



The Scottish
Government

Attitudes Towards the Gaelic Language

Arts and Culture



ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE GAELIC LANGUAGE

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Background and Objectives

The National Plan for Gaelic was drawn up as a result of the Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005. As this plan was established to outline the strategic approach to the development of Gaelic in Scotland for 2007 – 2012 the Scottish Government is now in a position where it needs to reconsider and review its approach.

The overarching aim of this research was therefore to obtain views of adults in Scotland towards Gaelic, including awareness of its use and its value as a language in Scotland today.

Method

The research was carried out using the Scottish Opinion Survey (SOS). The SOS is a monthly omnibus survey conducted in-home amongst a sample of around 1,000 adults in Scotland using Computer Aided Personal Interviewing (CAPI). For this research, fieldwork took place during the period 9th to 18th March 2011 and a total of 1,009 interviews were achieved. This sample was representative of the adult population (aged 16 plus) in terms of sex, age, employment status and socio-economic group (SEG). As is the case each month, the achieved sample was weighted to ensure that it represented Scotland's population.

In order to create a reliable sub-sample a small booster survey, comprising an additional 56 interviews, was undertaken amongst adults aged 16 plus with fluent Gaelic¹. These interviews were conducted face to face in home during the period 28th March to 10th April 2011 in communities with a high density of Gaelic users. The views of the boost sample (n=56) were combined with those of the small number (n=40) of adults with fluent Gaelic who were identified in the main omnibus survey.

Main findings

Knowledge of the Gaelic language today

Overall, four fifths (80%) of the Scottish population were aware of Gaelic being used in Scotland, with highest awareness of Gaelic usage in the media (61%). A further 39% mentioned Gaelic being used in education. Significant minorities were also aware of Gaelic in the music/arts (30%) and Gaelic transport/travel signage (27%).

In total around one in four (39%) of the total sample indicated that they came into contact with the Gaelic language nowadays, with most citing television (32%), followed by music (14%) and the radio (10%).

Knowledge of the Gaelic language was limited, with just over one in ten (13%) of the Scottish population claiming to have at least some knowledge of Gaelic. For the most part this was knowledge of a small number of words/phrases (11%), whereas only 2% in total had any fluent Gaelic knowledge (that is reading, writing or speaking

¹ Those with fluent Gaelic were defined as those who can understand, speak, read or write Gaelic fluently.

fluently, or understanding spoken Gaelic). Gaelic knowledge was concentrated in the Highlands and Islands – 34% in this region had any knowledge, and some 21% had fluent knowledge.

Amongst those with fluent Gaelic, almost all (98%) used Gaelic currently. Two fifths (41%) claimed to use it 'a lot' and 31% 'fairly often', with one quarter (26%) using it 'occasionally' or 'rarely'. The vast majority of this group also stated that they were able to speak and to understand spoken Gaelic fluently (91% and 93% respectively), whereas just under three quarters (72%) were able to read fluently. The ability to write fluently in Gaelic on the other hand was much lower, with around half (51%) indicating that they were able to do this.

Among those with fluent Gaelic and who spoke it nowadays, two thirds (64%) stated that they spoke Gaelic most at home, with three quarters (76%) doing this at all. However, the vast majority (83%) stated that they used Gaelic when out socialising, and a further 28% used Gaelic when out and about and when at work/on business. Gaelic language was thus the norm in the informal settings of home and with friends and a more limited occurrence in a more formal environment.

Overall, 12% stated that they would be encouraged to learn or to use Gaelic more if other people spoke it, and 12% stated that they would be encouraged if they had access to education or courses. However, half of the total sample stated that nothing would encourage them to use Gaelic more or to learn Gaelic.

In line with higher awareness levels of Gaelic in the media and in education in particular, these same industry sectors emerged most frequently when measuring awareness of Gaelic employment opportunities.

Support for the Gaelic language

Around half (51%) were in favour of the usage of Gaelic in Scotland. By comparison very few (9%) were against it, but a sizeable number (38%) had no opinion either way – suggesting a lack of engagement with this issue amongst a sizeable segment of the population. Amongst those with any fluent Gaelic, 85% were in favour of it being used in Scotland, with the vast majority (80%) strongly in favour.

There was also support for seeing / hearing more Gaelic being used (53%), although strength of positive opinion was slightly weaker. Amongst those with fluent Gaelic nine out of ten (90%) stated that they would like to see / hear more Gaelic with three quarters of this group indicating that they would like to see / hear it **a lot** more.

Amongst those who wanted to extend the use of Gaelic there was widespread interest in increasing Gaelic in education, which was suggested by 72%. By comparison 20%-30% would like Gaelic to be used more across most other areas, with the exception of at home and on the internet, where interest was lower.

When respondents were asked whether Gaelic versions should be available for public documents / notices, two thirds (68%) of the total sample responded positively (38% held a strong opinion and believed this should 'definitely' be the case, with 31% saying 'probably').

Identity

Two fifths of the total sample stated that Gaelic was important to their sense of national identity and some 17% claimed that it was very important. However Gaelic's relevance to identity decreased fairly substantially when viewed in the context of personal and local identity, with around one in five claiming Gaelic was important to their identity in these contexts.

Amongst those with fluent Gaelic, almost all (92%) stated that Gaelic was important to their national identity: 86% stated that the language was important to their local identity and 89% to their personal identity.

Amongst those who stated Gaelic was important to their local identity, a wide variety of reasons were given to explain why this was the case. The two most widely cited reasons were that it was the national/native language (21%) and it was part of Scottish heritage / history (15%). However, a large number (50%) gave a reason related to Scotland or the nation as a whole, suggesting that for many national and local identity were either considered one in the same, or were closely intertwined.

A varied response was also recorded with respect to reasons why Gaelic was important for personal identity. The most frequently mentioned reasons were as follows: part of personal/family history (14%), the National/Scottish language (14%), part of my heritage (12%), because I'm Scottish (10%). Amongst those with fluent Gaelic, over half (56%) mentioned reasons related to Gaelic being spoken at home, or by friends and family.

Relevance and Value of Gaelic

Overall, there were high levels of recognition of the importance of Gaelic to Scottish culture and traditions, and agreement that these should not be lost, with between three quarters and four fifths endorsing such views. However, significantly fewer – around three fifths - would like to see it encouraged or developed more.

When considering the relevance of Gaelic to Scotland today, support was relatively low compared to that seen for some of the other statements (57% disagreed that Gaelic is not relevant to Scotland nowadays). Similarly, whilst attitudes were more positive than negative, there was more doubt as to its role in promoting Scotland abroad: around half (49%) agreed that Gaelic makes a valuable contribution in this way.

Positive opinions were more widely held amongst those with fluent Gaelic, whilst those aged 65 and over and in the AB social group held more negative views.

Gaelic in education

Just under a quarter (23%) claimed to be aware of any form of Gaelic education in their local area. Awareness of Gaelic in education was much higher amongst those with fluent Gaelic (94%).

A very large proportion of the Scottish population agreed that pupils should learn about Scottish studies (90%) and that Gaelic should be available as a subject taught in school (86%). More moderate levels of agreement were seen for greater opportunities to learn Gaelic (70%) and for greater promotion of the language / encouraging pupils to learn Gaelic (63%). Opinion was more polarised when considering subjects being taught in Gaelic, although respondents were more likely to agree than disagree (43% versus 32%).

In general, younger groups and those in the lower SEGs were likely to hold more positive views towards Gaelic in education, with those with fluent Gaelic also very positive towards its use in this context.

1 BACKGROUND AND OBJECTIVES

Background

- 1.1 The National Plan for Gaelic was drawn up as a result of the Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005. As this plan was established to outline the strategic approach to the development of Gaelic in Scotland for 2007 – 2012 the Scottish Government is now in a position where it needs to reconsider and review its approach.
- 1.2 Research on the Gaelic language has not been carried out for several years. A national sample survey in 1981 of 1,117 was conducted for An Comunn Gàidhealach, with Scottish Office assistance, by Hatfield Polytechnic. In 2003 a similar survey of 1,020 was conducted by MRUK for the BBC and Bòrd na Gàidhlig (Alba), though with some differences in questions and methodology. In 2010 an application to the Economic and Social Research Council by the University of Edinburgh for research on attitudes to Gaelic in conjunction with the Scottish Social Attitudes Survey was rejected, despite the recommendation of the Scottish Government and Bòrd na Gàidhlig. This present research, funded jointly by the Government and the Bòrd, is designed to partially fill the gap left by this decision, and follows a similar survey by the Government in 2010 in respect of public attitudes to the Scots language.
- 1.3 In order to take forward research and policy development in this area, particularly in education, the Scottish Government's Culture, External Affairs and Tourism Analytical Unit was tasked with commissioning research that will provide current information on awareness of, and attitudes towards, the Gaelic language amongst the adult population in Scotland.

Research Objectives

- 1.4 The overarching aim of this research was therefore to obtain views of adults in Scotland towards Gaelic, including awareness of its use and its value as a language in Scotland today.
- 1.5 The specific **research objectives**, as defined in the brief, were to:
 - Explore **public awareness of the Gaelic language** at a national level;
 - Establish **how such awareness came about** (i.e. by which routes are people made aware of the language);
 - Establish the **public's awareness of Gaelic provision**, and how that awareness was realised (e.g. awareness of Gaelic provision in education, public services, media and culture);
 - Explore how the general public **value the Gaelic language** and its role in Scotland's identity, both at home and abroad;
 - Determine use of the Gaelic language, generally and in terms of different settings, and investigate ways in which increased usage could be encouraged.

2 METHOD AND SAMPLE

- 2.1 The majority of the research was carried out using the Scottish Opinion Survey (SOS). The SOS is a monthly omnibus survey conducted in-home amongst a sample of around 1,000 adults in Scotland using Computer Aided Personal Interviewing (CAPI). The SOS uses a quota sampling methodology and interviewers use a 'random route' technique within each sampling point to select addresses. Only one interview per household is permitted.
- 2.2 For this research, fieldwork took place during the period 9th to 18th March 2011 and a total of 1,009 interviews were achieved. Interviewing was carried out in 61 of the 73 Scottish Parliament constituencies across Scotland. This sample was representative of the adult population in terms of sex, age, employment status and socio-economic group (SEG)².
- 2.3 As is the case each month, the achieved sample was weighted³ to ensure that it represents Scotland's population and is consistent between waves should future tracking be required.
- 2.4 The weighting applied is based on population estimates from the BARB (Broadcasters' Audience Research Board) Establishment Survey 2 Years Ending December 2008 and the 2001 Census. Table 2.1 overleaf outlines the composition of the sample for the SOS in Mid March 2011.

² The standard six socio-economic (SEG) or social grades, commonly used in research, are based on the current or previous occupation of the chief income earner in the household. AB includes higher and intermediate managerial, administrative and professional occupations, C1 includes supervisory or clerical, and junior managerial, administrative or professional occupations, C2 includes skilled manual workers whilst DE includes semi and unskilled occupations, state pensioners and the long-term unemployed.

³ Weighting is the process by which data are adjusted to reflect the known population profile. This is to counter any effects of differential refusal rates, interviewers falling short on particular quotas, or to correct for any over-sampling of minority populations. A 'weight' is the percent assigned to a particular criterion. If this is not carried out then the results will not properly reflect the views of the population being considered.

Table 2.1 - Sample profile

Base: All respondents (1009)

		Unweighted (1009) %	Weighted (1009) %
SEX:	Male	46	48
	Female	54	52
AGE:	16-24	10	14
	25-34	13	15
	35-44	14	18
	45-54	15	18
	55-64	18	15
	65+	31	20
SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUP:	AB	19	20
	C1	25	27
	C2	19	22
	DE	38	31

- 2.5 Based on best estimates at the time, including the 2001 Census, it was anticipated that research amongst a representative sample of the general population would yield only a very small number interviews with people with knowledge of Gaelic, thus making it difficult to meet those research objectives relating to current Gaelic usage.
- 2.6 In order to create a reliable sub-sample a small booster survey comprising an additional 56 interviews was undertaken amongst adults aged 16 plus with fluent Gaelic⁴. These interviews were conducted face to face in home during the period 28th March to 10th April 2011. The majority of the interviews were conducted in the Western Isles and on Skye, with the remainder carried out in the Kyle of Lochalsh area reflecting those communities with a high density of Gaelic users.
- 2.7 For the purposes of analysis the views of the boost sample (n=56) were combined with those of the small number (n=40) of adults with fluent Gaelic who were identified in the main omnibus survey. Throughout this report, references to those with fluent Gaelic refer to this group of 96 respondents, whilst references to those with any Gaelic refer to the larger group with any Gaelic knowledge. It should be noted that the data for those with fluent Gaelic were not weighted.
- 2.8 Throughout this report, references made to regions refer to the eight Scottish Parliament electoral regions. Appendix 5 details which constituencies are included in each region.

⁴ Those with fluent Gaelic were defined as those who could understand, speak, read or write Gaelic fluently.

3 KNOWLEDGE OF THE GAELIC LANGUAGE TODAY

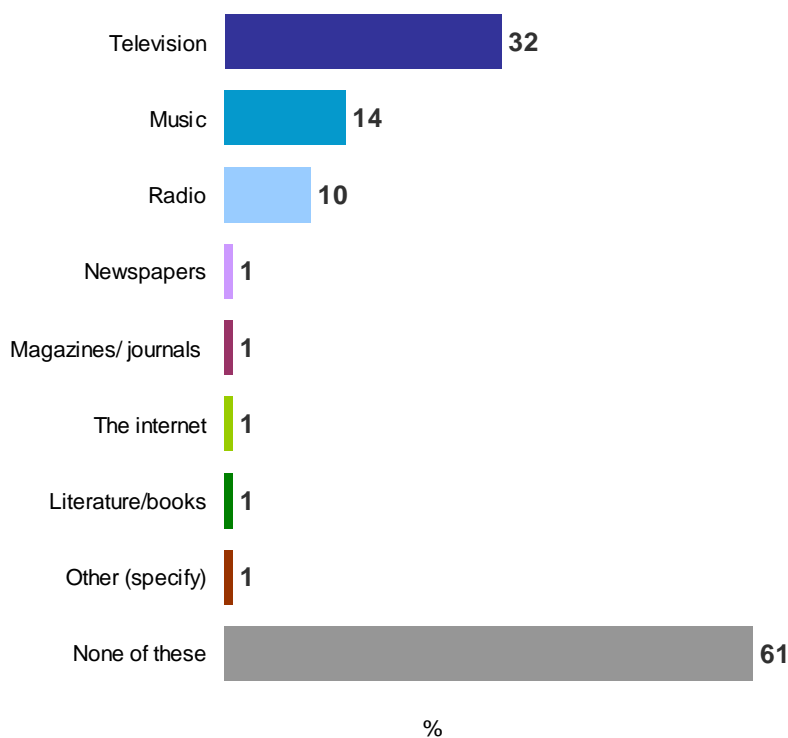
Exposure to Gaelic

3.1 To gauge exposure to Gaelic today in the widest sense, all respondents were asked to indicate from a list in which ways, if any, they ever watch, read or listen in the Gaelic language. The results obtained are shown in Figure 3.1 below.

Figure 3.1 Ways in which watch, read or listen in Gaelic nowadays

Q9. In which of these ways if any, do you ever watch, read or listen in the Gaelic language nowadays?

Base: All respondents (1009)



3.2 In total around one in four (39%) of the general public indicated that they came into contact with the Gaelic language. For the majority of this group, most indicated that television was the main source (32% of the total sample). Sizeable numbers also mentioned music (14%) and the radio (10%), whereas very few claimed to come across Gaelic in any other ways.

3.3 The relatively high percentage mentioning television suggested that there was fairly widespread awareness of BBC Alba, BBC Scotland's Gaelic language television channel. However most of these people were unlikely to be actual viewers of BBC Alba programmes. The BBC's own research shows viewing levels of around 5%⁵.

⁵ Based on findings from SOS omnibus, and reported in the BBC's Management Submission to the BBC Trust, the average weekly reach for Sep-08 – Mar-09 was 220,000 adults (or 5% of the Scottish adult population), based on claimed weekly reach of 15 or more minutes

- 3.4 Younger age groups were least likely to come into contact with Gaelic nowadays, with 24% of 16-24s and 31% of 25-34s having done so. Conversely those aged 45-54 were **most** likely to have done so (49%), with this group notably more likely to listen to Gaelic in music (24% compared to 14% overall). There was little evidence of any correlation with Socio Economic Grade (SEG), although ABs were more likely to listen to Gaelic in music (19%).
- 3.5 At a regional level, those in Highlands and Islands were most likely to watch, read or listen in Gaelic (65%), followed by those in West (49%), reflecting the higher than average levels of Gaelic knowledge in those regions⁶. In all regions, television was the most commonly cited source, albeit at widely varying levels (52% in Highlands and Islands compared to 16% in Central). Reasonable levels of listening to Gaelic in music were cited in West (21%) and North East (19%).
- 3.6 Whilst those in Highlands and Islands were most likely to watch, read or listen in Gaelic, there were clear differences within this region. Table 3.1 below shows the results of this question for the Highlands and Islands as a whole, and for the West and East of the region.

Table 3.1 – Ways in which watch, read or listen in Gaelic nowadays – Highlands and Islands

Q9. In which of these ways if any, do you ever watch, read or listen in the Gaelic language nowadays?

Base: All respondents (1009) / All in each sub-group (in brackets)

	Total (1,009)	Highlands and Islands (135)	H&I – West (75) ⁷	H&I– East (60)
Any (net)	39	65	66	63
Television	32	52	55	48
Music	14	33	42	23
Radio	10	27	40	12
Newspapers	1	3	2	4
Magazines / journals	1	1	-	3
Internet	1	6	8	4
Literature / books	1	7	11	2

- 3.7 Across Highlands and Islands as a whole, a similar proportion have had any exposure to Gaelic nowadays - 66% in the West and 63% in the East - with television the most commonly used source. However, those in the West of Highlands and Islands were significantly more likely than those in the East to come into contact with Gaelic on the radio (40% vs. 12%), and in music (42% vs. 23%).

⁶ See Table 3.2 for regional analysis of levels of Gaelic knowledge

⁷ Highlands and Islands West includes the interviews which took place in Western Isles, Ross, Skye and Inverness West and Argyll & Bute. Highlands and Islands East includes the interviews which took place in Caithness, Sutherland and Easter Ross, Moray and Inverness East, Nairn and Lochaber.

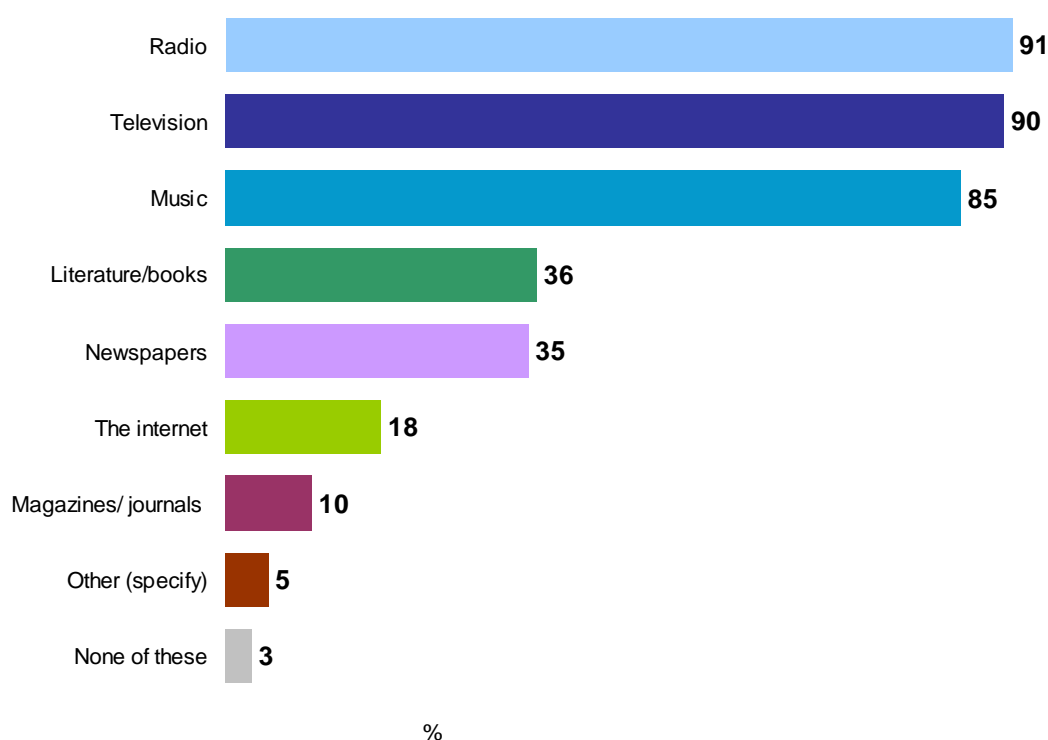
Exposure to Gaelic amongst those with fluent Gaelic

3.8 As would be expected, when those with fluent Gaelic – that is those respondents who speak, read and / or write Gaelic fluently, or who understand spoken Gaelic (see paragraph 3.12) - were asked in which ways they watch, read or listen in Gaelic nowadays, they were significantly more likely than the population as a whole to do so in a number of different ways. These results can be seen in Figure 3.2.

Figure 3.2: Ways in which watch, read or listen in Gaelic nowadays - Fluent Gaelic

Q9. In which of these ways if any, do you ever watch, read or listen in the Gaelic language nowadays?

Base: All with fluent Gaelic who use Gaelic nowadays (96)



3.9 Almost all (97%) of those with fluent Gaelic claimed to watch, read or listen in Gaelic nowadays. As was the case with the Scottish population as a whole, television was one of the most mentioned channels (90%), but amongst this group radio (91%) and in music (85%) were clearly also very important.

3.10 A small proportion read in Gaelic, with 36% reading literature / books and 35% newspapers. Fewer (10%) claimed to read magazines / journals, perhaps reflecting a lack of availability of these. Interestingly, 18% mentioned the internet. Whilst this may be using / visiting websites, it is also possible that this includes listening to the radio, or BBC Alba programmes, via the internet.

3.11 Amongst this group, there were some variations by age. Those aged 65 and over with fluent Gaelic were significantly more likely than those aged 16-64 to

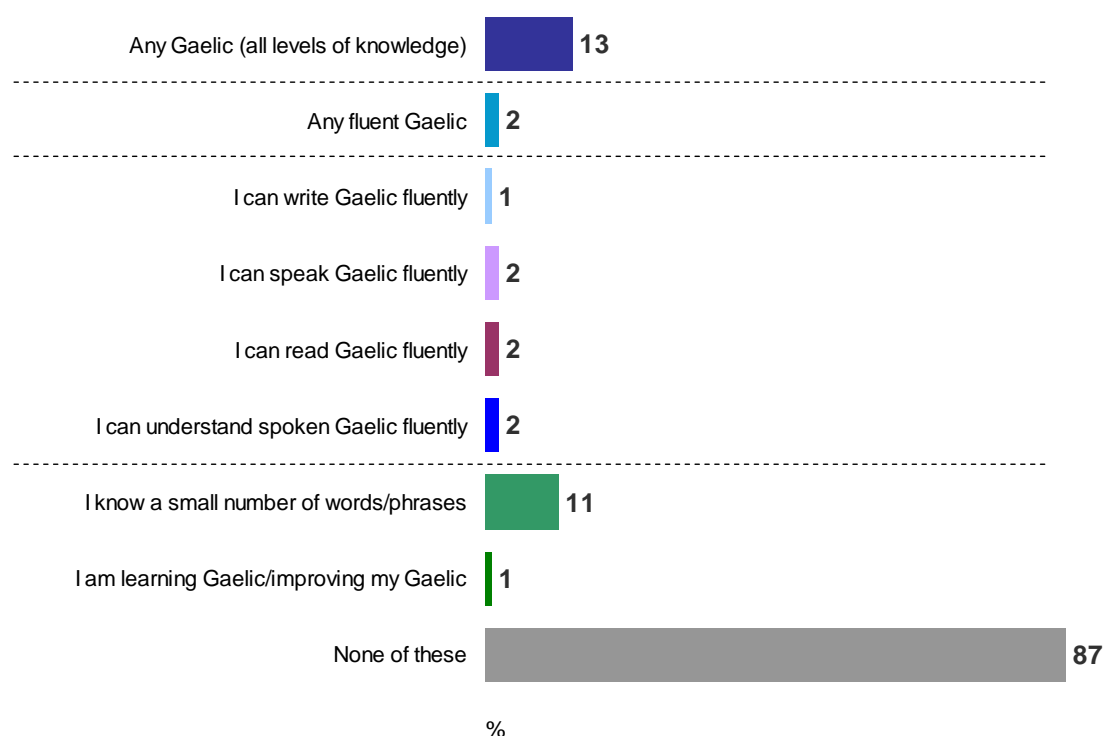
watch Gaelic on TV and listen on the radio (98% and 100% respectively, compared to 83% for both media). Those aged under 65, however, were significantly more likely to read Gaelic newspapers (44% compared to 24%) and access Gaelic online (31% compared to none of the older respondents in this group).

Knowledge of the Gaelic language

3.12 In order to understand in greater detail current usage of Gaelic amongst the Scottish population, identifying those with Gaelic language abilities was a key measure within the survey. Accordingly, in line with the census question, knowledge of the Gaelic language was collected for all respondents in terms of **fluent** understanding, speaking, reading and/or writing in Gaelic. Additionally, knowledge in terms of learning Gaelic and knowing a few phrases was also obtained. The total percentages of those with any Gaelic, those with fluent Gaelic and for each level of knowledge are shown in Figure 3.3 for the total sample.

Figure 3.3: Knowledge of Gaelic today

Q10. Can you understand, speak, read or write Scottish Gaelic? Please select all that apply.
Base: All respondents (1009)



3.13 Amongst the total omnibus sample just over one in ten (13%) claimed to have at least some knowledge of Gaelic. For the most part though, these respondents claimed to ‘know a small number of words/phrases’ (11%), whereas only 2% in total had **fluent** Gaelic knowledge. This was broadly in line with the levels seen in previous research including the 2001 census which recorded 1.3% of the Scottish population aged 3 and over being able to

speak, read or write Gaelic, rising to 1.9% when understanding of spoken Gaelic was included.

- 3.14 In line with 16-34s being least likely watch, read or listen in Gaelic nowadays, this group had a very limited knowledge of Gaelic, with 95% having no knowledge. Knowledge increased amongst 35-64 year olds, but this was predominantly due to this group being more likely to 'know a small number of words/phrases'. In terms of having any **fluent** Gaelic, this was most common amongst 55-64s (4%) and those aged 65 and over (5%). Almost one in five (18%) of ABC1s had any Gaelic knowledge, significantly higher than C2DEs (9%). Once again, however, this was due to a greater proportion of this group knowing a small number of words/phrases; 4% of ABC1s had any fluent understanding, only slightly higher than C2DEs (1%).
- 3.15 As would be expected, Gaelic knowledge was concentrated in Highlands and Islands – 34% in this region had any knowledge, with 21% having any fluent knowledge. Whilst those in Glasgow and West had a higher than average knowledge, levels of fluency were similar across all regions. Of note is that one fifth (21%) of those in West claimed to know a small number of words / phrases. Table 3.2 illustrates the levels of knowledge by region.

Table 3.2 – Knowledge of Gaelic by region

Q10. Can you understand, speak, read or write Scottish Gaelic? Please select all that apply.
Base: All respondents (1009) / All in each region (shown in brackets)

	ANY	Any Fluently	I am learning / improving	I know a small number of words / phrases	None
Total (1,009)	13	2	1	11	87
Highlands and Islands (135)	34	21	1	14	66
-- H&I – West (75)	47	35	2	12	53
-- H&I – East (60)	19	4	-	17	81
West (101)	22	1	-	21	78
Glasgow (122)	14	1	1	12	86
Central (142)	10	-	1	10	90
North East (120)	10	-	-	10	90
Mid and Fife (119)	8	1	1	8	92
Lothians (127)	8	2	2	5	92
South (143)	9	-	-	9	91

- 3.16 It is important to note that within Highlands and Islands there was variation in terms of types and level of knowledge. Those in the East of the region were significantly less likely to have any Gaelic knowledge (19% compared to 47% in West Highlands and Islands), or to be fluent in the language (4% compared to 35%), and as such had a profile more similar to that of Scotland as a whole.
- 3.17 Amongst those in West Highlands and Islands, 35% claimed to speak fluently and 32% understood spoken Gaelic fluently, although this fell to 24% for reading fluently and to 18% for writing fluently. It is likely that there is a

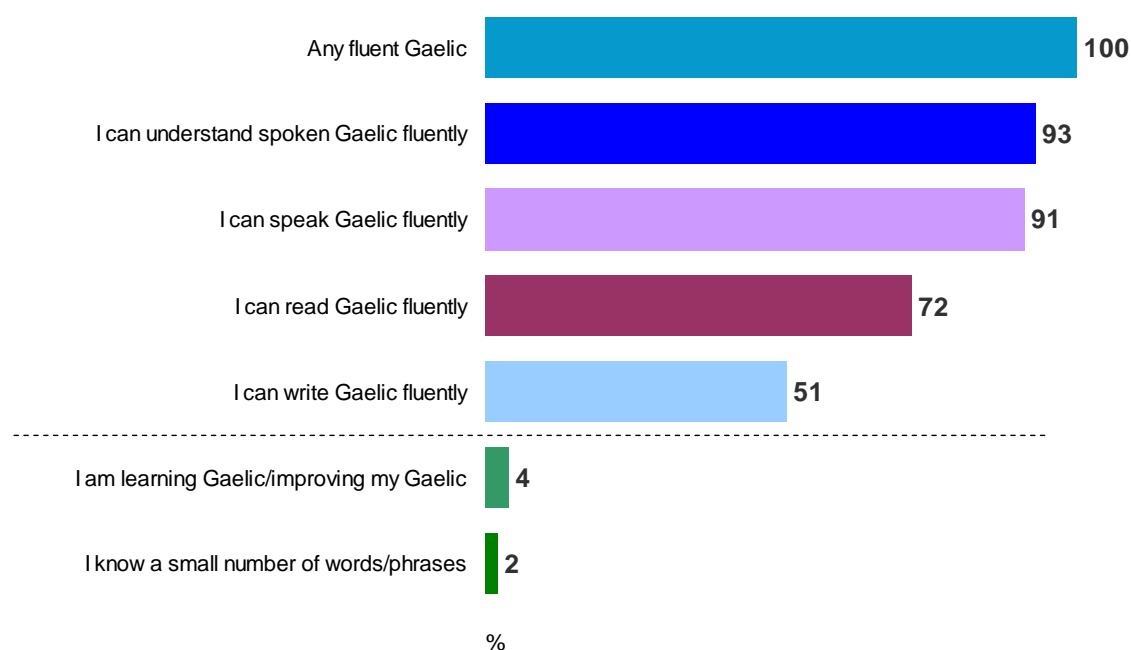
relationship between these higher levels of **spoken** fluency and the higher prevalence of exposure to Gaelic on TV, radio and in music, rather than newspapers or literature noted previously, with greater knowledge of the spoken word leading to increased viewing / listening.

Knowledge amongst those with fluent Gaelic

3.18 As the question regarding detailed knowledge of Gaelic was also asked of the booster sample (i.e. those with any fluent Gaelic) it was possible to look at the levels of fluent understanding, speaking, reading and writing of Gaelic amongst this group. These results, based on all those with fluent Gaelic, can be seen in Figure 3.4.

Figure 3.4: Knowledge of Gaelic today – Fluent Gaelic

Q10. Can you understand, speak, read or write Scottish Gaelic? Please select all that apply.
Base: All with fluent Gaelic (96)



3.19 Amongst those with any fluent Gaelic, the vast majority stated that they were able to speak and to understand spoken Gaelic fluently (91% and 93% respectively), whereas just under three quarters (72%) were able to read fluently. The ability to write fluently in Gaelic on the other hand was much lower, with around half (51%) indicating that they were able to do this.

Usage of Gaelic

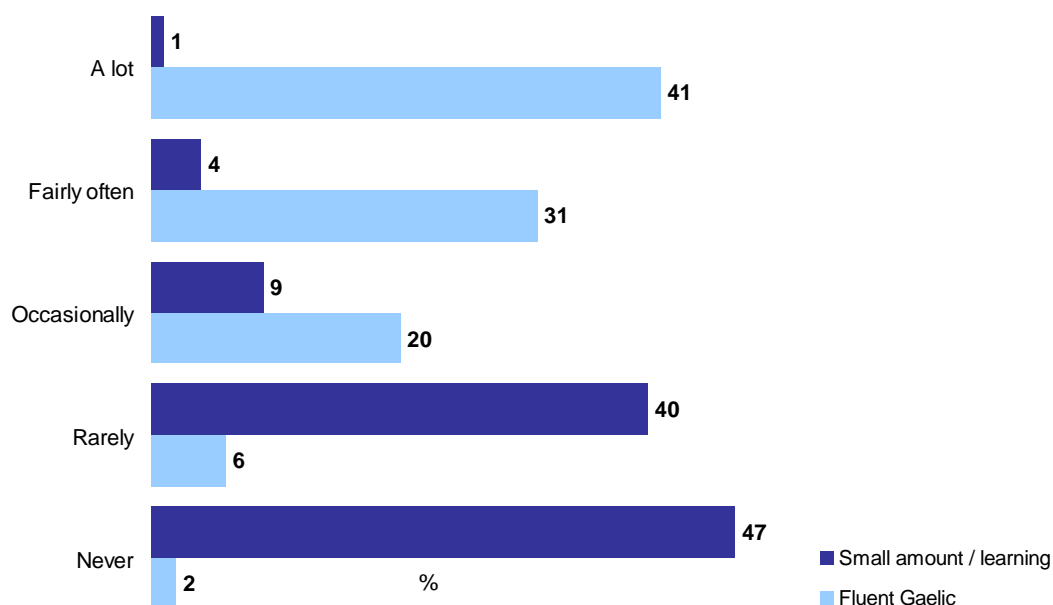
3.20 Clearly, it was not necessarily the case, however, that all those with knowledge of Gaelic actually used the language on a regular basis. For that reason, further information on usage was obtained by asking all those with

any amount of Gaelic knowledge how often it was used across all methods, including writing, reading and / or speaking it. The results for this amongst those who knew a small number of words / phrases or were learning, and amongst those with fluent Gaelic, are shown in Figure 3.5.

Figure 3.5: Frequency of using Gaelic

Q11. How frequently do use Gaelic, including writing, reading, and/or speaking it?

Base: All with a small number or words / phrases or learning (111) / All with fluent Gaelic (96)



3.21 Figure 3.5 shows quite clearly that there was a large difference in frequency of use according to levels of Gaelic understanding. Amongst those who were learning/knew only a few phrases, only 5% used Gaelic a lot or fairly often with the majority of this group claiming to use it rarely (40%) or never (47%).

3.22 Amongst those with fluent Gaelic, on the other hand, almost all (98%) used it currently. Two fifths (41%) claimed to use it 'a lot' and 31% 'fairly often', with one quarter (26%) using it 'occasionally' or 'rarely'.

Usage of Spoken Gaelic Specifically

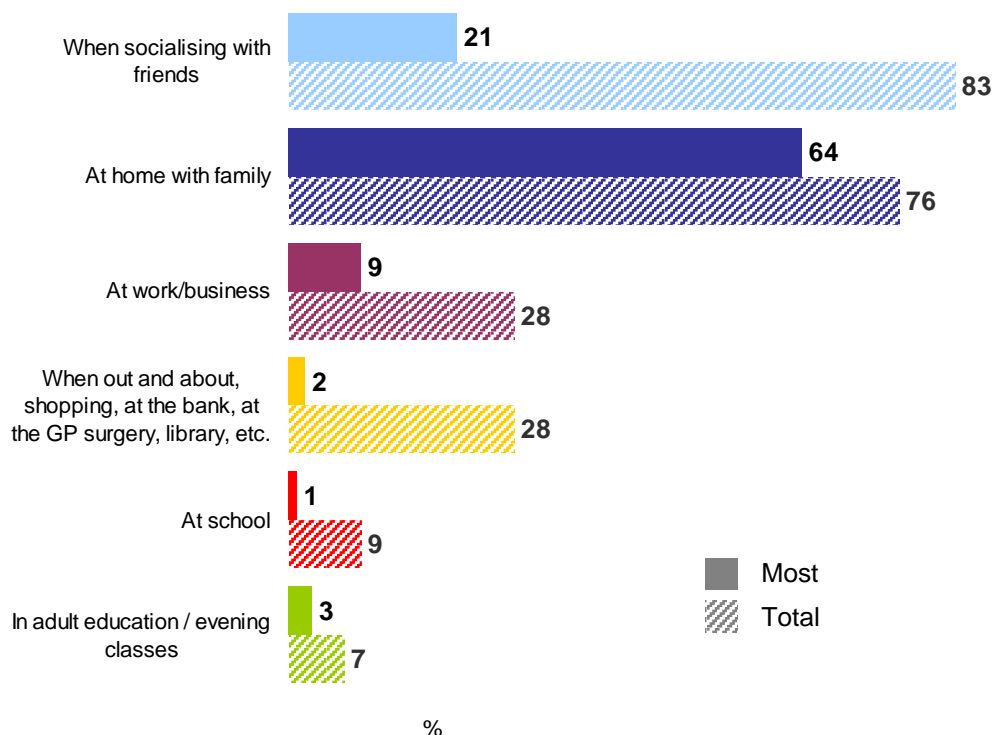
3.23 Measures were also obtained with regards to **speaking** Gaelic. Those with **fluent Gaelic** were firstly shown a list of possible situations where Gaelic could be spoken, and were asked where they spoke Gaelic most. A small number claimed not to *speak* Gaelic nowadays, and so these respondents were removed from the results of this question. After establishing where Gaelic was spoken most, respondents were then asked in which of the other suggested situations they used Gaelic. Figure 3.6 below shows the results for both where Gaelic is spoken most and where spoken at all.

Figure 3.6: Where Gaelic spoken nowadays - Fluent Gaelic

Q12a. And where do you tend to speak Gaelic most? (Prompted)

Q12b. And where else do you use it? PROBE: Where else? (Prompted)

Base: All with fluent Gaelic who use Gaelic nowadays, except those who don't speak Gaelic (92)



3.24 Among those with fluent Gaelic and who speak it nowadays, two thirds (64%) stated that they spoke Gaelic most **at home**, with three quarters (76%) doing this at all. As a result of the emphasis on using Gaelic most in the home, far fewer used it most in any other situations, although the percentage mainly using it when out socialising was reasonable at 21%. However, the vast majority (83%) stated that they used Gaelic at all when out socialising, and a further 28% used Gaelic when out and about, and when at work / on business. Gaelic language was thus the norm in the informal environment of home and with friends but was used less frequently in formal settings.

3.25 Women with fluent Gaelic were significantly more likely than men to say they used Gaelic **most** at home (73% compared to 53%) whereas men were significantly more likely to use it most when socialising with friends (33% compared to 12% amongst women).

Encouraging greater Gaelic usage

3.26 To help identify mechanisms that might increase or encourage Gaelic usage, all respondents were asked “*What would encourage you to use Gaelic more / learn Gaelic?*” Table 3.3 shows the results of this question at a total level, and amongst groups with differing levels of Gaelic ability.

Table 3.3 – Reasons which would encourage greater usage or learning of Gaelic – by Gaelic knowledge

Q13. What if anything would encourage you to use Gaelic more/learn Gaelic?

Base: All respondents (1009) / All in each sub-group (shown in brackets)

	Total (1,009)	Any Fluently (96)	Small amount / learning (111)	None (862)
Any mention of other people speaking it (Net)	12	65	22	9
- If more people spoke Gaelic	7	50	20	5
- If more people wanted to learn / speak Gaelic	-	14	-	-
- If (my) children learned/spoke it	4	2	2	4
Any mention of education / teaching / courses (Net)	12	4	22	11
- If there were (evening) classes available locally	8	4	15	8
- If there were free courses/lessons	3	-	5	2
If it was more widely used (road signs/ programmes etc)	2	5	5	2
If I needed to for work	2	-	-	2
If I was younger/I'm too old to learn now	6	-	4	6
If I moved to/lived in/ visited the Western Isles/places that used it	4	-	5	4
If I had the time/more time	2	1	3	2
Other	3+	3+	10+	2+
Nothing	50	14	31	53
Don't know	5	3	1	5

NB: Only mentions of 2%+ at a total level are shown.

3.27 Overall, 12% of the general public stated that they would be encouraged to learn or to use Gaelic more if other people spoke it, and 12% stated that they would be encouraged if they had access to education or courses (8% specifically mentioned the availability of local classes). Other reasons were mentioned by only small proportions.

3.28 However, amongst the total sample half of respondents (50%) stated that nothing would encourage them to use Gaelic more or to learn Gaelic. Men were significantly more likely than women to say this (55% compared to 45% of women), and this also increased with age (42% amongst 16-24s rising to 58% amongst those aged 65 and over). There was little variation in the results by SEG.

3.29 It is clear, however that interest in developing Gaelic language knowledge or ability is linked to **current** knowledge of Gaelic: amongst those with no Gaelic knowledge 53% stated that nothing would encourage them to learn, whereas this fell dramatically to 31% amongst those who are learning / know a few phrases, and to just 14% amongst those with fluent Gaelic. Those who are already involved with the Gaelic language thus have the greatest appetite for knowing more. For those with fluent Gaelic in particular, social norming of Gaelic would appear to have the most impact: 65% of this group made any mention of 'other people speaking it' as their main motivation for learning more (50% would be encouraged to use it more if other people spoke it, and 14% mentioned other people wanting to speak or learn it).

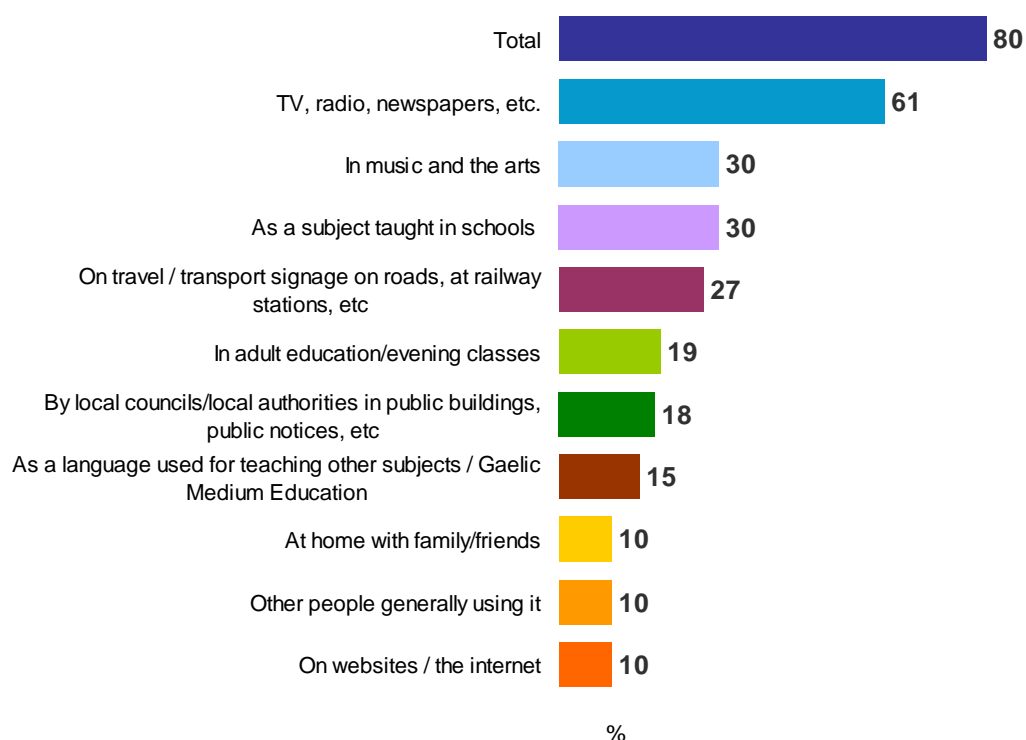
Awareness of Gaelic

3.30 A key objective of the research was to provide information on awareness of Gaelic across a wide variety of settings. To achieve this all respondents were shown a list and asked: “*In which of these situations, if any, are you aware of the Gaelic language being used in Scotland?*” The results obtained in this respect are summarised in Figure 3.7.

Figure 3.7: Awareness of situations in which Gaelic is used in Scotland (prompted)

Q1. In which of these situations, if any, are you aware of the Gaelic language being used in Scotland? PROBE; Anywhere else?

Base: All respondents (1009)



3.31 Overall, four fifths (80%) of Scottish adults were aware of Gaelic being used in Scotland. Those aged 16-34 and C2DEs were least aware of Gaelic (71% and 73% respectively), although these are clearly still substantial levels of awareness.

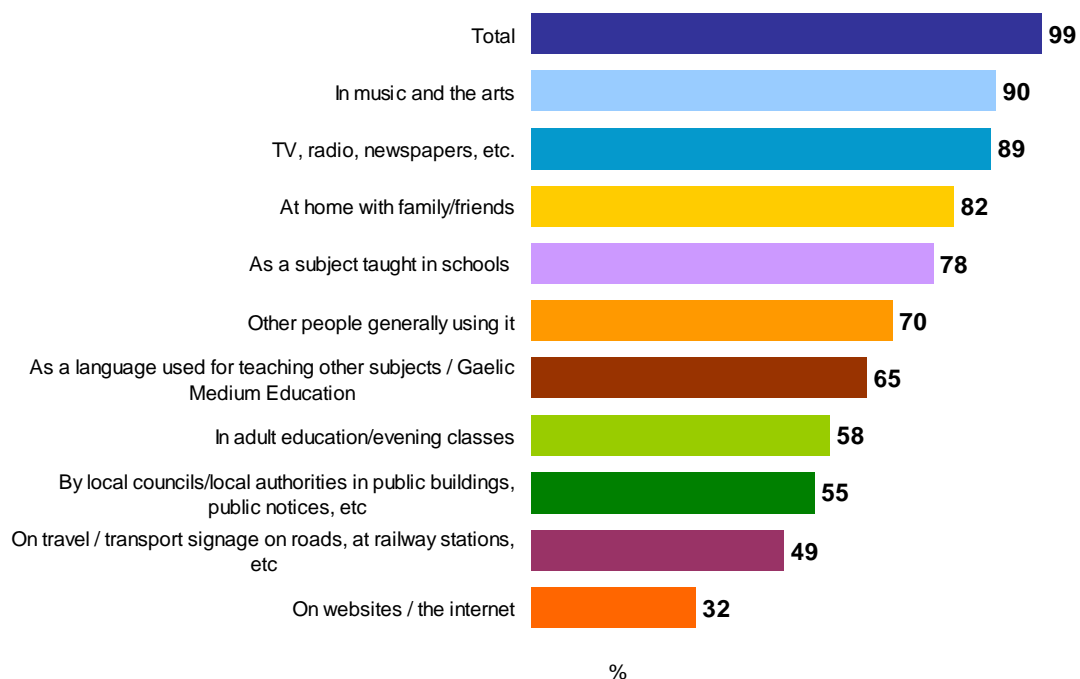
3.32 In line with previous findings, the dominance of media as a source of Gaelic is also evident here, with three fifths (61%) claiming to be aware of Gaelic usage in the context of TV, radio and newspapers. A further 39% in total mentioned Gaelic being used in education – 30% as a subject taught in schools, 19% in adult education / evening classes and 15% in Gaelic Medium Education. Significant minorities were also aware of Gaelic in the music/arts (30%) and Gaelic transport signage (27%). By comparison there was lower awareness of Gaelic in public building signage (18%). Reflecting the small percentage with a personal knowledge of Gaelic, only 10% were aware of Gaelic being used at home with friends/family or through other people using it.

- 3.33 There was a clear link to SEG, with ABC1s, and ABs specifically, significantly more likely than C2DEs to cite almost all channels. In particular, 64% of ABs mentioned Gaelic in education, compared to 42% of C1s, 33% of C2s and 23% of DEs.
- 3.34 Regionally, those in Highlands and Islands were more likely to cite a greater variety of examples of Gaelic being used, driven predominantly by the experiences of those in the West of that region. The pattern of response in East Highlands and Islands was generally more similar to that of the rest of Scotland in relation to their awareness of Gaelic usage, although they were more likely than the rest of Scotland to mention Gaelic in education, on signage and to a lesser extent in music / the arts. Those in the West of Scotland region also exhibited slightly higher awareness of Gaelic being used in a variety of ways.
- 3.35 Unsurprisingly those with fluent Gaelic were more aware of Gaelic being used in every instance. The results of this question amongst those with fluent Gaelic are shown in Figure 3.8.

Figure 3.8: Awareness of situations in which Gaelic is used in Scotland (prompted) – Fluent Gaelic

Q1. In which of these situations, if any, are you aware of the Gaelic language being used in Scotland? PROBE; Anywhere else?

Base: All with fluent Gaelic (96)



- 3.36 Reflecting the high proportions claiming to watch, read or listen in Gaelic, almost all those with fluent Gaelic were aware of it being used in music and the arts and in the media (90% and 89% respectively). Four fifths of this group also highlighted Gaelic being used in education (78% specifically as a subject being taught in schools, whilst 65% cited Gaelic Medium Education).

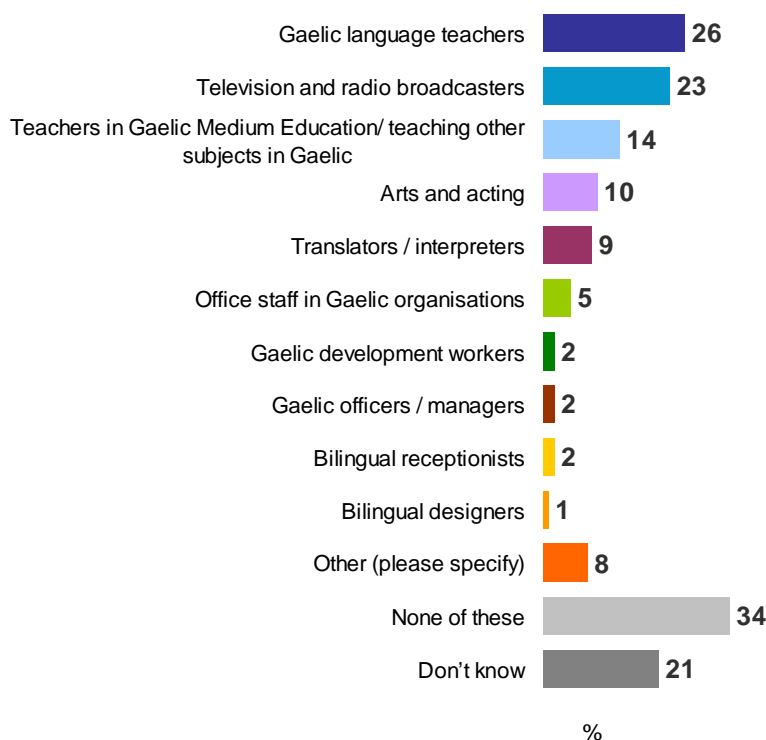
3.37 Given the earlier findings that this group were more likely to use Gaelic themselves at home and when socialising, it was to be expected that they were also much more likely than the general sample to mention Gaelic being spoken at home, and being used by people generally.

Awareness of Gaelic employment opportunities

3.38 In line with higher awareness levels of Gaelic in the media and in education in particular amongst the total sample, these same industry sectors emerged when measuring awareness of Gaelic employment opportunities amongst this group. Specifically, all respondents were asked to name, without prompting, employment opportunities for Gaelic speakers. The results obtained are shown in Figure 3.9.

Figure 3.9: Awareness of employment opportunities for Gaelic speakers

Q14 In which occupations, if any, are you aware of employment opportunities for Gaelic speakers?
 PROBE: Any others? (Spontaneous)
 Base: All respondents (1009)



3.39 Just under half (45%) of all respondents were able to name any employment opportunities for Gaelic speakers. Only teachers and television / radio broadcasters were cited by reasonable numbers (26% and 23% respectively), with around half these numbers mentioning Gaelic Medium Education (GME), arts and acting or translators / interpreters. There was very limited awareness of job opportunities outside of the worlds of education, media, the arts and acting.

- 3.40 In line with their higher than average support and interest in Gaelic, those aged 45-64 were more likely to be able to suggest any employment opportunities (53%). Awareness was also highest amongst ABs (61%) and lowest amongst DEs (33%).
- 3.41 In the Highlands and Islands, 71% were able to name any opportunities, with teaching and media / arts most likely to be cited. In this instance there were similar results for the different areas of Highlands and Islands, with those in the East generally only slightly less aware of opportunities than those in the West. The exception to this was for GME, where 49% of those in West Highlands and Islands were aware of such vacancies, significantly higher than 25% in the East of the region.
- 3.42 Amongst those with any fluent Gaelic, almost all (93%) were aware of employment opportunities for Gaelic speakers. In line with the overall results, most mentioned education related occupations (89%), whilst three quarters (74%) mentioned jobs in media / the arts. This group were also much more likely to mention opportunities as 'translators / interpreters' (39%), 'office staff in Gaelic organisations' (29%), 'Gaelic development workers' (27%) and 'bilingual receptionists' (27%), highlighting the much wider appreciation of the different opportunities for those with Gaelic language ability. Unsurprisingly, those with fluent Gaelic of working age were significantly more likely to be able to mention any opportunities (98% compared to 86% of those aged 65 and over), and to be more aware of opportunities in almost all areas.

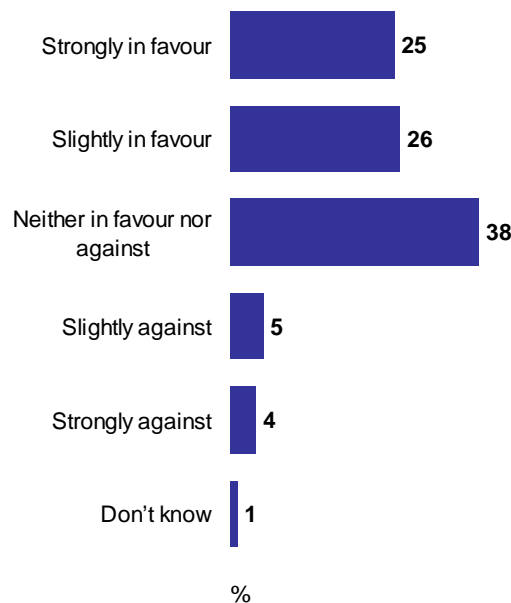
4 SUPPORT FOR THE GAELIC LANGUAGE

Support for the Gaelic language

4.1 Moving onto attitudes towards Gaelic, all respondents were asked a general question designed to gauge the overall level of support for the usage of Gaelic in Scotland. The results of this are shown in Figure 4.1.

Figure 4.1: % in favour/against usage of Gaelic in Scotland

Q2. Thinking generally about Gaelic usage in Scotland are you in favour or against this?
Base: All respondents (1009)



4.2 Around half (51%) were in favour of the usage of Gaelic in Scotland, with this group evenly split between those strongly in support (25%) and those only moderately so (26%). By comparison very few (9%) were against it, but a sizeable number (38%) had no opinion either way – suggesting a lack of engagement with this issue amongst a sizeable segment of the population.

4.3 Unsurprisingly, support for Gaelic increased with knowledge of the language. Amongst those with any fluent Gaelic, 85% were in favour of it being used in Scotland, with the vast majority (80%) strongly in favour. It is interesting to note, however, that there was a minority of one in ten fluent Gaelic users who were against the language being used. Women with any fluent Gaelic were slightly more supportive than men, with 83% strongly in favour (compared to 76% amongst men). However, whilst those with any existing knowledge of Gaelic were more likely to endorse its use, the fact that 48% of those with no knowledge were in favour of the language suggests support extends well beyond the Gaelic community.

4.4 Strength of opinion varied considerably by region, with those in Mid Scotland and Fife and Glasgow most in favour overall (58% and 54% respectively), followed by Highlands and Islands and Lothians (52%). 47% of those in

South were in favour, with 17% against, significantly higher than in other regions.

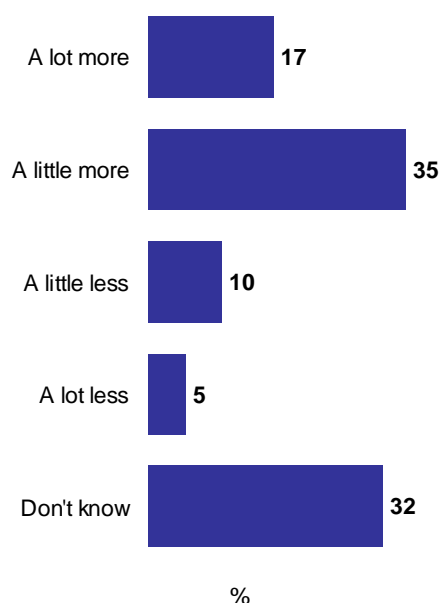
- 4.5 Despite recording fairly widespread support in the Highlands and Islands, there was, however, a sizeable proportion in this region that were against the use of Gaelic, most of them strongly so (13% in total, 11% strongly against). This would appear to be even more of an issue in the West of the Highlands and Islands, where 45% in this area were strongly in favour and 13% were strongly against. In the East of Highlands and Islands, respondents were more indifferent – 25% were strongly in favour and 47% were neither in favour nor against, with only 10% against in total.
- 4.6 Within the Highlands and Islands, around two thirds of respondents have no Gaelic language knowledge. It may be that this represents a negative perception of the language amongst English speakers, who feel there is too much emphasis on, and presence of, Gaelic in the area.

Support for extension of Gaelic usage in Scotland

- 4.7 In addition to measuring the strength of support of Gaelic, a follow up measure was used to ascertain the level of support for extending the usage of Gaelic. All respondents were asked: “*And would you like to see / hear more or less Gaelic being used in Scotland today?*” The results of this question can be seen in Figure 4.2.

Figure 4.2: % who would like to see/hear more or less Gaelic being used in Scotland today

Q3. And would you like to see / hear more or less Gaelic being used in Scotland today?
Base: All respondents (1009)

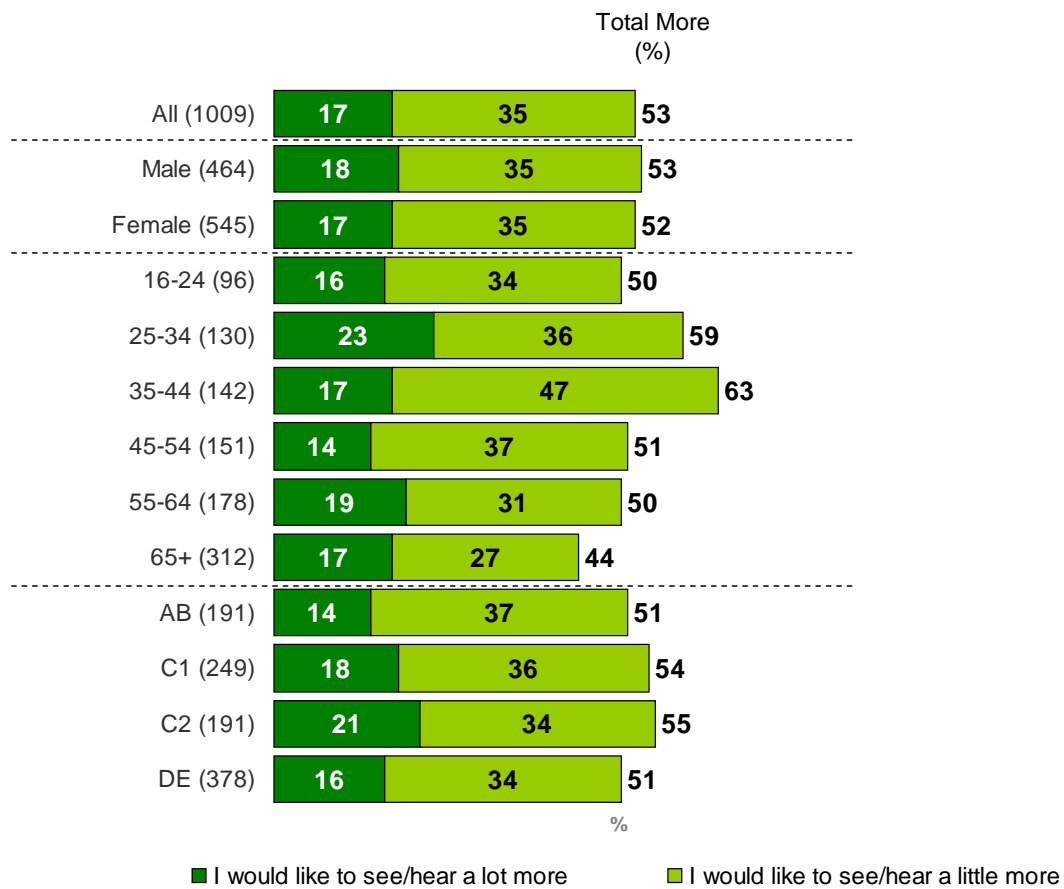


- 4.8 Reflecting the moderate levels of approval of Gaelic recorded at the previous question, there was also reasonable support amongst the total sample for seeing / hearing more Gaelic being used (53%). Strength of positive opinion was slightly weaker, however, with 17% happy to see / hear a lot more and over one third (35%) preferring a little more. Of the remainder more (32%) did not give an answer, rather than indicate a desire for seeing/hearing any less (15%), which is in line with the substantial proportion (38%) who claimed to be neither in favour nor against Gaelic at the previous question.
- 4.9 Interest in developing Gaelic was much more widespread amongst those with fluent Gaelic with nine out of ten (90%) stating that they would like to see / hear more Gaelic. Furthermore around three quarters (77%) indicated that they would like to see / hear it used **a lot more**. Once again women in this group were more supportive than men (81% would like to see / hear a lot more compared to 71% of men).
- 4.10 In line with much higher usage of Gaelic in the Highlands and Islands, respondents in this area were most supportive of an increase in Gaelic usage (62% in total; 31% a lot more), although there was a small proportion (9%) who would prefer it to be used a lot less. Likewise support was greatest in West Highlands and Islands where usage is highest (42% would like to see / hear a lot more, compared to 17% in East Highlands and Islands).
- 4.11 As can be seen in Figure 4.3 overleaf, there were also some interesting demographic variations on this measure, particularly by age.

Figure 4.3: % who would like to see/hear more Gaelic being used in Scotland today – by demographics

Q3. And would you like to see / hear more or less Gaelic being used in Scotland today?

Base: All in each sub-group (shown in brackets)



4.12 Those aged 25-34 and 35-44 were more likely to advocate greater Gaelic usage (59% and 63% respectively), with those aged 65 and over least supportive (44% 'more', 25% 'less').

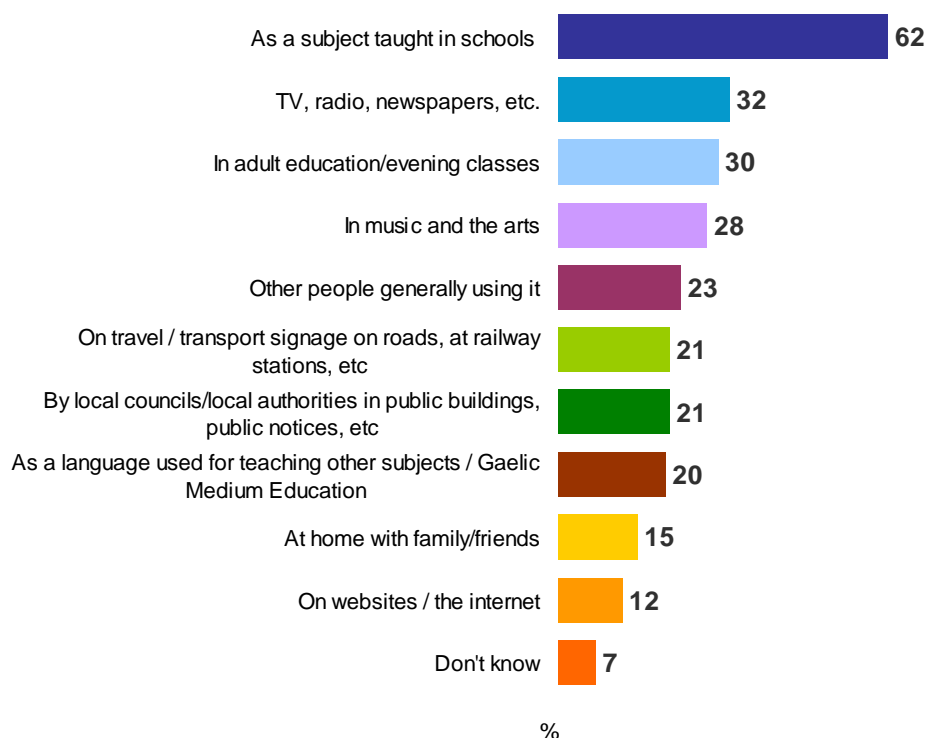
Situations where there is interest in greater usage of Gaelic

4.13 Those who indicated that they would like to see/hear more Gaelic were then asked in which places or situations they would most like to see or hear Gaelic being used more. The results of this are shown in Figure 4.4 below.

Figure 4.4: Places/situations where would like to see/hear more Gaelic

Q4. In which places or situations would you like to see / hear Gaelic being used more? (Prompted)

Base: All in favour of seeing / hearing more Gaelic (522)



4.14 Amongst those who wanted to extend the use of Gaelic there was widespread interest in increasing Gaelic in education – 72% in total made any mention of Gaelic in education, specifically 62% ‘as a subject taught at school’, 30% ‘in adult education / evening classes’ and 20% ‘as a language used for teaching other subjects / Gaelic Medium Education’. By comparison 20%-30% would like Gaelic to be used more across most other areas, with the exception of at home and on the internet, which were endorsed by 15% and 12% respectively.

4.15 Women were significantly more likely than men to support Gaelic being used more in education (78% compared to 65%), but similar levels of support were recorded by gender for Gaelic being used in other ways. There was little variation by SEG in terms of where Gaelic should be used more, with the exception of ABs being more likely to support increased usage in music / the arts (40%) and by local councils / local authorities in public buildings and notices (32%).

4.16 Those in Highlands and Islands, and those in West Highlands and Islands in particular, were most likely to support increased Gaelic usage in a variety of situations, with the opinion of those in the East of the region tending to be more similar to the rest of Scotland. In line with the overall results, the most common mentions in Highlands and Islands were of Gaelic being taught as a subject (64%), on TV / radio / press (54%), being used at home / by other people (50%) and in music / the arts (48%). A breakdown of the results for this question by region can be seen in Table 4.1 overleaf.

Table 4.1 – Places/situations where would like to see/hear more Gaelic – by region

Q4. In which places or situations would you like to see / hear Gaelic being used more? (Prompted)

Base: All in favour of seeing / hearing more Gaelic (522) / All in each sub-group in favour of seeing / hearing more Gaelic (in brackets)

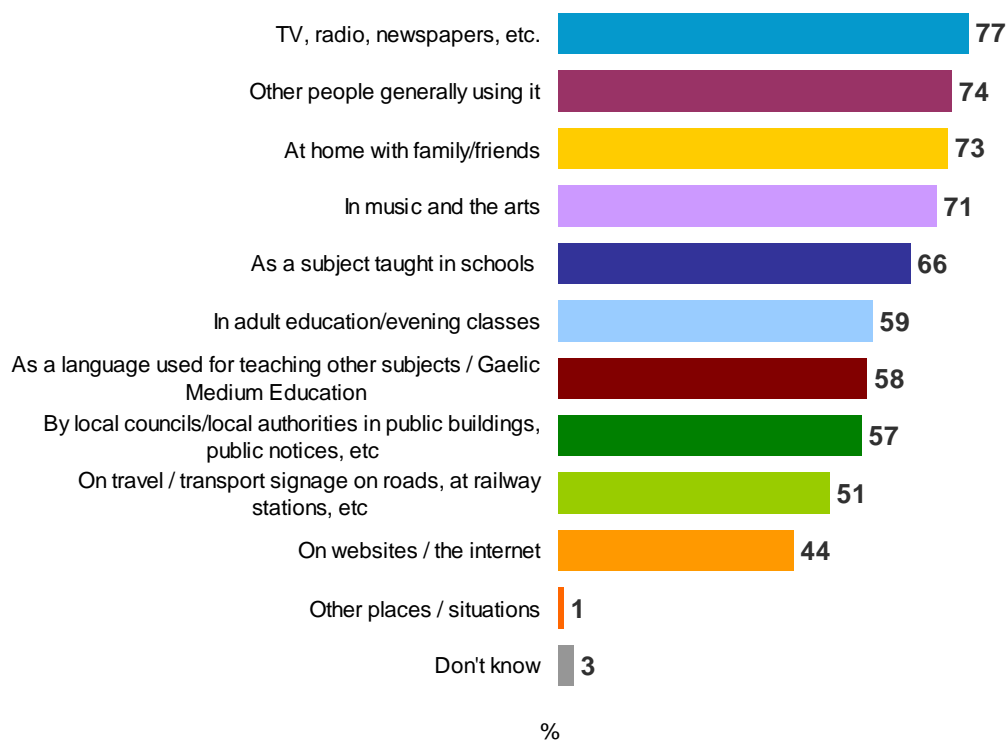
	Total (522)	H&I (83)	H&I West (51)	H&I East (32)	North East (48)	Mid & Fife (56)	Lothian (64)	Central (71)	Glasgow (68)	West (53)	South (79)
Any mention school / teaching / education (net)	72	73	74	71	66	66	53	78	77	78	80
- As a subject taught in schools	62	64	61	68	61	54	45	65	68	66	71
- Adult education / evening classes	30	41	49	30	33	30	19	32	31	36	25
- As language used for teaching other subjects / GME	20	30	42	14	18	18	14	23	21	24	14
TV, radio, newspapers etc	32	54	61	45	32	27	31	45	22	20	28
Music and the arts	28	48	56	37	22	25	32	22	25	33	25
Other people generally using it	23	42	52	28	30	15	19	32	23	16	11
Travel / transport signage	21	25	33	15	30	18	17	36	9	23	12
By local councils / authorities	21	25	35	12	19	23	15	30	15	26	18
At home with family / friends	15	35	50	15	10	17	16	14	16	13	3
On website / the internet	12	25	28	20	5	14	16	18	9	8	2

- 4.17 The only channel in which other regions of Scotland advocated greater usage of Gaelic than the Highlands of Islands was in education; those in Central (65%), Glasgow (68%), West (66%) and South (71%) would like to see Gaelic taught as a subject, compared to 64% in Highlands and Islands. However given the relatively low base sizes these differences are not significant.
- 4.18 The places and situations where those with **fluent Gaelic** would like to see / hear it used more are shown in Figure 4.5.

Figure 4.5: Places/situations where would like to see/hear more Gaelic – Fluent Gaelic

Q4. In which places or situations would you like to see / hear Gaelic being used more? (Prompted)

Base: All with fluent Gaelic in favour of seeing / hearing more Gaelic (86)



- 4.19 Despite recording fairly high levels of Gaelic speaking in the home and when socialising, interest in it being used more when ‘at home with family / friends’ and ‘other people using it’ was widespread amongst this group (73% and 74% respectively). Similar proportions stated that they would like to see an increase in usage in education and on ‘TV, radio, newspapers etc’, and in music / the arts. Smaller, yet sizeable proportions also mentioned Gaelic being used by local authorities (57%) and on road signs (51%), with interest in usage on the internet slightly lower by comparison.
- 4.20 Within this group, women were more likely than men to suggest more Gaelic should be used in most situations, particularly in education and online. There were significant differences by age, with those aged 16-64 significantly more likely than those aged 65 and over to want to see / hear more Gaelic in most situations.

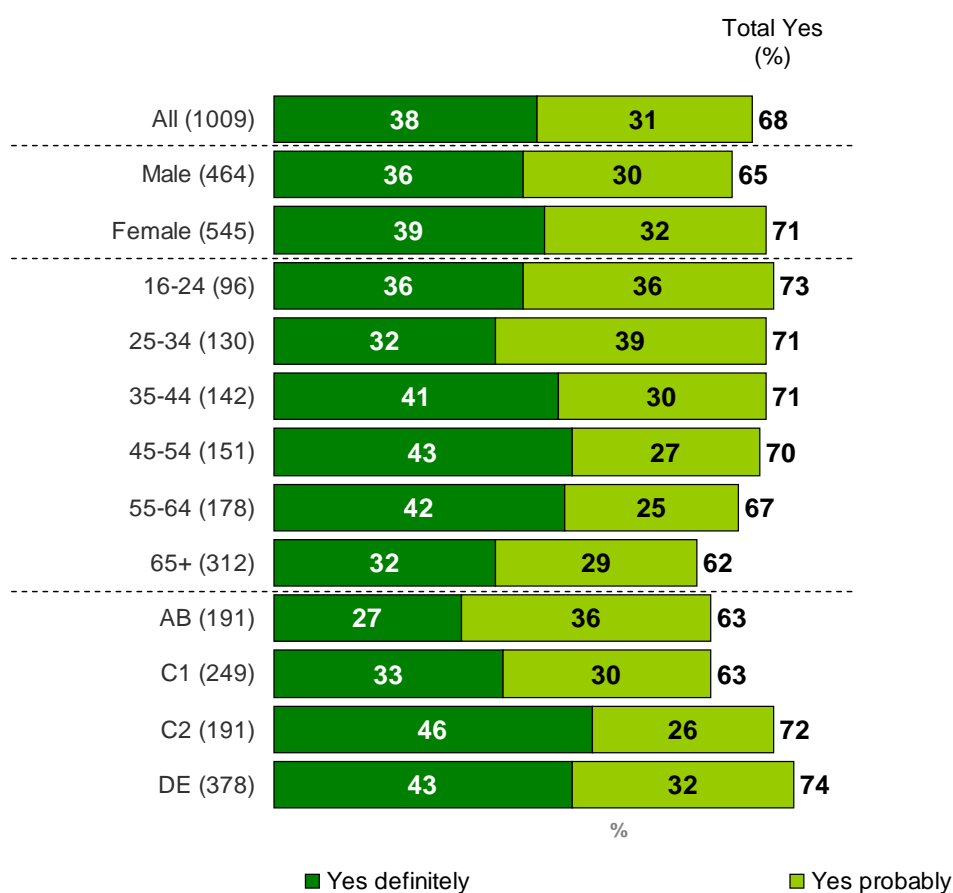
Support for Gaelic language option in public documentation

4.21 In order to gauge the level of support for the provision of a Gaelic language version of public documents / notices, etc, all respondents were asked “*In many public places, documents, leaflets, notices etc. are often available in languages other than English, do you think Gaelic should be offered as a language option in these situations?*” Some 68% of the total sample responded positively (38% held a strong opinion and believed this should ‘definitely’ be the case, with 31% saying ‘probably’). These results, together with a further breakdown by demographic sub-groups, are shown in Figure 4.6.

Figure 4.6: % who think that Gaelic should be offered as a language option

Q5. In many public places, documents, leaflets, notices, etc. are often available in languages other than English. Do you think Gaelic should be offered as a language option in these situations? IF YES, Would you say yes definitely, or yes probably?

Base: All in each sub-group (shown in brackets)



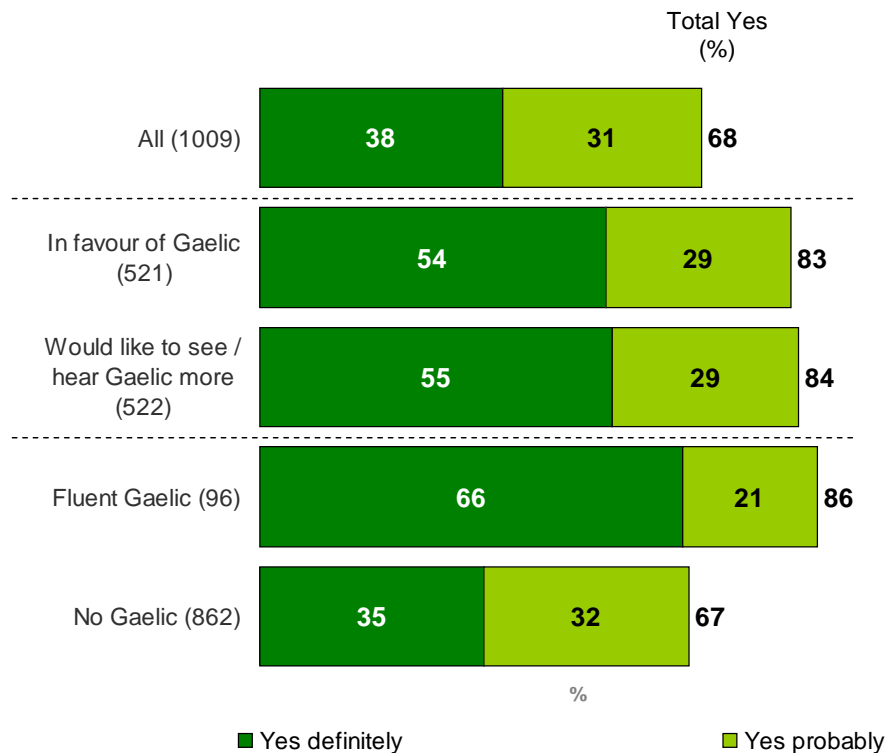
4.22 SEG appears to have a strong influence in this instance. Whilst 63% of ABs were positive about this being available, only 27% stated that it should ‘definitely’ be offered. By comparison, 43% of DEs stated that it should ‘definitely’ be available, with almost three-quarters (74%) of this group expressing a positive opinion in total.

4.23 Unsurprisingly, more positive opinions were expressed by those who were more likely to support Gaelic and by those who know and / or use the language, as can be seen in Figure 4.7.

Figure 4.7: % who think that Gaelic should be offered as a language option

Q5. In many public places, documents, leaflets, notices, etc. are often available in languages other than English. Do you think Gaelic should be offered as a language option in these situations? IF YES, Would you say yes definitely, or yes probably?

Base: All in each sub-group (shown in brackets)



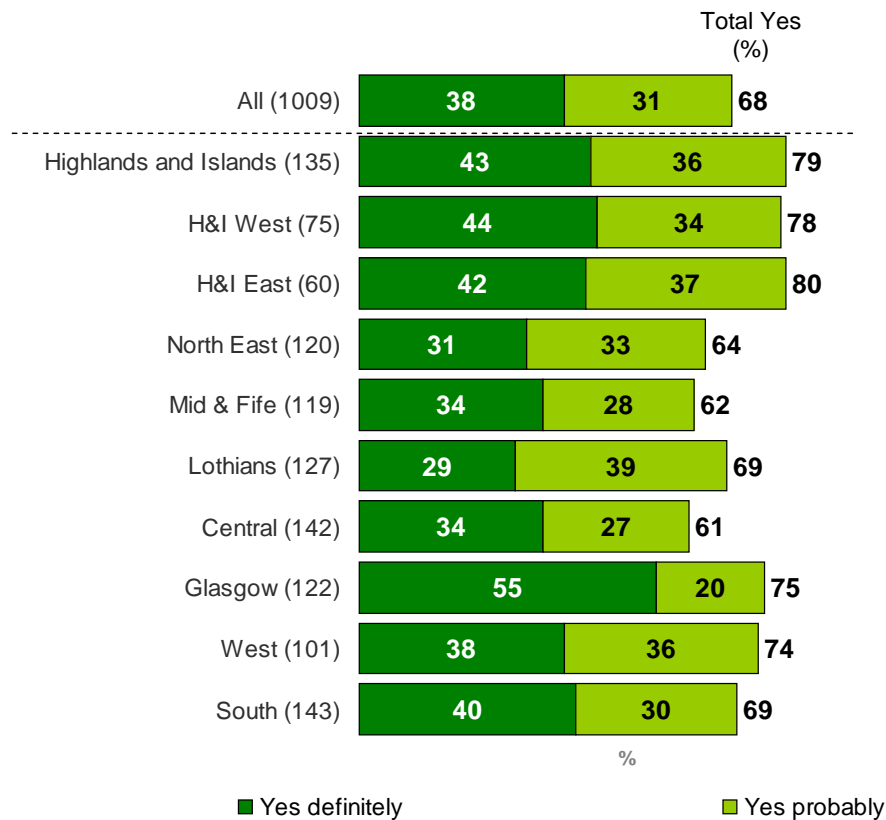
4.24 Those in favour of Gaelic and those who would like to see / hear Gaelic being used more, held strong opinions in favour of a Gaelic language option in documentation – 83% and 84% respectively. Amongst those with fluent Gaelic 86% would like to have this option, with two thirds (66%) believing this should definitely be the case. Whilst there were no differences by gender at a total level, women with fluent Gaelic were more likely to prefer this option than men with fluent Gaelic (93% compared to 79%).

4.25 A regional breakdown of the results for this question can be seen in Figure 4.8.

Figure 4.8: % who think that Gaelic should be offered as a language option

Q5. In many public places, documents, leaflets, notices, etc. are often available in languages other than English. Do you think Gaelic should be offered as a language option in these situations? IF YES, Would you say yes definitely, or yes probably?

Base: All in each sub-group (shown in brackets)



4.26 Those in Highlands and Islands (79%), Glasgow (75%) and West (74%) were most likely to state that a Gaelic language version should be offered. Indeed, those in Glasgow were significantly more likely than all other regions, with the exception of Highlands and Islands, to state that this should 'definitely' be the case (55%, compared to 43% in Highlands and Islands).

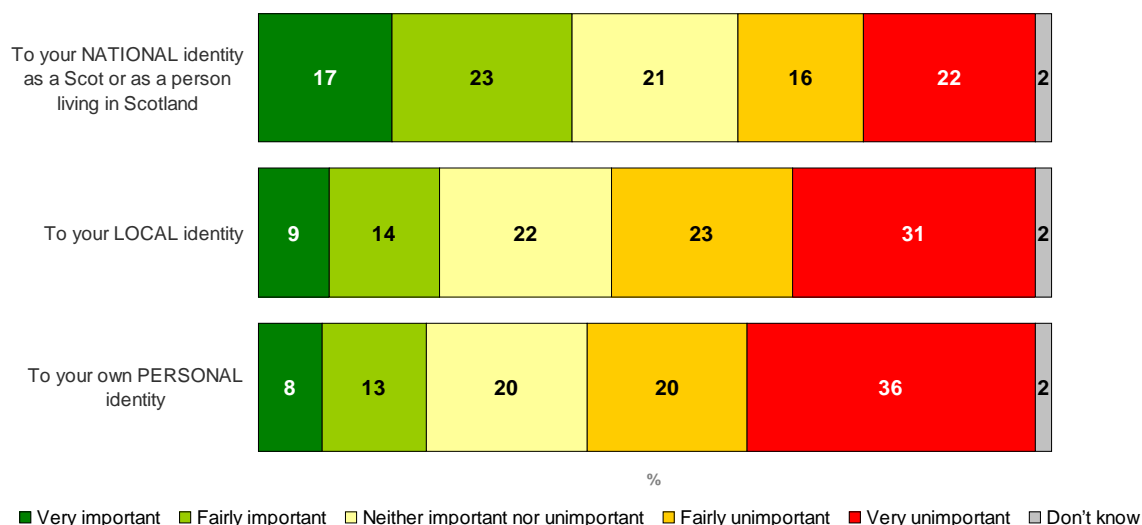
5 IDENTITY

5.1 The importance of the Gaelic language to identity was measured across three levels; national, local and personal, using a five point rating scale. The results obtained at each level are shown in Figure 5.1.

Figure 5.1: Importance of Gaelic to identity

Q6 How would you rate the importance of Gaelic to each of the following?

Base: All respondents (1009)



5.2 For 40% of the total sample Gaelic was important to their sense of national identity, with some 17% claiming that it was very important. However Gaelic's relevance to identity decreased fairly substantially when viewed in the context of personal and local identity, with around one in five claiming Gaelic is important to their identity in these contexts.

5.3 Looking more specifically at the importance of Gaelic to **national** identity, there was a polarisation of views: 40% believed this was important and only marginally less, at 38%, considered it unimportant. However, on balance, views were slightly more negative as a higher proportion considered it very unimportant (22%) than very important (17%). The remaining fifth (21%) had no opinion either way; again, an indication that a segment of the population has little interest or engagement in the language.

5.4 Whilst there were no obvious patterns by gender, age or SEG, those aged 65 and over and ABs were more likely to say that Gaelic was unimportant (49% and 44% respectively compared to 38% overall), with those aged 65 and over holding particularly negative opinions (29% responded that Gaelic was 'very unimportant').

5.5 Those with any understanding of Gaelic were more likely to feel that it contributed to a sense of national identity (67% compared to 36% amongst those with no understanding). Amongst those with fluent Gaelic, almost all (92%) stated that Gaelic was important to their national identity. This was in

turn linked to location, with 54% of those in Highlands and Islands stating that Gaelic was important to their national identity (24% very important), increasing to 63% amongst those in West Highlands and Islands.

- 5.6 When considering Gaelic’s contribution to **local** identity, the language was seen as less important than for national identity, with 22% stating it was important to their own local identity and over half (54%) disagreed. As with national identity, those in the higher SEGs were more likely to say that Gaelic was not important (61% of ABs, falling to 50% of DEs), as were those aged 65 and over (65%). Amongst those with fluent Gaelic, 86% stated that the language was important to their local identity.
- 5.7 Those in the Highlands and Islands also placed higher than average levels of importance on Gaelic as part of their local identity, as can be seen in table 5.1 – 51% stated Gaelic is important overall (27% very important). Amongst those in West Highlands and Islands, 64% considered Gaelic important to their local identity, which was similar to that seen for national identity. However, 42% in this area stated Gaelic was ‘very important’ to their local identity, compared to 32% who did so for national identity, suggesting that Gaelic contributes more to feelings of local identity amongst this group.

Table 5.1: Importance of Gaelic to identity - % important by region

Q6 How would you rate the importance of Gaelic to each of the following?
 Base: All respondents (1009) / All in each region (in brackets)

	% Important		
	As a Scot, or as a person living in Scotland	To your local identity	To your own personal identity
Total (1,009)	40	22	22
Highlands and Islands (135)	54	51	40
-- H&I – West (75)	63	64	47
-- H&I– East (60)	43	36	32
South (143)	44	19	18
Lothians (127)	43	28	21
Mid and Fife (119)	43	23	26
West (101)	39	20	21
Glasgow (122)	38	17	23
North East (120)	36	20	15
Central (142)	29	14	18

- 5.8 By comparison, Gaelic was considered much less important to local identity in all other regions, varying from 14% in Central to 28% in Lothians. Whilst other results showed greater than average support for Gaelic in Glasgow and West, only 17% and 20% of those in each area respectively considered it to be important to their local identity.
- 5.9 Of particular interest were associations of Gaelic and a sense of local identity and a sense of personal identity. Therefore all those claiming that Gaelic was

important in these respects were asked to give the reasons why and to explain what Gaelic contributed to their local/personal identity. Bearing in mind that these questions were posed to respondents, literally on their doorstep, and as part of a longer omnibus survey questionnaire, it was perhaps not surprising that the responses to these particular questions tended to lack depth. It should also be borne in mind that the role of Gaelic in identity is unlikely to be an issue which the general public tend to reflect on; nevertheless the responses do reveal some interesting points.

5.10 The main reasons given for why Gaelic was important to local identity were grouped into common mentions, shown in Table 5.2 below.

Table 5.2 – Reasons why Gaelic is important to local identity

Q7a. And why do you say that Gaelic is important for your own local identity? PROBE: What does Gaelic contribute to your local identity?

Base: All who stated that Gaelic is important to their local identity (235)/All fluent in Gaelic that stated Gaelic is important to their local identity (83)

	All (235) %	All fluent in Gaelic (83) %
Because it is the national/native language	21	13
It is part of Scottish heritage / history	15	14
Part of Scottish/local culture	8	19
Part of my family history	8	8
So it doesn't die out/is not forgotten	8	8
Because it's Scottish	6	-
We do not have/we should have/need our own language/identity	5	-
It's spoken in our (family) home	4	11
Because I am Scottish	4	1
It's part of our tradition	4	1
It is my first language	3	24
Language of/associated with the Islands/ Highlands/West coast	3	18
It should be part of our education	3	-
Everyone/more people should speak it	3	-
Other	10	16
Don't know / not stated	13	2

NB only mentions of 3+% overall shown.

5.11 As Table 5.2 shows, those who stated that Gaelic was important to their **local** identity gave a wide variety of reasons why this was the case. The two most widely cited reasons were that it is the national / native language (21%) and it is part of Scottish heritage / history (15%). Aside from these, other reasons mentioned by small, but reasonable, numbers referred to it as 'being part of my family history', and 'it shouldn't be forgotten'. It should be noted that when considering local identity, a large number of respondents (50%) gave a reason related to Scotland or the nation as a whole, suggesting that for many national and local identity are either considered one in the same, or are closely intertwined.

- 5.12 Amongst those with fluent language ability who stated that Gaelic was important to their **local** identity, not only was the response more detailed but there was a slightly different reasoning: a quarter (24%) of this group stated that the importance was due to Gaelic being their first language, and one in ten (11%) stated it was spoken in their home. Arguably this could be considered part of personal identity, rather than local identity, indicating further confusion on how these issues are considered. Whilst almost one fifth (18%) of this group mentioned that it was the language of / associated with the Islands / Highlands / West Coast, only 13% cited it being the national / native language. Given the higher incidence of fluent Gaelic in this area, this may indicate that this group considered the language more of a local identifier than a national one.
- 5.13 A similar proportion of around a fifth (22%) considered Gaelic was important to **personal** identity, with the majority (56%) stating it was unimportant. Once again, this varied little by demographic sub-group, with the exception of those aged 65 and over and ABs, of whom 67% and 62% respectively disagreed.
- 5.14 Amongst those with fluent language ability, the importance of Gaelic to their personal identity was much higher at 89% (80% very important). Given the prevalence of Gaelic knowledge in the region, respondents in Highlands and Islands were also significantly more likely than those in all other regions to state that Gaelic was important to their sense of personal identity – 40% overall, 19% ‘very important’. However, on this measure too there was a significant difference in views between those in the West and those in the East of Highlands and Islands: one third (32%) of those in West Highlands and Islands stated that Gaelic was ‘very important’ to their personal identity, compared to just 4% of those in the East of the region.
- 5.15 Those who stated that Gaelic was important to their personal identity were asked to spontaneously give the reasons why and to explain what Gaelic contributes to their personal identity. These reasons were grouped into common mentions, and are shown in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3 – Reasons why Gaelic is important to personal identity

Q7b. And why do you say that Gaelic is important for your own personal identity? PROBE: What does Gaelic contribute to your personal identity?

Base: All who stated that Gaelic is important to their personal identity (220)

Respondents claiming Gaelic is important to local identity	All (220) %
(Part of) My/family history	14
National/Scottish language	14
Part of my heritage	12
Because I'm Scottish	10
Family/friends/ community use it/speak it	9
Because I would like to speak it	9
Part of Scottish culture	7
It shouldn't be lost/we shouldn't let it die out	6
Everyone should speak/ learn Gaelic/it should be taught to us in school	4
Gaelic is my mother tongue	3
I'm proud of it/of being Scottish/Gaelic speaking	3
Stands you apart from others/defines who you are	3
Other	10
Don't know / Not stated	15

NB only mentions of 3+% overall shown.

5.16 A wide variety of reasons were also given with respect to **personal** identity, with no one reason mentioned by more than 14%. The most common reasons given were that Gaelic was part of personal / family history, and that it was the National / Scottish language (both 14%), with 12% stating it was part of their heritage and 10% simply saying 'because I'm Scottish'. As mentioned previously, the large number of mentions relating to Scotland generally (around one third), even when referring to personal identity, indicate how these perceptions can be, and often are, intertwined.

5.17 The results of those with fluent Gaelic were very different on this measure, with the emphasis on Gaelic as the language in common usage. This can be seen in Table 5.4.

Table 5.4 – Reasons why Gaelic is important to personal identity – Fluent Gaelic

Q7b. And why do you say that Gaelic is important for your own personal identity? PROBE: What does Gaelic contribute to your personal identity?

Base: All fluent in Gaelic that stated Gaelic is important to their personal identity (85)

NB only mentions of 4+% overall shown.

Respondents claiming Gaelic is important to local identity	All fluent in Gaelic (85) %
Gaelic is my mother tongue	32
Family/friends/ community use it/speak it	28
(Part of) My/family history	13
Identifies me as a Hebridean	6
National/Scottish language	5
I'm proud of it/of being Scottish/Gaelic speaking	5
Stands you apart from others/defines who you are	5
Part of my heritage	4
It shouldn't be lost/we shouldn't let it die out	4
Other	12
Don't know / Not stated	6

5.18 Amongst those with fluent Gaelic, over half (56%) mentioned reasons related to Gaelic being spoken at home, or by friends and family, with 32% describing it as their 'mother tongue' and over a quarter (28%) referencing it as the language spoken in their family / by their community. 13% also cited it as 'part of their family history'. Whilst the base sizes were small, there were some significant differences by gender amongst those with fluent Gaelic. For example, women were significantly more likely than men to mention that family / friends / community use Gaelic (38% compared to 16% of men), whereas men were more likely to mention it being part of their family history (22% compared to 6% of women).

6 RELEVANCE AND VALUE OF GAELIC

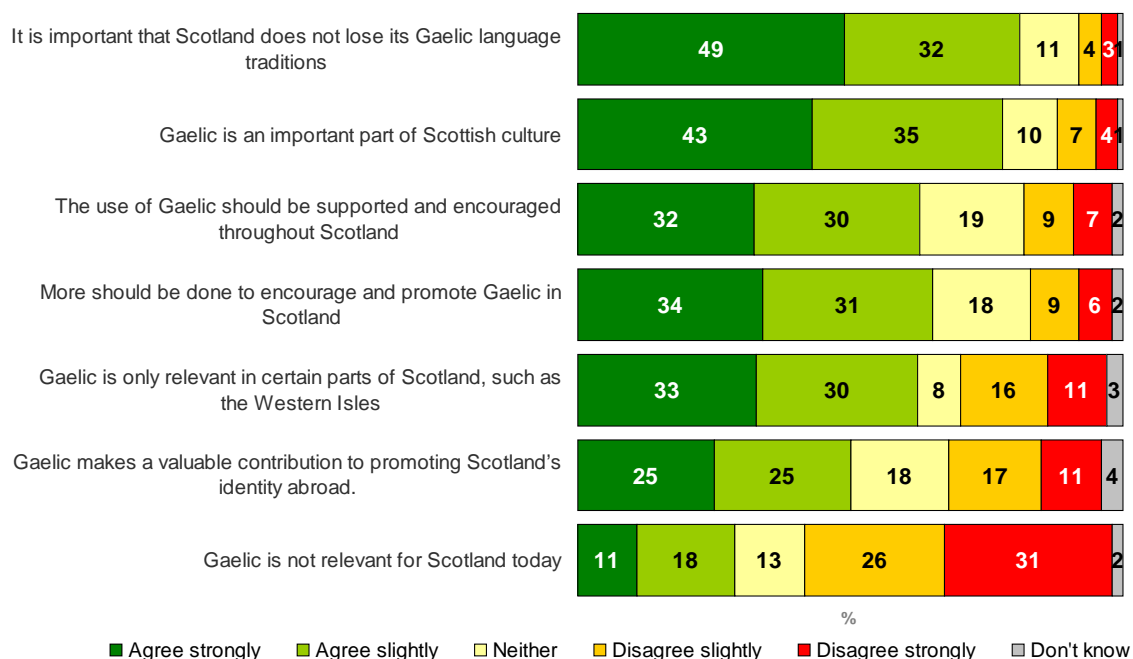
6.1 A further key objective of the research was to investigate attitudes towards Gaelic in terms of its relevance and value to Scotland. All respondents were therefore asked to indicate their level of agreement / disagreement with a set of seven statements each covering a slightly different aspect of Gaelic’s role in Scotland today.

6.2 As can be seen in Figure 6.1, attitudes in some regards were widely held, whereas attitudes towards other aspects of Gaelic were somewhat polarised. Overall, whilst there were high levels of recognition of the importance of Gaelic to Scottish culture and traditions, significantly fewer would like to see it encouraged or developed more. When considering the relevance of Gaelic to Scotland nowadays, whilst attitudes were more positive than negative, there was more doubt as to its relevance to the country as a whole and to promoting Scotland abroad.

Figure 6.1: Attitudes towards value and relevance of Gaelic

Q8. I am now going to read out some statements made by other people about Gaelic. Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with each, choosing your answer from this scale.

Base: All respondents (1009)



6.3 There was widespread agreement that “*It is important that Scotland does not lose its Gaelic language traditions*”, with four fifths (81%) agreeing to some extent, and almost half (49%) agreeing strongly. Whilst high levels of agreement were recorded across all sub-groups and regions, these varied slightly in a pattern which is replicated more strongly for some of the other statements. For example, those aged 45-54 were most likely to agree (88%), whilst those aged 65 and over and 16-24 were least likely to agree (75% and 73% respectively). At a regional level, 88% of those in the Highlands and

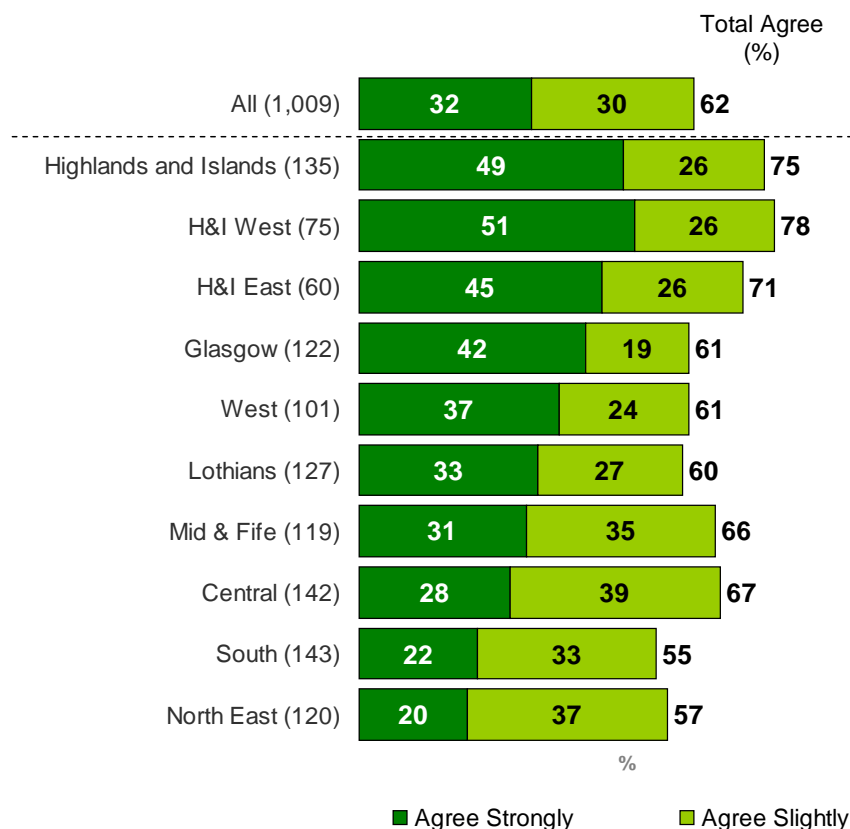
Islands agreed (62% strongly), whilst those in South were least supportive (72% agree), although this level of agreement is clearly still very positive.

- 6.4 There was also widespread agreement amongst the total sample that “*Gaelic is an important part of Scottish culture*”, with 77% agreeing with this statement (43% agreed strongly), and only one in ten (11%) disagreeing. The highest levels of agreement were recorded amongst those aged 35-54 (85%), with those aged 65 and over significantly more likely than most other age groups to disagree (18%). There was some variation by region, with those in West most likely to agree (87%), closely followed by Highlands and Islands (86%); those in South were least likely to agree (66%).
- 6.5 Whilst around four fifths agreed that Gaelic was important and should not be lost, significantly fewer - 62% - agreed that “*The use of Gaelic should be supported and encouraged throughout Scotland*”. However, one fifth (19%) neither agreed nor disagreed, suggesting a degree of ambivalence rather than a lack of support. Women were significantly more likely than men to agree in this instance (66% compared to 59%), and once again those aged 35-54 were most likely to agree (69%) and those aged 65 and over were least likely (54%). Indeed, 27% of those aged 65 and over disagreed (13% strongly).
- 6.6 When considering this statement at a regional level, three quarters (75%) of those in the Highlands and Islands agreed that Gaelic should be supported and encouraged whilst those in North East (57%) and South (55%) were least likely to agree. A breakdown of levels of agreement by region is shown in Figure 6.2.

Figure 6.2: Agreement that “The use of Gaelic should be supported and encouraged throughout Scotland” – by region

Q8. I am now going to read out some statements made by other people about Gaelic. Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with each, choosing your answer from this scale.

Base: All respondents (1009) / all in each region (shown in brackets)



6.7 When considering whether “More should be done to encourage and promote Gaelic in Scotland” two fifths (65%) of all adults in the sample agreed to some extent that this should be the case. 70% of those aged 35-54 agreed, compared to 55% of those aged 65 and over; as with other statements this age group were more likely to register their opposition, with 23% disagreeing (12% strongly). ABs were marginally less likely to agree. When looking at the results of this statement at a regional level, those in the Highlands and Islands were once again more likely to agree (72% agreed, 45% agreed strongly), whereas those in Central (62%), North East (62%) and South (59%) were the least supportive.

6.8 When asked if “Gaelic is only relevant to certain parts of Scotland, such as the Western Isles”, over three fifths (63%) agreed, with one third (33%) agreeing strongly. One quarter (26%) disagreed. This level of agreement was slightly contradictory given the high proportions endorsing Gaelic as important to Scotland. As might be expected given their more negative feelings towards Gaelic recorded for the other statements, those aged 65 and over were significantly more likely to agree with this statement than all other age groups (77%).

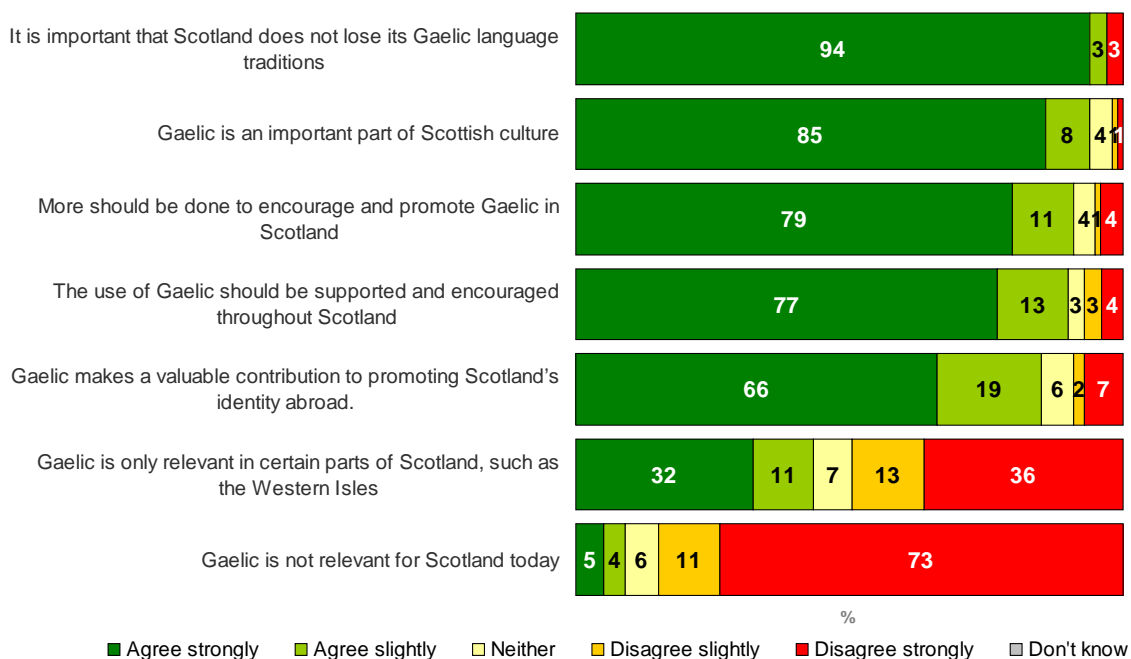
- 6.9 Whilst lower levels of agreement were recorded amongst those who were in favour of Gaelic being used and amongst those who would like to see / hear more Gaelic, at around half (54%) the level was substantial nevertheless. It may therefore be that whilst these groups endorse the development of Gaelic, they recognise there may be limitations to its use throughout Scotland as a whole. Alternatively, they may recognise that it is currently only relevant in these areas, but would like to see the relevance extended nationwide.
- 6.10 Regionally, those in Central and South (69%) were most likely to agree. The results within Highlands and Islands were similar to those overall, with 57% agreeing and 33% disagreeing. Within that region, 44% of those in West Highlands and Islands agreed strongly. In East Highlands and Islands, despite the lower levels of support recorded for other aspects of Gaelic, 34% disagreed (21% strongly) that Gaelic is only relevant to certain areas.
- 6.11 Much lower levels of agreement were recorded for “*Gaelic makes a valuable contribution to promoting Scotland’s identity abroad*”, with around half (49%) agreeing. Those aged 45-54 were most likely to agree with this statement (60% agreed, 29% strongly), with those aged 16-24 least likely to agree (36%). Indeed, 16% of 16-24s disagreed strongly with this statement, as did 18% of those aged 65 and over.
- 6.12 Although there were high levels of agreement amongst those who were in favour of Gaelic and would like to see / hear it used more often (70% and 69% respectively), a sizeable minority of these groups disagreed with the statement (14% and 13%).
- 6.13 Regionally those in the Highlands and Islands were most likely to believe Gaelic makes a valuable contribution to promoting Scotland abroad (64%), linked to the stronger associations seen previously with Gaelic and a national identity. However, one fifth (21%) of respondents in the Highlands and Islands disagreed that Gaelic makes a valuable contribution in this way. Agreement varies considerably across the rest of Scotland, with those in Glasgow most supportive (59% agree) and North East least (39%).
- 6.14 When asked to consider that “*Gaelic is not relevant for Scotland today*”, 57% of the total sample disagreed with this statement (with 31% disagreeing strongly), whilst 28% agreed that Gaelic is not relevant. With a focus on relevance to Scotland **today**, it should be noted that the support for Gaelic recorded here was relatively low compared to that seen for some of the other statements, suggesting that whilst there is support for Gaelic overall, there are some questions over its relevance to Scotland nowadays.
- 6.15 Once again, it was interesting to note that whilst the majority of those in favour of Gaelic, and of those who would like to see / hear it used more, disagreed with this proposition (78% and 75% respectively), a minority of these groups agreed with the statement (14% and 17% respectively). So, as with the overall results, even within these especially supportive groups, there was some doubt with regards to the relevance of Gaelic today.

- 6.16 As expected, disagreement that Gaelic was not relevant was higher in the Highlands and Islands (71%) than overall. It was those in East Highlands and Islands who were most likely to disagree (76% compared to 66% in West Highlands and Islands), and indeed hold a much stronger opinion (56% disagreed strongly compared to 35%).
- 6.17 Looking now at the response to these statements amongst those with a fluent understanding of Gaelic in particular, as expected much higher levels of agreement were recorded for most statements, as can be seen in Figure 6.3.

Figure 6.3: Attitudes towards value and relevance of Gaelic– Fluent Gaelic

Q8. I am now going to read out some statements made by other people about Gaelic. Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with each, choosing your answer from this scale.

Base: All with fluent Gaelic understanding (96)



- 6.18 The vast majority of those with fluent Gaelic agreed strongly with five of the seven statements, clearly illustrating the importance of the language to this group. Whilst slightly lower levels of agreement were seen for “*Gaelic makes a valuable contribution to promoting Scotland’s identity abroad*” (84%) endorsement of this view was still considerably higher than seen at an overall level. In general, females and 16-64s with fluent Gaelic were more likely to express a positive opinion than male and older respondents in this group.
- 6.19 When considering whether “*Gaelic is not relevant for Scotland today*”, most (84%) disagreed (73% strongly). However, with just under one in ten (9%) agreeing, this suggests that not everyone with close links to Gaelic believed it to be relevant to Scotland today. There were gender and age differences amongst those with fluent Gaelic, with men and those aged 65 and over significantly more likely to agree that Gaelic is not relevant (17% for both groups compared to 4% amongst both women and those aged 65 and over).

6.20 Finally, opinion amongst this group was most polarised when asked if “*Gaelic is only relevant in certain parts of Scotland, such as the Western Isles*”. 44% agreed with this statement and 49% disagreed, again indicating that for some of this group it was considered very localised to their area, whereas for others it had a greater national relevance. There would appear to be a very strong link to age in this instance, with those fluent Gaelic speakers aged over 65 significantly more likely to agree strongly – 50% compared to 19% of those aged 16-64. It may be that in the past these older respondents have found it difficult to use Gaelic outwith their local areas, and as such cannot to see a place for Gaelic in modern Scotland.

7 GAELIC IN EDUCATION

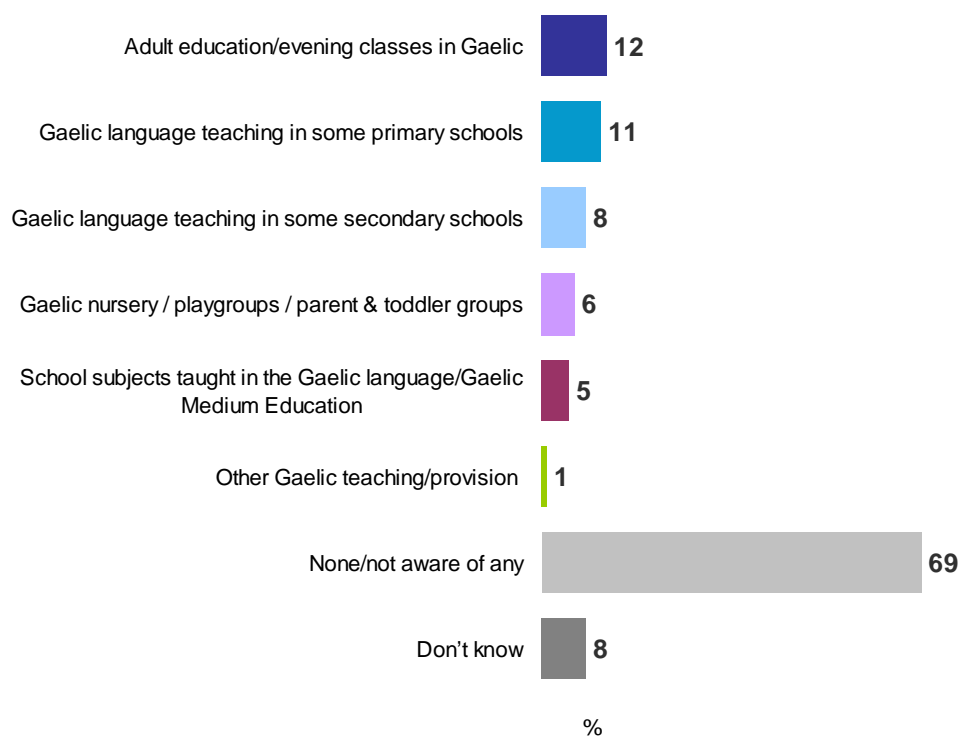
Availability of Gaelic education

7.1 Obtaining information on how Gaelic is perceived within the context of Education was also an important objective. In the first instance the survey sought to establish perceptions on the availability of provision for Gaelic language learning in the local area. All respondents were asked: “Thinking now specifically about Gaelic in education, which of these, if any, are available in your local area?” Figure 7.1 shows levels of perceived availability across several different types of provision.

Figure 7.1: Availability of Gaelic in education in local area

Q15 Thinking now specifically about Gaelic in education, which of these, if any, are available in your local area?

Base: All respondents (1009)



7.2 Across the total sample, just under a quarter (23%) claimed to be aware of any form of Gaelic education, with the vast majority claiming not to know of any Gaelic provision in their area. More specifically, awareness of provision was slightly higher for Gaelic adult education classes and Gaelic in some primary schools at 12% and 11% respectively, compared to any other types of provision. For each of the other sources, awareness was less than 10%.

7.3 Levels of awareness of provision were lowest in the North East and South, where 84% said that there was no provision, or they were not aware of any. Unsurprisingly, awareness of Gaelic education provision was greatest in the Highlands and Islands, with respondents in this region significantly more likely to mention every type of provision than all other regions. For example, over

half (53%) mentioned ‘Gaelic language teaching in some primary schools’ and 49% ‘Gaelic language teaching in some secondary schools’.

7.4 There were also significant differences in awareness of provision within Highlands and Islands. Those in the West of Highlands and Islands were more aware of provision than those in the East, although in this instance awareness in the East was still significantly higher for all types of provision than in all other regions of Scotland. Table 7.1 illustrates awareness of education provision in the different areas of Highlands and Islands compared to Scotland as a whole.

Table 7.1 – Availability of Gaelic in education in local area

Q15 Thinking now specifically about Gaelic in education, which of these, if any, are available in your local area?

Base: All respondents (1009) / All in each sub-group (in brackets)

	Total (1,009)	Highlands and Islands (135)	H&I – West (75)	H&I– East (60)
Gaelic language teaching in some primary schools	11	53	71	32
Gaelic language teaching in some secondary schools	8	49	65	29
School subjects taught in the Gaelic language / Gaelic Medium Education	5	36	53	16
Adult education / Evening classes in Gaelic	12	41	46	34
Gaelic nursery / playgroups / parent & toddler groups	6	36	42	28

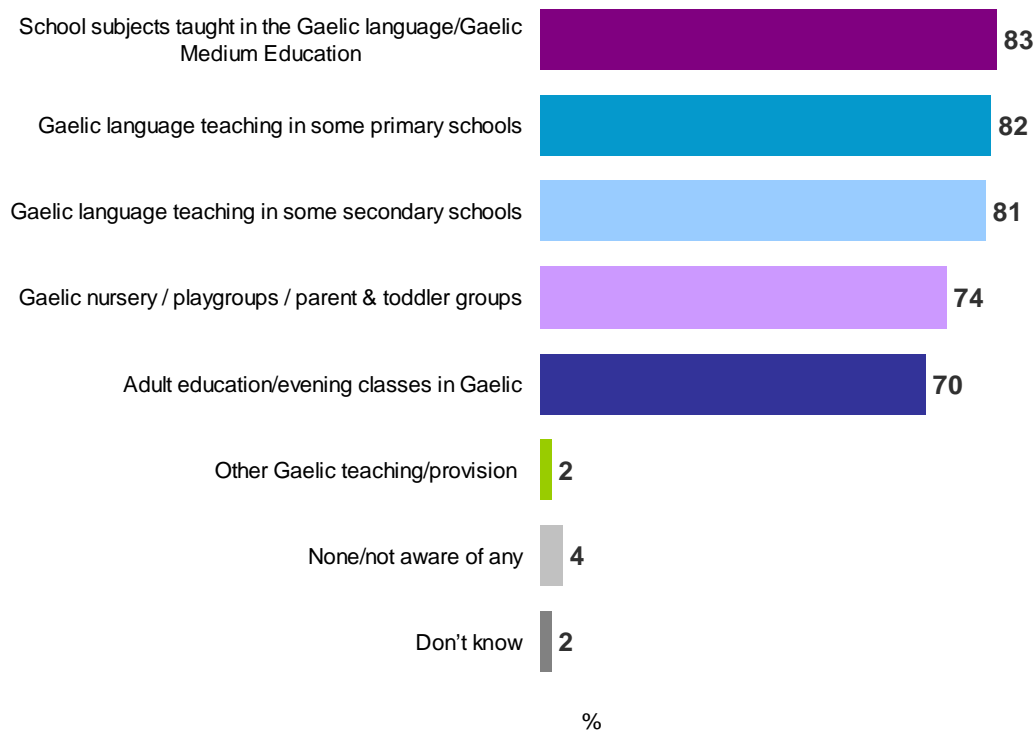
7.5 Women were generally more likely to be aware of Gaelic education provision than men, significantly so with regards to ‘Gaelic language teaching in some primary schools’ (13% compared to 8%) and ‘Gaelic nursery / playgroups / parent & toddler groups’ (8% compared to 4%). Those aged 35-64 were also generally more aware, which is perhaps to be expected given the greater likelihood of this group having children currently in education. ABs were significantly more likely to mention ‘adult education / evening classes’ (20% compared to 10% amongst C1C2DEs).

7.6 Awareness of Gaelic in education was much higher amongst those with fluent Gaelic, as can be seen in Figure 7.2, with highest awareness of school subjects taught in Gaelic (83%).

Figure 7.2: Availability of Gaelic in education in local area – Fluent Gaelic

Q15 Thinking now specifically about Gaelic in education, which of these, if any, are available in your local area?

Base: All with fluent Gaelic (96)



7.7 Amongst those with fluent Gaelic, there was higher awareness of Gaelic in education amongst women, and also amongst those aged 16-64.

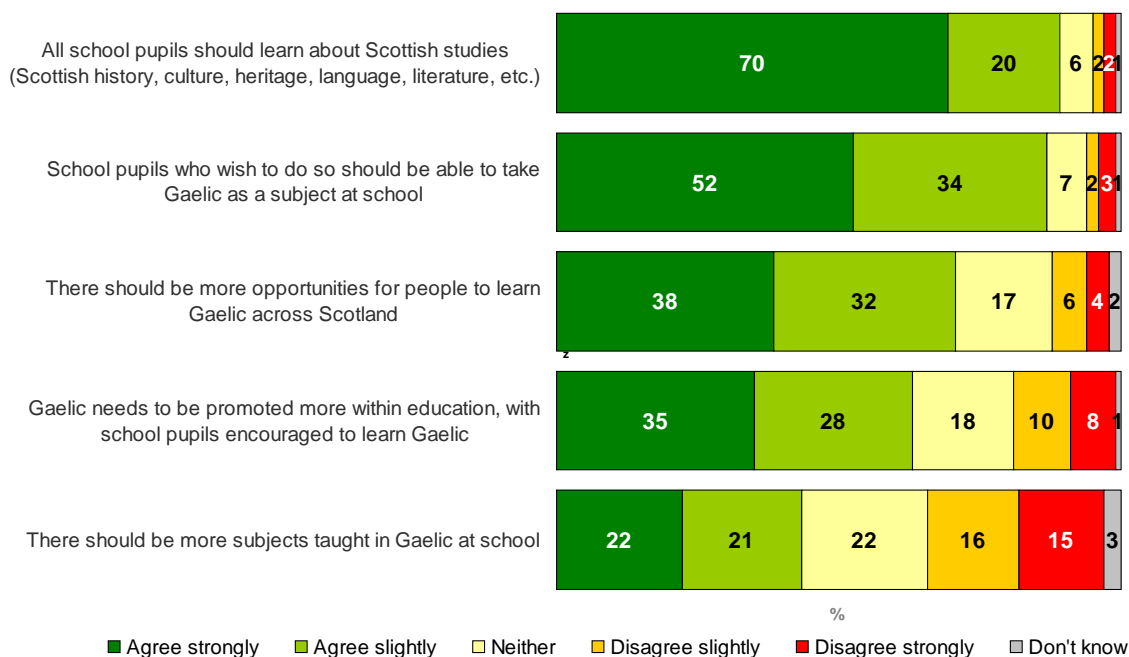
Attitudes towards Gaelic in education

7.8 The general public's attitudes towards Gaelic in education were also measured, again by asking all respondents to agree or disagree with five separate statements. The results obtained are summarised in Figure 7.3.

Figure 7.3: Attitudes towards Gaelic in education statements

Q16. I am now going to read out some more statements made by other people about Gaelic in Scotland. Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with each, choosing your answer from this scale.

Base: All respondents (1009)



7.9 In general moderate to high levels of agreement were recorded for all statements, with over half of the total sample agreeing with each statement with the exception of “*There should be more subjects taught in Gaelic at school*”. Even for this statement, however, only 31% disagreed.

7.10 Across all statements there were several common patterns. Firstly, those who supported Gaelic and those who would like it used more recorded significantly higher levels of agreement in every case than those who did not support the language. Age and SEG also appear to have an influence on levels of agreement. In general, younger groups and those in the lower SEGs were more likely to agree, with older respondents (particularly those aged 65 and over) and ABs least likely to agree.

7.11 Looking at each of the statements in turn, amongst the total sample there was strong and widespread support for the teaching of Scottish studies (including Scottish history, culture, heritage, language and literature): 90% agreed that pupils should learn about this and some 70% believe this strongly. Very high levels of agreement with this statement were recorded across all groups, although it is interesting to note that one of the least interested groups was 16-24 year olds (80%). There was also a correlation with SEG, with 93% of ABs agreeing with this statement, falling to 86% amongst DEs. High levels of agreement were recorded in all regions, particularly South and Mid Scotland and Fife (94%).

7.12 There was also a broad, but less convinced, consensus that Gaelic should be available as a school subject for those wishing to take it (86% agreed in total,

52% strongly agreed). Whilst 80% of those aged 65 and over agreed with this statement, they were significantly more likely than almost all other age groups to disagree (12%). Given the more negative views towards Gaelic held by this group which have already been commented upon, this higher than average disagreement is perhaps to be expected.

- 7.13 Whilst almost all of those in favour of Gaelic and who would support it being used more agreed that it should be available as a school subject (97% and 96% respectively), it is important to note that there is still considerable support for it to be a school subject, even amongst those who were not in favour of the language and want to see it used less (59% and 69% respectively).
- 7.14 Across the regions, between 82% and 88% agreed with this statement, with those in Highlands and Islands being slightly more likely to agree (93%). This was driven by the significantly higher levels of strong agreement in this region (72%). Those in Glasgow were also significantly more likely than most other regions to agree strongly (69%).
- 7.15 Support for increasing opportunities for people to learn Gaelic was slightly less widespread but sizeable nevertheless (70% agreed in total, 38% strongly). Furthermore, only 10% disagreed with this statement. Once again age appeared to play a key role in influencing levels of agreement for increasing Gaelic learning opportunities. Those aged 25-34 were most keen on increased opportunities (78% agreed), but 14% of those aged 55-64 and 20% of those aged 65 and over disagreed (11% of those aged 65 and over disagreed strongly). It is also interesting to note that ABs were significantly more likely than other SEGs to disagree (15% compared to 9% amongst C1C2DEs).
- 7.16 At a regional level there was considerable variation in levels of agreement. 78% of those in Highlands and Islands and 77% of those in Glasgow agreed that there should be more opportunities to learn Gaelic (49% and 51% agree strongly in each region respectively). Those in Central (65%), South (65%) and North East (64%) were least likely to agree.
- 7.17 Attitudes towards the need to promote and encourage pupils to learn Gaelic were by comparison more mixed: a majority of 63% agreed but slightly less than one in five (18%) disagreed. Those aged 16-54 were more likely to support greater promotion of Gaelic in education, whilst once again those aged 65 and over were most likely to disagree (29% compared to 18% overall). There was also a clear link to SEG, with 51% of ABs agreeing there should be more promotion, rising to 69% amongst DEs. Although in this case the highest levels of agreement were recorded in Mid Scotland and Fife (71%), it should be noted that only 33% in this region agree strongly (compared to 51% in Glasgow and 48% in the Highlands and Islands). Those in the South were again most likely to disagree (24%).
- 7.18 The results for the final statement, "*there should be more subjects taught in Gaelic at school*" were most polarised, although respondents were more likely to agree than disagree (43% versus 32%). As would be expected given the results for other statements, those aged 65 and over were more likely to

disagree than agree (40% compared to 37%). ABs were also more likely to be opposed – 49% disagreed compared to 30% agreeing. Moreover, there was a clear link to SEG in this case, with the proportion agreeing with this statement decreasing by SEG (30% of ABs, 40% of C1s, 46% of C2s and 51% of DEs).

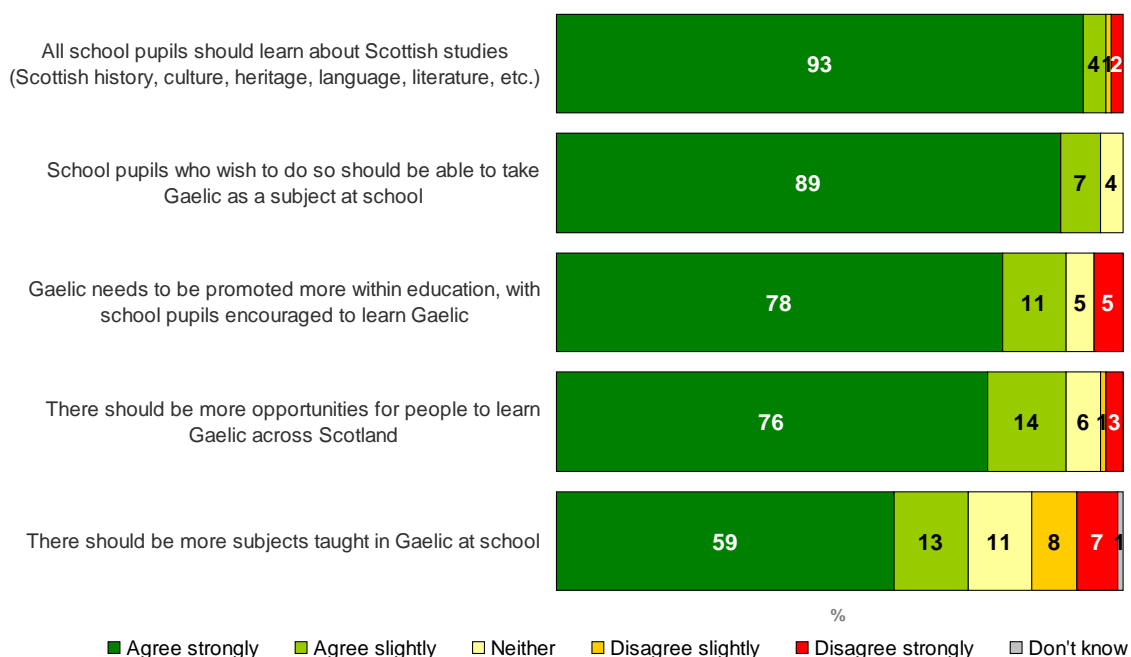
7.19 The highest levels of agreement were seen in Highlands and Islands (54%), Central (52%), Mid Scotland and Fife (50%) and Glasgow (49%), although once again respondents in the Highlands and Islands and Glasgow were more likely to agree strongly (35%). Those in West recorded the strongest opposition, with 42% disagreeing (31% disagree strongly).

7.20 Amongst those with a fluent knowledge of Gaelic, the findings were very positive, as can be seen in Figure 7.4.

Figure 7.4: Attitudes towards Gaelic statements – Fluent Gaelic

Q16. I am now going to read out some more statements made by other people about Gaelic in Scotland. Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with each, choosing your answer from this scale.

Base: All with fluent Gaelic understanding (96)



7.21 The vast majority of those with fluent Gaelic agreed with four of the five statements, with most agreeing strongly. In line with the overall results, there was least agreement that “*There should be more subjects taught in Gaelic at school*”, with three fifths (59%) agreeing strongly with this statement. Given that such high levels of agreement were recorded, there was little variation by gender or age within this group, although women tended to be slightly more likely to agree strongly than men.

8 CONCLUSIONS

- 8.1 At a national level, awareness of Gaelic usage in Scotland was high, with a majority being made aware of Gaelic through the media, but also through the use of Gaelic in music and the arts, and as a subject taught in schools. The media and television in particular, was also the main way in which a substantial minority of people came into contact with Gaelic.
- 8.2 Knowledge of Gaelic, however, was much more limited, with only very small numbers claiming to have any fluent Gaelic. There was, however, considerably higher knowledge and fluency in Highlands and Islands region, which in turn led to this region often having a different perspective on the language than the rest of Scotland. Furthermore within Highlands and Islands, the fact that Gaelic usage tended to be concentrated in the West of the region, and in the Western Isles, led to differing views, with these areas having greater awareness of Gaelic, and a more positive opinion, than those in the East. The latter hold opinions more similar to Scotland as a whole. It is possible therefore that a different approach to further developing Gaelic may be required in these areas, compared to the rest of Scotland.
- 8.3 In some instances, particularly when considering greater usage of Gaelic, it was notable though that across the Highlands and Islands there was a small amount of negative opinion towards the language which was present amongst both the Gaelic and non-Gaelic communities. Given this it is important that any strategy developed to promote Gaelic takes these sensitivities into account.
- 8.4 Interest in using / learning Gaelic **more** was clearly linked to current levels of knowledge, with those already involved in the language most enthusiastic about extending this. Amongst those with fluent Gaelic, the key route to achieving this would be hearing other people speak the language, emphasising the conversational nature of its usage. Likewise though, amongst those without any Gaelic knowledge, the most commonly mentioned factor that would motivate them to learn Gaelic (more) would be 'other people speaking it'. This highlights the importance of social norming in achieving any development of the language. That said, better access to education/courses in Gaelic is also likely to have a positive impact, albeit that for many there is currently no appetite for learning Gaelic.
- 8.5 More generally there was moderate support for the Gaelic language, and for Gaelic to be used more in Scotland. It should be noted though that strength of positive opinion was weaker when considering greater usage of Gaelic, with most indicating they would like to see a little more, rather than a lot. Additionally the high level of non-response when asked to indicate their support for increased usage of Gaelic (around a third said don't know), suggests that a sizeable proportion simply did not have an opinion on the role of Gaelic in Scotland today – with the language being far removed from the norm for many.

- 8.6 This is in line with the weaker support attitudinally for Gaelic being encouraged and promoted, compared to the widespread strong agreement that Gaelic traditions should not be lost, and that Gaelic is an important part of Scottish culture. Arguably, the former may partly be due to not only a lack of personal interest in Gaelic, as previously highlighted, but also some doubts that, whilst Gaelic is important in a historical and cultural sense, it may be less relevant to Scotland today. There was also less agreement that Gaelic contributes to promoting Scotland's identity abroad – again suggesting that Gaelic does not adequately represent modern day Scotland and/or Scotland as a whole. The key challenge, therefore, is not so much to increase awareness of Gaelic generally, given that it is already high, or indeed to do more to relate Gaelic to traditions and culture, but rather to promote the relevance of Gaelic to Scotland – as whole – nowadays.
- 8.7 Interestingly, despite only 63% agreement that Gaelic should be encouraged / promoted within education, there was a broad level of support (86%) for enabling school pupils who wish to do so to take Gaelic as a subject in school (albeit at lower levels than learning Scottish studies generally). Moreover, many of those endorsing greater Gaelic usage favoured increased provision in school. Admittedly awareness of current Gaelic provision was low, but nevertheless there is evidence of an appetite for school based education, in particular acting as a vehicle for sustaining Gaelic in Scotland. Moreover as there is scope for increased awareness of Gaelic education provision at the local authority level, any improvement in this, and in turn in increasing the number of pupils learning Gaelic, should help to improve the element of social norming discussed previously.
- 8.8 It is evident throughout the survey that those aged 65 and over hold less positive views towards Gaelic: they were less likely to support it, to see its relevance, and to advocate a role for the language in education. As seen previously in research into the Scots language, this may reflect the fact that older groups were more likely to have been encouraged to speak English as part of their education and therefore consider Gaelic as a secondary, or indeed less appropriate, language.

APPENDIX 1 – OMNIBUS QUESTIONNAIRE

INTRODUCTION: INTERVIEWER READ OUT.

The next section is about the Gaelic language. Please note that at all questions Gaelic refers to Scots Gaelic.

AWARENESS

SHOW SCREEN

Q1. In which of these situations, if any, are you aware of the Gaelic language being used in Scotland? PROBE; Anywhere else?

ROTATE, BUT FIX OTHER, NONE AND DK AT END.

At home with family/friends

Other people generally using it

TV, radio, newspapers, etc.

On websites / the internet

As a subject taught in schools

As a language used for teaching other subjects / Gaelic Medium Education

In adult education/evening classes

In music and the arts

On travel / transport signage on roads, at railway stations, etc

By local councils/local authorities in public buildings, public notices, etc

Other (please specify)

None /not aware

(Don't know)

SHOWSCREEN

Q2. Thinking generally about Gaelic usage in Scotland are you in favour or against this?

INVERT

Strongly in favour

Slightly in favour

Neither in favour nor against

Slightly against

Strongly against

(Don't know)

SHOWSCREEN

Q3. And would you like to see / hear more or less Gaelic being used in Scotland today?

INVERT

I would like to see/hear a lot more

I would like to see/hear a little more

I would like to see/hear a little less

I would like to see/hear a lot less

(Don't know)

SHOWSCREEN

IF STATED 'MORE' ASK

Q4. In which places or situations would you like to see / hear Gaelic being used more?

ROTATE, BUT FIX OTHER AND DK AT END

At home with family/friends

Other people generally using it

TV, radio, newspapers, etc.

On websites / the internet

As a subject taught in schools

As a language used for teaching other subjects / Gaelic Medium Education

In adult education/evening classes

In music and the arts

On travel / transport signage on roads, at railway stations, etc

By local councils/local authorities in public buildings, public notices, etc

Other places/situations (please specify)

(Don't know)

Q5. In many public places, documents, leaflets, notices, etc. are often available in languages other than English. Do you think Gaelic should be offered as a language option in these situations? IF YES, Would you say yes definitely, or yes probably?

Yes definitely

Yes, probably

No

(Don't know)

VALUE, RELEVANCE AND IDENTITY

SHOWSCREEN

Q6 How would you rate the importance of Gaelic to each of the following?

Please use this scale. READ OUT EACH STATEMENT AND OBTAIN RESPONSE FOR EACH.

INVERT SCALE. DO NOT ROTATE ORDER OF STATEMENTS

Very important

Fairly important

Neither important nor unimportant

Fairly unimportant

Very unimportant

(Don't know)

To your national identity as a Scot or as a person living in Scotland?

To your local identity (IF RESPONDENT ASKS WHAT IS MEANT BY LOCAL SAY, the area which they associate themselves with most within Scotland)?
To your own personal identity?

IF RATE AS IMPORTANT FOR LOCAL IDENTITY ASK

**Q7a. And why do you say that Gaelic is important for your own local identity?
PROBE: What does Gaelic contribute to your local identity? PROBE FULLY.**

OPEN ENDED QUESTION

IF RATE AS IMPORTANT FOR PERSONAL IDENTITY ASK

**Q7b. And why do you say that Gaelic is important for your own personal identity? PROBE: What does Gaelic contribute to your personal identity?
PROBE FULLY.**

OPEN ENDED QUESTION

SHOWSCREEN

Q8. I am now going to read out some statements made by other people about Gaelic. Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with each, choosing your answer from this scale.

INVERT

Agree strongly
Agree slightly
Neither agree nor disagree
Disagree slightly
Disagree strongly
(Don't know)

ROTATE

Gaelic is an important part of Scottish culture
Gaelic is not relevant for Scotland today
Gaelic makes a valuable contribution to promoting Scotland's identity abroad.
The use of Gaelic should be supported and encouraged throughout Scotland
It is important that Scotland does not lose its Gaelic language traditions
More should be done to encourage and promote Gaelic in Scotland
Gaelic is only relevant in certain parts of Scotland, such as the Western Isles

USAGE OF GAELIC

SHOWSCREEN

Q9. In which of these ways if any, do you ever watch, read or listen in the Gaelic language nowadays?

ROTATE

Television
Radio
Newspapers
Magazines/ journals
The internet
Music
Literature/books
Other (specify)
None of these

SHOWSCREEN

Q10. Can you understand, speak, read or write Scottish Gaelic. Please select all that apply?

I can write Gaelic fluently
I can speak Gaelic fluently
I can read Gaelic fluently
I can understand spoken Gaelic fluently
I am learning Gaelic/improving my Gaelic
I know a small number of words/phrases
None of these

IF ANY GAELIC CONTINUE, OTHERS SKIP TO Q13

SHOWSCREEN

Q11. How frequently do use Gaelic, including writing, reading, and/or speaking it?

Please choose your answer from the following scale.

INVERT

A lot
Fairly often
Occasionally
Rarely
Never [**SKIP TO Q13**]
(Don't know)

SHOW SCREEN

Q12a. And where do you tend to speak Gaelic most?

Q12b. And where else do you use it? PROBE: Where else?

At home with family

When socialising with friends

When out and about, shopping, at the bank, at the GP surgery, library, etc.

At work/business

At school

In adult education / evening classes

Don't speak Gaelic **(IF CODED AT Q12A, SKIP Q12B)**

None **(Q12B ONLY)**

ASK ALL

Q13. What if anything would encourage you to use Gaelic more (IF FLUENT/GAELIC LEARNER – Q10/1-6)/learn Gaelic (IF NO GAELIC – Q10/NONE)? PROBE FULLY.

OPEN ENDED QUESTION

DO NOT SHOW SCREEN

Q14 In which occupations, if any, are you aware of employment opportunities for Gaelic speakers? PROBE: Any others?

Gaelic language teachers

Teachers in Gaelic Medium Education/ teaching other subjects in Gaelic

Gaelic development workers

Gaelic officers / managers

Television and radio broadcasters

Arts and acting

Translators / interpreters

Office staff in Gaelic organisations

Bilingual designers

Bilingual receptionists

Other (please specify)

(None of these)

(Don't know)

EDUCATION

SHOWSCREEN

Q15 Thinking now specifically about Gaelic in education, which of these, if any, are available in your local area?

ROTATE BUT FIX OTHER AND NONE

Gaelic language teaching in some primary schools
Gaelic language teaching in some secondary schools
School subjects taught in the Gaelic language/Gaelic Medium Education
Adult education/evening classes in Gaelic
Gaelic nursery / playgroups / parent & toddler groups
Other Gaelic teaching/provision (please specify)
None/not aware of any
Don't know

SHOWSCREEN

Q16. I am now going to read out some more statements made by other people about Gaelic in Scotland. Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with each, choosing your answer from this scale.

INVERT

Agree strongly
Agree slightly
Neither agree nor disagree
Disagree slightly
Disagree strongly
(Don't know)

ROTATE

School pupils who wish to do so should be able to take Gaelic as a subject at school
All school pupils should learn about Scottish studies (Scottish history, culture, heritage, language, literature, etc.)
There should be more opportunities for people to learn Gaelic across Scotland
Gaelic needs to be promoted more within education, with school pupils encouraged to learn Gaelic
There should be more subjects taught in Gaelic at school

APPENDIX 2 – BOOST QUESTIONNAIRE

PART 1 RECRUITMENT

Good morning/afternoon/evening my name is and I work for an independent market research agency. I was wondering if you might have time to answer some questions on Scottish issues. The interview length depends on the answers you provide but on average the interview lasts around 8 minutes.

Please be assured that I am not trying to sell you anything.

The information you give will remain confidential and anonymous. Here is a leaflet which tells you about market research and explains your rights under our industry code and the Data Protection Act.

SHOWSCREEN

R1. First of all, can you understand, speak, read or write Scottish Gaelic. Please select all that apply?

I can write Gaelic fluently

I can speak Gaelic fluently

I can read Gaelic fluently

I can understand spoken Gaelic fluently

I am learning Gaelic/improving my Gaelic – THANK AND GO TO CLOSE

I know a small number of words/phrases – THANK AND GO TO CLOSE

None of these – THANK AND GO TO CLOSE

ONLY CONTINUE IF WRITE, SPEAK, READ OR UNDERSTAND GAELIC FLUENTLY

CLOSING STATEMENT

INTERVIEWER READ OUT

Thank you for your time and interest in taking part. I am looking for people with a fluent knowledge of Gaelic so I am unable to include you in the survey.

R2 CODE GENDER DO NOT ASK

Male

Female

We're interested in hearing the views of a broad range of people in Scotland and therefore we need to ask a couple of other questions first.

R3a So, could you tell me what was your age last birthday?

RECORD ACTUAL AGE

(Refused)

ASK R3B IF REFUSED AT R2A. OTHERS SKIP TO R4.

R3b

INTERVIEWER: PROMPT WITH AGE RANGE IF ACTUAL AGE REFUSED
IF AGE STILL REFUSED, ESTIMATE.

Under 18

18-24

25-29

30-34

35-39

40-44

45-49

50-54

55-59

60-64

65+

ASK ALL

R3

**STANDARD SEG QUESTIONS (USE SHORTENED QUESTION, WITH LONGER
SET AT END – AS 223950-EARLY MARCH 2011)**

CHECK QUOTAS AND CONTINUE IF APPROPRIATE.

AWARENESS

SHOW SCREEN

Q1. In which of these situations, if any, are you aware of the Gaelic language being used in Scotland? PROBE; Anywhere else? . **Please note that at all questions on Gaelic it refers to Scots Gaelic.**

ROTATE, BUT FIX OTHER, NONE AND DK AT END.

At home with family/friends

Other people generally using it

TV, radio, newspapers, etc.

On websites / the internet

As a subject taught in schools

As a language used for teaching other subjects / Gaelic Medium Education

In adult education/evening classes

In music and the arts

On travel / transport signage on roads, at railway stations, etc

By local councils/local authorities in public buildings, public notices, etc

Other (please specify)

None /not aware

(Don't know)

SHOWSCREEN

Q2. Thinking generally about Gaelic usage in Scotland are you in favour or against this?

INVERT

Strongly in favour
Slightly in favour
Neither in favour nor against
Slightly against
Strongly against
(Don't know)

SHOWSCREEN

Q3. And would you like to see / hear more or less Gaelic being used in Scotland today?

INVERT

I would like to see/hear a lot more
I would like to see/hear a little more
I would like to see/hear a little less
I would like to see/hear a lot less
(Don't know)

SHOWSCREEN

IF STATED 'MORE' ASK

Q4. In which places or situations would you like to see / hear Gaelic being used more?

ROTATE, BUT FIX OTHER AND DK AT END

At home with family/friends
Other people generally using it
TV, radio, newspapers, etc.
On websites / the internet
As a subject taught in schools
As a language used for teaching other subjects / Gaelic Medium Education
In adult education/evening classes
In music and the arts
On travel / transport signage on roads, at railway stations, etc
By local councils/local authorities in public buildings, public notices, etc
Other places/situations (please specify)
(Don't know)

Q5. In many public places, documents, leaflets, notices, etc. are often available in languages other than English. Do you think Gaelic should be offered as a language option in these situations? IF YES, Would you say yes definitely, or yes probably?

Yes definitely
Yes, probably
No
(Don't know)

VALUE, RELEVANCE AND IDENTITY

SHOWSCREEN

Q6 How would you rate the importance of Gaelic to each of the following?
Please use this scale. READ OUT EACH STATEMENT AND OBTAIN RESPONSE FOR EACH.

INVERT SCALE. DO NOT ROTATE ORDER OF STATEMENTS

Very important
Fairly important
Neither important nor unimportant
Fairly unimportant
Very unimportant
(Don't know)

To your national identity as a Scot or as a person living in Scotland?
To your local identity (IF RESPONDENT ASKS WHAT IS MEANT BY LOCAL SAY, the area which they associate themselves with most within Scotland)?
To your own personal identity?

IF RATE AS IMPORTANT FOR LOCAL IDENTITY ASK

Q7a. And why do you say that Gaelic is important for your own local identity?
PROBE: What does Gaelic contribute to your local identity? PROBE FULLY.

OPEN ENDED QUESTION

IF RATE AS IMPORTANT FOR PERSONAL IDENTITY ASK

Q7b. And why do you say that Gaelic is important for your own personal identity? PROBE: What does Gaelic contribute to your personal identity? PROBE FULLY.

OPEN ENDED QUESTION

SHOWSCREEN

Q8. I am now going to read out some statements made by other people about Gaelic. Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with each, choosing your answer from this scale.

INVERT

- Agree strongly
- Agree slightly
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Disagree slightly
- Disagree strongly
- (Don't know)

ROTATE

- Gaelic is an important part of Scottish culture
- Gaelic is not relevant for Scotland today
- Gaelic makes a valuable contribution to promoting Scotland's identity abroad.
- The use of Gaelic should be supported and encouraged throughout Scotland
- It is important that Scotland does not lose its Gaelic language traditions
- More should be done to encourage and promote Gaelic in Scotland
- Gaelic is only relevant in certain parts of Scotland, such as the Western Isles

USAGE OF GAELIC

SHOWSCREEN

Q9. In which of these ways if any, do you ever watch, read or listen in the Gaelic language nowadays?

ROTATE

- Television
- Radio
- Newspapers
- Magazines/ journals
- The internet
- Music
- Literature/books
- Other (specify)
- None of these

SHOWSCREEN

Q11. How frequently do use Gaelic, including writing, reading, and/or speaking it?

Please choose your answer from the following scale.

INVERT

A lot
Fairly often
Occasionally
Rarely
(Don't know)

SHOW SCREEN

Q12a. And where do you tend to speak Gaelic most?

Q12b. And where else do you use it? PROBE: Where else?

At home with family
When socialising with friends
When out and about, shopping, at the bank, at the GP surgery, library, etc.
At work/business
At school
In adult education / evening classes
Don't speak Gaelic **(IF CODED AT Q12A, SKIP Q12B)**
None **(Q12B ONLY)**

ASK ALL

Q13. What if anything would encourage you to use Gaelic more? PROBE FULLY.

OPEN ENDED QUESTION

DO NOT SHOW SCREEN

Q14 In which occupations, if any, are you aware of employment opportunities for Gaelic speakers? PROBE: Any others?

Gaelic language teachers
Teachers in Gaelic Medium Education/ teaching other subjects in Gaelic
Gaelic development workers
Gaelic officers / managers
Television and radio broadcasters
Arts and acting
Translators / interpreters
Office staff in Gaelic organisations
Bilingual designers
Bilingual receptionists
Other (please specify)
(None of these)
(Don't know)

EDUCATION

SHOWSCREEN

Q15 Thinking now specifically about Gaelic in education, which of these, if any, are available in your local area?

ROTATE BUT FIX OTHER AND NONE

Gaelic language teaching in some primary schools
Gaelic language teaching in some secondary schools
School subjects taught in the Gaelic language/Gaelic Medium Education
Adult education/evening classes in Gaelic
Gaelic nursery / playgroups / parent & toddler groups
Other Gaelic teaching/provision (please specify)
None/not aware of any
Don't know

SHOWSCREEN

Q16. I am now going to read out some more statements made by other people about Gaelic in Scotland. Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with each, choosing your answer from this scale.

INVERT

Agree strongly
Agree slightly
Neither agree nor disagree
Disagree slightly
Disagree strongly
(Don't know)

ROTATE

School pupils who wish to do so should be able to take Gaelic as a subject at school
All school pupils should learn about Scottish studies (Scottish history, culture, heritage, language, literature, etc.)
There should be more opportunities for people to learn Gaelic across Scotland
Gaelic needs to be promoted more within education, with school pupils encouraged to learn Gaelic
There should be more subjects taught in Gaelic at school

FULL SOS CLASSIFICATION QUESTIONS TO BE ADDED HERE
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APPENDIX 3 – TECHNICAL APPENDIX (OMNIBUS)

Client	The Scottish Government's Culture, External Affairs and Tourism Analytical Unit
Conducted by	TNS-BMRB
Objectives	<p>The overall research objectives are to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Explore public awareness of the Gaelic language at a national level; • Establish how such awareness came about (ie by which routes are people made aware of the language); • Establish the public's awareness of Gaelic provision, and how that awareness was realised (eg awareness of Gaelic provision in education, public services, media and culture); • Explore how the general public value the Gaelic language and its role in Scotland's identity, both at home and abroad; • Determine use of the Gaelic language, generally and in terms of different settings, and investigate ways in which increased usage would be encouraged.
Sampling method	<p>The Scottish Omnibus Survey (SOS) was the vehicle of data collection. The SOS is designed to be representative of the adult population of Scotland aged 16+.</p> <p>This is achieved, firstly, by stratifying by the 8 Scottish Parliament electoral regions in order to provide geographic representation. Population data is then used to determine the correct number of sample points required in each region.</p> <p>At this wave, interviews conducted across 61 constituencies.</p> <p>Interviewers are provided with block of addresses to ensure that all interviews are conducted within the correct sample point.</p> <p>A quota-sampling methodology is used, with quotas set on gender and household shopping status, working status and presence of children as shown below. Only one interview is permitted per household.</p>
Universe	Adult population (aged 16+) across Scotland
Sample size	1,009 interviews conducted in total across Scotland
Fieldwork	From 9 th to 18 th March 2011
Data collection	Interviewing was conducted face-to-face in respondents' homes using multi-media CAPI (Computer Assisted Personal Interviewing)
Incentives	n/a
Interviewers	47 interviewers
Interviewer validation	Face to face validation: A minimum of 10% of interviews are checked on every survey. Verification is carried out at TNS' head office, mainly on the telephone, by trained validators. Interviewer assignments are systematically selected.
Questionnaire	The questionnaire used is appended to this document.
Analysis	The weighting applied is based on population estimates from the BARB (Broadcasters' Audience Research Board) Establishment Survey 2 Years Ending December 2008 and the 2001 Census. Unweighted and Weighted sample profile can be found in section 2 of this report.

APPENDIX 4 – TECHNICAL APPENDIX (BOOST)

Client	The Scottish Government's Culture, External Affairs and Tourism Analytical Unit
Conducted by	TNS-BMRB
Objectives	<p>The overall research objectives are to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Explore public awareness of the Gaelic language at a national level; • Establish how such awareness came about (i.e. by which routes are people made aware of the language); • Establish the public's awareness of Gaelic provision, and how that awareness was realised (e.g. awareness of Gaelic provision in education, public services, media and culture); • Explore how the general public value the Gaelic language and its role in Scotland's identity, both at home and abroad; • Determine use of the Gaelic language, generally and in terms of different settings, and investigate ways in which increased usage would be encouraged.
Sampling method	Quota sampling
Universe	Adults aged 16+ who are frequent Gaelic users
Sample size	56
Fieldwork	28 th March – 10 th April 2011
Data collection	Interviewing was conducted face-to-face in respondents' homes using multi-media CAPI (Computer Assisted Personal Interviewing)
Incentives	n/a
Interviewers	4
Interviewer validation	Face to face validation: A minimum of 10% of interviews are checked on every survey. Verification is carried out at TNS' head office, mainly on the telephone, by trained validators. Interviewer assignments are systematically selected.
Questionnaire	The questionnaire used is appended to this document.
Analysis	Data for the 56 boost interviews was combined with the data for 40 fluent Gaelic users sourced in the main SOS to produce a data set for fluent Gaelic users. This data was not weighted.

APPENDIX 5 – SCOTTISH PARLIAMENTARY REGIONS

REGION	CONSTITUENCY
Lothians	Edinburgh Central
Lothians	Edinburgh East
Lothians	Edinburgh North & Leith
Lothians	Edinburgh Pentlands
Lothians	Edinburgh South
Lothians	Edinburgh West
Lothians	Linlithgow
Lothians	Livingston
Lothians	Midlothian
Mid Scotland and Fife	Dunfermline East
Mid Scotland and Fife	Dunfermline West
Mid Scotland and Fife	Fife Central
Mid Scotland and Fife	Fife North East
Mid Scotland and Fife	Kirkcaldy
Mid Scotland and Fife	Ochil
Mid Scotland and Fife	Stirling
Mid Scotland and Fife	Perth
Mid Scotland and Fife	Tayside North
South	East Lothian
South	Dumfries
South	Galloway & Upper Nithsdale
South	Roxburgh & Berwickshire
South	Tweeddale, Ettrick & Lauderdale
South	Ayr
South	Carrick, Cumnock & Doon valley
South	Clydesdale
South	Cunninghame South
Highlands & Islands	Argyll & Bute
Highlands & Islands	Caithness, Sutherland & Easter Ross
Highlands & Islands	Inverness East, Nairn & Lochaber
Highlands & Islands	Moray
Highlands & Islands	Orkney *
Highlands & Islands	Ross, Skye & Inverness West
Highlands & Islands	Shetland *
Highlands & Islands	Western Isles
North East	Aberdeen North
North East	Aberdeen South
North East	Aberdeenshire West & Kincardine
North East	Angus
North East	Banff & Buchan
North East	Dundee East
North East	Dundee West
North East	Gordon
Central	Falkirk East
Central	Falkirk West
Central	Airdrie & Shotts
Central	Coatbridge & Chryston
Central	Cumbernauld & Kilsyth
Central	East Kilbride

Central	Hamilton North & Bellshill
Central	Hamilton South
Central	Kilmarnock & Loudoun
Central	Motherwell & Wishaw
Glasgow	Glasgow Anniesland
Glasgow	Glasgow Baillieston
Glasgow	Glasgow Cathcart
Glasgow	Glasgow Govan
Glasgow	Glasgow Kelvin
Glasgow	Glasgow Maryhill
Glasgow	Glasgow Pollok
Glasgow	Glasgow Rutherglen
Glasgow	Glasgow Shettleston
Glasgow	Glasgow Springburn
West	Clydebank & Milngavie
West	Cunninghame North
West	Dumbarton
West	Eastwood
West	Greenock and Inverclyde
West	Paisley North
West	Paisley South
West	Strathkelvin & Bearsden
West	West Renfrewshire

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