be spent on …".

No doubt there was a lot of excitement from the start of the Gaelic unit. We could see the benefits of a second language. Intensive medium education doesn't imbed mother tongue. We would have liked our children to learn some Gaelic but felt GME was all or nothing. The supply of teachers was a worry too, there was no guarantee that it would continue. The idea of GME was good, but we couldn't gamble on whether it would last.

C: Why do native Gaelic speakers send their children to English medium?
C1: Well, of the parents, I don't really get any animosity you know toward what the children are doing in the Gaelic. But there are and I know there are parents who have opted to put their children into mainstream and I know one particular child is a fluent Gaelic speaker and she went into mainstream. And eh, I think that there are still parents who feel that there is some kind of drawback in going through the Gaelic system. I think that, you know, there is still a need for parents to be educated in this way and even when they are seeing that others are doing so well, they are progressing well, they still have a question mark about it themselves and I know that they are parents who are fluent Gaelic speakers who are using Gaelic in the home but yet they want their child, they feel 'Well, I'm doing Gaelic with them myself', they want their child in the English system. You still have the people, I know that there are some occasional ones in the area who still feel that you know its a waste of time and you just can't educate those people, you can't argue with them. But on the whole in the school, parents and staff are very supportive I get a lot of support from the rest of the staff too and my other colleague in the Gaelic class. We all do, we get a lot of support from the head teacher because she is a fluent Gaelic speaker and she understands the difficulties that we have but much as you talk about the problems that you have and the lack of things, we've got a lot of resources now, but we still have a lack of things and areas and you try to discuss these problems with you colleagues and share them but I always feel that you need to have taught yourself through the medium of Gaelic before you can really

appreciate the difficulties. I have to say I compare what I did for 20 odd years and I was a fluent Gaelic speaker and I compare that with what I am doing now and there are lots of difficulties still in delivering the curriculum because you are under pressure, you know that you have to deliver the curriculum and keep the children abreast with what the others are doing through mainstream. And there are difficulties with children who are doing a second language and pressure to deliver that because you do know that children will compare ad want to see the way that their child is progressing in all the areas as well as speech and the language.

C2: I think that as they are seeing that this does work and it is successful you know that they will do so but I think that what a lot of our parents at the moment have a problem with is what is happening when they go further on. I think they are quite happy at what happens in primary stages but I think at when they ar looking ahead I know that there have been questions raised there.

C3: My children all get Gaelic in school in Laxdale school. They've differing interests. The eldest, she's 11 has basically no interest in Gaelic at all. She'd much rather have done Spanish or French. But she still has a few words and if I say a Gaelic phrase to her she'll normally respond in Gaelic. My second child is 9 and the youngest is 6. They are taking a real interest in what's being said to them in Gaelic. Their report cards both indicated that they were both very good at Gaelic but because my wife and I don't use Gaelic, they have very little opportunity to use it in the house. It's a shame (Scottish in-migrant male parent with no Gaelic).

C4: It's important for the local population but they don't do enough to encourage incomers. I was happy for my children to learn Gaelic because you know I was interested in the Gaelic language through the music of Runrig, and Capercaille as well. But eh, and I also have an interest in my own Celtic background.

D. Encouragement of in-migrants to send children to Gaelic medium education

D1: You've got to encourage people. I remember talking to a man and he said, you know you are an incomer here, what are you bringing into the Island? And I said, well the reason I am an incomer is because of work, so I am giving you my skills. I also have three children, two of them were born here, and adding that to the mix in as place where the population is in decline.. "But you don't have Gaelic" I says well you know who's out there actively encouraging you to use Gaelic? You're forcing me to have an opinion on Gaelic you are not you know giving me an opportunity to think it through or choose, you are basically saying to me that I am nothing unless I can speak Gaelic and that is going to get my back up. And that is the kind of attitude that you do meet an awful lot. People say you know if you want to be part of us you have to learn Gaelic, if you want to be part of us you have to accept our culture, well no I don't have to do these things. I have lived here ten years quite successfully without doing either. Yeah, I am quite interested in the culture, interested in Gaelic and if people come along and say well you know join in with us and you know and can we learn from you as well, that's different (Scottish male parent with three children learning Gaelic).

D2: Well, I do know a couple who have no Gaelic themselves they are incomers. And they said three of their four children – the oldest is quite a bit older – so three of their four children went to the Gaelic medium classes where only Gaelic is spoken. And I was quite astonished when she told me this. She said "Oh, I don't have a problem with it at all. The kids come home they'll speak to you in Gaelic and I'll ask what it means and I'll learn from them. I'll always speak to them in English when I feel like it. They get English from me they get Gaelic in school." And that is good and I wish I had done that, I wish I had sent my children to the Gaelic medium class. I was just scared that it might have been too difficult for them because they only had English for the first five years of their life.

D3: I have absolutely no problems with Laxdale school - it's like a big family down there. There is no difference between the Gaelic speakers and the non-Gaelic speakers. They are lovely. It is one of the nicest schools in the county I believe. It really is it is a great school. We are more than happy that the children are there and I don't I have never heard of any problems between the Gaelic medium classes and the English classes (Scottish in-migrant male parent without Gaelic).

D4: In my mother's generation it was strong and then where I grew up. [Where we lived in Laxdale] there was a crowd of kids there and most of them were speaking Gaelic, but we only had English, so

they all started speaking English, and so now you don't hear any Gaelic spoken at all which I think is quite sad.

I am like my mother was before, with the pigeon Gaelic.

I got a call from a lassie up the road. She phoned up to ask if I would consider – they were starting up the cròileagain [Gaelic playgroup] in Laxdale. She phoned up to see if I would consider sending my daughter to it and I said well, no, not really because I don't have enough Gaelic to support her, and I think it would be unfair, and I had already booked her in with the best teacher that I can get for the nursery year, and I think it would be unfair to the wee one. So then she said, well would you consider sending her for the three months from April to June so we can get funding for the next year? And I thought well, she is doing nothing here, you know so I thought och...And she took to the Gaelic like a duck to water!

And I always thought that I felt a little bit robbed of my culture that I didn't have this Gaelic and so I thought if she has taken to that that easily, I am not going to do the same to her. If she hadn't taken it on and was struggling with it, then I wouldn't have out her through it. And then I put her down for the cròileagain, for the Gaelic medium in the likes of the school and even up to the last minute I was thinking 'have I done the right thing?' you know They have to do all their lessons in Gaelic and eh, when the Gaelic medium even started in this island, we had in our church a lassie from Australia, and her husband was from down the borders of Scotland. And they went to the first class Gaelic medium and I thought 'she's off her trolley!'.

[But my daughter] won the medal in the Mòd for 5 – 8 year olds in the poem thing and on the adjudication thing she got 93% for Gaelic. She just speaks Gaelic like a native. And there was 38 in her group and I thought ' I did the right thing!' so, but I must admit I had quite a few misgivings about it but it's maybe its fate or something, but had I not put her in for that three months.