

Measuring the Gaelic Labour Market: Current and Future Potential

for
Highlands and Islands Enterprise,
Skills Development Scotland
&
Bòrd na Gàidhlig

Final Report - Stage 1

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September 2008

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This is the final report of a research study commissioned by Highlands and Islands Enterprise, Skills Development Scotland and Bòrd na Gàidhlig to quantify and assess the current state of the Gaelic labour market. The main elements of the research took place between March and June 2008.

1. The aims and objectives of the Gaelic labour market research study

1.1 The primary aim of the research study was to provide a baseline position in relation to the use and demand for Gaelic within the present labour market in Scotland. The research objectives were as follows:

- Define and quantify the current Gaelic labour market by agreed geographic area, occupation, industry, level of Gaelic skills required, and entry level for post and salary range.
- Identify the extent of the use of Gaelic skills in the workplace, and identify reasons why organisations do or do not formally identify Gaelic language skills as necessary.
- To consider and assess current drivers for any growth in the Gaelic labour market including legislation.

2. The methodology employed for stage 1 of the research

2.1 An extensive database of 220 organisations was compiled that included organisations that (a) were known to have existing Gaelic essential designated posts; (b) were known to have a demand for Gaelic language skills and (c) might have a demand for Gaelic language skills now or in the near future.

2.2 A survey questionnaire was posted to the 220 contacts on the database. A Hecla Freepost address return envelope was provided in the mail-out to encourage organisations and individuals to return the completed questionnaires by the cut-off date of the end March 2008. A copy of the questionnaire was also made available on the Hecla website.

2.3 At the beginning of June 2008 the research team were in possession of 88 useable questionnaires. This represents a 40% response rate. In addition, a breakdown of the survey returns indicates an **81% response rate from organisations known to have Gaelic essential posts**.

3. Defining the 'Gaelic labour market'

3.1 For this research study the concept of the 'Gaelic labour market' has been defined as, **"the market for which knowledge of the Gaelic language is a condition of employment"**. This market includes labour employed in organisations – commonly referred to as 'Gaelic-essential' employment - as well as labour that provides Gaelic language services on a self-employed and/or on a specified contract basis.

4. Conclusions from stage 1 of the research

The conclusions generated by the research are as follows:

- 4.1 Data sources on Gaelic language activity extant across Scotland need to be substantially developed so policy actions relating to skills, employment and career opportunities can be developed on a more robust footing than at present.
- 4.2 There are low numbers of young people entering the labour market with anything like the requisite language skills required to be able to perform a job to a high standard through the medium of Gaelic. Support policies need to be developed so that the existing economically active workforce that can speak, read or write Gaelic can be encouraged to take up employment posts where use of Gaelic is a major or a minor requirement of the job specification.
- 4.3 Proportionally, there are more people who speak, read and write Gaelic in the professional/associate professional occupational categories than for Scotland as a whole. An analysis of the Census data also indicates that people employed in these occupational categories are primarily within what can be termed the “the Gaelic Creative Class”. The “professional class” is more concentrated in the main city regions with “skilled trades” more predominant in Highlands, Argyll and the Wester Isles.
- 4.4 The research findings clearly indicate an increasing demand for employment posts requiring particular skill levels in Gaelic. However, to facilitate elements of this demand a policy focus needs to be brought to bear on the achievement of specific language outcomes in relation to expenditures on Gaelic language development activities.
- 4.5 **The total number of Gaelic essential designated posts in Scotland is in the region of 735.** Over the last ten years or so there has been a substantial increase in the number of people employed in posts requiring a competence in Gaelic. At present demand is driven primarily by the education and learning sector, the expansion of the media/creative industries sector and public administration posts.
- 4.6 The study has also pointed to evidence which suggests that people employed in the ‘Gaelic labour market’ don’t necessarily see themselves as operating in a ‘Gaelic labour market’, particularly in sub-occupations that arise because of a Gaelic language specialism, such as (Gaelic) teaching or (Gaelic) broadcasting in which other ‘technical’ skills are transferable to English-medium occupations. **The potential labour force needs, therefore, to recognise that Gaelic skills can engender flexibility in a profession, and that Gaelic is transferable skill of relevance to a wide and expanding range of occupational sectors.**

1. INTRODUCTION

This is the final report of the research study commissioned by Highlands and Islands Enterprise and Bòrd na Gàidhlig to quantify and assess the current state of the Gaelic labour market. The main elements of the research took place between March and June 2008.

1.2. The general background context

The Gaelic Language Act (Scotland) 2005 has legislated for Gaelic to be ‘an official language of Scotland commanding equal respect to the English Language’. The Gaelic Language Act aims to bring about the creation of the conditions whereby Gaelic might achieve a critical mass of speakers, ensuring the natural growth and renewal of the language. Central to the future survival of the language is the promotion of Gaelic as a labour market skill as this is one of the necessary conditions required in order to raise the status of the language and to broaden the use of Gaelic by existing Gaelic-speakers. In recognition of the importance of the labour market in contributing to the long-term sustainability of the language, the promotion and encouragement of increased use of Gaelic in places of work is a ‘priority area’ of planning for ‘language use’ in the National Plan for Gaelic 2007-12.

It is anticipated that the provisions contained within the Act, and in particular the implementation of Gaelic Plans for public bodies, will increase the demand for Gaelic language skills in the workplace across Scotland. Two types of growth areas are envisaged:

- i. The key sectors comprising the ‘Gaelic industry’ which produce a range of Gaelic language goods and services¹. These will include professional language services, the media, education and cultural industries.
- ii. Those employment sectors whose main purpose is not the provision of Gaelic language goods and services, but the provision of a bilingual service to the public. The largest potential growth for this ‘mainstream’ demand for Gaelic language skills will be in areas where Gaelic speakers form a significant proportion of the population. Occupational sectors will include business administration and support services, health care and leisure services.

Detailed labour market information is required in order to provide institutional support to facilitate this growth, and to develop appropriate educational and training strategies to ensure that this skills demand is met. Furthermore, the evidence produced from this study can be used to support marketing campaigns to raise the language’s status, and encourage intergenerational transmission and second language learning.

¹ See Sproull, A and Ashcroft, B (1993) *The Economics of Gaelic Language Development: A Research Report for Highlands and Islands Enterprise and the Gaelic Television Committee with Comunn na Gàidhlig*.

Ambitious objectives and targets have been set out in the 2007-2012 National Plan for Gaelic and in HIE's Gaelic Plan for 2008-2012.

The preparation of Gaelic Plans for public bodies has already brought the creation of new Gaelic officer posts overseeing the drafting and implementation of these Plans and we might anticipate further growth of posts defined as Gaelic essential in local authorities, the NHS and other public bodies. We have also witnessed indirect growth within sectors delivering services such as translation, Gaelic learning courses and awareness sessions. The launch of a Gaelic digital TV channel in 2008 should also bring with it some significant growth in the Gaelic creative industries sector. Both supply and demand issues are important in the Gaelic labour market.

This study will build on previous research conducted by Galloway in 1990² to provide comprehensive baseline quantitative data on the demand for Gaelic skills in the workplace to help support policy developments that will seek to grow the Gaelic labour market in future years and which in turn will support the achievement of Gaelic job creation targets.

1.3 The aims and objectives of the Gaelic labour market research study

The primary aim of the research study is to provide a baseline position in relation to the use and demand for Gaelic within the present labour market, which will help inform Highlands and Islands Enterprise and Bòrd na Gàidhlig in developing appropriate strategies for the growth of Gaelic skills in a broad range of sectors of the economy. The research is to be conducted in two specific stages. The present report comprises the results of stage 1 of the research.

Stage 1: The first stage quantifies the current number of individuals in employment where Gaelic is an essential, desirable or beneficial attribute – segregating by sector, location, levels of entry qualification, role & seniority and salaries.

Stage 1 has the following research objectives:

1. Define and quantify the current Gaelic labour market by agreed geographic area, occupation, industry, level of Gaelic skills required, and entry level for post and salary range.
2. Identify the extent of the use of Gaelic skills in the workplace, and identify reasons why organisations do or do not formally identify Gaelic language skills as necessary.
3. To consider and assess current drivers for any growth in the Gaelic labour market including legislation.

² Galloway, J. (1995). *The Role of Employment in Gaelic Language Maintenance and Development*. Unpublished PhD. EDINBURGH: University of Edinburgh.

Stage 2: The second stage of the research appraises the Gaelic-economy in its widest sense and considers how Gaelic is used and might increase in usage within the public and private sector, placing a greater requirement on Gaelic skills within those sectors.

Stage 2 has the following set of research objectives:

1. Identify current and future labour market trends for Gaelic skills and gauge how demand for Gaelic skills might grow within the public sector, the third sector and the private sector.
2. Consider and set out the main barriers and opportunities towards growing the Gaelic labour market.
3. Identify practical measures to increase the demand for Gaelic skills in various sectors (as informed by stage 1), and set out recommendations on how a sectoral strategy could be developed to most effectively secure long-term sustainable growth for the Gaelic labour market.
4. A policy review, including an assessment of the theoretical implications of the legislation with a review of the Welsh and Irish language planning frameworks, and their implementation and implications for the labour market.

1.4 Defining the ‘Gaelic labour market’

It was important at the outset to adopt a working definition of the ‘Gaelic labour market’. A ‘labour market’ is essentially an abstract analytical concept used to understand patterns of labour market participation and demand pertaining to economic activity. Economic scholarship conceptualises the labour market as, “the market through which labour power is exchanged as a commodity”³. Traditionally a labour market involves a geographical dimension; however, the concept can also be applied to flows of skills and skill-sets required for types of economic activity. In the context of this study, a Gaelic labour market arises when employers pay for Gaelic-speaking, reading and/or writing labour services. These are specialised skills and the market demand for these human skills is geographically dispersed and not pertaining to one kind of economic activity or economic sector.

This study identifies the concept of the ‘Gaelic labour market’ by defining it as, **“the market for which knowledge of the Gaelic language is a condition of employment”**. This market includes labour employed in organisations – commonly referred to as ‘Gaelic-essential’ employment - as well as labour that provides Gaelic language services on a self-employed and/or on a specified contract basis.

³ Lee, R. 2000. Labour Market. In: Johnston, R J., Gregory, D., Pratt, G. & Watts, M., eds., *The Dictionary of Human Geography*, fourth edition. OXFORD: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, pp416-420.

There was limited *ex ante* information on whether organisations that identified knowledge of Gaelic as ‘desirable’ for a post required a non-Gaelic speaking post-holder to learn the language to a specified level of proficiency. This study sought to ascertain whether this ambiguous category of employment could be considered part of the ‘Gaelic labour market’ or whether it was a future potential growth area.

It is as important to state what our definition of the ‘Gaelic labour market’ excluded, as well as included. There are two points worth noting.

1. This definition excluded the informal and unspecified use of Gaelic in working practices. This is because such employment does not reward the post-holder on the basis of Gaelic language skills.
2. This study diverges from earlier research into the so-called ‘Gaelic economy’. These studies have aimed to quantify Gaelic *goods and services* (e.g. outputs) rather than the demand for Gaelic language skills and as such, have not taken into account the *language of production*⁴. Labour power involved in the production of Gaelic goods and services which is not ‘hired’ and ‘rewarded’ for its knowledge of Gaelic is excluded from the present study.

1.5 Methodology for Stage 1 of the research

This research study has presented a number of methodological and practical challenges that are outwith the norm of a labour market study that would typically be conducted across industry sectors in Scotland. Principally these concerns focus on the absence of any data collected by official sources on Gaelic labour market activity and the sparsity of research on labour market issues that have been commissioned in relation to Gaelic language development activity. In addition, Gaelic employment represents a very small percentage of all employment in Scotland. Thus the research study needed to be configured appropriately to ensure that this baseline study could capture in sufficient detail the present state of the Gaelic labour market in Scotland.

The broad methodological approach that has been taken to address the requirements for stage 1 of the research is as follows:

1.5.1 Media publicity

The purpose of the research was made known through media publicity co-ordinated by the commissioning bodies. Organisations and individuals were encouraged to participate in the research and to contact the consultancy team if they had any queries and issues they wished to discuss in relation the research process.

⁴ For example, Sproull, A. and Ashcroft, B. 1993. *The Economics of Gaelic Language Development: A Research Report for Highlands and Islands Enterprise and the Gaelic Television Committee with Comunn na Gàidhlig*.

1.5.2 Development of the contact database

From previous research studies, it was known that the majority of 'Gaelic desirable' posts were in organisations with 'Gaelic essential' employment. It was therefore both theoretically and practically appropriate to focus on employers who were known to have, or likely to have, 'Gaelic essential' posts. A review of organisations that currently deliver services through the medium of Gaelic and/or that employ individuals directly or indirectly (e.g. as contractors, artists, musicians, tutors, consultants, etc.) because of their Gaelic language skills identified 220 organisations. Therefore, an extensive database of 220 organisations was compiled that included organisations that (a) were known to have existing Gaelic essential designated posts; (b) were known to have a demand for Gaelic language skills and (c) might have a demand for Gaelic language skills now or in the near future. The development of the contact database was informed by knowledge held by the consultancy team from previous Gaelic research studies and from consultations with Bòrd na Gàidhlig, Comunn na Gàidhlig and Highlands and Islands Enterprise.

1.5.3 Development of the survey questionnaire

A survey questionnaire was created to elicit labour market data and information from the database of contacts. In addition to gathering Gaelic labour market activity within the contact group, the questionnaire also asked contacts to identify the extent of Gaelic services they source from self-employed contractors e.g. translation services, media and public relations, consultancy etc. The purpose of this particular question was to identify other Gaelic related employment beyond those people employed directly by Gaelic organisations included in the survey contact group.

1.5.4 Survey of the contact group

A postal survey of the contact group formed the main data collection element of stage 1 of the research. The number of contacts in the database was maximised to ensure a comprehensive coverage of organisations with Gaelic essential designated posts. The survey questionnaire was posted to the 220 contacts on the database. A Hecla Freepost address return envelope was provided in the mail-out to encourage organisations and individuals to return the completed questionnaires by the cut-off date of the end March 2008. The questionnaire was also made available on the Hecla website.

Over 75% of the contact group had not provided a response by the cut-off date. An extension was requested to the survey element of the research and this was granted by the Client steering group. The revised cut-off date for responses was mid May 2008. The principal consultant then proceeded to make contact via telephone and email with the organisations and individuals who had yet to provide a response to the survey. In many cases repeated telephone calls had to be made to a number of organisations to encourage completion of the questionnaire.

These organisations were targeted as the consultants were aware they had people employed in Gaelic essential and/or Gaelic desirable posts. Responses were gradually provided over time and by the beginning of June the research team were in possession of 88 useable questionnaires. This represents a 40% response rate. For a postal survey this is a high response rate on which to base robust research findings. In addition, a breakdown of the survey returns indicates an **81% response rate from organisations known to have Gaelic essential posts**. As such the research team are confident that most of the Gaelic essential posts in Scotland have been accounted for in the survey responses generated by this research.

1.5.5 Review of existing data and research on the Gaelic labour market

A brief review of existing data and literature on the 'Gaelic labour market' was undertaken to set the context for this study.

1.5.6 Analysis of Gaelic labour market data in 2001 Census

To provide an appropriate context within which to set the primary research aim, the research team commissioned a number of tables from the General Register Office of Scotland (GROS) that focus specifically on the economically active workforce who could speak, read and write Gaelic at the time of the 2001 Census. This data enabled the research team to identify Gaelic labour activity for the population of Scotland who could speak, read and write Gaelic.

1.5.7 Consultations

Once the completed surveys had been returned and partially analysed, a small number of consultations took place with a selected number of organisation identified in the contact database. The organisations contacted for this element of the research were:

- | | |
|------------------------------|------------------------|
| • Commun na Gaidhlig | • Lews Castle College |
| • Cli Gaidhlig | • Fèisean nan Gàidheal |
| • Highlands Council | • Media nan Eilean |
| • Comhairle nan Eilean Siar | • BBC Scotland |
| • Western Isles Health Board | • Glasgow City Council |

The primary aim of the consultations was to discuss in more detail some of the findings generated by the survey responses and also to provide insights as to how public policy can be configured to develop practical measures to support the future development of the Gaelic labour market and the Gaelic sector of the economy. The ten organisations participating in the consultations were selected from the contact database as they represented, broadly, the key Gaelic employer sectors of: further and higher education; broadcasting; Gaelic development; the arts and; public bodies, including Local Authorities.

1.6 Structure of the report

Section 2 presents a review of existing data and research on the Gaelic labour market; **Section 3** sets out the detail of the findings generated from the survey of organisations and individuals contacted during the research; **Section 4** provides a brief discussion of the responses provided through the consultations; and **Section 5** contains the conclusions arising from stage 1 of the research into the present state of the Gaelic labour market.

2. REVIEW OF EXISTING DATA AND RESEARCH ON THE GAELIC LABOUR MARKET

2.1 Overview of Existing Data

The current level of availability of data on the supply, demand and use of Gaelic language skills in the workplace is scant. Existing data has, to date, been collected by ad-hoc studies in the absence of a national Gaelic language use survey, or the collection of data on language skills requirements by employers through national skills surveys⁵. The review in this section draws on three main sources of secondary data. The first is official data collected by the Scottish Government including the annual 'Pupil Census' and Scottish Funding Council data, which we use to analyse the number of people with Gaelic qualifications entering the general workforce in Scotland. The second is the decennial Scottish census which, in 2001, assessed Gaelic language abilities against five categories: the ability to speak, read, write, the constituent combinations, and a new category to measure the ability of people to 'understand' Gaelic. For the purposes of this research, we analyse the ability of people to speak, read and write Gaelic from the 2001 Census to identify trends in language skills and to estimate the size of the potential Gaelic-speaking workforce in Scotland. The third and final source of data on the supply, demand and use of Gaelic language skills is a number of specific research studies and reports, as follows:

- **National studies** which have assessed the economic impact of Gaelic-related economic activity (Sproull and Ashcroft, 1993), the use of Gaelic in the workplace by Gaelic speakers (Euromosaic, 1999) and finally, of high relevance to this study, the role of Gaelic in the job market (Galloway, 1995)
- **Sectoral studies** and datasets concerned with labour market issues and the economic impact of activity related to Gaelic in the arts (e.g. Chalmers, 2003) education (e.g. Scottish Executive, 2007 and MacNeil and Beaton, 1994) and media (e.g. EKOS, 2000; Hecla Consulting, 2006).
- **Local and regional** studies of Gaelic which have addressed local issues of language use and maintenance (e.g. Hecla Consulting, 2003 and MacNeil and Galloway, 2004).

An additional and emergent category of data is being created through the conduct of 'staff language skills audits' in public sector organisations with a responsibility to produce Gaelic language plans under Section 3 of the Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005.

⁵ This situation differs from, for example, Wales where a bi-annual Welsh national language survey is conducted in addition to the inclusion of data on Welsh language skills in the national skills surveys commissioned by Future Skills Wales.

The Guidance on producing National Gaelic Language Plans recommends that an internal language capacity audit covers the following aspects: levels of staff skills, services currently provided through Gaelic; internal processes currently conducted through Gaelic, and; an inventory of Gaelic publications. Between 2006 and 2009 some 31 bodies are to be notified to produce Gaelic Language Plans (See **Appendix 1**).

Several bodies to date have undertaken staff language skills audits as part of the planning and preparation process whilst others have planned to undertake a staff skills audit as part of the implementation process. Topics common to audits are: levels of Gaelic skills amongst staff; current use of Gaelic in job tasks; interest and willingness to learn Gaelic; and types of training and support needed to improve Gaelic language skills. Whilst the analysis of this data is outwith the scope of this study, and premature in the case of some organisations, it is acknowledged that these audits are relevant, and it is recommended that these data be collated and analysed by Bord na Gaidhlig to inform future language planning strategies and policy interventions to support the policy objective of increased use of Gaelic in the workplace (National Plan for Gaelic, 2005).

2.2 The Supply of Labour: the Gaelic-speaking Workforce

2.2.1 This section provides an analysis of the number of Gaelic speaking people that are entering the general workforce in Scotland. We utilise a number of existing data sets to illustrate the extent of the Gaelic speaking workforce thus providing the context for the development of strategic policy to support actions to meet future labour demand for Gaelic language competent staff. We consider data in five specific areas, namely:

- Gaelic as main home language of school pupils.
- All pupils in Gaelic medium education.
- Gaelic attainment of school pupils at secondary education level.
- Gaelic qualifications obtained at Further and Higher Education institutions.
- An analysis of the Gaelic labour data collected by the 2001 Census.

2.2.2 Gaelic as main home language of school pupils

Table 2.1 gives the main home language of pupils in Scotland as recorded for 2007.

Table 2.1: All pupils by main home language 2007

Main home language	Total number of pupils	% of Overall Total
English	664,497	96.7
Punjabi	4,682	0.7
Urdu	4,002	0.6
Polish	3,347	0.5
Cantonese	1,508	0.2
Arabic	1,277	0.2
French	740	0.1
Gaelic (Scottish)	653	0.1
Bengali/Bangala	531	0.1
German	473	0.1
Spanish	412	0.1
Turkish	371	0.1
Other	10,546	0.7
Overall Total	693,024	100

Source: Pupils in Scotland 2007 Note: The number of different languages totals 138.

English, as expected, is overwhelmingly the main home language of pupils in Scotland at 97% of the total pupil number. The number of pupils who claim Gaelic as the main language of the home is 653, which is the seventh main home language, after English, of all pupils in Scotland.

The 653 pupils who claim Gaelic as the main language of the home are allocated by Local Authority in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2: All pupils by main home language and local authority, 2007

Local Authority	No. of pupils that claim Gaelic as main home language	Total number of pupils in Local Authority area	Gaelic as home language as % of all pupils
Eilean Siar	373	3,833	9.73%
Highland	93	32,001	0.29%
Glasgow City	33	65,707	0.05%
Argyll & Bute	28	11,943	0.23%
Edinburgh City	23	44,168	0.05%
North Lanarkshire	18	48,617	0.04%
South Lanarkshire	18	43,672	0.04%
West Lothian	13	25,577	0.05%
East Dunbartonshire	8	16,371	0.05%
Renfrewshire	8	24,225	0.03%
West Dunbartonshire	8	12,876	0.06%
Aberdeen City	3	22,202	0.01%
East Ayrshire	3	16,789	0.02%
East Renfrewshire	3	16,175	0.02%
Fife	3	48,582	0.01%
Inverclyde	3	10,929	0.03%
Moray	3	13,002	0.02%
North Ayrshire	3	19,266	0.02%
Perth & Kinross	3	17,927	0.02%
South Ayrshire	3	14,931	0.02%
Stirling	3	12,653	0.02%
Total	653	521,446	0.13%

Source: Pupils in Scotland 2007

The Western Isles make up nearly 60% of the pupil number claiming Gaelic as the first language of the home. However, this is less than 10% of all school pupils registered in the Western Isles during 2007. This critically low level of Gaelic usage reported in the homes of school pupils has serious implications in terms of language maintenance and language vitality within the community of the Western Isles, which is still essentially classed as being predominately Gaelic. At the 2001 Census, 70% (18,662) of the population of the Western Isles claimed they could speak, read, write **and/or** understand Gaelic. As such there is a serious mismatch between what is being claimed by school pupils as the main language of the home against what should be expected if 70% of the community claims an understanding of Gaelic. Further research would need to be made to access the veracity and accuracy of these data in relation to Gaelic as the main home language of school pupils and in particular in relation to the Western Isles.

2.2.3 All pupils in Gaelic medium education

Table 2.3 present the data on the number of pupils in Gaelic medium education.

Table 2.3: All Pupils receiving Gaelic medium education, 2005-2007

Gaelic learning mode	2005	2006	2007	% change
	Number	Number	Number	
Exclusively through Gaelic*	630	710	739	17%
All curriculum through Gaelic or bilingual*	1,159	1,184	1,283	11%
Some curriculum through English, some through Gaelic*	691	560	579	-16%
Gaelic the only subject taught through Gaelic	1,452	1,206	1,096	-25%
Gaelic taught as learner	5,019	5,321	5,049	1%

Source: Scottish Government - Pupils in Scotland 2007. Categories marked with an asterisk are considered as Gaelic medium education.

The number of pupils receiving education that is categorised as Gaelic medium has increased by 12% since 2005 with education taught exclusively in Gaelic up by 17%. However, the number of pupils being taught Gaelic as a subject has decreased by 25% with only a marginal increase in the number of pupils being taught as Gaelic learners. The number of pupils in Gaelic medium education by primary and secondary levels for 2006 and 2007 is shown at Table 2.4 and 2.5 respectively.

Table 2.4: All Pupils receiving Primary Gaelic medium education, 2006-2007

Year	Exclusively through Gaelic	All curriculum through Gaelic or bilingual	Some curriculum through English, some through Gaelic	Gaelic the only subject taught through Gaelic	Gaelic taught as a learner
2006	707	1,131	228	496	2,926
2007	735	1,198	219	409	2,930
% change	4%	6%	-4%	-18%	0%

Source: Scottish Government - Pupils in Scotland 2007.

Table 2.5: All Pupils receiving Secondary Gaelic medium education, 2006-2007

Year	Some subjects other than Gaelic taught through Gaelic	Gaelic the only subject taught through Gaelic	Gaelic taught as a learner
2006	469	1,100	2,407
2007	449	687	2,119
% change	-4%	-38%	-12%

Source: Scottish Government - Pupils in Scotland 2007.

Pupils in Gaelic medium primary education have increased slightly (6%) over the last two years although there has been a decline (-18%) in primary school pupils being taught Gaelic as a single subject. The situation within the secondary education sector is less positive with a decline of 38% in pupils being taught Gaelic as a subject and an additional decline in the number of pupils being taught as learners.

The data as presented could be indicative of changes in the provision of Gaelic education across Scotland and/or changes in how data is collected. **Appendix 2** provides an analysis by selected Local Authority areas of Gaelic medium education provision across both the primary and secondary sectors for 2007.

2.2.4 Gaelic attainment of school pupils

Table 2.6 and Table 2.7, respectively, set out the numbers and associated percentages of pupils (leavers) achieving attainment in Gaelic either as native speakers or as learners at Levels 3 to 5.

Table 2.6: Number of Gaelic qualifications attained by leavers from publicly funded schools at levels 3-5

Item	2002-3	2003-4	2004-5	2005-6
Total number of Leavers	57,520	58,411	57,268	58,149
Gaidhlig	130	110	189	185
Gaelic (Learners)	369	301	317	329

Source: Pupils in Scotland 2007

SCQF Level 3: Standard Grade at 5-6; Access 3 Pass, SCQF Level 4: Standard Grade at 3-4, Intermediate 1 at A-C; SCQF Level 5: Standard Grade at 1-2, Intermediate 2 at A-C

Table 2.7: Percentage of Gaelic qualifications attained by leavers from publicly funded schools at levels 3-5 as a percentage of all leavers

Item	2002-3	2003-4	2004-5	2005-6
Total number of Leavers	57,520	58,411	57,268	58,149
Gaidhlig	0.23%	0.19%	0.33%	0.32%
Gaelic (Learners)	0.64%	0.51%	0.55%	0.57%

Source: Pupils in Scotland 2007

SCQF Level 3: Standard Grade at 5-6; Access 3 Pass, SCQF Level 4: Standard Grade at 3-4, Intermediate 1 at A-C; SCQF Level 5: Standard Grade at 1-2, Intermediate 2 at A-C

The number of pupils (leavers) achieving qualifications in Gaelic is very low in comparison to all pupils in Scotland. Trends for Gaelic language attainment qualifications as a native speaker or as a Gaelic learner are consistently below 1% of all pupil leavers for the years for which data are available. Whilst this trend appears relatively steady, the numbers leaving with Gaelic language attainment qualifications are very low, particularly if the demand for Gaelic skilled staff within the labour market materialises as is envisaged through the National Plan for Gaelic and the strategy and development plans of the main Gaelic organisations and the public bodies producing Gaelic language plans.

However, whilst academic attainment in Gaelic in terms of competency/ability to speak, read and write to a particular level is important, the official academic attainment/skills data at present does not appear to capture in an easily useful format the number of students/pupils with Gaelic speaking skills who may or may not be taking formal education in the language. For some job roles, such as the caring profession, the ability to speak Gaelic would far outweigh the importance of competency in reading and writing Gaelic.

Table 2.8 and Table 2.9, respectively, set out the numbers and associated percentages of pupils (leavers) achieving attainment in Gaelic either as native speakers or as learners at Level 6.

Table 2.8: Number of Gaelic qualifications attained by leavers from publicly funded schools at level 6

Item	2002-3	2003-4	2004-5	2005-6
Total number of Leavers	57,520	58,411	57,268	58,149
Gaidhlig	68	56	89	102
Gaelic (Learners)	97	74	75	93

Source: Pupils in Scotland 2007. SCQF Level 6: Higher A-C

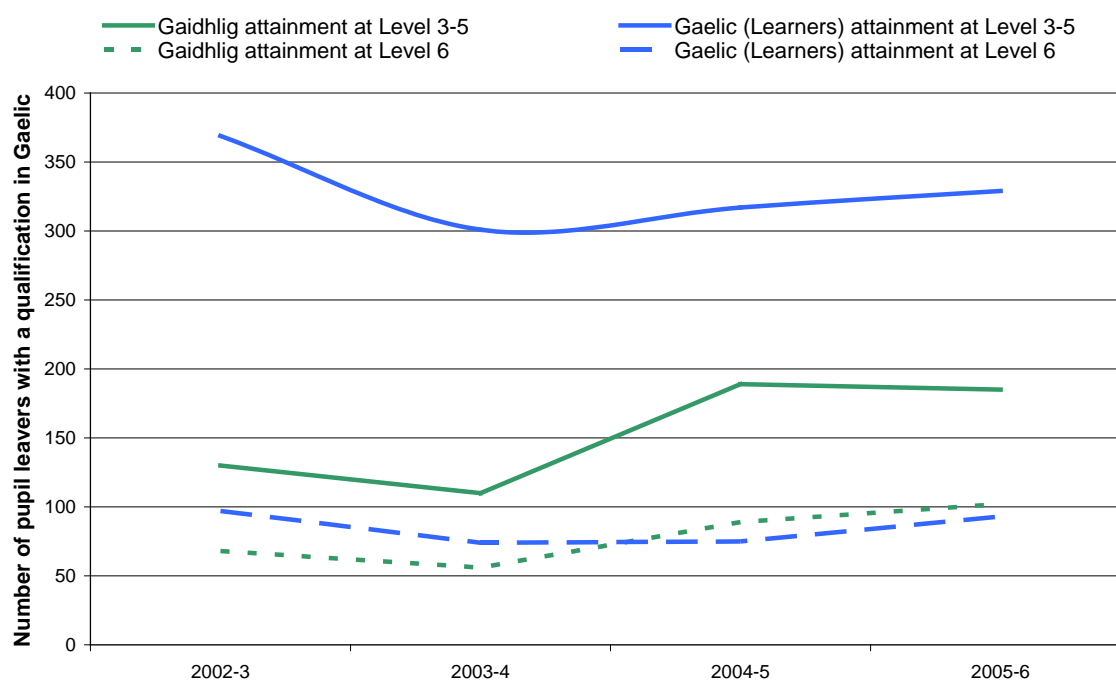
Table 2.9: Percentage Gaelic qualifications attained by leavers from publicly funded schools at level 6 as a percentage of all leavers

Item	2002-3	2003-4	2004-5	2005-6
Total number of Leavers	57,520	58,411	57,268	58,149
Gaidhlig	0.12%	0.09%	0.16%	0.18%
Gaelic (Learners)	0.17%	0.12%	0.13%	0.16%

Source: Pupils in Scotland 2007. SCQF Level 6: Higher A-C

As at Levels 3 to 5, the number of leavers with Gaelic language attainment at Level 6 is very low. Of particular significance is that the numbers of pupils attaining Gaelic learner qualifications at levels 3-5 appear not to be progressing to level 6. As such, the number of leavers with Level 6 qualifications, which could be taken as indicative of language skills, including literary, required for most Gaelic essential jobs, is less than 200 per year. The differential between those with Level 3 to 5 qualifications in Gaelic and those with Level 6 is shown in Figure 2.1.

Figure 2.1: Differential between those obtaining level 3 to 5 Gaelic qualifications and those pupils obtaining level 6 Gaelic qualifications



2.3 Gaelic qualifications in Further and Higher Education

2.3.1 Gaelic attainment at Further Education level

Data and information were also sought from the Scottish Funding Council in relation to the numbers of students enrolled at Further Education and Higher Education Institutions in Scotland who have undertaken a course/Degree with a Gaelic element. Data held by Scottish Funding Council on courses with a Gaelic element is shown at Table 2.10.

Table 2.10: Enrolments in the SFC-funded further education colleges where course title contains 'Gaelic'

College	2000-01	2001-02	2002-03	2003-04	2004-05	2005-06	2006-07
Aberdeen College	8	3	12	-	-	-	-
Ayr College	-	-	-	64	60	38	35
Borders College	-	-	-	12	-	-	-
Clydebank College	22	28	21	-	43	43	39
Cumbernauld College	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
Dumfries and Galloway College	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Edinburgh's Telford College	98	62	92	52	62	57	29
Forth Valley College	34	32	15	13	17	5	-
Inverness College (*)	48	27	26	30	44	8	-
Jewel and Esk Valley College	14	15	35	28	-	-	-
Kilmarnock College	9	17	15	37	39	30	25
Langside College	-	-	-	-	-	20	10
Lews Castle College (*)	198	175	196	200	161	120	111
Moray College (*)	-	23	54	2	-	2	-
Motherwell College	-	12	-	-	-	-	-
Newbattle Abbey College	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Orkney college (*)	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
Perth College (*)	21	-	24	7	30	11	19
Sabhal Mòr Ostaig (*)	511	431	594	725	835	688	800
South Lanarkshire College	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
Stow College	-	-	53	63	12	42	39
The North Highland College (*)	25	25	-	-	22	16	13
Total	990	850	1,137	1,233	1,325	1,080	1,149

Source: Scottish Funding Council

Notes: There are no specific codes in FE database prior to 2006-07 to select Gaelic programmes. To avoid under counting students a search of course were made under the main grouping of Celtic studies and a search was also conducted for programme titles containing 'Gaelic' that might not come under Celtic studies. (*) From 2001-02 the HE level provision of this college was included in the UHI Millennium Institute's statistical returns as a higher education institution. All programmes and courses run by Sabhal Mòr Ostaig are included in the data. Data at the other FE Colleges were selected by searching the course titles of programmes that contained 'Gaelic' in the title.

From the data shown at Table 2.10, the number of students undertaking programmes with a Gaelic element appears stable although the data can only be illustrative as the Gaelic content of many of the programmes is unknown. As expected, Sabhal Mòr Ostaig attracts the highest number of students, although many of the courses that the data relates to are short-term courses and week-end seminars. However, these data as they relate to Sabhal Mòr should be viewed as positive as they illustrate an increasing trend for Gaelic based language courses.

2.3.2 Gaelic attainment at Higher Education level

Table 2.11 presents data on the number of students at the SFC-funded higher education institutions whose subject(s) of qualification included Celtic studies or with Gaelic in the title of the programme of study.

Table 2.11: Enrolments in the SFC-funded higher education institutions where subject(s) of qualification included Celtic studies or course title contains 'Gaelic'

Institution	2000-01	2001-02	2002-03	2003-04	2004-05	2005-06	2006-07
University of Aberdeen	67	57	61	57	45	67	79
University of Dundee	40	55	37	-	-	-	-
University of Edinburgh	54	39	38	60	64	45	52
University of Glasgow	79	75	57	54	53	65	72
University of Strathclyde	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
UHI Millennium Institute (*)		104	116	111	170	178	189
Total	241	330	309	282	332	355	392

Source: Scottish Funding Council

Notes: (*) The 2001-02 academic session was the first for which the UHI Millennium Institute made statistical returns as a higher education institution. Prior to 2001-02 each of the partner colleges of the UHI Millennium Institute returned their HE provision as part of their own separate returns as further education colleges. Students include Research postgraduates, Taught postgraduates, undergraduates and others.)

The total number of students at SFC-funded higher education institutions whose subject(s) of qualification included Celtic studies or with Gaelic in the title of programme of study appears to be on a positive trend. This positive trend is more apparent at Aberdeen University and at colleges within the UHI Millennium Institute.

Table 2.12 presents data on those students at SFC-funded higher education institutions who have obtained a qualification in Celtic studies and/or a qualification with Gaelic in their programme of study.

Table 2.12: Students at SFC-funded higher education institutions who have obtained a qualification in subject(s) that have included Celtic studies or course title containing 'Gaelic'

Institution	2000-01	2001-02	2002-03	2003-04	2004-05	2005-06	2006-07
University of Aberdeen	15	13	17	20	13	13	19
University of Dundee	14	16	22	-	-	-	-
University of Edinburgh	9	13	12	16	16	11	12
University of Glasgow	23	25	20	13	8	15	20
University of Strathclyde	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
UHI Millennium Institute (*)		-	29	27	24	27	33
Total	62	67	100	76	61	66	84

Source: Scottish Funding Council

Note: students include Research postgraduates, Taught postgraduates, undergraduates and others. (*) The 2001-02 academic session was the first for which the UHI Millennium Institute made statistical returns as a higher education institution.

Of those students who enrolled at a higher education institution, (Table 2.11); about one fifth obtained a qualification in a subject that included Celtic studies or Gaelic in the title of programme of study. The differential between those students enrolling and those obtaining a qualification in a programme of study with Celtic or Gaelic as a subject appears to suggest a significant drop-out rate from these particular courses. We have not been able to obtain any robust data that would verify or corroborate these findings so any inferences from Table 2.11 and 2.12 need to be used with some degree of caution.

The data on Gaelic qualifications would suggest that the number of people entering the labour market with sufficiently proficient skills in the language is very low. At best there are some 200 pupils per annum achieving a Level 6 qualification in Gaelic and between 60-80 people graduating per year with a Degree qualification that has Gaelic as a subject. However, it is also important to note that there are likely to be many people entering and leaving universities with Gaelic skills that do not enrol in any Degree courses with a Gaelic and/or Celtic subject content. The data on students does not capture these skill sets at present and as such there is likely to be many more people entering the labour market with Gaelic skills than the number suggested by the available data on qualifications achieved from universities and colleges.

If the step change in demand for Gaelic language outputs as envisaged by the National Plan for Gaelic is to be achieved then significantly more people need to be entering the market with competencies in Gaelic language skills. The alternative is to re-train/up-skill the existing members of the work-force who claim some competency in speaking, reading and writing Gaelic. Such a skills development programme would recognise the existing Gaelic skills within the present Scottish labour force and help alleviate potential business development constraints on employers that are looking to recruit staff with the requisite Gaelic language skills.

2.4 An analysis of Gaelic labour market data collected in 2001 Census.

Overview of knowledge of Gaelic in Scotland

2.4.1 This section presents an analysis of relevant Gaelic labour market data collected as part of the 2001 Census.

Our definition of the 'Gaelic labour market' includes a market demand for all combination of Gaelic language skills. We know from previous research and extant knowledge, however, that the majority of current demand for Gaelic language skills is in the skilled professions and requires individuals who can speak, read and write Gaelic. The survey reported at Section 3 seeks to quantify this through examining the types of language skills required for posts, both 'essential' and 'desirable', and also through examining expected changes in future demand. The main 2001 Census secondary data analysis undertaken for this research is based on people who can speak, read *and* write Gaelic and is used to identify the potential source of labour to supply the Gaelic labour market given this was anticipated to be the skill-combination to be of greatest demand (later verified in the survey) and given the Census is likely to over represent, rather than under represent, the language group.

However, we begin our analysis of the Census data by looking at the extent of Gaelic knowledge in Scotland as a whole. Table 2.13 reports the extent of knowledge and competence in Gaelic across a number of specific categories.

Table 2.13: Knowledge of Gaelic in Scotland at 2001 Census

Category of Knowledge	Number	Percentage
Speaks, reads and writes Gaelic	31,235	0.6%
Speaks but neither reads nor writes Gaelic	19,466	0.4%
Speaks and reads but cannot write Gaelic	7,949	0.2%
Reads but neither speaks nor writes Gaelic	4,758	0.1%
Writes but neither speaks nor reads Gaelic	901	0.0%
Understands spoken Gaelic but cannot speak, read or write Gaelic	27,219	0.5%
Other combination of skills in Gaelic	1,754	0.0%
Some Knowledge of Gaelic	93,282	1.8%
No knowledge of Gaelic	4,968,729	98.2%
Total	5,062,011	100.0%

Source: GROS.

Overall, some 93,282 (1.8%) people in Scotland claimed some knowledge and/or understanding of Gaelic at the 2001 Census. Of these, 31,235 claimed to be able to speak, read and write the language with almost an equal proportion claiming an understanding of spoken Gaelic but not the capability to speak, read or write. Some 19,466 people are able to speak Gaelic only with 7,949 claiming they could speak and read Gaelic but did not have any competency in writing in the language. The data in Table 2.13 illustrates that the potential exists to attract people into job roles requiring some level of Gaelic language skills over and above those employment posts that require fluency in being able to speak, read and write Gaelic.

A breakdown of Gaelic language skills by the economically active/inactive population is shown at Table 2.14.

Table 2.14: Knowledge of Gaelic by economically active and inactive population

Category of Knowledge	Number of people	Economically active	Economically inactive
Speaks, reads and writes Gaelic	23,182	14,979	8,203
Speaks but neither reads nor writes Gaelic	14,427	8,588	5,839
Speaks and reads but cannot write Gaelic	6,190	3,712	2,478
Reads but neither speaks nor writes Gaelic	4,185	2,967	1,218
Writes but neither speaks nor reads Gaelic	613	291	322
Reads and writes but does not speak Gaelic	1,079	695	384
Understands spoken Gaelic but cannot speak read or write	21,748	13,658	8,090
Other combination of skills in Gaelic	209	124	85
Some Knowledge of Gaelic	71,633	45,014	26,619
No knowledge of Gaelic	3,659,446	2,379,067	1,280,379
Total population	3,731,079	2,424,081	1,306,998

Source: GROS. Note: data refers to people aged between 16 and 74 years of age.

Table 2.14 indicates that 77% (71,633) of people who claim some knowledge of Gaelic in Scotland (93,282) are economically active or economically inactive. 45,014 (63%) of people aged between 16 and 74 years are economically active. Of the population who have some knowledge of Gaelic and are economically active some 14,979 (33%) claim they can speak, read and write Gaelic. 8,588 (19%) of the economically active Gaelic population can speak Gaelic with 3,712 (8%) claiming to be able to speak and read Gaelic but not able to write Gaelic.

2.4.2 Analysis of population who can speak, read and write Gaelic

The analysis contained in the rest of this section focuses on the Census data relating to people who claimed they could speak, read and write Gaelic at the 2001 Census. The following elements of data have been extracted from the 2001 Census in relation to the population who can speak, read and write Gaelic.

- Population who can speak, read and write Gaelic
- Age structure of population
- Economic activity
- Industry of employment
- Occupational category
- Highest level of qualifications

2.4.3 Population who can speak, read and write Gaelic

In Table 2.15 data is presented on the 2001 population in Scotland and the ten Local Authorities which have the highest number of people who could speak, read and write (SRW) Gaelic.

Table 2.15: Population who can speak, read and write Gaelic

Local Authority	Total Population in Local Authority Area	Population who can Speak, read and write Gaelic	% of total population who can SRW Gaelic
Eilean Siar	26,502	9,003	34.0%
Highland	208,914	6,912	3.3%
Glasgow City	577,869	2,957	0.5%
Argyll & Bute	91,306	1,925	2.1%
Edinburgh City	448,624	1,766	0.4%
Aberdeen City	212,125	825	0.4%
Perth & Kinross	134,949	755	0.6%
South Lanarkshire	302,216	540	0.2%
Fife	349,429	525	0.2%
North Lanarkshire	321,067	512	0.2%
Totals – All Scotland	5,062,011	31,235	0.6%

Source: GROS.

At the Scotland level there were, in 2001, some 31,235 people who could speak, read and write Gaelic. This represents 0.6% of the overall population of Scotland. In 2001 there were 93,282 people who claimed an understanding of Gaelic in Scotland representing 1.8% of the total population. The people who claim they can speak, read and write Gaelic represent 34% of all people who claim an understanding of Gaelic. The Local Authority with the highest number of people who claim full competency in Gaelic is Eilean Siar at 34% of the total population of the islands. Highlands and Argyll and Bute follow at 3.3% and 2.1% respectively. 82% of the people who claim they can SRW Gaelic are resident in the 10 Local Authorities listed in Table 2.15.

2.4.4 Age structure of population who can speak, read and write Gaelic

Table 2.16, overleaf, presents data on the age structure of the 2001 Scotland population who could speak, read and write Gaelic.

Table 2.16: Age structure of population who can speak, read and write Gaelic

Age Groups	Scotland		Scotland	
	Total Population		All people who Speak, Read and Write Gaelic	
0-15	972,065	19%	4,615	15%
16-49	2,384,207	47%	13,438	43%
50-74	1,346,872	27%	9,744	31%
75+	358,867	7%	3,438	11%
Total	5,062,011	100%	31,235	100%
Born in Scotland	4,410,400	87%	28,423	91%
Not born in Scotland	651,611	13%	2,812	9%

Source: GROS.

Tables 2.17 and 2.18, overleaf, provide an age group profile of people who speak, read & write Gaelic by the 10 Local Authorities with the highest numbers of people in this category of the population.

Table 2.17: Age structure of population who can speak, read and write (SRW) Gaelic by Local Authority

	Aberdeen City	Argyll & Bute	Edinburgh City	Eilean Siar	Fife	Glasgow City	Highland	North Lanarkshire	Perth & Kinross	South Lanarkshire
Total SRW population	825	1,925	1,766	9,003	525	2,957	6,912	512	755	540
<u>Age Groups</u>										
0-15	72	408	117	1,392	13	231	1,550	111	158	90
16-49	604	605	1,078	3,255	264	1,788	2,536	216	255	253
50-74	115	640	439	3,063	187	667	2,003	159	271	158
75+	34	272	132	1,293	61	271	823	26	71	39
Born in Scotland	710	1,718	1,328	8,748	435	2,619	6,410	461	653	498
Not born in Scotland	115	207	438	255	90	338	502	51	102	42

Source: GROS.

Table 2.18: Age structure of population who can speak, read and write (SRW) Gaelic by Local Authority

	Aberdeen City	Argyll & Bute	Edinburgh City	Eilean Siar	Fife	Glasgow City	Highland	North Lanarkshire	Perth & Kinross	South Lanarkshire
Total SRW population	825	1,925	1,766	9,003	525	2,957	6,912	512	755	540
<u>Age Groups</u>										
0-15	9%	21%	7%	15%	2%	8%	22%	22%	21%	17%
16-49	73%	31%	61%	36%	50%	60%	37%	42%	34%	47%
50-74	14%	33%	25%	34%	36%	23%	29%	31%	36%	29%
75+	4%	14%	7%	14%	12%	9%	12%	5%	9%	7%
Born in Scotland	86%	89%	75%	97%	83%	89%	93%	90%	86%	92%
Not born in Scotland	14%	11%	25%	3%	17%	11%	7%	10%	14%	8%

Source: GROS.

Table 2.16 shows that the age structure of the Scottish population as a whole and the population who can speak, read, and write Gaelic follow a generally similar profile. However, the Scottish population as a whole is younger than the Gaelic fluent population. Proportionally there are more people in the 50+ years age group who speak, read and write Gaelic than the proportion for the Scottish population as a whole.

At the level of the 10 Local Authorities illustrated in Tables 2.17 and 2.18 the main factors of interest are:

In the 0-15 age group:

- In Argyll and Bute, 21% (408) of the population who can speak, read and write (SRW) Gaelic are in this age group.
- In Highland, there are 22% (1,550) in this age group.
- In Eilean Siar, there are 15% (1,392) in this age group.

In the 16-49 age group:

- In Aberdeen City, 73% (604) of the SRW Gaelic population are in this age group.
- In Edinburgh City, 61% (1,078) of the SRW Gaelic population are in this age group.
- In Glasgow City, 60% (1,788) of the SRW Gaelic population are in this age group.
- In Eilean Siar, 36% (3,255) of the SRW Gaelic population are in this age group.

In relation to a breakdown of the SRW Gaelic population in terms of people born within or outwith Scotland we note from the data that 25% of the Edinburgh City SRW Gaelic population were born outwith Scotland whilst only 3% of the Eilean Siar population who SRW Gaelic were born outside Scotland.

2.4.5 Economic activity – population who speak, read and write Gaelic

Table 2.19 presents the economic category of activity of the population who can speak, read and write Gaelic and compares this with the population of Scotland as a whole.

Table 2.19: Economic activity categories of population who can speak, read and write Gaelic

Category	Scotland All Population		Scotland Speaks, reads and writes Gaelic	
Total population (Scotland and SRW Gaelic)	3,731,079	100.0%	23,182	100.0%
Economically active	2,424,081	65.0%	14,979	64.6%
Employee total	1,916,847	79.1%	11,208	74.8%
<i>Employee Part-time</i>	414,989	21.6%	2,888	25.8%
<i>Employee Full-time</i>	1,501,858	78.4%	8,320	74.2%
Total - Self-employed with employees	103,309	4.3%	696	4.6%
<i>Self-employed with employees - Part-time</i>	13,875	13.4%	93	13.4%
<i>Self-employed with employees - Full-time</i>	89,434	86.6%	603	86.6%
Total - Self-employed without employees	142,879	5.9%	1,341	9.0%
<i>Self-employed without employees - Part-time</i>	37,608	26.3%	378	28.2%
<i>Self-employed without employees - Full-time</i>	105,271	73.7%	963	71.8%
Unemployed	148,082	6.1%	864	5.8%
Full-time students	112,964	4.7%	870	5.8%
Economically inactive	1,306,998	35.0%	8,203	35.4%
Retired	518,403	39.7%	3,797	46.3%
Student	159,874	12.2%	1,459	17.8%
Looking after home/family	205,760	15.7%	1,042	12.7%
Permanently sick/disabled	277,687	21.2%	1,211	14.8%
Other	145,274	11.1%	694	8.5%

Source: GROS, 2001 Census Table UV28. Notes: data represents all people aged 16 to 74. "Economically active" category comprises, employee total + self employed with employees + self-employed without employees + unemployed + full-time students.

The main points of interest are:

- Economic activity rates are similar for the SRW Gaelic population in comparison to Scotland as a whole.
- 74% of SRW Gaelic employees are in full-time work compared to 78% for Scotland as a whole.
- Nearly 9% of the SRW Gaelic population who are economically active are self-employed with no employees compared to 6% for Scotland as a whole.
- Over 46% of the economically inactive SRW Gaelic population are retired compared to 40% for Scotland overall.
- Nearly 18% of the economically inactive SRW Gaelic population are classed as students compared to 12% for Scotland as a whole.

Table 2.20 presents an analysis of the economic category of activity of the population who can speak, read and write Gaelic across the five Local Authorities with the highest number of people in the SRW category.

Table 2.20: Economic activity categories of population who can speak, read and write Gaelic by five Local Authorities areas

Economic Activity	Argyll & Bute	Edinburgh City	Glasgow City	Highland Council	Eilean Siar
Total population (SRW Gaelic)	1,245	1,517	2,455	4,539	6,318
Economically active	790	1,032	1,546	2,965	4,082
Employee total	73.3%	74.0%	71.7%	73.3%	76.5%
Employee Part-time	31.1%	19.5%	17.5%	29.0%	30.5%
Employee Full-time	68.9%	80.5%	82.5%	71.0%	69.5%
Total - Self-employed with employees	6.8%	2.5%	3.2%	5.7%	5.2%
Self-employed with employees - Part-time	14.8%	26.9%	8.2%	17.2%	7.9%
Self-employed with employees - Full-time	85.2%	73.1%	91.8%	82.8%	92.1%
Total - Self-employed without employees	10.4%	8.2%	5.8%	10.8%	9.5%
Self-employed no employees - Part-time	32.9%	37.6%	23.6%	29.0%	21.7%
Self-employed no employees - Full-time	67.1%	62.4%	76.4%	71.0%	78.3%
Unemployed	5.9%	3.9%	7.1%	4.7%	5.8%
Full-time students	3.5%	11.3%	12.3%	5.5%	3.0%
Economically inactive	36.5%	32.0%	37.0%	34.7%	35.4%
Retired	54.7%	33.6%	28.4%	49.1%	54.2%
Student	10.1%	34.8%	37.3%	15.6%	9.4%
Looking after home/family	11.2%	9.7%	7.2%	14.7%	14.0%
Permanently sick/disabled	15.8%	12.2%	16.7%	12.5%	13.2%
Other	8.1%	9.7%	10.5%	8.1%	9.2%

Source: GROS.

The main points of interest are:

- Eilean Siar has the highest percentage (76.5%) of SRW Gaelic employees that are economically active.
- In relation to the SRW category that are economically active and self-employed but without employees, Argyll & Bute has 10.4% (82 people), Highland 10.8% (321) and Eilean Siar 9.5% (387).
- Glasgow and Edinburgh have the highest percentage of the economically active classed as full-time students at 11.3% (117) and 12.3% (190) respectively.
- The highest percentages of retirees are in Argyll & Bute and Eilean Siar whilst Edinburgh and Glasgow have the lowest percentages.

2.4.6 Industry of employment - population who speak, read and write Gaelic

Table 2.21 sets out the data on the industry of employment for the population, who can speak, read and write Gaelic and this is compared with the population of Scotland as a whole.

Table 2.21: Industry of employment for population who can speak, read and write Gaelic

Industry of Employment	Scotland Total Population		Scotland Population - Speaks, reads and writes Gaelic	
Total population (Scotland and SRW Gaelic)	2,261,281	100.0%	13,978	100.0%
Health and social work	279,635	12.4%	2,285	16.3%
Education	164,978	7.3%	1,894	13.5%
Wholesale and retail trade repairs	325,335	14.4%	1,312	9.4%
Real estate renting and business activities	252,662	11.2%	1,296	9.3%
Public administration, defence & social security	158,059	7.0%	1,280	9.2%
Other community social/service activities	118,452	5.2%	962	6.9%
Manufacturing	299,213	13.2%	943	6.7%
Construction	169,150	7.5%	942	6.7%
Hotels and restaurants	129,865	5.7%	932	6.7%
Transport storage and communications	151,618	6.7%	922	6.6%
Financial intermediaries	104,866	4.6%	374	2.7%
Fishing	6,727	0.3%	296	2.1%
Agriculture hunting and forestry	48,419	2.1%	257	1.8%
Mining & Quarrying	28,118	1.2%	160	1.1%
Electricity gas and water supply	22,639	1.0%	109	0.8%
Private households with employed persons	1,158	0.1%	7	0.1%
Extra-territorial organisations and bodies	387	0.0%	7	0.1%

Source: GROS, 2001 Census Table UV34. Notes: data represents all people aged 16 to 74.

The main points to note are:

- Only 13,978 people are classed as being able to speak, read and write Gaelic and are recorded by an industry of employment. This represents 15% of the total number of people who claimed an understanding of Gaelic at the 2001 Census and 0.6% of the Scottish population (2,261,281) recorded within the industry of employment categories.
- 30% of those who can SRW Gaelic are in the education, health and social work industry categories whilst the comparator percentage for Scotland as a whole is 20%.
- In overall terms, the percentage of people who can SRW Gaelic and who are in work, are predominantly employed in public sector orientated industries. This reflects the dominance of public sector employment in the Highlands and islands as a whole and in particular the peripheral Gaelic speaking areas.

2.4.7 Occupational category - population who speak, read and write Gaelic

Tables 2.22 and 2.23 provide an analysis of the occupational categories of the population who can speak, read and write Gaelic.

A more detailed breakdown of the “professional occupations” and “associate professional & technical occupations” categories are shown in Table 2.23.

Table 2.22: Occupational category for population who can speak, read and write Gaelic

Occupational Category	Scotland Total Population		Scotland Population - Speaks, reads and writes Gaelic	
Total population (Scotland and SRW Gaelic)	2,261,281	100.0%	13,978	100.0%
Managers and Senior Officials	275,251	12.2%	1,465	10.5%
Professional Occupations	245,084	10.8%	2,436	17.4%
Associate Professional & Technical Occupations	316,148	14.0%	2,483	17.8%
Administrative and Secretarial Occupations	287,921	12.7%	1,486	10.6%
Skilled Trades Occupations	275,452	12.2%	1,695	12.1%
Personal Service Occupations	161,418	7.1%	1,257	9.0%
Sales and Customer Service Occupations	195,355	8.6%	798	5.7%
Process Plant and Machine Operatives	218,170	9.6%	913	6.5%
Elementary Occupations	286,482	12.7%	1,445	10.3%

Source: GROS, 2001 Census Table UV30. Notes: data represents all people aged 16 to 74.

- 35.2% of the people who can SRW Gaelic are employed in the occupational categories of “professional occupations” and “associate professional and technical occupations”. This compares to 24.8% for Scotland as a whole.
- 12.1% of people who can SRW Gaelic are employed in the occupational category of “skilled trades”.

Table 2.23: Analysis of “professional” & “associate professional” occupational categories

Selected occupational category	Scotland Total Population		Scotland Population - Speaks, reads and writes Gaelic	
Professional Occupations	245,084	10.8%	2,436	17.4%
Science and Technology Professionals	62,036	2.7%	322	13.2%
Health Professionals	21,606	1.0%	162	6.7%
Teaching and Research Professionals	104,411	4.6%	1,487	61.0%
Business and Public Service Professionals	57,031	2.5%	465	19.1%
Associate Professional and Technical Occupations	316,148	14.0%	2,483	17.8%
Science and Technology Associate Professionals	51,767	2.3%	271	10.9%
Health and Social Welfare Associate Professionals	94,733	4.2%	997	40.2%
Protective Service Occupations	36,080	1.6%	245	9.9%
Culture Media and Sports Occupations	34,514	1.5%	447	18.0%
Business and Public Service Associate Professionals	99,054	4.4%	523	21.1%

Source: GROS.

The main points of interest from Table 2.23 are:

- In the “professional occupation” category, 61% of people who can SRW Gaelic are employed as teaching and research professionals.
- In the “associate professional and technical occupations” category, 40% of people who can SRW Gaelic are employed as health and social welfare associate professionals. 21% of the Gaelic SRW population are employed as business and public service associate professionals with 18% of this occupational category employed in the culture, media and sport sector.

Table 2.24 provides a breakdown by Local Authority area of the percentage of people within each of the main occupational categories who can speak, read and write Gaelic.

Table 2.24: SRW Gaelic employment by occupation and Local Authority area

Local Authority	% SRW Gaelic Population by Occupational Categories			
	Management & Technical	Administrative and Secretarial	Skilled Trades	Services/ Elementary
Scotland	37%	13%	12%	38%
Scotland SRW Gaelic	46%	11%	12%	32%
Aberdeen City	55%	10%	7%	28%
Aberdeenshire	54%	10%	10%	25%
Argyll & Bute	42%	9%	13%	37%
East Dunbartonshire	65%	11%	7%	17%
Edinburgh City	61%	13%	5%	22%
Glasgow City	53%	11%	7%	29%
Highland	42%	10%	14%	35%
Perth & Kinross	44%	9%	12%	34%
Renfrewshire	57%	7%	8%	28%
South Lanarkshire	56%	11%	8%	25%
Na Eileanan Siar	33%	12%	18%	37%

Source: GROS.

- At the Scotland level there are more people (46%) who can SRW Gaelic in the management and technical occupational categories than for Scotland as a whole (37%).
- The management and technical occupational category is the predominant area of employment for the SRW Gaelic population in the more urban areas of Scotland.
- A higher proportion of Gaelic SRW employees are in “skilled trades” within Argyll & Bute, Highland and Eilean Siar than for other Scottish local authority areas.
- There is more employment in the skilled trades within Highland, Argyll & Bute and Na Eileanan Siar than in other Scottish local authority areas.
- The Western Isles Gaelic SRW population exhibit a similar occupational category employment profile to Scotland as a whole.

2.4.8 Qualifications of population who speak, read and write Gaelic

Table 2.25 provides a breakdown of the qualification of people who speak, read and write Gaelic.

Table 2.25: Level of qualification for population who SRW Gaelic

Level of qualification ⁶	Scotland Total Population		Scotland Population - Speaks, reads and writes Gaelic	
Total population (Scotland and SRW Gaelic)	3,731,079	100.0%	23,182	100.0%
No qualifications/qualifications outwith groups	1,239,947	33.2%	5,375	23.2%
Group 1	921,074	24.7%	3,990	17.2%
Group 2	584,060	15.7%	4,274	18.4%
Group 3	259,389	7.0%	1,789	7.7%
Group 4	726,609	19.5%	7,754	33.4%

Source: GROS, 2001 Census Table UV25. Notes: data represents all people aged 16 to 74.

- 33.4% of the population who can SRW Gaelic are in the highest Group 4 qualifications category compared to 19.5% for Scotland as a whole.

Table 2.26 provides a breakdown of the hours worked by people who speak, read and write Gaelic.

Table 2.26: Hours worked by people who SRW Gaelic

Hours worked	Scotland Population in work		Scotland Population in work - Speaks, reads and writes Gaelic	
All People	2,261,281	100.0%	13,978	100.0%
Part-time	550,669	24.4%	3,977	28.5%
1 to 2 hours	3,188	0.6%	43	1.1%
3 to 5 hours	15,573	2.8%	146	3.7%
6 to 15 hours	144,496	26.2%	1,082	27.2%
16 to 30 hours	387,412	70.4%	2,706	68.0%
Full-time	1,710,612	75.6%	10,001	71.5%
31 to 37 hours	456,866	26.7%	2,892	28.9%
38 to 48 hours	934,377	54.6%	4,786	47.9%
49 to 59 hours	177,795	10.4%	1,113	11.1%
60 hours and over	141,574	8.3%	1,210	12.1%

Source: GROS, 2001 Census Table UV41. Notes: data represents all people aged 16 to 74.

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⁶ Group 1: 'O' Grade, Standard Grade, Intermediate 1/2, City and Guilds Craft, SVQ Level 1 or 2 or equivalent.

Group 2: Higher Grade, ONC, OND, City & Guilds Advanced Craft, RSA Advanced Diploma, SVQ Level 3 or equivalent.

Group 3: HND, HNC, RSA Higher Diploma, SVQ Level 4 or 5 or equivalent.

Group 4: First Degree, Higher Degree, Professional qualification.

From the data in Table 2.26 we note that:

- As a percentage (28.5%) there are slightly more people who SRW Gaelic in part-time employment than for Scotland (24.4%) as a whole.
- 68% of people employed part-time and who SRW Gaelic work between 16 and 30 hours per week.
- 47.9% of people employed full-time and who SRW Gaelic work between 38 and 48 hours per week compared to 54.6% for Scotland overall.

2.5 Summary of labour supply – Gaelic SRW population

- The extent to which Gaelic is the main home language of school pupils in Scotland is low at 653 pupils. 60% (373) of these pupils are located in the Western Isles.
- The number of young people entering the labour market with a sufficient level of competency in Gaelic language skills is estimated to be around 200 school pupils with a Level 6 qualification in Gaelic and 80 graduates with a Degree qualification that has included Gaelic as a subject.
- The 2001 Census data shows that some 31,235 people claimed to be able to speak, read and write the Gaelic with almost an equal proportion claiming an understanding of spoken Gaelic but not the capability to speak, read or write the language. In addition, some 19,466 people are able to speak Gaelic only with 7,949 claiming they could speak and read Gaelic but did not have any competency in writing in the language. As such the Gaelic census data on language competency clearly illustrates the potential that exists to attract people into job roles requiring some level of Gaelic language skills over and above those employment posts that require complete language fluency in terms of being able to speak, read and write Gaelic.
- The number of people who claimed an ability speak, read and write Gaelic at the 2001 Census and are allocated to an industry of employment is 13,978. The two main industries of employment are: health and social work and education.
- As a proportion there are more people who SRW Gaelic in the management and professional occupational categories than the proportion for Scotland as a whole. This grouping could be termed the “Gaelic Creative Class”. The media/creative industries, teaching and research and health and social welfare are the predominant occupational categories for people who can SRW Gaelic.

- There is also a regional divide in relation to skilled trades and professional type occupations. The Highlands, Argyll and the Western Isles have proportionally more people employed in skilled trades occupations than other regions of Scotland whilst the predominant occupations for people who SRW Gaelic in the main city regions are of the managerial and professional categories.
- As a proportion there are considerably more people who can SRW Gaelic in the higher qualification category than the proportion for Scotland as a whole.
- Overall, there are proportionally more people who can SRW Gaelic employed in the public sector than the proportion for the Scottish population as a whole.

2.6 The Demand for Gaelic Language Skills in the Workplace

2.6.1 National Studies on Gaelic in Work and Employment

In 1990 John Galloway conducted a survey of 309 organisations, departments and sub-locations using a purposive sample of organisations known or expected to use Gaelic in work and employment in Scotland (Galloway, 1995). The survey collected factual data on different types of language use (and change); attitudinal data on the current and future importance of Gaelic use; and the formal designation of posts as either 'Gaelic essential' or 'Gaelic desirable'.

The survey distinguished between the formality of **language use**, the type (oral and written), and the change in language use over time. Of the 232 responses, 186 organisations reported some kind of use of Gaelic in the work of the organisation. No definition of 'informal' and 'formal' were given, however the results presented in Table 2.27 revealed that the majority of respondents perceived their organisation to use a mixture of formal and informal use (105), and both spoken and written Gaelic (85). Unsurprisingly, the informal use of Gaelic was more common than formal use.

Table 2.27: Use of Gaelic by Organisations (1990)

Category	Speak Gaelic only	Write Gaelic Only	Both Spoken & Written Gaelic	Total
Formal	2	7	11	20
Informal	57	1	3	61
Both formal & informal	34	0	71	105
Total	93	8	85	186

Source: Galloway (1995)

Of the 186 organisations that reported using Gaelic, those with 'Gaelic posts' were more likely to report no change or an increase in the use of spoken Gaelic between 1981-1990 (86 percent), than were those with no Gaelic posts (70 percent).

In all, 92 organisations reported they had posts for which Gaelic was a '**desirable**' or '**essential skill**'. Galloway reported, however, there was "evident difficulty in assessing what constituted a Gaelic-desirable post", particularly by organisations in Skye and the Western Isles.

The reasons identified were first, the high proportion of Gaelic speakers and related normative use of Gaelic in the workplace, and second; organisations were ambivalent about specifying Gaelic as desirable due to widespread bilingualism. A summary of the prevalence and distribution of Gaelic posts by local authority area is given in Table 2.28.

In 1990, there were over 400 positions in Scotland for which Gaelic was an essential skill, and nearly 1150 posts for which Gaelic was considered to be a 'desirable' skill. Combined, of the 1549 posts, 93 percent were located in the Highlands and Islands. A different pattern emerges, however, when we examine the **spatial distribution** of posts separately.

Table 2.28: The Prevalence & Distribution of Gaelic Posts (1990)

Council Area	Gaelic Essential		Gaelic Desirable	
	Number.	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Comhairle nan Eilean Siar	146.5	36.4	1008.5	87.96
Highland	118	29.32	78.6	6.86
Highlands & Islands**	49	12.17	44.5	3.88
Argyll	11	2.73	6	0.52
Glasgow City	45	11.18	0	0
Lothian	20	4.97	9	0.78
Rest of Scotland	13	3.23	0	0
Total	402.5	100	1146.6	100

**All part-time positions were treated as 0.5 for conversion to FTE

Source: derived from Galloway (1995)

The majority of Gaelic desirable posts were in the Western Isles (88 percent) reflecting the level of English-Gaelic bilingualism in the local population and the related recognition of the advantage of Gaelic language skills when dealing with the public, particularly in public sector posts. In contrast, only 36 percent of Gaelic essential posts were located in the Western Isles which reflects the distribution of the demand for Gaelic language skills in the 'Gaelic language industries' in other centres, such as Glasgow, Inverness, and the Isle of Skye.

Galloway issued a word of caution, however, against viewing 'Gaelic desirable' posts as part of the 'Gaelic labour market', given "it is not safe to assume that, all else being equal, a Gaelic-speaker would have been preferentially recruited for all of the posts here – nor even that Gaelic abilities would have been considered...thus any significance which the large total of Gaelic-desirable posts may have had for the Gaelic job market depended on the rigours with which the Gaelic-desirable aspect was pursued in recruitment in the Western Isles" (Galloway, 1990: 32-33). There has been no subsequent analysis of how the 'Gaelic desirable' criterion operates in practice.

The distribution of posts according to sector (or in Galloway's terminology, "fields of work") is presented overleaf in Table 2.29. Gaelic desirable posts were concentrated in public sector providers of social services, social work, and education. Gaelic essential posts were concentrated in the educational sector, with other significant numbers in the media, the 'Gaelic bodies' and the Christian ministry.

Table 2.29: The Sectoral Distribution of 'Gaelic Posts' (1990)

Category	Gaelic Essential		Gaelic Desirable	
	Number.	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Education	237.5	59.01	479.5	41.8
Media (print, radio and TV)	49	12.17	18.5	1.6
Christian Ministry	27	6.71	49	4.3
Gaelic bodies	45	11.18	4.5	0.4
Other public services	32.5	8.07	533.6	46.5
Private sector	9	2.24	32.5	2.8
Other	2.5	0.62	29	2.5
Total	402.5	100	1146.6	100

* All part-time positions were treated as 0.5 for conversion to FTE

Source: derived from Galloway (1995)

Gaelic desirable posts were found to be typified by low quality, part-time and temporary employment, and concentrated in the local government sector in bilingual areas. Gaelic essential posts were typically professional posts of higher status and quality, and concentrated in education, broadcasting and 'Gaelic organisations', but distributed throughout Scotland. In all, 71 organisations predicted an increase in their demand for oral Gaelic language skills in the period 1991-2000. In over half of these organisations Gaelic posts already existed.

The second national study related to the Gaelic labour market was 'The Economics of Gaelic Language Development' (Sproull and Ashcroft, 1993). The report sought to define, and measure the output of the '**Gaelic industry**' in Scotland. The authors identified 60 organisations which were involved in the production of Gaelic related goods and services. The report rejected the concept of a 'Gaelic labour market' as, according to its authors:, "Examining only jobs in which Gaelic competence is required or desirable will fail to pick up some activities which are totally concerned with the production of Gaelic products or services yet some or all employees may have no Gaelic" (Sproull and Ashcroft, 1993:4).

Nonetheless, the report did request data on the use of Gaelic in these organisations: only 31 organisations returned data on Gaelic language requirements and of those only 12 required *all staff* to be fluent in Gaelic. In the remaining 19 organisations, an average of 65 percent of employees were categorised as fluent Gaelic speakers (Sproull and Ashcroft, 1993).

This study highlighted that Gaelic language skills were not prerequisite for all jobs in organisations involved in the production or Gaelic related goods and services.

The extent of the use and benefit of Gaelic outside of the 'Gaelic industry' and organisations which don't specify a Gaelic language skills requirement is largely unquantified. The Euromosaic project conducted a comparative minority language use survey in 1994, including a quota sample survey of 300 speakers of Gaelic in Scotland. The Euromosaic Survey collected data on Gaelic speakers' use of Gaelic when communicating with colleagues at different levels within the employee organisation (Table 2.30).

Table 2.30: Gaelic-speakers Language Use in the Workplace (1994)

Category	% Co-workers with Gaelic Language Ability						Language Used with Co-workers (% respondents)					
	All	>50%	50%	<50%	Nil	N	G	G>E	G=E	E>G	E	N
Supervisors	25.8	6.5	6.5	3.8	57.5	186	10.9	12.0	10.4	17.7	49.0	192
Colleagues	25.5	9.0	13.2	10.8	41.5	212	8.5	17.1	19.4	26.5	28.4	211
Subordinates	23.2	6.4	10.4	4.8	55.2	125	6.7	12.6	12.6	25.2	43.0	135
Customers	21.3	7.7	15.8	10.9	44.3	183	6.6	18.6	16.9	28.4	29.5	183

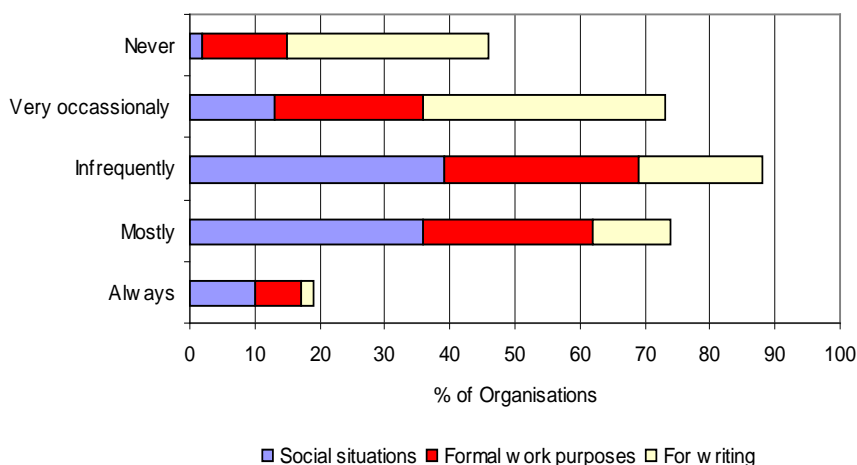
Source: derived from Euromosaic (1995). Note: G = Gaelic E = English

Despite a high proportion of co-workers being able to speak Gaelic, language use in the workplace was predominantly English, leading to the conclusion that "the use of Gaelic in work is far less than the ability to do so" (Euromosaic, 1995). It is not known if any of the respondents worked in positions for which Gaelic skills were required, or desirable. Neither is there data on the level of language competence of respondents and co-workers, or their location. Nonetheless, the study ascertained that despite a relatively low level of reported use of Gaelic, 70.4 percent of Gaelic-speaking respondents perceived their spoken Gaelic skills to be **essential or useful** in their work tasks. This is despite 76 percent of the employee organisations administering their business in English only (*ibid.*). **This finding suggests that the strategic recognition of Gaelic language skills as either 'essential' or 'desirable' in recruitment practices is far less than could be the case.**

Finally, in 1994 a further survey of organisations involved in the production of Gaelic goods and services was conducted using a purposive sampling frame derived from the database used by Galloway (1995) and Sproull and Ashcroft (1993). This study, entitled 'Immersion Teaching and Language Learning: Meeting the Needs of the Gaelic Economy' (MacNeil and Beaton, 1994) examined the future demand for Gaelic language skills with a view to shaping the design of Gaelic learning opportunities for adults. The survey generated 158 responses from organisations that employed a total of 6,248 staff, of which 26 percent (1590) were identified as Gaelic speakers of which the majority (78 percent) were identified as "fully fluent".

The demand for Gaelic language skills was not analysed in relation to recruitment practices and the specification of Gaelic as a 'desirable' or 'essential' skill.

Figure 2.2: Use of Gaelic by Employees at Work (1994)



Source: MacNeil and Beaton, 1994.

MacNeil and Beaton differentiated the type of Gaelic language use by staff in organisations in a similar way to Galloway: formal, defined as “one of their formal languages of work” and informal, described as “*more social and informal aspects of work*”. Their findings substantiated the findings of Galloway (1995) and Euromosaic (1995), to reveal that Gaelic was used mainly as a social language: 113 organisations used Gaelic as one of their formal languages of work, and 121 organisations reported their employees to use Gaelic informally in their work. Employees used Gaelic primarily for contact with the public in the delivery of services, including local government, banking, pubs, shops and medical and social work. See Figure 2.2 for a breakdown of the use of Gaelic in formal and social situations based on the MacNeil and Beaton research findings.

Interestingly, employees using Gaelic most frequently were likely to fall in to the professional and managerial occupational categories, with manual workers being least likely to use Gaelic.

The survey found that only 14 percent of organisations had released employees for Gaelic training courses and that this was driven primarily by work-related needs (24 organisations) but that other reasons for doing so were employees being ‘semi-fluent’ and therefore having potential to be fluent and use Gaelic in the course of their work, and through the request of employees. The survey found there was a market for immersion courses currently unfulfilled, and that there was scope to extend the current training provision to encourage learners, as well as semi-fluent speakers.

2.6.2 Sectoral Studies of Gaelic in Work and Employment

Several sector-based studies have been undertaken which are concerned with, or relate to, labour market issues.

Education

The annual census of teachers in Scotland, which commenced in 2003, provides an analysis of trends in Gaelic medium teaching, and the teaching of Gaelic as a subject, in publicly funded primary, secondary and special schools. A summary of key statistics is given in Table 2.31. It illustrates that the number of teachers providing Gaelic medium education (at primary and secondary level) is increasing year on year as is the number of staff teaching Gaelic as either their main or other taught subject in secondary schools.

Table 2.31: Gaelic-speaking Teaching Staff (2003-07)

Year	Teaching Gaelic language as a subject	Currently teaching Gaelic Language	Providing Gaelic Medium Education	Able to teach through the medium of Gaelic
2003	63	102	178	334
2004	66	104	203	365
2005	70	115	208	379
2006	62	131	240	400

Source: derived from Teachers in Scotland, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007.

The census survey highlights the significant gap between teachers who self-report as able to teach through the medium of Gaelic, and those that currently practice teaching through Gaelic at both primary and secondary level, with the exception of Gaelic language as a subject. Of major concern is the shortage of new entrants to the teaching profession with an ability to teach through the medium of Gaelic, compounded by the problem of requiring both Gaelic language skills and a subject specialism to teach at secondary level. The 2005 HMIE report concluded, "The commitment, availability and retention of staff qualified in a subject and fluent in Gaelic remains a persistent obstacle to progress" in extending the secondary school Gaelic curriculum (HMIE, 2005: 1).

Whilst there is some data on the range of suppliers of Gaelic courses (SFC, 2007) there is no reliable knowledge of the level of employment supported by adult-learning provision. From 2008, however, Colleges and Universities will be required to report their Gaelic provision according to courses with no Gaelic content; courses with Gaelic content taught and assessed in Gaelic; courses with Gaelic content taught and assessed in English; and courses with Gaelic content and other subjects.

Media

In 2000, an estimated 316 FTEs were supported (including direct, indirect and induced employment) by the Gaelic media sector in direct receipt of funding distributed by 'Comataidh Craolaidh Gàidhlig' ('Gaelic Broadcasting Committee', or CCG), including CCG, of which 155.9 FTE jobs were supported in these organisations.

The proposal for the dedicated Gaelic digital service, which is expected to be launched in the summer of 2008, is anticipated to increase the level of employment supported by Gaelic broadcasting. Earlier estimates predicted a rise to 802 FTEs in the Gaelic media sector (including direct, indirect and induced employment) (EKOS consultants, 2000). A more recent economic impact assessment of the proposed Channel published in January 2006 forecast it could create 90 direct FTEs and 60 indirect FTEs in the Western Isles alone (Hecla, 2006).

Over the years there has been some degree of competition in relation to the location of jobs within the Gaelic media sector. This discussion tends to be evenly split between the desire to locate jobs in the Highlands and Islands, particularly Stornoway and the demand for Gaelic related media employment within Glasgow and Inverness. Part of this dilemma relates to the availability of highly skilled labour within the city areas and the difficulties inherent in attracting staff with professional and technical expertise back to the islands. Such issues need to be overcome by highlighting the wage premium attached to jobs requiring Gaelic language skills and by offering a structured career path for individuals that is just as available in island and rural areas as much as in cities.

Arts

A number of recent research studies have assessed the demand for Gaelic arts and associated cultural products and services (Sproull and Chalmers, 1998; Sproull and Chalmers, 2006). A primary conclusion of the 2006 research was that the impact arising from the consumption of Gaelic artistic activities on the attitudes and behaviours of individuals was considered as significant across a number of factors that should be of interest to Gaelic language planners and to organisations with a responsibility for economic and social development. In addition, the 2006 study reported that over 70% of people who participated in the study agreed with the statement that the regeneration of Gaelic language arts and culture is essential to the future economic development of the Western Isles and Skye and Lochalsh areas, respectively. However, neither the 1998 or the 2006 research studies quantified this positive attitude for Gaelic arts in terms of new employment creation within the sub-sectors of the Gaelic arts which are experiencing new and additional economic activity.

The economic impact of Gaelic arts activity ranges from the importance of the income generated by individual artists working in and from their local community to the work of Pròiseact nan Ealan, Fèisean nan Gàidheal and of An Comunn Gàidhealach, which runs the National Mod in different venues each year. A comprehensive analysis of the economic impact of the Gaelic arts sector is limited to specific studies and the work of Chalmers (2003). Chalmers reported that 'Gaelic language arts and culture' activity was responsible for between 82 and 98 FTE jobs. However, these reported jobs are likely to be underestimated to some significant degree as a number of key respondents did not supply economic data to the research and the sector was highly undeveloped at the time of the research.

A more recent impact assessment (Westbrook, 2006) of the work of Fèisean nan Gàidheal does, however, provide us with another view on the employment impacts associated with the Gaelic arts. Westbrook has estimated that the impact attributable to Fèisean nan Gàidheal at the Scotland level for each of the three years, 2006 to 2009 is 85.8 FTE jobs and an income impact of £1.5 million. These are substantial economic impacts and when linked with the wider social and cultural outputs associated with the Fèisean movement the contribution of Fèisean nan Gàidheal to the present dynamic within the Gaelic arts is substantial and continues on a positive developmental trend.

In relation to realising the potential of the Gaelic arts sector it is important to note that Fèisean nan Gàidheal have been awarded enhanced Foundation status by the Scottish Arts Council for five years from 2007 in recognition of its strategic importance in promoting Gaelic arts.

In view of the fact that the "creative industries" sector is now a strategic developmental priority for Highland and Islands Enterprise it would be appropriate to consider a more detailed piece of research looking specifically at the Gaelic element of the creative industries sector to assess both economic and social impacts.

2.6.3 Other Studies on Gaelic Language topics

Studies on the employment impacts associated with the Gaelic language are limited. Of relevance to the present research are McLeod (2001) and Hecla Consulting (2003). The 2001 McLeod research is highly useful in that it looked at the range of jobs in Scotland that were designated as 'Gaelic essential' and/or 'Gaelic desirable' and advertised over the period January 2000 to June 2001. The two key findings of the research are reported below and were:

'Gaelic essential' posts: a total of 105.4 posts advertised during the period in question were designated as 'Gaelic essential'. 26.6% of these were in the Western Isles; 34.4% in the Highland Council area (including 11.5% in Skye); 39.0% in other parts of Scotland (including 11.9% in Glasgow); and 0.9% outwith Scotland.

Only 4 (at most) of these 105.4 posts were not dependent, directly or indirectly, on public funding. 62.6% were in the Education sector; 19% in Media/Publishing; 9.9% in Arts and Culture; and the remainder in Community/Economic Development, Gaelic Development, Government, Tourism, and Miscellaneous.

‘Gaelic desirable’ posts: *a total of 60.5 posts advertised during the period in question were designated as ‘Gaelic desirable’. These were much more concentrated in the Western Isles and Skye than the ‘Gaelic essential’ jobs: 56.2% were located in the Western Isles; 23.1% in Skye; 10.8% in the remainder of the Highland Council area; and 9.0% elsewhere in Scotland.*

Only 9 (at most) of these 60.5 posts were not dependent, directly or indirectly, on public funding. 24.8% were in the Community/Economic Development sector; 14.0% in Arts and Culture; 13.2% in Tourism; 9% in the Environmental sector; 8.3% in Health and Social Services; and the remainder in Education, Gaelic Development, Government, Media, Transport, and Miscellaneous.

In total, over the 18 month period of the tracking research, some 165.9 Gaelic essential and Gaelic desirable posts were identified, which equates to 9.2 posts per month being advertised in the three newspapers that were the focus of this study.

However, McLeod raised a number of key concerns in relation to these posts in that there was a near-total reliance on public subsidy for Gaelic language based job creation with the private commercial sector almost totally excluded in the generation of Gaelic based jobs.

CnaG also provide a useful service in that they advertise Gaelic job opportunities on their website. The advertised jobs are updated on a weekly basis. For 2007 there were 164 posts advertised on the CnaG website, which gives an average of 14 posts per month.

Over the first four months of 2008 there have been 43 posts advertised giving an average of 10.75 posts per month at this point in 2008.

Unfortunately, CnaG does not hold any additional detail or database of the main characteristics of these posts in terms of location, employer, type of job, and salary scale. A comparison of the McLeod data and the CnaG data suggests that the demand for Gaelic language posts has increased since 2000-01 although care should be taken in the interpretation of these data as the source for each data set is somewhat different.

The Hecla (2003) study looked at the importance of Gaelic as a generator of jobs in the Inverness and Nairn area of the Highlands. During 2003 it was estimated that there were 101 Gaelic language FTE jobs (inclusive of multipliers) within the area of the study generating some £1.8 million of income. The Highland Council and the BBC were the two organisations where most of these jobs were located.

2.7 Summary of findings from previous research studies

- The 1990 Galloway research reported some 402 posts designated as Gaelic essential at that time. The report also highlighted the difficulty in designating posts as Gaelic desirable particularly in the Western Isles and Skye where a good proportion of the work was bilingual. The concentration of posts designated as Gaelic desirable were predominately in the Western Isles with posts designated as Gaelic essential more widely distributed with concentrations in Glasgow, Inverness and Skye.
- 60% of the Gaelic essential posts identified by Galloway were in the education sector with 12% in media and 11% in Gaelic development organisations.
- The 1995 Euromosaic considered the use of Gaelic by Gaelic speakers within their area of work. Despite the fact that workers had the capability to speak Gaelic with colleagues, the principal mode of communication was English. Whilst the use of Gaelic was low, over 70% of Gaelic speaking respondents in the Euromosaic study considered their spoken Gaelic skills to be essential or useful in their respective work roles yet the business of the organisations employing these people was conducted primarily in English. This finding would appear to suggest that the strategic recognition of Gaelic language skills as either “essential” or “desirable in recruitment and/or business practices were far less that could have been the case.
- The latest teaching census data indicates a significant gap between teachers who self-report as able to teach through the medium of Gaelic, and those that currently practice teaching through Gaelic at both primary and secondary schools. Of concern in meeting the continuing demand for Gaelic education is the shortage of new entrants to the teaching profession with an ability to teach through Gaelic. In addition, this situation is compounded by the requirement to have a subject specialism as well as the language teaching capability for a career as a secondary education teacher.
- Other research studies have documented the important economic contribution Gaelic makes to Scotland as a whole but particularly in the traditional Gaelic areas. The number of vacancies for Gaelic essential designated posts indicates an increasing demand for services to be delivered through the medium of Gaelic and this demand is particularly evident in respect of posts in the media, education and public administration sectors.

3. ANALYSIS OF THE SURVEY RESULTS

3.1 Introduction

This section presents the results generated by the survey of organisations contacted as part of this research study into the present state of the Gaelic labour market.

A total of 253 surveys were sent out to 220 organisations across Scotland. This included two copies for each local Authority in Scotland (32) and 14 Health Boards. Other recipients were specifically selected as organisations known to or likely to have Gaelic essential or Gaelic desirable posts.

3.2 Survey distribution and response rate

Table 3.1 shows the range of employment sectors⁷ that were targeted as part of the survey element of the research.

Table 3.1: Employment sectors to which surveys were sent

Employment sector	Number of contacts	Contacts as % of total
Local Authority	34	15.5%
Culture & heritage	32	14.5%
Further and higher education	27	12.3%
Media	26	11.8%
Private company	22	10.0%
Government	22	10.0%
Health	14	6.4%
Publishing	12	5.5%
Arts and music	8	3.6%
Development	6	2.7%
Community	5	2.3%
Education	3	1.4%
Translation	3	1.4%
Nursery	2	0.9%
Parents	1	0.5%
Religion	1	0.5%
Research	1	0.5%
Youth	1	0.5%
Total	220	100.0%

A total of 88 questionnaires were returned from the sectors listed in Table 3.1 whilst a further 2 were returned unsolicited online. The survey generated a response rate of 40%. A breakdown of these survey returns indicates an **81% response rate from organisations known to have Gaelic essential posts**. As such the research team are confident that most of the Gaelic essential posts in Scotland have been accounted for in the survey responses generated by the methodology adopted for this research.

⁷ Organisations targeted by the survey were allocated to the employment/economic sector that best represented the primary/core activities of the organisation.

Table 3.2 presents a breakdown of the responses by the sectors targeted through the survey research.

Table 3.2: Employment sectors from where surveys were returned

Employment sector	Number of responses	Percentage
Local Authority	25	28.4%
Further and higher education	13	14.8%
Media	12	13.6%
Government	8	9.1%
Culture & heritage	7	8.0%
Arts and music	6	6.8%
Development	5	5.7%
Publishing	4	4.5%
Community	3	3.4%
Health	2	2.3%
Private company	2	2.3%
Nursery	1	1.1%
Total	88	100.0%

19 Local Authorities provided responses with six providing multiple responses for their respective education and corporate departments. Of the 13 Local Authorities not providing responses⁸ to the survey, 8 provide Gaelic medium education provision within their respective areas. In addition, there are another six organisations⁹ known to have Gaelic essential designated posts that did not provide a response to the survey. We estimate, from secondary sources that these organisations would account for an **additional 40 Gaelic essential employment posts**.

3.3 The operational distribution of participating organisations

Participating organisations were asked to indicate whether they operated from a single location or from multiple locations. Table 3.3 sets out the distribution of the 88 organisations that provided a response to the survey.

Table 3.3: Distribution of organisations

Item	Percentage	Number
Multiple locations	67.0%	59
Single location	33.0%	29
Total	100.0%	88

Of the organisations providing a response, 67% operate from multiple locations. The number of full-time and part-time employees that participating organisations report they have presently on their respective pay-rolls is shown at **Appendix 3**.

⁸ Local Authorities that did not provide a response to the survey were: Aberdeen City Council, Angus Council, Dumfries and Galloway Council, Dundee City Council, East Lothian Council, Falkirk Council, Inverclyde Council, Orkney Islands Council, Perth & Kinross Council, Shetland Islands Council, South Ayrshire Council, Stirling Council and West Lothian Council.

⁹ Gaelic Books Council, Scottish Parliament, Scottish Government, University of Glasgow, University of Edinburgh.

3.4 Employment posts designated as Gaelic essential and Gaelic desirable

Organisations were asked to report whether they had staff employed in permanent Gaelic essential or Gaelic desirable posts. The responses are shown in Table 3.4.

Table 3.4: Mix of Gaelic essential and Gaelic desirable jobs within organisations

Number of organisations in which:	Percentage	Number
Staff are employed in Gaelic essential posts	56.8%	50
Staff are employed in Gaelic desirable posts	36.4%	32
Staff are employed in Gaelic essential and Gaelic desirable posts	23.9%	21
Only Gaelic desirable posts or non-Gaelic posts exist	12.5%	11
No Gaelic essential or Gaelic desirable posts exist	27.3%	24

n = 88

The main points to note from Table 3.4 are:

- Nearly 60% (50) of the organisations that provided a response indicated they had staff presently employed in Gaelic essential posts.
- 36% of responding organisations had staff employed in Gaelic desirable posts.
- 27% of responding organisations had no Gaelic essential or Gaelic desirable employment posts.

3.4.1 Full-time Gaelic essential posts

Table 3.5 presents data on the number of full-time Gaelic essential posts by employment/economic sector.

*Table 3.5: Number of **full time** Gaelic essential posts by employment sector*

Employment sector	Percentage	Number of posts
Local Authority	47.1%	280
Further and Higher education	19.8%	118
Media	18.5%	110
Development	5.5%	33
Publishing	2.7%	16
Arts and music	2.4%	14
Culture and heritage	2.0%	12
Government	1.8%	11
Other education	0.2%	1
Total	100.0%	595

n = 41

In total, 595 Gaelic essential posts were recorded in the 41 organisations which provided a response to the question.

Nearly half (47%) of the Gaelic essential designated posts identified by respondents are located within Local Authorities and these are primarily teaching posts. Further and Higher education posts account for 20% of the recorded jobs, with the media sector accounting for 18.5% of Gaelic essential posts.

The main statistics associated with the identified Gaelic essential full-time posts are shown at Table 3.6.

Table 3.6: Statistics for full-time Gaelic essential posts by employment sector

Item	Value
Mean	14.5
Median	4
Min	1
Max	130
Standard deviation	27.9
Number of organisations	41

41 organisations state they have posts designated as Gaelic essential. The number of posts range from 1 to 130. The average number of posts is 14.5 with the median number of posts at 4. Standard deviation is measured at 27.9 posts and the distribution is slightly skewed by a number of Local Authorities who report a relatively high number of Gaelic teaching posts.

3.4.2 Part-time Gaelic essential posts

Table 3.7 reports the data on the number of part-time Gaelic essential posts by economic sector.

*Table 3.7: Number of **part time** Gaelic essential posts by employment sector*

Employment sector	Percentage	Number of posts
Local Authority	70.0%	70
Development	10.0%	10
Further and higher education	6.0%	6
Media	6.0%	6
Culture and heritage	3.0%	3
Publishing	3.0%	3
Arts and music	2.0%	2
Total	100.0%	100

n = 30

In total, 100 Gaelic essential part-time posts were reported by respondents to the survey. Local authorities account for 70% (70) of these posts. 10% of the reported Gaelic essential part-time posts are in the language development sector with further and higher education and media respectively accounting for 6% of reported posts. Whilst we can only report on the data provided by the survey there are unquestionably other part-time Gaelic essential posts in for example, Local Authorities, Fèisean related work, the voluntary sector, casual and other part-time sessional activity.

The main statistics associated with the identified Gaelic essential part-time posts are shown at Table 3.8.

Table 3.8: Statistics for Gaelic part-time essential posts by employment sector

Item	Value
Mean	3
Median	2
Min	1
Max	15
Standard deviation	4.2
Number of organisations	30

30 organisations indicated they employed staff in part-time Gaelic essential designated posts. The average number of part-time Gaelic essential posts is 3 with the median number of posts at 2. The number of posts range from 1 to 15. The low standard deviation of 4.2 indicates a close grouping of values about the median of 2 jobs.

3.4.3 Full-time Gaelic desirable posts

Table 3.9 presents the data on the number of full-time posts designated as Gaelic desirable by the relevant economic sector.

*Table 3.9: Number of **full time** Gaelic desirable posts by employment sector*

Employment sector	Percentage	Number
Local Authority	68.8%	280
Government	9.1%	37
Private company	6.6%	27
Media	5.2%	21
Arts and music	4.2%	17
Publishing	2.0%	8
Community	1.2%	5
Culture and heritage	1.0%	4
Nursery	1.0%	4
Further and higher education	0.5%	2
Development	0.2%	1
Other education	0.2%	1
Total	100.0%	407

In total 407 part-time Gaelic desirable designated posts were identified by organisations that provided responses to the survey questionnaire. Of these, nearly 70% (280) were within Local Authorities. Government agencies (i.e. HIE etc) account for 9% of reported jobs with the private sector and media accounting for 6.6% and 5.2% respectively of the number of jobs identified by respondents.

The main statistics associated with the identified Gaelic desirable full-time posts are shown at Table 3.10.

Table 3.10: Statistics for full time Gaelic desirable posts by employment sector

Item	Value
Mean	16
Median	3
Min	1
Max	271
Standard deviation	53
Number of organisations	25

25 organisations provided responses with the average number of jobs being 16. The standard deviation of 53 indicates a wide spread around the median number of jobs of 3. The number of jobs reported by each organisation ranged from 1 to 271.

3.4.4 Part-time Gaelic desirable posts

Table 3.11 presents data on the reported part-time Gaelic desirable jobs by economic sector.

*Table 3.11: Number of **part time** Gaelic desirable posts by employment sector*

Employment sector	Percentage	Number
Private company	31.3%	10
Media	25.0%	8
Arts	21.9%	7
Arts and music	6.3%	2
Culture and heritage	6.3%	2
Further and Higher Education	6.3%	2
Community	3.1%	1
Total	100.0%	32

32 jobs were reported as being designated as part-time Gaelic desirable. 56% (18) of the reported jobs are in the private sector or media.

Table 3.12 shows the main statistics associated with the reported part-time Gaelic desirable posts.

Table 3.12: Statistics for part time Gaelic desirable posts by employment sector

Item	Value
Mean	3.5
Median	2
Min	1
Max	10
Standard deviation	3.3
Number of organisations	9

Nine organisations reported part-time Gaelic desirable posts with the average number of jobs being 3.5. The low standard deviation of 3.3 indicates that the number of jobs is tightly distributed around the median of 2 jobs.

3.4.5 Summary of total Gaelic essential and Gaelic desirable posts

Table 3.13 provides a summary of the **total number of posts identified by the survey** as being designated Gaelic essential and Gaelic desirable.

Table 3.13: Summary of the total number of Gaelic essential and Gaelic desirable posts from survey responses

Designation of Post	Full-time	Part-time	Total
Gaelic essential	595	100	695
Gaelic desirable	407	32	439
Total	1,002	132	1,134

695 posts have been identified as Gaelic essential of which 595 (86%) are classed as full-time. 439 posts have been reported as Gaelic desirable of which 93% are full-time. Overall, the survey research has identified 1,134 posts designated as Gaelic essential and Gaelic desirable located across Scotland.

Once the additional 40 Gaelic essential posts estimated from secondary sources are added to the survey data this research has identified, in total across Scotland, some 1,174 Gaelic essential/Gaelic desirable posts of which, 735 posts are designated as Gaelic essential.

3.4.6 Gaelic essential/desirable designated volunteer posts

Table 3.14 presents the data received through the organisational survey of the number of volunteer posts designated as Gaelic essential / desirable.

Table 3.14: Full-time & part-time Gaelic essential/desirable volunteer posts

Employment sector	Percentage	Number
Development	20.3%	13
Culture and heritage	7.8%	5
Council	10.9%	7
Media	6.3%	4
Development	1.6%	1
Culture and heritage	53.1%	34
Total	100.0%	64

The survey responses indicate a total of 64 volunteers employed mostly by cultural and heritage organisations. Whilst voluntary organisations and the Comunn Eachdraidh were targeted by the survey, the response rate from this sector was very low, possibly due to the specification of the survey questions. As such, very little meaningful interpretation can be drawn for the responses received overall from the voluntary sector. However, it is important to note that many volunteer posts are not in the 'formal' volunteer sector. Many volunteer posts where Gaelic language skills are likely to be considered as essential/desirable attributes are in, for example, the Health Service, the fèisean movement and in other community focused sectors and are not easily targeted by a survey of the type utilised by this research study.

3.4.7 Location of jobs designated as Gaelic essential and Gaelic desirable

The distribution of Gaelic essential/desirable posts across Scotland is shown in Table 3.15.

Table 3.15: Full-time & part-time Gaelic essential/desirable volunteer posts

Regional Location	Gaelic essential Full-time & Part-time		Gaelic desirable Full-time & Part-time	
	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number
Highlands and Skye	47.4%	333	17.1%	73
Western Isles North	18.5%	130	75.5%	323
Greater Glasgow	16.1%	113	4.0%	17
Western Isles South	4.6%	32	0.7%	3
Edinburgh	3.8%	27	0.7%	3
Argyll & the Islands	3.4%	24	0.2%	1
Scotland Central	2.3%	16	1.4%	6
Scotland South	2.0%	14	0.0%	0
Other	1.0%	7	0.5%	2
Scotland East	0.9%	6	0.0%	0
Orkney & Shetland	0.0%	0	0.0%	0
Total	100.0%	702	100.0%	428

Notes: See **Appendix 4** for definitions for regional locations. Jobs total does not add up to data presented at Table 3.13 due to problems of inaccurate allocation/no allocation by respondents. In Western Isles North, all posts in the Comhairle nan Eilean Siar Education department are reported as designated as Gaelic desirable.

The data presented in Table 3.15 indicates that there are seven additional Gaelic essential posts allocated to postal towns/area across Scotland than the numbers described at Table 3.13. This is due to (a) organisations completing this section of the questionnaire whilst omitting job titles or (b) describing the titles of 2 x 0.5 posts whilst allocating 1FTE to a particular location. In addition, organisations did not always allocate the jobs described to a postal town. Where organisations described themselves as operating from a single location, these jobs have been allocated to the postal address of the main office of the organisation.

The Highlands and Islands, including Argyll, account for 74% (519 jobs) of the total posts designated as Gaelic essential. Of this total, the Highlands and Skye is the location for 47% (333 jobs) of Gaelic essential jobs.

3.5 Language skills required for Gaelic essential and Gaelic desirable posts

Table 3.16 shows the language skills required for Gaelic essential posts as reported by respondents to the survey.

Table 3.16: Language skills required for jobs classed as Gaelic essential

Item	Percentage	Number
Speak Gaelic only	17.4%	8
Read and write Gaelic only	6.5%	3
Speak, read and write Gaelic	93.5%	43
Other combination of Gaelic skills	6.5%	3

n = 46. A number of organisations made multiple selections.

Over 90% of responses indicated that employees (and potential employees) needed the capacity to speak, read and write Gaelic for posts designated as Gaelic essential. 17% of responses suggested that speaking Gaelic was the only language skill necessary for such designated posts.

Table 3.17 shows the language skills required for Gaelic desirable posts as reported by respondents to the survey.

Table 3.17: Language skills required for jobs classed as Gaelic desirable

Item	Percentage	Number
Speak Gaelic only	36.7%	11
Read and write Gaelic only	6.7%	2
Speak, read and write Gaelic	66.7%	20
Other combination of Gaelic skills	16.7%	5

n = 30. A number of organisations made multiple selections.

Nearly 67% of responses indicated that for posts designated as Gaelic desirable within their respective organisations there was a requirement for staff to have the capability to speak, read and write Gaelic. However, 37% of responses indicated that only an ability to speak Gaelic was needed to fulfil the specification for posts designated as Gaelic desirable.

In relation to volunteer posts, the organisations contacted were asked to indicate if they had posts where Gaelic language skills were an essential or desirable attribute. Their responses are shown at Table 3.18.

Table 3.18: Permanent volunteer posts where Gaelic language skills are a Gaelic essential and/or desirable attribute

Item	Percentage	Number
Posts exist	11.9%	7
No such posts	86.4%	52
Don't know	1.7%	1
Total	100.0%	60

The majority of the survey responses indicate that organisations do not have permanent volunteer posts that require a Gaelic language skill attribute. Those who did list volunteer posts mentioned board members and posts associated with the provision of care and activities for children. No organisation providing responses in the survey indicated that it was exclusively staffed by volunteers.

However, whilst the survey responses provided little information on the present state of the volunteer effort in relation to Gaelic development, a number of observations are pertinent. It is well known that the Gaelic development effort continues to be highly dependent on volunteer staff. This is evident from the work of the fèisean movement, the Comann Eachdraidh, An Comunn Gàidhealach/National Mod, including the work of individuals that represent Gaelic cultural interest on Boards and committees etc. Recognition also needs to be given to the fact that some volunteer posts can be converted to full-time and/or part-time employment and that in some occupations the volunteer contribution is almost an essential element of the work that needs to be undertaken on behalf of the community.

Table 3.19 shows the Gaelic language skills required for volunteer posts that are classed as Gaelic essential.

Table 3.19: Language skills required for volunteer jobs classed as Gaelic essential

Item	Percentage	Number
Speak Gaelic only	25.0%	1
Read and write Gaelic only	0.0%	0
Speak, read and write Gaelic	75.0%	3
Other combination of Gaelic skills	75.0%	3

n = 4. A number of organisations made multiple selections.

Only 4 organisations indicated they had volunteer posts that were designated as Gaelic essential. The majority of responses indicated that the ability to speak, read and write Gaelic was an essential attribute for these volunteer posts.

3.6 Qualifications of staff in Gaelic essential posts

Table 3.20 sets out the qualification levels for staff in Gaelic essential posts.

Table 3.20: Level of qualification of staff in Gaelic essential jobs

Qualification level	Percentage	Number of individuals
No formal qualifications	1.9%	10
Group 1 ¹⁰	5.0%	27
Group 2	8.4%	45
Group 3	17.0%	91
Group 4	67.7%	363
Total	100.0%	536

Note: 29 organisations out of a possible 50 filled in data on this question.

Of the individuals allocated a qualification level by the responding organisation, some 68% have qualifications at level 4 with 17% at level 3. The number of individuals with qualifications in Group 4 is twice that recorded by the 2001 Census for the Scotland population as a whole who speak, read and write Gaelic. The data provided by responding organisations implies a high level of skills amongst staff employed in posts designated as Gaelic essential. The corresponding data for Scotland as a whole is that 20% of the population have qualifications within the Group 4 qualification category.

Table 3.21 sets out the qualification levels for staff in Gaelic in posts designated as Gaelic desirable.

Table 3.21: Level of qualification of staff in Gaelic desirable jobs

Qualification level	Percentage	Number of individuals
No formal qualifications	1.6%	1
Group 1	8.1%	5
Group 2	33.9%	21
Group 3	11.3%	7
Group 4	45.2%	28
Total	100.0%	62

Note: 13 organisations out of a possible 32 filled in data on this question

Only a relatively small number of organisations responded but for those that did, the data suggests that 45% of staff in Gaelic desirable posts have qualifications at level 4.

¹⁰ Group 1: 'O' Grade, Standard Grade, Intermediate 1/2, City and Guilds Craft, SVQ Level 1 or 2 or equivalent.

Group 2: Higher Grade, ONC, OND, City & Guilds Advanced Craft, RSA Advanced Diploma, SVQ Level 3 or equivalent.

Group 3: HND, HNC, RSA Higher Diploma, SVQ Level 4 or 5 or equivalent.

Group 4: First Degree, Higher Degree, Professional qualification.

3.7 Age profile of staff in Gaelic essential and Gaelic desirable posts

Table 3.22 set out the age distribution of staff in Gaelic essential posts.

Table 3.22: Age distribution of staff in Gaelic essential posts

Age Category	Percentage	Number of individuals
Less than 24 years of age - males	2.3%	7
Less than 24 years of age - females	3.7%	11
Between 25 and 34 years - males	11.4%	34
Between 25 and 34 years - females	26.5%	79
Between 35 and 44 years - males	10.7%	32
Between 35 and 44 years - females	21.5%	64
Between 45 and 54 years - males	4.7%	14
Between 45 and 54 years - females	13.4%	40
Over 55 years - males	2.0%	6
Over 55 years - females	3.7%	11
Total	100.0%	298

Note: 28 organisations out of a possible 50 filled in data on this question

The data in Table 3.22 shows that females account for a higher percentage (68%) of staff employed in Gaelic essential posts than males. In addition, in the 25 to 44 years age group females account for 48% of staff and males for 22% of staff. In the 25 to 44 age group females are predominantly employed in the media sector. In the 45 to 54 age group females are mostly employed in the education sector.

A qualitative study by MacLeod (forthcoming, 2009), which examined the working choices of people in Gaelic essential posts, found that many employees viewed their occupational choices within an occupational labour market, rather than a Gaelic labour market. This was particularly the case for individuals employed in 'sub-occupations' formed through language specialisation, such as Gaelic broadcasting or Gaelic medium education, where other 'technical' skills were transferable to English-medium occupations that were perceived to offer greater prospects for career development.

Table 3.23 sets out the age distribution of staff in Gaelic desirable posts.

Table 3.23: Age distribution of staff in Gaelic desirable posts

Age Category	Percentage	Number of individuals
Less than 24 years of age - males	3.7%	2
Less than 24 years of age - females	16.7%	9
Between 25 and 34 years - males	5.6%	3
Between 25 and 34 years - females	20.4%	11
Between 35 and 44 years - males	11.1%	6
Between 35 and 44 years - females	18.5%	10
Between 45 and 54 years - males	7.4%	4
Between 45 and 54 years - females	9.3%	5
Over 55 years - males	0.0%	0
Over 55 years - females	7.4%	4
Total	100.0%	54

Note: 12 organisations out of a possible 32 filled in data on this question

In relation to Table 3.23, it is difficult to infer anything meaningful from the data presented due to the low level of responses. However, we note that females account for 72% of staff in Gaelic desirable posts as reported by the organisations that provided a response to this survey question.

3.8 Salary levels

Organisations were asked to allocate staff in Gaelic essential posts to specific salary bands. The aggregate responses are shown in Table 3.24.

Table 3.24: Distribution of staff in Gaelic essential jobs across salary bands

Band	Percentage	Number of individuals
Less than £12,499	6.1%	28
£12,500 to £24,999	29.6%	136
£25,000 to £44,999	60.4%	278
Over £45,000	3.9%	18
Total	100.0%	460

Note: 28 organisations out of a possible 50 filled in data on this question

The majority of staff (60%) are employed in the £25,000 to £44,999 salary band with 30% in the £12,500 to £24,999 salary band. The data suggests that most staff in Gaelic essential posts are employed in the salary band immediately above the national average wage¹¹ perhaps indicating a potential wage premium for jobs designated as Gaelic essential.

¹¹ In 2007, for Scotland, the full time workers Gross Weekly Pay excluding overtime was £414 or £21,528 per annum. Source: ASHE (Annual Survey of Hours and Earnings). ONS (Nomis) (Office for National Statistics Nomis (<http://www.nomisweb.co.uk>)).

Table 3.25 shows the distribution of staff employed in jobs designated as Gaelic desirable across specific salary bands.

Table 3.25: Distribution of staff in Gaelic desirable jobs across salary bands

Band	Percentage	Number of individuals
Less than £12,499	18.0%	11
£12,500 to £24,999	57.4%	35
£25,000 to £44,999	23.0%	14
Over £45,000	1.6%	1
Total	100.0%	61

Note: 13 organisations out of a possible 32 filled in data on this question

The situation is slightly changed in relation to the salary bands for staff in Gaelic desirable posts. More staff (75%) are employed in posts below the £25,000 salary band again possibly suggesting a wage premium for posts designated as Gaelic essential. However, the response rate is relatively low for this question thus some caution must be exercised in the interpretation of the data provided by the responding organisations.

3.9 Contract staff

In the survey questionnaire organisations were asked to indicate whether they had procured any contract staff or services to support the organisation's Gaelic language activities over the previous 12 months. The responses provided are shown at Table 3.26.

Table 3.26: Procurement by organisations of contract staff and services over the last 12 months

Item	Percentage	Number of organisations
Contract staff and services	38.0%	30
Services only	11.4%	9
None procured	48.1%	38
Don't know	2.5%	2
Total	100%	79

Of the 79 organisations that provided a response some 48% did not procure any contract staff or services to support the Gaelic language activities of the organisation. However, 30 (38%) organisations had received support in the form of Gaelic contract staff and services over the previous 12 months.

Table 3.27 presents data on the number of people employed on short-term Gaelic related contracts in the last 12 months.

Table 3.27: The number of people employed on short-term Gaelic language related contracts in the last 12 months

Item	Percentage	Number of individuals
Teaching Supply Staff	5.6%	9
Waged temporary staff - Gaelic essential	67.3%	109
Waged temporary staff - Gaelic desirable	27.2%	44
Volunteer staff - Gaelic essential	0.0%	0
Volunteer staff - Gaelic desirable	0.0%	0
Totals	100.0%	162

Note: 31 organisations responded and made multiple selections. The number of teaching supply staff employed in the last 12 months is likely to be under-reported.

31 organisations provided varying reasons for taking on contract staff rather than permanent employees. 12 of the responses indicated that the nature of the business activity entailed short-term employment contracts that were associated with television, media, and web based digital recording work.

The primary reasons for employing contract staff included:

- Short-term employment relating to temporary vacancies for maternity leave; interim management and administration cover; and temporary staff cover for positions pending a re-structuring exercise.
- The independent media sector utilises a high proportion of staff on a contract basis.
- Short-term employment of a sessional or seasonal vacancy primarily involving traditional music classes and other community training classes.
- 6 organisations temporarily employed students on placements relating to work on specific Gaelic language projects.
- Funding constraints were mentioned by five organisations as a reason for taking on contract staff. Short-term funding is the main driver behind these management decisions and a number of other contracts are temporary by nature. In addition, a lack of knowledge of the available skill sets within the potential Gaelic labour pool makes it difficult for employers to plan some elements of their operations other than on a short-term basis.

Table 3.28 provides an indication of the Gaelic language services procured by organisations participating in the survey.

Table 3.28: Procurement of Gaelic language services by organisations over the last year

Item	Percentage	Number of organisations
Services procured	92.1%	35
No services sought	7.9%	3
Unknown	0.0%	0
Total	100.0%	38

35 organisations (40% of 88 total responses) indicated they required support in relation to Gaelic language services from external contractors. The type of language services provided by these contractors is shown at Table 3.29.

Table 3.29: Number of organisations who procured services in the last year, by type of service

Services	Percentage	Number of organisations
Language planning & development	22.9%	8
Education & learning	28.6%	10
Technical support/ICT	8.6%	3
Translation services	62.9%	22
Research & consultancy	28.6%	10
Other, please specify	42.9%	15

n = 35. Responding organisations procured more than one type of service

Translation services are the most highly sought after services, sourced by nearly 63% (22) of the organisations who provided a response to this question. The provision of language planning and development, and education and learning were also important Gaelic based services being procured by organisations contacted as part of this research.

The survey responses seem to suggest the need to professionalise the structure of the labour supply in order to meet the increasing level of demand for the production of Gaelic goods and services.

This possibly implies setting up a procurement unit under the auspices of Bòrd na Gàidhlig in order to manage the supply and demand of some Gaelic language related public sector contracts. This procurement unit would also monitor efficiency and effectiveness issues in the delivery of such service contracts including the avoidance of duplication of effort and resources.

Table 3.30 provides a listing of the main Gaelic language services procured by organisations and the number of days contracted for each respective service in the last year.

Table 3.30: Estimated number of days contracted by organisations in the procurement of Gaelic language services by type

Type of service	Number of days
Translation services	464
Research and consultancy	395
Education and learning	264
TV Production	200
Cultural activities	143
TV presenting / camera operation	137
Technical support/ICT	123
Language planning & development	98
Editing and design	33
Marketing and event management	30
Media	20
Gaelic evening classes / Ulpan	40
Versioning of scripts and dubbing	Unspecified
Writing / performance	Unspecified
Total number of days	1,947

n = 35

An estimated 1,947 contract days were procured by the 35 organisations providing a response to this question with the majority of days contracted for translation, research and, education and learning related Gaelic language services.

As services contracted are primarily professional and technical we assume that, on average, each person contract day would cost £350. This would imply that up to £680,000 of direct income expenditure has been spent on Gaelic language services by the 35 organisations responding to this survey question. Utilising an appropriate income multiplier¹² suggests that this creates a further £591,600 to employees in other industrial sectors in Scotland. In total, therefore, the contracted days reported at Table 3.30 are responsible for supporting some £1,271,600 of wage income across Scotland industry.

Table 3.31, overleaf, provides respondents' views on whether there is likely to be a decrease or increase in the procurement of Gaelic language services in the next 12 months.

¹² An income multiplier of 1.87 is utilised based on the research reported in "The Economic Impact of the Cultural Sector in Scotland" (2004) by Stewart Dunlop, Fraser of Allander Institute, University of Strathclyde and Susan Galloway, Christine Hamilton and Adrienne Scullion, Centre of Cultural policy Research, University of Glasgow.

Table 3.31: Decrease / increase expected by organisations in the procurement for Gaelic contractors and / or Gaelic services in the next 12 months

	Percentage	Number of organisations
Increase expected	52.5%	21
Decrease expected	10.0%	4
No change is expected	37.5%	15

n = 40

Over 52% (21) of respondents expect an increase in Gaelic language contract procurement over the next 12 months. However, some 37% of respondents suggested no change from the current situation. In any event, the demand for Gaelic language services is likely to remain buoyant for the foreseeable future as the implementation of the National Plan and local language plans start to take effect across Scotland as a whole.

3.10 Skills

Organisations were asked to report whether they thought staff employed in Gaelic essential and Gaelic desirable designated posts were fully proficient in Gaelic for the requirement of their present job role. The responses are shown in Table 3.32.

Table 3.32: Percentage of staff in Gaelic essential / Gaelic desirable posts regarded as being fully proficient in Gaelic for their current job

Level of proficiency	Percentage	Number of organisations
0-24%	16.4%	9
25-49%	3.6%	2
50-74%	9.1%	5
75-100%	70.9%	39
Total	100.0%	55

Of the 55 organisations that provided responses, 71% indicated that over 75% of their present staff in Gaelic essential/desirable posts are fully proficient in the language skills required for their present job. However, 16% of organisations indicated that less than 25% of their present staff are fully proficient in Gaelic for posts designated as Gaelic essential or Gaelic desirable.

3.11 Training

In relation to staff training, organisations were asked to indicate whether they had in place a formal method of identifying the Gaelic language training needs of existing staff in designated posts. The results are shown at Table 3.33.

Table 3.33: Does the organisation have in place a formal method of identifying the Gaelic language and training needs of existing staff in Gaelic essential/desirable designated posts?

Response	Percentage	Number of organisations
Yes	50.0%	30
No	48.3%	29
Don't know	1.7%	1
Total	100.0%	60

50% of respondents indicate that they have formal methods of identifying the Gaelic training needs of staff. However, some 48% indicate they do not have such appraisal methods in place, perhaps reflecting the size and resources of the businesses involved in the production of Gaelic goods and services.

Table 3.34 shows the methods that are used by organisations to identify the Gaelic language and training needs of staff.

Table 3.34: Methods used to identify Gaelic language and training needs of staff

Item	Percentage	Number of organisations
Staff appraisals	75.0%	24
Self appraisal	56.3%	18
Training reviews	50.0%	16
Induction reviews	28.1%	9
Language audits	12.5%	4
Testing for language skills	9.4%	3

n = 32 organisations. Percentage adds to more than 100% as organisations made multiple selections.

75% of organisations use staff appraisals to identify training needs. Self-appraisal and training reviews are also important in identifying the Gaelic language training needs of staff.

Tables 3.35 and 3.36 respectively show whether the organisation funded or arranged Gaelic language skills training over the last 12 months and the method of funding utilised for training courses.

Table 3.35: Has your organisation funded or arranged Gaelic language skills training in the last 12 months?

Response	Percentage	Number of organisations
Yes	50.0%	32
No	48.4%	31
Don't know	1.6%	1
Total	100.0%	64

Table 3.36: Method by which Gaelic language training was funded

Method of funding	Percentage	Number
Organisation paid for all training costs	54.8%	17
Organisation funded all training costs with grant-support	32.3%	10
Organisation part funded training costs with grant-support	9.7%	3
Employees met all training costs	0.0%	0
Employees met a proportion of training costs	3.2%	1
Total	100%	31

50% of organisations responding to the question indicated that they funded or arranged Gaelic language skills training in the last 12 months. In over half the cases, all funding for training was paid for by the organisation itself.

The type of training courses used by organisations in the last 12 months is shown in Table 3.37.

Table 3.37: Types of Gaelic language training that have been used in the last 12 months.

Number of organisations with staff attending:	Percentage	Number of organisations
Short-course: conversational Gaelic	38.7%	12
Short-course: grammar and literacy skills	38.7%	12
Ulpan courses	35.5%	11
Distance learning courses	32.3%	10
In-house training	22.6%	7
Gaelic awareness courses	22.6%	7
Other:	16.1%	5
Conversational classes (evening or daytime)	9.7%	3

n = 31 Organisations made multiple selections.

35% (31/88) of organisations responding to the survey have engaged in some sort of Gaelic language training in the last 12 months. Three organisations with no Gaelic essential or desirable posts had undertaken some Gaelic language training (Crofters Commission, National Trust for Scotland, Forestry Commission).

Although the most popular courses amongst employers are short conversational Gaelic courses and short courses to improve grammar and literacy skills, the greatest number of people attended Gaelic awareness courses as shown at Table 3.38.

Table 3.38: Number of staff attending courses by type of course

Type of course	Number of staff attending
Gaelic awareness courses	152
Short-course: grammar and literacy skills	101
Short-course: conversational Gaelic	74
Distance learning courses	40
In-house training	18
Ulpan courses	17
Conversational classes (evening or daytime)	11
Total	413

Individuals also undertook various personal development courses and this in particular applied to those in the teaching profession.

Table 3.39 shows the range of training providers used in the delivery of Gaelic language skills related courses.

Table 3.39: Training providers used to deliver Gaelic language skills to organisations in the last 12 months.

Training providers	Percentage	Number
Private training providers / external consultants	45.2%	14
Clì Gàidhlig	35.5%	11
Sabhal Mòr Ostaig (e.g. short courses or distance learning)	32.3%	10
Local authority (e.g. Community learning provision)	19.4%	6
Lews Castle College	16.1%	5
Ionad Chalum Chille Ìle	6.5%	2
Other FE Colleges	6.5%	2
Other	6.5%	2

n = 31. Organisations selected more than one training provider.

31% of respondents indicated they used the services of private training providers or external consultants. Clì Gàidhlig was used by 35% of organisations and Sabhal Mòr Ostaig by 32% of organisations that indicated they used a training provider.

In relation to encountering difficulties in sourcing training, nearly 60% of respondents indicated this was not a problem area for them although 22% did indicate they had trouble sourcing an appropriate Gaelic language training package for the workforce. The responses are shown in Table 3.40, overleaf.

Table 3.40: Has your organisation ever encountered difficulties in sourcing the appropriate Gaelic language training package for your workforce?

Response	Percentage	Number
Yes	21.6%	11
No	58.8%	30
Don't know	19.6%	10
Total	100.0%	51

Thirteen responses which briefly described some of the main difficulties encountered by organisations included:

- *“Our challenge is to get enough Gaelic learning activity without having an overall impact on the company. Many of the jobs are Gaelic desirable as we want our staff to be Gaelic speaking - not because it is essential for the particular job”.*
- *“Some staff began "Cuir Peann Ri Paipear" during the first (pilot) year; the course did not run to completion.*
- *“Lack of "business environment" courses available”.*
- *“The staff require Gaelic language skills that they can use with pre-school children. There are a number of resources but there is a lack of a coherent approach or framework. CNSA have been here to help but more structure is still required”.*

A number of respondents also indicated that the available courses were inflexible. Comments from respondents included:

- *“It can be difficult to organise a course where people are at many different levels and have acquired their knowledge in different ways. E.g. some have natural Gaelic at a limited level, while others have learned the language as adults but have gaps in conversational skills. Both native speakers and learners use the language at a variety of levels”.*
- *“A lack of suitable courses at times and in locations appropriate to the needs of staff”.*
- *“We continue to experience difficulty in sourcing Gaelic training for staff based outwith the Western Isles or Skye. Since the closure of the Gaelic department at Inverness College it has been particularly difficult to access Gaelic learning for staff in the Inner Moray Forth area”.*

In addition, a shortage of tutors was also cited by a small number of respondents in relation to difficulties over sourcing suitable Gaelic language course for staff training.

3.12 Recruitment

Organisations were asked to provide data on the number of Gaelic language related posts advertised in the previous 12 months. The responses are shown at Table 3.41.

Table 3.41: The number of Gaelic language related posts advertised over the last 12 months by responding organisations

Item	Number of posts	Number of organisations
Number of Gaelic essential posts advertised	96	27
Number of Gaelic desirable posts advertised	54.5	16

n = 43

In total, some 150 posts designated as Gaelic essential or Gaelic desirable were advertised over the last 12 months. 64% of the advertised posts were designated as Gaelic essential. The data generated through the survey accords with the tracking data provided by CnaG of the Gaelic language jobs advertised on their website.

26 organisations reported 61.5 vacancies at present for posts designated as either Gaelic essential or Gaelic desirable. Of these, 22 are for Local Authority teaching staff. However, care should be taken in reporting this data as the teaching vacancies are likely to be an under-estimate. The data reported in respect of current vacancies is shown at Table 3.42.

Table 3.42: Current vacancies for posts requiring Gaelic language skills as reported by responding organisations

Item	Number of posts	Number of organisations
Current vacancies for Gaelic essential posts	53.5	20
Current vacancies for Gaelic desirable posts	8	6

Of the vacancies indicated for Gaelic essential posts, 22 (41%) are for Local Authority Gaelic teaching staff.

The expected increase/decrease in Gaelic language posts for the next 12 months as reported by 68 organisations is shown at Table 3.43.

Table 3.43: Increase / decrease in permanent staff within Gaelic language posts within organisations in the last 12 months

Item	Change in number of posts	Number of organisations
Increase in Gaelic essential posts	59	16
Decrease in Gaelic essential posts	5	4
Increase in Gaelic desirable posts	11	6
Decrease in Gaelic desirable posts	2	3
There has been no change in staff within permanent Gaelic essential/desirable posts	-	50

n = 68. Responding organisations made multiple selections.

- 50 organisations indicated there had been no change in permanent staff in Gaelic posts.
- 16 organisations indicated that Gaelic essential posts had increased by 59 people with 4 organisations indicating that Gaelic essential posts had decreased by 5.
- In 6 organisations Gaelic desirable posts had increased by 11 staff with 3 organisations reporting that Gaelic desirable posts had decreased by 2 staff.

Table 3.44 shows where organisations have recruited staff from into Gaelic designated posts over the last 12 months.

Table 3.44: Source of recruitment for Gaelic posts in the last year (n = 33)

Source of recruitment	Percentage	Number of employees
University/College course	32.2%	39
An internal appointment	28.1%	34
An external Gaelic essential post	14.9%	18
An external non-Gaelic post	10.7%	13
Non-employed, self-employed	5.8%	7
An external Gaelic desirable post	5.0%	6
Agency	3.3%	4
Voluntary sector	0.0%	0
Total	100.0%	121

Of the number of employees (121) reported as being recruited in the last 12 months by the 33 organisations who provided a response, some 32% came from university or college with almost a similar percentage being recruited to Gaelic language designated posts via an internal appointment. The extent of internal recruitment would tend to suggest potential for career progression based around Gaelic language skills within the organisations that have provided a response to this survey. The recruitment from a university and/or college is also a positive signal to graduates who are looking to secure employment in a job that utilises their Gaelic language skills.

These findings signal that employment based around Gaelic language competency is a positive career choice for individuals with opportunities available for career progression similar to other occupational categories across Scottish industry

No posts were reported as being recruited from the voluntary sector although this reflects the low response level from this particular sector of the economy. 11% were recruited from an external non-Gaelic post.

Organisations were asked to indicate whether they assessed the Gaelic language skills of applicants to Gaelic essential and Gaelic desirable designated posts. The responses to the question are shown at Table 3.45.

Table 3.45: Assessment of the Gaelic language skills of applicants

Assessment	Percentage	Number of organisations
All posts are assessed	67.8%	40
Most posts are assessed	5.1%	3
Some posts are assessed	6.8%	4
Gaelic language skills are not assessed	20.3%	12
Total	100%	59

Nearly 68% of respondents indicated that they assessed the language skills of applicants to all Gaelic posts. 20% reported they did not assess the Gaelic language competency of applicants to Gaelic designated posts though some indicated that interviews were conducted in Gaelic in lieu of “formal” assessment.

The method utilised by organisations to assess Gaelic language skills is shown at Table 3.46.

Table 3.46: Methods used to assess the Gaelic language skills of job applicants

Methods of assessment	Percentage	Number of organisations
Ask if they can SRW Gaelic at interview	60.8%	31
Ask if they can SRW Gaelic on the application form	39.2%	20
Verbal test	33.3%	17
Application form is required to be completed in Gaelic	21.6%	11
Written test	13.7%	7
Other	9.8%	5
Don't know	0.0%	0

n = 51. Responding organisations made multiple selections.

The primary method of appraisal appears informal in the sense that jobs applicants are only asked if they can speak, read or write Gaelic.

Only 14% of organisations providing responses suggest that they formally assess a candidate's Gaelic competency through a written test. Interestingly, only 22% of responses indicate that job applications are required to be submitted in Gaelic. The level of difficulty experienced by organisations in recruiting candidates with adequate Gaelic language skills is shown at Table 3.47.

Table 3.47: Level of difficulty experienced by organisations in recruiting staff with Gaelic language skills in the last three years.

Level of difficulty	Percentage	Number of organisations
A lot of difficulty	22.0%	11
Some difficulty	52.0%	26
No difficulty	26.0%	13
Total	100%	50

74% of respondents indicated they have a lot of difficulty/some difficulty in recruiting staff with suitable Gaelic language competency. The specific issues related to recruiting staff to Gaelic essential posts are shown at Table 3.48.

Table 3.48: Specific issues related to recruiting staff to Gaelic essential jobs

Skills shortages	Percentage	Number of organisations
A general lack of Gaelic speaking applicants	65.9%	29
Gaelic written communication skills	40.9%	18
Gaelic literacy skills	36.4%	16
Gaelic oral communications skills	27.3%	12
Specific technical and practical skills	20.5%	9
Higher wages offered by other employers	18.2%	8
Strategic management skills	15.9%	7
Planning and organising skills	13.6%	6
Other	6.8%	3
Team working skills	4.5%	2
Customer handling skills	2.3%	1
Problem solving skills	2.3%	1

n = 44

- 66% of respondents suggest there is a lack of Gaelic speaking applicants for the types of jobs advertised which require a competency in Gaelic.
- Specific competency skills in Gaelic are the primary barriers in recruiting Gaelic competent staff rather than generic skills relating to the job task such as, for example, problem solving skills. This is in direct contrast to Scotland as a whole where the primary issue relates to skill gaps in the workforce that are available for employment.

Responses in Tables 3.47 and 3.48 illustrate a need to develop a skills policy that focuses support on ensuring that Gaelic language competencies exist within the potential workforce and which meets the need of employers.

Appendix 5 lists the job titles where organisations are presently having difficulty in recruiting staff with the requisite Gaelic language competencies in relation to the requirements of the post.

Thirty four organisations listed specific job titles to indicate difficult areas of recruitment. Of note is that employers find it difficult to recruit people with the high level of written skills necessary for jobs such as editor and writer. In addition, it would appear that there is a shortage of Gaelic speakers who develop technical expertise in tandem with the language skills necessary for Gaelic media jobs, with web developer and actor being particular examples.

Concern was also expressed by respondents that there is a lack of information on the availability of Gaelic posts, with fluent speakers not able to find out about jobs that could be suitable and available to them. Further, respondents report that Gaelic learners / fluent speakers are often reticent in applying for certain jobs as they are unsure if they have the required skill sets.

3.13 **Organisational attempts to resolve recruitment difficulties:**

Twenty nine organisations provided views on how to resolve difficulties associated with recruiting staff with competence in Gaelic. Organisational views can be categorised under four different headings:

Staff development (11 responses)

Eleven organisations have attempted to resolve recruitment difficulties through enhanced staff development. Some prefer to recruit within the existing workforce and pinpoint specific skill needs to which training can be tailored. More often than not, it is written skills that need to be updated.

Networking and advertising (10 responses)

Many organisations contact colleagues in other areas to assist with recruitment. Some organisations find they have to extend their advertising beyond the reach of ordinary posts and use the web, radio, magazine advertising and mail shots. The latter can take the form of direct mailings to universities, advertising both permanent posts and work placements. Others use employment agencies to improve the number of job applicants or approach likely candidates directly if they are known to them.

Changing / adapting the job (4 responses)

One organisation reported that short term contracts have on occasion been issued to those who don't have the requisite linguistic skills but have other required skills. After re-advertising a number of times, organisations have even changed job descriptions to attract suitable candidates. Re-location packages have been offered to applicants, and learners willing to improve their language skills have also been employed.

National action (5 responses)

Five organisations reported taking action at a national level. This takes the form of lobbying for training within the industry in which they operate and implementing the Gaelic Language Plan. Local Authorities report being involved in national strategic planning on teacher training and recruitment, and raising the profile with teacher education institutions of the need to recruit Gaelic students to teacher training courses.

3.14 Main difficulties with designating posts as Gaelic-essential/desirable

Forty four organisations provided responses identifying the main difficulties with designating posts as either Gaelic essential or Gaelic desirable. A selection of responses are categorised under the following broad headings.

Legal requirements (3 responses)

- *“The Job Centre's "ruling" that advertising (1) in Gaelic is not permissible, and (2) stating "Gaelic essential" means every post must be vetted by an anti-racist panel to ensure it is not illegal. This means delay and more form filling. We have challenged the exclusion of Gaelic (singly or in bilingual advertising) as contravening the Gaelic Language Act. We're awaiting an official statement and will take the matter further if dissatisfied.”*
- *“Gaelic desirable is harder to designate as designation can be successfully challenged. “*
- *“It is difficult to gain agreement on how to designate the Gaelic language requirements of posts in principle at policy level within the organisation. At present there isn't sufficient clarity on how to define a post as Gaelic essential or Gaelic desirable”.*

Lack of applicants (17 responses)

- *“Designation in itself is not an issue within an ethos of a positive Gaelic policy. Recruitment is the main problem. The organisation is not always able to recruit Gaelic speakers into Gaelic desirable posts. Often, because you describe the job as Gaelic essential or Gaelic desirable, you end up with fewer candidates, because non-Gaelic speakers do not apply or those who lack confidence in their Gaelic do not think that they are up to the job.”*
- *“There are simply not enough people with Gaelic; the requirement puts people off applying for jobs.”*
- *“There is a limited pool of Gaelic teachers with skills for essential posts.”*
- *“Our geographical location makes recruitment difficult.”*
- *“Gaelic essential posts are easy to designate but the candidate market can be limited.”*

Adequate mix of technical and language skills (12 responses)

- *“It is difficult to find employment related skills as well as language skills.”*
- *“Television production demands high levels of competence in craft skills; a dearth of Gaelic speakers with both (fluency and relevant skills) is having an impact on the demand for an increase in Gaelic Television production.”*
- *“It is difficult to recruit staff with specific experience. E.g. Strategic Gaelic Development.”*

- *"It is always a careful balance to recruit someone with the requisite skill set and language competency. Skills e.g. scientific, must take precedence, but a good candidate that has an enthusiasm to learn must be an attractive candidate."*
- *"The difficulty is the declining level of Gaelic skills and fluency amongst younger generations in the labour market. Gaelic skills are increasingly restricted to those for whom Gaelic has been a key part of their education (through GME, SMO or LCC). Gaelic graduates tend to focus on careers in teaching, broadcasting or occasionally Gaelic development, it is difficult for employers outwith those fields to recruit staff with Gaelic skills."*
- *"Quite often the desire to have a Gaelic speaker is superseded by the need to have basic competencies pertaining to the post, whether that is organisational, administration skills, experience, attitude....etc"*

Uncertainty amongst applicants as to skills required (4 responses)

- *"People are unsure of the level of oral / written skills required for Gaelic essential / Gaelic desirable jobs."*
- *"Some people who have Gaelic as their first language have not learned to master literacy skills and they fear they may come across as inadequate. Some who have learnt the language are proficient in literacy skills but have not got the fleetness of discourse which native speakers have."*
- *"There is no difficulty per se, within the law, but the most common problem seems to be lack of language skills, sometimes more perceived than real. Some people believe their Gaelic skills must be better, even than their English skills, and believe that they are not up to date with spelling and grammar, even if they are excellent Gaelic speakers."*
- *"Some people who are fluent in Gaelic are put off applying for Gaelic essential posts if their written skills are not up to scratch."*

No difficulties in designating posts Gaelic essential/desirable (9 responses)

- *"For us there is no choice with most posts - all are Gaelic essential unless it is clear Gaelic is not an occupational requirement."*
- *"We try and avoid designating in this way in case it puts people off applying. We assume that people already know us, however, as a Gaelic organisation or if not, they can assess this from our web presence."*

Other (4 responses)

- *"Ascertaining level of demand for Gaelic classes so that we can employ a tutor."*
- *"The main difficulty for us, particularly in relation to Gaelic, is salary levels (our salaries are definitely lower than those advertised by agencies) and having people with both the language skills and the job competency skills i.e. Gaelic scholars are not necessarily the best individuals for a commercial company. Generally for employment, moving is also a big issue."*

3.15 Use of Gaelic in the workplace

Table 3.49 sets out the reported use of Gaelic in the day-to-day activities of responding organisations.

Table 3.49: Organisational approach to the use of Gaelic in daily activities

Use of Gaelic	Percentage	Number of organisations
Gaelic is the primary language of the organisation	23.4%	18
We use Gaelic more than English	5.2%	4
We use both languages equally	9.1%	7
We use English more than Gaelic	35.1%	27
Gaelic is not used	27.3%	21
Total	100.0%	77

35% of respondents indicated that they used more English than Gaelic in the day-to-day activities of their respective organisations with 27% of organisations indicating they did not use any Gaelic. Just over 23% of organisations use Gaelic as the first and primary language of the organisation.

The extent to which Gaelic is used in the operational activities of the organisation is shown at Table 3.50.

Table 3.50: Extent of Gaelic use in operational activities of organisation

Activity category	100%	75%	50%	25%	< 25%	Total
	percentage					
Orally with colleagues/management	17.3	21.2	9.6	13.5	38.5	52
Orally with clients/customers	0.0	25.9	18.5	14.8	40.7	54
Orally with other businesses/organisations	0.0	7.8	27.5	17.6	47.1	51
With clients/customers in Gaelic by letter/fax/email	1.9	21.2	13.5	15.4	48.1	52
With other businesses in Gaelic by letter/fax/email	2.0	7.8	15.7	21.6	52.9	51
Through written reports/materials in Gaelic	2.0	18.0	24.0	12.0	44.0	50

n = 55. Note: the “total” column indicates the number of responses for each “activity category”.

The data would suggest limited use of Gaelic in the operational activity of organisations particularly with regard to their interface with clients and the wider community.

A number of additional comments were received from organisations on the use of Gaelic in the workplace. A selection of responses are categorised under the following general headings.

Supported by policy (8 responses)

- *"We have a policy of promoting Gaelic but within tourism it is difficult to use the language except as part of our exhibition, content or other vehicle which helps to promote the wider culture."*
- *"We try to balance articles in our quarterly newsletter between Gaelic and English."*
- *"We produce bilingual reports etc - this is time consuming and expensive."*
- *"Our policy is to only use Gaelic if at all possible in any communication. It forms a part of our contract of employment of any staff member."*
- *"Our organisation has a Gaelic policy which we implement and which we ask our members to implement. The extent to which it is implemented without membership varies although support mechanisms are in place now which did not previously exist through lack of personnel. We use Gaelic almost 100% in internal staff communications, versions of our Board papers are produced in Gaelic and English, and our Board meetings are held in Gaelic. Communications with our network tend to be 100% bilingual (equal Gaelic and English) and letters/e-mails to individuals we know have Gaelic are in Gaelic only. All external major documentation - Annual Reports, Development Plans etc - are in Gaelic and English versions, while marketing materials tend to be bilingual, with a high Gaelic content. "*
- *"We have a Gaelic policy that covers bilingual signage, telephone greeting at reception, conversation in Gaelic with other Gaelic speakers, once-a-week in-house Gaelic class, and Gaelic is a key central part of our arts programme."*

Needing support (2 responses)

- *"We need support to develop Gaelic language broadcasting and training. The news team don't speak Gaelic and do occasionally need translations and language support. This would help raise the profile of the language - if we had support."*
- *"Training and encouraging staff to learn and use Gaelic requires staff time and ultimately this requires funding. The organisation is in a very tight financial situation and it is difficult in this environment to give Gaelic the priority that it should have."*

Used all the time amongst Gaelic speakers (18 responses)

- *"Language use varies with the composition of groups in particular situations. Gaelic is used all the time with Gaelic proficient colleagues both orally and in written communication."*
- *"Where staff or clients have Gaelic, Gaelic is used 100% but otherwise would be nil. We note that salary is becoming a bigger issue over the last 12 months where there are more jobs in Gaelic, but not a large number of additional individuals."*

- *“How much Gaelic is used depends on the department really. For example, the administration department has to deal mainly with English companies but internally Gaelic is spoken at all times. Less Gaelic is spoken amongst facilities staff.”*
- *“Gaelic is the medium of the training modules. Gaelic speaking staff provide for future Gaelic teachers. Across the university as a whole the use of Gaelic is under 25% but it is used more within the department.”*
- *“We hold our Board and Committee meetings primarily in Gaelic. We hold our AGM in Gaelic with simultaneous translation for non Gaelic speakers. We host our events in Gaelic and provide enough English to not exclude others.”*
- *“If any person the company deals with is known to have Gaelic, the company will always communicate in Gaelic with that person so the percentage varies vastly from client to client.”*
- *“Given the location of the university and the range of its staff and student population, Gaelic cannot be used operationally. However, with all Gaelic speaking staff and students, Gaelic is the medium of communication and every opportunity to offer Gaelic to learners is seized.”*

Limited use (5 responses)

- *“With the exception of Gaelic Medium Education and a limited amount of correspondence there is virtually no communication in Gaelic.”*
- *“We only have Gaelic in our letter heading and compliment slips and on signs at various locations in the forest. We are just starting on our Gaelic Plan and will be carrying out an audit on the Gaelic material we have used to date, and then we will be aiming to improve / increase our use of Gaelic.”*
- *“Gaelic is used by a few staff members but often not in the day to day activities of the organisation. Gaelic is used on letterheads, business cards. The Gaelic strategy officer and temporary placement officer use Gaelic (verbal and written) 75-100% of their working time.”*

3.16 Expected demand for Gaelic employment and training

Organisations were asked to indicate whether they were likely to employ staff in Gaelic essential or Gaelic desirable posts in the next 12 months. Their aggregated responses are reported in Table 3.51.

Table 3.51: Is your organisation likely to employ staff into Gaelic essential/desirable designated posts over the next 12 months?

Response	Percentage	Number of organisations
Yes	54.4%	43
No	24.1%	19
Don't know	21.5%	17
Total	100.0%	79

43 organisations indicate they are likely to employ staff into Gaelic essential and Gaelic desirable posts in the next 12 months. The number of staff likely to be recruited is shown at Table 3.52.

Table 3.52: Likely number of staff to be recruited in terms of Gaelic essential and Gaelic desirable designations in the next 12 months

Category	Number of Staff	Number of organisations
No. of staff to be recruited to posts designated as Gaelic essential	116.9	31
No. of staff to be recruited to posts designated as Gaelic desirable	20	14
Unsure	unknown	3
Total	136.9	39

n = 39. Some organisations intend to recruit to both Gaelic desirable and Gaelic essential posts

Based on the 39 organisations that provided a response, it would appear that 117 additional staff with Gaelic language skills will be recruited into Gaelic essential posts over the next year. This suggests an increasing level of demand for Gaelic language based posts when contrasted with the number of posts advertised in the previous year. (Refer to Table 3.41.)

However, organisations providing responses at Tables 3.51 and 3.52 clarified their responses by stating that the level of recruitment was highly dependent on the level of project funding that was available to the organisation over the next financial year.

Appendix 6 lists the jobs titles of the individuals likely to be recruited to posts designated as Gaelic essential or Gaelic desirable in the next 12 months.

Organisations were asked to identify two key reasons why they are likely to recruit more Gaelic competent staff in the next 12 months. The responses are as shown at Table 3.53.

Table 3.53: Why is your organisation's requirement for staff with Gaelic language skills likely to change? Please tick two main reasons for change

Item	Percentage	No. of organisations
To support the implementation of the Gaelic language plan	39.5%	15
To meet demand of Gaelic education	39.5%	15
More of our clients/customers require a Gaelic language service	21.1%	8
To meet expected demand from Gaelic digital media services	18.4%	7
To meet demand of growing Gaelic learner market	18.4%	7
To develop a new market	15.8%	6
A shift in organisational policy towards more use of Gaelic	10.5%	4
Other	5.3%	2
To meet more demand in the care/health related sector	0.0%	0

n = 38. A number of organisations made multiple choices

The two primary reasons for change are to support the implementation of a Gaelic language plan and the demands generated by the provision of Gaelic education. It is also pleasing to note that organisations see an increasing demand for Gaelic services from their clients; from the Gaelic digital media service to the Gaelic learner market. We would also expect demand for staff with Gaelic language skills to emerge in the care and health related sectors particularly in the Western Isles when NHS Western Isles produces, in due course, a Gaelic language plan under the auspices of the Gaelic Act.

The types of training support likely to be required in the next 12 months are shown in Table 3.54.

Table 3.54: Type of training likely to be required over the next 12 months

Item	Number of employees	Number of organisations
Introductory Gaelic for existing staff with no/little knowledge of Gaelic	230	24
Up-skilling of existing staff - oral communication skills	143	26
Up-skilling of existing staff - written communication skills	106	27
High-level written/oral skills e.g. for producing reports, presentations	44	15
Translation services - simultaneous	31	11
Work-based, technical or vocational skills	29	11
Translation services - written	27	15
Total	595	47

Note: Responding organisations made multiple selections.

47 organisations provided a response suggesting that 595 employees will attend some form of Gaelic language training over the next 12 months.

The best method to deliver training for the respective organisation is shown by the responses in Table 3.55.

Table 3.55: Delivery methods best suited to the needs of organisations if these were provided to the workforce

Item	Percentage	Number
At the workplace	45.5%	30
Short full-time study e.g. one-off courses for a few days	37.9%	25
Block release study e.g. a day each week	24.2%	16
Evening classes	16.7%	11
Mentoring at work/in-house training	19.7%	13
Self study	16.7%	11
Distance learning	24.2%	16
E-learning/via internet	16.7%	11
Other	3.0%	2
None required	22.7%	15

n = 66. Responding organisations made multiple choices.

15 organisations felt there was no need for Gaelic language training. However, for those organisations that expect to send staff on Gaelic language courses the most popular method of delivery would be within the workplace. This method is followed in popularity by a short period of full-time immersion study for a few days each week/month or a block release study where the course could be undertaken on a day/part of a day each week.

3.17 Additional observations on the potential growth of the Gaelic labour market

Organisations contacted as part of the survey were asked to make any other observations they had on the potential growth of the Gaelic labour over the next 5 years. Forty two organisations provided a response and these responses can be allocated to the following general categories. A selection of responses from each of the categories is shown below.

Policy changes (13 responses)

- *“The institution of the Bòrd na Gàidhlig is a hugely positive thing as it provides a framework for us to acquire better statistics, as to who can and cannot speak Gaelic, who is on a training course etc. Ten years ago things were much more haphazard.”*
- *“In education what would be good would be the production of a package of national advice on recruitment, so that the 36 authorities do not take different approaches on the same issue. Advice could be given on the best way to collate, store and use the statistics. We don’t want to re-invent the wheel.”*
- *“The new Gaelic Digital Channel will create employment for Gaelic speaking personnel; however, they will also require training in television skills”.*

- *“Development policy should be throughout Scotland, but with an emphasis on the Highlands and Islands. Senior Gaelic posts should not be confined to cities i.e. Inverness, Glasgow, Edinburgh. They should be flexibly located to attract the best staff.”*
- *“The focus of development should in the first instance be in areas where Gaelic is strong, where employment would tie in naturally with the use of the native languages, especially in the media and education. Both sectors play a key role in language growth and promotion and in Gaelic speaking areas. All posts should be “Gaelic essential” with necessary training provided in terms of language development.”*
- *“The impact of the National Gaelic Plan together with public authority plans will generate significant Gaelic language employment. The education / FE sector must recognise the potential need and create suitably qualified workforce.”*
- *“With the profile of Gaelic being raised through the implementation of the Gaelic Language Plan, employment opportunities should follow in education, arts and culture, and related sectors.”*
- *“There is scope for designated posts linked to the Gaelic Language Plan within the cultural sector particularly in libraries, arts and museums.”*
- *“We haven’t actively spent money on upgrading the skills of our staff members in any formal way, but are going to have to do it from now on.”*

Promotion of the language (7 responses)

- *“Mechanisms need to be developed to encourage Gaelic speakers to move out of English medium employment into Gaelic medium posts.”*
- *“Employment in Gaelic publishing will not increase as long as the reading culture remains depressed. Promotion of the culture and books needs to take place before employment increases in publishing which is sustained by the grant.”*
- *“We should be using social networks where people already are – if you take Julie Fowlis’s Bebo or MySpace page – it is littered with people that have no Gaelic knowledge whatsoever, it’s simply people that enjoy music, they enjoy the sound. They want to understand the lyrics, they want to understand where they come from, want to understand the authenticity of them.”*
- *“There is the need for more publicity through the media to further promote and raise awareness of Gaelic. Gaelic language, music, art and culture could be promoted within the context of the “Culture Act”.”*
- *“Creating demand for Gaelic education leading to a need for teachers and services.”*
- *“For jobs to include non-public service related posts and thereby genuinely develop a Gaelic economy, recognition needs to be made that some businesses are genuinely trying to support Gaelic in addition to and through their commercial work.”*

Training (7 responses)

- *“By providing more training for adults through Gaelic in Gaelic areas and Gaelic medium CPD.”*

- *“CnaG and BnG need to target in-house staff training throughout Scotland. It is by far the most successful and accessible format on offer. It up-skills groups of people who can put into practice skills they have learnt at the workplace.”*
- *“Key issue will be ensuring careers education is effective in GME establishments, identifying potential wages of language in employment for young people in GME.”*
- *“Career structures need to be developed to retain people in Gaelic Medium Education.”*
- *“You need to develop some kind of registration or standard – for instance when training translators. A professional kite mark or something. Things need to be, for want of a better word, professionalised.”*

Rule changes (1 response)

- *“By introducing stricter rules about procuring from Gaelic speaking SMEs when “Gaelic money” is spent (for example Gaelic speaking web developer for a Gaelic organisation website, Gaelic speaking catering staff at Gaelic events) when it comes to public funding.”*

Skills shortages (8 responses)

- *“In my area we are limited by a lack of professional performers. Although a reasonable number are talented and fully fluent in the language they are lacking in skills.”*
- *“Our main difficulties lie in sourcing service providers and contractors with adequate skills. There are companies tendering for Gaelic related work which overstate Gaelic competency. We need authors, publishers and crucially interactive media providers.”*
- *“I believe there are huge gaps in the development of Gaelic. We should be focusing on more provision for parents i.e. classes, courses, activities, websites, social events. We require people with specialised training i.e. translation, child care, social services, marketing advisers, recruitment officers etc. More jobs should be related to these specialised areas.”*
- *“I think a skills audit of people working in Gaelic organisations is required. The Welsh Language Board employs around 80 people in-house to deliver its work. Bòrd na Gàidhlig has a small staff but if all the people in the 16 Gaelic organisations were counted, the number of people delivering Gaelic development is probably not much smaller. Without knowing the specific skills people have, it is difficult to know where resources should be deployed and to what extent people external to the recognised ‘Gaelic organisations’ will need to be employed, or contracted, to deliver services in Gaelic.”*
- *“It’s hard to really specify these since the [media] industry is evolving all the time, so for instance 10 years ago, on-line, we were unheard of – but now we now have 5 skilled people working in this area who have been trained by us. Other times we have to outsource to fill the gaps.”*

- *"I think one of the things that would need to be developed is peoples' ability to be able to read and write – not just read and write, but read and write very well. I think the situation is improving, but there was a period, where quite frankly literacy didn't seem to be too important and we were seeing candidates for jobs whose Gaelic literacy (although they had a lot of skills and paper qualifications) was very poor. Very poor."*
- *"We're doing quite a lot of development work simply because **we have to do it**, because nobody else has done it. But we're making the materials you know. So that's quite time consuming in itself."*
- *"Even those who have made a big long journey to be graduates within Gaelic are not of sufficient quality for the jobs that we do, so there's a big deficit there. The quality of graduates who have been turned out even in Gaelic degrees in University is not good enough for us, so we have to spend money supporting fluency in the language, written skills, writing skills. When we are looking at supporting the Gaelic language skills of our staff, we're not necessarily supporting those who are on a journey of learning. It's actually more and more about supporting people who have come through core communities and core Gaelic systems, but the skill level is not absolutely up to scratch."*

Funding shortages (2 responses)

- *"As a Comunn Eachdraidh we would like to employ a part time or full time person focused on local history in Gaelic but are unable to do so due to lack of funding."*
- *"Sometimes courses for Gaelic are developed with public money – but then a high rate is charged to those wishing to improve their vocational skills in the field, and this becomes a barrier to your staff. They come back saying 'I'm not paying that amount of money.'"*
- *"Gaelic language skills are a major area of development. What we do have, is a desire by people to engage with that in relation to their employment, but the level of funding that's required to deliver that is significant. It becomes a bit of a lottery in terms of who can and cannot go. There is clearly a market there for people to do it, and were more support available, certainly a lot more people would take advantage of it."*

Growth areas (21 responses)

- *"Gaelic should be part of everyday working life for most businesses, starting with learners and communication industry first."*
- *"Writing - Training in top-quality language skills. Speaking - encourage fluency in text based learners."*
- *"The focus should be on the commercial / business sector."*
- *"There will be an increasing need for translators and teachers if Gaelic Language Plans are to be implemented successfully over the coming years."*
- *"The growth in jobs will come in teaching, broadcasting and public administration."*
- *"As a heritage organisation, we will be seeking to support the development of Gaelic interest and as mentioned, if employees have aptitudes in this area we will seek to make more systematic use of this."*

Specific jobs listed as growth areas, included the following:

- Senior managers with language planning skills.
- Front of house / reception / phone operators.
- Web developers / managers
- Bi-lingual designers
- Key private sector businesses where there is demand for Gaelic services e.g. suppliers to Gaelic broadcasting.
- Education and childcare.
- Tourism.
- Music.

3.18 Summary of main findings generated by the survey of organisations

- Responses from the survey of organisations have identified some 695 employment posts designated as Gaelic essential of which 595 (86%) are full-time positions. Overall, the survey research has identified 1,134 posts designated as Gaelic essential and Gaelic desirable across Scotland as a whole.
- Of the posts designated as Gaelic essential nearly 50% are located in the Highlands and Skye region with 18% of posts located in the Western Isles. Greater Glasgow accounts for 16% of these Gaelic essential posts with Edinburgh accounting for nearly 4%.
- Over 90% of responses indicated that people needed the ability to speak, read and write Gaelic for posts designated as Gaelic essential. In addition, 67% of responses in relation to Gaelic desirable posts also indicated the requirement for employees to speak, read and write Gaelic. However, for Gaelic desirable posts 37% of responses indicated that the ability to speak Gaelic only was sufficient for the job role whilst only 17% of responses indicated that competence in speaking Gaelic only was sufficient for posts designated as Gaelic essential.
- The “Talent Index” for people employed in Gaelic essential posts is high compared to Scotland as a whole. That is, people employed in Gaelic essential posts are highly qualified with some 68% of people identified by the survey with formal qualifications at Group 4 level or above. This compares with 19.5% for Scotland as a whole. 45% of people in Gaelic desirable posts were also identified as having Group 4 level qualifications. In addition, 34% of individuals in Gaelic desirable posts have Group 2 level qualifications compared to 16% for Scotland as a whole.
- There is a relatively high use made of contract services to support organisational Gaelic language activities with 38% of organisations indicating they procured contract staff and services over the last 12 months. Of the 162 people on short-term language contracts some 67% are in Gaelic essential designated posts. A substantial percentage of these short-term employment contracts are associated with the media sector.

- In addition to employing staff on short-term contracts in Gaelic essential posts some 92% of organisations providing a response to the survey also indicated they procured a range of Gaelic related services to support their overall activities in relation to Gaelic language development. Of these services, the most sought after service sourced by 63% of organisations was translation services.
- An estimated 1,947 contract days were procured by the 35 organisations providing a response to this question with the majority of days contracted for translation, research and, education and learning related Gaelic language services. In total, these contracted days are estimated to be responsible for supporting some £1,271,600 of wage income across Scotland industry.
- However, whilst the high demand for Gaelic contract staff and language related services should be viewed in a positive light a number of issues are emerging through the survey responses that need to be considered in future policy responses developed to support Gaelic language development. Employers seem to suggest that in general terms there is a lack of detailed knowledge of the available skill sets within the potential Gaelic labour pool, which makes it difficult for employers to plan some elements of their operations other than on a short-term basis. The survey responses also seem to suggest the need to professionalise the structure of Gaelic labour supply chain in order to meet increasing levels of demand for Gaelic goods and services.
- Skills development and access to appropriate training and support are central to any future expansion of the Gaelic labour market. The responses from the survey clearly indicate a Gaelic labour market that lacks sufficient depth and scope in terms of people with suitable language skills. It is likely that if this situation is not improved upon it will curtail any forward progress in expanding the number of Gaelic essential employment posts that are dependent on people with sufficient levels of competencies in the Gaelic language.
- Whilst 71% of organisations indicate that staff presently employed in Gaelic essential/desirable posts are 75-100% proficient in the language for their specific job role, the survey responses also indicates that 25% of staff are not suitably proficient in Gaelic for the work they are being employed to do. Related to this finding and possibly more worrying is that nearly 50% of organisations that responded to the survey do not have a formal method of identifying the Gaelic language and training needs of their staff.

- The lack of a formalised approach to organisational training needs is indicative of small businesses across Scotland generally but it is particularly important for Gaelic organisations that such systems are in place when the labour pool is so small and where language competencies are valued so highly, particularly in Gaelic essential designated employment positions. However, Gaelic organisations are involved in training courses with some 35% who responded to the survey being engaged with some form of Gaelic language training course in the last 12 months. Over the year some 413 people are reported to have attended these training courses with short-term Gaelic grammar and literacy skills training being popular along with attendance at Gaelic awareness courses.
- Demand for staff for posts designated as Gaelic essential is clearly evident from the survey responses. Over the last year there has been an increase of 59 staff in Gaelic essential designated posts in organisations providing a response to this survey question. At the time the survey was being conducted there were some 54 vacancies for Gaelic essential posts of which 41% were for Local Authority teaching staff. In addition, over the last year there have been some 150 posts advertised as Gaelic essential and Gaelic desirable of which 64% were designated as Gaelic essential.
- Of the number of individuals reported as being recruited in the last 12 months by the 33 organisations who provided a survey response, some 32% came from university or college with almost a similar percentage being recruited to Gaelic language designated posts via an internal appointment. The extent of internal recruitment would tend to suggest potential for career progression based around Gaelic language skills within the organisations that have provided a response to this survey. These findings signal that employment based around Gaelic language competency is a positive career choice for individuals with opportunities available for career progression similar to other occupational categories across Scottish industry.
- In the next 12 months organisations responding to the survey have indicated they will be looking to recruit additional staff to Gaelic essential posts. 54% (43 organisations) of responses indicate additional recruitment is envisaged with some 117 staff required in the next year to fill Gaelic essential designated posts. Therefore, demand for staff capable of filling Gaelic essential designated posts is on the increase from previous years but organisations warn that the success of this recruitment potential is highly dependent on available project funding and the availability and language competencies of people within a very limited labour pool. Gaelic essential posts are now becoming available across a range of economic sectors with education, childcare, media, administration and general development featuring predominately as the main areas for employment opportunities that require Gaelic language skills.

- To fulfil many of the requirements of the Gaelic language posts that will become available over the next year or so there is a high priority attached to providing an adequate skills and training support structure. Organisations report that up-skilling of existing staff in oral/written communication skills in Gaelic will be priority training requirement in the next year.
- Section 3.16 of this reports sets out a wide range of observations from respondents on how the potential growth of the Gaelic labour can be realised and developed over the next number of years. These observations ranged from policy issues to more practical matters such as promotion and marketing of Gaelic, training and funding issues.

4. SOME OF THE MAIN POINTS RAISED BY CONSULTATIONS

4.1 Introduction

This section gives an overview of the main discussion points raised by the consultations with the organisation listed at 1.4.7. It has been kept brief for the present stage of the research but can be expanded in the discussion to be developed during stage two of this research process.

4.2 Main issues raised by consultations

4.2.1 Gaelic Language Plans and Policy

Before the advent of the Gaelic Language Act there was little systematic focus by Gaelic organisations in their approach to language planning and how this impacted on the use of Gaelic across a range of domains. Until recently, many 'Gaelic policies' were concerned with the implementation of certain services for Gaelic speakers and have had few provisions covering internal language use and practices in the organisation. The need to produce Gaelic language plans under Section 3 of the Act should gradually bring a more systematic approach to language planning across Scotland.

However, the Gaelic development organisations that are currently funded by Bòrd na Gàidhlig are not required to produce a Gaelic language plan under the Act. The success of these organisations continues to be monitored against business planning models which do not, according to consultees, address issues of organisational language policy. As such, Gaelic language policies in these organisations are produced voluntarily. This would appear to be something of an anomaly when a considerably more structured approach to Gaelic language planning is being introduced within the practices of other public bodies that are recognised to have a significant interface with the Gaelic community. .

Several of the organisations consulted have already prepared Gaelic language plans under Section 3 of the Gaelic Language Act, or are in the process of doing so in anticipation of an official request from Bòrd na Gàidhlig. These plans are substantially different from their predecessors, where such a plan or policy existed, on several counts. First, they are a statutory obligation. Second, they systematically address the delivery of bilingual services and therefore have an internal as well as external focus. This new series of Gaelic language policies do not only monitor outcomes according to planned activities: they are required to address the use of Gaelic in the organisation's corporate functions which include recruitment policies and staff Gaelic language use. Third, the responsibility for the design, implementation and monitoring of the policy involves more than a Gaelic (education) department or officer in public bodies, such as local authorities.

A number of the other public bodies consulted during this research will also in due course produce Gaelic language plans. In time, these organisations will be joined by other public bodies located in specific geographies. As such it would be useful to consider how these plans link together in relation to the core strategic objectives of the National Plan for Gaelic. For example, in the Western Isles there will be Gaelic language plans in place from Comhairle nan Eilean Siar; Highlands and Islands Enterprise; Western Isles Health Board; and UHI Millennium Institute. In relation to the use of resources it must be possible to derive synergies in relation to the delivery of core objectives across each of these public bodies.

Outwith the main public bodies, there are Gaelic policies in place across organisations and these have been developed to various degrees of completeness. It is not entirely clear how these Gaelic policies drive the operational activities of the organisations consulted. However, those consulted view the use of Gaelic as implicit in their respective operational activities and as one consultee commented, *“our policy is and always has been to encourage our staff to use Gaelic as their normal lingua franca in all dealings with each other or with any other people in the organisation, to keep their e-mail traffic in Gaelic and produce documents in Gaelic”*.

4.2.2 Monitoring and evaluation

Organisations report that their respective Gaelic policies are monitored and evaluated although the formality of this process is weak in most cases. The impression is given that the overall process is ad-hoc and not subject to a high degree of scrutiny. Gaelic language policies which fall outwith the Act typically have few specific objectives, targets or outcomes and are rarely formally monitored. Some of the organisations consulted revealed that these were not ‘live’ working documents and interviewee awareness of their content substantiated this. This is not, in all cases, indicative of non-implementation, however. Organisations that had Gaelic language plans governing language use were small bodies who reported that their day-to-day activities were conducted primarily through the medium of Gaelic and that Gaelic was strongly embedded in their operational activities.

In small organisations, informal approaches to monitoring implementation were considered sufficient. Typically, however, organisations had a lackadaisical approach to the monitoring and evaluation of Gaelic language policies or indeed, Gaelic language use in the organisation. One public body reported that *“they were doing as much as they could, and in that sense it was being fully implemented”*. However, it was acknowledged in some larger bodies that more could be done to formalise the expectations they had of staff and reduce a tolerance of English use in Gaelic departments or organisations. Thus, although one organisation stressed it had an (unwritten) policy to use Gaelic as the lingua franca, the consultee stated: *“it’s not good enough to just simply do our e-mails in English. Actually it’s an important thing that you do them in Gaelic. And we need to kind of police that a little as well. And [I] think other organisations will need to do that as well”*.

However, we expect that the main funding bodies that support the majority of the Gaelic organisations consulted will have some form of structured approach in place to measure their performance in terms of Gaelic language revitalisation outputs and outcomes.

4.2.3 Knowledge of staff Gaelic skills and language use

There was a mixed response in relation to the depth of knowledge extant within organisations as to the Gaelic skills of their respective workforces. Whilst some recognition is given at various points in the year to the skills and training needs of staff, mainly at staff appraisals, the impression is given that the approach is not as systematic and as formalised as should be the case, particularly in relation to Gaelic language planning and associated activity. There are two specific points that should be considered in respect of planning to ensure adequate Gaelic language skills are available within the organisation and they are:

1. Knowledge of the Gaelic language skills of staff in non-Gaelic essential/Gaelic desirable posts e.g. the extent of Gaelic skills across the wider organisation. The systematic recording of this knowledge should be gradually addressed by language audits required by the Gaelic Act, prior to developing Gaelic language plans.
2. Knowledge of the level of Gaelic language skills extant amongst GE/GD staff – and how organisations subsequently identify language skills gaps in a structured and systematic way.

4.2.4 Language Requirements of Jobs

There are apparent inconsistencies and ambiguities within some of the organisations consulted as to what determines a Gaelic language skill requirement. For example, one organisation stated *“All of the staff are employed to work in Gaelic, it’s a pre-requisite for them to be able to use the language both written and orally. However, there are posts that don’t necessarily require the individual to be able to speak or try Gaelic”*. In this organisation it was stated that support and technical staff didn’t require Gaelic and that such posts are ‘Gaelic desirable’, and that other posts were ‘Gaelic essential’.

Larger organisations appear able to bear the cost of “back-up” for English monolingual staff in Gaelic-work groups, whilst smaller organisations recognise support from Gaelic-speaking colleagues as incurring a cost. One employer described themselves as being: *“In a position where I need somebody with Gaelic, and I’m unable to appoint them...(…) I have to back that up with somebody else entirely...(…)...So having, not having, Gaelic speakers for me is an additional cost”*. The current practice of having “back up” or outsourcing resolves these difficulties, rather than the implementation of a strategic training strategy for employees within the organisation.

Presently, there is a marked tendency amongst some organisations to avoid designating positions as ‘Gaelic desirable’. One organisation reported: *“Describing a job as Gaelic essential is actually easy and it’s defensible. But when you say Gaelic desirable that is always challengeable. And that is what makes it difficult and dangerous”*. Having taken legal advice, this consultee relayed that that a public authority had to exercise “good governance” and that designating a post as ‘Gaelic desirable’ could put the organisation in a position subject to legal action. In other organisations, however, positions are more likely to be designated as ‘Gaelic desirable’ because, as this organisation explains, *“If we were to declare posts Gaelic essential....in some areas...(...)... we wouldn’t have any candidates at all”*. These responses point to the difficulties in designating any position for which language is not a key productive job skill.

There appears to be an emergent trend away from designating what would have been historically advertised as ‘Gaelic essential’ posts, as ‘Gaelic desirable’ or ‘Gaelic advantageous’. This trend is being driven by the overall short supply of Gaelic speakers in the labour market: *“One of the things I have to be honest about is the fact that we’re not sometimes going to get somebody who’s going to have the Gaelic skills and the [other] skills”*. Several organisations were unsure as to how to address these issues. One described how it intended to *“advertise them as Gaelic essential”* but then *“look at whether we had any interest from people who maybe weren’t that confident”*.

One consultee commented *“Maybe it’s more to do with a commitment to Gaelic”*. Another consultee commented, *“What becomes vitally important, is the fact that, whether they’re a fluent speaker or a learner, whether they’ve got the other skills, you’ve got to have the interests of Gaelic at heart”*. By implication, such employees would be willing to learn the language. Organisations have to be increasingly flexible, therefore, about how they describe the Gaelic language skills needed, and how they implement support strategies to help post-holders gain or develop Gaelic language skills once in post. Moreover, as one person commented *“your yardstick on what’s essential and what’s desirable will probably change over time”*.

One organisation reported it included conditions related to the development of employee knowledge of the Gaelic language and culture in employee contracts. Others stated that they reviewed Gaelic language skills along with all other job skills, and identified support mechanisms to develop people’s skills. However, they hadn’t identified any measurement or expectation of progress over a specified time-scale. One organisation stated that there may be a need to do this in the future.

4.2.5 Gaelic Language Skills Shortage

A key language skill shortage relates to translation services at all levels, but particularly high level translation skills in relation to business operations. There is a high dependence on a limited pool of people to provide high quality Gaelic translation services to the public and private sectors across Scotland. The situation raises a range of operational difficulties for public bodies/organisations that are planning to increase their respective Gaelic outputs in response to the objectives of the National Plan for Gaelic and other local language plans.

It would appear that there is a need to develop a more strategic approach to Gaelic translation services which is linked to a quality assurance system. Significant employment opportunities should emerge as demand for Gaelic translation increases as more public bodies start to implement Gaelic language plans.

In addition to translation skills, consultees identified a skills shortage in Gaelic literacy. This was particularly so for 'high level' literacy skills required in sectors such as broadcasting, language services and education. It was also recognised that employees did not have *ex ante* knowledge of language registers required for the post. In addition to employees being expected to expand their language registers through their own personal development and work immersion, one employer has custom designed and operates a 3-day Gaelic course for new employees to address these issues.

In order to address Gaelic skill proficiency gaps in members of staff, colleagues from other departments were used for translating, proof-reading and the production of other written documents. One interviewee described however that in his organisation there was a reliance on one member of staff to do this, which he recognised as problematic: *"if you have a quality assurance system it has to be independent of individuals and that's very difficult in an organisation which is quite a small organisation"*.

In most cases, tasks associated with the production of Gaelic documents were outsourced to language service providers. In addition to concerns over the high dependence on a limited pool of people to provide high quality translation services, not all consultees were satisfied with the standard of services bought or the level of professionalism with which the work was delivered. They commented how the standard could *"vary quite dramatically"*, and consequently, one was of the opinion *"there is really a need for some kind of registration or some kind of standard"* to professionalise the industry.

Several organisations referred to a lack of equivalence between the language qualification requirement for teaching and for journalist training. For example, to enter teaching training you are required to have English at Higher level, but it is not a requirement that people enlisting for a Gaelic teacher-training programme have a Gaelic Higher.

4.2.6 Additional costs related to the use of Gaelic in the business activities

Additional costs primarily relate to the need to produce bilingual materials for a range of media. Consultees from public bodies expect to experience an increase in costs associated with the production and dissemination of various forms and types of materials. Whilst these costs are considered as part of the processes associated with extending the scope and usage of Gaelic across Scotland, consultees consider that it would be prudent to develop structures and systems that would be capable of creating synergies across common language support services. Such a common framework would help to ensure that key areas such as, shared translation services; language audit frameworks; Gaelic budgets and auditing; skills development; advice on recruitment practices can be supported in a cost-effective manner that encourages collaboration and synergies between Gaelic organisations and external contractors.

Several public bodies referred to the need to ‘mainstream’ costs associated with offering bilingual services and stop treating Gaelic as a “special case”. As such, collaborative linkages need to be strengthened across organisations and within organisations, including Government departments to ensure that Gaelic is not considered an add-on “silo” but is integrated as far as is practicable within the operational activity of organisations as a whole.

4.2.7 Gaelic embedded within the operational activities of organisations

The proportion of staff with Gaelic language skills is highly variable across organisations. At one level there are the Gaelic bodies with staff that are all Gaelic speakers and then there are the public bodies where the percentage of staff who speak Gaelic is unknown, but likely to be less than 2 percent. In those organisations where most/the majority of staff are formally required to speak Gaelic, it is reported as being the everyday language of organisational activity. This is in accordance with their (formal and informal) language policies, and these policies are recognised as helping to formalise and implement the use of Gaelic across all their activities. However, for other organisations Gaelic has not, to date, been strongly embedded in all aspects of organisational activity. Reasons cited include small proportions of Gaelic speakers amongst staff, cost implications, dealings with English-medium organisations, and a lack of perceived demand to do so.

However, this is evidently changing among public sector bodies responding to the requirements of the Gaelic Act. These bodies are at the cusp of implementing bilingual strategies with implications for the use of Gaelic within the organisational operational activities. These organisations anticipate that Gaelic’s use internally will increase incrementally over time as their respective Plans are implemented. The challenge for Bòrd na Gàidhlig is to monitor this progress to ensure that change in terms of language use is actually taking place and that Gaelic language plans do not become mere acts of tokenism.

One example of the changing status and use of Gaelic by organisations is the reported proactive use of Gaelic for meetings with external organisations and partners about Gaelic service delivery. This marks an important move away from deferring to English due to the presence of one or more English monolinguals, and represents a willingness on the part of some elements of the public sector in Scotland to respect the use of Gaelic in these situations. Another example is the management of Comhairle nan Eilean Siar's Committees through the medium of Gaelic with simultaneous translation into English.

Other organisations are seeking to increase the use of Gaelic in staff communication in order to raise the language skills of staff: *"We encourage communication in Gaelic where possible. Not only because it's the language we're working in, and people need to get fluent in it, but also because some of our staff are learners and need to hear it"*. By increasing the language's use in the organisation, the quality of the organisation's Gaelic products and services can be enhanced, and its costs reduced.

One consultee also commented that the role of Government is critical in the process in extending the use and profile of Gaelic in Scottish public life. The present Scottish Government has a single *Purpose* – *'to create a more successful country where all of Scotland can flourish through increasing sustainable economic growth'*. Linked to this Purpose are 15 National Outcomes and 45 National Indicators. Whilst Gaelic is mentioned under the "national outcome" dealing with "national identity" the language does not, however, merit a National Indicator despite the existence of the Gaelic Language Act.

4.2.8 Key Recruitment Difficulties

The key problem, according to consultees, that underlies existing recruitment difficulties relates directly to the limited pool of people who have the required language competencies to work within an organisation delivering Gaelic services. This is a labour supply problem that needs to be addressed through an effective skills development policy and the implementation of suitable marketing and advice to potential new entrants to the Gaelic labour market. Consultees were of the opinion that many individuals currently employed outwith the Gaelic labour market do not recognise they have the requisite language skills to deliver a job role that operates mainly through the medium of Gaelic. As such the present Gaelic labour market is extremely tight with salaries for many Gaelic jobs at a level above similar jobs in other public sector situations.

One consultee commented that the apparent wage premium for many public sector Gaelic posts can potentially cause problems for a private sector company operating in the Gaelic market place. The tight market for staff with advanced competency skills in Gaelic results in a high degree of competition between the relatively small Gaelic private sector and the burgeoning Gaelic public sector. The media sector was cited by a number of consultees as attracting skilled Gaelic staff away from public sector posts.

From the evidence provided by the consultations there is some significant policy development work required across a number of recruitment areas to ensure that there is a sufficient supply of people for the labour demands that are likely to emerge on the implementation of the National Plan for Gaelic through the language plans of public bodies, the anticipated increase in outputs from the Gaelic broadcasting, and the emergent demand from the wider community for Gaelic goods and services.

A number of other recruitment concerns were also raised by consultees:

First, several consultees maintained that attracting Gaelic speakers employed in English medium occupations didn't only require convincing them of their capabilities, but also involved convincing them that *"there is enough momentum behind the effort"* which the National Plan is now steering and that a career utilising the Gaelic language was a stable and prosperous option. However, not all Gaelic speakers wish to be involved in this effort, regardless of the salaries and employment conditions that are currently in place or will emerge in the years ahead.

Second, several interviewees referred to the demographic profile of Gaelic speakers. They recognised how the current shortage of people with Gaelic language skills – and with requisite technical and specialist skills and qualifications – could be addressed by the next generation of children being educated through the medium of Gaelic. *"I mean the skills that we require in here are not available in the Gaelic language right now. But they will be in years to come, and if these people are allowed the change to come through"*. However, as the analysis in Section 2 of the report revealed, based on the proportion of children studying Gaelic at secondary level, there is little evidence to suggest that the cohort of pupils in GME will have the confidence, or interest in working in the Gaelic labour market. Moreover, several consultees commented on how the language skills of native speakers raised in "core communities" was also declining. One consultee identified a gap in the 'middle year's group' and identified a need for succession planning in their own organisations.

Third, a number of consultees identified that the school education system to date was not sufficiently developed to generate confident second-language speakers due to a paucity of secondary level provision.

Attracting people to work in the Gaelic labour market entails a number of strategies already described in Section 3.12. Several organisations stressed the need to rely on ‘word-of-mouth’ advertising, targeting prospective individuals, and networking with other organisations to identify suitable people: *“it’s very much a networking kind of approach”*. Contrary to this, another argued *“Gaelic cannot somehow live in a subliminal world which is the old traditional method of either word of mouth or whatever else. And also it doesn’t work today, because the networks that existed previously are no longer the networks that exist now”*.

However, it is clearly apparent from the above comments that there is an immediate need to establish a national project that has the core objectives of up-skilling people to the appropriate level of Gaelic language competency and in creating a positive environment whereby people develop the confidence to seek out employment requiring skills in the language.

4.2.9 Impact of the National Gaelic Plan

The National Plan for Gaelic provides the planning framework that sets the overall strategic context within which all Gaelic development activity will take place. Consultees were of the opinion that there is sufficient flexibility within the Plan at present so as not to constrain development activities taking place within communities. Organisations consulted welcomed the new national planning framework and considered it as the strategic context within which their Gaelic development activity takes place. Some identified the Plan as a useful “supporting mechanism” whilst others described it as a “useful tool” for strategic planning.

The status and statutory requirements of the Plan were seen as positively raising the profile of the work of public bodies, and enabled organisations to integrate Gaelic language planning across different services and departments. It was also welcomed for generating an impetus for better evidence of language trends, for example in education, which enables these bodies to better plan their services.

However, whilst consultees welcomed the flexibility of the present Plan, a number also expressed the opinion there is a need to be more specific on the outputs and outcomes that require to be generated from project development activity across the main Gaelic development sectors. A re-configuration of the approach to Gaelic development will take time but the existence of the Gaelic Act and the National Plan bring a focus and a purpose to the revitalisation of the language. The new Gaelic institutional structures that are now beginning to emerge will generate employment opportunities across different economic sectors and not just the important teaching and broadcasting sectors.

Another important impact of the Plan has been in starting to change attitudes to the value and use of Gaelic throughout Scotland. The need for public bodies to produce language plans will raise the profile of Gaelic and start to shift the balance towards a more positive attitude towards Gaelic from within and outwith the Gaelic community. The implementation of language plans by public bodies will pose many challenges particularly in relation to improving the Gaelic language competencies of staff. For example, in relation to implementing a staff Gaelic language skills strategy accessible to all employees: large public bodies anticipate an increased demand for language learning which could strain resources and therefore there is a need to identify mechanisms for prioritisation amongst posts and for cost-effective delivery mechanisms. Smaller organisations do not have the capacity to release their staff for day or block training thus language courses need to be structured *in situ* during working hours which could potentially put additional strain on the operational efficiency of the organisation.

4.2.10 Training and Support

Most of organisations had used external training providers to deliver or design staff Gaelic language training. One organisation was dissatisfied with the cost of one literacy-based Gaelic course which it said prohibited staff enrolling on it, alluding to the fact that it might not be a legitimate way of spending public money. Some organisations had commissioned 'Gaelic awareness' training for Gaelic essential staff and non-Gaelic essential post-holders.

Several organisations had, or were planning, to organise work-based Gaelic skills training on the back of newly produced voluntary and statutory Gaelic Language Plans. The need to support the language skills of staff in a way that recognised life-long learning was identified, and typically organisations are seeking to provide work-based conversation classes and learning and/or internal training to up-skill employees' language skills.

4.2.11 Future demand for staff with Gaelic language skills

Presently the creation of demand for staff with Gaelic language skills is driven by the following factors:

- (a) *The National Plan for Gaelic.*
- (b) *The Statutory Gaelic Language Plans from public bodies.*
- (c) *The Gaelic digital channel and the increase in broadcasting hours.*
- (d) *The expansion of Gaelic at all levels of education including adult learning.*

Generally, consultees were of the opinion that the combination of all these factors will generate strong multiplier effects that will create employment opportunities and wealth creation outputs across the Gaelic labour market. However, it is also recognised that the challenge for public policy is to ensure that adequate structures are in place that can support such development opportunities and that the objectives that are stated in the Gaelic language plans of public bodies are implemented to achieve their full effect.

Much of the initial drive in relation to employment opportunities will take place in education, the media and public administration but this should gradually start to expand to other areas of the economy including the private sector.

The marketing of opportunities will be a key factor in instilling confidence in people who are considering entering the Gaelic labour market as a career choice. Marketing Gaelic as a positive choice will also require an undertaking to inform and support parents who might not be fully aware of the benefits of a fully bilingual education for their children and the career opportunities that can be available for young people within a Gaelic work environment in the years ahead.

However, public policy also has to take account of some real barriers to progress in revitalising Gaelic. Many of these barriers are extant within the present institutional structures within which the Gaelic language needs to exist and within which it needs to develop over the next generation.

Barriers to satisfying future demand considered by consultees included the following issues:

- (a) A lack of confidence amongst the Gaelic labour pool across the economy as a whole.*
- (b) The relatively small number of fully fluent individuals within the Gaelic labour pool.*
- (c) The issues of demographics and the time lags involved in moving from primary Gaelic medium education to becoming available for employment in the workforce.*
- (d) The need to identify and target resources including the use of existing budget streams towards the areas of greatest effect across different planning time scale.*
- (e) The lack of role models that can attract people to use Gaelic more in the workplace in both public and private sector settings.*

Overcoming many of these barriers relies heavily on the production and implementation of appropriate Gaelic language plans at both organisational and regional levels. If the Gaelic language plans of public bodies are not implemented to the extent that has been envisaged by the public policy framed within the Gaelic Act/National Plan for Gaelic this will be a singularly significant barrier to progress for Gaelic development across all fronts.

4.2.12 Additional points identified by the consultations

Several organisations had experienced difficulties in attracting a good short-leet of candidates for interviews. This was attributed to the small size of the Gaelic-speaking labour pool; low levels Gaelic language skill, in particular literacy, and; insufficient candidates with the right combination of language, soft and other specialist business or technical skills. It was also noted by one organisation that both the number and standard of graduate applicants was in general, high.

However, their Gaelic language skills remain below the high quality required for many Gaelic posts in that organisation. There was some optimism, therefore, about the level of awareness amongst young graduates of opportunities in the labour market and about their general employability. In general, however, it was argued that opportunities in the Gaelic labour market need to be better marketed, for example in the schools Careers Service and by Bòrd na Gàidhlig at a national level, and that this marketing should project Gaelic as an 'additional' skill which enhances work mobility.

The need to attract Gaelic speakers from other sectors is considered to be essential in order to meet the future demands of the Gaelic labour market. It was advocated that Gaelic needed to be viewed as a transferable skill that would enable mobility from the 'Gaelic labour market' to other labour markets and vice versa. Some organisations perceived mobility from 'Gaelic' to other labour markets e.g. education, broadcasting, as being a mark of success of Gaelic-specific occupations. People in professional and managerial occupations are mobile both in the sense of responding to changes in the wider occupational labour market in which they take part (e.g. education, law, IT), and geographically.

Future demand for Gaelic language skills is not only anticipated to grow in professional occupations, however, and to date, filling jobs in lower occupational categories, such as finance officers, administration, or customer service roles, has been challenging for some organisations. Consultees identified a lack of confidence on the part of potential employees in their Gaelic skills; a lack of clarity over the level and types of language skills required in posts when advertised; and the location of jobs in areas with low absolute numbers of Gaelic speakers as barriers.

Addressing levels of literacy amongst the current and prospective Gaelic labour pool has been identified as critical to achieving growth in the labour market. It is widely held that the education system is currently 'failing' and not providing the route from primary to secondary Gaelic medium required in order for native or second language speakers to be equally literate in Gaelic and English by the time they enter the labour market. Literacy skills are necessary in professional occupations in particular. More specifically, the Gaelic language services sector requires these skills in order to provide high(er) quality translation, interpretation and other language services to organisations that do not have, or wish to develop, the capacity to do so internally.

The restricted labour pool – comprising recent graduates, adult learners who obtain knowledge of Gaelic at different stages in their working lives, and native Gaelic speakers – is placing requirements upon employers to be more flexible in their approach to recruiting and training people with Gaelic skills. Increasingly, therefore, posts may have conditions attached which commit the employee to learning or developing their knowledge of the language.

4.3 Additional reflections on the concept of the ‘Gaelic labour market’

This research study has focused on the quantification of the demand and supply for SRW Gaelic language skills in economic activity at the national level, whilst being sensitive to patterns of supply and demand at a local and regional level. It has aimed to identify the constraints found for both the supply and demand of types Gaelic language skills in Scotland.

The Gaelic labour market was defined for the purposes of this study as, “*the market for which knowledge of the Gaelic language is a condition of employment*” (see Section 1.4). The majority of Gaelic essential employment (93.5 percent) was found to require that post-holders can speak, read and write (SRW) Gaelic. This knowledge of Gaelic is small: analysis of census data revealed that only 14,979 economically active individuals in Scotland can SRW Gaelic. This language skill can be described as ‘specialist’ given that significant investment of time and money can be required to meet some of the specific language demands of the market. Given the extensive market failure recognised by economic development agencies within the Highlands and Islands¹³ there is a long recognised case for action in this area not to be left to ‘market forces’ alone. Indeed economic commentators such as Church and King¹⁴ have long viewed language (in its role as a tool for communication) as a ‘merit good’ in economic terms and argue that government intervention can be justified with a view to increasing public welfare.

The level of investment required by an individual as an adult is determined by whether or not it is an individual's first language, and whether or not an individual has learned Gaelic in school education. Due to historical factors, 36 percent of the Gaelic-speaking population do not have a written proficiency. Most people that do SRW Gaelic have not had their post-school education and training through the medium of Gaelic, and therefore do not have the higher language register required for various types of economic activity. Acquiring this proficiency successfully as an adult can entail considerable time and financial costs, particularly for second language learners.

Existing research suggests that second-language learning is not typically motivated by choices to work in jobs which require Gaelic language skills: but this is possibly due to the perceived and real difficulty of reaching the level of proficiency needed to work in this market in the absence of tailored schemes. Likewise, a study of those employed in the Gaelic labour market found people rarely linked their motivations to learn or study Gaelic in further education to future career prospects (MacLeod, forthcoming). This is likely to be due to imperfect knowledge of market demand outside of the broadcasting and teaching profession.

¹³ Highlands and Islands Enterprise (1996). *The Rationale for Highlands and Islands Enterprise's Activities*. Edinburgh, Scottish Office.

¹⁴ Church, J. (1993). "Bilingualism and Network Externalities." *Canadian Journal of Economics* 13: 246 - 288.

The lack of accurate information is seen by economists as one classic example of market failure, needing policy action. Moreover, young skilled graduates that speak, read and write Gaelic are likely to have a range of career opportunities that compete with posts which require Gaelic.

This is reflected in the employment profile of Gaelic speakers: 45.7 percent of economically active individuals who can SRW Gaelic are employed in associate professional, professional or managerial occupations as compared with 37 percent in Scotland as a whole. A significant minority are employed in the teaching profession (page 27). This suggests that incentives need to be put in place to attract people to work in posts with a Gaelic requirement within their respective 'occupational' labour market.

The demand for Gaelic language skills is distributed across occupational types and does not pertain to one kind of economic activity. As such, it would not be accurate to utilise the concept of the 'Gaelic labour market' as a term to describe a homogenous 'sector'. Indeed, this could create a damaging impression of the demand for Gaelic language skills as being specialist, occupationally limited, and involved only in the production of Gaelic goods and services.

If the objective of policy is to increase the demand for Gaelic labour, then one important driver will be in fostering 'customer-facing' roles, for example, in public bodies as a result of the implementation of Gaelic language plans and, in the longer-term, the private sector. It is these posts which require good conversational Gaelic skills, relative to the reading and writing skills that currently account for the majority of Gaelic 'desirable' employment.

The study has also pointed to evidence which suggests that people employed in the 'Gaelic labour market' don't necessarily see themselves as operating in a 'Gaelic labour market', particularly in sub-occupations that arise because of a Gaelic language specialism, such as (Gaelic) teaching or (Gaelic) broadcasting in which other 'technical' skills are transferable to English-medium occupations. **The potential labour force needs, therefore, to recognise that Gaelic skills can engender flexibility in a profession, and that Gaelic is a transferable skill of relevance to a wide and expanding range of occupational sectors.**

5. CONCLUSIONS FROM STAGE 1 OF THE RESEARCH

The primary conclusions generated by stage 1 of the research into the present state of the Gaelic labour market are as follows:

- 5.1 Official data sources would seem to suggest that the use of Gaelic across different domains is at a low point. For example, whilst the Western Isles has 60% of all school pupils in Scotland (653) who claim Gaelic as the first language of the home this equates only to some 373 pupils which is less than 10% of all pupils in Comhairle nan Eilean Siar's area of remit. Additionally, on average only around 200 school pupils leave school with a Gaelic qualification at Level 6 and around 60-80 people graduate each year from Scottish universities with a qualification that has a Gaelic component. There are therefore very low numbers of young people entering the labour market with anything like the language skills required to be able to perform a job to a high standard through the medium of Gaelic. Therefore, there is the need to create a step-change in the numbers of young people entering the labour market with the requisite Gaelic language skills to meet the emerging demand for Gaelic essential jobs. However, the census data also indicates that there is the potential to consider how the existing economically active workforce that can speak, read or write Gaelic can be encouraged to take up employment posts where use of Gaelic is a major or a minor requirement of the job specification.
- 5.2 At the 2001 Census the economically active population allocated to an industry of employment in Scotland that claimed they could speak, read and write Gaelic was 13,978 individuals. This equates to 15% of the total number of individuals who claimed an understanding of Gaelic at this time. Of these people in employment, some 35% are employed in professional and/or associate professional occupational categories with 12% employed in the skilled trades' categories. Those employed in the skilled trades' occupational categories are predominately located in the areas of Highland, Argyll and the Western Isles with the professional occupational categories mostly located in the main urban regions of Glasgow and Edinburgh. Such a clear geographical split in relation to occupational categories of employment would suggest specific skills development policies being targeted at the different regional locations.
- 5.3 In broad terms, the responses from the survey appear to confirm many of the structural support issues raised through the Galloway research. This raises a series of important questions in relation to how Gaelic language revitalisation activities have been configured and implemented over the last 10 years or so. It would appear that basic language support structures within the main Gaelic communities have not been put in place to the degree required to enable the revitalisation of Gaelic to achieve a level of sustainability. As such **there needs to be a greater emphasis brought to bear on the achievement of specific language outputs and outcomes in relation to expenditures on Gaelic language development activities.**

- 5.4 The total number of Gaelic essential jobs that currently exist as identified by the responses to the survey is 695. This is a 56% increase on the Gaelic essential posts identified by Galloway in 1990. If we include the 40 Gaelic essential posts we estimate exist within organisations not responding to the survey, but which we know employ staff in such designated posts, **the total number of Gaelic essential designated posts in Scotland is in the region of 735**. There has clearly been a substantial increase in the number of people employed in posts requiring a competence in Gaelic. Demand is driven primarily by the education sector, the expansion of the media sector and public administration posts. However, beyond these main economic sectors there are also people likely to be employed in Gaelic essential posts in other sectors although these jobs are not necessarily recorded by surveys or other forms of data collection. The main message is that **there is emerging demand for Gaelic essential posts across a number of economic sectors providing a wide range of opportunities for people who are looking to enter this particular section of the Scottish labour market**.
- 5.5 At the present time a total of 61 vacancies for posts designated as Gaelic essential or Gaelic desirable are recorded; 41% of these vacancies are for Local Authority teaching staff. However, the likelihood is that substantially more Gaelic teachers are required to meet the demands emerging in respect of the provision of Gaelic learning at primary school and secondary subject teaching.
- 5.6 A particular skills shortage relates to the provision of translation services at all levels. At present there is a high dependency on a limited but highly competent pool of people to supply such services. An increase in demand for translation services is certain as more public bodies start to produce Gaelic language plans. However, a more strategic and coordinated approach is required with some degree of synergy across public bodies to ensure Gaelic is not comprised by a lack of suitable translation service provision. The Gaelic translation service should also be linked to a quality assurance process so that the highest standards of service delivery are achieved and maintained across the public and private sectors.
- 5.7 Consideration should also be given to establishing a Gaelic language services procurement unit under the auspices of Bòrd na Gàidhlig. Supply constraints in the delivery of Gaelic services imply the need to ensure a high level management system to enable an effective and efficient use of public resources. The procurement unit would help support the management and coordination of supply and demand delivery mechanisms associated with Gaelic language related public sector contracts. Such a procurement unit would also monitor efficiency and effectiveness issues in the delivery of such service contracts including the achievement of value for money parameters associated with the management and deployment of Gaelic language support resources.

- 5.8 Over the next year there is expected to be an additional 117 people recruited to Gaelic essential posts with media and teaching driving a substantial element of this demand. The demand trend for Gaelic language based posts is on the increase although it is not clear at this stage whether the labour market is able to supply the number of individuals required with sufficient competency in the Gaelic language. Coupled with the issue of managing demand is the wage premium that appears to be attached to Gaelic public sector jobs which could in some circumstances make it difficult for the private sector to compete. If private sector firms are to be encouraged to produce Gaelic goods and services then some form of supply partnership/procurement agreement needs to be developed between the public and private sectors to enable the Gaelic labour market to grow in such a way that Gaelic essential designated posts are not solely in the domain of the public sector.
- 5.9 The study has also pointed to evidence which suggests that people employed in the 'Gaelic labour market' don't necessarily see themselves as operating in a 'Gaelic labour market', particularly in sub-occupations that arise because of a Gaelic language specialism, such as (Gaelic) teaching or (Gaelic) broadcasting in which other 'technical' skills are transferable to English-medium occupations. **The potential labour force needs, therefore, to recognise that Gaelic skills can engender flexibility in a profession, and that Gaelic is a transferable skill of relevance to a wide and expanding range of occupational sectors.**
- 5.10 The findings generated by the survey responses and the consultations indicate that there are a number of major challenges needing to be addressed in relation to the configuration of public policy that supports the development and expansion of Gaelic language related employment opportunities across the labour market in Scotland. This will require significant efforts on the part of Bòrd na Gàidhlig to set up and manage effective partnerships with other public bodies and organisations that are generally funded from the public purse. Marketing and promotion of employment opportunities along with addressing information asymmetry issues within the labour market for Gaelic jobs also need to be tackled effectively by public policy support. There is also the need to include the private sector in the future development of the Gaelic language. Perhaps this is where the greatest challenge exists, which if overcome, will undoubtedly reap huge rewards for the language and for Gaelic culture in general.

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APPENDIX 1

Bodies to be notified to produce Gaelic Language Plans under Section 3 of the Act

Type of Organisation	Name of Organisation	Year
Central government (2)	Scottish Parliament	2006-7
	Scottish Government	2006-7
Local government (9)	Comhairle nan Eilean Siar	2006-7
	Highland Council	2006-7
	Argyll & Bute Council	2006-7
	City of Edinburgh Council	2008-9
	Glasgow City Council	2008-9
	North Lanarkshire	2008-9
	Stirling Council	2008-9
	Cairngorms NPA	2008-9
	Loch Lomond & the Trossachs NPA	2008-9
Education & Skills (5)	Learning and Teaching Scotland	2007-8
	Scottish Funding Council	2007-8
	UHI Millennium Institute	2007-8
	Scottish Qualifications Authority	2007-8
	HM Inspectorate of Education	2007-8
National Health Service (NHS) (3)	NHS Western isles	2007-8
	NHS Highland	2007-8
	Argyll and NHS Greater Glasgow	2008-9
Companies wholly owned by Scottish Ministers (2)	CalMac Ferries Ltd	2007-8
	Highlands and Islands Airports Ltd.	2008-9
Environment, culture and tourism	Scottish Natural Heritage	2007-8
	VisitScotland	2007-8
	Crofters' Commission	2007-8
	Scottish Arts Council	2007-8
	Forestry Commission	2008-9
	Historic Scotland	2008-9
	Scottish Environment Protection Agency	2008-9
	Sports Scotland	2008-9
Other	Highlands and Islands Enterprise	2006-7
	Northern Constabulary	2008-9

Source: Education Committee Report, 2006, SP Paper 657

APPENDIX 2

School pupils in Gaelic Medium education by the main Local Authority areas

Primary school pupils in Gaelic medium education during 2007 by Local Authority area

	Eilean Siar	Highland	Argyll & Bute	Glasgow City	Edinburgh City	Stirling	Perth & Kinross	North Ayrshire	North Lanarkshire	Aberdeen City
Exclusively through Gaelic	188	226	41	-	76	18	*	-	34	-
All curriculum through Gaelic or bilingual	298	396	46	251	27	55	-	-	81	-
Some curriculum through English, some through Gaelic	14	99	48	-	-	-	-	-	-	37
Gaelic the only subject taught through Gaelic	81	*	-	-	-	-	319	*	-	-
Gaelic taught as a learner	1,355	554	*	-	224	482	177	112	-	-

Secondary school pupils in Gaelic medium education during 2007 by Local Authority area

	Eilean Siar	Highland	Argyll & Bute	Glasgow City	Edinburgh City	Stirling	Perth & Kinross	North Lanarkshire	Aberdeen City
Some subjects other than Gaelic taught through Gaelic	53	271	-	87	-	*	-	29	-
Gaelic the only subject taught through Gaelic	377	161	18	-	32	*	48	-	31
Gaelic taught as a learner	805	1,221	24	-	10	10	43	2	-

Source: Scottish Government - Pupils in Scotland 2007. An * indicates that data has been withheld under the Data Protection Act.

APPENDIX 3

Survey respondents: Reported full-time and part-time employees on pay-roll

The following table reports the number of full-time and part-time staff on the respective pay-rolls of those organisations that provided a response to the survey.

Reported full-time and part-time jobs on pay-roll

Geographical Region	No. of full-time and part-time jobs reported
Scotland East	185
Scotland Central	333
Scotland South	9,444
Western Isles South	57
Western Isles North	1099
Greater Glasgow	24,759
Edinburgh	680
Argyll, Scottish Highlands and Skye	783
Orkney and Shetland	63
Other	7
Total	37,410

n=57

Note: Not all organisations with Gaelic essential or Gaelic desirable jobs filled in the section of the questionnaire about the total number of full time and part time jobs in their organisation. Some mistook this question to relate only to Gaelic jobs rather than the total number of jobs. Other organisations filled in this data but did not complete subsequent questions on the location and nature of Gaelic jobs. Some organisations found this data too onerous to provide and omitted it.

The statistics relating to the data on full-time and part-time jobs on the pay-rolls of the responding organisations is shown at Table 3.5

Table 3.5: Statistics for reported full-time and part-time jobs on pay-roll

Item	Value
Mean	656
Median	7
Min	1
Max	17,987
Standard deviation	2,654
Number of organisations	57

Notes: The median is the middle of a distribution: half the scores are above the median and half are below the median. The standard deviation measures the spread of the data about the mean value.

The statistics shown in Table 3.5 indicate that the average number of full-time and part-time jobs is 656. However, this population distribution is highly skewed because of the high number of employment posts reported by a few of the Local Authorities that provided responses to the survey. In this situation the median is the more appropriate statistic to use than the mean. This is because the median is less sensitive to extreme scores than the mean and this makes it a better measure than the mean for highly skewed distributions.

APPENDIX 4

Location of Gaelic essential/desirable full time and part time posts

Scotland East	Highlands/Moray and Skye
Aberdeen/Grampian region	Dingwall Fort William Gairloch Inverness Lochaber Portessie Portree Skye Tain
Scotland Central	Argyll and the islands
Airdrie Cumbernauld Falkirk Stirling Livingston	Islay Mull Ardrishaig Oban Tiree Dunoon
Scotland South	Orkney/Shetland
Ayr Kilmarnock Saltcoats	
Greater Glasgow	Western Isles North
Dumbarton Glasgow city/region Bishopbriggs	Harris Lewis
Edinburgh	Western Isles South
Edinburgh city/Lothian region	Barra Benbecula South Uist/North Uist
Other	
Home-workers Leicester	

APPENDIX 5

Job categories/job types where there are at present difficulties in recruiting staff with the requisite skills in Gaelic

Media

- Gaelic TV producer / Director
- Gaelic speaking radio broadcast trainer
- Gaelic speaking radio presenter
- Television production
- Television director
- Television performance
- Television writing
- TV craft staff, directors, vision mixers, production support staff
- Producer - Head of Gaelic
- Gaelic speakers with both linguistic and technical skills
- Editors – requiring high proficiency in the written word x 5
- Writer
- Web developer
- Arts Officers

Education

- Gaelic medium teachers - primary and secondary to allow expansion of provision
- Gaelic speaking teachers (particularly Secondary subject specialists).
- Classroom assistants
- Early Years Workers
- Lecturer
- HMI Inspector of Education
- Quality Improvement Officer (Gaelic desirable).
- Nursery nurses

Development

- Development officers: language planning and operational management.

Tourism

- Bar & Catering
- Front of House/Reception

Business

- Administrative posts
- General manager
- Development executive
- Market development manager
- Project managers.
- Translator

APPENDIX 6

Job titles of staff likely to be recruited to Gaelic essential or desirable posts March 2008 to March 2009 as estimated by respondents

Job Title and Sector	Number	Job Title and Sector	Number	Job Title and Sector	Number
Education and Childcare		Media posts		Administrative and office posts	
Child Development Officer	1	Animator	2	Accountant	1
Childcare	2	Assistant Producer	?	Administration	10
Classroom assistant (Primary)	1	Camera and other craft	4	Admin / Management	1
Education development	1	Director/vision mixer	2	Manager	2
Gaelic secondary teacher	1	Editor	1	Marketing	1
Gaelic Tutors	12	Editorial Assistant	1	Planner	1
HMI Inspector of Education	1	Graphic Designer	1	Senior management	2
Language assistants	2	Head of Production	1	Translation services	3
Nursery Nurse	1	Journalist	3		
Part time tutor	1	Multi media developer	2		
Playworker	1	Native speaker for recordings	1		
Primary Teacher	1	Performers - mainly for dubbing	12	Development	
Pupil Support Assistant	1	Producer	?	Chief Executive Officer	1
School support staff	2	Producer / Director	1	Development officer	10
Specialist tutor	1.5	Programme Assistant	1	Gaelic Support Worker	1
Teacher	20	Reporter	?	Officer	2
		Researcher	4	Part time freelance Trainer	1
Services		Reviewers	4	Project coordinator	1
Cafe worker	1	Subtitler	Unsure	Project development officers	3
		Technical assistants Studio	2	Project manager	5
		Television producer	2		
		Television writer	4		
Total	50.5		48		45
Grand total	142.9				

Note: Job titles have been amalgamated between organisations. Where ? is indicated, organisations have listed a job type but not entered an estimate of the number of people to be recruited to this job. The total number of jobs described above exceeds the number of jobs estimated by organisations at Table 3.54, where they were asked to separate the likely number of staff to be employed in the next 12 months into Gaelic essential and Gaelic desirable posts. This mis-match is partly due to organisations filling in job titles but omitting corresponding numbers particularly in relation to teaching and childcare posts which are dependant on demand. It is also explained by funding uncertainties as mentioned previously. It was not clear from a number of organisations, particularly with regard to the employment of Gaelic Tutors, if the employment estimated was the re-employment of existing tutors or the creation of new jobs.

Measuring the Gaelic Labour Market: Current and Future Potential

for
Highlands and Islands Enterprise,
Skills Development Scotland
&
Bòrd na Gàidhlig

Final Report - Stage 2

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1. INTRODUCTION

This is the final report of the second stage of the research study commissioned by Highlands and Islands Enterprise and Bòrd na Gàidhlig to quantify and assess the current state of the Gaelic labour market.

1.1 The objectives for Stage 2 of the Gaelic labour market research study

The second stage of the research appraises the Gaelic-economy in its widest sense and considers how Gaelic is used and might increase in usage within the public and private sector, placing a greater requirement on Gaelic skills within those sectors.

Stage 2 has the following set of research objectives:

1. The identification of current and future Scottish labour market trends and the implications for Gaelic language based employment within this market place.
2. A review of the Welsh and Irish language planning frameworks, and their implementation and implications for the labour market.
3. An overview of the Gaelic arts and cultural sector and its importance to present and future labour markets.
4. The identification of practical measures to increase the demand for Gaelic skills in various sectors, and set out recommendations on how a sectoral strategy could be developed to most effectively secure long-term sustainable growth for the Gaelic labour market.

1.2 Structure of the Stage 2 report

The stage 2 report is structured as follows:

Section 2 presents a summary of the main findings and conclusions from the stage 1 research study;

Section 3 provides an analysis of Scottish labour market trends and projections, and highlights a number of implications for Gaelic;

Section 4 provides an appraisal of particular lessons that have been learned from the experience in Wales and Ireland from implementing policies associated with revitalising a minority language;

Section 5 provides an overview of the Gaelic arts and cultural sector and its importance to present and future labour markets; and

Section 6 sets out a general framework to support a Gaelic skills and employment strategy.

2. A SUMMARY OF THE STAGE 1 FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

This section sets out a summary of the main findings and conclusions generated by the first stage of the research study into the present state of the Gaelic labour market in Scotland.

2.1 Aims and objectives of the Stage 1 research study

2.1.1 The primary aim of the research study was to provide a baseline position in relation to the use and demand for Gaelic within the present labour market. Such information and knowledge will help inform Highlands and Islands Enterprise, Skills Development Scotland and Bòrd na Gàidhlig in developing appropriate strategies for the growth of Gaelic skills in a broad range of sectors of the economy. There are two stages to the overall study and the present report comprises the results of stage 1 of the research. The research objectives for the first stage were as follows:

- Define and quantify the current Gaelic labour market by agreed geographic area, occupation, industry, level of Gaelic skills required, entry level for post and salary range.
- Identify the extent of the use of Gaelic skills in the workplace, and identify reasons why organisations do or do not formally identify Gaelic language skills as necessary.
- To consider and assess current drivers for any growth in the Gaelic labour market including legislation.

2.2 The methodology employed for stage 1 of the research

2.2.1 The research processes adopted for this study presented a number of methodological challenges that were outwith the norm of labour market studies typically conducted in Scotland. Principally, these concerns focused on the absence of any data collected by official sources on Gaelic labour market activity and the sparsity of research on labour market issues commissioned in relation to Gaelic language development activity. Gaelic employment also represents a very small percentage of all employment in Scotland and the research process needed to be configured appropriately to ensure that this baseline study could capture the detail of the present state of the Gaelic labour market in Scotland.

2.2.2 An extensive database of 220 organisations was compiled that included organisations that (a) were known to have existing Gaelic essential designated posts; (b) were known to have a demand for Gaelic language skills and (c) might have a demand for Gaelic language skills now or in the near future. The contact database was finalised through consultations with Bòrd na Gàidhlig, Comunn na Gàidhlig and Highlands and Islands Enterprise.

- 2.2.3 A postal survey of the contact group formed the main data collection element of stage 1 of the research. The number of contacts in the database was maximised to ensure comprehensive coverage of organisations with Gaelic essential designated posts. The survey questionnaire was posted to the 220 contacts on the database. A Hecla Freepost address return envelope was provided in the mail-out to encourage organisations and individuals to return the completed questionnaires by the cut-off date of the end March 2008. A copy of the questionnaire was also made available on the Hecla website.
- 2.2.4 Responses were gradually provided over time and by the beginning of June 2008 the research team was in possession of 88 useable questionnaires. This represents a 40% response rate. For a postal survey this is a high response rate on which to base robust research conclusions. In addition, a breakdown of the survey returns indicates an 81% response rate from organisations known to have Gaelic essential posts. As such the research team are confident that most of the Gaelic essential posts in Scotland have been accounted for in the survey responses generated by the research process conducted during stage 1.

2.3 Defining the 'Gaelic labour market'

- 2.3.1 It was important at the outset of the research to adopt a working definition of the 'Gaelic labour market'. A 'labour market' is essentially an abstract analytical concept used to understand patterns of labour market participation and demand pertaining to economic activity. Traditionally a labour market involves a geographical dimension; however, the concept can also be applied to flows of skills and skill-sets required for types of economic activity. In the context of this study, a Gaelic labour market arises when employers pay for Gaelic-speaking, reading and/or writing labour services.
- 2.3.2 These are specialised skills and the market demand for these human skills is fragmented, with a wide geographic distribution and not pertaining to one kind of economic activity or economic sector. For this research study the concept of the 'Gaelic labour market' has been defined as, **"the market for which knowledge of the Gaelic language is a condition of employment"**. This market includes labour employed in organisations – commonly referred to as 'Gaelic-essential/desirable' employment - as well as labour that provides Gaelic language services on a self-employed and/or on a contract basis.

2.4 Summary of existing data on the supply of Gaelic labour

- 2.4.1 The extent to which Gaelic is the main home language of school pupils in Scotland is low, at 653 pupils. 60% (373) of these pupils are located in the Western Isles.

- 2.4.2 The number of young people entering the labour market annually with a sufficient level of competency in Gaelic language skills is estimated to be around 200 school pupils with a Level 6 qualification in Gaelic and 80 graduates with a Degree qualification that included Celtic studies or Gaelic in the title of the subject studied.
- 2.4.3 The 2001 Census data shows that some 31,235 people claimed to be able to speak, read and write the Gaelic with almost an equal proportion claiming an understanding of spoken Gaelic but not the capability to speak, read or write the language. In addition, some 19,466 people are able to speak Gaelic only with 7,949 claiming they could speak and read Gaelic but did not have any competency in writing in the language. As such the Gaelic census data on language competency clearly illustrates the potential that exists to attract people into job roles requiring some level of Gaelic language skills over and above those employment posts that require complete language fluency in terms of being able to speak, read and write Gaelic.
- 2.4.4 The number of people who claimed an ability speak, read and write Gaelic at the 2001 Census and are allocated to an industry of employment is 13,978. The two main industries of employment are: health and social work and education.
- 2.4.5 As a proportion there are more people who SRW Gaelic in the management and professional occupational categories than the proportion for Scotland as a whole. Teaching and research, and health and social welfare are the main occupational categories for people who can SRW Gaelic.
- 2.4.6 There is also a regional divide in relation to skilled trades and professional type occupations. The Highlands, Argyll and the Western Isles have proportionally more people employed in skilled trades occupations than other regions of Scotland whilst the predominant occupations for people who SRW Gaelic in the city regions are of the managerial and professional categories.
- 2.4.7 As a proportion there are considerably more people who can SRW Gaelic in the higher qualification Group 4 category than the proportion for Scotland as a whole. In addition, there are proportionally more people who can SRW Gaelic employed in the public sector than the proportion for the Scottish population as a whole.

2.5 **Summary of findings from previous research studies**

- 2.5.1 The 1990 Galloway research reported some 402 posts designated as Gaelic essential at that time. This report also highlighted the potential problems in designating posts as Gaelic desirable particularly in areas like the Western Isles and Skye where a good proportion of the workforce are bilingual thus making the designation somewhat meaningless. The concentration of posts designated as Gaelic desirable was predominately in the Western Isles with posts designated as Gaelic essential more widely distributed, with concentrations in Glasgow, Inverness and Skye.

- 2.5.2 60% of the Gaelic essential posts identified by Galloway were in the education sector with 12% in media and 11% in Gaelic development organisations.
- 2.5.3 The 1995 Euromosaic considered the use of Gaelic by Gaelic speakers within their area of work. Despite the fact that workers had the capability to speak Gaelic with colleagues the principal mode of communication was predominantly English. Whilst the use of Gaelic was low, over 70% of Gaelic speaking respondents in the Euromosaic study considered their spoken Gaelic skills to be essential or useful in their respective work roles yet the business of the organisations employing these people was conducted primarily in English. This finding would appear to suggest that the strategic recognition of Gaelic language skills as either “essential” or “desirable” in recruitment and/or business practices is far less than could be the case.
- 2.5.4 The latest teaching census data indicates a significant gap between teachers who self-report as able to teach through the medium of Gaelic, and those that currently practice teaching through Gaelic at both primary and secondary schools. Of concern in meeting the continuing demand for Gaelic education is the shortage of new entrants to the teaching profession with an ability to teach through Gaelic. In addition, the situation is compounded by the requirement to have a subject specialism as well as the language teaching capability for a career as a secondary education teacher.
- 2.5.5 Other research studies have documented the important economic contribution Gaelic makes to Scotland as a whole but particularly in the traditional Gaelic areas. The number of vacancies for Gaelic essential designated posts indicates an increasing demand for services to be delivered through the medium of Gaelic and this demand is particularly evident in respect of posts in the media, education and the public administration sectors.

2.6 Summary of main findings generated by the survey of organisations

- 2.6.1 Responses from the survey of organisations identified some 695 employment posts designated as Gaelic essential of which 595 (86%) are full-time positions. Overall, the survey identified 1,134 posts designated as Gaelic essential and Gaelic desirable across Scotland as a whole.
- 2.6.2 Of the posts designated as Gaelic essential nearly 50% are located in the Highlands and Skye region with 18% of posts located in the Western Isles. Greater Glasgow accounts for 16% of these Gaelic essential posts with Edinburgh accounting for nearly 4%.
- 2.6.3 Over 90% of responses indicated that people needed the ability to speak, read and write Gaelic for posts designated as Gaelic essential. Interestingly, some 67% of responses also indicated that for Gaelic desirable posts employees also needed the ability to speak, read and write Gaelic.

However, 37% of organisations had Gaelic desirable posts which required the ability to speak Gaelic only whilst only 17% of responses indicated that competence in speaking Gaelic only was sufficient for posts designated as Gaelic essential.

- 2.6.4 People employed in Gaelic essential posts are highly qualified with some 68% of people identified by the survey with Group 4 and above level qualifications. This compares with 19.5% for Scotland as a whole. 45% of people in Gaelic desirable posts were also identified as having Group 4 level qualifications. In addition, 34% of individuals in Gaelic desirable posts have Group 2 level qualifications compared to 16% for Scotland as a whole.
- 2.6.5 There is a relatively high use made of contract services to support organisational Gaelic language activities with 38% of organisations indicating they procured contract staff and services over the last 12 months. Of the 162 people on short-term language contracts, some 67% are in Gaelic essential designated posts. A substantial percentage of these short-term employment contracts are associated with the media sector.
- 2.6.6 In addition to employing staff on short-term contracts in Gaelic essential posts, 92% of organisations reported that they procured a range of Gaelic related services to support their overall activities in relation to Gaelic language development. Of these services, the most sought after service sourced by 63% of organisations was translation services.
- 2.6.7 An estimated 1,947 contract days were procured by the 35 organisations providing a response to this question with the majority of days contracted for translation, research and, education and learning related to Gaelic language services. In total, these contracted days are estimated to be responsible for supporting some £1,271,600 of wage income across Scotland.
- 2.6.8 However, whilst the high demand for Gaelic contract staff and language related services should be viewed in a positive light, a number of issues are emerging through the survey responses that need to be considered in future policy responses developed to support Gaelic language development. Employers seem to suggest that in general terms there is a lack of detailed knowledge of the available skill sets within the potential Gaelic labour pool, which makes it difficult for employers to plan some elements of their operations other than on a short-term basis. The survey responses also seem to suggest the need to professionalise the structure of the Gaelic labour supply chain in order to meet increasing levels of demand for Gaelic goods and services.
- 2.6.9 Skills development and access to appropriate training and support are central to any future expansion of the Gaelic labour market. The responses from the survey clearly indicate a Gaelic labour market that lacks sufficient depth and scope in terms of people with suitable language skills.

It is likely that if this situation is not improved it will curtail any forward progress in expanding the number of Gaelic essential employment posts that are dependent on people with sufficient levels of competencies in the Gaelic language.

- 2.6.10 Whilst 71% of organisations indicate that staff presently employed in Gaelic essential/desirable posts are 75-100% proficient in the language for their specific job role, the survey responses also indicate that 25% of staff are not suitably proficient in Gaelic for the work they are being employed to do. Related to this finding and possibly more worrying, is that nearly 50% of organisations that responded to the survey do not have a formal method of identifying the Gaelic language and training needs of their staff.
- 2.6.11 The lack of a formalised approach to organisational training needs is indicative of small businesses across Scotland generally but it is particularly important for Gaelic organisations that such systems are in place when the labour pool is so small and where language competencies are valued so highly, particularly in Gaelic essential designated employment positions. However, some Gaelic organisations are involved in training courses with 35% of those who responded to the survey being engaged in some form of Gaelic language training course during the last 12 months. Over the year some 413 people are reported to have attended these training courses with short-term Gaelic grammar and literacy skills training being most popular along with attendance at Gaelic awareness courses.
- 2.6.12 Demand for staff for posts designated as Gaelic essential is clearly evident from the survey responses. Over the last year there has been an increase of 59 staff in Gaelic essential designated posts in organisations providing a response to this survey question. At the time the survey was being conducted there were some 61 vacancies for Gaelic essential and Gaelic desirable posts of which 41% were for Local Authority teaching staff. In addition, over the last year there have been some 150 posts advertised as Gaelic essential and Gaelic desirable of which 64% were designated as Gaelic essential.
- 2.6.13 Of the number of individuals reported as being recruited in the last 12 months by the 33 organisations who provided a survey response, some 32% came from university or college with almost a similar percentage being recruited to Gaelic language designated posts via an internal appointment. The extent of internal recruitment would tend to suggest potential for career progression based around Gaelic language skills within the organisations that have provided a response to this survey. These findings signal that **employment based around Gaelic language competency is a positive career choice for individuals, with opportunities available for career progression similar to other occupational categories across Scottish industry.**

2.6.14 In the next 12 months organisations responding to the survey have indicated they will be looking to recruit additional staff to Gaelic essential posts. 54% (43 organisations) of responses indicated additional recruitment is envisaged with some 117 staff required in the next year to fill Gaelic essential designated posts. Therefore, demand for staff capable of filling Gaelic essential designated posts is on the increase from previous years but organisations warn that the success of this recruitment potential is highly dependent on available project funding and the availability and language competencies of people within a very limited labour pool. Gaelic essential posts are now becoming available across a range of economic sectors with education, childcare, media, and public administration featuring predominately as the main areas for employment opportunities that require Gaelic language skills.

2.6.15 To fulfil many of the requirements of the Gaelic language posts that will become available over the next year or so, there is a high priority attached to providing an adequate skills and training support structure. Organisations report that up-skilling existing staff in oral/written communication skills in Gaelic will be a priority training requirement in the next year.

2.6.16 Section 3.16 of the main report sets out a wide range of observations from respondents on how the potential growth of the Gaelic labour market can be realised and developed over the next few of years. These observations range from policy issues to more practical matters such as promotion, the marketing of Gaelic jobs and employment opportunities, and concerns about training and funding issues.

2.7 **Conclusions from stage 1 of the research**

The conclusions from stage 1 of the research are as follows:

2.7.1 Official data sources would seem to suggest that the use of Gaelic across different domains is at a low point. For example, whilst the Western Isles has 60% of all school pupils in Scotland (653) who claim Gaelic as the first language of the home this equates only to some 373 pupils, which is less than 10% of all pupils in Comhairle nan Eilean Siar's area of remit. Additionally, on average only around 200 school pupils leave school with a Gaelic qualification at Level 6 and around 60-80 people graduate each year from Scottish universities with a qualification that has a Celtic studies or Gaelic component. There are therefore very low numbers of young people entering the labour market with anything like the language skills required to be able to perform a job to a high standard through the medium of Gaelic. Therefore, there is the need to create a step-change in the numbers of young people entering the labour market with the requisite Gaelic language skills to meet the emerging demand for Gaelic essential jobs. However, the census data also indicates that there is potential opportunity to consider how the existing economically active workforce that can speak, read **or** write Gaelic can be encouraged to take up employment posts where use of Gaelic is a major or a minor requirement of the job specification.

- 2.7.2 At the 2001 Census the economically active population allocated to an industry of employment in Scotland that claimed they could speak, read and write Gaelic was 13,978 individuals. This equates to 15% of the total number of individuals who claimed an understanding of Gaelic at this time. Of these people in employment, some 35% were employed in professional and/or associate professional occupational categories with 12% employed in the skilled trades categories. Those employed in the skilled trades occupational categories were predominately located in the areas of Highland, Argyll and the Western Isles with the professional occupational categories mostly located in the main urban regions of Glasgow and Edinburgh. Such a clear geographical split in relation to occupational categories of employment would suggest specific skills development policies being targeted at the different regional locations.
- 2.7.3 In broad terms, the responses from the survey appear to confirm many of the structural support issues raised through the Galloway research. This raises a series of important questions in relation to how Gaelic language revitalisation activities have been configured and implemented over the last 10 years or so. It would appear that basic language support structures within the main Gaelic communities have not been put in place to the degree required to enable the revitalisation of Gaelic to achieve a level of sustainability. As such there needs to be a greater emphasis brought to bear on the achievement of specific language outputs and outcomes in relation to expenditures on Gaelic language development activities.
- 2.7.4 The total number of Gaelic essential jobs that currently exist as identified by the responses to the survey is 695. This is a 56% increase on the Gaelic essential posts identified by Galloway in 1990. If we include the 40 Gaelic essential posts we estimate exist within organisations not responding to the survey, but which we know employ staff in such designated posts, the total number of Gaelic essential designated employment in Scotland is in the region of 735 posts. There has clearly been a substantial increase in the number of people employed in posts requiring a competence in Gaelic. Demand is driven primarily by the education sector, the expansion of the media sector and public administration posts. However, beyond these main economic sectors there are also people likely to be employed in Gaelic essential posts in other sectors although these jobs are not necessarily recorded by surveys or other forms of data collection. The main message is that there is emerging demand for Gaelic essential posts across a number of economic sectors providing a wider range of opportunities for people that are looking to enter this particular section of the Scottish labour market.
- 2.7.5 A particular skills shortage relates to the provision of translation services at all levels. At present there is a high dependency on a limited but highly competent pool of people to supply such services. An increase in demand for translation services is certain as more public bodies start to produce Gaelic language plans. However, a more strategic and coordinated approach is required with some degree of synergy across public bodies to ensure Gaelic is not compromised by a lack of suitable translation service provision.

The Gaelic translation service should also be linked to a quality assurance process so that the highest standards of service delivery are achieved and maintained across the public and private sectors.

- 2.7.6 Consideration should also be given to establishing a Gaelic language services procurement unit under the auspices of Bòrd na Gàidhlig. Supply constraints in the delivery of Gaelic services imply the need to ensure a high level management system to enable an effective and efficient use of public resources. The procurement unit would help support the management and coordination of supply and demand delivery mechanisms associated with Gaelic language related public sector contracts. Such a unit would monitor efficiency and effectiveness issues in the delivery of such service contracts including the achievement of value for money parameters associated with the management and deployment of Gaelic language support resources.
- 2.7.7 The demand trend for Gaelic language based posts is on the increase although it is not clear at this stage whether the labour market is able to supply the number of individuals required with sufficient competency in the Gaelic language. Coupled with the issue of managing demand, is the wage premium that appears to be attached to Gaelic public sector jobs which could in some circumstances make it difficult for the private sector to compete. If private sector firms are to be encouraged to produce Gaelic goods and services then some form of supply partnership/procurement agreement needs to be developed between the public and private sectors to enable the Gaelic labour market to grow in such a way that Gaelic essential designated posts are not solely in the domain of the public sector.
- 2.7.8 The study has also pointed to evidence which suggests that people employed in the 'Gaelic labour market' don't necessarily see themselves as operating in a 'Gaelic labour market', particularly in sub-occupations that arise because of a Gaelic language specialism, such as (Gaelic) teaching or (Gaelic) broadcasting in which other 'technical' skills are transferable to English-medium occupations. The labour force needs, therefore, to recognise that Gaelic skills can engender flexibility in a profession, and that Gaelic is a transferable skill of relevance to an expanding range of occupational sectors.
- 2.7.9 The findings generated by the survey responses and the consultations indicate that there are a number of major challenges needing to be addressed in relation to the configuration of public policy that supports the development and expansion of Gaelic language related employment opportunities across the labour market in Scotland. This will require significant efforts on the part of Bòrd na Gàidhlig to set up and manage effective partnerships with other public bodies and organisations that are generally funded from the public purse. Marketing and promotion of employment opportunities along with addressing information asymmetry issues within the labour market for Gaelic jobs also need to be tackled effectively by public policy support. There is also the need to include the private sector in the future development of the Gaelic language. Perhaps this is where the greatest challenge exists, which if overcome, will undoubtedly reap huge rewards for the language and for Gaelic culture in general

3. BACKGROUND TO THE CURRENT POSITION

This section provides an analysis of the latest available data on labour market trends and projections in relation to Scotland for the period 2007 to 2017. The potential for Gaelic language related employment is then assessed in relation to these trends and projections.

3.1 Demographics

The population profile for Scotland over the last century has been relatively stable. The population is almost the same now as it was in the early 1950s. However, because of in-migration to fill low paid positions, Scotland is now forecast to see a growing population and thus a dilution of the pool of working age people who can speak, read and write Gaelic. By 2017 the population should be about 5.13 million, up from 5.11 in 2007, with the labour force declining from its current historic peak of 2.61 million to 2.56 million. The significance of the nature of these changes is important: increasing life expectancy offers the prospect of longer healthier productive lives with associated social and economic opportunities, and in-migration demonstrates that Scotland is attractive to those seeking rewarding work. Past trends are expected to continue, therefore, but at the local authority level this also means the traditional Gaelic areas (apart perhaps from parts of Skye) suffering further decline and ageing of its population. This will have significant impacts for the creation, nurturing, use and application of Gaelic within certain localities of the Highlands and Islands though those demographic changes will also generate new and varying demands for the speakers of the language especially.

3.2 Economics

3.2.1 Forecasts or Speculation?

If forecasting the future of Scottish demographics is difficult then predicting the economic future is even more problematic. Before trying to look forwards a quarter of a century, it is informative therefore to just think back an equal time to the industries, jobs and occupations of 1981, not least because by the end of the millennium most of the traditional industries that dominated then had all but disappeared, and their careers, skills, linkages and trade with them as a consequence. In a rapidly changing economy it is therefore impossible to predict accurately future demand for particular skill types or sector specific skills and then plan all learning provision to meet them.

3.2.2 Restructuring

Between 1981 and 2001 the primary sectors lost 53,000 or 34.7% of jobs and manufacturing lost 184,000 or 36.8% of its initial employment. Together these sectors saw their share of Scottish employment decline from 28.1% to 16.4%, and this is expected to decrease further by 2008 to 13.2%.

Before the end of the current decade, therefore, all the indications are that two-thirds of the primary and manufacturing employment of 1981 will have disappeared in less than thirty years. Construction tends to vary year on year, following business cycles influenced by public sector investment plans and private consumption, confidence and expectations. Employment in construction has fluctuated between 160,000 and 186,000 in the past twenty years and similar patterns can be expected into the future. The services sector has more than taken up the slack in the labour market created by this restructuring: with 457,000 more jobs in 2001 than in 1981.

The public sector recorded growth of over 27% over those two decades, with most of that being in education and health, while private services expanded by almost a third (32.2%). The services are expected to continue to grow this decade and account for four out of five jobs by 2008, 53.3% in the private services and 27.2% in the public domain.

Some of these major developments since 1981 and into the near future have been caused by out-sourcing, contracting out, redefinitions of jobs and so forth, but generally there have been profound structural changes which have given Scotland a very different economy. Along with these changes have been moves to a labour force which has a better balance between men and women, and between local labour markets across the country.

3.2.3 Employment Forecasts

Recently Futureskills Scotland has published labour market projections to the period to 2017¹ and some of their conclusions suggest:

- modest growth in the number of jobs;
- a considerable number of jobs to replace workers who leave employment;
- employment growth concentrated in public and private service industries and in higher skilled and service orientated occupations;
- large numbers of jobs arising in service industries and managerial and professional occupations;
- increasing numbers of older workers; and
- an increasing number of people obtaining higher levels of qualifications.

3.2.4 Rural and Urban

These results are consistent with several other medium term forecasts and point to a continuation of the past trends since the early 1980s discussed above.

- all of the growth in employment in Scotland over the last two decades has been in non-rural Scotland;
- by contrast, rural Scotland has experienced a slight decline in employment and employment in rural Scotland is expected to remain stable at just over 300,000.

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- All of the projected increase in employment is expected to be in non-rural Scotland where the number of jobs is forecast to increase from 2.22 million in 2004 to 2.24 million by 2009.

3.2.5 Gender

The balance in employment between men and women has changed significantly over the last two decades so that now 52 per cent of all jobs are held by men and 48 per cent by women, these shares are expected to stay constant into the future.

The increased participation of women has been faster in rural Scotland where women traditionally comprised a low proportion of the workforce (38% in 1981 and 45% in 2001), so that there are now few differences. Generally, but especially in rural Scotland, these rapid changes have been driven by an increase in the number of part-time jobs over this period, most of which are held by women. No further gender changes are now anticipated for the next decade.

3.2.6 Labour Demand

Between 2007 and 2017, it is projected that around 100,000 new job openings will occur every year in Scotland.

- Growth in the economy is projected to provide 84,000 of the jobs openings between 2007 and 2017. The bulk of the opportunities - 922,000 job openings - will arise due to the need to replace workers who leave employment, either permanently or semi-permanently because of retirement, career breaks or for some other reason. Some of these workers will re-enter the labour market during the projections period.
- Employment growth will be concentrated in public and private service industries and in higher skilled and service-orientated occupations.
- Similarly, most of the job openings will arise in service industries and managerial and professional occupations.

Continuing the moves to a service economy over the last few decades, three service industries will account for just under half of all jobs in Scotland by 2017.

- Other business services (456,000 jobs by 2017);
- Retail and distribution (422,000 jobs); and
- Health and social work (401,000 jobs).

3.2.7 Elements of Demand

Growth of jobs through economic growth (expansion demand) means that 84,000 new jobs are expected to be created in Scotland between now and 2017. This is a three per cent growth in the number of jobs. It is forecast that almost 60 per cent of job openings will occur in just four industries, the above three plus Education, with the greatest numbers of net new jobs expected in:

- Other business services (+87,000 new jobs);
- Retail and distribution (+25,000); and

- Health and social work (+24,000).

A number of industries are projected to see a decline in the total number of jobs in the industry. In particular:

- Transport and telecommunications (-17,000 jobs will be lost);
- Engineering (-15,000 jobs); and
- Miscellaneous services (-14,000 jobs).

Expansion demand accounts for only a small proportion of the need for new employees, a critical insight has been offered by analyses into the dynamics of the labour market, with their focus on 'replacement demand' for workers as well as new job openings. This explains why attracting potential employees and trainees to careers, jobs and opportunities in declining sectors remains important in the short and medium term.

In all industries – including those in which employment is expected to contract – the number of new job opportunities is predicted to be large due to the scale of replacement demand – the need to replace workers who permanently or semi-permanently leave the labour market. About 922,000 new job opportunities are expected to arise in Scotland between 2007 and 2017 as a result of replacement demand. Combining the number of replacement jobs with the number of new jobs means that, on average, 100,000 job openings will arise each year between 2007 and 2017. Including replacement demand, total job openings by 2017 are anticipated to be highest in:

- Other business services (213,000 new job openings);
- Health and social work (169,000); and
- Retail and distribution (164,000).

3.2.8 Full and Part-time Jobs

Over the next decade, while total jobs will decline slightly, growth is expected in part-time employment, with the number of part-time jobs growing from 779,000 in 2007 to 861,000 in 2017. However, the number of people in self-employment is expected to decrease by 30,000 over the same period. In Gaelic-using sectors, there may well be different patterns of development, with both part-time and self-employment subject to various drivers for change which do not parallel the overall national tendencies.

Similarly, replacement demand may be less important in accounting for changes in the Gaelic employment sectors compared to the average as new opportunities are generated more quickly than in the nation as whole.

Table 3.1 and 3.2 respectively show the projected total employment by industry sector in Scotland and the projected total job opening by industry from 2007 to 2017.

Table 3.1: Projected total employment in Scotland by industry, 2007 and 2017

Industry Sector	Total Employment		Change in Employment 2007-2017	
	2007	2017	Total change	Percentage Change
Other business services	369,000	456,000	87,000	24%
Banking & insurance	118,000	130,000	12,000	10%
Hotels & catering	185,000	199,000	14,000	8%
Retail & distribution	397,000	422,000	25,000	6%
Health & social work	377,000	401,000	24,000	6%
Education	201,000	209,000	9,000	4%
Public admin & defence	181,000	184,000	4,000	2%
Construction	167,000	163,000	-4,000	-3%
Food, drink & tobacco	49,000	47,000	-3,000	-5%
Miscellaneous services	162,000	148,000	-14,000	-9%
Transport & telecomms	148,000	130,000	-17,000	-12%
Electricity, gas & water	15,000	13,000	-2,000	-14%
Rest of manufacturing	135,000	116,000	-20,000	-15%
Mining & quarrying	25,000	21,000	-5,000	-19%
Agriculture etc	49,000	37,000	-12,000	-25%
Engineering	52,000	36,000	-15,000	-29%
All industries	2,628,000	2,712,000	84,000	3%

Table 3.2: Projected total job openings by industry, 2007-2017

Industry Sector	Base Year (2007) Employment	Expansion Demand	Replacement Demand	Job Openings (2017)
Other business services	369,000	87,000	126,000	213,000
Health & social work	377,000	24,000	144,000	169,000
Retail & distribution	397,000	25,000	139,000	164,000
Education	201,000	9,000	80,000	89,000
Hotels & catering	185,000	14,000	69,000	83,000
Public admin & defence	181,000	4,000	61,000	65,000
Banking & insurance	118,000	12,000	42,000	54,000
Construction	167,000	-4,000	51,000	46,000
Miscellaneous services	162,000	-14,000	57,000	43,000
Transport & telecomms	148,000	-17,000	47,000	30,000
Rest of manufacturing	135,000	-20,000	43,000	23,000
Food, drink & tobacco	49,000	-3,000	16,000	14,000
Agriculture etc	49,000	-12,000	17,000	5,000
Mining & quarrying	25,000	-5,000	8,000	3,000
Electricity, gas & water	15,000	-2,000	5,000	3,000
Engineering	52,000	-15,000	16,000	1,000
All industries	2,628,000	84,000	922,000	1,006,000

3.2.9 Occupational Change

In addition, the anticipated number of job openings for new employees over the next ten years is large for every occupational group. The most highly skilled occupations, such as Managerial and Professional jobs, will account for almost half of all job openings. However, there will also be substantial job opportunities in lower skilled jobs. There has been a general move to raise the skills required in many sectors over the past two decades, and the rapid growth in Professional and Personal Service occupations will continue. Alongside the demise in certain sectors, a decline in Skilled Trades, Operative and Elementary occupations has occurred over the same period and again this is likely to continue with the expected fall in manufacturing. It is anticipated that total employment will continue to be concentrated in professional and service orientated occupations; nevertheless, although total employment in Elementary occupations is expected to decline, these will still account for a large share of the total number of jobs in Scotland. Three occupations will account for around four in ten jobs in Scotland by 2017.

- Professional occupations (395,000 jobs by 2017);
- Managerial and senior officials (389,000 jobs); and
- Associate professional and technical occupations (389,000 jobs).

The greatest numbers of new jobs are expected to be generated in higher skilled and service orientated occupations:

- Professional occupations (+60,000 new jobs);
- Managers and senior officials (+40,000 jobs); and
- Sales and customer service occupations (+39,000 jobs).

The three occupations projected to see a decline in the total number of jobs are:

- Elementary occupations (-63,000 jobs will be lost);
- Skilled trades (-22,000 jobs); and
- Process, plant and machine operatives (-9,000 jobs).

The number of job openings, i.e. including replacement demand, is expected to be greatest in the following occupations:

- Professional occupations (182,000 new job openings);
- Managers and senior officials (162,000);
- Associate professional and technical occupations (141,000); and
- Administrative and secretarial (140,000).

Tables 3.3 and 3.4 respectively, show the projected total employment in Scotland by occupation and the projected total job openings by occupation, over the period 2007 to 2017.

Table 3.3: Projected total employment in Scotland by occupation, 2007 and 2017

Occupational Category	Total Employment		Change in Employment 2007-2017	
	2007	2017	Total change	Percentage Change
Professional occupations	335,000	395,000	60,000	18%
Sales & customer services	216,000	254,000	39,000	18%
Managerial & senior officials	349,000	389,000	40,000	12%
Personal service occupations	179,000	194,000	15,000	9%
Associate professional & technical	370,000	389,000	19,000	5%
Admin & secretarial	350,000	355,000	4,000	1%
Process, plant operatives	210,000	201,000	-9,000	-4%
Skilled trades	292,000	270,000	-22,000	-7%
Elementary occupations	328,000	264,000	-63,000	-19%
All occupations	2,628,000	2,712,000	84,000	3%

Table 3.4: Projected total job openings by occupation, 2007 and 2017

Occupational Category	Base Year (2007) Employment	Expansion Demand	Replacement Demand	Job Openings (2017)
Professional occupations	335,000	60,000	122,000	182,000
Managerial & senior officials	349,000	40,000	122,000	162,000
Associate professional & technical	370,000	19,000	122,000	141,000
Admin & secretarial	350,000	4,000	135,000	140,000
Sales & customer services	216,000	39,000	76,000	114,000
Personal service occupations	179,000	15,000	69,000	84,000
Skilled trades	292,000	-22,000	92,000	71,000
Process, plant operatives	210,000	-9,000	69,000	60,000
Elementary occupations	328,000	-63,000	115,000	52,000
All occupations	2,628,000	84,000	922,000	1,006,000

All figures from 'Labour Market Projections 2007-2017', Future Skills Scotland, 2007. Source: CE/IER

3.2.10 Qualifications

It is projected that by 2009, one-third of the Scottish working age population will have higher education qualifications, and this proportion will rise progressively further as participation in higher education has reached 50% in recent years. If participation in higher education continues at the present rate, it is projected that some 36 per cent of the Scottish population will be qualified to SVQ level 4 and above/or equivalent by 2009. The trend in employment is towards a higher skilled workforce with increasing numbers of people qualified to at least SVQ level 4 in employment. In contrast, there will be a fall in the proportion of the workforce with no qualifications. These changes in qualification levels of employment mirror the changes expected to occur in the occupational structure of employment. In addition, the changing occupational structures may be used to measure changing skills requirements.

Table 3.5 sets out the projections for the number of people in employment by the highest level of qualification for the period 2007 to 2017.

Table 3.5: Projections of employment by highest qualification, 2007-2017

Qualification level ²	2007	2012	2017	Change 2007-2012
Level 5	188,000	274,000	386,000	106%
Level 4	783,000	866,000	921,000	18%
Level 3	552,000	546,000	521,000	-6%
Level 2	502,000	470,000	422,000	-16%
Level 1	378,000	354,000	326,000	-14%
No qualifications	225,000	176,000	134,000	-41%
Total	2,628,000	2,688,000	2,712,000	3%

Source: IER

2

Skill level	Definition
Level 1	Equates with competence associated with a general education, usually acquired by the time an individual completes compulsory education and is signalled via satisfactory set of school-leaving examination grades. Competent performance of jobs at this occupational level will also involve knowledge of appropriate health and safety regulations and may require short periods of work-related training.
Level 2	Require the knowledge provided via a good general education (as at Level 1), but with typically a longer period of work-related training or work experience.
Level 3	Occupations that normally require a body of knowledge associated with a period of post-compulsory education but not to degree level, and/or a significant period of work experience.
Level 4	Occupations requiring a degree or equivalent period of relevant work experience.
Level 5	Occupations requiring a Masters degree or PhD or equivalent period of relevant work experience.

With structural changes in employment, there have been increasing demands for people with progressively higher qualifications while those with poor skills have been left behind – ‘stuck in precarious jobs that are poorly paid, or outside of employment altogether’ (Green, 2001), indicative of the ‘professionalisation’ of the Scottish employment structure. Recent times have seen the creation of many jobs which stress a requirement of ‘soft skills’ on the one hand and other positive characteristics associated with graduate employability on the other. The competitive advantage of migrant workers, upwards of 60% of whom are probably University educated but in low level jobs, suggests that the potential is there to raise the quality and value-added of many employment positions in Scotland over the longer term to the mutual benefit of both worker and enterprise.

3.2.11 Skill Shortages

Surveys of Scottish employers repeatedly demonstrate that there are very few skills shortages or hard to fill vacancies when compared with overall demand (i.e. the number of jobs plus vacancies) but that as many as one in five workplaces report a skill gap – not having the skills necessary for your post. Such gaps can be explained mainly through weaknesses in the softer skills such as organisational and planning skills, customer handling and problem solving; and affect around 9 per cent of employees. Given the ready recruitment of migrant workers into low paid and low skill jobs, it is no coincidence that these reported skill gaps disproportionately affect posts which require lower levels of skills or qualifications. The sectors which are affected most by skill gaps, therefore, are hotels and restaurants and parts of the public sector, though the care sector has also been identified as having similar difficulties.

This notwithstanding, other low paying sectors have been able to rely on a plentiful supply of further and higher education students (about 70,000 students in Glasgow alone, for instance, are available for part-time work throughout the year) who are looking for flexible hours, undemanding jobs offering wages alone – there are no pretensions of establishing a career in such employment. This is relevant to the discussions of the interactions between the labour force overall and migrant and older workers as, first, the numbers of Scottish students available for such jobs will fall with declines in their age cohorts - meaning other sources of such labour will need to be identified and, second, the economy will become increasingly dependent on these sectors for export demand (e.g. tourism, global contact centres) and home consumption (personal services, health and care sectors).

3.3 Future Glimpses

From 2.3 million jobs in 1981, to 2.6 million in 2007, by 2017 total employment is expected to reach 2.71 million, with 84,000 new job opportunities compared with 2004. The need to replace workers who leave the workforce is expected to provide 922,000 job openings. The projections by Futureskills for these aggregate changes are consistent with a view that the near future will see continuations of past trends: albeit at slower rates of change than previously.

Another attempt to foresee where we might be in the second quarter of this century has been undertaken by the Scottish Executive's "Futures Forum". Based on expert opinion and commentary this included an application of the GLIMPSES model: Globalisation; Life Course; Individualism; Media & Technology; Politics & Government; Shape of Society; Employment; and Sustainability. The outputs generated by this model are consistent with many of the predictions of the other institutions regarding life styles and the economy, with ongoing change and disruption at the level of the individual, family and community. Reflecting a considered view of the recent changes, Scottish expert opinion foresees for the individual **greater continuity rather than change** – with a good degree of improved job stability, longer tenure, and less flexible employment contracts than might have been expected in view of the immense sectoral shifts and changes in workforce composition. Whether their view that the improvement of business conditions since the 1990s and increases in public service funding are sustainable and can survive the developing current downturn - and so that the longer term view this has allowed many organisations to take will be maintained, remains to be seen.

3.4 Migrant Workers

It can be speculated that although migrant workers from Poland and Eastern Europe generally are to be welcomed, the failure to fully use their skills and attributes in an efficient way is a missed opportunity. Not only should they be recruited to more productive employment and so raise GDP but also the market is allowing the low skill, low profit, labour intensive caring, food processing, tourism and related industries to avoid upgrading investment in people and resources. Addressing the sustainability of the Scottish labour market does require a more long-term view with appropriate structures for investment and reward for the workforce; but readily available minimum wage workers leading to increased input of low-cost labour does not encourage such growth. How their skills and potential can be fully realised to complement those of Scots will be an important policy aim over the next two decades.

Critically, many of these jobs are in sectors where Gaelic language, culture and heritage could or should form a more important role. Similarly, much of the employment is based in traditional Gaelic SRW areas in the Highlands & Islands and so there is both the opportunity to raise the Gaelic profile and component of these jobs in the heartland of the language but also a threat to Gaelic being the language of the community if non-speakers are recruited to fill vacancies in these localities.

3.5 2020 – 2030 Forecasts

Over a longer period towards the 2020s, it becomes much more difficult to predict what is likely to develop. The massive restructuring since 1981 confirms this, and 2028 is almost as far away as that year is from 2008. However, replacement demand becomes less appropriate as an indicator of the need for flexibility in the labour market the greater the time horizon; indeed, 'flexibility' itself has become increasingly important for the operations of the skills, training, employment and service markets over the past quarter century. All indications are that this will continue well into the future. With these trends as background: in terms of gender, age, occupations, industries, qualifications and participation, it is possible to begin to speculate on how the labour market may develop into the period when other forecasters sensibly dare not tread!

3.6 A New Economy

How individual sectors, occupations, enterprises and skills develop in the longer term is more reliant on factors which are subject to national and international influences and these in turn are at greater degrees of risks and uncertainties. Scotland is now far less dependent on the fortunes of specific sectors which are open to either the idiosyncrasies of the markets for capital investment goods (the outputs of many of the traditional industries) and Scottish consumer goods and services. The demise of the heavy industries and their dependence on world markets means there are now significant differences from the position of the last two centuries before 1988, and this has to some extent minimised Scotland's overexposure to global business cycles. Nevertheless, higher value added food processing, tourism and cultural sectors are all affected by changes in incomes amongst consumers in export markets.

3.7 Comparative Advantages

But, even since the end of the 1980s there have been subsequent changes. The retrenchment of electronics, which had come to dominate the Scottish economy in terms of investment, exports and contribution to GDP, has uncovered the underlying strengths and weaknesses of the Scottish economy. And it is around these that debate and discussion of the future of Scotland must be based. A strong case can be made that these fundamental comparative advantages are embedded into the social and political culture and infrastructure of the nation.

Therefore, their health and appropriateness for the future development of the Scottish economy becomes critical to the discourse on what strategies should be adopted and applied to face the challenges posed by ageing and demographic changes, and in particular the Gaelic labour market.

3.8 Conclusions for the Gaelic Labour Market

- 3.8.1 Research by *cogentsi* has demonstrated the importance of the location of Universities in attracting young people to the four Scottish cities plus St Andrews and Stirling and correspondingly away from all the communities in the rest of Scotland. With especially high rates of participation in Higher Education, the more rural areas of the Highlands and Islands are some of the biggest losers in these migration flows. Compounding this, across the country there are relatively few jobs which can use level 4 and 5 skills back in these communities so that many of these Gaelic SRW individuals are unable to return home on graduation. Further, the need to maintain part-time employment and accommodation throughout the year tends to present a barrier to Gaelic SRW students even seeking vacation work back home. This exaggerates the increasing dependence of tourism, hospitality, cultural and food processing sectors in rural Scotland which undermines attempts to raise the visibility of Gaelic.
- 3.8.2 All the indicators are that this growth of professional and management and of associated jobs will be related to economic growth in the Central Belt, with centralisation and concentration of careers which use level 4 and 5 qualifications in Glasgow and Edinburgh and their metropolitan areas. Training and development, promotion and career development therefore will be focused in this region, attracting and retaining graduates. In contradistinction to the advantages of being in this escalator region – where advancement is more rapid than in smaller more peripheral labour markets, staff in these occupations outwith the geographical centre will face slower progression and fewer opportunities. Evidence from the UK (where Greater London is the prime escalator region – see Fielding, 1992) and Scotland in particular (with Scots reluctant to return unless incomes are commensurate with city regions elsewhere and career opportunities protected – (see Findlay, et al, 2008) confirm the strength of such factors in influencing job location decisions. For Gaelic SRW, there is no reason to believe that the same attributes and behaviours do not apply.
- 3.8.3 Associated with such choices, it appears that most of the Gaelic SRW cohort is attached to professional, managerial or other specific occupations first, whilst retaining the capacity to speak, read and write in the language. If so, then their prime motivation is to progress in a dedicated career which may or may not have a language content but – from the discussion on where the opportunities are located, including the role of escalator regions, there may be costs involved in pursuing employment outwith the Central Belt. Thus, for most they are in an occupational labour market rather than some generic ‘Gaelic Labour Market’.

For this reason, it would be expected that attempts to attract graduates to such jobs with a Gaelic requirement would create a wage premium to overcome the supply side barriers.

- 3.8.4 So, in the primary sector of a dual labour market there will be a tendency for Gaelic speakers to command higher wages especially in rural North and West Scotland at least until such time as sufficient jobs, career progression and pathways are established across the country. Without budgets reflecting this, there will be barriers to dispersing Gaelic essential or desirable jobs away from Glasgow and Edinburgh. In the rest of the labour market, those positions which do not require qualifications at levels 4 or 5 will be less affected by the outward movement of young people to the cities and so subsequent reluctance to return. In recent years and, without significant changes in the labour process into the future, a high proportion of such employment will go to migrant workers with little or no knowledge of Gaelic language or its cultural heritage and with limited desire to learn the language.
- 3.8.5 A continuing failure of food processing, tourism and hospitality to move up the value added chain - which could involve an intrinsic Gaelic element – constrains the capacity of these indigenous sectors to use local Gaelic SRW fruitfully and proactively. Staying with a demand for secondary labour market workers - based on low skills, low wages and low rewards to training, limits the potential expansion in Gaelic essential and desirable employment. Some other personal service, health and education jobs will continue to demand Gaelic abilities, but these tend to be at the personal customer or client level, and will often not be recognised by official actions, statistics or strategies.
- 3.8.6 Normalising the use of the language within the community again will naturally tend to raise the demand for and use of the language in everyday life. The decline and ageing of the populations of the traditional Gaelic areas of the North and West do not form the most productive environment for such growth. Conversely, for the cities an expanding Gaelic SRW community should lead to opportunities not only in the sectors formally supported by organisations promoting the language, cultural and heritage but also in consumer-based activities driven by a growing market.

3.9 **Summary**

Over the next decade, past trends in the national labour market are expected to continue. By 2017, the labour force will be more skilled, with further moves to a service sector economy. As many graduates in the Gaelic labour market will have the skills and attributes demanded by employers from many of the growth sectors, they will have the ability to make informed choices from a wide portfolio of opportunities. There will be a strong need, therefore, to make positive efforts to attract them to jobs which specifically use Gaelic. Although there will be a wide variety of jobs becoming available, as many will be located in the large cities within established internal labour markets – dependent on particular employers and professions, there will be a cost incurred by the individual in moving out of these escalator regions and networks.

4. REVIEW OF LANGUAGE PLANNING IN WALES AND IRELAND

4.1 Introduction

In this section we examine the interaction of minority language planning frameworks in Ireland and Wales with employment and recruitment practices and labour market structures for Irish and Welsh respectively. More specifically, the review undertaken in this section seeks to achieve the following four sub-objectives:

- a) To identify how minority language planning frameworks have created and supported a demand for Irish and Welsh in the labour market;
- b) To identify how firms/organisations have identified and addressed the need for Irish and Welsh language speakers in their employment and recruitment practices;
- c) To ascertain the barriers to labour market participation of Irish and Welsh speakers in the respective minority language labour markets
- d) To identify measures applied in policy and in practice to promote the strategic recognition of Irish and Welsh as a job skill.

In undertaking our analysis we have consulted published and unpublished academic research papers and reports; legislative literature; and government statistics and reports. It was not possible within the constraints of this project to undertake any primary data collection or consultations, however, access to this literature and secondary data has only been possible with the assistance of several experts and officials in Ireland and Wales. The assistance of these individuals and organisations is gratefully acknowledged.

4.2 The Irish and Welsh Minority Language Planning Frameworks

Introduction

- 4.2.1 This review of the Irish and Welsh language planning frameworks is designed to inform the current and future implications of the Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005 for the labour market. In many respects, our Celtic neighbours have followed a similar route to evolving language planning frameworks through the passing of legislation, the objectives of each language policy differs subtly to reflect the different types of bilingualism which are seen to be possible given the historical and current socio-political situation. It is important to note from the outset, therefore, that (a) the sociolinguistic situations between Wales, Ireland and Scotland are not directly comparable due to different socio-historical factors which have produced the current linguistic situation (b) these language planning policies and planning frameworks are constantly evolving due to changes in the aforementioned factors and linguistic outcomes, and (c) the embedded nature of social change means it is impossible to *directly* transplant models of language planning from one context to another. A summary of key distinctions between the demographic strength, territorial strength, and language support and status of each language is given in **Appendix 1**.

4.3 Evolution of Welsh Model of Language Planning

- 4.3.1 Several significant institutional developments represent milestones in minority language planning in Wales during the 20th Century. The first was the establishment of the Welsh Office in 1964 and its powers to introduce legislative measures particular to Wales, and including the Welsh language. One such measure was the *Welsh Language Act 1967* which offered 'equal validity' for English and Welsh and secured some opportunities to use Welsh officially in public administration³. It is widely held, however, that the 1967 Act had little effect on official reinstatement of the language outside of the Courts, and even then, the attitude towards it was one of "annoyance" (Lewis, 1969 in Fflur Huws, 2006). A second development was the rise of a political Welsh advocacy movement, involving bodies such as *Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg* (the Welsh Language Society), that campaigned for the re-instatement of Welsh in civic and public life from the 1960s onwards. A third development was the re-emergence of Welsh as a medium of instruction in state-schools from the early 1950s following a period of sustained social pressure. This development was furthered by the *Education Reform Act 1988* which 'Welshified' the school curriculum and led to Welsh being recognised as a core and compulsory subject⁴. The control over the Welsh curriculum and delivery granted under the Education Reform Act 1988 has subsequently been strengthened by the England and Wales 1992 Education Act. The most significant and recent institutional development in Welsh history is the passing of the *Welsh Language Act 1993*⁵. The Act repealed all previous legislation related to the language. It instilled the principle of 'equality' of English and Welsh in Wales, insofar as this was 'reasonably practicable', principally through its requirements for public bodies to prepare a Welsh Language Scheme to implement, facilitate and monitor this principle.
- 4.3.2 With regards implementation, a language advisory committee was established in 1988 to advise the Secretary of State for Wales and draw up guidelines for the voluntary use of Welsh in the public and private sector. This organisation, *Bwrdd Ymgynhorol yr Iaith Gymraeg* (The Advisory Welsh Language Board), was awarded statutory powers under the 1993 Act and renamed *Bwrdd yr Iaith Gymraeg* (Welsh Language Board, henceforth the *Bwrdd*).

³ Welsh Language Act 1967 (1967 c66.)

⁴ Education Reform Act 1988 (1988 c.40.)

⁵ Welsh Language Act 1993 (1993 c.38)

Accordingly, it was awarded a larger budget and increase in staff resources to enable it to fulfil its function to promote and facilitate the Welsh language, advise the Secretary of State on Welsh matters⁶, and to give "effect to the principle that in the conduct of public business and the administration of justice in Wales the English and Welsh languages should be treated on a basis of equality"⁷.

4.3.3 The current Language Policy is documented in the *Iaith Pawb: A National Action Plan for a Bilingual Wales*, published by the National Assembly for Wales in 2003. The *Iaith Pawb* sets out the Assembly's vision for a "truly bilingual Wales" and, in addition to key targets to increase the Welsh-speaking population and its use in civic life, its fifth target is for "Public, private and voluntary bodies to deliver more services through the medium of Welsh" (Welsh Assembly Government, 2003). Whilst the Board has no statutory powers over service provision in the private and voluntary sectors, a policy of co-operation and persuasion has been adopted in order to fulfil the national policy of bilingualism enshrined in the *Iaith Pawb*.

4.3.4 Under the aegis of the Act the *Bwrdd* has the following five core functions:

- Promoting and facilitating the use of the Welsh language;
- Advising on and influencing issues relating to the Welsh language;
- Initiating and overseeing the process of preparing and operating Welsh Language Schemes;
- Distributing grants for promoting and facilitating the use of the language;
- Maintaining a strategic overview of Welsh language education. (Welsh Language Board, 2007).

4.3.5 In addition to language planning measures guided by the statutory instruments under the Act (discussed below), there are two mechanisms in place for more localised language planning. The first is a network of community-based language initiatives established with support from the *Bwrdd* under the umbrella organisation *Menter Iaith Cymru*. Since its origins in 1997, it has grown to a network of c. 22 *Menter Iaith* initiatives engaged in language planning at the local level. The second is a network of eleven local 'Language Action Plans' (LAPs) specific to areas of linguistic concern e.g. where there is evidence of language shift towards English in the younger generation. These LAPs can be part of the remit of a local *Menter*, implemented by a local *Menter*, or have a membership board comprising representation from the *Menter* but led by the local authority. The LAPs typically have one full-time development officer involved in organising activities and co-ordinating its partners on Welsh language-related initiatives at the community level.

⁶ On 31 March 2007, there were 76.7 members of staff (full-time equivalents) working for the Board and in 2008-09 it received grant-in-aid from the Welsh Assembly Government of £13.5m (*Bwrdd yr Iaith*, 2007 and Welsh Assembly Government, 2008)

⁷ Section 3 (2)(b).

- 4.3.6 The Welsh government has not adopted a territorial language-planning approach, despite the ironic coterminous trends of 'urbanisation' of the language and decline in the traditional rural heartland (*Y Fro Gymraeg*). Discussions over the establishment of a local authority for the heartlands have been inconclusive and such a territorial approach has been rejected by influential activists and academics as potentially undermining the principle objective of achieving the national project of a bilingual state (e.g. Williams, 2003).
- 4.3.7 Having secured cross-party political support for the language, the current Assembly Government is now seeking "enhanced legislative competence on the Welsh language" through the *One Wales* agreement (Welsh Assembly Government, 2007). This agreement commits the government to introduce new measures through a Welsh Language Legislative Competence Order to confirm the official status of Welsh and English, linguistic rights in the provision of services, and to establish the post of a Language Commissioner.

4.4 Evolution of Irish Model of Language Planning

- 4.4.1 The Irish model of language planning differs from the Welsh model in that, since the origins of the Republic of Ireland in the 1920s, Irish language planning and policy has adopted a territorial approach to serve the dual purpose of Irish language policy:
- A focus on the maintenance of the language in the Districts of Ireland where it has continued to be a popular language of everyday use, collectively known as the Gaeltacht;
 - Seeking to revive the language in other parts of the country.
- 4.4.2 The formal designation of the 'Fíor-Ghaeltacht' (areas where more than 80 percent of the population spoke Irish) and 'Breac-Ghealtacht' (adjacent areas where between 25-79 percent of the population spoke Irish) in 1926 on the basis of the 1911 Census returns delineated the peripheral and economically lagging western seaboard Districts as the Gaeltacht. In 1956 the boundaries of the Gaeltacht were dramatically redrawn to align more closely with areas in which Irish was the vernacular. This territorial approach has formed the basis of subsequent socio-economic and language planning interventions by successive governments.
- 4.4.3 Until the 1950s, the responsibilities for overseeing and implementing the language policy of the Gaeltacht lay with the government under its Department of Arts, Heritage, Gaeltacht and the Islands⁸.

⁸ This department has undergone successive name changes since its inception as the Department of Gaeltacht in 1956. Its role has remained largely unchanged and includes a remit for rural development, the Irish language, the Gaeltacht area and the development of Ireland's inhabited off-shore islands. Today it is the Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs.

The only real impact, however, was to establish Irish as the medium of education in the Gaeltacht. Despite the national language commission's consideration of the provision of government services through the medium of Irish in the Gaeltacht, it is widely held that, as was the case of the provisions in the 1967 Welsh Language Act, due to little guidance, co-ordination or monitoring of this process, little progress was made in this regard (Johnson, 1997 in Mac Giolla Chríost, 2006). In 1958 a new commission (*An Coimisiún um Athbheochan na Gaeilge*) was established with the remit of reviewing Irish language policy and making recommendations to government. The commission itself revised the aspirations for achieving national bilingualism by relinquishing its objective of making Irish language use popular outside of the Gaeltacht (*ibid.*). This policy 'retreat' led to a reduction in institutional support and erosion of the Irish language in domains recognised as critical for its survival: public administration, legal and constitutional status and education (Mac Giolla Chríost, 2006 and Walsh *et al.*, 2007).

4.4.4 As the language continued to retract, a civil rights movement emerged during the 1960s to campaign over the lack of Irish in public administration and the further Anglicisation of the Gaeltacht. In 1970s *Bord na Gaeilge* (Irish Language Board) was established to oversee the national promotion and planning of the Irish language, however, like the former Welsh Language Advisory board, it had only advisory powers. In 1999 the former Bord na Gaeilge was subsumed by a new cross-border body responsible for the promotion of the Irish language in the Republic, *Foras na Gaeilge*. It is the role of Foras na Gaeilge to consolidate and develop the status and the use of the Irish language in the media, in the private sector and in the community in general (Foras na Gaeilge, 2008). The statutory functions assigned Foras na Gaeilge are:

- The promotion of the Irish language;
- Facilitating and encouraging the use of Irish in speech and writing, in public and private life;
- Advising both administrations, public bodies and other groups in the private and not-for-profit sectors; □
- Undertaking supportive projects, and grant-aiding bodies and groups;
- Undertaking research, promotional campaigns, and public and media relations;
- Developing terminology and dictionaries;
- Supporting Irish-medium education and the teaching of Irish.

4.4.5 Foras na Gaeilge is co-funded by the Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs (Republic of Ireland) (75 percent) and the Department of Culture, Arts and Leisure (Northern Ireland) (25 percent) and in 2007 it had a budget and staff complement comparable to the Bwrdd in Wales, but significantly less on a speaker per capita basis⁹.

⁹ According to its Corporate Plan 2005-07, Foras na Gaeilge expected in 2007 to have an estimated operating budget of £13.9m and 65 staff.

- 4.4.6 In addition to nationally co-ordinated language planning provisions for the Gaeltacht, several mechanisms have been designed to target the maintenance of the language in the Gaeltacht area. Firstly, in 1979 *Údarás na Gaeltachta* was established under the *Údarás na Gaeltachta Act (1979)*¹⁰. Since its formation, *An tÚdarás* (as it's commonly referred to) has had powers with regard to socioeconomic development and the Irish language under the aegis of the Government department with a remit for the Irish language and the Gaeltacht (Department of Community Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs). *Údarás na Gaeltachta* replaced its predecessor agency *Gealtarra Éireann* which was criticised for not having Irish-speaking staff or remit for Irish language planning. As part of its jurisdiction *An tÚdarás* initiated a programme of 'Language Development Plans' for firms and organisations assisted through its economic development powers. *An tÚdarás* has offered financial incentives to promote development, including a premium on capital grants to Irish speakers. Further, Galway County Council had conducted language impact statements on developments in the area of the Gaeltacht as part of its planning process, through 'proofing' housing, industrial and commercial development for potential negative impacts on the Irish language. According to Mac Giolla Chríost (*ibid.*) these language impact statements have been subject to a number of planning appeals and legal cases.
- 4.4.7 In 2003, the *Official Languages Act* was passed with obligations upon the 650 public bodies covered by the legislation to improve the availability and standard of public services in the Irish language. The Act is modelled on the Welsh Language Act 1993 and comprises the following three key features:
- a) The establishment of *Oifig Choimisinéir na dTeannacha Oifigiúla* (Office of the Official Languages Commissioner) with responsibility for supervising and monitoring implementation of the Act.
 - b) The statutory obligation of requested public bodies to prepare and implement 'Language Schemes' through which the provision of services through the Irish language will be planned.
 - c) A range of regulations which deal with the use of Irish and English languages in all public bodies recognised as important for equality of status (including the use of Irish and English languages in pre-recorded oral announcements, on stationery and on signage).
- 4.4.8 To date, however, there is no statutory national language policy for Irish which could be considered as driving the language planning framework. In recognition of this weakness, the Government published a *Statement on the Irish Language* in 2006. This re-articulates the government dual policy as being to increase the bilingual population nationally whilst strengthening the Gaeltacht as an Irish-speaking community. This statement of policy is to form the basis of an Irish 20-year strategy (currently being written) to support actions for the Irish language and the Gaeltacht. Currently developmental actions to support the language are primarily contained within the corporate plan (2006) of Foras na Gaeilge.

¹⁰ 1979 No. 5/1979 and amended under the *Údarás na Gaeltachta (Amendment) Act, 1999*.

- 4.4.9 There is no body equivalent to Bwrdd yr Iaith Gymraeg in Ireland with combined advisory, developmental and enforcement powers. Rather these functions and powers are (confusingly) distributed amongst multiple bodies. The *Oifig Choimisinéir na dTeannacha Oifigiúla* has certain responsibilities in relation to dealing with complaints related to the exercise of language rights, and agreeing Language Schemes in collaboration with the Department of the Gaeltacht. The development budget for national language planning measures is held by Foras na Gaeilge. Concurrently, *An tÚdarás* continues to have a language planning remit for the Gaeltacht and funds a range of strategic language and cultural initiatives, including pre-school projects, third-level Irish course provision, initiatives to promote Irish in the workplace, and community based learning centres. It also seeks to support the language through its economic development and business support functions.

4.5 Welsh and Irish Language Schemes

- 4.5.1 The Official Languages Act (Ireland) 2003 was modelled, as was the Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005, on the Welsh Language Act 1993. The Welsh Act's strongest tool for language planning was the requirement for public bodies, including organisations involved with the administration of justice, to prepare Language Schemes¹¹. Schemes are currently given statutory approval by the Bwrdd on behalf of the Assembly Government. The Bwrdd is responsible for monitoring the implementation of Welsh Language Scheme, however, its powers to ensure compliance are relatively weak (Fflur Huws, 2006). The weaknesses of the Welsh Language Schemes are believed to be exacerbated by the lack of detail over what public bodies must provide bilingually in the Act¹², and in part due to the reluctance of some organisations to collect and publicise related data despite a statutory obligation to do so. By 2007, 450 Welsh Language Schemes were in operation of which 59 were voluntary schemes. Of these, 57 voluntary schemes are in the voluntary sector and two in the private sector (Bwrdd yr Iaith, 2008c). In 2006, the Language Scheme was tightened to commit Assembly Government departments to submit detailed implementation plans and therefore provide a lead, by example, to other public bodies.
- 4.5.2 The Irish Official Languages Act requires public bodies to prepare a Language Scheme when requested to do so for agreement with the *Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs* and the Minister¹³. The Act is more specific about what public bodies must provide bilingually through requiring that bodies specify the language/s of each part of service delivery (English-only, English-Irish bilingual, and Irish-only). Bodies are expected to establish a threshold of bilingual service provision which will be progressively increased over time until all services are available bilingually, through successive 3-year Language Schemes (Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs, 2004).

¹¹ Sections 5 and 22.

¹² Section 9.

¹³ Section 11.

The Irish Language Schemes appear to have learnt from the weaknesses of the Welsh Act by being more prescriptive and with specific reference to the need for an adequate number of Irish speakers to provide a bilingual service¹⁴. Moreover, there are provisions for Irish to be the working language of all offices of public bodies in the Gaeltacht area within an agreed timeframe¹⁵. The post of An Coimisinéir Teanga (The Language Commissioner) has wider powers to ensure compliance with the Act than does Bwrdd yr Iaith in relation to Welsh in Wales. In Ireland, 82 Language Schemes are being implemented to date (and 21 bodies have been requested to prepare new 'second draft' Language Schemes) and a further 23 have been requested to do prepare Schemes¹⁶. Given the recognition of the Gaeltacht region under the Act, the language schemes of bodies with a specific remit for the Gaeltacht, or a remit for the Irish language more generally, have been prioritised by the Minister.

Both countries have detailed guidelines that provide a practical framework to assist public bodies prepare schemes in accordance with the Acts.

4.6 Additional Legislative Provisions for Irish and Welsh

4.6.1 The Broadcasting Bill 2008 (Ireland) and the Broadcasting Act 1996 (England and Wales) legislate for Irish and Welsh broadcasting respectively. In Ireland, the *Broadcasting Bill 2008*¹⁷ established a new broadcasting authority for Ireland (Údaras Craolacháin na hÉireann), to regulate the facilitation of the development of Irish language programming and broadcasting services through the Irish channel TG4 (Teilifís na Gaeilge), whilst also legislates for comprehensive programming in Irish on RTÉ and the Irish Film Channel. The Act stipulates that broadcasting authority Board members be proficient in Irish. The England and Wales *Broadcasting Act of 1996* replaces the Acts of 1980/81 which established the S4C Authority and S4C dedicated Welsh television channel. The 1996 Act established S4C Digidol (S4C Digital) and subsequently, S4C~2 broadcasts coverage of the National Assembly for Wales.

4.6.2 In Ireland, the *Universities Act 1997* and *Institutes of Technology Act 2006* require institutions to promote and have regard for language use in general communication. The *Planning and Development Act 2007* and *Court Services Act 1998* grant civil rights to the use of Irish¹⁸.

¹⁴ Section 13 (2)(c).

¹⁵ Section 13 (2)(e).

¹⁶ Full details of the agreed and planned language schemes under the Irish Official Languages Act are available from the website of An Coimisinéir Teanga, http://www.coimisineir.ie/index.php?page=sceimeanna_comhaontaithe_agus_i_bhfeidhm&lang=english&tid=17

¹⁷ Broadcasting Bill 2008:
<http://www.oireachtas.ie/documents/bills28/bills/2008/2908/b2908s.pdf>

¹⁸ Courts Services Act 1998 Section 7 (2)(b)

Further, the Planning and Development Act 2007 adopts differentiated rights to grant people in the Gaeltacht presumptive rights to a hearing through Irish as well as Gaeltacht-related provisions that require Development Plans to include objectives for “the protection of the linguistic and cultural heritage of the Gaeltacht including the promotion of Irish as the community language”¹⁹. The Court Services and Planning and Development Acts legislate for ensuring adequate numbers of bilingual staff in order to ensure delivery of bilingual services.

4.7 The Implications of Legislation for Language Labour Markets

Wales

- 4.7.1 Educational measures have, since the 1950s, created a need for bilingual teachers in Welsh medium state schools. There are now approximately 14,971 teachers teaching through the medium of Welsh or teaching Welsh as a second language in 520 schools (Department of Education, Wales). Developments in Welsh radio, television and print media have also generated a demand for Welsh skills. BBC Radio Cymru was established during the 1970s, whilst the dedicated Welsh television channel, S4C, has been running since 1982. The Welsh media sector is estimated to employ 1,000 Welsh speaking-staff and contract a further 900 Welsh speakers per annum (Strubell, 2008). It is only with the implementation of the 1993 Act and the language planning framework at the state, business and community levels that the demand for Welsh language skills has formalised and expanded beyond the 'language sector' of education, media and language promotion and development, however.
- 4.7.2 There has been a recent surge of commissioned research into the demand and use of Welsh in the workplace. A national generic skills survey undertaken by Future Skills Wales in 2003 found that a significant minority of employers (38 percent) had some requirement for Welsh language skills at some level. There are variations however, between industry sector occupations, and most predictably, between private and public sector employers. The survey showed that 55 percent of the public sector as compared with 34 percent of private sector organisations reported a need for Welsh skills. Only 20 percent of organisations/businesses required Welsh skills above a basic level. Research undertaken on behalf of the Gorwelian project²⁰, found significantly higher demand in its targeted research of organisations in seven local authorities. The main findings of the Gorwelian project are shown at Table 4.1.

¹⁹ Planning and Development Act 2007 Section 10 (2)(m)
http://www.coimisineir.ie/downloads/Planning_&_Development_Act_2000.pdf

²⁰ The Gorwelian project seeks to identify the Welsh language requirements of organisations to promote these opportunities to new entrants to the labour market,

Table 4.1: Gorwelion findings - companies and organisations using bilingual skills

Employment Sector	Companies questioned	Bilingual skills	%
Services	381	260	68
Retail	183	114	62
Tourism	99	60	61
Manufacturing	177	74	42
Total	840	508	60

Base: 840 companies in Carmarthenshire, Pembrokeshire, Ceredigion, Powys, Gwynedd, Anglesey and Rhondda Cynon Taff

Source: Gorwelion project in Beaufort Research et al. 2005

- 4.7.3 A more targeted survey of private companies in seven industry sectors undertaken in 2004-05 further investigated trends within the private sector²¹. The survey, which was based on 2,000 businesses found previously to have had an average or higher need for Welsh language skills²², found that only 9 percent of businesses reported a need for Welsh language skills amongst employees. There was, however, an apparent contradiction between disregarding the language as a skill need yet valuing bilingual practices. 15 percent of those who stated they had no present need for Welsh language skills, said that having staff with the right Welsh language skills was important to their business (Beaufort Research & Menter a Busnes, 2005).
- 4.7.4 This contradiction has been revealed in findings in other research. For example, the Welsh Language Use Survey 2004 found no significant difference in the frequency of Welsh language use in the public, voluntary and public sectors. Thus, whilst many studies point to how employers in all sectors value bilingual communication skills (Jones et al. 2001; Henley & Jones, 2001) it appears that the private sector in particular is less likely to preferentially recruit Welsh speakers or designate and advertise posts as 'Welsh essential'. The Future Skills Wales 2005 Survey found that 33 percent of firms advertised Welsh 'desirable' or 'essential' posts in English only, and nearly half of businesses with Welsh language skills needs never assessed language skills of job applicants when recruiting. These findings reinforce the conclusion that a bilingual workforce is regarded as a natural consequence of recruiting in bilingual Wales, rather than a workforce planning issue.
- 4.7.5 The 1993 Act has had a direct influence on the demand for Welsh skills in public bodies with statutory Welsh Language Schemes. However, in 2004 research into organisations operating both statutory and voluntary Welsh Language Schemes found that within a sample of 100 organisations, only 9 percent of posts were 'Welsh essential' and 72 percent were 'Welsh desirable'. This led to the conclusion that there was a "marked tendency to sit on the fence or to 'play it safe' as regards identifying language requirements in recruitment processes" (ELWA, 2004:28) in addition to a common 'blanket approach' to designate all jobs as 'Welsh desirable'.

²¹ The seven sectors sampled were: tourism and leisure, agri-food, financial and business services, care services, media, construction and retail, wholesale and other service activities.

²² In the Future Skills Wales 2003 Generic Skills Survey and the Gorwelion Project findings.

63 percent of the organisations anticipated an increase in Welsh designated posts and 48 percent expected an increased demand in Welsh language training. This compares with only 11 percent of private sector organisations anticipating an increase in demand for Welsh-speaking staff in the next 5 years (Beaufort Research *et al.*, 2005).

- 4.7.6 The findings suggest that public bodies are more likely to employ bilingual staff than are private firms; however, these figures are not intrinsically linked to recruitment practices which have tended to avoid a 'heavy-handed' approach of designating posts as requiring Welsh. Two broad barriers are understood to underpin these trends. The first is the lack of recognition of skills management within public bodies. Often public bodies do not recognise the necessity of skills management, particularly with respect to new posts.

The second is the prioritisation of language provisions at the service end, through subcontracting the production of bilingual material and bilingual designation of key frontline posts, at the expense of examining internal practices. This is implicit in the words of the present chairperson of the Bwrdd in the new 'consultation document' entitled 'Promoting Bilingual Workplaces' (Bwrdd yr Iaith, 2008a):

- 4.7.7 *"One of the main challenges we face whilst trying to secure the future of the Welsh language is to create a social context for the language, and especially in the workplace. The truth is that very few organisations carry out internal administration through the medium of Welsh, and sending every document to the translator is not the same as 'creating a truly bilingual Wales', the aim of Iaith Pawb".* (Prys Jones, 2008).

- 4.7.8 Targeted at the public sector, but promoted in the voluntary and private sector also, this document recognises the real challenge inherent in generating a truly 'bilingual workplace' in the absence of legislation which gives equivalence between individuals the right to use the language coupled with a right to receive a service in that language.

4.8 Ireland

- 4.8.1 The Irish language was granted the status of national and official language in the 1922 constitution. The government determined that all primary schools taught the language for one hour a day, and following the designation of the Gaeltacht area in 1926, that all education in the Gaeltacht would be through Irish. Contemporaneously Irish became an obligatory qualification to access the civil service (Walsh *et al.*, 2007). These provisions created a demand for Irish-speaking teachers and civil servants and therefore the knowledge of Irish in the educated population increased.

However, the policy retreat referred to above at Section 4.4.3 was marked by the withdrawal of the Irish language as compulsory for civil service entrance examinations in 1974: this followed the removal of a the need to both study and pass Irish in post-primary schools in order to get a Leaving Certificate (thereon, children had to study Irish only) (Mac Aogáin, 1990).

This is believed to have had a marked impact on the study of Irish at secondary level, as exemplified, for example, by the decline of Irish-medium secondary schools from 80 in 1960 to 17 in 1975 (Mac Giolla Chríost, 2006).

- 4.8.2 In 2008, primary school teachers must be competent to teach the Irish language in addition to a range of primary school subjects through Irish (a requirement for proficiency in Irish for civil servant and state teaching posts is legislated for under the *Employment Equality Act 1998*²³ as amended in the *Equality Act 2004* as a 'lawful imposition'). In order to gain full recognition as a primary school teacher, applicants must pass the written, aural and oral parts of the *Scrúdú le hAghaidh Cáilíochta sa Ghaeilge* (Irish Exam) and provide certification that they have completed an approved three-week course in the Gaeltacht. 'Post-primary' teachers only need a qualification in the Irish language if they are employed by a Gaeltacht school or a school where Irish is the medium of instruction (Citizens Information Board, Ireland).
- 4.8.3 The Act which underpinned An t-Údarás's establishment stated that it "shall ensure that Irish is used to the greatest extent possible in the performance by it and on behalf of its functions". The implementation of 'Language Development Plans' by assisted firms was one mechanism to positively increase the use of Irish in the workplace in the Gaeltacht area. According to the guidelines, this was to include bilingual corporate branding and signage, the use of Irish as a normal means of communication with the company, and; a positive approach to recruitment of Irish language skills and proactive provision of Irish language training (An t-Údarás Guide for Companies – year unknown). There is little evidence, however, of these Schemes being successfully implemented. According to Mac Giolla Chríost (*op. cit.*) a lack of Irish-speaking managerial staff is one reason, and a lack of Irish-speaking staff, generally, a second.
- 4.8.4 The statutory Language Scheme requirement, particularly those relating to bodies with a remit for the Gaeltacht, has, according to Walsh *et al.* "the potential to create a significant number of jobs for bilinguals" (2007:11). Within the guidelines, it specifies that effective Schemes are required, among other things, to identify a staff competent to conduct official business bilingually and outline how internal support functions will be aligned to support delivery of the commitments of the scheme.

²³ Section 36.

Offices in the Gaeltacht region are expected to progressively work towards Irish as the internal working language, and to do so, the guidelines state that bodies consider opportunities for up-skilling of language competence, the specification of Irish as an essential requirement for any new staff being recruited, and, that internal working manuals and resources are available bilingually for staff. Existing staff that are not in a position to, or not willing to work through Irish are to be 'protected' and their preference not to work through Irish taken into account by the Minister.

- 4.8.5 There is, however, no baseline data available on the knowledge of Irish in each organisation's workforce or its use. Moreover, the designation of Irish as a skill for recruitment has not been commonly adopted amongst public or private organisations along the same lines as 'Welsh desirable' or 'Gaelic essential'. This in part explains an absence of research or evidence of the demand for Irish in the labour market, or its use in the workplace to date.
- 4.8.6 An exploratory examination of Language Schemes approved to the end of 2006 concluded that there were significant weaknesses in the schemes with respect to the competencies of front line staff, Irish literacy skills, and recruitment policy (Walsh *et al.*, 2008). This review found that most bodies had only minimal provisions for front-line staff with Irish skills using, for example, basic bilingual greetings thus not creating a real language choice. It also found that, based on personal communication and existing research evidence, only the placement of native and local Irish language speakers would actually enable an increase in customer Irish language use. The review concluded that Language Schemes' commitment to establish posts as 'Irish essential' were accompanied by qualifiers (*ibid.*) The authors allude to an unbalanced dependency on training and up-skilling of existing staff members rather than positive policies towards identifying replacements for frontline staff as 'Irish essential'. Whilst there is no research available to verify why these weaknesses exist, the evidence presented suggests that organisations perceive there to be a lack of supply of competent Irish speakers for these posts. This is exacerbated by low levels of literacy skills among Irish speakers in general and Irish speakers from the Gaeltacht in particular. Moreover, Walsh *et al.* argue that Irish language requirements are politically controversial given high unemployment levels in the Gaeltacht, and might generate resentment and hostility towards the language (*ibid.*).
- 4.8.8 There is anecdotal evidence of an increase in demand for Irish language skills and recognition of Irish as an advantage in the labour market. In 2005 Ireland's first bilingual recruitment website was established by 'Irishjobs.ie', which in the accompanying press release, attributed its provision to "an increasing demand in the labour market for people who speak both Irish and English", on the back of the Language Schemes being implemented by the public sector. The prevalence of code-switching between English and Irish by young people was also referred to (IrishJobs.ie, 2005).

4.9 Elements of Demand for Irish and Welsh in the Labour Market

- 4.9.1 There has been little evidence of trends on Irish in the workplace or in the labour force in general, therefore this section on elements of demand for language in the labour market focuses on the Welsh evidence.

Private sector demand

- 4.9.2 Neither the Welsh nor Irish Language Acts extend to the private sector. However, both Foras na Gaeilge and Bwrdd yr Iaith have sought to influence the private sector.

The Bwrdd has made stringent efforts to influence, facilitate and persuade the private sector to increase their use of Welsh in the absence of statutory power to do so, and as a reflection of this action there has been a substantial increase in the use (Jones *et al.*, 2006). Official evidence of the Board's effort is found in the Welsh Language Board *Private Sector Strategy 2006-09* and subsequent guidelines and schemes to promote Welsh in business (discussed below in **Section 4.12** "Addressing Barriers to Growth in the Language Labour Market").

- 4.9.3 The Welsh Language Board has adopted a two-tier approach to co-operating with the private sector (Bwrdd yr Iaith, 2006). First, it has targeted 'high-profile' international service companies with a large customer base such as supermarkets, food and drink manufacturers (labelling and packaging), tourism and hospitality (customer service and place-based branding), and public utility companies (advertising, billing and customer service). Second, it has coordinated local intervention through the network of Menterau Iaith (language initiatives/enterprise agencies). *Menterau Iaith* focus their efforts on persuading SMEs, such as high-street shops, of the benefits to their profits by branding themselves as bilingual and offering bilingual service. The Menterau undertake business orientated awareness raising, information provision, and co-ordination of training and grant applications, and in one example, (Cwm Gwendraeth) the formation of a Welsh-language business club.

- 4.9.4 The most concrete outcomes of these combined efforts are seen in bilingual signage (grant-aided), advertising and marketing. The take-up of language training for staff is thought to be relatively low, for example, only 6 percent as compared with 35 percent of private sector employees had been offered Welsh language training according to the Welsh Language Use Survey of 2004. Recent research found some private sector employers are willing to pay a premium for Welsh language speakers (Bwrdd yr Iaith Gymraeg, 2008d), however, recruitment issues, lack of communicative competence in their Welsh oral ability, language skills of existing staff were barriers identified by the private sector to increasing their use of Welsh (*ibid.*). Other barriers are the costs of operating bilingually, time to release staff for language training, the availability and standard of translators, and technical specialisms which favour English language use.

The report concluded that there was a general problem of a lack of recognition of Welsh as a skill, not only amongst the private sector, but also in government institutions, and recommended that “the economic advantages of bilingualism and the Welsh language needs to be defined, packaged and disseminated pro-actively among businesses” (*ibid.*).

4.9.5 There were also clear sectoral patterns. The highest demand for Welsh language skills were in media (18 percent) agri-food, tourism and leisure, and finance and business sectors. Counter to the strategic efforts of the Bwrdd to target the private sector with the support of the network of Mentrau Iaith, the retail sector had a relatively lower demand (5 percent) as did the private care sectors.

4.9.6 The evidence from Wales suggests, therefore, that bilingual skills and bilingualism in the workplace is largely unplanned for outside of the public sector bodies required by statute to provide services bilingually, and the private sector dependent upon this state intervention e.g. media companies and the language industries including translation, interpretation, and software development.

4.10 Occupational differences

4.10.1 The FSW Generic Skills Survey 2003 identified occupations where Welsh language skills are more likely to be required in the future. These are: caring personal service, health, social welfare and associate professional roles together with business and public service professionals, and teaching and research professionals. As would be expected, higher levels of speaking and listening skills are required relative to reading and writing skills, and the higher the occupational group, the higher the levels of language skills needed.

4.11 Geographical differences

4.11.1 There are geographical variations in relation to the demand for bilingual services, the ability of businesses to provide bilingual services due to bilingual skills in their local labour force, and the support available to assist businesses who wish to be more bilingual (Mabis, 2007). Thus firms in North West Wales have a higher percentage of Welsh-speaking staff, and this leads to the natural use of Welsh in workplace communication both internally and with customers, who are also majority Welsh speakers (Jones *et al.*, 2001). The FSW Welsh Language Skills survey found that a third of businesses in the North West compared with only 3 percent in the south east required Welsh language skills (Beaufort Research *et al.*, 2005).

4.11.2 In the Gaeltacht areas the demand for Irish skills is expected to be significantly higher than in other parts of Ireland due to the stipulations of the Act. There is little evidence to date, however, of such geographical variation.

4.12 Addressing Barriers to Growth in the Language Labour Market

Labour Supply

- 4.12.1 The supply of suitably qualified and Irish or Welsh-speaking labour has been both a perceived and real barrier to the successful or extensive implementation of Language Schemes in both countries. In Ireland the absolute figures of knowledge of Irish disguise a more problematical situation. According to the 2002 Census, of the 1.5 million people in the Republic of Ireland able to speak Irish, only 339,541 use it as a daily language of which c. 33,000 (nearly 10 percent) live in the Gaeltacht areas. Critics comment that the language's maintenance has been over-dependent on an education system since the legislative provisions enacted after 1926 across Ireland.
- 4.12.2 Even in the Gaeltacht (where 54 percent of the total population use Irish on a daily basis compared with a national average of 21 percent) the 2002 census data revealed that the education system was the primary means of Irish language acquisition and the home secondary (Mac Giolla Chríost, 2006).
- 4.12.3 The implications of low levels of literacy and low levels of spoken Irish skills for the supply to the growing Irish labour market have not been fully investigated. However, studies into the supply of Irish-speaking teachers to the Irish teaching labour market point to a severe shortage in teachers which has, of course, potentially significant consequences for the levels of Irish skills in the future labour market. A recent inspectorate report found that nearly one third of primary classrooms taught Irish through the medium of English and that 23 percent of teachers had insufficient Irish language skills (Department of Education, 2008). Levels of language competence were reflected in teaching competences: 47 percent of teachers' oral teaching skills were categorised as 'weak' or with 'scope for 'development', and 44 percent of pupils did not display an appropriate level of oral attainment. The figures for written Irish were 54 percent and 49 percent respectively. The report concluded that "It is disquieting to note that in half the classes observed, the standard of teaching and learning was fair or poor" (*ibid.* 71). The experiences of learning Irish in primary school have clear implications for the selection of Irish in post-primary education.
- 4.12.4 Several measures have been introduced to address these problems. For example, in 2007 the government introduced measures to attract more young speakers to study Irish in post-primary education, and introduced a pilot programme for summer camps in Irish to promote the learning of Irish in a fun way through organised activities taught through the medium of Gaeilge such as Art, Sport, Drama and Music. To address teaching supply, a new scheme (*Tús Maith*) was introduced in 2007 to improve teachers' levels of spoken Irish and therefore their ability to teach the language. In addition, there is also in place a national team of Irish development officers to provide in-service training for post-primary schools.

- 4.12.5 The stark figures presented in the Department of Education report suggest that the education system is itself a barrier to the supply of Irish speakers with literate skills to the labour market, particularly in the context of a national dependency on education, and not inter-generational transfer and family socialisation, to reproduce the language. The efficacy of the school education system appears to be reflected in the skills of the Irish-speaking workforce. Ad hoc employers' surveys have found a significant gap between passive competence in Irish (reading and understanding) and productive (active) language skills (e.g. University of Cork Irish Language Survey, 1996) reflecting a national trend of low communicative competence in Irish language ability and concomitantly low levels of use in everyday life.
- 4.12.6 In Wales, the compulsory nature of Welsh in education, together with other socio-cultural factors, is considered to be comparatively much more effective than Irish-medium education in producing confident bilingual speakers. All pupils must at least study Welsh as a subject up to the age of 16, whether in a Welsh or an English medium school. The bulge in Welsh speakers in the younger age-cohorts, together with evidence of the younger age groups' confidence and willingness to speak Welsh, has succeeded in creating a sizable Welsh-speaking workforce. In North West Wales, there is adequate labour supply for Welsh posts. Skilled Welsh-speaking professionals are said, however, to be concentrated in the Cardiff area where a significant proportion of Welsh-essential jobs are based. This means recruiting specialists with high-level Welsh skills is difficult outwith this region. For example, in Puigdevall's research (2005), 15 of 29 companies experienced difficulties in recruiting competent Welsh-language speakers with the greatest shortages for posts such as web design, management, accountancy and design.
- 4.12.7 Finally, there continues to be difficulties in maintaining a supply of skilled Welsh-speaking teachers. Specific measures have been put in place over the past decade to help improve the supply. They include incentive grants for postgraduate students - and further incentives on the take up of posts in shortage subjects - and a Welsh Medium Incentive Supplement for students undertaking secondary initial teacher training through the medium of Welsh, to encourage their teaching in Welsh²⁴. A scheme also operates to support teachers to convert to Welsh-medium teaching, through Welsh language immersion sabbaticals. Grants to improve the standards of teaching and learning of Welsh through continued professional development are also available (Grants for Education Support and Training Programme).

4.13 Organisational Demand

- 4.13.1 Prior to the Irish Official Language Act there were few initiatives designed to stimulate, facilitate or monitor the demand for Irish language skills within organisations. An exception is the 'Language Development Plans' of *An tÚdarás*.

²⁴ In 2007, this was a payment of £1,500 for most subjects, and £1,800 for difficult to fill subjects.

The less bureaucratic and more persuasive measures adopted to date and which are primarily delivered through Foras na Gaeilge include:

- Practical guidelines: *Business in Irish* has been produced as a guide to organisations supported by An tÚdarás to help them design Language Development Plans for the workplace; Foras na Gaeilge sector guides to the use of Irish in business, including the *Retail Handbook* (2004) and *Food and Beverage Handbook* (2004).
- Business Awards: *Building a Bilingual Society* was established as an award category in the national 'Tidy Towns' project in 2006.
- Grant-aid: a *Business Fund* was set up in 2006 to support the use of Irish in the business community.
- Language signage schemes: targeting, and distribution of signage to businesses.

4.13.2 A notable local voluntary initiative is the *Gaileamh na Gaeilge* project which was initiated by the Comhdháil Náisiúnta na Gaeilge, itself a federation of state and non-state organisations active in various aspects of the promotion of Irish. The goal of Gaillimh na Gaeilge is “to further the position of Galway as the prime bilingual city in Ireland, to develop the Irish face of the city, with a view to reinforcing its attractiveness to visitors from other parts of the country as well as from abroad, particularly individuals with an interest in lesser-used languages and cultures (Comhdháil Náisiúnta na Gaeilge, 1992: 5 in Grin *et al.*, 1999). The initiative was founded upon three principles:

- To reintroduce Irish into Galway.
- To work in collaboration with the private sector to develop Irish patterns of commercial exchange.
- To rely on persuasion of the private sector on the basis of economic arguments rather than alignment with any ideologies of language promotion.

4.13.3 Through the work of a development officer, local businesses have been targeted, including relatively high-profile firms. The outcomes identified are bilingual signage and increased language status and winning the business case for promoting Irish's use between customers and Irish-speaking staff. Recent research commissioned by Gaillimh na Gaeilge on the opportunity for Galway to be branded as a 'bilingual city' identified that the public believed that dual signage, bilingual media and access to public services would be important aspects of such a bilingual city (Gaillimh na Gaeilge, 2006). The business community was found to be 'conscious of bilingualism' although small businesses raised concerns regarding the costs and the implications for employment.

4.13.4 The Bwrdd yr Iaith Gymraeg has sought to increase the level of demand for Welsh language skills in the workplace, and its use, through the following types of measures:

- Practical guidelines: *Welsh Language Training in the Workplace Guidelines*; *Promoting Bilingual Workplaces: Guidelines for Consultation* (2008); *Bilingual Hospitality* (2008); *Bilingual Food and Drink Packaging*; *Welsh Advantage: Guidance and motivation for businesses who wish to use Welsh for commercial advantage* (2008); *The use of Welsh in Business*.
- Marketing campaigns: *Welsh: the language of Business* was a national campaign that promoted the use of Welsh for securing customer loyalty, competitive advantage and market growth.
- Business Awards: The Bwrdd sponsors the following awards: the National Eisteddfod Business Awards, the WLB Bilingual Design Awards, 'Menu of the Month/Year' competition, and sponsorship of the Western Mail 'Welsh in Business' award, a Gwynedd Business Awards, and a Welsh language category in the Rhondda Cynon Taf Business Awards, and an category in the Arts in Business Cymru awards.
- Grant-aid: a *Business Grants Scheme* assists organisations to produce bilingual material and support staff Welsh language training.

4.13.5 The Bwrdd also funds the work of *Menter a Busnes*, a bilingual economic development organisation that seeks to increase confidence and instill attitudinal change amongst Welsh speakers towards business and entrepreneurship. Menter a Busnes are involved in the *Gorwelion Initiative*, aimed at expanding the Welsh-speaking workforce and encouraging the use of Welsh in the workplace. Menter a Busnes also operate the *Gwobrau Menter Awards* to reward Welsh speakers who succeed in business, and to award businesses that promote Welsh language use in the workplace. The organisation's schemes are aimed at supporting disadvantaged groups, sectors and localities. The Menter also operates an online business service to support businesses to use Welsh. This initiative aims to encourage co-operation and inter-trading between businesses in Wales and internationally through a virtual environment, on the same principles as Welsh business clubs.

4.13.6 Whilst there appears to be scope for expanding the number of jobs designated as 'Welsh essential', awareness of the benefits of bilingualism to career prospects in Wales is found to be high: 71 percent of the public believe that being bilingual helps within the job market in Wales (Beaufort Research, 2000).

4.14 Language Consumption

4.14.1 The Welsh minority language framework also includes measures targeted at increasing Welsh speakers 'language consumption': the use of Welsh when procuring public or private services.

4.14.2 Research shows that there is widespread support for the supply of services in Welsh. For example, a 2000 Opinion Survey found that 45 percent of Welsh speakers said they would be more likely to use a business that offered bilingual services, with this figure rising to 84 percent in Anglesey (WLB Opinion Survey by Beaufort Research, 2000). The Bwrdd has led several campaigns to make the public aware of their language rights with respect of the Act, and to promote the public's use of Welsh. The *Mae Gen Ti Ddewis* (You do have a choice) campaign was launched to encourage Welsh speakers to make full use of Welsh language services offered by public bodies following research which demonstrated that members of the public are often unsure about which service is available in Welsh.

4.14.3 Over the years the *laith Gwaith* (Working Welsh) scheme, originally launched in 1991, has targeted service companies to introduce measures to initiate language contact with customers through Irish, through increasing awareness of bilingual language choices. Packages include signage, lapel badges worn by employees, and stickers. A recent evaluation of the scheme identified, however, significant weaknesses in the scheme's adoption by organisations together with a low awareness of what the signage/badges meant (Opinion Research Service, 2007: 7). The Welsh Language Use Survey 2004 found public sector workers (16 percent) were twice as likely to wear a badge as private sector workers. However, the schemes evaluation concluded that there was a "palpable sense of a lack of confidence among many Welsh speakers in using the language to carry out other important tasks e.g. financial, legal, business or IT" which continued to be a barrier to choosing to communicate in Welsh, even when staff were wearing badges that identified them as Welsh speakers. Finally, the Mentrau Iaith co-ordinate an annual national 'Welsh-give it a go' week to raise the status of the language, encourage second language learners, and motivate the public to use their Welsh in dealings with the public sector and in other official and formal settings.

4.14.4 In Ireland, the Language Commissioner is regarded as successful in raising awareness of the public's language rights and in dealing with complaints regarding public bodies. Foras na Gaeilge aims to encourage individuals and business and voluntary organisations to use Irish when dealing with the state sector, as part of its corporate plan.

4.15 Conclusions

4.15.1 This review has highlighted the similarities and differences between the Welsh and Irish planning frameworks. Whilst the general course steered towards the passing of legislation in each country is broadly similar, the type of bilingualism which is strived for within policy diverges, as do the delivery mechanisms. Ireland differs from Wales and Scotland in that it is a separate sovereign state that recognises Irish as an official language, but which adopts the 'territorial principle' in its language planning.

This means that certain language rights are differentiated depending on whether or not you live in or outside the Gaeltacht and that demand for bilingual employees to deliver services bilingually is stronger here relative to other parts of the country. The Gaeltacht also receives increased funding to support community, business and voluntary initiatives through An tÚdarás.

- 4.15.2 The policy of Wales is a single national policy delivered through a national agency, with no regional authority in the Welsh heartlands. As such, compared to Ireland, Wales has a unified approach to public body language schemes despite similar geographical patterns of language use. On the one hand, this is perceived as a disadvantage because it is possible for bilingual provision to go further in north Wales - where a high proportion of the local labour market and customers are bilingual - than is stipulated, and therefore adhered to, in official language schemes.

On the other hand, the national approach is considered to be a positive aspect of present language policy and indicative of the support by Welsh and non-Welsh speakers alike at this geographical level.

- 4.15.3 There is a much stronger evidence base of trends in social and organisational use of Welsh than of Irish (or of Gaelic in Scotland), and in particular, on recruitment and employment in public bodies and the private sector. In Ireland, a paucity of research evidence is explained by the relatively lower priority given to research in the absence of a national language policy such as the *Iaith Pawb* in Wales, and the distributed (and seemingly disparate) functions of implementing bodies such as *Údaras na Gaeltachta* and *Fóras na Gaeilge*. The large body of research commissioned and co-commissioned by the Welsh Bwrdd reflects an evidence-based approach to language policy which has led to more strategic and targeted planning actions than in Ireland. The weaknesses in Irish data, means that it is difficult to directly compare the implications of minority language planning frameworks for the labour market.
- 4.15.4 The use of Welsh as a daily language is proportionately higher than the use of Irish at the national level, which means it has been relatively easier to achieve the bilingual provision of services that is enshrined in legislation from both a labour supply and customer demand perspective. The demographic profile of Welsh speakers also sustains higher public support for the recognition of Welsh as a job-skill, relative to Irish in Ireland. Nonetheless, whilst the principle of choice in access to public services is largely endorsed independent of whether or not one speaks Welsh, the implications of this provision - dependent upon bilingual staff and therefore the 'restriction' of posts to bilingual citizens - remains controversial in both countries. Despite a high proportion of Welsh citizens (Welsh speaking and non-Welsh speaking) believing that being bilingual is an attribute for the labour market, language attitudes are generally not disposed towards any elements of compulsion in language policy other than in education. Consequently, the evidence suggests that in both private and public sectors, 'informal bilingualism' is prevalent and expanding in the workplace but 'formal bilingualism' less so.

In Ireland, the adoption of a gradual and graduated approach to the 'Gaeilgisation' of public sector posts in the Gaeltacht has been adopted as the most practical and politically acceptable means of achieving tolerance and therefore, avoiding the difficulties that were encountered in relation to the deeply unpopular compulsion for Irish in the civil service in the past.

- 4.15.5 Within both policy frameworks, rationales for increased use of Irish and Welsh in non-state organisations have focused on direct and indirect economic arguments related to corporate identity, customer loyalty, niche marketing and improved customer service. In Wales, marketing campaigns to communicate the individual and organisational advantages of bilingualism has occurred in tandem. It can be said, therefore, that outside of the official language schemes, the bulk of policy and planning practice has sought to increase use of Welsh in the workplace by relying on implicit voluntarism.

To date, this has not had a major impact upon the creation of a *formal* demand for Welsh skills in the labour market outside of public bodies with Welsh Language Schemes: and even here, there is evidence that this is a gradual process, probably because organisations are starting from a 'low' position of having very few 'Welsh essential' designated posts.

- 4.15.6 The future growth of both Irish and Welsh in the labour market is, therefore, anticipated to be generated primarily through the increased legitimisation of designating posts as Welsh or Irish 'essential' in the public sector using a graduated approach, together with the growth in demand from the language and cultural industries. This graduated approach is being supported through the stimulation of organisational demand through strategic language skills planning, life-long access to Welsh and Irish language learning, and efforts to boost 'language consumption' of services through Irish and Welsh.

5. GAELIC ARTS AND CULTURAL INDUSTRIES AND THEIR IMPORTANCE TO PRESENT AND FUTURE GAELIC LABOUR MARKETS.

5.1 Introduction

- 5.1.1 The analysis of the 2001 Census labour market data during stage 1 of this research study indicated that a significantly high proportion of people who can speak, read and write Gaelic are employed in the core creative industries. In addition, many of these employment positions are at professional and/or at associate professional levels. In this section we provide an overview of the importance of the relationship between Gaelic arts and the labour market. The analysis is based on research that has been undertaken over the last number of years within this economic and cultural sector.

5.2 Opportunities created

- 5.2.1 Previous research by Chalmers²⁵, Sproull and Chalmers²⁶, and Chalmers and Danson²⁷, has examined the role of arts and culture in boosting interest in the language itself, and creating a basis for social and economic renewal in peripheral communities, many of which are co-terminus with areas of high Gaelic use. Currently Chalmers and Danson are examining the economic impact of Gaelic Arts and Culture in the urban environment of Glasgow²⁸.
- 5.2.2 The approach adopted acknowledges the increasing interest of policy makers in the role of artistic and cultural activity as part of the services sub-section of the economy in replacing or supplementing declining traditional industries. Much of this approach has analysed regeneration strategies within a framework of social capital and endogenous growth theories to determine whether sustainable and holistic development is being promoted, as theory and good practice would prescribe.
- 5.2.3 The results of much of this previous research would suggest that the arts and cultural sub-sector of the economy of the Highlands and Islands has a particular role to play as a motor of economic growth, thus providing a stimulus to the Gaelic labour market not only in this region but in Scotland as a whole.

²⁵ The Economic Impact of Gaelic Arts and Culture, (2003) Glasgow Caledonian University 2003

²⁶ The Demand for Gaelic Artistic and Cultural Products and Services (1998) Glasgow Caledonian University; The Demand for Gaelic Arts (2006) Glasgow Caledonian University

²⁷ Language and Economic Development – complementary or antagonistic? Douglas Chalmers and Mike Danson (2006) in Revitalising Gaelic in Scotland. Dunedin Press

²⁸ The Economic Impact of Gaelic Arts and Culture in Glasgow. Glasgow Caledonian University and the University of the West of Scotland. Forthcoming October 2008

- 5.2.4 Sproull and Chalmers carried out two large scale longitudinal surveys between 1996 and 2006 which investigated the perceived impact of Gaelic arts and culture on a whole range of attitudes within the rural Gaelic speaking communities and on the perceptions held by those in the community regarding the importance of such activity for the social and economic development of the community and the renewal of the Gaelic language.
- 5.2.5 This research suggested that Gaelic artistic and cultural activity may influence economic development via direct linkages which are highly visible and well understood, and via indirect linkages which are mediated through social change.
- 5.2.6 Amongst the direct linkages suggested were Labour market impacts such as job creation, an increase in average job quality, a widening of the range of jobs available, and the creation of new career paths. Other direct linkages suggested were impacts on tourism which arguably could be boosted, (which in turn would create employment and output). Thirdly business opportunities might be provided through the creation of new products or services and also by new approaches to marketing. Finally it was suggested that there would be an enhanced level of general economic activity boosted by the activities of the cultural sector.
- 5.2.7 Indirect linkages included increasing the attachment of people to their own home area (a growing issue in times of depopulation), increasing the desire of young people to continue to live and work in their home area, the enhancing of individual and community confidence, and increasing the attractiveness of the area to incomers. It was also thought that these changes might reduce out-migration, encourage returnees to the area, encourage in-migration and enhance entrepreneurial behaviour.
- 5.2.8 Although neither of the studies were able to quantify this perceived positive effect of Gaelic arts in terms of a specific number of new jobs created, this work evidenced a widespread perception that artistic and cultural development was crucial for social and economic development of the areas concerned. The general responses from both surveys suggested the continuation of a successful live Gaelic arts environment over the last ten years, with modest increases in participation in many types of artistic and cultural activity. More than half of the population continued to report attendance at, or participation in, live Gaelic music events with at least half attending at least one exhibition delivered through the medium of Gaelic in the year previous to each survey. Overall the figures continued to underline the demand for such provision from the Gaelic arts sector.

- 5.2.9 Importantly, when studying the characteristics of the respondents to both surveys, although there was a clear link between Gaelic fluency and attendance at events, involvement in such events could not be reduced solely to language ability. Overall the patterns which emerged from the surveys suggested that participation in or consumption of such goods and services appeared to increase greatly as soon as even a minimum acquaintance with, or use of, the language was achieved. This suggested that the development of this sector was a matter for more than Gaelic speakers alone.
- 5.2.10 The studies by Sproull and Chalmers also allowed an investigation of the factors perceived by respondents to influence their attendance at or involvement in, the Gaelic related artistic and cultural events.
- 5.2.11 In most cases local availability of the product ranked as the most important factor in this regard. Personal commitment or interest ranked second or second equal followed by local connection. Of less importance than these three factors was a person's personal level of Gaelic to appreciate the event.
- 5.2.12 This again suggests that a latent demand for such activity exists in most areas, with take up limited by lack of supply. Individuals were asked to identify the impact on several aspects of their own and their communities' attitudes and behaviours, of their consumption of Gaelic artistic or cultural output. In general this was overwhelmingly positive. While two thirds of those responding reported that consumption had not changed their use of the language, almost one quarter reported that consumption had prompted greater use of the language.
- 5.2.13 In regard to the impact of consumption on the desirability of Gaelic being used in other areas of public life such as business and schools, almost one third of respondents reported that consumption had shifted their position positively. Further, in relation to the impact of consumption on the perceived relevance of the language of Gaelic arts and culture to the economic development of the respondent's home area, over one third reported that this had shifted in a positive direction.
- 5.2.14 In relation to the impact of consumption on the perceived relevance of the Gaelic language within Gaelic arts and cultural activity and the subsequent link to the employment and careers of young people, a similar percentage of respondents answered positively. Similarly on the impact of consumption on the willingness to choose Gaelic medium education for their own children; on their perceived relevance of Gaelic art and culture in education and development of children; and on the respondents' desire to live and work within the local community, positive results also emerged.
- 5.2.15 In comparing the 1996 survey with the 2006 survey the conclusion could be drawn that across all the issues covered, Gaelic arts activities had broadly maintained their levels of positive impact on attitudes and behaviours of the population.

- 5.2.16 For the purposes of this research study, it is clear that Gaelic artistic and cultural activity may therefore have an important role in helping achieve attitudinal change, and thus help create demand in several sectors of the economy.
- 5.2.17 This conclusion could also be drawn from the results of these surveys in terms of community attitudes. When questioned regarding the overall impact of all categories of Gaelic artistic and cultural consumption or on a series of important issues regarding the community such as the regularity with which Gaelic is used in the local community, the regularity with which Gaelic is used in local families, the attractiveness of the area to tourists, the attachment of local people to the community, the level of confidence extant in the local community, and finally the preference of individuals within the community to choose Gaelic services or products whenever possible, the results were overwhelmingly positive.
- 5.2.18 With regard to the future economic development of the respondents' area or island group, over 70% of respondents agreed or strongly agreed that the regeneration of Gaelic language, art and culture was essential for this. The conclusions of these surveys therefore, suggest an important role for the artistic and cultural sector in helping provide the best type of context for future economic and social development.

5.3 Conclusions

- 5.3.1 A number of conclusions can be drawn from the research by Sproull and Chalmers which may bear upon the present study of the Gaelic labour market. Firstly, arts and cultural activities have a high take up or participation rate in the territories investigated, so any impacts are broadly distributed.
- 5.3.2 In addition to their essential purpose (to entertain and enlighten), Gaelic arts activities appear to impact on individual attitudes and behaviours in a manner that strongly supports key language and community development variables. Social perceptions support the proposition that collectively Gaelic arts activities are shifting behaviour within local communities in ways that strongly support the maintenance and development of the language.
- 5.3.3 Although not central to its purpose, Gaelic artistic activity therefore appears to make an important contribution to wider economic and social development objectives, with over 70% of those questioned now seeing Gaelic development as essential to economic development. Harnessing this approach within a holistic and community based approach to economic development would thus seem a sensible policy prescription.

6. A GENERAL FRAMEWORK FOR A GAELIC SKILLS AND EMPLOYMENT STRATEGY

6.1 Introduction

- 6.1.1 This section develops a general framework for a Gaelic skills and employment strategy. The principal aim of the proposed strategy is to establish a framework to develop access to and participation in the Gaelic labour market across Scotland. The proposed framework can be considered as a set of recommendations that are based on the overall findings of both stages of this research into the present state of the Gaelic labour market. The general framework is intended as a starting point for an in-depth discussion between the principal stakeholders that will need to be involved in designing and implementing a future Gaelic skills and employment strategy for Scotland.
- 6.1.2 Investment in Gaelic language skills is an investment in the future of the Gaelic language. In a global economy, access to skills and learning opportunities are critical to the success of individuals, public organisations, private businesses and communities. This applies to labour market activities associated with Gaelic as it applies to any other minority language grouping that exists within the economic market place.
- 6.1.3 At the UK level whilst it is accepted that progress has been made over the years, a review of skills published in December 2006²⁹ concluded that the UK as a whole needs to set more ambitious targets on skills improvement across all economic sectors. As the Leith report reasoned, this is because, even if present targets are met, the UK's skills base will still be behind that of many other countries, with the potential consequence that UK businesses will find it increasingly difficult to compete in the global economy. Though this may seem irrelevant in the context of the presently fragile Gaelic domestic economy it should be remembered that Gaelic has a global audience and is in a position, therefore, to extend its influence with the appropriate skills base.
- 6.1.4 At the Scotland level³⁰, independent analysis undertaken for Futureskills Scotland highlights some successes in increasing the proportion of the nation's workforce that are highly-qualified. However, the demand for highly-skilled and highly-qualified workers in Scotland has also been rising and this is not at as fast a pace as the supply of available workers.

²⁹ http://www.hm-treasury.gov.uk/independent_reviews/leitch_review/review_leitch_index.cfm

³⁰

http://www.futureskillsscotland.org.uk/web/site/home/Reports/NationalReports/Report_Work_Skills_in_Scotland_report.asp

- 6.1.5 In relation to Gaelic, both hard and soft learning infrastructure needs to be significantly developed if progress is to be made in achieving a sustainable baseline in the use of the language within the Scottish labour market.

This applies in general terms to the language revitalisation effort but more specifically to labour market demand for staff with a relatively high degree of competence in Gaelic in the employment areas of teaching and learning, general support services, media and the wider Gaelic creative industries sector.

- 6.1.6 This framework for a Gaelic skills and employment strategy provides a broad outline of the key mechanisms required to support the delivery of an approach that will help young people and adults acquire the requisite skills, advice and support needed to obtain employment within the Gaelic labour market.

6.2 **A General Framework**

- 6.2.1 A general framework for a skills and employment strategy to enable the development of the labour market for Gaelic language skills seeks to implement a number of key strands. They are:

1. Regulation – Legislative and Learning
2. Promotion
3. Information

- 6.2.2 A number of the key strategic actions associated with each of these priority areas are set out in the following tables. The contents of these tables are not prescriptive in the sense they do not detail all the potential actions required to stimulate the Gaelic labour market under the three identified priorities. The purpose of the general framework is to highlight a number of specific areas that should be discussed as a way forward amongst key stakeholders, which should include representatives from appropriate economic sectors that currently employ staff in posts that require varying levels of competencies in the language.

- 6.2.3 The detail of the Gaelic labour market strategy needs to be developed by the main public sector organisations working in conjunction with private sector interests including universities, colleges and training providers. It is beyond the resources and remit of this research to provide a highly prescriptive action framework for this important area of public policy that links the revitalisation of Gaelic directly and indirectly with areas of economic opportunity within the Scottish labour market.

1a. Regulation - Legislative

Primary Responsibility: - Scottish Government / Bòrd na Gàidhlig

Issue: Gaelic fluent population has reached a critically low mass and language will decline further unless fortified

Labour market action	Outcomes
<p>Bòrd na Gàidhlig needs to be clear on the scale and scope of intervention needed to fulfil the targets of the National Plan for Gaelic.</p> <p>For example:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Determine “Gaelic areas” and economic sectors for targeted support. • Encourage the policy implementation that all primary schools teach the language for a set amount of time per day in “Gaelic areas” as per Irish example. • Adopt the most practical and politically acceptable means of achieving tolerance through a gradual and graduated approach to the 'Gaelicisation' of public sector posts in “Gaelic areas”. 	<p>Directly increases, in the medium to long-term, the number of Gaelic essential/desirable jobs in public organisations and the private sector.</p>
<p>Establish a Gaelic language services procurement unit linked to a quality assurance process</p>	<p>Achieves uniform standards of literacy and improves communication across business and networks.</p>
Action in skills and education	Outcomes
<p>Production of Gaelic Language Plans that have measurable outcomes related to skills and learning.</p>	<p>An increase in skills levels across relevant economic sectors.</p>
Action in the community	Outcomes
<p>Implementation of the National Plan for Gaelic through public bodies and local community actions.</p>	<p>Increased confidence and belief that economic and career opportunities can be based around Gaelic language skills.</p>

1b. Regulation - Learning

Primary Responsibility: - Scottish Government / BnG/ SQA

Issue: Employers are unclear as to the competencies of potential employees / employees as the range of Gaelic language qualifications is diverse.

Action in skills and education	Outcome
Link funding to accredited courses and language learning achievements.	Public sector spending reflects measurable improvements in Gaelic language skills.
Re-focus funding support by working with employers to accredit courses which meet their demands.	Employers are able to gauge the skills levels of employees and future employees. Training courses meet the demands of employers.
Work with training providers to accredit current and future Gaelic language courses.	Employees and potential employees work to National Standards. Employers have a means of comparing skills levels and language competencies across economic sectors.
Include a Gaelic language element in those Modern Apprenticeships that have a direct link to areas of demand for jobs requiring a Gaelic language skills element.	Provides apprentices with a recognised language skills level. Normalises Gaelic language skills within mainstream labour markets.

2. Promotion

Primary Responsibility: - BnG / Gaelic organisations / SDS / HIE

Issue: The market for Gaelic services is underdeveloped, current Gaelic jobs need to be protected and the labour market for such jobs stimulated.

Labour market action	Outcomes
Support and continue supporting staff Gaelic language training.	Gaelic essential and Gaelic desirable employment posts are supported and areas of language skills shortage in the Gaelic labour market addressed.
Continue and improve funding for the Gaelic media and arts showcase.	The media provides high quality jobs in rural locations for the young Gaelic migrant workforce drawn to the Central Belt to access further education, (Danson <i>op. cit.</i>). This cohort is increasingly mobile and less dependant on fixed location work though the greater use of technology. Language profile increased; economic opportunities highlighted and confidence increased within younger age groups of the worth of Gaelic language based career opportunities.
Create business awards as per Welsh agency. For example: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Explore the possibility of establishing an “<i>Investing in Gaelic</i>” standard linked to SQA modules to ensure quality assurance is embedded within the learning support systems. 	Engenders pride and desire to improve Gaelic skills and creates economic and employment opportunities.
Assist and encourage organisations/businesses to produce bilingual material as per Welsh example. For example: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Work with private sector organisations with a large customer base to promote bilingual advertising, billing, labelling etc. 	Normalises the language within the economic mainstream, stimulates demand for translation services and creates job opportunities.
Continue to promote the economic advantages of bilingualism and disseminate this pro-actively among businesses/organisations and the general labour market.	The promotion of bilingualism has been found to be more acceptable to Irish populations than promoting Gaelige per se. (MacLeod <i>op. cit.</i>).

2. Promotion *contd.*

Action in skills and education	Outcomes
Target funding resources on the development of Gaelic language skills within priority sectors and organisations/businesses. For example: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • By continuing to work with local authorities to facilitate the training of Gaelic medium teachers. • Through expanding Gaelic translation services. 	Gaelic essential and Gaelic desirable posts are supported and areas of shortage in the Gaelic labour market addressed.
Support employers in providing work placement schemes to include graduate and non-graduates at all skill entry levels for jobs requiring some competence in the Gaelic language.	Confidence levels amongst potential employees with some level of Gaelic skills are improved.
Action in the community	Outcomes
Continue to fund and improve life-long access to Gaelic learning in the community.	Secures the demand for Gaelic products and increases the supply of labour with Gaelic language competencies.
Continue and improve funding for the Gaelic media and arts showcase.	Stimulates a desire to engage with the Gaelic language, (Chalmers <i>op. cit.</i>).
Stimulate smaller Gaelic language promotions for individual towns / organisations e.g. bilingual towns/villages as per Irish examples.	Engenders pride and desire to improve Gaelic skills.
Instigate campaigns to make the public aware of their language rights with respect to Gaelic legislation as per Welsh example.	Stimulates demand for Gaelic services.

3. Information

Primary Responsibility: - BnG / Gaelic organisations / SDS

Issue: Employers report difficulties in recruitment and are unable to fully access the market for potential employees.

Labour market action	Outcomes
<p>Create a dynamic proactive market place to bring together employers and employees with clear reference to SQA set levels of Gaelic language competencies achieved and required for the labour market. Achieve this by:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Creating a Gaelic Skills and Employment Partnership with BnG, HIE, Skills Development Scotland and interested/participating local authorities. 	<p>The creation of a transparent, accessible market place, ideally web based, in both Gaelic language skills and Gaelic employment opportunities.</p>
<p>Raise awareness of the purpose and objectives of the 'Gaelic Skills and Employment Partnership' among employers, employees, potential employees, schools, further education institutions and careers services.</p>	<p>The provision of a mechanism that can respond to demands from employers, as per Gaelic labour market survey, and the language learning needs of existing and potential employees.</p>
<p>Create a senior management post/responsibility within Bòrd na Gàidhlig/Skills Development Scotland to monitor employment opportunities which arise through the Gaelic Skills and Employment Partnership and research, manage and disseminate data and information on Gaelic labour skills and career opportunities.</p>	<p>Skills and learning policies in relation to Gaelic language skills in the workforce need to be based on robust labour market information. There is a need to set up an appropriate mechanism to coordinate and disseminate Gaelic learning and labour market intelligence (GLMI) in Scotland that is specifically focused on the role and use of the language within the public and private sectors, respectively.</p>
Action in skills and education	Outcomes
<p>Provide employees and potential employees with a clear pathway to accessing jobs requiring Gaelic language skills.</p>	<p>Improves confidence of potential employees, and employees know how to improve access to Gaelic language skills and learning.</p>

6.3 Making it happen – delivering the Strategy

6.3.1 Achieving the aims of the Gaelic skills and employment strategy requires the harnessing of effort across all partnership members. A Gaelic employment and skills service presents a challenge to current systems of support but these systems need to work for Gaelic speakers and learners and their employers and be capable of adapting to meet the needs of the labour market.

6.3.2 This research has identified a need for a new joint commissioning /procurement mechanism which brings the funding for Gaelic adult skills and learning including employment within a ‘single purse’ to improve coordination, collaboration, value for money and achieve demonstrable outcomes in relation to Gaelic labour market activity.

6.3.3 Within this policy mix consideration also should be given to the role that could be played by the Sector Skills Councils in the delivery of a Gaelic skills and employment strategy. The present role of the Sector Skills Councils within the wider labour market place can be summarised as follows:

- To reduce skills gaps and labour shortages.
- To help in improving productivity, business and public service performance.
- To increase opportunities to boost the skills and productivity of the sector’s workforce.
- To improve learning supply including apprenticeships, higher education and National Occupational Standards.

6.3.4 The achievement of positive outcomes over the long-term requires strong working relationships between appropriate agencies to provide sector specific regional or local level Gaelic LMI, including a research and evaluation service. A Gaelic learning and labour market intelligence service supports the design of effective policies, gives Gaelic language training providers a better understanding of their markets and Skills Development Scotland and others accurate information, advice and guidance which they can package for individuals and employers wishing to access or operate more effectively within the Gaelic labour market.

A number of factors need to be taken into account to enable the strategy to be delivered in an efficient, effective and equitable manner. They are:

6.3.5 *The role of partners:* - The delivery of strategy relies heavily on effective engagement and collaboration across partners. The main aims of the strategy is a call for effective action from all those that are involved in skills and employment services in Scotland.

Gaelic skills and employment services need to be embedded within current systems of support and not be seen as ‘add-on’s’ or be outside mainstream provision. A key principle of delivery should be to maximise impact over the long-term in relation to the Gaelic labour market. This inevitably means supporting those delivery mechanisms that deliver results and ceasing those activities that do not add value to the delivery of the Gaelic skills and employment strategy.

- 6.3.6 *Working with the Scottish Government:* - The implementation of this strategy is likely to challenge present aspects of Scotland’s skills and employment policies. The role of the Scottish Government, its Departments and Agencies is crucial in the delivery of the National Plan for Gaelic and by extension the Gaelic skills and employment strategy focused on the creation of more employment opportunities that utilise the language in the delivery of goods and services within both the public and private sectors.
- 6.3.7 *Implementing the National Plan for Gaelic:* - The delivery of this strategy links directly to the four language principles stated in the National Plan and particularly those relating to acquisition, use and status. The Gaelic language plans produced by public bodies along with language plans produced by other groups and organisations also need to take cognisance of the Gaelic skills and employment strategy.
- 6.3.8 Whilst the overall planning framework relating to Gaelic language revitalisation needs a ‘clarity of purpose’, those organisations left with the delivery of the Gaelic skills and employment strategy should be encouraged to be innovative and responsive to the needs of individuals and employers operating within the Gaelic labour market. Gaelic language plans and the skills and employment strategy should be classed as ‘living documents’ in the sense they should be updated and adapted to respond to changes in labour market needs, government policies and implementation mechanisms.
- 6.3.9 *A performance and accountability framework:* - Bòrd na Gàidhlig and other public bodies should be acutely aware of the significant challenges that are involved in the delivery of the National Plan for Gaelic and other policy initiatives relating to the revitalisation of the language. There are significant challenges for Bòrd na Gàidhlig and other public bodies in ensuring that institutional arrangements for adult skills and life-learning approaches, changes in the commissioning of services associated with Gaelic focused employment, the development of a more integrated and responsive Gaelic skills and employment service all impact on the ultimate successful delivery of this strategy. It is for these reasons that it is crucial for a process to be in place that works in a highly effective manner to monitor the performance of the Gaelic skills and employment system and holds to account those charged with the delivery of the strategy. This is to ensure sufficient progress is being made in improving Gaelic skills and employment opportunities across all sectors of the Scottish economy in the years ahead.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The authors of this report gratefully acknowledge the following individuals and organisations for responding to requests for information and reports:

Dr John Walsh, National University of Galway / Ollscoil na hÉireann, Gaillimh
Dr Kathryn Jones, Welsh Centre for Language Planning/ Cwmni-Iaith
Mr Alan Butler Jones, Welsh Language Board / Bwrdd yr Iaith
Mr Hywel Jones, Welsh Language Board / Bwrdd yr Iaith
Ms Jackie McDonald, Welsh Assembly Government / Llywodraeth Cynulliad Cymru
Prof. Miquel Strubell, University of Catalonia / Universitat Oberta de Catalunya

Appendix 1: Welsh, Irish and Gaelic: Relative Language Vitality

	Welsh	Irish	Gaelic
Demographic strength:			
No. of speakers aged 3+	582,000	1,570,894	58,652
No. of fluent / daily speakers ¹	317,000	339,541	58,652
% of total population aged 3+ who can speak Welsh/Irish/Gaelic	20.8%	42.8%	1.16%
% of households with 1 or more Irish/Welsh/Gaelic speaker ²	28.2 %	55%	0.64%
Average rate of transmission to children aged 3-15	76.3%	NA	44.6%
Territorial strength:			
% of all speakers in Irish/Welsh/Gaelic speaking communities ³	13.8%	3.9%	29.8%
Language support and status:			
No. of years since legislation passed	15	4	3
No. of Language Schemes	462	82	6
No. of pupils in Welsh/Irish/Gaelic medium primary education	53,342 (20.3%)	31, 679 ⁴ (6.9%)	2152 (0.5%)
No. of hours of TV Broadcast ⁵	4644	1825	2555
No. of staff employed in central language planning agency ⁶	77	65	10
Annual budget of central language planning agency ⁷	£13.5m	£20.5m	£4.4m

Source: taken from MacLeod, forthcoming 2009.

¹ Welsh: no. of people who speak Welsh fluently (2001 Census); Irish: no. of people who use Irish daily (2002 Census); Gaelic: no. of people who can speak Gaelic (2001 Census)

² Gaelic: no. of adult households with 1 or more Gaelic speaker, excluding households in which children but no. adults speak Gaelic (2001 Census)

³ Welsh: communities where over 70% of population speak Welsh (2001 Census); Irish: communities in the Gaeltacht areas (2002 Census); Gaelic: communities where over 40% of the population speak Gaelic (2001 Census)

⁴ All pupils, primary and secondary, taught in Irish only classes in Ordinary State Schools.

⁵ Irish: based on an average of 5 hours of Irish broadcast per day on TG4 of which only 2.5 is original material (TG4); Gaelic: based on an estimated 7 hours of Gaelic broadcast per day in the new digital channel of which only 1.5 is expected to be original material.

⁶ These are defined respectively as Bwrdd yr Iaith (2007), Foras na Gaeilge (2007) Bòrd na Gàidhlig (2008).

⁷ Bwrdd yr Iaith 2008-09 grant-in-aid; Combined funding of the Department for Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs for An tUdaras Irish language programme, Foras na Gaeilge (estimates) and Oifig Choimisinéir na dTeannacha 2006; and Bòrd na Gàidhlig grant-in-aid 2007-08.

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